

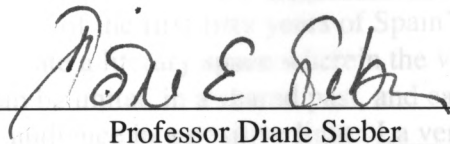
This thesis entitled:
A STORY OF THEIR OWN: MORISCO SELF-(RE)PRESENTATION
IN MIGUEL DE LUNA'S
LA VERDADERA HISTORIA DEL REY DON RODRIGO

by

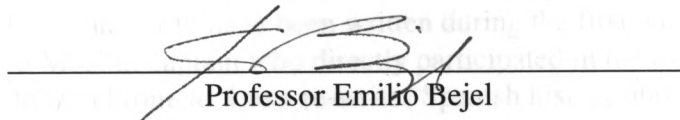
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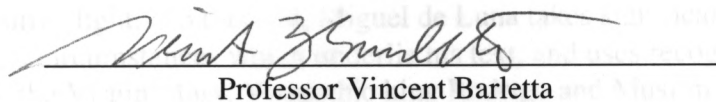
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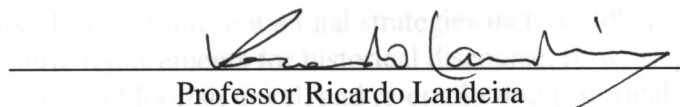
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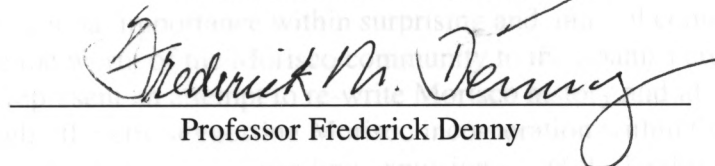
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Kerlin, Gioia Marie (Ph.D. Spanish and Portuguese)

A Story of Their Own: Morisco Self-(Re)presentation in Miguel de Luna's

Verdadera historia del rey don Rodrigo

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Diane E. Sieber

Fewer than one hundred years after the forced conversions of 1500 and very shortly before the impending Morisco expulsion decree of 1609, in the shadow of the rebellion of the Alpujarras and during a time of royal edicts aimed at destroying any visible trace of "Moorishness" in the Morisco populations of Spain, Miguel de Luna published La verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo. Luna's "true history" of the first fifty years of Spain's Islamic period functions on several levels to create a literary space wherein the various communities known as the "Moriscos" can be united in a shared past, and can be presented to an Old Christian reading audience in a positive light. La verdadera historia is a late sixteenth-century, pseudo-history of the Islamic conquest of Spain that was purported by its author to have been written during the first half of the eighth century by a Muslim captain who directly participated in the events of the conquest. In his chronicle, Luna re-writes Spanish history and portrays the conquering Moors, who were considered to be the predecessors of the Moriscos, in a positive light. To this end, Miguel de Luna takes significant liberties with the historical circumstances which underlie his text, and uses recognizable and iconic figures (the Virgin Mary, Visigothic king Rodrigo and Muslim ruler king Almanzor) in unexpected ways in order to recontextualize the history he (re)presents. Luna's representational strategies include adherence to sixteenth-century generic requirements for historical discourse, re-writing existing literary genres such as the Moorish novel, and re-emplotting historical and religious figures of national importance within surprising and unusual contexts that emphasize the worth of the Morisco community to the Spanish crown. Luna's strategies represent an attempt to re-write Morisco history and identity in a positive light, thereby suggesting Morisco incorporation within Old Christian society as opposed to their impending expulsion in 1609. To this end, Miguel de Luna subverts existing narratives concerning the nature of the Morisco, and forges a sense of communal history and identity among the varied and divergent Morisco groups in Spain.

DEDICATION

With a grateful heart, this dissertation is dedicated to all of the “little people” who have lovingly supported me through good times and bad, through years of studies, and through the unexpected in life:

Adara, Aliyya, Antonia, Boo, Brian, Darcie, Darnell, Fran, Ifni Ajani,
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

‘...we cannot but admire a people so stubbornly determined to preserve its identity, its culture, to resist the ideological onslaught mounted against it by the most powerful state in the world at that time....[The Moriscos’] real offence was not so much what they did as the very fact of their existence.’¹

The term “Morisco” has been used, although with differing meanings, from the medieval period to the present. According to L. P. Harvey in his essay “The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos”, the term was probably first employed in reference to anything Moorish. Harvey traces one of the term’s first known literary uses to Juan Ruiz’s early fourteenth-century Libro de buen amor, wherein the narrative voice speaks of a “guitarra morisca”, or Moorish guitar.² In addition to this broad, original sense of the word as implying anything Moorish, “Morisco” came to be used in the latter half of the sixteenth century in Spain to refer to “...the Muslims who remained in the country after the capture of Granada by the Catholic [Monarchs] Ferdinand and Isabella, on January 2, 1492, and the dethronement of the last of the Nasrid dynasty”.³ As

¹ L. P. Harvey, “The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos.” The Legacy of Muslim Spain, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, pages 201-234. Quote taken from pages 201 and 230.

² op. cit., page 202.

³ op. cit., page 201. Harvey quotes E. Lévi-Provençal’s definition of the term “morisco” given in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1960). Also see Harvey’s Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, pages 2-3 and the Real Academia’s

opposed to the idea that the Moriscos were in fact Moors who remained in Spain after the Reconquest, recent scholarship has begun to narrow the definition further, and to focus primarily on the Moriscos as a population that was forced to convert from their heritage or chosen faith—Islam—to Christianity. L. P. Harvey attributes the term “Morisco” to the Spanish Muslims who were forcibly converted to Christianity after the capitulations of the surrender of Granada were broken, and to their descendents who continued living on the Peninsula until their eventual expulsion between 1609 and 1614. Likewise, Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra defines “Morisco” as a term that came into use after the edict of forced conversions mandated by Cisneros in 1502.⁴ This idea of forced conversion highlights the fact that in its own time, “Morisco” essentially functioned as “...an ideological tool employed by those desirous of marginalising the community and

Diccionario de la lengua española, ed. XXI, 1992. In both his essay and book, Harvey states that prior to the last half of the sixteenth century, Spain’s new Muslim converts to Christianity were simply referred to with terms such as “los nuevamente convertidos de los moros” (“The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos”, page 203) or as “nuevos convertidos” (Islamic Spain, page 3).

⁴ See Harvey, page 202 and Bunes Ibarra, Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: historiografía de un grupo marginado, page 13. It is interesting to note that Harvey seems to prefer the use of “Spanish Muslims” in reference to the groups denominated as “Moriscos” by accepted scholarship. His reasoning for this is that since the Peninsula’s Muslim population did not seek out Christian baptism, but rather was forced to receive it, most of them continued in their former religion, albeit in secret (202). But, Harvey concedes that the term “Morisco” is so well entrenched in historical literature, replacing it would create confusion (203). Also, scholars differ as to the exact period in which the expulsion took place. Harvey suggests the years 1609-1611 (Islamic Spain, page 5), while Francisco Márquez Villanueva proposes 1609-1614 as the definitive period in which the expulsion was carried out (El problema morisco desde otras laderas, page 8).

depriving it of its right to continue loyal to Islam”⁵ after the seizure of Granada and the subsequent capitulations of the city’s surrender in 1492. The term is, therefore, politically and socially charged.

By reclassifying Spain’s once-Islamic population as “Moriscos” or new converts to Christianity “...rather than [as] *moros* (Muslims), the authorities made them subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition...from which all unbelievers were exempt.”⁶ This linguistic change from their previous status as independent Muslims to that of converts to Christianity and subjects of the Crown allowed the Catholic monarchy the right to observe, control and punish the group. Whereas the independent Muslim city of Granada was promised the freedom to maintain traditional styles of dress, customs and practices, new converts to Christianity were not. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will rely on Harvey’s and Bunes Ibarra’s definitions of “Morisco”, as both stress the idea that the term came into generalized use after the conversions during the first half of the sixteenth century, and therefore acknowledge the fact that these varying groups of Muslims had been forced to abandon their own religion and to profess Christianity.

In many ways, the Spanish Moriscos were not a homogeneous group. According to Ricardo García Cárcel, “Morisco” is a complex term in the sense that it groups together under one heading various communities and individuals who belonged to distinct socioeconomic groups, professed either Christianity or

⁵ See L. P. Harvey, “The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos.” The Legacy of Muslim Spain, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, pages 201-234, page 202.

⁶ op. cit., page 203.

Islam to varying degrees, and who participated in differing cultural practices depending on the region in which the group lived.⁷ At the socioeconomic level, García Cárcel has stated that the Moriscos of Valencia enjoyed a relatively higher economic status than did those of Cuenca or Castile. Also, there were differences between the ways in which individuals of various communities earned their living: the agricultural dedication of the Valencian Moriscos was in direct contrast to the more nomadic lifestyle of the Moriscos Tagarinos from Aragon. Religious variation was another differentiating factor. Before the forced conversions that took place in Granada and elsewhere during the first half of the sixteenth century, the majority of the Valencian Moriscos formed part of the relatively flexible Sunni creed, while those in Granada were generally Shiite. Linguistically, Aljamiado literature was more typical of Aragon and Castile, but more scarce in Valencia, although the use of Arabic was more prevalent in Valencia. In addition, the dress of the Valencian Moriscos was generally similar to that of the Old Christians of the area, while in Granada Islamic norms of dress were more often maintained. Even though they were among the most resistant to integration, the Moriscos of Valencia shared a long history of close contact with Christian communities dating back to the twelfth century, while the Granadans only had a contact history dating back to 1492. In Catalonia, evidence of Moorish culture had virtually disappeared, which could have been one reason why the Catalan

⁷ "The Course of the Moriscos Up to Their Expulsion", pages 73-74. Translation to English by Esther da Costa-Frankel.

Moriscos found themselves in a favorable position as the expulsion drew near.⁸

But in the midst of these socioeconomic, religious and cultural differences, there was one common thread that connected all these diverse groups—the loss of the independent Muslim kingdom of Granada, which in turn opened the door for Christian rulers to pass edicts aimed at eroding whatever vestigial or overt signs of cultural and religious distinctiveness that the various Morisco communities maintained.⁹

For approximately two and a half centuries prior to the loss of Granada in 1492 C.E., the Peninsula's Muslim population was divided into two distinct sectors: those who inhabited the independent, Arabic-speaking, Muslim Nasrid kingdom of Granada, and those who were known as Mudejars, who lived as subjects of Christian nobles. In broad terms, the Muslim cities that resisted the Christian Reconquest until the end were taken over and their citizens dispersed, while Muslim inhabitants that cooperated and initiated negotiations before the final blow was dealt and their city was overcome by the conquering forces were

⁸ García Cárcel, pages 73-76.

⁹ See L. P. Harvey, "The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos." The Legacy of Muslim Spain, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, pages 201-234, pages 202-212. Harvey asserts that as long as there existed an independent Granada, Moriscos throughout the Peninsula were implicitly guaranteed a modicum of respect. On page 202 of his work, Harvey asserts:

...there were at all times those in the Christian camp those who would have liked to see more done in order to bring about the conversion of their Muslim fellow-countrymen, but such enthusiasm had to be restrained so long as Christians might find themselves in the hands of Muslim rulers.

In his opinion, the Reconquest of Granada was the first step towards eradicating the Muslim presence on the Peninsula.

often permitted to live on as vassals of the Christians. Although the kingdom of Granada had voluntarily surrendered to the Christian monarchy who, in turn, promised the city's inhabitants the freedom to maintain their way of life including their religion, customs, forms of dress and language, within ten years it became evident that such peace and mutual tolerance would be impossible.

For approximately the first eight to nine years after Granada had been conquered by the Catholic monarchy, the city's residents were granted the freedom to maintain their previous way of life as promised under the terms of capitulation to which both sides had agreed. Henry Charles Lea describes the liberal terms of Granada's surrender in the following way:

The final capitulation of the city of Granada was a solemn agreement, signed November 25, 1491, in which Ferdinand and Isabella, for themselves, for their son the Infante Juan and for all their successors, received the Moors of all places that should come into the agreement as vassals and natural subjects under the royal protection, and as such to be honored and respected. Religion, property, freedom to trade, laws and customs were all guaranteed, and even renegades from Christianity among them were not to be maltreated, while Christian women marrying Moors were free to choose their religion. For three years, those desiring expatriation were to be transported to Barbary at the royal expense, and refugees in Barbary were allowed to return. When, after the execution of this agreement, the Moors, with not unnatural distrust, wanted further guarantees, the sovereigns made a solemn declaration in which they swore by God that all Moors should have full liberty to work on their lands, or to go wherever they desired through the kingdoms, and to maintain their mosques and religious observances as heretofore, while those who desired to emigrate to Barbary could sell their property and depart.¹⁰

But towards the closing years of the fifteenth century, Granada's Muslim population found that this was not to be so. Cardinal-archbishop of Toledo

¹⁰ Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, vol. 3, Book 8, Chapter 2 "The Moriscos", page 318.

González de Mendoza, among others, suggested to the Catholic Monarchs that it would be more fitting to give the new subjects one of two options: accept baptism or exile. The sovereigns, however, did not heed this advice at first, perhaps because so little time had passed since the capitulations had been written and they were unwilling to provoke another war, and possibly because Isabella's confessor, Hernando de Talavera, had been made Archbishop of Granada and was showing progress using more lenient conversion methods which included education, proselytizing to the Muslims in their native language, and requiring that his assistants learn Arabic as well.¹¹ But the process of conversion was slow.

Within a short time the Christian rulers chose to seek more immediate results. While Ferdinand and Isabella were in Granada from July until November 1499, they called in Cardinal Ximénez to assist Talavera. Instead of using the same educational approaches that Talavera had been using, Ximénez adopted coercive measures to indoctrinate the Moors and gain the cultural and religious solidarity the monarchy sought. Lea states:

...with liberal presents he [Ximénez] gained the favor of the principal Moors; he held conferences with the alfaquíes, whom he induced to instruct their people and...on December 18th, three thousand were baptized and the mosque of the Albaycin, or Moorish quarter, was consecrated as the church of San Salvador. The stricter Moslems became alarmed and endeavored to check the movement by persuasion, whereupon Ximenes had them imprisoned in chains; he summoned the alfaquíes to surrender all their religious books, of which five thousand--many of them priceless specimens of art--were publicly burnt. The situation was becoming strained; the Moors were restive under the disregard of their guarantees, and Ximenes grew more and more impetuous.¹²

¹¹ op. cit., pages 319-320.

¹² op. cit., page 320.

In a telling example of Ximénez's indifference to the terms of Granada's surrender to the Catholic monarchy, the Cardinal further enraged the town's citizens by disregarding the capitulation rights of the *elches*, or Christians who had converted to Islam, by forcing conversion upon their children. His reasoning for this was that if the *elches'* offspring had not been baptized, they should have been, since their ancestors had been Christian, and hence they must accept Christianity and subject themselves, therefore, to the Inquisition. Ximénez organized a powerful delegation to deal with the *elches* and ordered many arrested. In one recorded incident, a young daughter of a renegade had been arrested and was being dragged through the plaza Bib-el-Bonut. While being dragged, the young girl cried out that she was going to be forcibly baptized in violation of the capitulations. Soon, a crowd of angry citizens gathered and the situation turned violent. The official who had been dragging the girl was murdered, and the agitation increased. The Moors took up arms, fought against the Christians who were attempting the forced conversions and besieged Ximénez in his house. The violence lasted until the next day when the Christian captain Tendilla intervened to disperse the mob. During the next ten days, Talavera, Ximénez and Tendilla held conference with the Moors, whose defense was that they had not risen against their sovereigns but in defense of their faith, and that the officials had violated the capitulations, the observance of which would restore peace. Subsequently, Talavera and Tendilla went to the plaza and publicly promised to pardon the uprising if the Muslim citizens would lay down their arms. They also begged forgiveness and said that since the Muslims were merely trying

to uphold the capitulations, they had not committed an act of treason, and they promised the crowd that the terms of Granada's surrender would be strictly upheld in the future. The citizens became calm and surrendered the men who had murdered the official. These men were hanged and peace resumed. Later, Ximénez was reprimanded at the court at Seville, but pointed out that by rebelling, the Moors had forfeited their right to life and property; hence forgiveness should be based on their acceptance of either baptism or exile.¹³

After this first series of forced conversions, the remaining Moors had been promised forty years' exemption from the Inquisition. But for the most part, the agreement lasted less than ten years. Until the year 1510, the Crown maintained its interest in attempting peaceful conversion and cultural assimilation of its new subjects.¹⁴ Later, violence broke out again and between 1520 and 1521—the Old Christian inhabitants of Valencia rose up against the converted Moors in a rebellion known as the Germanía. In 1525 the Inquisition entered into Valencia and Aragón, and in 1526 into Granada where they confiscated the property of rebellious converts who had risen up against the Monarchy.¹⁵ A series of edicts promulgated between the years 1511-1513, 1526 and 1568 aimed at reducing any outward signs of cultural difference between old and new Christians, and at

¹³ op. cit., page 320. Also see L. P. Harvey, "The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos", pages 203-204 and Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "El epílogo morisco" in Granada. Historia de un país islámico, page 291.

¹⁴ Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "El epílogo morisco" in Granada. Historia de un país islámico, page 302.

¹⁵ op. cit., page 300.

disarming the new converts. These regulations prohibited the use of the Arabic language and names, and of Moorish garments and baths. They stipulated that the (now) Moriscos must use Christian midwives and leave the doors of their houses open during feast-days and weddings, and on Fridays and Saturdays in order to ensure that no Muslim ceremonies were taking place. The edicts disallowed the use of traditional Islamic weapons and forced the Moriscos to burn any remaining holy books in Arabic, to send their children to special schools established to indoctrinate them into Christianity, to name Old Christians as godparents to their children and to use the Christian system of inheritance. On January 1, 1568 an order was issued that would force families to disband and send their children to be educated by Catholic priests.¹⁶ Shortly thereafter, the Granadan Moriscos rebelled in the *Guerra de las Alpujarras* that culminated with their defeat in 1571. Those who had participated in the uprising were punished with dispersion throughout the Peninsula, and *repobladores* [repopulators] were encouraged to come to Granada.¹⁷ Although not all Moriscos in Spain suffered such frequent acts of violence against their ways of life, and in certain circumstances were even protected by the Christian landowners whom they served as vassals, a generalized sense of intolerance seemed to pervade the second half of the sixteenth century. This intolerance culminated in the expulsion decree of September 22, 1609 issued

¹⁶ op. cit., page 302. Also see Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, vol. 3, Book 8, Chapter 2 "The Moriscos", pages 332-336.

¹⁷ op. cit., page 298.

by Phillip III and formed the cultural background in which royal court translator Miguel de Luna lived and worked.

There is only limited biographical information available concerning Miguel de Luna's life. Luna was born in Granada during the second half of the fifteenth century and spent many years working as an official court translator of Arabic in Madrid for both Phillip II and III. Concerning his academic formation, we know that in addition to translating, Luna was trained as a physician.¹⁸ Luna was married to a woman known in his letters as doña María, and who is thought to have been one of Alonso del Castillo's daughters. The couple had at least two children: one son who lived in Spain during the time of the expulsion and to whom Luna refers as "Juanico", and another son who lived and worked in Rome.¹⁹ Their family also seems to have suffered periods of economic hardship. In his letters addressed to the archbishop of Granada, don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones; to the archbishop's assistant, Luis de Vega; and to chaplain Gregorio

¹⁸ F. Javier Puerto, Felipe II (1527-1598) y la terapéutica <http://www.ucm.es/info/folchia/F2.htm>. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Mss. 6149, "Carta enviada al Rey Felipe II acerca de las estufas y baños contra las bubas." In this letter, Luna offers the king his opinion concerning the therapeutic use of baths, which he considered beneficial for those suffering from skin disorders, paralysis or exhaustion, chronic pain, melancholy, tuberculosis and inflammation associated with syphilis.

¹⁹ For information concerning Miguel de Luna's family, see Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez's compilation of letters written by Luna between May 19, 1609 and June 15, 1610. Luna mentions his wife in letters VII, VIII, IX and XVII, his son Juanico in letters XI and XII, and refers to his son who is living in Italy in the greatest majority of the letters Cabanelas has gathered. Cabanelas suggests that Miguel de Luna was related by marriage to Alonso del Castillo in this compilation of letters (page 1), and in his work El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo (page 231).

Morillo, Miguel de Luna expresses concerns about his and his family's financial situation. In nine of the seventeen letters that Cabanelas has discovered, Luna makes reference to his dwindling savings, to the difficulty he is having with supporting his family in Granada while he is working and residing in Madrid, and to the fact that his son who is living in Rome has been helping him find more lucrative work as a physician if Luna chooses to immigrate to Italy.²⁰ On several occasions, Luna reminds the recipients of his letters that he is considering joining his son in Rome unless he can be better compensated for his work in Spain:

...si me muevo a ello [a mudarme a Roma] es porque mi hijo está allá tan bien acomodado y olvidado de volver a España...y con el amor de hijo ha buscado la comodidad que ha menester su padre, y háseme ofrezido tan buena como se puede desear para descansar y ganar de comer muy diferente que en materia de interpretador....Si aquí me hacen comodidad de manera que pueda vivir, no faltaré a V. S^a...y no habiendo, no seré de culpar porque tengo obligación de acudir a mi menester y estoy harto de las cosas de España, porque se vive en ella con mucho trabajo y cada día va empeorando.²¹

[...if I chose to do this it is because my son is so well accommodated there that he no longer thinks about returning to Spain...and because of the love he has for me he has looked into making me comfortable there as well, and I've been offered as comfortable a life there as can be desired so that I might rest and earn my living in a different field than that of interpreting....If I am offered the means here so that I might live comfortably, I will not leave your service, Your Excellency...and if I am not, I should not be blamed because I must see to my own needs and I'm fed up with the things of Spain, because it is only with much work that one can live here and each day the situation worsens.]

²⁰ See letters II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X.

²¹ See letter V of Cabanelas' compilation.

In his most strongly-worded letter dealing with the economic hardships he has had to endure, Luna addresses the archbishop of Granada's assistant, Luis de Vega. In this letter, Luna states:

...que yo çertifico a V. Merçed que estoy tan cansado y gastado que no lo puedo llevar, y sin ayuda de nadie y aun corrido en ver que ni el Rey ni S. S^a ni nadie se acuerda de ayudarme con un real....[D]e mi ida a Roma...no está engañado, que muy buena correspondençia tiene en mi voluntad. Como mi hijo está en Roma y le va tan bien, que me escribe que no se acuerda de venir a España, ha buscado mi comodidad, bien diferente que materia de traducciones....[M]e ha escrito un medico del Papa que yo ganaré allá mucho más que en la Corte de España, ofreciendo amistad.²²

[...and I guarantee you, Your Excellency that I am so tired and exhausted that I can no longer go on, and I'm without anyone's help and even ashamed to see that it neither occurs to the king nor to Your Excellency nor to any other person to help with me with even the tiniest contribution....As to my thoughts of leaving for Rome, don't be fooled, you have heard right. Since my son is in Rome and things are going so well for him, he no longer considers returning to Spain, and has searched for a way for me to be more comfortable, in a profession very different from that of translation...A personal physician of the Pope has written to me in friendship saying that I will earn much more there than in the Court of Spain.]

Bearing in mind the frequency with which Luna reiterates what he perceives as inadequate monetary compensation for the work he is doing, one can only assume that he did not consider himself a wealthy man, and that he was finding it increasingly difficult to support his family the longer he worked in Madrid.

There are other recurring topics in Luna's letters that offer the reader glimpses into his life. On several occasions, Miguel de Luna expressed his desire that the Archbishop begin the process of naming his son Juanico an "hijodalgo", a member of Spain's lesser nobility. In letters XI and XII, Luna asks that Juanico be granted "grados y corona" and in letter XII the father expresses his desire that

²² See letter VII of Cabanelas' compilation.

his son be given this honorific title because it had always a dream of his that Juanico should become part of the Church. In addition to his concern for the future well being of his family and his son Juanico's title, Miguel de Luna also shows a marked preoccupation with questions about the authenticity of the Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte. On several occasions, Luna remarks that foreign interpreters are being called to Spain to provide a second translation of the Libros, and explains that he himself has been asked by secretary Francisco González de Heredia to help find these interpreters.²³ As is well known by modern scholarship, Luna collaborated with Castillo, his father-in-law, in the forged Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana, found on March 19, 1588, and the Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte, which were unearthed in Granada between the end of February, 1595 and December 22, 1599.²⁴ After these texts were made public, the

²³ See letter XVI of Cabanelas' compilation.

²⁴ The Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana was found by a worker in the rubble after the demolition of the Turpiana tower in Granada. The Pergamino was a parchment scroll containing a text written partly in Arabic, partly in Castilian Spanish and partly in Latin that was said to be a prophecy concerning the end of the world. The text was folded in half so that it would fit inside the blackened lead box in which it was found. Also in the box, the worker found a triangular cloth that was said to be the one the Virgin Mary had used to dry her tears during Christ's death, and a bone that was thought to be from the arm of one of the early Church martyrs. Alongside the lead box, the worker also found a stone panel with an image of the Virgin painted on it. The Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte were a series of leaden sheets found in a cave in Granada's Sacromonte by two fortune hunters searching for a lost mine. According to legend, this mine had been closed off by the Christians living in the area after Spain fell to the Moors, so that the enemy would be unable to take advantage of its wealth. The Libros themselves were written in much the same way as the Pergamino. The first two leaden sheets that excavators found were written in Latin and designated the cave as a site where the ashes of early Church martyrs had been buried. Excavators indeed found piles of ashes and several bones, including one thought to be the rib of a deceased martyr, and another long bone that was believed to be from the a

Christianity of both men was questioned by various sources; the two were criticized shortly after their deaths by Francisco de Gurmendi. The archbishop of Granada, don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, defended both men against Gurmendi's accusations in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Monte Libano on June 19, 1618, explaining:

Tuvimos en Granada dos hombres honrados, el licenciado Alonso del Castillo y Miguel de Luna, que interpretaron estos libros; sabían de lengua como los orientales. El Memorial de Granada el intérprete [Gurmendi] dice de estos dos que eran de nación moriscos y tan sospechosos en la fe que el uno de ellos [Luna] mandó le enterrasen fuera del lugar en una ermita, por ser tierra virgen, siguiendo en esto el uso de los moros. Háceles injuria por cierto; no es así. Todos los conocemos en estimación y buena reputación de buenos cristianos católicos.

El Miguel de Luna era hombre de bien, de habilidad e ingenio. Vivió católicamente; murió con todos los sacramentos en casa del secretario Alonso de Valdivia, en un lugar suyo. Tuvo a cargo su hacienda y dio buena cuenta de su administración: *Euge serve bone*, etc. Y Su Majestad le hizo merced como criado suyo y su intérprete de la lengua árabe, y está admitido para hijodalgo en procesos suyos en Granada y como tal goçaba de las libertades de los hijosdalgo y que no fuese presa su persona....²⁵

[In Granada, we had two honorable men, the licentiate Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna, who interpreted these books; they knew the language as well as those from the Middle East. In the *Memorial de Granada* the

martyr's leg, as well as some small, leaden books comprised of a folded lead cover and several wafer-sized loose metal sheets bound together by a lead wire. The inscriptions on these sheets were written in Arabic characters, and according to Thomas E. Case in his article "Honor, Justice and Historical Circumstance in *Amar después de la muerte*", deal with "...doctrines allegedly dictated by the Virgen Mary in Arabic to the Apostle James, who then took them to Granada" (pg. 64). These doctrines were controversial because they privileged Arabic-speaking Christians as being closer to God and Christ, given their shared language and geographical proximity. Miguel de Luna and his father-in-law, Alonso del Castillo were hired to translate the Arabic portions of these texts. For information concerning the polemical nature of the *Pergamino* and the *Libros plúmbeos*, see chapters I and III of Carlos Alonso's study, *Los apócrifos del Sacromonte (Granada): estudio histórico*.

²⁵ Doctrina phisica y moral de principes...tradvzido de arabico en castellano, 1615.

interpreter [Gurmendi] says that these two were Moriscos and therefore as suspect in matters of faith that one of them [Luna] ordered that he be buried outside of the cemetery in a hermitage, being virgin ground, following in this way the customs of the Moors. To say such a thing is certainly an injustice. We all know these two men and hold them in high esteem as being of good reputation as good Catholic Christians.

Miguel de Luna was a good man, able and ingenious. He lived righteously; he died with all the sacraments at the home of secretary Alonso de Valdivia....And Your Majesty did him a great honor by naming him your servant and interpreter of the Arabic language, and he was admitted to the ranks of nobility by formal process in Granada and as such enjoyed the liberties offered to nobility and was never held prisoner....]

Luna's personal reaction to the fact that non-Spanish interpreters were being sought for the purpose of translating the Libros is telling. In letters XI and XII, Luna punctuates his observations concerning the search for worthy translators with the phrase, "¡plega a Dios que sean buenos!" [Let's pray to God that they're good!]. Luna's desire to defend the Libros was strong and he confronted several clergymen who had publicly cast doubt on the books' authenticity. In letter XVI, Luna explains these confrontations thus: "...los dexé tan avergonçados con fuertes razones que no saben qué responder" [...I left them so ashamed with my strong reasoning that they didn't know how to respond]. Luna's rationale for taking such strong action against those who would cast doubt on the Libros is that it is not right to allow such a thing to happen, because an individual of little understanding and faith could be swayed from the path of righteousness and piety by these men's false arguments, thereby losing his eternal soul. In effect, by rebuking those who doubt the authenticity of the Libros plúmbeos, Luna qualifies himself as a protector of Christendom and promotes himself as a member of the Church, which would have been to his benefit in light of the pending accusations

concerning his “hidalguía” or nobility in defense of which he had to supply letters of reference (XVII).

Although little studied, and to a large extent, ignored, by contemporary western literary historians, Miguel de Luna’s most extensive work, La verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo, en la qual se trata la cavsá principal de la perdida de España, y la conquista que della hizo Miramamolín Almançor Rey que fue del Africa, y de las Arabias, y la vida del Rey Iacob Almançor. Compuesta por el sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, de nacion Arabe, y natural de la Arabia Petrea is fundamental for understanding the plight of the Moriscos as the expulsion drew near. Luna published La verdadera historia in 1592 (vol. I) and 1600 (vol. II), during the same period in which the Pergamino and the Libros plúmbeos were first coming to light. In his history, Luna, as “author/translator”²⁶ writes what he calls a “true” account of the first fifty years of the Islamic period of Spanish history. This text has been criticized by nineteenth-century historians George Ticknor and Pascual de Gayangos for being historically and linguistically inaccurate in the extreme: a bold literary forgery of little value. Ticknor describes Miguel de Luna’s history as “...worthless....”²⁷ In his opinion, the Verdadera

²⁶ I wish here to highlight the use and ambiguity of the term “author.” Miguel de Luna explains in his “Prohemio al christiano lector” that he, himself, has been nothing more than an interpreter of another man’s words, namely his fictitious historian, the wise Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique. This assertion was accepted as true until the early 19th century wherein the historical merit of his work was put into question. See Pascual de Gayangos’ 1842 English translation of Ahmed ibn-Mohammed al-Makkari’s Nafhu-t-tîb min ghosni-l-andalusi-r-rattîb wa tárîkh lisánu-d-dîn ibni-l-khattîb (The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain).

²⁷ See George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, page 226, note 56.

historia, as evidenced by its multiple editions (seven to eight, subsequent to initial publication in 1592 [first part] and 1600 [second part]), "...long enjoyed a degree of favor to which it was little entitled" and is best described as "...a...scandalous forgery, with even less merit in its style than...[other chronicles] on the same subject, and without any of the really romantic adventures that sometimes give [a work] interest...."²⁸ He wonders how

Miguel de Luna, who, though a Christian, was of an old Moorish family in Granada, and an interpreter of Phillip II, should have shown a great ignorance of the Arabic language and history of Spain, or, showing it, should yet have succeeded in passing off his miserable stories as authentic....²⁹

Pascual de Gayangos, for his part, classifies the Verdadera historia, its inconsistencies and translated marginal notes as:

...the wretched production of the Morisco Miguel de Luna, whose work, it might be plausibly argued, was intended rather as a hoax upon the grave inquisitors at whose command it was written, than as a history of the Spanish Moslems; inasmuch as his ignorance of the language of his ancestors,--sufficiently evidenced in the etymologies interspersed throughout his work,--cannot adequately account for his not knowing that Ya'kúb Al-mansúr, in whose time he places the invasion of Spain, lived five centuries after that event!³⁰

Gayangos adds that, "[n]o better illustration can be given of the utter contempt in which the study of Arabic literature was held in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, than the fact that this wretched production should have

²⁸ op. cit., page 226, note 56.

²⁹ op. cit., page 226, note 56.

³⁰ See Pascual de Gayangos' 1842 English translation of Ahmed ibn-Mohammed al-Makkarí's Nafhu-t-tíḅ min ghosni-l-andalusi-r-rattíḅ wa táríkh lisánu-d-dín ibni-l-khattíḅ (The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain), page viii.

gone through so many editions....”³¹ But, the concept of what it means to write history has evolved throughout the years, as have our judgments concerning the worth and validity of historical documents.

Ticknor and Gayangos placed importance primarily on the veracity of the work, or rather on how “accurately” the events described reflected an objective reality. Miguel de Luna fails this test. Ticknor also reaffirms and validates the necessity of artistic merit in a work of history, speaking specifically of the “really romantic adventures” that grant other histories a more privileged position within the canon of chronicles. In his opinion, our author fails here as well. Miguel de Luna is accused by Gayangos of the grossest and most blatant oversights and outright mistakes in translating the Arabic terms he uses in his history. But these “equivocations” are not due to any lack of knowledge on Miguel de Luna’s part. It is these very inconsistencies in Luna’s “found” eighth-century Arabic text that afford us a glimpse into his world. This is a world wherein mistaken facts are a form of Freudian slip—a textual example of the liminal condition of the Other’s discourse. Miguel de Luna’s “mistakes” serve as markers pointing the reader towards that which is hidden or repressed within historical discourse.

The epistemological and historiographical slips in the Verdadera historia allow us to participate to some extent in Miguel de Luna’s reasoning and rationale for conceiving such an extensive history. Written fewer than one hundred years after the forced conversions of 1500, in the shadow of the rebellion of the Alpujarras and during a time of royal edicts aimed at destroying any visible trace

³¹ op. cit., page viii.

of “Moorishness” in the Morisco population of Spain—just a few short years before their impending expulsion—Miguel de Luna consciously chose which people and events to include in his history of the Muslim population of Spain. If we trace the relationship between the historicity of the Verdadera historia and where factual history is subordinated to the lesson imparted—Miguel de Luna justifies and validates Moorish Spain, and makes the Moriscos palatable by “Christianizing” them as true Spanish citizens. He accomplishes his (re)presentation within the confines of what it meant to write history in his sixteenth century context. Although Miguel de Luna left behind no explicit account of his true motivation for writing the Verdadera historia, we may speculate that the political climate surrounding his life and literary production was not one he was at liberty to discuss openly. Even when writing to the trusted Archbishop of Seville, who posthumously defended Miguel de Luna and his collaborator in the forged Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte, Luna avoids detailed references to the expulsion of the Moriscos.³²

³² See Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, “Cartas del morisco granadino Miguel de Luna.” Luna may have felt uneasy about openly discussing the expulsion and the events surrounding it. He may well have been a Morisco, and the omission of any reference to the expulsion in his letters to don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones would seem to be unusual, since the Archbishop defended Miguel de Luna and his collaborator, Alonso del Castillo’s honor as valid Catholic citizens of Spain, stressing their “hidalguía” and sincerity as Christians. Just two months after the expulsion was ordered, in a letter to the Archbishop Miguel de Luna avoids the topic completely. Of the seventeen letters Cabanelas has compiled, only one dated Jan. 9, 1610 mentions the expulsion. In this letter, Luna refers to a decree which has been issued and the cases wherein an exemption might be obtained. His only observation concerning the citizens affected by this decree is “¡Dios los tenga en su mano y libre a los buenos de esta tribulación!” See letter XI of Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez compilation.

Luna's purpose in rewriting the history of the Muslim conquest of the Peninsula seems to have been two-fold. In the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna implicitly presents the reader with a portrait of Morisco worth and dignity by offering glimpses into life in Islamic Spain. This re-writing of Muslim, and by extension, Morisco history opens up a discursive "locality"³³ or place wherein the authorial voice can contextualize Morisco history, and therefore identity in a positive light and emphasize the group's worth as citizens of the Crown. Luna's representation of past events, his choice of vocabulary, temporal and spatial setting, and the personages presented in his history all function to emphasize the ancestral nobility and inherent value of Spain's Morisco population, and at times even to subvert Christian ideologies. But this message of Morisco worthiness is a message that could have been perceived as a threat to Old Christian ideology. In order to avoid being perceived as such, Luna's history of Moorish Spain is tempered so as not to alienate an Old Christian reading audience. Luna presents his Muslim personages in ways that would be non-threatening to the reader while he carves out a place for the Moriscos within the more dominant Old Christian sectors of his society. In this way, Miguel de Luna forges a literary space, or "place" wherein new Christians might celebrate their cultural identity while simultaneously being incorporated into their Old Christian context, and thus, avoid expulsion.

³³ See Homi K. Bhabha's chapter, "DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation" in his edited volume Nation and Narration, London and New York, Routledge, 1990, page 28.

The idea of place is complex. To “place” represents a process of categorizing and assigning meaning. Whether evoked in its tangible, physical aspects as it refers to spatial and temporal location, its social implications which allude to circumstance or a sense of belonging, or in its metaphorical dimensions implicit when we speak of a textual or literary space, place is a concept that forges areas of being and non-being, and boundaries or alliances between these areas. The human subject may act as an agent of place, choosing to locate a given object, living thing or thought within a certain time, space, or category of conception. Thus, s/he defines his or her subjective position to said object. I may locate myself in relation to the temporal and conceptual space occupied by that which is outside my individual experience by saying, “*I am here, and it is there. I placed it there yesterday. This place is where it belongs.*” Place, then, encompasses relationships between “...self and other, space and time, subjectivity and objectivity”.³⁴ Since defining place implies a process of fixing self-identity in relation to that which is considered other, placing represents an interactive process which impinges on, and thus changes, the site in which it is set.³⁵ A place is a real or metaphorical location wherein we may find or leave things, depending on our perspective and motives.

³⁴ George Teschner, “The Philosophy of Architecture.” Internet page <http://www.cnu.edu/phil/classes/phil/395/philarch.html>. Professor Teschner is the chair of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Christopher Newport University, Newport News, VA. Much of his work centers on the processes implicit in creating spatial and ideological environments, whether deliberate and tangible, as in his “Philosophy of Architecture” course, or spiritual, as in the realm of Religious Studies.

³⁵ op. cit.

In much the same way as the idea of “place” encompasses the inside and the outside, the self and the other, the “locality” or place of culture, for Homi K. Bhabha, represents a complex, multivalent site in which cultural identity happens or is formed.³⁶ For Bhabha, “[t]he locality of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as ‘other’ in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always itself be a process of hybridity...”.³⁷ The location of culture is therefore seen as a fluid, plural space that is best evidenced in its “...in between spaces through which the meanings of...authority are negotiated.”³⁸ It is from and within this liminal place of discourse, “...between cultures and nations, theories and texts, the political, the poetic and the painterly, the past and the present...”³⁹ that group consciousness unfolds. For Bhabha, the locality of culture is lived in “...strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of ‘the people’ or ‘the nation’ and make them the immanent subjects of a range of social and literary narratives.”⁴⁰ In his opinion, these narratives are produced by the interplay between the collective and the individual. Bhabha sees this collective as a set of constructions of authority which seek to unite together many disparate elements or individuals of differing socioeconomic,

³⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, Nation and Narration.

³⁷ Bhabha, “Introduction: Narrating the Nation.” Nation and Narration, 4.

³⁸ op. cit., page 4.

³⁹ op. cit., page 4.

⁴⁰ op. cit., page 292.

religious, racial, sexual or ideological backgrounds, into one cohesive, imagined mass.⁴¹ Together, these once scattered entities comprise "...a time of gathering....Gathering the past in a ritual of [group] revival."⁴² Bearing in mind Bhabha's description of the liminal places wherein culture is found, we may understand our process of fixing "place" and identifying "locality" as one of narrating the self in relation to that which is considered external. Through the various unifying discourses which function as a type of "...social cement...plastering over the underlying cracks in the social fabric and hiding them from view",⁴³ we construct stories that represent who we are, where we came from, and what our relationship is to those other than ourselves. We narrate stories that represent the locality or place wherein our identity finds expression. Homi Bhabha's use of the term "locality", therefore, refers to the ideological sites or places in which one may discern a confluence of the unique experiences of "the many" within the collective voice of the authoritative "one" and vice versa.⁴⁴

With the understanding that a group will construct stories that serve as the "social cement" that emphasizes its unity and oneness, we may begin to analyze the types of narrative appropriate for the building of group identity. One of the

⁴¹ op. cit., pages 295-7.

⁴² op. cit., page 291.

⁴³ Kenneth Thompson, Beliefs and Ideology. Chapter two, "Social Cement", pages 30-65.

⁴⁴ Bhabha, "DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation." Nation and Narration, page 294-7. Bhabha titles this section, "Out of many one."

most common forms is the writing of a community's collective history as a nation. Nation, for Homi Bhabha, is a product of what Benedict Anderson has defined as an "imagined community." Anderson asserts that "...nation states...always loom out of an immemorial past and glide into a limitless future....[Nation] has to be understood...with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being."⁴⁵ The Western idea of Nation as a powerful historic ideal is maintained, according to Bhabha, as the result of socially significant, repeated myths that a given people share in common. He states, "...it is from...traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges...in the impossible unity of...[its] symbolic force."⁴⁶ The myths that work together to create this sense of shared community are many, and not all theorists agree as to their respective importance. Timothy Brennan, like Benedict Anderson and Homi Bhabha, affirms that the idea of Nation depends on shared narratives or myths for its existence. He quotes Bronislaw Malinowski's definition of the function of "myth" as a:

‘charter’ [for the present-day social order that]...supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...[the] function [of which is] to strengthen tradition and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, page 19.

⁴⁶ Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation." Nation and Narration, page 1.

⁴⁷ Original quote taken from Bronislaw Malinowski's "Myth in Primitive Psychology", Magic, Science and Religion, quote taken from page 146. Timothy Brennan quotes Malinowski in his article "The national longing for form", Nation and Narration, pages 44-70. Reference taken from page 45.

A myth, therefore, is a narrative constructed in that “immemorial past” to which Anderson refers as being the engendering site of Nation, and which cannot be questioned because of its distance from the here and now.⁴⁸ Therefore, because of its genesis in common, group narratives, or “myths”, the concept of Nation cannot be scientifically defined. Formed on the basis of myth’s retrospective values and order, according to Ernest Renan, a “...nation is a soul, a spiritual principal...[which possesses] a rich legacy of memories...a heroic past, great men, common glories and will, geography, race, language, material interest, religious affinities and military necessity....[National myths represent] a moral consciousness.”⁴⁹

To Renan’s description of the components which serve to characterize the idea of the national whole, Timothy Brennan adds more discursive aspects of the collective’s identity: legend, oral tradition, folklore and songs, storytelling, news, and forms of written language which include epic and the novel (44-60). Each element helps to conceptualize the place or location of Nation, although none alone is sufficient for determining national essence.⁵⁰ The shaping of Nation is a reciprocal process enacted not only through the remembrance of shared myths and consciousness, but also through forgetting. According to Renan, “[f]orgetting...is

⁴⁸ Timothy Brennan, “The national longing for form”, Nation and Narration, pages 44-70. Reference taken from page 45.

⁴⁹ Ernest Renan, “What is a nation?”, Nation and Narration, pages 8-22. Quote taken from pages 19-20.

⁵⁰ Timothy Brennan, “The national longing for form”, Nation and Narration, page 49.

a crucial factor in the creation of a nation...the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things.” (11). Therefore, a people may choose to emphasize its commonality while eliding its differences.

One of the most fundamental ways in which a group articulates its own self-defining myths is through the writing of its national history. But narrating history can never be undertaken in a void. In order for a particular history to make sense to the reader, it must convey an overall narrative coherence, although “...this coherence is achieved only by a tailoring of the ‘facts’ to the requirements of the story form.”⁵¹ Such selective tailoring demands that the historian choose to include or to “...give up one or more of the domains of facts offering themselves for inclusion in [his] accounts.”⁵² According to Tom Conley in his introduction to The Writing of History, “...[historical] discourse...[is] a force that bears upon the shaping of the past...”⁵³ and therefore betrays modes of appropriation, or “...forces of...legitimation that invariably reflect the investments the current time places in the past for the purpose of its own [the current time’s] advancement.”⁵⁴ The historic, mythic past of the group, or nation, does not exist empirically. It is brought to light and remembered after being filtered through the historian’s

⁵¹ Hayden White. “The Historical Text as Literary Artifact”, pages 81-100 of Tropics of Discourse. Quote found on page 91.

⁵² op. cit., page 90.

⁵³ Tom Conley, Introduction to The Writing of History, by Michel de Certeau. Quote taken from page ix.

⁵⁴ op. cit., page xi.

subjective language as well as through the narrative constraints of storytelling. It is within this realm of discourse that we may examine and question the relationship between historian and the material presented. The historian organizes a coherent narrative out of discrete facts or events, but cannot avoid leaving behind his or her own fingerprint.

Given that the historian must strive to articulate to his/her reader a unified recounting of isolated events, the story must be narrated from a point of shared understanding, a tradition, or rather, by consciously including meaningful signifiers and excluding information that might be perceived as nonessential or confusing. This privileging of certain facts over others points to the range of underlying agendas, which inform the historian's decision concerning what to include, or not in an historical account. As with the necessary remembering/forgetting implicit in the creation of a sense of national or group identity, history requires choices about what is presented or silenced, and within what context. This plurality points to an author's formulae for emplotting or encoding the facts, which convey meaning within the history.⁵⁵ Many times, hidden or secondary meaning is found unexpectedly in "...the 'story' contained in

⁵⁵ In this dissertation, I am not employing the term "emplotment" according to Hayden White's usage, which centers on the re-codification of historical discourse within the boundaries of recognizable literary genres. My use of the term stems from the broader connotations of the word, meaning simply, the context in which a reference or personage appears.

the evidence or ...the 'true' story that [is] buried in or hidden behind the 'apparent' story."⁵⁶

Such is the case with Miguel de Luna's pseudo-history of the Moorish conquest of Spain. As our author recounts what he claims is a "true" record of the first fifty years of Spain's Islamic period, he simultaneously calls into question his reader's preexisting understanding of historical personages and situations, common legends, religious figures and social prejudices in relation to the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula and to many commonly-held perceptions concerning the Moriscos.⁵⁷ By choosing to re-position certain historical and traditional

⁵⁶ Hayden White. "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact", pages 81-100 of Tropics of Discourse. Quote taken from page 84.

⁵⁷ One must note that the term "ideology" is polemic and has been discussed and defined/re-defined by many scholars, each according to the distinct purpose of his or her work. Göran Therborn has discussed ideologies as a type of social phenomenon rooted in discourse, which supports/is supported by, and engenders/is engendered by everyday ideas and experiences, and which affects and informs intellectual doctrines (The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, 2). Therborn refers specifically to the Marxist theory of ideology, which encompasses the State's use of religious discourse as a method of controlling the activities of the population, and which can also be used by the people to contest social domination. He states: "[t]he operation of ideology in human life basically involves the constitution and patterning of how human beings live their lives as conscious, reflecting initiators of acts in a structured, meaningful world..." (15). Kenneth Thompson, in Beliefs and Ideology, draws correlations between the work of Durkheim and that of Althusser concerning the definition of ideology as "...systems of representation—composed of concepts, ideas, myths, or images—in which people live their imaginary relations to the real conditions of existence" (24). Both Durkheim and Althusser conceive of ideology as a universal dimension of social life, whose universality derives from its socially cohesive function (Thompson, 23). Ideologies are therefore routinized features of social interaction that become internalized through the human subject's socialization, defining him/her and ordering the world in a shared expression of values and beliefs. See Emile Durkheim, The Evolution of Educational Thought, trans. P. Collins and Louis Althusser, "Ideology and

figures within unexpected or unusual contexts, Miguel de Luna comments on the sociopolitical environment in which he himself lived, while he simultaneously veils his observations in the historical past he re-presents.

One of the most interesting characteristics of the Verdadera historia is its expression of inherent Morisco value and dignity that underlies the events narrated. Miguel de Luna chooses to recontextualize both traditionally Christian and Islamic figures, at times juxtaposing one against the other, in such a way as to bring into question Christian Spain's claim to supremacy, while representing the Moor, and hence, his descendent the Morisco, in an acceptable light for a Christian reading audience. Miguel de Luna achieves this goal in several ways, which will be examined in this dissertation.

In order for his history to be accepted as true, it was necessary for Miguel de Luna to frame his text in such a way as to meet sixteenth- and seventeenth-century generic expectations associated with historiography. Chapter One is entitled "Truth and History: Writing and Re-writing The Past" and addresses issues concerning the significance of writing, re-writing and re-contextualizing "true" historical discourse. The fact that Luna presents his text as a "true" history serves the purpose of justifying and legitimating his act of textual production, as well as defining the artistic boundaries of its elaboration. In compliance with the norms that governed historiography during his life, Miguel de Luna bases his work on archival investigation, invents an appropriate narrative voice for his

Ideological State Apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, trans. Ben Brewster.

history, relates an account that can be considered morally exemplary by his reader, and presents his history within a plausible context for his audience. Legitimated both artistically and ideologically, the final product is then worthy of attention and regard. Luna's fictitious narrator, Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, is a first-hand witness to the events described in the history. He is a soldier of modest military rank and character, who was ordered to write his account by his superiors, and therefore is seen as less susceptible to the vices of pride. The "truth" of the Verdadera historia also lies in its moral lessons, sometimes to a greater extent than the facts presented. This subordination of empirical evidence to the lesson is one of the characteristics of a worthy or "true" narration. In his elaboration of the historical events surrounding the Visigoth "loss" of Spain to the Moors, Miguel de Luna relies heavily on the legend of Rodrigo, the last of the Visigothic kings. Luna portrays Rodrigo as sinful and corrupt. The Christian king forces the daughter of his vassal don Julián into a sexual encounter, tries to poison his nephew Sancho, who is in reality the legitimate ruler of Visigothic Spain, and encourages the clergy to take lovers. Given the decadent morality evidenced by Rodrigo and the fact that he was not the rightful sovereign of the Peninsula, his reign is therefore considered illegitimate and cruel. Hence, the loss of Spain to the Moors was inevitable. Compared with the last Visigothic king, the Muslim conquerors—especially Ailgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almanzor—show themselves to be compassionate and just in their dealings with the country's natives. It is via this anachronistic juxtaposition of Rodrigo and Almanzor that Miguel de Luna draws the reader's attention to the morality of Muslim rule in

Spain. As has been noted by Ticknor, the historical Iacob Almanzor lived approximately four hundred and fifty years after the conquest of Spain, not during Rodrigo's reign as Luna suggests. The Almanzor to whom the Verdadera historia seems to refer is another. During the tenth century in Al-Andalus, there lived one of the most outstanding rulers in the history of the Islamic period in Spain, Muhammad Ibn Abí Amir, later to be known as Al-Mansur (or Almanzor). His was a period of great splendor and cultural educational activities flourished under his command.⁵⁸ Miguel de Luna chooses to lift this Almanzor out of historical context and include him as a principal character in the Verdadera historia.

Miguel de Luna also reclaims the worth of Spain's Islamic civilization and portrays the Moors' descendents, the Moriscos, in a positive light through the reemplotment of specific historical and traditional figures in relation to others. This repositioning of recognizable figures takes place within ideologically charged contexts, and is a process which draws attention to an inherent Moorish, hence Morisco, identity and worth. Chapter Two is entitled "Justification and Legitimation: (Re)presentational Tactics." This chapter analyzes what Miguel de Luna's reworking of culturally significant figures implies in terms of (re)presenting Morisco identity. By repositioning specific individuals and groups within unexpected contexts, Miguel de Luna calls upon the reader to question his or her own pre-existing conceptions about religious, political, and social prejudices. In the Verdadera historia, Luna takes Visigothic king Rodrigo out of

⁵⁸ See Angel Espinosa Durán's book, Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Victorioso por Allah.

his role as traditional hero and recontextualizes him as a negative model. This recontextualizing functions to call the reader's attention to the integrity and high moral standards of king Auilgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almançor. Luna also reemplots religious references and metaphors that serve as a foundation for a sense of Morisco community in that they assert the mixed cultural heritage of the group. One example of Luna's re-writing of recognized religious references and figures is evidenced in his shrouded disavowal of the possibility of virgin birth.⁵⁹ Besides questioning the validity of the Immaculate Conception, Miguel de Luna uses the ideologically charged image of the Virgin to allude to the oppression, subjugation and potential cultural annihilation of the Moriscos. Luna associates a Moorish woman, "Lela Marién" with the death of a mixed-blood baby, which can be seen as a foreshadowing of the Moriscos' destiny. This example blends both Biblical and Qur'anic contexts in an effort to create a signifying space wherein the Morisco plight can be brought to light.

The third chapter is entitled "Undesirables or Worthy Citizens? (Re)presenting Common Conceptions About the Morisco." This chapter investigates commonly-voiced literary prejudices concerning the Morisco population by Old Christians in Spain and the ways in which the Verdadera historia refutes and (re)presents such images. Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra suggests two strategies that late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century authors employed in representing the Moriscos: supporters and apologists of the

⁵⁹ See page 163L. Miguel de Luna relates part of pre-Islamic Spain's folklore wherein mares are impregnated without copulation.

expulsion order of September 22, 1609, and those who covertly criticized the royal decree.⁶⁰ Those who supported the idea of ridding Spain of its Morisco community formed the greatest majority. In the opinion of many historical writers of the time, the Morisco was much more a Muslim than a Christian and therefore could not be assimilated. In the Verdadera historia, he takes the negative preconceptions concerning the Moriscos which circulated in the historical works of his time and (re)presents them in positive, acceptable contexts for a Christian reader by the ways in which he portrays the Moors of his history. Whereas the Morisco is thought to be miserly, Almanzor is generous with all his subjects. Instead of living in a state of ignorance as many Christian authors were inclined to assert concerning the Moriscos, the Muslim king demonstrates the love for science, philosophy and all other aspects of learning which historically characterized Spain's Islamic period. Miguel de Luna's Moors and hence, the Moriscos, are not cruel, vengeful or dishonest. They are noblemen and women, not peasants; they are interested in science and are not superstitious as are the Christians who believe that the winds of Andalucía can impregnate mares without copulation. The Moors of the Verdadera historia are also men of their word. They keep their promises, even to those who are conquered. Finally, in the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna shows his Moorish converts to Christianity to be steadfast in the face of religious persecution whereas the Moriscos were continually accused of being apostates. The young Muslim woman Zahra

⁶⁰ Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: Historiografía de un grupo marginado, pages 13-16.

Benalyaça converts to Christianity in order to become Rodrigo's wife. On several occasions in Luna's history, she is persecuted but refuses to recant. Eventually, Zahra dies a martyr to her new faith, effectively re-writing Old Christian Spain's view of the Morisco as a heretic and apostate.

The fourth chapter, entitled, "(Re)writing the Noble Moor", examines the ways in which Miguel de Luna (re)presents Morisco identity in comparison with the characteristics of the Moorish novel, specifically, the anonymous El Abencerraje, Ginés Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles de Granada and the story of Ozmín and Daraja in Mateo Aleman's Guzmán de Alfarache. In both these works and the Verdadera historia, there is little question as to the inherent nobility, moral integrity and refined nature of Muslim civilization and its inhabitants in Spain. In this respect, Miguel de Luna's history and the Moorish novel share some of the same, basic representational strategies. The protagonists are members of noble families whose lineage is unquestioned, and they exhibit the virtues associated with their station. Loyalty to one's rightful sovereign, allegiance to love, and concern for honor are all traits shared by the Moorish personages of both the Moorish novel and the Verdadera historia.⁶¹ But Luna's Moors are not represented by a fetishized emphasis on external markers as are those of the Moorish novel. In this way, Miguel de Luna subverts the literary norms governing the representation of the genre's Moor. In direct opposition to the detailed image of Abindarráez's vestments in El Abencerraje, we see in the Verdadera historia that the Moor isn't defined by his clothes or other outward

⁶¹ Se María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti's The Moorish Novel, chapter four.

trappings, but rather by the inner characteristics that mark the sincerity of his soul. Instead of presenting his Muslim protagonists as weeping for the lands, loves, families and life they had lost, Luna presents his Moors as possessing a virile strength that subdues and civilizes. The physical, geographical spaces seized by the Muslim forces are described as precious treasures in the Verdadera historia—fertile places of abundance that form part of Islamic Spain. This affects the description of the Moor himself. Whereas Abindarráez of the Abencerraje has lost his kingdom to traitors within, and seems to regain Jarifa only with the help of the Christian Narváez, the Moors in the Verdadera historia represent the dominant political and social power. The Moor in Miguel de Luna's work is by all standards noble, but is also described in terms of what he has won instead of what he has lost. These differences are telling reminders of the inner strength and value of the Morisco in Spain.

Above all, Miguel de Luna's work is a history of the Islamic conquest of Spain, not of the Christian Reconquest. In fact, the definitive beginning of the Reconquest is precisely where the Verdadera historia ends. Luna's history is legitimated according to the same norms and expectations, which would govern any other history presented as true in sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Spain. Through his re-working of recognized literary, social, religious and political figures, Miguel de Luna author builds a specifically Morisco space—not entirely Christian or Muslim—using the group's most salient moments in the history of its contributions to Spanish society. The Verdadera historia stresses a sense of worth and pride in the nobility and grandeur of Almanzor's reign as the greatest king of

all the Moorish rulers, and Luna deftly juxtaposes Christian and Moorish figures in such a way as to create a composite, or mixed space of signification alternative to the dominant Christian representation of Spanish history.

CHAPTER II

TRUTH AND HISTORY:
WRITING AND RE-WRITING THE PAST

Based on modern conventions, there is little in Miguel de Luna's Verdadera historia that can be considered "true history". Although many of the dates and facts he presents are corroborated independently in other historical documents, there are also events and personages of primary importance in Luna's narration that are taken out of their known historical context and re-emplotted within fictitious circumstances. Examples of Luna's melding of history and fiction include: the profile our author offers his readers of the last Visigothic king Rodrigo and the unfortunate object of this monarch's desire, count Julián's daughter Florinda; his fictitious account of Muslim king Aulqualit Miramamolin Iacob Almançor's life and the sovereign's equally fictitious biographer, Ali Abençufian; and the fact that the Verdadera historia itself is a forgery written by Miguel de Luna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not by the author to whom he attributes the work, Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, who was supposed to have written the text shortly after the Arabic conquest of 711. In general, Luna's strategies for representing important figures and events that formed part of the Islamic conquest and occupation of the Iberian Peninsula contradict what post-nineteenth century historiography would most likely term as "truth" in historical narration. But the criteria for classifying what constituted true historical discourse during Luna's life is different than that which is used to define it today. For many of Luna's contemporaries, the "truth" of a given history often rested on

criteria other than a mere relation of events and dates. The validity of the moral lesson contained within the historian's narration; the personality, formal training and individual characteristics of historian himself, and the extent to which the writer of history created a believable, and hence "truthful" narration through his use of detailed facts and ethno-geographic information concerning his topic comprised what many Spanish Early modern historians considered the basis of proper, "true" historical discourse.¹

Contemporaries of Miguel de Luna such as Luis Vives, Juan Páez de Castro, Sebastián Fox Morcillo, Juan Costa, Baltasar de Céspedes, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas not only wrote histories, but also authored commentaries, or manuals, which outlined the expectations and conventions that defined the writing of history in their time. They specify what authorized court historians considered to be the mechanics and philosophy of how and why history should be written: who should participate in history's transmission, the appropriate subject matter and literary style for writing history,

¹ It is worthy of mention that other criteria for writing true historical discourse existed during this period, in addition to the norms that this chapter will address. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish authors who outlined the conventions for writing history also spoke of the artistic style employed by the historian, and of the proper use of classical models. In this chapter, I have chosen to limit my analysis of the ways in which Miguel de Luna legitimates his history as a "true" account of the Islamic conquest to the criteria which most affect the narration's content, rather than those which govern its form. See Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's De historia: para entenderla y escribirla for an outline of the stylistic constraints which affected the production of history in Early modern Spain.

and the characteristics that constitute “truth” in historical discourse.² For these authors, writing history meant more than recording isolated incidents and facts. The historian found it necessary to be at times as much an ethnographer and teacher as a compiler of discrete dates, names and places. In this chapter, I will analyze the implications of Miguel de Luna’s choice to frame his text explicitly as a “true history” of the first fifty years of the Islamic period in Spanish history, based on the criteria set forth by other Early modern historians. To this end, it will first be necessary to discuss briefly the term “genre” and what its use implies in terms of framing the reader’s perception of a given text. Next, I will lay out a concise orientation to the various authors who wrote manuals for writing history in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. Last, in order to understand the ways in which Miguel de Luna’s history conforms to, and differs from these “true” models of historical discourse, I will then focus specifically on the works of two historians and writers of historiographical methodologies: Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (1559-1623) and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1559-1625). The methodologies of these two authors are representative of the general guidelines that governed the production of history during their time. Both men served as royal historians to the court of Philip II at the time that Miguel de Luna was writing his Verdadera historia under the guise of his position as translator to the Crown. Although their experiences and works differ somewhat, the expectations and characteristics of historical discourse as outlined by both Cabrera and Herrera

² Santiago Montero Díaz, “Estudio preliminar” in his edition of Cabrera de Córdoba’s De historia: para entenderla y escribirla.

coincide. During their own time and into the modern period, Cabrera has typically enjoyed a more wide-ranging fame than Herrera as one of the most prominent writers of history in Early modern Spain. Part of Cabrera's fame seems to have stemmed from the rigid sense of professional integrity which he exercised by refusing to publish the second part of his Historia de Felipe II with the revisions that Philip III had required.³ In contrast, Herrera is generally less-often cited than Cabrera, although the facts of his life suggest that he was equally well respected at court. Herrera was instrumental in attempting to define what has been termed "...forms of historical discourse which would be admissible in the Counter-Reformation Empire."⁴ As *cronista mayor de las Indias* [Chief Royal Chronicler of the Indies], Herrera held a position of unique responsibility for censoring historical works concerning the New World which circulated

³ op. cit., page XXXIX. Santiago Montero Díaz summarizes this event:

Cuando [Cabrera] intentó editar la segunda parte de esta obra, los diputados de Aragón formularon una queja, por entender que les infería agravio en su manera de tratar las jornadas de 1591, en relación con la fuga de Antonio Pérez. Después de una serie de gestiones, Felipe III autorizó la publicación, pero imponiendo a Cabrera que aceptase la revisión y enmiendas de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.

[When [Cabrera] attempted to edit the second part of this work, the Aragonese representative filed a complaint, based on their understanding of an inferred grievance directed toward them concerning his representation of the Congress of 1591, in relation to Antonio Pérez's flight. After a series of negotiations, Phillip III authorized the work's publication, but obliged Cabrera that he accept the revision and amendments of Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.]

Cabrera declined, and the work remained unpublished.

⁴ Diane Sieber, Historiography and Marginal Identity in Sixteenth-Century Spain, page 10.

throughout Spain.⁵ This position of censorship demonstrates the degree of influence and official respect which Herrera's professional opinions had earned him during his lifetime. The importance of Herrera's work is further emphasized in that his Primera parte de las varias epistolas, discursos y Tractados de Antonio de Herrera a diuersos Claros Varones las quales contienen muchas materias vtiles para el gouierno Politico y militar⁶ implies a re-evaluation of the histories prepared by his contemporaries and predecessors, and is therefore useful in outlining the changing attitudes towards what constituted "true" and "fictional" works and genres in seventeenth-century Spain.

According to Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, genre is a way of classifying and "...sorting out conventionalized discourse...on the basis of form, function, content, or some other factor or set of factors."⁷ The styles associated with different genres can thus be understood as "...constellations of co-occurrent formal elements and structures that define or characterize particular classes of utterances"⁸, and whose "...constituent elements...may figure in other speech styles as well, establishing indexical resonances between them."⁹ The "indexical

⁵ op. cit., page 63, footnote 49.

⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 1035.

⁷ Richard Bauman, "Contextualization, tradition, and the dialogue of genres: Icelandic legends of the *kraftaskáld*", pgs. 125-145 of Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon. Quote taken from page 138. Also see Briggs and Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power."

⁸ Briggs and Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power", pg. 141.

⁹ op. cit., page 141.

resonances” of which Briggs and Bauman speak can be seen in the relationship between the individual discursive elements that constitute a particular genre for a given society and the framing discourse that encompasses them. For example, the use of elements normally associated with poetry or theatre within a novel would be indicative of genres in contact with each other owing to the elements’ simultaneous use within the same constitutive structure.¹⁰ Given Briggs and Bauman’s description of what constitutes a genre, we understand the concept as a convention formulated on the basis of traditionalized norms.¹¹ This idea leads to several suggestive assumptions. Since genre is traditionalized, it is therefore social, given that traditions gain meaning and strength because they are recognized, agreed upon and enacted by individuals and groups within a community. Understood as a social practice, then, generic classifications of utterances imply a set of characteristics which are imbued with meaning and whose presence invokes the discourses which precede it and contribute to that meaning. Therefore, when a given author chooses to encode his or her work as a sonnet, for example, or a play, a diary entry, a novel or a history, s/he enters into dialog with the traditional, generic partners which came before and will come

¹⁰ op. cit.

¹¹ I have chosen to use the term “traditional” according to Richard Bauman’s definition of the term. In his article, “Contextualization, tradition, and the dialogue of genres: Icelandic legends of the *kraftaskáld*”, Bauman defines tradition as “...a symbolic construction by which people in the present establish connections with a meaningful past and endow particular cultural forms with value and authority” (*Rethinking Context*, page 128). Although not necessarily “traditional” in the sense of having been passed down orally from one generation to the next, the placement of a specific work within a particular genre depends on the literary pieces which precede it, and how it is contextualized within the author’s and readers’ minds.

after his/her text, as well as the social messages which are implicit in and evoked by the type of work s/he chooses to create. Bearing these assumptions in mind, the fact that Miguel de Luna chose to represent his Verdadera historia as a “true history” instead of as a work of poetry, a commentary, a *relación* or as letters concerning the Muslim conquest of Spain, is important for our understanding the impact of his work. An author’s choice of literary genre is a classificatory act that represents a process of lexical labeling which is itself a contextualization process. Miguel de Luna’s choice to contextualize his work as a history implies a different set of generic expectations and distinct modes of transmitting knowledge than if he were to have chosen another discursive form. Since the norms for writing history are distinct from those employed in writing other literary genres, the manner in which the reader relates to the text and interprets its meaning is different as well. As Hugh Mehan has succinctly stated, “...different discourses constitute the world differently.”¹² Luna’s contextualization of his narration within the generic category of history, and his qualification of it as “true” afford his work a greater sense of veracity and authority than would otherwise have been possible in the eyes of his audience, thereby legitimizing the narrated events in his reader’s mind.

¹² “The Construction of an LD Student: A Case Study in the Politics of Representation”. Natural Histories of Discourse, pages 253-276. Quote taken from page 274.

The Art of Writing History in Early Modern Spain

Sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Spanish historians sought to articulate their own approaches to the nature of historical discourse during their time. The works of Vives, Páez de Castro, Fox Morcillo, Costa, Céspedes, Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, which encompassed the last half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, offer valuable insights into the period's views concerning what were considered to be the appropriate norms for writing history. These authors hold in common the premise that one of the most basic factors for conceptualizing and defining history was the relationship between historical study and all other forms of human learning. To varying degrees, each of these historians also commented on the literary style, subject matter, specific thematic components, and the ultimate purpose, which in their minds befitted an endeavor as great as the recording and preservation of past events for future generations. The historian was entrusted with forging a collective memory of the sovereign, of his or her actions, and of both society and social customs. His work was often considered exemplary in nature. At times a given history would emphasize the legitimacy of the Spanish ruling system by tracing the Peninsula's "...inclusion in and contributions to the Roman Empire"¹³,

¹³ See Diane Sieber's work, Historiography and Marginal Identity in Sixteenth-Century Spain, page 20. Although she refers specifically to the contextualization of historical discourse commonly employed in the early sixteenth century as a way of legitimating and emphasizing the antiquity of the Monarchy by restructuring the royal genealogy, it is safe to say that the use of this specific trope spanned centuries.

or serve as a repertoire of important moral lessons from which the reader could draw.

To historians such as Luis Vives and Baltasar de Céspedes, history was both a science and an art that represented the culmination of humankind's experience and knowledge throughout time and across geographical and intellectual boundaries. Like Juan Costa, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba and others, Céspedes emphasized the historian's need for an exhaustive, wide-ranging academic foundation, as well as history's role in the development of other fields of study. In his Discurso de las letras humanas, llamado El humanista, Céspedes draws his reader's attention to what he sees as a necessary relationship between history and linguistic study: "[necesita de la historia] el gramático, para la parte más principal de su facultad, que es la etimología y origen de los vocablos" [the grammarian needs history for the most fundamental part of his study, which is the etymology and origin of words].¹⁴ In explaining Vives' philosophy of history, Santiago Montero Díaz summarizes thus:

[Para Vives, t]odo, en definitiva, se resuelve en la Historia. Sin ella no podrá abordarse plenamente ningún aspecto del conocimiento humano; todo cuanto existe entre los hombres posee una función histórica en cuanto que está producido en el tiempo y subordinado a él. Así, las artes, el Derecho y, "en una palabra, todas las artes y ciencias, lo mismo la Medicina que el Derecho, la Teología y otras, no son más que partes de la Historia, del contenido de la Historia."¹⁵

¹⁴ Edition by Antonio Fernández, Madrid, 1784, page 55.

¹⁵ "Estudio preliminar", De historia: para entenderla y escribirla, page XVIII-XIX. Note that Montero Díaz quotes Mariano Usón Sesé, "El concepto de la Historia en Luis Vives" in the Revista universidad 3 (1925): 517.

[In Vives' opinion], in short, everything comes down to history. Without it, there is no aspect of human knowledge that can be undertaken; everything that exists among men possesses an historical function in that it is produced in time, and subordinated to it. Therefore, the arts, law, and "in a word, all arts and sciences, as much medicine as law, theology and others, are nothing more than parts of history, than the contents of history].

In addition to the belief that the study of history encompassed all other fields of endeavor and expressions of the human condition, like many other Early modern Spanish historians, Vives' approach to writing history also included the assumption that there existed different, distinct types of histories, and that some histories should be privileged over others. Vives proposed a hierarchy of historical knowledge with relations concerning civil matters and the history of man's thought and civilization taking precedence over accounts of purely military and political matters (Montero Díaz XIX).

Another Early modern Spanish historian, Juan Páez de Castro, focused his manual for writing history primarily on the fundamental problems of methodology and criticism, as well as the concept of "truth" in historical discourse. In his Método para escribir la Historia, Páez outlines "...un esquema ambicioso de propósitos historiográficos y criterios para realizarlos" [an ambitious outline of historiographic objectives and the criteria for attaining them].¹⁶ In Páez's opinion, the historian must conceive of and write history "...con majestad y grandeza...[para que] el estilo...no sea estrecho ni corto de razones, ni menos tan entonado que se pueda leer a son de trompeta...sino

¹⁶ op. cit., page XXIII. Montero Díaz cites Páez from a larger work entitled, De las cosas necesarias para escribir Historia which was published in Ciudad de Dios, 1892, n. 28, pages 601-610, and n. 29, pages 27-37, ed. P. Fr. Eustasio Esteban.

extendido y abundante, con un descuido natural que parezca que estaba dicho”
 [...with majesty and greatness...[so that] the style...is not austere or lacking, or even worse, so elevated that it needs to be read to the sound of a trumpet...but rather full and abundant with a natural nonchalance which makes it seem as if it had been spoken].¹⁷ Above all, the historian should explain the origins of the events narrated and offer the reader an educated judgment concerning the justness of the manner in which the events took place. Páez states that history:

...ha menester ir acompañada de tiempo y lugar, explicar las causas que en el consejo movieron a que comenzasen, después qué medios se tomaron para conseguir el fin que deseaban...el historiador es obligado a tratar en qué se acertó y en qué no, y por qué razón...que es grande parte de la Historia, y al fin el efecto que hicieron.¹⁸

[...should be accompanied by time and place, and an explanation of the causes which are believed to have lead to the events, next, the steps which were taken to achieve the desired goal...the historian is obligated to examine what turned out well, and what did not, and for what reason...which forms a great part of history, and finally, the effect that was made.]

In addition to explaining the events surrounding his narration of the past, Páez suggests that the historian should strive to verify the truth of his or her interpretation of history:

[c]omo escribir Historia no sea cosa de invención ni de solo ingenio, sino también de trabajo y fatiga para juntar las cosas que se han de escribir, es necesario buscarlas....Ir tomando relaciones de personas antiguas y diligentes, leer las memorias de piedras públicas y letreros de sepulturas, desenvolver registros antiguos de notarías donde se hallen pleitos de Estado, testamentos de reyes y grandes hombres y otras muchas cosas que hacen a la Historia; revolver librerías de colegios y monasterios y abadías; ver los

¹⁷ Páez, page 608-609.

¹⁸ op. cit., page 27

archivos de muchas ciudades para saber sus privilegios y dotaciones y propios, y sus fueros y ordenanzas.¹⁹

[[s]ince writing history is not a matter of invention nor of one's own imagination, but rather one of hard work and fatigue in order to bring together the things which need to be written, it is necessary to look for these things....Go interview mature, diligent people, read that which is remembered in public documents and inscriptions on graves, pour through the old registers of notaries where legal cases of the state, testaments of kings and great men and many other things which make history can be found; turn over libraries of schools, monasteries and abbeys; read the archives from many cities in order to find out about the privileges and donations which were made to them, to their outskirts and municipalities.]

Páez's idea of "truth" in historical narration called for a writing style worthy of such an undertaking, the use of verifiable facts and archival research, as well as accounts of respected, and sometimes eye-witness testimony. This same emphasis on scholarly investigation in writing history is seen in both Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas' Primera parte de las varias epistolas, discursos and in Cabrera de Córdoba's De historia.

In addition to the historian's ability to retell correctly past events and combine various sources of knowledge within his narration, we see that Early modern Spanish historians considered a "true" history to be moral in nature. Like Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, writers of history such as Juan Costa and Sebastián Fox Morcillo believed that one of the primary purposes for writing history was to leave an account of right and wrong conduct for future generations. Costa, in his De conscribenda rerum historia libri duo, states that, "[l]a historia no es otra cosa que la evidente y lúcida demostración de las virtudes

¹⁹ op. cit., page 35.

y los vicios, cuyo estudio abraza la filosofía moral” [[h]istory is nothing more than the evident and lucid demonstration of virtue and vice, the study of which embraces all moral philosophy].²⁰ Fox Morcillo echoes these same sentiments, explaining that the material which is considered “histórico” is naturally that which is “...grande, útil, grato y ejemplar...[y no] las cosas vulgares y menudas, que ni convienen a la dignidad de la Historia, ni son dignas de ser leídas” [...great, useful, pleasing and exemplary...[and not] vulgar, mundane things which neither befit the dignity of history, nor are worthy of being read].²¹ As in the work of Páez de Castro, Fox Morcillo also believed that the style an historian employed in his narration formed an integral part of the story’s validity, and that history itself could be defined as the truthful, well-elaborated and learned narration of that which has been said or done, in order to firmly etch its memory in the minds of man.²² Although Fox emphasizes the exemplary nature of the style and lessons to be learned through reading history, this does not diminish what he sees as the responsibility of the historian to retell past events truthfully: “...[el historiador] ha de narrar la verdad sin engaño ni pretexto, [y] no callará ante entusiasmo o parcialidad, [y] nada dirá inspirado por el odio, nada escribirá por ambición o avaricia, por soborno o adulación” [[the historian] must narrate the truth without

²⁰ Spanish translation of original Latin by Santiago Montero Díaz in his preliminary study to Cabrera de Córdoba’s *De historia*, page XXXV.

²¹ *De Historiae Institutione Dialegetus*, page 22. On page XXVII of his preliminary study to Cabrera de Córdoba’s work, Santiago Montero Díaz translates the above quote from Fox Morcillo’s original Latin.

²² See Montero Díaz’s preliminary study, page XXVII.

trickery or pretext, and should not be silent in the face of enthusiasm or partiality, [and] should say nothing out of hate, write nothing because of ambition or greed, or bribery, or admiration.]²³

The Transmission of History and the Historian

During the sixteenth century, Spain's population gradually was becoming more literate. Larger numbers of printed texts were being circulated, and the number of universities, *colegios* [primary and secondary schools] and teachers in both large and smaller towns increased dramatically. From approximately 1500-1600, the number of universities in Castile alone nearly tripled.²⁴ With such an increased emphasis on formal education at all levels, histories became more widely available to the public since studying history was no longer commonly viewed as the exclusive territory of princes and kings. Diane Sieber sums up this heightened interest in reading, writing and publishing in the following terms: "[throughout sixteenth-century Spain] new presses sprang up every year, all seeking material to print and to sell....By the 1520s, readers with a taste for history could choose from a wide variety of books in the vernacular..." (7). Given such an increased demand for printed material and a greater emphasis on

²³ De Historiae Institutione Dialegus, pages 82-83. Santiago Montero Díaz translates the above quote from Fox Morcillo's original Latin on page XXVIII of his preliminary study.

²⁴ See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, The Golden Age of Spain: 1516-1650, 232. Translation by James Casey.

teaching, reading and learning history, non-official writers working on the margins found an increasing audience. Often using authorized texts produced by court historians as models and sources for their own works, these individuals framed their texts within the recognizable, institutionalized genre of history in order to lend veracity and legitimacy to their narrations. They produced accounts of the past that celebrated and justified the participation of individual families, and specific regions and groups in the great deeds of the Monarchy (Sieber 1-16). Not only was it increasingly common for independent historians to re-write community history, but family histories as well. Sieber states:

“[g]enealogy...became a common genre in sixteenth-century Spain....Families celebrated the *nobleza* [nobility] and *grandeza* [grandeur] of their households, associating ancestors with the mythic heroes of the...past...” (11). Consequently, the increased demand for group and private histories led to an increased number of historians.

Combined with the new ease with which books were circulated and the greater availability of education to a broader range of people, there were also certain socio-political factors that helped pave the way for non-officially recognized writers of histories to publish their works for sale to a wider audience. In response to what the Spanish monarchy perceived as threats against it from foreign Muslims and Protestants, the rewriting of Alphonsine foundational myths was encouraged. Also, in order to foster a stronger sense of community between members of an increasingly disperse and urban population that was less dependent on its local sovereign, histories which emphasized the grandeur of the

Empire and its Gothic past were authorized by the Crown. In fact, as Sieber states, “[h]istoriography became a growth industry as the people of the Peninsula sought to define and assimilate...[their] political identity” (7). As the increased number of official histories emerged from writers who had gained the Crown’s authorization, so did the number of histories written by members of regional, sometimes marginalized groups (Sieber 7-13). Writers such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Inca Garcilaso de La Vega did not find themselves in positions of authority as royal chroniclers, but did embody the classical role of being first-hand observers. But in the eyes of those who occupied the “center” of historical discourse, writing history was still generally seen as a task befitting only those qualified to write it. For writers such as Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, the ideal historian was sanctioned by the Crown. He was a learned individual with a broad education who should be dispassionate in his retelling of past events, and who was not moved by earthly gain. His education should encompass all areas of knowledge, and he should exhibit a virtuous, prudent approach to his material. As will be seen, Miguel de Luna creates a “true history” and a “true historian” that fulfill these obligations, while at the same time producing a text that celebrates a population that existed on the margins of sixteenth-century Spanish society.

According to Herrera, writing history is a pursuit best suited to the learned individuals of at least a certain, minimum level of importance in society, since through the careful elaboration of history, an author might receive “...grandes Honrras” [great honors] (43L) as well as function as teacher and mentor to his

reader. In his opinion, writing history is a pursuit of "...inestimable valor..." [inestimable worth] which is directly linked to one's honor and because of that, is "...exercitada de...Reyes y Gente Principal y no comun..." [...exercised by...kings and principal individuals, and not by common men] (42R). Herrera stresses that the idea of history itself is a reflection of that which is virtuous, and therefore is best transmitted by a prudent man of moral strength. The man who is capable of writing history can be recognized by the fact that he has studied and understands the past, compares the victories and defeats of history's personages to those of the present, and possesses, therefore, a greater base of experience from which to draw his conclusions. This sort of man, according to Herrera, has learned to be prudent and discerning. He does not allow himself to be easily fooled because he grasps the underlying reasons behind the past events he narrates, and is thereby capable of extrapolating the motivation for others' actions in the present (112R). Via the examples presented in the historian's pages, the reader in turn becomes the writer of history's student and participates in the example of prudence set forth by him, learning the way of good while shunning evil. History, therefore, "...anima a la virtud y...aparta de vicios..." [...encourages men to do good and...avoid evil...] and "...inmortaliza los C[ristianos] virtuossos y sepulta los males..." [...immortalizes virtuous Christians and entomb the bad ones] (Herrera 43L, 44R). As he states in his Varias epístolas y tractados, remembering and re-presenting virtue and right conduct is one of the principal motives for writing history. This act of re-presentation brings the historian into a closer relationship with God, given that all earthly virtue is a

manifestation the love one has for God, the Master (Herrera 45L). Therefore, if history represents an account of virtuous actions and can be used as a tool to help the reader recognize and differentiate good from evil, the historian's role is akin to that of a teacher who shows man the path towards substituting virtue for vice by the use of reason. Hence, writing history is an endeavor which brings the writer into an intimate relationship with that which is just, true and morally correct (Herrera 78L).

Herrera also proposes that the historian should embody other specific personal attributes and skills that mark him as a trustworthy voice for reporting past events. He states that the historian should not be moved by earthly gain (79L) and should not hope for any profit or reward for his effort, because such desires would compromise his intellectual distance from past events (109R). In his *Varias epístolas y tractados*, Herrera asserts that the historian should never “...[moverse] a obrar...sino por el amor del mismo bien...” (79L) [...[set] to work...except out of his love for that which is right...], and should be dispassionate in his presentation of the events narrated. Ideally, this intellectual distance should help the historian to see his literary object as “...una Virgen libre e Incorrupta que no sirva al apetito de nadie sino que Honre la Verdad...” (108L) [...a free and uncorrupted virgin who serves no man's appetites but rather honors truth...]. In addition to possessing a strong moral constitution, the historian should also demonstrate good judgment, intelligence and sound artistic ability:

“...el que optimamente quisiere escriuir Historia ade ser dotado de una cierta prudencia y entendimiento...y facultad de decir...porque nadie puede hazer Inteligente prudente y agudo a quien no lo es por naturaleza y que si

alguno lo pudiese hazer mereceria mucha estimacion porque seria lo mismo que hazer oro del plomo y del estano Plata...”.

[...he who optimally would like to write history must be gifted with a certain level of prudence and understanding...and facility of speech...for no man can make another intelligent, prudent and sharp-witted if he was not born that way, and if any man could do such a thing, he would deserve great esteem, because his act would be akin to turning lead into gold, and tin into silver...] (109L).

Herrera equates historians with military captains who maneuver their soldiers from different vantage points to gradually form a coherent whole (109R).

Herrera y Tordesillas was not the only chronicler to comment on what he believed to be the ideal characteristics of the historian. Luis Cabrera de Córdoba also outlined at length what he considered to be essential personal attributes of the individual who would write “true” history.²⁵ First, the writer of history should be a person who has won the esteem of his sovereign for his wide-ranging knowledge and capacity as a prudent and skillful writer, given that the reputation of the country, and that of the monarch him or herself depends on the historian’s prowess (32). The historian:

[h]a de saber buenas letras, tener lección de las diuinas, ser docto en las antigüedades, práctico en el mundo [e]...inteligente en las cosas de la guerra, hombre aulico, versado en los negocios públicos y gouiernos de reinos, provincias y pueblos, inquiridor de los hechos ocultos, lleno de sentencias y dichos graues, instruído en exemplos, erudito, eloquente, graue,

²⁵ It is interesting to note that in his opening remarks to his readership, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba states that in this volume he will write about “...la importancia de la historia, la del buen historiador, las partes que ha de tener, las de *legítima y perfecta historia* [emphasis mine] y como se hará tal” [...the importance of history, and of the good historian, the sections that a history must include in order to be considered legitimate and perfect and how that should be done] (9). The reader is then aware that the type of historiography Cabrera proposes in this work is legitimate, perfect, and therefore assumedly “true”.

entero, seuero, vrbano, diligente, medido, estudioso, de gran seso, bondad y justicia, varón realmente bueno para que ni dé ni quite más de lo que conforme a razón...exercitado en el escriuir...[de] ingenio acomodado, e inclinado de lo alto para historial, hazienda con que viuir, que ni espere ni tema, conocedor de lo bueno y lo malo que ay en los escritores, con perfeta prudencia, tanto en el dezir como en el callar, moderación en sus afectos, buena elección en todo, fortaleza en su ánimo para dezir la verdad y su parecer, igualdad en el contar las cosas dignas de ser alabadas o reprehendidas.²⁶

[must be well-versed in human and divine letters, be educated in antiquity, practical in the world [and]...intelligent in matters of war, courtly in nature, versed in public dealings and the governance of kingdoms, provinces and townships, an inquirer into hidden facts, able to use *sentencias* and wise sayings, learned in that which is exemplary, erudite, eloquent, grave, resolute, serious, urbane, diligent, measured, studious, of great intelligence, kindness and justice, a truly good man so that he neither adds nor takes away more than necessary...[he should be] practiced in the art of writing...[and be of] quick mind, and inclined to greatness in his work, [he should] be well-off enough to survive by himself, so that he neither hopes for nor fears [others' opinions and assistance], [he should] recognize the good and the bad in other authors, be of perfect prudence, both in what he says and what he silences, [show] moderation in affectedness, good judgment in all matters, strength of spirit in order to tell the truth and his own opinion, [and show] equality in the telling of things which should be praised as well as reprimanded.]

According to Cabrera, writing history is a difficult process and requires much of whomever would meet its challenge. He states frankly that not all individuals are meant for such a task: “[t]anto es menester para saber hazer vna...historia y con todo esso algunos no acertarán...” [so much is necessary in order to know how to write...history and given this fact, not all will succeed...] (29). Next, since the historian is not the one responsible for selecting the subject matter of his narrations, he should be willing to accept that reality. In most instances, it would be the sovereign who assigned appropriate topics to his or her historians: “[l]a materia no la inuenta el historiador, ni la escoge entre otras, el escritor que sirue a

²⁶ De historia: para entenderla y escribirla, 30-31.

su príncipe, dásela y él pone prudencia y eloquencia para dezir, teniendo poder sobre la materia...” [the historian does not invent his own subject matter, nor chose it from among many topics, it is given to the writer who serves his prince, and he may contribute his prudence and eloquence in the telling, in this manner exerting his influence upon the material] (46). But even though the historian was not generally at liberty to chose his subject matter, it was his duty to practice his craft faithfully, representing the truth, “...aunque contra su patria...” [...even against his homeland...] (46). The historian needed to be versed in all areas of study: philosophy, rhetoric, religious oration, mathematics, politics and law, as well as demonstrating a wide knowledge of different groups’ social customs and of his primary field (29). The ideal historian, in order to gain the prudence and understanding that are essential to his work, must be dedicated to lifelong study and learning. He should be a wise man of broad knowledge who is capable of speaking on varied topics, including “...el gouierno de la ciudad, la constitución de las leyes, el culto de la religión, la virtud, las costumbres...los hechos de los los hombres...la ethica y...la política...” [...the government of his city, the constitution of the laws, different religions, virtue, customs...the great deeds of mankind...ethics and...politics] (29).

But in addition to the moral strength, intelligence and ability that the historian should embody, Cabrera raises the question of regional affiliations and how these ties to one’s own homeland affect his or her capacity for dispassionate representation of important events. He examines whether a greater geographic

distance between the historian and the subject of his study would allow for a more unbiased account concerning the region:

Dizen autores, escriue mejor el que no es natural de la prouincia de quién haze historia...y que...[el historiador] no ha de tener patria, ciudad ni rey, porque está más libre de toda pasión....Estas dificultades y objeciones, nacen de las passiones, no de culpa de los que escriuen....Es difícil el dar satisfacción a todos, aun contando la verdad, escriuiendo de dos naciones enemigas vna de otra. Cada qual tiene a su deuoción y adherencias muchos, cuya afición particular no dexa libre juizio a los lectores y viene a parar sobre el historiador, pagando la pena de la culpa que no tiene, porque puede hazer fiel y legalmente lo que deue.

Authors say that he who writes best is not a natural of the province whose history he narrates...and that...[the historian] should not have a homeland, city or king, for that way he is free from all passion....These difficulties and objections are born of human passion, and not of those who write history....It is difficult to satisfy everyone, even though one tells the truth, when he writes about two nations that are enemies of each other. Everyone has his own devotions and beliefs, whose particular affinity limits the free judgment of his reader and which hangs over the head of the historian, who pays the price for an offence which is not his, because he is capable of loyally fulfilling his duty. (33-34)

Although he admits that it is possible for geographic proximity and community ties to influence the historian's interpretation of past events, Cabrera determines that in the end, physical separation is not essential to the writing of "true" history.

In his *Verdadera historia*, Miguel de Luna constructs what to his readers was a recognizable, well-defined genre—a history—which carried with it certain expectations. It was generally accepted that some histories were more "true" than others, and our author took great care to present his work as authoritative, exemplary, and therefore, true. One of the ways in which Miguel de Luna fostered a sense of discursive authority and truth in his work was by his creation of an acceptable narrator and the relationship that he, as translator of the work, forges with this voice. Instead of asserting his own position as the writer of an

original text, Luna chose to rely on the device of the rediscovered manuscript in order to legitimize and lend veracity to his “true history.” Luna’s reliance on the convention of the “found text” is significant on several levels. First, the scenario surrounding the translation of his history was entirely plausible to his readership. Second, the fictitious narrator that Luna creates fulfills many of the criteria set forth by Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas concerning who should be entrusted with the writing of history, and third, the presentation of his history as a translated archival document lends its contents greater authenticity while simultaneously absolving Luna, as translator, of any responsibility for what was written. These narrative devices will be examined in depth in this chapter

In the late sixteenth century, during the years when Luna was writing his history, part of the historian’s craft consisted of searching for authentic written sources and then editing them (Sieber 161). Authors such as Jiménez de Rada, Argote de Molina, Ambrosio de Morales, Mármol Carvajal and Pedro del Corral are known to have used the work of tenth-century Moorish chronicler Ahmed ben Mohamed Arrazi as source material for their histories.²⁷ Also, it was not unheard of in Early modern Spain for a text to be found, hidden away in the foundation of a building or other public or private place, then later published as an historical document. The discovery of the Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana on March 19, 1588 with its associated relics, and later, of the Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte which were unearthed in Granada between the end of February, 1595 and December 22, 1599, did not invite public debate because of the manner in which

²⁷ Sieber, page 152 and endnote 3, page 185.

they were found, but rather because of the incongruencies in their content.²⁸ Bearing in mind the importance and popularity of these texts, one can therefore assume that a majority of Luna's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish readership would have been at least somewhat familiar with the idea of an author publishing a "found" work. This familiarity would have facilitated the acceptance of his Verdadera historia as "true" by his audience, and served to lend a greater sense of veracity to his work, given that the circumstances surrounding its "discovery" were at least plausible to his readership.

Closely linked to the idea of an historian unearthing an ancient document and later editing and publishing it, we find Luna acting as translator. In his own words, Miguel de Luna asserts that he merely translated this work from the original Arabic at the urgent request of certain, undisclosed "...personas graues y curiosas..." [...grave and curious individuals...] (10L) of the kingdom. Although he never relates exactly how he came to be in possession of the Arabic version of the Verdadera historia, Luna assures his reader, critics and king that the text is available in its original form in the library of the Escorial (10L). The fact that Luna was commissioned by these important individuals, or had been requested to undertake this project, functions to justify his literary act in several ways. First, Miguel de Luna was never employed by the Crown as an authorized historian,

²⁸ For a detailed examination of these texts and the controversy surrounding them, see Carlos Alonso's Los apócrifos del Sacromonte (Granada): estudio histórico. It is interesting to note that both Miguel de Luna and his fellow Morisco translator Alonso del Castillo were called upon to decipher the Arabic portions of each of these documents, and although modern scholarship and today's Catholic Church view the Pergamino and the Libros plúmbeos as fraudulent, in their own time they were widely recognized as true relics from Christendom's first centuries.

therefore, strictly speaking, he had no official right to compose history. Writing at the insistence of another, and within his capacity as royal translator, afforded him this right. Second, the fact that he “translated” the Verdadera historia at the specific request of his superiors coincides with Cabrera’s deference to one’s superiors as the party who generally decides which histories should, and will be written, and therefore serves to sanction Luna’s text as a legitimate history (Cabrera 46). Third, if Miguel de Luna had presented himself as the author of his history, he would have effectively joined the ranks of the numerous, unauthorized individuals who rewrote genealogies, personal accounts of historic events, and community histories throughout the sixteenth century.²⁹ Instead, having been asked to translate such an important work (which was said to be already widely known by Arabic speaking peoples) emphasizes Luna’s skill and ability as a learned, official translator of Arabic, thereby setting him up as a figure of authority. Last, Miguel de Luna’s stated position as a translator, not author, also absolves him of any possible responsibility for the material presented in the history. For example, it was possible for Luna to express a somewhat skeptical view of the possibility of virgin birth as evidenced in his commentary concerning the mares of “Vandalucia” engendering offspring spontaneously, without sexual contact, thus, placing existing Church dogma in question (163L).³⁰

²⁹ See Diane Sieber’s aforementioned book for a thorough discussion of the various rewritings of history, which were prevalent during the sixteenth century.

³⁰ It is important to note that this section of the Verdadera historia does not place doubt upon God’s role as creator and orchestrator of the universe. Rather, His omnipotence is emphasized. Luna’s skepticism concerning virgin birth is limited to the idea of females of any species engendering young without participating in

According to Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, those who undertake the writing of history should be individuals uninterested in personal gain, of wide-ranging knowledge and dedication to learning, capable of strenuous research, and willing to make sacrifices for their art (Cabrera 29-31; Herrera 42-43L, 79L, 108-109, 112R). In an interesting and fundamental interplay between supposed translator and fictitious author, Miguel de Luna fulfills each one of these requirements. At times, Luna's narrator Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique embodies the characteristics of the proper historian, although at other times, he falls short. It is when the stated author of the text is found lacking that Luna's presence as translator bridges the gaps with his own voice and official position, thereby maintaining a sense of "truth" and authority in his history.

The ideal historian should not be motivated by personal gain, and should possess the ability to comment dispassionately on his subject matter, even if this means criticizing his country and those he loves (Cabrera 46; Herrera 79L). Luna presents his narrator, Abentarique, in such a way as to fulfill these requirements. In his "Proemio de Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, al sabio lector", Luna allows the narrator to speak directly to his readership, explaining in his own words his sincerity and disinterest in personal advancement. From the first sentence of Abentarique's preface, the narrator minimizes his position as authorial voice, and defers first to the omnipotence and guidance of God—the "...criador y sumo hazedor..." [...Creator and Supreme Orchestrator...] (12R) and prime force of the universe—and second, to the "...personas principales dignas de ser creydas...los

the reproductive act. See Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion of the importance of this passage.

quales me mandaron escriuiesse esta historia" [...principal individuals who are worthy of being believed...who ordered me to write this history] (13R).

Abentarique justifies his authorial voice by assuming a subordinate position to those in authority over him: he writes because he was asked to write, not because he was seeking earthly gain by writing his story. Abentarique recurs to the topos of humility when he suggests that if this history had been written by a greater, more educated hand than his, it would surely be deemed more authoritative.³¹

Although his status as eye-witness to, and participant in the events he narrates justifies and legitimizes his discourse to a large degree, his audience might perceive him as lacking the education and broad base of knowledge that are essential to the true historian as described by Cabrera and Herrera.³² Luna's captain was a simple soldier in the conquering Muslim forces, not a man of letters. It is here that Miguel de Luna's voice as translator of the history adds a sense of truth and authority to the text.

In his opening remarks to Abentarique's prologue, Luna lends credence to his author's narration by situating him in a believable framework for the context of the history: the reader is informed that Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique was, at the

³¹ Abentarique states: "[b]ien confieso que sere culpado por auer emprendido vna tan grande empresa, pareciendoles a algunos, que el escreuer esta hystoria pertenecia a otros mas subidos y delicados ingenios que no el mio...y que sus obras tendrian mas autoridad que no esta pobre lectura...." [I must well confess that I am guilty of having undertaken such a large task, seeming to some that the writing of this history should pertain to others of greater and more refined intellect than mine...and that their works are more authoritative than my poor history...] (13L).

³² The importance of the role of participants in the making of history will be discussed in a following section.

time he wrote this document, an *Alcayde* and a natural of Almedina in Arabia. He is also described as a *sabio*, or wise man (12R). In addition to drawing the reader's attention to the good will, veracity and wisdom of his author, Luna also advances his own position as a sincere, disinterested interpreter. He compares his role as translator of the Verdadera historia to that of Saint Jerome in his translation of the Old Testament into Latin from its original Hebrew. This comparison not only serves to underscore the importance of Luna's work, but also to emphasize the abnegation, sacrifices and dedication to learning which our author professes, and which were considered necessary by official court historians to the writing of true histories. Luna states that, for Jerome, translation was a great undertaking, given the difficulty of understanding other languages, and that the Saint found it necessary to "...mortific[ar] y dom[ar] su carne..." [...mortify and dominate his flesh...] (9R) by spending time alone in the desert, and by filing his teeth so that he could properly pronounce Hebrew terms (9R). Immediately after this reference to the sacrifices made by Jerome, Luna begins describing his many years of diligent study of the Arabic language, which began in his very early childhood (9R-10L). He emphasizes the fact that there are interpreters who choose a more literal translation of their subject matter, while there are others who opt to maintain the meaning of their text, and stray from the mechanics of translating. The final type of interpreter fulfills the most difficult of tasks—staying as close as possible to a literal translation of his material, while at the same time transmitting the meaning of the text in such a way as his audience might understand (10). According to Luna, herein lies the truth of his

interpretation of the Verdadera historia. Miguel de Luna not only translates the words of his fictitious author, but also educates the uninitiated Spanish reader concerning the nuances of meaning inherent in certain difficult Arabic terms, by way of marginal notes. Luna translates dates, names of places and people, and ideas by comparing them to existing Castilian terminology, thus correcting existing errors and bridging the gap between his Christian audience and the Arabic Other of his text. For this act to be successful, he admits that it is necessary as a translator to "...ser sabio en todas las facultades, y tener buena noticia, muy en particular de todas las demas cosas: de suerte que tenga yguual perfeccion, y saber al autor que compuso la obra que va traduciendo..." [...be learned in all areas, [and]to be well informed on a wide range of subjects: [it is necessary for the translator to do this] in order that he possess a perfection and knowledge equal to the author whose work he is translating...] (10R). This assertion reiterates the same need for a broad base of knowledge which both Herrera and Cabrera saw as fundamental to the writing of true history. This wide-ranging knowledge is evidenced by our author each time he comments on the social customs and beliefs, geography, scientific advancements, philosophy, religion, political systems, governmental practices, etymology of various words and phrases, and folklore of the Muslims and Christians who lived on the Peninsula during the Arabic conquest. Given Abentarique's personal, eyewitness testimony and his sincerity and veracity as a writer, along with Miguel de Luna's formal preparation, Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera's necessary characteristics of the ideal historian are fulfilled.

The Nature of Truth in Historical Discourse

History as Man's Teacher

In Early modern Spain, it was often considered the historian's responsibility to shed light on past events in such a way as to call the reader's attention to the underlying moral lesson of the story. At times, this moral lesson was general and ethical in nature, while at other times, it was seen as a vehicle by which the individual could learn and better understand his present situation.

History was seen as man's teacher: "...los pasados nos Instruyen para que determinando sobre lo presente conozemos lo venidero...adonse cogen siempre marauillosos frutos..." [...those who have gone before teach us so that we are better equipped to understand the present and that which is to come...from which marvelous fruits may be taken...] (Herrera 105R). A dedication to writing and studying history, therefore, both divine and human, could lead a man to know and emulate virtuous actions in his present life through the examples contained in the historian's narration (Herrera 78R).

In his De historia, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba states that: "[e]l que mira la historia de los antiguos tiempos atentamente, y lo que enseñan...tiene luz para las cosas futuras, pues vna misma manera de mundo es toda" [he who attentively scrutinizes ancient histories and what they teach...can better understand future events, given that nothing in the world varies] (11). He reminds his reader that

history repeats itself, and that "...las [circunstancias] que han sido bueluen..." [...past circumstances will return...] (Cabrera 11), so it is desirable that one should learn from the successes and failures of those who have gone before. To this end, Cabrera asserted that writing history should not be limited to the transmission of mundane, expected actions and scenarios, but rather should encompass that which was unique and noteworthy, thereby facilitating the reader's assimilation of the message within the historian's text (42). In like fashion, Herrera states that taking an active interest in history was a noble endeavor that encompassed all other forms of knowledge, and therefore facilitated man's understanding of his present situation (43L). He describes history as "...maestra de la Vida y Luz de la Verdad..." [...teacher of life and light of truth...] (105) and as the "...madre y verdadera luz de las demas sciencias y facultades, la jurisprudencia...la Filosofia, la medicina y otros..." [...mother and true light of all other sciences and fields of study, jurisprudence...philosophy, medicine and others...] (42R). But in addition to conceptualizing history as the vessel by which wisdom is transmitted, Cabrera asserted that a "true history", as opposed to meaningless fiction, was one in which the individual could find lessons that would enhance his or her capacity to live well. In his De historia: para entenderla y escribirla, he informs his reader that "...la historia [es] narración de verdades por hombre sabio, para enseñar a bien vivir" [...history [is] the narration of truths by a wise man, in order to teach others to live well] (24). He continues this definition of history, stating that "[l]a historia tiene...de lo honesto, graue, exemplar, como matrona ilustre y sabia..." [history

encompasses...that which is honest, serious, exemplary, since it is our illustrious and wise matron...] (28) and that, among its many uses, the writing and study of history is essential in order to "...enseñ[ar] a los idiotas, d[ar] salutíferos consejos, hac[er] las personas cautas, aduertidas y de hecho prácticas..." [...teach idiots, give healthy advice, and to make people cautious, well-informed and in fact, practical...] (36). Therefore, the goal of the historian is to "...enseñar vniuersalmente a bien viuir con los exemplos..." [...universally teach man to live well through his use of examples...] (25).

In order for his audience to recognize the Verdadera historia as pertaining to the genre of true historical discourse, and to therefore endow his fictional account of the Islamic conquest with an air of veracity and legitimacy, one of the most important tasks facing Miguel de Luna was to construct his history in such a way that it should be seen as exemplary. This exemplary "truth" in Luna's history relies not only on the factual information the author shares with his readership, but, as evidenced in the works of Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, on the moral lessons imparted by the stories narrated as well. Luna portrays the majority of his Arabic conquerors, and specifically king Auilgualit Miramamolín Iacob Almanzor, as just rulers who bear the welfare of their vassals and vanquished lands and peoples foremost in their minds. To further emphasize king Almanzor's exemplary nature, Luna sets this personage in direct contrast with the figure of the last Visigothic king, don Rodrigo. By comparing our author's representation of these two rulers and the roles they play in the conquest of the

Peninsula, the reader is hence educated by his teacher, History, as to the correct conduct of a just sovereign.

Throughout his (re)presentation of the events surrounding the Islamic invasion, Miguel de Luna subordinates what his reader might consider empirical evidence to the requirements of his genre. In order to legitimate the story presented in his Verdadera historia and thereby draw his audience's attention and sympathy to the exemplary nature of Spain's Islamic period (and by association, to contradict commonly held prejudices concerning the Spanish Moriscos and validate them as worthy citizens of the Crown), it was necessary to meet the Old Christian reader's expectations concerning what constituted "true" historical discourse. To this end, it was essential that Luna take into consideration accounts of the conquest which were already in existence, and re-write key figures and events. This re-fashioning of accepted historical discourse functions to reposition his Moorish characters as sympathetic, virtuous, and therefore exemplary to an Old Christian readership. One of the primary ways in which Miguel de Luna accomplishes this task is via his re-writing of the image of Rodrigo, the Last Visigothic King, as seen in the majority of Spanish romances.³³ Instead of following Spanish romance tradition and representing Rodrigo as having been a strong, committed soldier who struggled valiantly against enemy forces, and

³³ Note that Miguel de Luna's re-working of the Rodrigo legend and his portrayal of Moorish king Almanzor's reign as being exemplary in nature will be analyzed more in depth in Chapter Two and Chapter Four, respectively. In this chapter, my goal is merely to elucidate the ways in which Luna adheres to the accepted norms for writing history during his time, and how this adherence functions to validate his narration.

whose only flaw was his hopeless love for Florinda, his vassal's daughter, Luna represents Rodrigo as a frightened child with no self control who cares only for the satisfaction of his personal desires. Far from embodying the traits of a model ruler, Luna's Rodrigo is an example of how a king should not behave. The rape of Florinda and the betrayal of her father and his own vassal, Count Julián (17-23, 53-54L) is surpassed only by his cowardice when he abandons his troops and flees the battlefield (34L), and then jeopardizes the safety of those he should strive to protect when he forces a poor, mountain shepherd to exchange clothes with him in order to escape enemy troops (34R). Luna's Rodrigo is the would-be assassin of Spain's rightful ruler, his own nephew, don Sancho (14L-18L), and corrupter of the Peninsula's population as evidenced in his incitement of the clergy to take multiple lovers and resulting high number of illegitimate births in the country (162). It is essential to note that there is no modern historical evidence which suggests that Rodrigo raped Count Julian's daughter or that this vassal even had a female child. Nor is there any evidence that under his rule concubinage had been sanctioned for members of the clergy, or that there was ever a direct attempt made on Sancho's life by his uncle.³⁴ In reality, the conquest of Spain by the Muslim forces seems to have been much more a matter of treason

³⁴ For more information concerning the myth of the Last Visigothic King as maintained and substantiated in the popular romances of the time, see Ramón Menéndez Pidal's Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas: Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio, El Rey Rodrigo en la Literatura, Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Rodrigo, el último godo, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan's A History of Medieval Spain, part I, "The Visigothic Era." For specific information on Rodrigo's historical relationship to his nephew, Sancho, see Menéndez Pidal, Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, page XIX.

and conspiracy than of sexual misconduct and murder.³⁵ But in Miguel de Luna's rendering of history, Rodrigo is seen as a corrupting, rather than edifying, force in his community—a representation which in turn lends a sense of exemplary “truth” to the Verdadera historia.

Using Rodrigo as a negative example, Luna manages to criticize effectively pre-Islamic society in Spain, and prepares the reader to accept the positive model of leadership he presents in his great Muslim king, Almanzor. Compared with the last Visigothic king, Auligualit Miramamolín Iacob Almançor shows himself to be compassionate and just in his dealings with the country's natives. One after another, Christian towns are conquered, but always with the agreement that the inhabitants are free to leave unharmed, with their belongings and family, to live in other Christian areas, and the king consistently practices charity in his dealings with his vassals. But this characterization of Almanzor is, in fact, another example of the artistic liberties Miguel de Luna takes with historical figures as he endows his text with a sense of *ejemplaridad* and therefore marks it as a “true” history. The historical Iacob Almanzor lived approximately

³⁵ Researchers including Menéndez Pidal and O'Callaghan speculate that after Vitiza's death in the year 709/710, Rodrigo usurped the royal lineage of his former king, forcibly taking the throne from Vitiza's three young sons after a short period of war (Menéndez Pidal, XVII). After reaching adulthood, the sons of the former monarch decide to revenge this wrong, and send a secret message to Tárik ben Zeyad—Muslim military leader sent to the Peninsula by Muza, governor of Africa—offering him monetary riches in exchange for his help in overturning Rodrigo and restoring Spain to its legitimate rulers (Menéndez Pidal, XVIII-XIX). Upon seeing his reign threatened by the Muslim forces, the overconfident Rodrigo tried to assimilate his enemies by giving command of both sections of his armed forces to Vitiza's sons, who later deserted their posts and joined forces with the Islamic invaders (O'Callaghan, 53; Menéndez Pidal, XIX-XX).

four hundred and fifty years after the conquest of Spain, yet the Almanzor to whom the Verdadera historia seems to refer is another. During the tenth century in Al-Andalus there lived one of the most influential rulers in the history of Spain's Islamic period, Muhammad Ibn Abí Amir al-Ma'afari, later to be known as Al-Mansur (westernized as "Almanzor"). His period encompassed the time of greatest splendor and peace under Muslim rule. Almanzor ruled rigorously, but justly. All forms of learning including the sciences, medicine and education flourished under his command.³⁶ Miguel de Luna chose to lift this Almanzor out of historical context and to afford him a principal position within the Verdadera historia by imbuing his interpolated biography with "autoridad y verdad".³⁷

Miguel de Luna's representation of the life of Almanzor calls attention to the king's exemplary qualities at several levels. First, the biography itself is said to be exemplary in the forthright, exact and truthful way in which it was written, and therefore merits inclusion in its entirety (130R-131L). Second, Luna's fictitious author, Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, shows himself to be a prudent and wise narrator of past events by underscoring his role as servant to those who are wiser in these matters than himself, specifically, Ali Abençufian, Luna's invented biographer (130R). Third, Miguel de Luna forces his reader to recognize and reflect upon the exemplary nature of Almanzor's life by placing his biography in

³⁶ See Ángel Espinosa Durán's book, Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Victorioso por Allah.

³⁷ In the "Prohemio de Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique", Luna's fictitious biographer states that the life of this king deserves to occupy the center of his history, giving it "autoridad y verdad" [authority and truth] (131L). I will discuss Miguel de Luna's representation of Muslim king Almanzor's life in much greater detail in Chapter Four.

the privileged central position of the Verdadera historia, a place which Abentarique specifically states is reserved for the "...huesped honrado, noble y sabio" [...honored, noble and wise guest] to whom the best seat in the house and the heart of his host are willingly given (130L).

After thus preparing the reader to accept the exemplary nature of Almanzor's biography, Miguel de Luna presents a detailed picture of the king's positive qualities. Almanzor is referred to in terms of an "...espejo resplandeciente de Principes..." [...a shining Mirror of Princes...] (132L). He is a legitimate ruler who inherited his authority because of his noble birth, and who maintained it because of his nature (133-134L). His actions are worthy of emulation (132L, 135R, 148R, 149R, 151R-152L), and he shows great generosity with the poor of his kingdom, giving them alms and inviting them to his palace to eat (135R-136R, 138R). Almanzor shows no preference for those of high social standing (139), or for those of his own religion (143R). He frees slaves and arranges marriages for orphaned girls (154R). He is honest in all his dealings with others, whether they are of the nobility or not, and punishes anyone who does not follow this example (138). In direct contrast to the Visigothic king Rodrigo, whom Luna portrays as Florinda's rapist, Almanzor protects the virtue of the women of his kingdom by harshly punishing any action that would potentially mar their reputations (139L). Neither does Almanzor exhibit the cowardice that Rodrigo is shown to have embodied. Whereas the Visigothic king abandoned his troops in mid-battle in order to escape to safety, Almanzor struggles alongside his soldiers (147). In contrast with Rodrigo's repeated

attempts on the life of the kingdom's rightful sovereign, don Sancho, which emphasize the Visigothic king's jealous nature, Almanzor demonstrates a sense of humility concerning his role as leader (149-151). Miguel de Luna counters the failings of Rodrigo with the virtues represented by Almanzor, thereby contextualizing his Muslim ruler and by extension, his entire history, as exemplary and "true" in the eyes of his reader.

Verifiable Information, Participant Testimony and the Dispassionate

Representation of History

In addition to the emphasis on moral lessons which figured prominently in what he considered to be "true" historical discourse, Cabrera also recognized that it was necessary for the historian to include objective, verifiable facts in his narration. He states: "[l]a verdad de la historia es ánima della" [the truth of a history is its soul] (41), but that "[p]ara conocer la verdad en los escritores, se ha de advertir...si haze mención fielmente de los lugares y tiempos en que sucedieron los hechos...[d]el número de las personas, de los nombres..." [in order to know the truth as represented by historical writers, one must observe...if the author makes faithful mention of the places and dates wherein the events took place...of the number of people involved, of their names...] (43). To this end, Cabrera suggested the use of official documents to check and corroborate distinct

accounts of historical events.³⁸ Along with offering the reader this type of verifiable information, and in order for the reader to know the truth of the historian's narration, human aspects of the events, peoples, and places needed to be incorporated within the historian's account as well. Cabrera argued that a well-written, true, "legitimate" and "perfect" history should encompass a diverse background of ethnographic and anthropological material in addition to the purely factual or moral:

...no solamente los nombres de las cosas, estilo de los pueblos, mas las inclinaciones del ánimo, los estudios de las letras, artes y armas, manera de hablar, variedad de los trages, aparatos, apetito y uso de los mantenimientos....Historias leen los príncipes y toman contento con la diuersidad de accidentes que contienen...

[...not simply the names of things and appearance of the city, but the people's spiritual inclinations, their studies of letters, the arts and arms, their form of speaking, the variety of their dress, tools, appetites and their sustenance....Histories are read by princes who are pleased by the diversity of information included therein...(11).

For Cabrera, history should therefore ideally "[manifestar]...las naturalezas, costumbres, nouedades, los tiempos, órdenes de los estados, las señales de la antigüedad, [y] la genealogía de nuestors maiores" [manifest...the nature, customs, innovations, times, orders of the state, footprints of antiquity, [and] the genealogy of our fore bearers] (Cabrera 35), all of which served to enhance the "truth" of the narration.

³⁸ Cabrera de Córdoba wrote that "...los que pretenden escriuir las corrientes de los tiempos no se deuen fiar de lo que oyen ni de particulares opiniones de escritores, sino de aquellos de quien pende la fe pública de los hechos, como son los anales de los archiuos reales, en que las sucessionen de los reyes y la deriuación de los linages se hallan con mayor verdad proseguidos" (56).

Herrera y Tordesillas also commented on the historian's duty to present his reader with objective and verifiable information concerning past events. In order to write a legitimate history, the historian must be able to choose reliable sources and judge their validity. To this end, Herrera suggests that it is wise to turn first to an author who has seen the past events take place, or has heard of them from worthy sources (107R). In this third law for writing history, Herrera proposes "...que sean preferidos aquellos autores que han andado..." [...that are preferable those authors who have lived...] through the situation they describe, or who "...an visto y an oydo de personas dignas de fe que...vieron [los sucesos]..." [...have seen and heard from trustworthy individuals who saw the events...] with their own eyes (107R). In judging the validity of a given account of past events, the historian should temper his scholarly enthusiasm with prudence and modesty. He should show "...cierta prudencia en el elegir y en el juzgar...las cosas que los mismos escritores an visto y an oydo de personas dignas de fe que las vieron..." [...a certain prudence in electing and judging...the things that the authors themselves have seen and heard from other individuals who are worthy of trust...] (107R). Taking the word of an eyewitness observer was, therefore, not always enough. The historian should bear in mind the quality of this witness's testimony and consider the veracity of the details and facts presented in the narration, as well as corroborate the version of the story that he seeks to produce with other accounts already in existence (107). A history that supplies the reader with names, dates, places, and descriptions of the individuals and governments involved is considered more useful and shows itself to be more "true" than an

account which lacks such details. In fact, relations of historical events that do not include specific references to places, dates and other pertinent information are to be considered suspect and of little truth (107).

In order to lend a sense of legitimacy and veracity to his Verdadera historia, in line with Cabrera and Herrera's historiographical manuals, it was necessary for Miguel de Luna to offer his reader verifiable information and minute details concerning the Peninsula and its conquest (Cabrera 41-43; Herrera 107). As stated earlier, speaking in his official capacity, Luna assures his audience that the work he translated exists in its original language in the library of the Escorial, thus legitimizing his discourse (10L). He also presents essential, concrete information, offered by his narrator, Abentarique, which validates this particular narration of the events surrounding the conquest. Having been an eyewitness participant in the history he narrates, Abentarique is privileged with certain information. As shall be seen, the Moorish soldier names the exact places where each event he narrates took place, keeps his reader abreast of specific individual's names and the dates associated with battles, gatherings, and other happenings, and also reports exact number of soldiers involved in the skirmishes he describes.³⁹ This specific information constitutes one of the primary ways in

³⁹ Examples of naming people and places are found throughout the Verdadera Historia. From the opening pages of the text, the reader is kept informed concerning specific names, dates, places, and events. In fact, as Luna's narrator, Abentarique states in his "Prohemio a los Lectores" at the beginning of the second book of the second part of the history, this entire section will be dedicated to tracing the great battles of the conquest and to offering the reader a detailed description of the individuals, areas, events, landscape and context of each one (159L).

which Miguel de Luna justifies his history as legitimate and “true” according to the norms for writing historical discourse in his time.

Luna’s narrator presents the reader with exact names, events, and dates in both the Christian and Muslim calendars which correspond to the history he relates. In the first chapter, Abentarique explains that, in the Christian year 712, which corresponds to the Arabic year 91 of the Hegira, a king named Rodrigo ruled in Spain (13R). Abentarique relates the precise date in which Florinda wrote a letter to her father, Count Julián, informing him of the dishonor she suffered at the hands of the Visigothic king, and the date when Julián wrote to Muça, proposing that troops be amassed for a mission to Spain (20R-22L).

Luna’s narrator also mentions concrete facts concerning don Sancho and his mother, Anagilda’s attempts to escape Rodrigo’s grasp. The boy and his mother are reported to have moved from Toledo, where Rodrigo held court, to the city of Cordova, in the province of Andalusia, and eventually to have sought exile in Africa under Muça’s protection (14L-18L). Abentarique shows himself to be a prudent and trustworthy historian because he has researched the names of all individuals associated with the history he narrates. Not only does he include the names of the principal individuals directly involved in his historical account, but also mentions the names of common peasants and servants who participated as well.⁴⁰ Abentarique mentions precise numbers of troops involved in various military actions surrounding the events of the conquest. He states that in order to

⁴⁰ We are informed that the messenger whom Rodrigo sent to invite his nephew and sister-in-law to return to the court in Toledo was named Eliero, and that Rodrigo’s favorite advisor was named Ataulpho (13L-14R).

rescue her son, Anagilda gathers together twenty-five horsemen and thirty-five foot soldiers from among her servants in order to trap Ataulpho, and return don Sancho (15R). Later, he explains that his commander, who was named Tarif Abenziet and was a natural of Damascus, in conjunction with Count Julian, amassed six thousand foot soldiers and a small number of horses to invade Spain (22R). Abentarique also paints a believable, “truthful” geographical picture of the Peninsula. The Muslim forces sailed through a straight, which according to Miguel de Luna’s marginal notation, is presently known as Gibraltar, but which Abentarique explains was referred to as Hercules by the Spanish Christians of the eighth century, and Ialbfath by the Muslims (22R).⁴¹ Abentarique precisely situates and describes the mythic tower that Rodrigo was said to have entered, and thereby unwittingly released the Arabic invasion across the Peninsula.⁴² The Arabic captain describes the trajectory of the conquest of the Peninsula, city by city: Valencia, Murcia and Cordova, among many others, and gives details concerning the landscape of each place (46R). But one of the most striking and elaborate descriptions of the geography of the conquest is the one Abentarique offers immediately following the intercalated biography of king Almanzor’s life.

⁴¹ It is important to note that Miguel de Luna follows pre-existing models here as he incorporates classical geographic information into his narration. This act of deference to classical models further validates his Verdadera historia as a legitimate work of history.

⁴² Abentarique states that the tower could be found even today, “[u]na milla de la Ciudad de Toledo a la parte Oriental entre vnos peñascos auia una torre antigua de sumptuoso edificio, aunque maltratada del tiempo...” (23R), and that “...debaxo della a quatro estados estaua una cueua con vna boca de boueda bien angosta...” (23R).

Luna's detailed ethno-geographical narrative of the natural and human landscape of the newly conquered Peninsula is a lengthy section of text that encompasses twenty-six folios (158R-171R). This narrative, in Abentarique's words, is a letter written to king Almanzor by his principal captain, Muça, upon having arrived and taken possession of the territory. The narrative voice describes the appearance and fertility of the newly conquered land, and the way of life of its inhabitants. Luna's narrator tells of the mountains and grazing lands (164R), the weather and rainfall (165L), the natural abundance of fish and the temperate, welcoming climate found in the northern areas (165L). The Peninsula is said to be "...fertilisima, y muy poblada con...delicadas y sabrosas aguas, que causan grande frescura, fertilidad y abundancia de frutos en todas las tierras y provincias de su circuyto" [...utterly fertile, and densely populated with...delicate and delicious waters, that cool and refresh, [having] a great fertility and abundance of natural resources in all the lands and provinces within its boundaries] (165R). The land is shown to be ready for occupation, since it offers "...arboles frutales silvestres...venados, cabras...y puercos javalis...conejos, liebres y perdices...leña...pasto de ganados, y mucha caça de aues y animales" [...wild fruit trees...deer, goats...and wild pigs...rabbits, hares and partridges...wood...grazing lands, and many animals and birds to hunt] (165R-166L).⁴³ Abentarique demarcates the boundaries and frontiers of each province

⁴³ It is interesting to note that Miguel de Luna included wild pigs in this list of the Peninsula's natural resources that would benefit the conquering Muslim troops. Traditionally, the eating of pork was an area of conflict between Old Christian and New Christian societies in Spain. In order to demonstrate their acceptance of Catholicism, the Moriscos were required to show outward signs of having

and major city within the Peninsula (166L-168L) and attests to the healthful climate, stating that the Christian naturals of the land live to between one hundred fifteen and one hundred twenty years of age (168R). An entire chapter is dedicated to the wealth of breads, wines and oils that were cultivated and used by the inhabitants (169L-170L), and another, which details the livestock that the Christians kept (170R-171R). Luna's narrative voice describes the lifestyle of the naturals in somewhat idyllic terms, projecting the new territory as an earthly paradise. He states that the inhabitants live long lives, don't fall sick to contagious illnesses and "...mueren naturalmente sin dolor..." [...die naturally without pain...] (169R).⁴⁴ The narrator also outlines native customs concerning dress, family structure, consumption of alcoholic beverages and sex roles (169R), as well as the laws and social structure that the current population inherited from

renounced Islam. These signs included the consumption of pork and wine. There would have been no reason for a Muslim captain to write his sovereign concerning the potential food-value of wild pigs in the territory. This "slip" on Miguel de Luna's part points to two possible interpretations: either Luna was so unfamiliar with traditional Islamic prohibitions concerning pork that he mistakenly included swine in his list of food animals, or he knowingly included this reference in order to minimize the perceptible difference between his Muslim subject and Christian reader, and thereby garner the good will of his non-Morisco audience. Since Luna's ignorance of this rift between Old Christian and Morisco traditions seems unlikely, we should assume intentionality of this reference. See book II, chapter LIV of Miguel de Cervantes' *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* for another example of the eating of problematic foods by the Spanish Moriscos.

⁴⁴ Luna's description of the Peninsula as an earthly paradise for the conquering Muslim troops is reminiscent of the widely-circulated relations of New World discoveries by the Spanish. Like Luna, the authors of these relations also sought to legitimate their narrations through detailed geographic descriptions, and took linguistic possession of new lands by representing them via the topos of an edenic paradise on earth. For a more detailed discussion of Luna's linguistic appropriation of the new Islamic territories, see Chapter Four.

the first inhabitant of the land, Sem Tofail, who is said to be one of Noah's sons (159R-161R). He traces the group's social development and offers the reader glimpses into the region's folklore, military and technological advancements (159R-163L, 167L). Abentarique explains to his readership that the purpose of Muça's letter was to "...hac[er] primeramente mencion de la tierra conquistada, de su fertilidad y assiento, de sus terminos, limites y mojones...del modo y manera de viuir de sus naturales moradores, de las armas que vsan, de su animo y valor..." [...to make initial mention of the conquered land, of its fertility and situation, of its boundaries, limits and landmarks...of the way and form of life of its natural inhabitants, of the arms they used, of their disposition and their worth/valor...] (158R).⁴⁵ This segment of text demonstrates that Miguel de Luna sought to imbue his narrator and his history with a sense of veracity by offering a detailed description of the natural and human geography of the area, and thereby categorize his work as a "true" history.⁴⁶

In addition to the use of exacting, verifiable information and minute descriptions of human and natural geography, it was necessary for the historian to judge the validity of his sources and to represent the past in a dispassionate way. This objectivity is commented on in the manuals of both Luis Cabrera de Córdoba

⁴⁵ In my translation of the Spanish term "valor", I have chosen to include both the English "worth" and "valor". Given that, in this particular section of text, Miguel de Luna is outlining the usable materials that are found in the new territory, and also speaking of the nature of the Peninsula's Christian inhabitants, I believe the word can be understood ambiguously here.

⁴⁶ Significantly, Tarik Abenziet's description of the Peninsula not only serves to mark Luna's history as truthful, but also functions as an act of the symbolic appropriation of the territory. This linguistic ownership will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of this project.

and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. Both historians believed that history must be narrated sincerely (Córdoba, 46; Herrera, 107L). Herrera y Tordesillas specifically states that a history could only be true if the events were recounted dispassionately and without false preconceptions (107L). He emphasizes that it was the historian's obligation to his art and his reader to represent events just as they had occurred, and that it was necessary that "...los sucesos se quenten sinceramente con verdad sin que nada tenga fundamento vano porque la verdad es principio de prudencia y de Sapienda..." [...the events be told sincerely and truthfully without vain foundations because truth is the beginning of prudence and wisdom...] (107L). Herrera articulates the parameters that serve to define this "truth" that is free of "vain foundations" by proposing that the historian make use of trustworthy accounts, and be able to discern the validity of his sources (107L).⁴⁷ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba agreed that the historian should utilize valid

⁴⁷ As a negative example of how history should be written, Herrera calls his reader's attention to the "falsos inventados" [false inventions] written and circulated by the early sixteenth century Italian author/historian Giovanni Nanni, who wrote under the pseudonym Juan Annio de Viterbo (Annius of Viterbo) (79-82). As was widely known even during his own time, Viterbo's histories were based on specific political agendas, and did not dispassionately recount event of the past. Modern scholarship supports Herrera's position regarding the work of Annio of Viterbo. In her book, Historiography and Marginal Identity in Sixteenth-Century Spain, Diane Sieber states that Viterbo:

...claimed that he had rediscovered manuscripts of the sources consulted by early Church fathers—lost texts by Berosus of Babylon and Metasthenes of Persia and the works of Archilocus and Q. Fabius Pictor....[and] published a series of commentaries on these ancient writers...linking Spanish kings to the great empires of the past (21).

Although Herrera acknowledges the potential value of Viterbo's work as a tool for gaining greater understanding of the influential works of the early Church

sources, and proposed that one way in which truthful history could be written was by the proper incorporation of eyewitness testimony given by participants in past events. Cabrera explains that many of his contemporaries were of the opinion that the interests of history were best served through the use of eye-witness accounts, since "...la historia ha de narrar las cosas que vió o oyó a los que fueron presentes, porque el vocablo griego quiere dezir...ver, conocer y oyr..."

[...history should narrate the things that were seen and heard by those who were present, because the Greek term means...to see, to know and to hear...] (23), although one should always employ sound judgment in discerning the "truth" of any account (23-24).⁴⁸ In order to temper the subjective nature of eye-witness testimony, Cabrera suggests that the historian avail himself whenever possible of documents written in close chronological proximity to the events in question, since "...quien escriue lo que sucedió en su edad merece más crédito..." [...he who writes what happened in his own time deserves more credit...] (61), because such accounts are inherently "...más dignos de fe que los que historiaron muchos

(179R), he criticizes the Italian author's forgeries for having misled "...personas muy graves y Catolicas..." (80L).

⁴⁸ Cabrera begins his discussion concerning the proper use of eyewitness historical testimony by tracing the etymology of the Castilian term *historia*. He cites various respected philosophers and saints, emphasizing the Latin and Greek equivalents of the term, and concludes that it is most closely related to the Greek *historin*, which, in his words, "...significa ver" (23). He also reasons that there is an inherent subjectivity in the use of eye-witness testimony, since "[e]n todo suele auer errores; el más principal no puede por entero ver todo lo que se haze....Sería pequeña la historia que de lo que vió solamente se hiziesse y forçosamente ha de creer lo que...dizen...no vno sino muchos..." (24). In his opinion, the historian was responsible for weighing personal testimony against documented evidence in order to properly discern the "truth" he was to write.

años después..." [...more worthy of trust than those which were written many years later...] (61).

In his representation of the conquest of the Peninsula, Miguel de Luna enhances the veracity of his history through Abentarique's role as a trustworthy, eyewitness participant who wrote his history shortly his return to his native land (1R, 13), as well as through the incorporation of written, archival information within his narrative. Luna's narrator is a sympathetic figure. He is a regular man—a soldier who served his leaders with sincerity and loyalty—not a proud man who might have embellished his work for his own glory or profit. The Verdadera historia is presented as a humble participant's story of the conquest—a fact that serves to emphasize the sincerity of his narration. Given that Abentarique's discourse is a first-hand account of the conquest, Miguel de Luna is able to meet his reader's expectations concerning "true" historical discourse. Abentarique explains how he directly took part in the events he narrates:

La causa principal de mi atreuimiento, fue hauerme hallado en la guerra de España, desde el punto que el capitan Tarif entro en ella con el Conde don Iulian, hasta que se acabo su conquista, personalmente en todas las batallas y recuentros de enemigos, excepto el cerco de Carmona y Merida, porque en aquella sazón estaua yo con el Tarif en la prouincia de Granada"

[The principal cause of my daring, was having found myself in the war over Spain, from the point wherein captain Tarif entered into it with count Julian, until the conquest was finished, personally in all the battles and skirmishes, except the siege of Carmona and Merida, because during that time I was with Tarif in the province of Granada] (13).

Although he was present for the greatest majority of battles during the conquest, Abentarique openly admits that he did not personally serve in every military action, nor was he in attendance at the court of king Almanzor. In order to bridge

this gap between his role as a first-hand witness and the fact that he was not physically present for every event he relates, Luna's narrator amasses letters and documents that were turned over to him by other authoritative, eye-witness participants—the very generals who led these actions and the biographer who lived with king Almanzor—and has interviewed and taken information from other, notable individuals whose opinion is beyond reproach (13R). Miguel de Luna's Abentarique is privy to several types of documentation, which lend legitimacy to his narrative while he himself was not present for the events. In his capacity as translator of the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna reiterates the importance of these incorporated documents and letters, saying that they are “...dignas de ver y entender, porque con ellas haze cumplida demonstracion de la verdad...” [...worthy of being seen and understood, because with them one can make full demonstration of the truth...] of Abentarique's history (11L). The documents that Luna's narrator makes use of include official letters from Muslim kings and generals that transmit important information about the conquest, the four epitaphs, carved in stone, that mark the king's tomb and which Luna's biographer informs us were composed by Almanzor's trusted advisor, Mahometo Al-Gazeli (156L-158R)⁴⁹, and the intercalated biography of the Muslim king's

⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that king Almanzor's advisor is named “Al-Gazeli”, which brings to mind the historical, eleventh-century philosopher, mystic, jurist and logician, the Imam Hujjat al-Islam Abu Hamid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Tusi al-Shafi'i al-Ghazali, who was born in Persia in 1058 A.D. As in his repositioning of king Almanzor within a new historical framework, Luna also lifts Al-Ghazali out of his own time and reinserts him within his narration of the conquest of Spain. Luna's linking of these two historical personages is significant in several ways. By associating Almanzor with one of the most influential scholars and theologians in Islamic history, Luna legitimates

life (133R-158R). These documents serve as irreproachable archival evidence in support of Almanzor's existence and the truth of Abentarique's narration. If there had not existed a Muslim king Almanzor, the biography, letters and epitaphs which point to the exemplary, therefore "truthful" nature of the king's life could never have been written. Miguel de Luna's narrator does not merely cite these documents, but includes them verbatim within his own narration, thereby characterizing his history as "true."

In conclusion, if we consider that "[m]odes of representing events vary according to the perspective from which a representation is constructed"⁵⁰, and that "...the course of history can be envisioned as successive attempts to impose one mode of representation upon another"⁵¹, we begin to understand the subtle

the king's historical existence and emphasizes Almanzor's piety, his wisdom in selecting an advisor, and the breadth of the king's education. Al-Ghazali was well known and respected as the author of theological and philosophical volumes in which he discussed Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic thought, and asserted that the Absolute and the Infinite are unknowable by means of human reason. Al-Ghazali was himself an ascetic who supported sufism, and his works were not only influential in Islamic theology, but in Jewish and Christian thought as well. For information concerning Al-Ghazali's life and literary production, see: The Medieval Sourcebook Online

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/alghazali.html>; The Window:

Philosophers in the Internet

<http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/phil/philo/phils/muslim/ghazali.html>, and

http://www.sunnah.org/history/Scholars/imam_alghazali.htm. For information about Al-Ghazali in medieval Iberia, see Vincent Barletta, "Agency and Intertexts: Natural Philosophy as Christian Ethics in the *Libro del cavallero de dios*." *Hispanic Review* 72.2 (2004): In Press.

⁵⁰ Hugh Mehan, "The Construction of an LD Student: A Case Study in the Politics of Representation", *Natural Histories of Discourse*, pages 253-276. Quote taken from page 274.

⁵¹ op. cit., pages 253-276. Quote taken from page 274.

means by which Miguel de Luna utilizes the genre of historical discourse to legitimate his own (re)presentation of the Islamic conquest. In keeping with the acceptable norms for writing history during his time, Luna subordinates historical facts and figures to the lesson he wishes to impart, by superimposing the identity of the historical Abu 'Amir Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Amir al-Ma'afari (later known as Almanzor) upon his fictitious Muslim ruler, Iacob Almanzor, in order to forge a positive model of Moorish conduct. Luna draws his reader's attention to the desirable aspects of his (re)presentation of the Muslims who conquered the Peninsula and sets up an antithetical relationship between the moral actions of the good Almanzor and the immorality and cruelty of the cowardly Visigothic king, Rodrigo. But in order for this act of juxtaposition to function, and in order to remain within the boundaries of "true" historical discourse and therefore write what would be considered a legitimate history, it was necessary for our author to present his Verdadera historia in a convincing light. To this end, Miguel de Luna supports his representation of king Almanzor's life via his inclusion of what we are told are archival documents within his history. Also, the fact that Miguel de Luna is only translating a document he asserts was written in the eighth century by an eye-witness participant lends more veracity to his work precisely because it situates the text in closer temporal proximity to the events narrated, and therefore enhances the truthfulness of the discourse in the eyes of a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century reader. Since Luna does not step outside the boundaries of his role as official court translator, and because he offers his reader information concerning the original Arabic version of his history, his work is not readily

recognizable as a false invention of his own imagination. Luna's learning and knowledge of the Arabic language legitimate him as a worthy interpreter, and his history is seen as "true" because of the wealth of geographic, historic, and ethnographic information it offers the reader. Therefore, according to the norms for writing history set forth by authorized court historians Cabrera de Córdoba and Herrera y Tordesillas, Miguel de Luna's narrator and his account are worthy of our trust, and his narrative can be included within the category of "true" historical discourse.

CHAPTER III

JUSTIFICATION AND LEGITIMATION:
(RE)PRESENTATIONAL STRATEGIES

Many of the types of narratives that function to build a group's sense of identity are written into the community's collective history as a nation. For Homi Bhabha, Nation is a product of an "imagined community" or ideological whole that binds unique individuals together under a common cultural system.¹

According to Bhabha, the western concept of Nation as a powerful historic ideal is maintained through the repetition of socially significant myths that the people of a given group have in common.² These various unifying discourses serve as a type of social cement that creates a sense of shared community, and allow a group to represent who they are, where they came from, and what their relationship is with those outside the community.

Timothy Brennan, like Benedict Anderson and Homi Bhabha, affirms that the idea of Nation depends on shared narratives or myths for its existence. In his opinion, the discursive aspects of the collective's identity include: legend, oral tradition, folklore and songs, storytelling, news, and forms of written language

¹ Benedict Anderson has defined Nation as an imagined community. Like Bhabha, Anderson also emphasizes the socio-historical backdrop that marks the creation of a national community. Anderson asserts that "...nation states...always loom out of an immemorial past and glide into a limitless future....[Nation] has to be understood...with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being." Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, page 19.

² Bhabha, "Introduction: Narrating the Nation." Nation and Narration, page 1.

which include epic and the novel.³ Since these narratives, like Bhabha's idea of Nation, are shared between members of a given community, they function to construct a place or locality in which the individual can define his or her unique self in relation to the collective identity of the group. At times, the people of a community will celebrate the shared events of their past, or reflect upon their individuality in relation to the whole, through their narratives. Thus, they construct a discursive place wherein remembering and forgetting work together in a reciprocal process to emphasize the individuals' commonalities, to gloss over their differences, and to build a sense of unique identity. One of the most fundamental ways in which a group articulates its own self-defining myths is in writing its national history.

Miguel de Luna's pseudo-history of the Moorish conquest of Spain can be understood as an example of a nation- and identity-building narrative in that Luna weaves together and re-writes common myths, prejudices, stories, legends and history in order to form a literary space wherein the various Morisco groups may be seen as valued members of early-modern Spanish society. As our author recounts what he claims is a "true" record of the first fifty years of Spain's Islamic period, he simultaneously calls into question his reader's preexisting understanding of historical personages and situations, common legends, religious figures and ideologies, as well as social prejudices.⁴ By choosing to re-position

³ Brennan, "The national longing for form", Nation and Narration, pages 44-70. See pages (44-60).

⁴ One must note that the term "ideology" is polemic and has been discussed and defined/re-defined by many scholars, each according to the distinct purpose of his

certain historical and traditional figures within unexpected or unusual contexts, Miguel de Luna comments on the sociopolitical environment in which he himself lived, while he simultaneously veils his observations in the historical past he represents. Although our author left behind no explicit account of his true motivation in writing the Verdadera historia, we may speculate that the political climate surrounding his life and literary production was not one he was at liberty to discuss openly. Even when writing to the trusted Archbishop of Seville, don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, who had defended Miguel de Luna and his collaborator in the forged Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte against the religious accusations of the Corregidor de Granada, all reference to the expulsion of the

or her work. Göran Therborn has discussed ideologies as a type of social phenomenon rooted in discourse, which supports/is supported by, and engenders/is engendered by everyday ideas and experiences, and which affects and informs intellectual doctrines (The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, 2). Therborn refers specifically to the Marxist theory of ideology, which encompasses the State's use of religious discourse as a method of controlling the activities of the population, and which can also be used by the people to contest social domination. He states: "[t]he operation of ideology in human life basically involves the constitution and patterning of how human beings live their lives as conscious, reflecting initiators of acts in a structured, meaningful world..." (15). Kenneth Thompson, in Beliefs and Ideology, draws correlations between the work of Durkheim and that of Althusser concerning the definition of ideology as "...systems of representation—composed of concepts, ideas, myths, or images—in which people live their imaginary relations to the real conditions of existence" (24). Both Durkheim and Althusser conceive of ideology as a universal dimension of social life, whose universality derives from its socially cohesive function (Thompson, 23). Ideologies are therefore routinized features of social interaction that become internalized through the human subject's socialization, defining him/her and ordering the world in a shared expression of values and beliefs. See Emile Durkheim, The Evolution of Educational Thought, trans. P. Collins and Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, trans. Ben Brewster.

Moriscos is avoided by our author.⁵ One of the most interesting characteristics of the Verdadera historia is its expression of a sort of inherent Morisco value and dignity that underlies the events narrated. Miguel de Luna chooses to recontextualize both traditionally Christian and Islamic figures, at times juxtaposing one against the other, in such a way as to bring into question Christian Spain's claim to supremacy, while representing the Moor, and hence, his descendent the Morisco, in an acceptable light for a Christian reading audience.

In this chapter I shall examine Miguel de Luna's narrative choices concerning the historical and religious figures he (re)presents in his Verdadera historia. The purpose of this (re)presentation, I believe, is twofold. First, our author shows a desire to reconcile and assimilate the Moriscos within the more dominant, recognized "old Christian" sectors of his society, rather than expel them. Second, Miguel de Luna also subtly reaffirms the cultural contributions and uniqueness of the group whose history he narrates. The author/translator presents Moorish civilization, and by extension that of the Moorish descendants, the Moriscos, as equal—and at times superior—to Christian Spain in its achievements, history, religion and legends. In the Verdadera historia, Miguel de

⁵ See Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez's compilation of the only known personal documents written by Miguel de Luna, "Cartas del morisco granadino Miguel de Luna." Our author may have felt uneasy about openly discussing the expulsion and the events surrounding it. He may well have been a Morisco, and the omission of any reference to the expulsion in his letters to don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones would seem to be unusual, since the Archbishop had defended Miguel de Luna and his collaborator, Alonso del Castillo's honor as valid Catholic citizens of Spain, stressing their "hidalguía" and sincerity as Christians. Just two months after the expulsion was decreed, in a letter to the Archbishop Miguel de Luna avoids the topic completely.

Luna opens up a cultural, literary space or locality wherein Morisco group identity can safely be expressed and valued. Within this space, the authorial voice can forge a sense of shared community—an ancestral language, geography, history, religion, folklore, legends and myths.⁶ In creating this legacy of memories, of shared glories and will common to the Moriscos' past, Miguel de Luna constructs a literary space where a sense of Morisco Nation may be enacted. This discursive space is achieved by emphasizing the inherent nobility and value of the Morisco population, and at times even by subverting Catholic ideology.

In the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna's repositioning of recognizable personages takes place within ideologically-charged contexts. Many times, these contexts would have been unexpected or unusual for an audience of the sixteenth- to seventeenth-centuries. Miguel de Luna challenges the reader to participate actively in the story told, by forcing him/her into an unstable literary environment in which new modes of signification must be negotiated. Our author forces his reader to consider new ways of characterizing the Moors whose history he recounts, therefore dissociating what was formerly considered "Moorish" from the community represented. This sort of displacement, according to Michel de Certeau, invites the reader to question and reevaluate not only the identity of "...the savage [who] sidesteps the identifications given him... [and therefore]

⁶ In this chapter I examine specifically Miguel de Luna's re-fashioning of historical and religious figures. See Chapters Three and Four for a discussion concerning our author's vindication and (re)presentation of other significant factors in the process of building a sense of commonality, including the Arabic language, geography and folklore.

causes a disturbance that places the entire symbolic order into question”,⁷ but also calls the self into question as well. In this chapter, I shall examine in depth what Miguel de Luna’s reworking of culturally significant figures implies in terms of (re)presenting Morisco identity. Although there are many ways to categorize these figures, I will organize them according to two broad groupings: Miguel de Luna’s portrayal of historical personages and his (re)presentation of religious figures.

In the *Verdadera historia*, our author removes socially important historical figures from their expected contexts, employing them as a negative model, as in the case of Rodrigo, or in a sympathetic light, as in his (re)presentation of Florinda’s father, Count Julián. Miguel de Luna redefines this Visigothic king in order to call attention to the honesty, temperance, trustworthiness, wisdom, constancy, religious devotion and political effectiveness of an historically significant Moorish ruler, Auilgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almanzor. We also see convincing biographical evidence that Almanzor is symbolically associated with, and legitimated by, the political image and memory of one of the most influential monarchs in Spanish history, king Charles V. This association is validated several times, even though Almanzor exemplifies a very uncastilian norm of leadership based on merit instead of blood.

In addition to his repositioning of historical references, Miguel de Luna recontextualizes well-known religious figures. According to Hayden White, one of the most fundamental discursive options available to Western civilization in its

⁷ *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, page 70.

interpretation of the world and itself is the culturally approved category of religion.⁸ In an effort to familiarize the unfamiliar—to draw the Morisco and his heritage out of the margin and into the center—Miguel de Luna re-positions Christian figures within Moorish contexts, and vice versa. These repositionings are at times subversive to the Christian way of thought, and can be seen as foundational to a sense of Morisco community, given that they assert the unique, mixed cultural heritage of the group. One example of Miguel de Luna's employment of religious references illustrates a sense of antipathy towards the Church—an antipathy evident in his shrouded disavowal of the possibility of virgin birth.⁹ Besides questioning the validity of the Immaculate Conception, Miguel de Luna repositions the image of the Virgin to allude to the oppression, subjugation and potential cultural annihilation of the Moriscos. Our author accomplishes this by associating "Lela Marién" (199, 217-231), with the death of a mixed-blood baby. Such a (re)presentation of the Virgin can be seen as foreshadowing the Moriscos' immanent destiny, blending both Biblical and Qur'anic contexts in an effort to create a signifying space wherein the Morisco

⁸ Tropics of Discourse, page 86.

⁹ See page 163L. Miguel de Luna relates the folklore of a Spanish region wherein an eastern wind blowing across "Vandaluzia" is said to have the ability to impregnate the mares in the area, without any sort of reproductive contact with the stallions. Miguel de Luna's voice, as the translator, refutes this idea, saying, "...ninguna yegua, ni otro animal viviente puede engendrar sin copula de macho de su especie." He further goes on to propose that since God is the orchestrator of the universe, and all living things procreate according to His plan, deviating from this plan would be against Him.

struggle can be brought to light.¹⁰ These religious (re)presentations draw the reader into a world in which what was once ideologically familiar is now recontextualized. Within the new context, it is safe for the author and the reader to question existing cultural assumptions.¹¹

(Re)presentation of Religious Figures

There can be no doubt that the image of the Virgin Mary had come to be of great importance in Christendom long before the time Miguel de Luna was planning his history. In fact, there would be few of equal or greater significance within seventeenth-century European society. The influence of the Virgin Mary as a signifying force in Christian tradition had been a subject of debate throughout the early years of the Church. Her importance increased within the first centuries of Christian history, so that by the early fourth century when the Apostle's Creed

¹⁰ Lela Marién is not a Christian woman in his religious repositioning of her, but rather the first and Muslim wife of Muhammad Abdalaziz, one of the conquest's most famous captains. When Abdalaziz later marries Egilona, the daughter of Rodrigo, Lela Marién is outraged and arranges for their deaths, along with that of the unborn child Egilona carries. The events surrounding Abdalaziz's marriages to the Moorish Lela Marién and the Christian Egilona bear a striking resemblance to the Qur'anic description of the Prophet's marriage to his only virgin bride, 'A'isha. See Robinson, chapter 15 and the Qur'an 66:3f, 3:37 and 19:16-17.

¹¹ Miguel de Luna uses Biblical signifiers to emphasize the cultural value of Moorish, hence Morisco society. In addition to our author's use of the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo, his comparison of Almanzor with Charles V, and his (re)presentation of the Virgin Mary, his valuation of the Muslim presence in the Peninsula is also illustrated through his narration of the Biblical destruction and re-population of the world. In this brief segment, a Moorish descendant and direct relative of Noah, Sem Tofail, is the first, therefore most legitimate, inhabitant of the post-flood region later known as Spain (158-163).

was revised, Mary's place was secured in Christian dogma and her central role in the redemption story was acknowledged. In Europe, the first known church dedicated in the Virgin's name was at Ephesus in 431C.E. It was in this church that the third oecumenical council was held, decreeing Mary the "Mother of God."¹² By the eleventh century, "...the cult of the Virgin was developing all over western Christendom."¹³ At the height of her influence in medieval Europe:

Our Lady was a dominating and ever-present factor in...daily life....Bells named in her honor wakened...[man] in the morning, and...at night again to say his Aves. Her figure was carved on the city gate, or painted on the sign which hung over the village inn. A chapel dedicated to her stood at the entrance to many a bridge, and her street...often the most important in the town or village, led to her church.¹⁴

According to Church doctrine, Mary was destined to provide God with a physical body which would bear His essence among men.¹⁵ Not only was the Virgin seen as a vessel that made possible God's presence on earth, she intervened on man's behalf as his advocate before the Lord to ensure special divine grace.¹⁶ In addition to representing the Church and its beliefs, the Virgin is

¹² Alinda E. Montgomery, dissertation entitled "Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in English Life and Literature before 1300", page 5.

¹³ op. cit., page 3.

¹⁴ op. cit., pages 1-2. Montgomery here uses as her reference Edmund Waterton Bridgett, Pietas mariana britannica: a history of English devotion to the Virgin Mary; with a catalogue of shrines, sanctuaries, etc. (2 vols) and Rohault de Fleury, La Sainte Vierge. Etudes archeologiques et iconographiques, (2 vols). For more information, see the following in Bridgett's work: town bells, pages I 216-218; images on city gates and inns, pages I 317-342. In Fleury, see: I 258-260 and II 405 for references to chapels, and II 419 for roads.

¹⁵ Gregory Alastruey, The Blessed Virgin Mary, vol. I, page 30.

¹⁶ op. cit., chapters III and IV, vol. II.

seen in Christian Spain as fundamental to the process of empire-building. The Virgin is intimately associated with the waging of a justified and justifiable conquest. The Virgin Mary appears in works which include the Poema de Mio Cid, Hernán Cortés' Segunda carta, and Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's La Araucana, as a force which inspires Christian soldiers to triumph over non-believers in the name of God. In the Poema de Mio Cid, there are multiple references to the Mother of God and her role in man's redemption (Book III, Chapter V), the inspiration she gives to the Cid (I,IX), her role as man's advocate before God (I,IX; I, XXVIII), and as one who hears and *answers* the prayers for victory of Ruy Diaz (I,XIX; I,XXIII). In Cortés' second letter, the captain and his men are aided on several occasions in their battles against the indigenous forces of the New World by the "Glorious Mother", whose image the Spanish troops find solace in placing within the natives' temples or on top of their towers (64-80). In the Araucana, the Virgin Mary appears to the Spanish army from high within a thunderstorm to bless their just endeavor against the indigenous forces (Canto IX). In these and other key foundational and exculpatory texts, she represents a religious unity which has been vital to Spain's nation-building efforts throughout the centuries.

In the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna appropriates the image of the holy Virgin Mary, (re)presenting her in a more human form. Removing the Virgin from her role as unstained, founding mother of a community of believers, he repositions her within a human body that possesses both human characteristics and vices. Francisco Márquez Villanueva has pointed to what he describes as a

sense of religious indifference underlying Miguel de Luna's references to the Virgin (*El problema morisco desde otras laderas*, 39). According to Márquez, Miguel de Luna opts for a scientific, as opposed to either Christian or Muslim, explanation of the story of Christ's birth (90). He also suggests that Luna's allusion to the impossibility of virgin birth undermines the most basic Christian dogma: the Incarnation and the divine nature of Jesus Christ. According to Márquez Villanueva, this process of subverting Christ's virgin birth would not only be seen as a criticism of the Catholic Church, but also as a point of difference between accepted Islamic thought and that of our author (90). I suggest that Miguel de Luna uses his complex repositioning of the Virgin not only to accomplish the goals which Márquez Villanueva suggests, but also to call attention to the plight of the Moriscos during the pre-expulsion years.

Miguel de Luna makes reference to the Virgin near the beginning of the second part of his history, after having discussed the religion and practices of the Spanish territory and having alluded to the fact that theirs was not the most morally advanced of social and religious systems. He describes the "profession de sus naturales Godos y sus Reyes" [religious faith of the land's Visigothic inhabitants, and their kings], to be Christianity, a faith whose believers adore the "benditissimo IESV" [blessed Jesus], their savior—the son of the Virgin Mary (162L). He then details the moral laxness of the Christian population. The questionable morality of the area is evidenced by the sins of Rodrigo, the people's propensity for giving false edicts, the true origin of the Visigothic or Christian language, and by the pagan practices of the Greeks who also had inhabited the

peninsula. Even the Jews of the region who practiced the law of Moses, did so in what he refers to as a “depraved” form (162R). Immediately after this discussion concerning the lack of true morality encountered in the newly conquered land, Miguel de Luna subtly questions the Virgin birth. But in addition to diminishing the image of the Virgin Mother by recontextualizing her within a list of Christian shortcomings, our author also criticizes the doctrine of virgin birth: in speaking of the inhabitants of the area known as “Vandalusia”, he relates part of the folklore of the region wherein an eastern wind is said to have the ability to impregnate the mares in the area, without any sort of reproductive contact with the stallions: “...dizen sus moradores que el viento occidental empreña las yeguas sin copula de los cauallos” (163L). Miguel de Luna’s voice, as the translator, denies the possibility of horses bearing young spontaneously, saying, “...Ninguna yegua, ni otro animal vivuiente puede engendrar sin copula de macho de su especie” [no mare or other living animal is able to engender offspring without copulation with the male of the species]. He further proposes that since God is the supreme orchestrator of the universe, and *all living things* procreate according to His divine plan, deviation from this plan would be against Him (163L). If virgin birth is an impossibility as Miguel de Luna’s rational, scientific thought has suggested it could be, then it is possible that Christ’s divinity is questionable as well. I do not wish to imply here that Miguel de Luna knowingly intended a great blasphemy against the Church. We will never know the true motive behind our author’s choice of subject matter. But, according to Catholic doctrine, had Jesus come into the world as the product of an illicit, pre-marital union, one can assume

that He would have born the stain of original sin, thereby negating his divine, sinless nature. Bearing this logic in mind, the main area of irreconcilable conflict between Islam and Christianity—which is Christ’s divinity—could, perhaps, be no more than a legend, or myth, with little basis in empirical reality. In this sense, Miguel de Luna shows his reader that the principle rift between Christian and Muslim is one of divergent customs, not one of verifiable flesh and blood.

After having caused the reader to question non-sexual reproduction, Miguel de Luna further challenges Christian thought through his multilayered allusions to the Virgin Mary in his descriptions of both wives of captain Mahometo Abdalaziz: Lela Mariem and Egilona. First, our author places the Christian Virgin within the body of a Moorish noble woman—the sister of king Abencirix, and captain Mahometo Abdalaziz’s first wife who is named “Lela Mariem,” the Arabic name for the mother of Jesus. Second, the Holy Mother is associated in an ideologically ambiguous light with Egilona, Rodrigo’s young, chaste, orphaned daughter who is to be Abdalaziz’s second wife. As we shall see, this reemplotment of the Virgin Mary within both of Abdalaziz’s wives represents an intricate interweaving of Christian and Muslim traditions.

Luna informs his reader that this is a “true history” of the conquest of Spain by the Moors. His goal is to translate faithfully the hypothetical author’s text, thereby providing a record of “what really happened”. One example of this effort to correct what our author classifies as the errors of previous historians is evident in his characterization of Egilona, the daughter of Visigothic king don Rodrigo. Miguel de Luna explains in the *prohemio* to the second part of the first

volume of the Verdadera historia that Christian chroniclers have confused the identities of various personages in the Conquest. These misrepresentations include the confusion of Rodrigo's wife, who he refers to as Eliata¹⁷ and who died a martyr to her chosen faith, with his daughter Egilona (130L). Luna portrays Rodrigo's daughter in an ambiguous manner which is offered as a historically accurate truth. It is within this "true" identity of Egilona as presented in the text, that our author alludes to the difficult position of the Moriscos in Spanish society.¹⁸

Miguel de Luna portrays Egilona as the embodiment of virtue. As a prisoner in Mahometo Abdalaziz's house, she maintains her virginity, reminding her future husband that he should not compromise her in any way. Her faith runs deep, and even after marrying a Moor, she never denies her Christian God. But Rodrigo's daughter embodies more than simply a positive model of Christian conduct. Egilona strives ceaselessly to draw her husband into the worship of Christian saints. Her efforts to force her husband into conforming to her religious demands can be seen as symbolic of the Church's efforts to spiritually indoctrinate the Moriscos into the practices of Catholicism, and the details concerning her married life are important for our author's purpose. Miguel de

¹⁷ "Eliata" is, according to Miguel de Luna, the name chosen by the renegade Muslim princess, Zahara Benalyaça, after her conversion to Christianity in order to marry Rodrigo.

¹⁸ For more information concerning the Christianizing efforts of "Egilón" (known in earlier chronicles as the widow of Rodrigo), see Ramón Menéndez Pidal's Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Menéndez Pidal asserts that "Egilón ejerció sobre el enamorado espíritu de Abdelaziz [sic] las más audaces y comprometadoras sugestiones...ella le imbuía ideas cristianas..." (XXII).

Luna portrays Egilona not only as the Christianizing force of the Church, but also shows her as a type of liminal figure, likened to both the Holy Mother and the Prophet Muhammad's only virgin wife, 'A'isha, whose recorded life bears a striking resemblance to Qu'ranic representations of of Christian Virgin Mary. Egilona is also made the mother of the peninsula's first mixed-blood child, and therefore, a forbearer of the Moriscos. This child, as well as her interactions with Abdalaziz and his first wife, "Lela Marién", are exemplary of the difficult situation in which the Moriscos found themselves during the pre-expulsion years of the Verdadera historia.

Miguel de Luna comments on the historical situation of the Moriscos by embodying the Virgin Mary as Egilona, whose efforts at converting her husband mirror those of Catholic Spain in its dealings with the Moriscos. She tricks Abdalaziz into unknowing shows of piety towards the Christian images decorating her room. Miguel de Luna informs his reader that Egilona:

...desseava...en su coraçon que el Abdalaziz quisesse tornarse Christiano, y no le osava dezir ninguna cosa que tocasse a esta materia, y para incitarle...tenia sus aposentos llenos de imagenes, y para que Abdalaziz los reuerenciasse mando labrar las puertas de aquellos aposentos donde las tenia muy baxas y pequeñas, afin de que quando el entrasse en ellos a su conuersacion, de necessidad se abaxasse, y abaxandose hiziesse reuerencia y acatamento a aquellas imagines.

[...desired...in her heart that Abdalaziz would want to convert to Christianity, although she didn't dare say a word to him about the matter, and so as to entice him...she had her rooms filled with images, and so that Abdalaziz should worship them she ordered the doors of her rooms where she kept her images to be made very low and small, in order that when he [Abdalaziz] entered her rooms to visit with her, of necessity he should bow down, and in bowing down, he should show reverence and respect to those images] (219R).

While forcing Abdalaziz to bow unwittingly to her Christian images, she lies to him: Abdalaziz asks her why she had her doors built so small, but she answers that this is the way she was raised, and in order to maintain good health, she needs to continue in the same way. Notably, he allows her to follow the customs of her youth, supporting the model of Moorish tolerance of Christian practice which is evident throughout the history (219R). Never receiving adequate explanation and instruction, Abdalaziz is manipulated into bowing and symbolically worshipping what to him are idols devoid of any religious significance. Together in the same house (or country), we see Christian and Muslim living side by side under Islamic rule, each continuing to practice their faith. The authoritative, conquering male figure allows the subordinate female figure, who was once his prisoner, to continue living according to her customs and beliefs, even while under his roof. But the favor is not returned. She later gains the upper hand, conquering and obliging him into betraying his faith and worshipping in ways that are not traditionally his and which he does not understand. Nor does she—the daughter of Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king and symbol of Christian Spain—instruct the Moor, Abdalaziz, adequately in the theology of her faith. Egilona demands but does not teach.

Miguel de Luna also demonstrates through Egilona the extent to which Moors and Christians had intermingled, thus blurring the dividing line between the two peoples. Egilona's description in the Verdadera historia bears a striking resemblance to Qur'anic representations of both the Virgin Mary and "A'isha, Muhammad's virgin wife. These similarities between 'A'isha's and Mary's lives

in the Qur'an has been studied in depth by Neal Robinson in his work Christ in Islam and Christianity.¹⁹ All three—Mary and 'A'isha in the Qur'an, and Egilona in the Verdadera historia—are substantially younger than the men who are charged with their care: Muhammad in the case of 'A'isha, Zakariyya (Zechariah) in the case of Mary, and her father's servant Cratilo and Abdalaziz, in the case of Egilona. All three are associated with protected, cloistered spaces. In the Qur'an's description of Mary, the young woman spends her time praying in the *mihrab* (3:37), "...withdraw[ing] from her people to a chamber looking East" (19:16) and taking to herself a curtain, or veil, to facilitate her withdrawal (19:17). She later leaves with her newborn son for a faraway place after having given birth (19:22). 'A'isha is associated with the *hijab*, or curtain from behind which Muslims were instructed by revelation to speak with the Prophet's wives, as well as by the fact that she was "screened off" from her own family at the tender age of nine, when Muhammad took her as his wife. Egilona's cloistered space is ideological: she agrees to marry Abdalaziz as long as she can live separately in her "ley de christianos" [Christian law] (219L). She lives away from others in a room closed off by a small door. She has religious images in her room, turning it into the "important place of worship" that is a commonplace to both the Mary and the 'A'isha stories in the Qur'an: Mary is associated with the *mihrab*, while 'A'isha lived in her own quarters in the house that was used as the first mosque. All three were accused of sexual misconduct and immorality. Mary's pregnancy was made public, causing accusations of her not being a virgin before her

¹⁹ See ch.15, "The Virginal Conception", pages 156-166.

wedding, and 'A'isha was accused of having spent the night with a man other than her husband, although only out of necessity. The basis of Egilona's misconduct can be found in both civil and religious traditions. First, Abdalaziz married her without the express consent of his sovereign, king Abencirix (219L). Also, as a Christian, Egilona marries a Muslim without any promise of conversion on his part. Third, as the wife of a Muslim, she refuses to profess Islam (219R). This refusal outrages Abdalaziz's first wife, Lela Marién, and is the cause of Egilona's, her husband's, and their unborn child's eventual deaths. If we understand Egilona as the conflation of the founding mothers of both Islam and Christianity into one figure, the boundaries between the faiths are effectively blurred. The reader finds it difficult to categorize Rodrigo's daughter. Is she a Christian in Muslim clothing, or a Muslim in Christian clothing? Is it possible that, by noting the blurred separation of identities, we can say that the text comments on the status of the Moriscos facing expulsion? If we cannot distinguish the Christian Mary from the non-Christian 'A'isha because they inhabit the same body, how could one be justly expelled without the danger of losing the other?²⁰

²⁰ It is important to consider the similarities between the personage of Egilona as represented in Luna's work, and the way that Miguel de Cervantes characterizes Zoraida/María in *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* ("The Captive's Tale", chapters XXXVII and XXXIX). Like Egilona, Zoraida is portrayed in an ambiguous light. Her outward appearance—clothing, jewelry, language, customs, home, family and given name—would characterize her as Muslim. Yet, we are told by her escort, the Captive, that she has rejected her Islamic roots in favor of the Christian faith of her wet-nurse. She has changed her name from "Zoraida" to "María", and she corrects the other guests at the inn when they express doubt concerning her religious affiliation. Although the other travelers at the inn are wary at first of her outward appearance, they are compelled to ultimately view her

The last and most important example of how Miguel de Luna comments on his own historical moment through rewriting the past, is evidenced in his foreshadowing of the eventual expulsion and cultural extinction of the Moriscos. Once again, the familial situation between Abdalaziz, Egilona and Lela Marién is important. The Virgin, in this case symbolized linguistically by the Moorish woman Lela Marién, is outraged by the marriage between her Muslim husband and the Christian daughter of Rodrigo. Eventually, Lela Marién grows jealous. She poisons her brother, king Abencirix, against the mixed-faith union by complaining to him daily. In fact, Lela Marién causes her brother so much heartache that he dies naturally from his many cares and woes (225R). The new king, Abencirix's son, prince Abencirix Almanzor is described as of "condicion...vengatiuo, cruel, desconsiderado, y amigo de executar su voluntad" [...vengeful, cruel, inconsiderate condition, and prone to exercise his own will] (225R) and he conspires with his aunt to end Egilona and Abdalaziz's life (225R). This young king of "poca edad y menos capacidad" [few years and less capacity] (226L) kidnaps Abdalaziz's eldest son and poisons him (226R). More intrigues follow and eventually, the Viceroy of the Spanish kingdom are convinced to bear false witness against Abdalaziz, testifying that because of his interfaith marriage, he is a false Muslim with intentions of converting to Christianity (231L). Abdalaziz is assassinated and Egilona—who is pregnant with his child—miscarries and dies (231L). True unity between Christian and Moor is as Christian, to at least a certain extent. It is interesting to note that Zoraida/María never refers to the Mother of God in the language of her newfound fellow Christians, but rather in Arabic, the language of her father, country and former religion.

never achieved, and the offspring of the first attempts at integration and incorporation dies before ever being born. In this example, Miguel de Luna takes the Virgin out of her untouchable ideological place as a unifying religious and national myth and casts her in the role of a destructive force rather than giver of life and advocate on man's behalf. She is shown to be jealous of what is hers and sets in motion a series of events that eventuate the death of the only mixed-blood child mentioned in the Verdadera historia. The death of this unborn child, I believe, is exemplary of our author's concern for the Moriscos of his day. Miguel de Luna seems to want the Morisco to be assimilated within Spanish society, yet, at the same time, to be permitted to maintain his own traditions and customs. He writes so that the Morisco voice might be heard, bleeding through his history.

Historical Figures and Contexts

As previously discussed, writing history is an act of relating historical events within a narrative framework. It is a discursive process, articulated by a human subject who serves as a filter in the course of story telling. The historian's art, then, is subject to the ideological climate surrounding its production. History also builds a sense of group consciousness, and is therefore one of the essential components implicit in defining Nation. In the historical process of defining Spain's national identity, the figure of the last Visigothic king, don Rodrigo, is of great importance. According to José Antonio Maravall, in El concepto de España en la Edad Media:

[u]no de los temas que han dado lugar a que se repita con mayor constancia el nombre de España...es el del recuerdo de la dominación de los godos en la Península....En nuestros más rudimentarios textos historiográficos aparece...el término España, expresando el concepto de un reino que, como tal, estuvo unido bajo el poder de los godos.

[one of the themes which have given rise to the most repetitions of Spain's name...is that of the memory of the Visigothic domination in the Peninsula....In our most rudimentary historiographic texts...the term Spain appears, expressing the concept of a kingdom which, as such, was united under the power of the Visigoths] (200).

In Maravall's opinion, the Visigothic heritage of Spain has been conceptualized as an uninterrupted thread of continuity in spite of divergent, real geographic and political frontiers (299-300). Of course, through the centuries, the story of Rodrigo has suffered embellishments and editing to such a degree that the events and environment represented bear little resemblance to the "...problema de la real y efectiva presencia del factor visigodo en nuestra Reconquista" [problem of the real and effective presence of the Visigothic factor in our Reconquest] (300). Even so, the significance of the history of Rodrigo and his legend, as an enduring national myth and symbol of Spain's Visigothic period, cannot be underestimated.

According to historian Joseph F. O'Callaghan, the loss of Spain to the Moorish invaders was historically owed, to a great extent, to the treachery of Vitiza's sons: Oppa (also known as Orpas) and Sinderedo (also known as Sisiberto) (*A History of Medieval Spain*, 53). Ramón Menéndez Pidal supports this opinion.²¹ Both assert that the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula should not be considered exclusively a product of king Rodrigo's lust and count Julián's

²¹ See *Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas: Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, *El Rey Rodrigo en la Literatura*, and *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Rodrigo, el último godo*.

revenge, as has been alluded to in legend and the romance tradition. O'Callaghan and Menéndez Pidal elaborate this point, painting a portrait of king Vitiza's reign and eventual downfall, followed by Rodrigo's brief command.²²

The Visigoths had formed a geographically powerful and united kingdom which lacked internal robustness. The undisciplined nature of the region's aristocracy led to frequent changes in local government, and the nobility and clergy's intolerance of religious difference led the Jews of the area to hate and conspire against Visigoth reign.²³ Vitiza was the penultimate monarch to govern the region, reigning between 701 and 709, according to Menéndez Pidal, and was known to be more tolerant and clement than his predecessor, Vamba, as well as his own father, Egica.²⁴ In fact, Vitiza pardoned numerous victims of his father's persecution, restoring a sense of calm to Spain. But, Vitiza was not without flaws. Shortly before he assumed the throne, he mortally wounded duke Fáfila by a blow to the head in an argument over the latter's wife, and banished Pelayo, Fáfila's son, from the kingdom in 701 or 702. After Vitiza's death in the year 709/710, Rodrigo usurped the royal lineage of his former king, forcibly taking the throne from Vitiza's three young sons after a short period of war (Menéndez

²² See A History of Medieval Spain, part I, "The Visigothic Era", and Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Rodrigo, el último rey godo, XVI-XXIV.

²³ O'Callaghan states that "...Sisebut (612-621), the most Romanized of the Visigothic sovereigns...enacted rigorous legislation against the Jews, requiring them to accept baptism on penalty of death and confiscation of property...", and that several of this ruler's successors followed this same policy (47). Menéndez Pidal also refers to the unhappy state of the Jewish population (XVII).

²⁴ O'Callaghan cites the years of Vitiza's reign as 702-710 (51).

Pidal, XVII). Because of Rodrigo's undermining of Vitiza's royal line, after reaching adulthood, the sons of the former monarch sent a secret message to Tárik ben Zeyad²⁵—Muslim military leader sent to the Peninsula by Muza, governor of Africa—offering him plentiful booty in exchange for his help in overturning Rodrigo and restoring Spain to its legitimate rulers (Menéndez Pidal, XVIII-XIX).²⁶ Tárik accepted. Upon seeing his reign threatened by the Muslim forces, the overconfident Rodrigo tried to assimilate his enemies by giving command of both sections of his armed forces to the older two sons of Vitiza, Sinderedo and Oppa. These same two were to later desert their posts and join forces with the Islamic invaders (O'Callaghan, 53; Menéndez Pidal, XIX-XX). In direct opposition to his portrayal in the Rodrigo cycle of romances, Olián (Julián) plays a minor role in Spain's fall. Olián, after the death of Vitiza and upon seeing Rodrigo usurp the former monarch's legitimate heirs, surrendered to Muza, probably out of a sense of hostility towards the new king (O'Callaghan, 52; Menéndez Pidal, XVIII). Olián led Tárik in a battle to take Toledo, and eventually became a financial advisor to Muza on a brief stay in Damascus (Menéndez Pidal, XX-XXI). These circumstances, coupled with the reality of a disgruntled Jewish population, willing to side with Muslim forces, explains the general atmosphere which led to Spain's conquest by the Moors.

²⁵ English translation: Tariq ibn Ziyad.

²⁶ O'Callaghan also supports the fact that Vitiza's two eldest sons were most probably in contact with the Arab and Berber forces, planning treason against Rodrigo (53).

Origins of the Rodrigo legend

There are multiple variations of the legend of Spain's fall to the Islamic forces in 711, which were carried over into the chronicle and romance traditions from as early as the ninth century. The roots of such legends are of unknown origin. According to Menéndez Pidal, the most plausible theories suggest that the legend would have had either Mozarabic Christian, Muslim or Germanic origins, with the final products being, quite possibly, the result of the collaborative efforts of all the above groups throughout the centuries.²⁷ In his opinion, the most salient feature of the Rodrigo myth(s) is that, given the fact that the figure of the last Visigothic king has come to represent Christendom and Spanish-ness in the Peninsula, it seems to have hybrid, not truly Castilian origins (3). He proposes that there are three basic political or geographic factions in Spain within whose population certain variations of the Rodrigo myth thrived and were popularized. These factions include the Mozarabic *Rodriguistas*—Christians of the popular, not noble class, who found themselves obliged to live under Arabic rule after the conquest, the Vitizan party which was comprised of Moors and upper class Christians who, given their friendliness towards and affiliation with the Muslim conquerors, enjoyed a variety of privileges under Islamic rule, and finally, the Christians who took refuge in the northern mountain regions of the peninsula. To each of these groups Menéndez Pidal attributes specific variations of the legend of

²⁷ Romancero tradicional, p. 3-4.

Spain's fall to the Moors, as well as specific representations of the Rodrigo figure (3-12).

The version of the legend maintained by the pro-Rodrigo segments of Spanish society held Olián primarily responsible for the invasion, owing to his collaboration with the African forces. Olián was seen as a traitor to the crown, and as a Muslim sympathizer, he was like his king Vitiza. During the first century after the Islamic conquest, Vitiza became vilified by the Christians for having brought God's wrath against the Peninsula, in the form of attacking Muslim troops as punishment for his amorous escapades.²⁸ In the Romancero tradicional, Menéndez Pidal states that:

la opinión popular propende a explicar los grandes desastres nacionales concentrando sobre un traidor la culpa múltiple y difusa que fué causa de la derrota....La leyenda de la traición de Olián no se debió a los árabes, pues los vencedores no están nunca interesados en explicar su victoria por una simple traición.

[popular opinion tends to explain great national disasters by concentrating the multi-faceted and diffuse blame on one traitor who was the cause of the defeat....The legend of Olián's treachery was not taken from the Arabs, given that those who are victorious are never interested in explaining their victory in terms of a simple act of treachery (4).

²⁸ Menéndez Pidal, Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, pages XXV-XXVII, XXX, XXXV. The author quotes an anonymous monk of the Aquitaine monastery of Moissac in his Chronicon: "[Vitiza f]ué [sic] muy dado a mujeres y con su ejemplo enseñó a los sacerdotes y al pueblo a vivir en la lujuria, irritando así el furor del Cielo. Entonces, los sarracenos entraron en España" [Vitiza was very given to women and with his example he taught the clergy and his community to live in lust, invoking Heaven's fury. In this way, the Sarracens entered Spain] (XXX). It is important to note that in this account of the fall of Spain, Vitiza is held responsible for teaching his subjects and clergy to live in sin, thus corrupting the entire land. These points are supported by O'Callaghan, pages 51-52, as he cites the aforementioned chronicle and the Chronicle of Alfonso III.

This variation of the Rodrigo myth was born of the common man: a disgruntled, dominated, Christian sector which found itself subject to Islamic government and alienated from the rights and privileges which formed part of the Christian and Muslim nobility's experience.²⁹ It is precisely here, within popular, Mozarabic territory, that we see the legend of Count Olián for the first time (4-5). This group, within which the tale of Vitiza's rape of Olián's daughter prevailed, was comprised primarily of "...hispano-romanos...cristianos fervientes e intransigentes con el invasor" [...Hispano-Romans...Christians who were fervent and immovable with the invader] (5), and tended to view Vitiza, not Rodrigo, as the lustful and ungodly ruler who brought God's vengeance against Spain in the form of the Islamic conquest and of Olián's treason (5). The *Rodriguistas* also supported Rodrigo, as opposed to Vitiza's sons, as heir to the throne after monarch's demise, breaking with what would have been proper succession to the throne (5).

The pro-Vitiza version of the legend of Spain's fall to the Moors was maintained by the aristocratic segments of Mozarabic Christian Spain, as well as by the Muslim invaders. This group of Mozarabs was comprised of upper-class descendants of Vitiza, who had lived harmoniously with, and been known for their magnanimity towards the Muslims (5). These individuals represented the higher levels of their society, "...ocupando los cargos públicos, civiles y eclesiásticos, para el gobierno de la mozarabía" [...occupying public, civil and ecclesiastical positions, for the Mozarabic government] (5). Such segments of

²⁹ Menéndez Pidal, *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas*, page XXXV.

society owed much to the Moors who had given them, and allowed them to maintain, their relatively privileged positions, as well as to Vitiza, who had forged amiable relations with the Muslims.³⁰ Therefore, the hostility which the *Rodriguistas* expressed towards Vitiza was ignored in the anti-Rodrigo accounts of the conquest (5-6). It is within this group of Christians who were sympathetic to the Moorish government, and who were closely associated with the reigning Muslims, that the legend of Rodrigo and his rape of Count Olián's daughter grew as a response to the anti-Vitiza sentiments of the lower classes. Menéndez Pidal states that, "...entre las clases más altas, más relacionadas con los musulmanes, se atribuyó en seguida la aventura [con la hija de Olián] al rey Rodrigo" [...within the upper classes who had the most dealings with the Muslims, the affair with Olián's daughter was attributed to Rodrigo] (6). This particular variant of the legend of Spain's fall to the Moors was the one most commonly encountered among the learned class and most often reiterated in Islamic accounts of the conquest.³¹ The last variant in the development of the Rodrigo legend is traceable to the Christian mountain dwellers who had escaped to the northern mountains of Spain. The principal difference between the versions of the legend which circulated among this third group, and the two aforementioned groups, is that the

³⁰ O'Callaghan stresses the point that Vitiza's sons had collaborated with the Arab forces in the hopes of regaining their royal patrimony. He also agrees that there were Christian groups who propagated different legends concerning Spain's fall: "...Christians who survived the conquest tried to explain the destruction of the Visigothic kingdom by reference to the vices of Witiza or Rodrigo" (53).

³¹ Menéndez Pidal cites the chronicle of the Egyptian historian, Ben Abdelhákem, and that of Ar-Razi as examples of this version's popularity among Islamic historians. Romancero tradicional, page 6.

story of Olián's daughter is unknown until much later among the mountain Christians. Olián was not even mentioned in the romances and legends which circulated in the north until after the reconquest of Toledo in the twelfth century.³²

Rodrigo: the Last Visigothic King

The Rodrigo cycle of romances was compiled from a series of separate ballads most likely composed between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries,³³ and which owes much to, and reflects the characteristics of, the Chronicle tradition which preceeded it.³⁴ Although there are several variants of each

³² Mendéz Pidal states that the Crónica silense (written towards 1115) is the first work in the north to mention Olián or his daughter. This work supports the pro-Rodrigo party's stance concerning the lascivious, sinful, malicious and slothful nature of Vitiza, who because of his vices, lost Spain to the Moors, while also attributing the rape of Olián's daughter to Rodrigo. Romancero tradicional, page 6.

³³ The process of dating the romances is especially problematic owing to the genre itself and the time period in which they were conceived. Recent scholarship's most educated estimate places the earliest written romances within the fourteenth century, and the greatest majority being published during the sixteenth century. See Paloma Díaz-Mas' Romancero (12-13) for more details. Certainly, the legend of Rodrigo, La Cava and the fall of Spain to the Moors had its roots in much earlier times than the writing of the romances.

³⁴ The Crónica sarracina by Pedro del Corral (written in approximately 1430) and the Crónica general composed by Alfonso X have been shown to be the sources from which several of the Rodrigo romances were drawn. Ramón Menéndez Pidal has noted in his Flor nueva de romances viejos (55), that the second, to some extent the fifth, sixth and seventh romances in the Rodrigo cycle compiled in this volume, owe much to the Crónica sarracina. Pidal bases this assertion on the lyricism and emotion which are evident in the description of Rodrigo's desire for Julián's daughter and the details presented concerning her beauty and attraction for the king. Because of their more declamatory characteristics, he attributes his volume's third and fourth romances more to the Crónica general

individual ballad, there are certain characteristics which occur with enough frequency that we may classify them as common to the tradition. First, Rodrigo is shown as a monarch whose will cannot be denied, and who feels a genuine love/desire for his vassal's daughter, referred to in the romances only as "La Cava."³⁵ Rodrigo is shown to confess his love directly to the young woman, at which point she discretely downplays the amorous advances of her king, either taking his words as evidence of a test of her loyalty to her queen, or as a joke. Rodrigo then finds a way to corner Julián's daughter alone, and seemingly forces himself upon her. The dishonored girl's beauty wastes away, and she finds

composed by Alfonso X. In his opinion, the first in the cycle (as seen in this specific collection) does not fit into either of these categories, being of much later origin (probably seventeenth century), and representing an amalgam of various influences. See the Flor nueva de romances viejos, pages 43-55.

³⁵ The name "La Cava" has been discussed by many scholars. Paloma Díaz-Mas' in her Romancero explains its meaning in the following way: "...se ha entendido como nombre propio de la doncella en la tradición hispánica (compitiendo o conviviendo con el de *Florinda*), no es sino el arabismo *caba*: 'prostituida, mujer deshonrada'" [...it has been understood as the young woman's name in the Spanish tradition (competing or coexisting with the name *Florinda*), and is but the Arabism, *caba*: 'prostitute, dishonorable woman'"]. (p. 134, footnote 2). Sebastián Covarrubias defines "La Caba" in his 1611 dictionary as "[un nombre que] vale...como muger mala de su cuerpo que se da a todos...porque así como la cava o hoyo recibe en sí diversidad de aguas, assí la tal recibe variedad de simientes y las confunde....Fué la hija del conde don Julián, por cuya causa se perdió España" [a name that serves to refer to a woman who is evil in her body who gives herself to all...because in the same way that the cave or pit receives within itself diverse waters, she receives many seeds and confuses them....She was the daughter of count Julián, on whose behalf Spain was lost]. Miguel de Luna himself defines the term "La Caba" as "mala mujer" [evil woman] (54L). Other scholars who have discussed the meaning of the the name within varying contexts include: Diane Sieber, "Mapping Identity in the Captive's Tale" (4-7); María Antonia Garcés, "Zoraida's Veil: 'The Other Scene' of the Captive's Tale" (86); L.A. Murillo, "Cervantes' Tale of the Captive Captain" (238), and E. Michael Gerli, Refiguring Authority. Reading, Writing, and Rewriting in Cervantes (53-58).

herself forced to inform her father of the incident in a letter. Julián is dishonored, and plots his treasonous revenge, involving a pact made with the Muslims of North Africa against his own sovereign. Rodrigo is later defeated in battle, and flees, visibly wounded, on horseback. After a time spent wandering in the mountains, the king comes upon a hermit's cave, and is there instructed as to how he may attain God's forgiveness for his sins. Rodrigo does penance, and dies after suffering and repenting of his wrongdoing.³⁶

It is interesting that, in the romance tradition, Rodrigo is not represented as a cruel rapist, but rather as a passionate, although misguided man whose desire oversteps the boundaries of his good judgment. He feels a sincere longing for Julián's daughter, and declares his emotions at several points in the story, promising her his heart and kingdom if she will grant him his desire, in some variations. Rodrigo is also shown to fight heroically in battle, and to retreat only when the situation is hopeless. Most importantly, in the romance tradition, king Rodrigo is given the chance to repent of his sins after realizing that he has lost his land to the invaders, and to do penance, thus gaining God's forgiveness and entrance into paradise after death. In the Verdadera historia, Miguel de Luna takes this representation of Rodrigo as a passionate, misguided and ultimately forgiven man, and effectively re-writes it, (re)presenting the last Visigothic king and symbol of Spanish Christendom in a negative light.

³⁶ See Ramón Menéndez Pidal's Flor nueva de romances viejos (43-55) and Paloma Díaz-Mas' Romancero, (133-142) for specific romances.

In creating a place or locality where Morisco identity can be forged, Miguel de Luna effectively negates the privileged position of what Francisco Márquez Villanueva has called "...[el] neogoticismo en cuanto gran mito conservador...socialmente agresivo en la España de la época." [...neo-Gothicism as a great conservative myth...socially aggressive in the Spain of its time]³⁷

Responding to assertions like those set forth in the Corónica general de España, published, notably, in 1587, just two years before Luna's first volume was to be printed, our author sketches his (re)presentation of Spain's Visigothic past as a "...pesadilla a la que viene a poner fin una providencial invasión musulmana" [...nightmare to which the Muslim invasion puts an end] (Márquez Villanueva, 51). In the Corónica general, Ambrosio de Morales exalts the power of Visigothic Spain, and laments its eventual downfall:

Asi cayo y fue abatida en un punto aquella soberana gloria de los Godos ensalçada por tantos siglos de continuas victorias, y estendida por toda la Europa con grandeza de señorío. Inclytos desde su principio, temidos por sus proezas, amados en su largueza, obedecidos en su gouierno, y estimados por los mas altos principes de la tierra por su valor y braueza. No quedo agora sino un triste exemplo de perdicion y desuentura tan dolorosa, que aun hasta agora pone espanto quando se oye.

[So the supreme glory of the Visigoths fell and was dismantled at once after having been exalted for so many centuries of continuous victories, its great rule extending throughout all of Europe. The Visigoths were illustrious from the beginning, feared for their heroic feats, loved for their generosity, obeyed in government and esteemed by the highest princes in the world for their worth and bravery. There remains nothing of them except for a sad example of ruin and misfortune, so painful that even today it strikes fear in men's hearts upon hearing the story.]³⁸

³⁷ Francisco Márquez Villanueva, El problema morisco (desde otras laderas), page 51.

³⁸ Ambrosio de Morales, Corónica general de España, v. 3, fol. 293R.

The picture that Miguel de Luna paints of the political and social climate of Visigothic Spain and of its last great ruler is distinct from the image evoked by pro-Visigoth authors such as Morales. Miguel de Luna refutes the view that the purest blood in Spain was to be found among the simple country folk dwelling in the mountainous areas to the north, who had reportedly maintained their Visigothic heritage as distinct and separate from that of the more mixed groups to the south. Our author also (re)presents the image of king Rodrigo in such a way as to cast into doubt the unquestioned legitimacy of Visigothic rule over Spain. Rodrigo is no longer seen as a great hero, a repentant sinner, nor as a hopelessly enamored nobleman who forfeits his kingdom for love of his vassal's daughter. As seen through the lens of Miguel de Luna's history, Rodrigo is a cruel, selfish, reckless, ungodly, cowardly, scheming rapist who corrupts his entire kingdom with his sins.

Miguel de Luna leaves very little of the Rodrigo legend intact. According to Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Luna no deja en su sitio nada de la antigua leyenda. Así el heroico Rodrigo...se convierte ahora en un sanguinario miedoso, entregado a toda clase de vicios, mayormente a los carnales" [Luna leaves nothing of the former legend in place. In his work, the heroic Rodrigo is converted into a bloodthirsty coward, given to every type of vice, especially those of a carnal nature].³⁹ Instead of embodying the characteristics of a heroic and respected king, in the Verdadera historia he abuses the confidence of one of his loyal vassals,

³⁹ Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, pages XLIV-XLV, vol. 2.

count Julián ⁴⁰, forces himself sexually upon the count's daughter (who had been left under the king's protection at court), is described as a tyrant who corrupts the faith of his subjects, illegitimately assumes the throne and seeks to assassinate the country's true and legitimate ruler, the soon-to-be monarch don Sancho, and who shows his true colors in the moment when he forces a poor shepherd to exchange clothes with him so as to hide his identity and avoid death by the encroaching enemy forces. But, in Miguel de Luna's history, Rodrigo's sins are not his alone: his moral laxness permeates the entire Visigothic kingdom. Francisco Márquez Villanueva states that, through Miguel de Luna's portrayal of Rodrigo in his Verdadera historia "...todo el mundo visigodo que se quintaescencia en Rodrigo queda afeado de los más negros colores" [...the whole Visigothic world which is brought together in the quintessential Rodrigo is eventually disfigured in the ugliest way] (48). Ramón Menéndez Pidal has also commented on Luna's subversion of the Rodrigo myth, and by extension that of the nobility of Visigoth rule in Spain in his Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, stating that:

[Miguel de Luna] no ceja en desfigurar o contrariar siempre las tradiciones históricas más recibidas....[S]us invenciones aturden y marean al lector, como las de un loco, pues desquician y contradicen...todo cuanto por tradición estamos habituados a tener como cosa sabida....

[Miguel de Luna boldly and consistently disfigures or contradicts the most beloved historic traditions....His creations stun and disturb the reader, as would those of a lunatic, given that they contradict and invert...everything we are traditionally accustomed to consider as given...].⁴¹

⁴⁰ This figure corresponds to the historical Olián, also known as Bolián and Olbán.

⁴¹ Pages XLIV-XLV, vol. 2.

In the Verdadera historia, Rodrigo is described as a generally effective ruler, although flawed in that he cannot control his vices. His first and primary flaw is that of jealousy and lust for power, as evidenced in the account of his usurpation of Sancho's throne. According to Miguel de Luna, Rodrigo was the brother of king Acosta, who, while alive, had governed the city of Toledo, and who left behind after his death a legitimate heir to the throne, don Sancho.⁴² Given that Sancho was no more than a child at the time of his father's death, Rodrigo, as the boy's uncle and the king's brother, was entrusted with a proxy rule. Miguel de Luna informs his reader that even though he was still a child, the young Sancho, as true and rightful sovereign, showed great promise as a leader from his earliest days: "[e]l niño don Sancho mostraua grande esfuerço y valor en el animo, en tal grado que todos los de su Corte le tenian mucha aficion y voluntad" [the child Sancho showed great strength and bravery of spirit, to such a degree that all those of his court felt much affection a goodwill towards him] (14L). The yet-to-be-king is legitimated not only by his lineage, but by popular opinion and the earnest goodwill of his subjects. Rodrigo, conversely, is described as scheming, insincere and jealous of Sancho's legitimate throne. Luna informs his reader that the acting king "no dexaua de recibir mucha pena y cuydado, aunque exteriormente mostraua lo contrario" [was constantly worried and troubled, although externally he showed the opposite] every time he thought of submitting his will to that of

⁴² Note that this is an historical point wherein Miguel de Luna's history differs from what research has indicated. First, there was never a direct attempt made on Sancho's life by his uncle Rodrigo. Rodrigo sent his nephew to fight in a Basque uprising in Pamplona, a battle in which Sancho was to lose his life. See Menéndez Pidal, Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas, page XIX.

Sancho and becoming the young monarch's vassal and inferior one day (14L). Out of fear and pride, Rodrigo unsuccessfully attempts to poison Sancho during a celebration at court (14). A second attempt upon Sancho's life is made as Rodrigo endeavors to imprison the prince on false charges of conspiracy, at the suggestion of his royal advisor, Ataulpho. Sancho is captured, and while they are en route to Toledo, Sancho's mother, Anagilda, recruits a small army, goes in search of her son, and kills every one of Rodrigo's soldiers, except one: Ataulpho. Anagilda orders his ears and nose cut off for acts of treachery against his natural sovereign, and he is sent back to Rodrigo as a threatening example (15-16). Although mother and son escape to Africa, seeking refuge among the Muslim population in Tangiers, within a short time they both die of the grief which escaping Rodrigo's grasp has caused them (18L). Miguel de Luna effectively rewrites the history of Rodrigo's rise to power, recontextualizing Sancho's death as a direct result of his uncle's arrogance and pride. In this segment, we see that Rodrigo's sins affect and sully not only his own image, but also the moral behavior of his subjects. Because of Rodrigo's lust for power, Anagilda is forced into committing acts of war and revenge. In spite of the fact that she was victimized by the usurper, and that she acts on behalf of her son, such actions define her as bloodthirsty and barbaric in the extreme (Márquez Villanueva, 49).

Another way in which Miguel de Luna (re)presents the historical and ethical climate surrounding Rodrigo's reign is seen in the moral laxness attributed

to the last Visigothic king. In his dealings with Count Julián (Olián)⁴³ and his daughter, Florinda,⁴⁴ Rodrigo's corruption is made evident. First, the king abuses the trust of his once loyal vassal, causing Julián to resort to betraying the crown. Contrary to the image presented of him in popular legend, in the Verdadera historia, Julián is not shown to have maliciously plotted treason against Rodrigo in any way. The count only seeks justice after his daughter's rape.⁴⁵ In fact, Julián acts on the king's behalf, traveling to Africa in order to discern the possible alliance between Anagilda, who had sought exile with the Muslims of Tangier, and Muza, ruler of Islamic Africa (17R). But this act of obedience does not seem to sway Rodrigo. Taking advantage of his vassal's absence in Africa, Rodrigo acts upon the "...vicios que solia vsar siendo soltero..." [...the vices he was given to as a single man...] and forces the young maid, Florinda, although he himself is married, thus committing an act of adultery (20L). In a treasonous, although

⁴³ Whereas Menéndez Pidal refers to this personage as "Olián", Miguel de Luna chooses the more easily recognized variant of the name. I will respect each author's choice and use both names, clarified in parenthesis.

⁴⁴ It is worthy of mention that Miguel de Luna names Florinda for the first time in Spanish letters, refusing to call her by the pejorative title, "la Caba", meaning, according to our author, "bad woman" (54L). In this way, our author brings to her representation more depth of character and sympathy on the part of the reader.

⁴⁵ Miguel de Luna lets the reader know that Julián's pact with the Muslim forces is indeed an act of treason against his natural sovereign (54R), but that the count himself was first betrayed by his king. Julián acts with the sanction of his community, bringing the issue before his public. Julián considers his options before acting and asks for the opinion of his advisors, unlike Rodrigo who does not show the same degree of control and temperance. Miguel de Luna makes a point of informing the reader that all the inhabitants of this land "...se sentian agraviados del Rey don Rodrigo..." [...they felt themselves wronged by king Rodrigo...] (22R).

socially and morally justified act of retaliation, Julián forms an alliance with Muça and uses his knowledge of Spain's geography to offer the Muslim forces safe passage into the Peninsula. Because of the abuse she has suffered at the hands of her king, Florinda is forced into a last desperate expression of the deep guilt she must bear. She not only has been dishonored by the sovereign to whom her honor and education had been entrusted, but she also feels that she has been the cause of so many noble soldiers' deaths. Florinda commits suicide by throwing herself from a tower.⁴⁶ The depth of her emotional turmoil reveals an individual—a woman who is conscious of right and wrong—not a liberal, winsome whore who illicitly shares her body with all takers, as implied by the alternate name, “la Caba”.⁴⁷

In addition to his lust for power and lascivious tendencies, Rodrigo also is of a questionable religious conviction. In direct opposition to the opinions upheld by the *Rodriguista* segment of Mozarabic society during the Islamic period, Miguel de Luna follows the Moorish version of the legend, portraying Rodrigo, not Vitiza, as given to carnal vices. The legendary Christian king not only commits adultery against his own wife, but also invites the Catholic clergy to take multiple lovers, a contradiction which defiles his community in the eyes of God. Miguel

⁴⁶ Miguel de Luna emphasizes Florinda's feelings of guilt: “[Florinda] imaginava la grande perdida de España, y la grande destruycion de los Christianos, con tantas muertes, y captiuerios, robadas sus haziendas, y que ella houviessse sido causa principal, cabeça y ocasion de aquella perdicion” [Florinda imagined the great loss of Spain, and the great destruction suffered by the Christians, with so many deaths and men taken prisoner, their goods stolen, and that she might have been the reason and principal cause of their ruin] (53L).

⁴⁷ See footnote 44.

de Luna describes this facet of Rodrigo's reign in his second volume as he offers an ethno-geographical report of the newly conquered lands and their inhabitants. After having just described the extension of the land, its people with their languages, customs, holidays, and clothing, our author describes the Church custom of celibacy among its clergy:

[n]o pueden ser casados, aunque el Rey don Rodrigo les dio licencia para tener mugeres vna, dos y tres, y las demas mancebas que quisiessen contra su misma ley....[H]ay de presente en este Reyno mas hijos aspurios y de malos ayuntamientos, que ligitimos.

[they are not permitted to marry, although king Rodrigo has given them license to have as many women and lovers as they desire, going against their own laws....Presently in this kingdom, there are more unlawfully begotten children than legitimate ones] (162).

Here, Rodrigo is seen as a corrupting, rather than religiously edifying force in his community. His carnal vices are not merely his own, but extend, rather, to corrupt the Catholic clergy as well as the population as a whole, as Luna shows in the reportedly high number of illegitimate births in the Peninsula. Using Rodrigo as a negative example, Miguel de Luna manages to criticize effectively pre-Islamic society in Spain by questioning the legitimacy of the land's heirs, and their dedication to their faith. In this scenario, it is not the descendents of the Muslim conquerors who are considered morally lax, but rather the Christian clergy and its public who break with their own rules of conduct. What is brought into question here is precisely that which Michel de Certeau refers to as "...the status of the strange" (*Heterologies*, 67). By re-writing the story of Rodrigo, a Spanish foundational myth, Miguel de Luna employs a legend which is familiar to his Christian reader to mask or hide the foreignness of the conquerors, and to

estrangle his reader from his/her own history. Monogamy and adherence to religious law are the norm for the Muslim forces, although not among the Christian population. The customs, clothing, celebrations and languages which are portrayed as different and needful of explanation are not Muslim or Morisco, but rather Christian.

Rodrigo's moral strength and position as monarch are further questioned by his treatment of the simple shepherd he comes across while fleeing the Muslim army. During a particularly bloody battle the king retreats on horseback, leaving his forces to struggle as best they can. Miguel de Luna emphasizes the cowardly nature of Rodrigo's actions: "...[Rodrigo] salio de su campo huyendo, *sin consentir que ninguno de los suyos le siguiesse* [emphasis mine]" [Rodrigo left the battlefield in retreat, without allowing any of his men to follow] (34L). Later, the Muslim captain Tarif Abenziet offers a handsome reward for Rodrigo's capture, dead or alive. Moors, Christians and renegades all join in the search, each group having its particular motive for wanting to capture and punish Rodrigo. These mercenary troops find a man in the mountains, dressed as the Visigothic king, capture him, and bring him before Abenziet and his assistant, count Julián. Florinda's father informs the court that this man is not Rodrigo, but a rustic shepherd whom the king had duped. The shepherd had been grazing his livestock in the mountains when:

...llego a el vn hombre caballero muy fatigado y cansado al parecer con aquel bestido que el traya encima, el qual con el gesto ayrado le mando que se desnudasse sus çamarraos y los tomo, y auiendose el desnudado, se los vistio, y le mando al pastor que se vistiesse aquel vestido suyo...

[...a horseman approached him, who seemed fatigued and tired from the way he dressed, and who, with an angry gesture, ordered him to undress, changing his clothes for those of the shepherd and ordering the shepherd to do the same] (34R).

Luckily, the shepherd had been taken alive, not dead. Far from representing the model behavior expected of a king, Rodrigo is seen in this example as a frightened child, anxious for his own well-being and uninterested in service to his subjects, God or country. Notably, this section also represents an inversion of Rodrigo's penance and redemption as told in the romance tradition. In the Rodrigo cycle of romances, the last Visigothic king does come upon a shepherd who introduces him to a hermit living in the mountains. This hermit guides the ex-ruler through acts of contrition and penance aimed at redeeming his soul in the eyes of the Christian God. But in Miguel de Luna's history, the only person the Rodrigo meets during his flight in the Verdadera historia is the solitary shepherd, whose clothing and identity the ex-monarch forcibly takes. Nowhere does there appear a pious hermit to help Rodrigo confess and repent of his sins. This moment represents one of the instances of harshest criticism by our author: unable to confess and repent of his sins, unable to cleanse his soul by performing acts of penance, Rodrigo is effectively denied God's forgiveness and condemned to eternal punishment.

The fashioning of a literary or historical context or "place" requires an author to choose which information to include and/or exclude from his or her discourse. We see in the Verdadera historia that, contrary to the heroic image of the last Visigothic king seen as a foundational myth of the Spanish nation, Rodrigo is presented as a spiritually and morally flawed individual who does not

adhere to the tenets of his faith. He commits the sins of greed, lust, pride, and prevarication, as well as the political infractions of treason against a natural sovereign, cowardliness in battle, and failure to bear his subjects' best interests in mind. Rodrigo is thereby described as more of a tyrant than a just and temperate ruler. In addition to thus removing Rodrigo from his privileged position in popular ideology, Miguel de Luna significantly builds a literary place wherein Moorish heritage is valued, and Moorish/Morisco identity and dignity can exist. Our author accomplishes this by forging a locality in which an Other voice can be heard and within which the Other might dwell. Remembering once again Homi K. Bhabha's concept of locality, we see that Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with the discourses of authority governing his world. Luna negotiates this dialog through his own act of nation-building, by uniting the disparate elements of unique individuals and distinct groups (Moriscos from Asturias, Granada, Castile, Valencia) and speaking on behalf of "the people" as a grouping of individuals. It is through this act of nation-building that he can effectively answer the accusations made against the Morisco communities, and he can question the morals, integrity and motives of the Christian nation which sought to eradicate all traces of difference in Spain's Morisco populations.

One of the ways in which Miguel de Luna builds this locality for Morisco culture is through his antithetical comparison of the corrupt king Rodrigo with the exemplary Muslim ruler, Aulgalit Miramamolín Iacob Almanzor. After Luna deconstructs two of the foundational personalities in Spanish history—the Virgin Mary and king Rodrigo—he sets about to construct or "build" a literary space

wherein the Morisco can exist or “dwell” in each of them.⁴⁸ First, as previously mentioned in this chapter, after removing the Christian Virgin from her privileged position as founding mother of a group of believers and casting her in an ambiguous and destructive role, Miguel de Luna then locates the plight of the Morisco community in the personage of the martyred, mixed-blood infant. In the case of Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king, we see Moorish and hence, Morisco history vindicated and (re)presented in a positive light via our author’s juxtapositioning of the immoral and unethical Christian ruler with the exemplary life of Almanzor.⁴⁹

Given the moral climate surrounding Rodrigo and the fact that, according to this particular account of the fall of Spain, his reign is illegitimate, the loss of Spain to the Moors was not a national tragedy. Márquez Villanueva comments:

Luna consagra así su esfuerzo...no sólo atacando el goticismo, sino oponiéndole un contramito...[que propone] la alternativa de una España humanamente gobernada bajo la tolerancia religiosa musulmana, desconocedora de la clase de problemas que agobian a unos y otros bajo los... ‘godos’.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the necessarily reciprocal nature of the concepts of “building” and “dwelling”, see Martin Heidegger’s essay, “Building Dwelling Thinking” from the volume, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, translated by Albert Hofstadter. For Heidegger, we construct the spaces which we inhabit because we have the need to “dwell”, or “be” in our world. According to him, the desire to dwell is the motivating factor in our need to build: we do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are dwellers by nature. Bearing this discussion in mind, Miguel de Luna’s re-construction of Spain’s past, portraying the conquering Muslim forces in a positive light compared with the ideologically charged Christian figures whose significance he dismantles, is an attempt to create a space in which the Moriscos and their history can exist. The attempt to create a place in which this group may live is especially poignant if we remember that the expulsion decree was to be given just a few short years after Luna’s work was published.

⁴⁹ Márquez Villanueva, 67-71.

[Luna confirms his effort...not only attacking Gothicism, but also by contrasting it with a counter-myth...which proposes the alternative of a Spain humanely governed under Muslim religious tolerance, to whom they type of problem which plagued those under the Visigothic kingdom was unknown] (31).

Compared with the last Visigothic king, the Muslim conquerors—especially the “anti-Rodrigo” (Márquez Villanueva, 32) Auilgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almançor—show themselves to be compassionate and just in their dealings with the natives of the newly conquered land. One after another, Christian towns are defeated, but always with the agreement that the inhabitants are free to stay, if they comply with their new leadership, or that they may leave unharmed, with their belongings and family, to live in other Christian areas, if they do not wish to comply.⁵⁰ But nowhere in the Verdadera historia is Moorish reign so praised as in the biography of the generous Arab ruler, Almanzor. The historical Iacob Almanzor was a relatively minor monarch who lived approximately four hundred and fifty years after the conquest of Spain, yet the Almanzor to whom the Verdadera historia seems to refer is another, more influential leader: the tenth century Muhammad Ibn Abí Amir, later to be known as Al-Mansur (or Almanzor). His reign represents the period of greatest splendor and peace in Al-Andalus. Almanzor ruled rigorously, but justly, and the sciences, medicine and education flourished under his command.⁵¹ Miguel de Luna chooses to lift this

⁵⁰ This facet of the Islamic conquest of Spain is emphasized many times in the Verdadera historia. For examples, please see 38R, 40L and 41R.

⁵¹ See Ángel Espinosa Durán’s book, Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Victorioso por Allah.

particular Almanzor out of his original historical context and include him as a principal character in the Verdadera historia as an example of a positive model of Moorish conduct, assigning to his interpolated biography the privileged “center” position of the text, lending it more importance and authority.⁵²

Miguel de Luna’s negative portrayal of Rodrigo directly contrasts with the honesty, temperance, trustworthiness, wisdom, constancy, religious devotion and political effectiveness of Almanzor. Whereas Rodrigo abuses the trust of his vassal, count Julián, and seems oblivious to the fact that there are Christian mercenaries in his own kingdom who are siding with the Moors in an effort to overthrow his illegitimate reign, Almanzor serves his people well and is loved by them, ordering schools, hospitals and places of worship built (133R-158L). In the hospital, which Almanzor decreed constructed alongside his own royal palace, the king calls for the sciences to be taught, donating books, materials, clothing and food at no cost to the students, and assuring that only the most learned professors are hired at substantial salaries (146L). He consistently gives alms to the poor and gives shelter to travelers (135L, 146L). He dedicates himself to education alongside the great minds of his time (134L). He devotes one day a week to God and prayer, and manages state affairs in such a way as to bring peace and a tranquil, secure life to his vassals (135R). In contrast with the image of Rodrigo disguising himself in the stolen clothing of a unfortunate shepherd in order to

⁵² The fictitious author states in his “Prohemio de Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique”, just before beginning Almanzor’s biography, that the life of this king deserves to occupy the center of his history, giving it “autoridad y verdad” [authority and truth] (131L).

avoid facing the enemy forces, Almanzor dons the typical costume of a farmer, merchant or soldier in order to move freely among the common folk in the public plazas, so as to gain true knowledge concerning the state of his kingdom and the happiness of his people (142R). Finally, instead of raping his female subjects as we have seen in our author's description of Rodrigo, Almanzor wins their goodwill and trust for having made his kingdom a safe place through which they may travel alone (138R). Miramamolin Almanzor is described as representing a true and legitimate "...espejo de príncipes..." [...mirror of princes...] (155L) who has the good of his subjects always in the forefront of his mind, and who wins their support and affection through his acts of generosity.

In addition to legitimating Almanzor's reign by describing how sincerely he serves his community, Miguel de Luna further emphasizes the Moorish ruler's authority by manipulating his (re)presentation so as to be palatable to, and draw sympathy from, a Christian reader. This is accomplished on two levels. First, we see convincing biographical evidence that Miramamolin Almanzor is ideologically associated with, and thus legitimated by, the political image and recent memory of one of the most influential monarchs in Spanish history, king Charles V.⁵³ Second, the religious life of the Moorish monarch is noticeably lacking in specifically Islamic flavor. Almanzor is therefore somewhat Christianized by our author's silences concerning uniquely Muslim practices.

⁵³ It is interesting to note that, even though Charles V was at least partially responsible for bankrupting the state and causing the War of the Communities in Spain, Miguel de Luna chooses to silence or "forget" the negative aspects of this king's reign. Luna's "forgetting" emphasizes the king's greatness without alienating his reader, thereby allowing him/her to sympathize more deeply with Almanzor.

These two facets of the Moorish ruler's biography function in tandem to leave the reader with the impression that this man is embodied with the qualities necessary in a true prince in the eyes of a sixteenth-to seventeenth-century reading audience.

Miguel de Luna engages in what Márquez Villanueva has termed an "...obvio plagio de la abdicación y retiro de Carlos V..." [...obvious plagiarism of Charles V's abdication and withdrawal...] (70), as he presents his reader with the intercalated biography of Auilgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almançor. Realizing that he is becoming old and tired, the beloved Muslim ruler renounces his throne, leaving the kingdom in the hands of his significantly less effectual son. This the monarch does in the hope that he might retire to a mountain retreat, with gardens and an adjoining mosque, to live out the rest of his life in quiet, solitary contemplation (135R). This scenario is reminiscent of king Charles V's renunciation of the throne for the monastery at Yuste, and his son, Phillip II's, succession in 1556. This harking back to the period of Charles V is important to Miguel de Luna's purpose of building a sense of Morisco identity, or nation, within a non-threatening context for his Christian reader. To a Christian reader, the comparison between Almanzor and Charles V would provide him/her with a familiar background and common, glorified past with which to make sense of a Muslim Other's great leader and history. The memory of Charles V represents an important period in Spain's history: Granada had fallen to the Catholic Monarchs shortly before (1492), the region's power had increased substantially as Charles V assumed the throne, and Spain was now considered an empire, rather than a solitary kingdom. Catholic Spain's greatness was indisputable during this period.

A Christian reader in the seventeenth century would have been able to appreciate the truth of the history presented, not finding himself alienated, nor his ideologies challenged by the events narrated, since his nation's grandeur had been confirmed by Luna. At the same time, this reference to the period directly following the fall of Granada would have been reminiscent of the more lenient measures imposed on the Moorish, and later Morisco population, during the reign of Charles V, and would have been evident to Christian and Morisco reader alike. Miguel de Luna's comparison, then, of Charles V with Almanzor stresses the idea that greatness is achieved not only through national pride and might, but also through compassion and mercy for those who have been defeated.⁵⁴

Another way in which Miguel de Luna (re)presents Moorish, and by extension, Morisco history and civilization is in his near-Christianization of the positive role model, Almanzor. It is through this characterization of the Muslim ruler's religious life that we see a clear effort at diminishing the differences between Christians and Muslims. Miguel de Luna presents the Islamic ruler in an understandable and non-threatening way for an Old Christian reader.

In the brief biographical segment concerning Miramamolín Almanzor's religious practices, the only markers which identify him as truly Muslim are the fact that he worships in a mosque (not a church), on Fridays (not Sundays). Miguel de Luna informs his reader that Almanzor kept the tenets of his religion, and was very devout, going to pray on Fridays as was required by his faith. The

⁵⁴ See: Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: Historiografía de un grupo marginado, pages 14, 24, 72, 76; L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain: 1250-1500, pages 307-339, and Anwar G. Chejne, Islam and the West: The Moriscos, a Cultural and Social History, pages 1-16.

Muslim ruler was said to have taken his religious duties seriously: our author explains that every time Almanzor went to the great mosque in town, he was accompanied by five hundred foot soldiers with their “alfanges” (136L) unsheathed, blade held high, two hundred fully dressed horsemen, and the major heads of army and state. This spectacle of royal power, according to Miguel de Luna, was enacted in demonstration of the strength and justice with which Almanzor ruled his kingdom. (135R-136L). But Almanzor’s religiosity seems to encompass more a sense of general morality than adherence to any specific faith. In spite of the sense of religious splendor one could imagine would have been evoked with the image of several hundred armed troops marching with their sovereign to prayer, Miguel de Luna purposely overlooks practices unique to Islam in his description of the good king. Just as our author influences his reader’s understanding of the weapons Almanzor’s accompaniment carries, he also directs the reader’s interpretation of the Islamic faith.

Almanzor’s men carry “alfanges” which are defined by the Diccionario de la lengua española of the Real Academia Española (ed. XXI) as an “especie de sable, corto y corvo, con filo solamente por un lado, y por los dos en la punta” [a type of short, curved sable, sharpened on only one side, and on both sides at the tip]. This description makes the weapon a type of cutlass, or other curved sword, but specifically not equivalent to the scimitar, which according to the Diccionario, was used by Persians and Turks.⁵⁵ This subtle manipulation of vocabulary creates

⁵⁵ The Diccionario de la lengua española specifically equates *cimitarra* with Persians and Turks, while *alfange* is given no group-centered significance.

a zone of ideological safety wherein the Moors who conquered the Peninsula in 711 are not equated in terms of military weaponry with the Turkish threat to Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. Miguel de Luna further downplays the Moorishness of Muslim community in Spain by omitting important descriptions of Almanzor's religious life. We are told that the leader prays and goes to worship in the mosque on Fridays. Aside from this almost generic reference, we are left in a void concerning specific Muslim practices. Nowhere in the Verdadera historia do we see references to the five daily prayers required of Muslims. There is no mention of the specific bodily positions needed for prayer, nor of the necessary ablutions prior to prayer. Neither is Almanzor called to worship at the mosque by a voice from the minaret, nor is it said that he has ever completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, or has ever fasted during Ramadan.

Almanzor's "Moorishness" is purposefully effaced so as to not estrange the Old Christian reader, who ideally should forget that Almanzor is anything except an excellent, beloved ruler, capable of running the state, as the military description of his journey to the mosque shows. This act of forgetting on the reader's part is essential in Miguel de Luna's effort to portray the Moor/Morisco in a positive light and stave off the impending expulsion by minimizing difference. Forgetting difference and creating a single voice from among the many, are vital steps toward creating of a sense of community and of nation.

Bearing in mind Miguel de Luna's sympathetic view of La Cava Florinda, his negative portrayal of the last Visigothic king in comparison with Almanzor,

Cimitarra is defined as "[una] especie de sable usado por turcos y persas" [a type of sable used by Turks and Persians].

the great Muslim ruler of Al-Andalus, his expression of the Virgin as a mortal woman incapable of having immaculately conceived the child of God, and his association of her with Muhammad's virgin wife, 'A'isha, we see important examples of the sort of social and cultural leveling which is prevalent in the Verdadera Historia. Rodrigo is removed from his place of nation-founding and greatness, and reinserted into one of human cowardliness, sin and corruption. The Virgin Mary and Florinda are portrayed as human, with recognizable mortal flaws as well as virtues. Almanzor is (re)presented in the history as a strong, generous and capable ruler whose biography evokes the memory of the Christian monarch, Charles V. Miguel de Luna places Moor and Christian on an equal plane: high birth, noble title, wealth and position are seen as less important than the quality and strength of each individual's character. Thus, traditional modes of representation are dismantled, and new ones erected in their stead. Once again, we must re-examine the idea of locality, or "place". Miguel de Luna creates a uniquely Morisco literary space by merging the authoritative, Old Christian discourse of national and religious history with the authority of key figures in the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula. In this way, our author subverts two of the most important foundational images in Spanish history: the Virgin and the last Visigothic king. He (re)presents Spain's history in a way which elevates the moral climate surrounding the Islamic conquest and which questions important myths upon which a sense of Spanish nation had been constructed. In this way, the author of the Verdadera historia functions as an architect, constructing a space wherein it is possible for the Morisco to dwell.

CHAPTER IV

UNDESIRABLES OR WORTHY CITIZENS?
(RE)PRESENTING COMMON CONCEPTIONS
ABOUT THE MORISCO

In direct contrast with the negative image he paints of the Visigothic king Rodrigo in the *Verdadera historia*, Miguel de Luna characterizes his history's greatest Muslim ruler, King Aulqualit Miramamolin Iacob Almanzor, as a positive example of how a monarch should behave.¹ As stated in Chapter Two, Almanzor's exemplary generosity, compassion, trustworthiness, wisdom, religious conviction and political effectiveness call attention to the lack of these qualities in Spain's last Visigothic king. Rather than abusing the trust of his loyal vassals and raping their daughters or willfully endangering them, as Rodrigo is shown to have done, the Moorish king gives alms to the poor, orders schools and hospitals built, and creates a safe environment through which even women may travel alone without fear. The moral lesson Almanzor embodies is clear. But in addition to portraying this great Islamic ruler as a living, breathing lesson for all kings and statesmen, Miguel de Luna employs him, and other exemplary personages, in an effort to rewrite history and refute existing negative stereotypes concerning the nature of the Moor, and by extension, the Morisco. Luna questions existing assumptions by offering positive examples of Moorish behavior, and by recontextualizing how the reader understands and sympathizes with his characters. In this way, the reader's perception and understanding of the

¹ See chapter two for a discussion concerning the ways in which Miguel de Luna rewrites the popular myths surrounding the historical personage of Rodrigo.

literary world Luna fabricates is colored according to the author's dual purpose: first, to vindicate the Moorish period in Spain's history and therefore legitimate the Moriscos' cultural heritage, and second, to stave off the Moriscos' impending expulsion. Through his positive portrayal of the Islamic conquest of Spain and as the author of its "true history", Miguel de Luna creates a literary place/environment wherein ideas that could be considered threatening to Old Christian society—a justified Moorish presence in the Peninsula, the inherent nobility and virtue of Muslim's and their society, a vindication of the Arabic language—can be understood and accepted.

The creation of identity in its various manifestations, whether textual (as in the categorization of types of discourses into separate, seemingly defined groups, or genres), national (the construction of "imagined communities"), historical (traditions, group heritage, shared strife), individual (that which forms the "I" as opposed to the "other"), or in any other of its possible forms, is largely based on the binomial relationship between what is said to pertain to the group, and what is thought to be outside the group's boundaries. Part of what defines group belonging is the individual's ability to participate in the discourses common to the whole; to function within the context/s which define/s what is considered intelligible to the group. This idea of context is of special importance. Currently, it is impossible to cite "...[one] single, precise, technical definition of [the term] context."² One of the primary difficulties that arise as we attempt to define context is that at different points in time and from distinct perspectives, that which

² Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin, Rethinking Context: Language as an interactive phenomenon, 2.

is considered "context" in one instance can be seen as the focal event which is being contextualized in another. A working definition of the term would necessarily begin with the assumption that the point of departure for any definition of "context" should be the "...perspective of the participant(s) whose behavior is being analyzed" (Duranti and Goodwin, 4). But the individual him/herself does not form the only component of "context." "Context" encompasses the participant, as well as the setting, behavioral environment, language use and the extrasituational background which surround him/her.³ Therefore, the participant's perspective is less meaningful, and the focal event much more difficult to properly understand and interpret in a relevant fashion, "...unless one looks beyond...to other phenomena...within which the [focal] event is embedded..." (Duranti and Goodwin, 3). The ideas of identity and context are related, therefore, in that they each involve a process of negotiating the relationship(s) between one or more participant in a given situation, and the greater sphere of social, linguistic or physical influence which surrounds him/her. The concepts of identity and context underlie, and help illuminate Miguel de Luna's recontextualization of important figures in the Islamic conquest of Spain, and the literary space that he forges wherein Morisco heritage can be valued.

³ Duranti and Goodwin define the above terms as follows. Setting: "...the social and spatial framework within which encounters are situated." Behavioral environment: "...the way that participants use their bodies and behavior as a resource for framing and organizing their talk." Language as context: "[t]he way in which talk itself both invokes context and provides context for other talk." Extrasituational context: "...[the] background...that extends far beyond the local talk and its immediate setting...[and which provides] a rich ethnographic description of the background knowledge and frames of relevance within which the talk is embedded." (6-9).

A recognizable “context” is the means by which the reader understands and is invited to participate in the meaning of the text. Contexts frame discourse and are recognizable because they have become familiar—they have been repeated to the extent that the reader forms a series of expectations concerning the content and form that surround the utterance. Opening phrases such as: “once upon a time”, or “it was a dark and stormy night” are meaningless to those unfamiliar with the history or context behind these words, yet represent a multivalent significance to a participant initiated in their various levels of meaning. The reader’s ability and desire to understand the underlying messages of a given text are subject to the context and rules governing the environment in which that text is produced. As Michel de Certeau states, “...modes of comprehension and types of discourse are determined by the greater sociocultural ensemble which defines [a] particular situation of history” (The Writing of History, 48). Therefore, the relationship between emitting, receiving and comprehending a message is a reciprocal, not unilateral, narrative process that emphasizes the important roles the historian/author and the reader play in understanding the events related. According to De Certeau, the narrative act underlying the writing of history is colored both by the historian’s (or author’s) hand as well as the reader’s interpretation of the events narrated. Therefore, writing history implies “...[a] gesture which...is precisely the historian’s gesture” (56), and which represents a practice that is “...articulated over a socioeconomic, political, and cultural place of production”, or intelligible context to the reader (58). Thus, history “...implies an area of elaboration that peculiar determinations

circumscribe...[and] is therefore ruled by constraints, bound to privileges, and rooted in a particular situation" (58). The historian's medium then, the text, "...initiates a play between...the object under study and the discourse performing the analysis [the reader's discourse]" (308). This play takes place in what he terms "the fuzzy area of...ambivalence" (308), similar to the in-between spaces where Homi Bhabha asserts that identity is formed.⁴ Understood as such, writing in general, and writing history, specifically, then, is an act of negotiating the "identity" and "context", or meaning of a text.

Bearing in mind the importance of how an event is contextualized, and the reciprocal nature of historical narration, we understand that the choices and strategies employed by Miguel de Luna in order to guide his reader's comprehension of his history and his characters are designed to create a sympathetic bond between text and audience. Since the greater sociocultural environment surrounding a group governs what can be considered acceptable and intelligible forms of message transmission, unique modes of comprehension may be gained when the historian favors one type of information over another within a context which makes sense to his reader. In this way, the historian—in this case, Miguel de Luna—carves out a place of new understanding. It seems plausible that Luna's motivation for writing the Verdadera historia was to vindicate Spain's Moorish period and to thereby (re)present the Moriscos' cultural heritage and personality in a favorable light. With that goal in mind, our author would have found it necessary to tailor the image he presented of his protagonists, the Muslim

⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, Nation and Narration.

conquerers who invaded Spain, so as to emphasize their positive qualities, yet not alienate his Christian readers. He would have had to (re)present his Moors as acceptable, worthy citizens of the Peninsula, while never overtly threatening an Old Christian reading public. To this end, instead of representing the Moriscos' ancestors as cruel and godless, as was customary with many Christian writers during the centuries preceding the expulsion, Luna's Moorish protagonists embody qualities which are deemed desirable by Old Christian Spain.

The Christian histories of the Moors in the Peninsula, as well as Christian accounts the origins of Islam, have not typically depicted Muslims or their social and religious structures in a positive light. Although it is true that the Spanish Christian writers who strove to portray their enemy would at times represent their Moorish characters as seemingly good and generous, as in the noble and just figure of the Cid's Muslim confidant and friend, Avengalvón, more often than not non-Muslim authors in Medieval Spain painted a picture of Moorish cruelty and immorality. In the Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana ad annum 754, the tactics employed by the Muslim forces in their invasion of the Peninsula are depicted as savage and cruel. Later, Alfonso X's Primera Crónica General de España reiterates this point and adds to it an assumption that the Moors were a treacherous group of conspirators, given to trickery and insincerity, and whose Prophet was intimately associated with supernatural, dark forces. San Pedro de Arlanza also supports this view of Muslim proximity to Satan in his Poema de Fernán González. These disparaging representations of the Moors, their personality traits and their social structures are important in understanding the

ways in which Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with, and reformulates, or recontextualizes, existing representations of the Moors and their descendents, the Moriscos. Therefore, it is necessary to trace a brief trajectory of the development of the literary image of the Moor in Christian Spain.

Medieval Literary Representations of the Moors and Their Conquest

There are no truly contemporary accounts of the Moorish conquest of the Peninsula which have survived into modern times. The earliest known writings which address this period are historical documents that originated in the second half of the eighth century. One of these chronicles commonly referred to today as the Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana ad annum 754, is an anonymous work, written in close chronological proximity to the events surrounding the conquest, and is to date the earliest Christian account of the invasion of the Peninsula. This particular volume's mode of characterizing the conquest, and the Muslims who participated in it, is of specific importance in discussing the (re)presentational strategies employed by Miguel de Luna in his Verdadera historia. In both works, the character of the conquest of 711 is embodied by the persona of a given Muslim ruler: the Moorish governor of the Maghrib, Musa ibn Nusayr in the case of the Continuatio, and king Auligualit Miramamolin Iacob Almançor in the Verdadera historia.

The unknown author/s of the Continuatio describe Musa ibn Nusayr in terms which emphasize his, and subsequently, the entire non-Christian

population's cruelty, bloodthirstiness and dishonesty. The fact that it is Musa, the leader of the Muslim military forces and sovereign of the invading group who is represented in the chronicle, is significant. As seen through Christian eyes in the second half of the eighth century, the actions of a monarch would not have been seen as merely his own, but would also have been deemed representative of the leader's community as a whole. The picture painted by the Continuatio is no exception. In this chronicle, Musa is described as being "...altogether pitiless...destroy[ing] everything as he went..."⁵ en route to the royal city of Toledo. This element of destruction emphasizes the brutality and lack of compassion associated later in this same chronicle, as well as other written records, with the Moorish invaders in general. The Continuatio further characterizes the Muslim forces as false, stating that Musa brutally took Toledo (which had historically been considered an important stronghold of Christian power), separating it from the surrounding areas not by virtue of military strength, but by trickery, only to later offer deceitful peace agreements to the conquered cities, then cruelly behead key Christian nobles who stayed behind. Bearing the description of Musa and his army in mind, Moorish lust for violence is summed up in the following passage:

...by famine and by leading people into captivity Musa depopulated not only the further parts of Spain, but also the nearer parts as far as Saragossa....He speedily burned fair cities, sentenced noble and leading

⁵ These quotes are taken from the section of the aforementioned chronicle in Latin known as the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiq., II, the "Chronica minora", 2), pages 352-54, and are cited in Colin Smith's work, Christians and Moors in Spain, vol. I., pages 10-13. For ease of reading, I have chosen to use Smith's English translation exclusively.

men of the time to be tortured, and had children and nursing mothers beaten to death.⁶

The *Continuatio*'s author moves from depicting specifically Musa and his troops in such negative terms, to a general disparagement of the nature of the Muslims who conquered the Peninsula by remembering the "terrible calamities"⁷ which good Christians endured as a direct result of this invasion. The destruction and false peace which accompanied the conquest emphasizes the deceitful, cruel nature of the Muslim armies:

If all our limbs could be turned into tongues, human intelligence could never describe the ruin of Spain and so many evils....While he [Musa] filled everyone with such terror, some cities which remained soon sued for peace, and the Muslims, with blandishments and mockery and guile, granted these wishes....⁸

Moorish wickedness and barbarity are further illustrated as the author equates

Spain's loss and suffering with that of the populations of Troy, Jerusalem,

Babylon and Rome had experienced throughout history:

...whatever Troy suffered when it was captured, whatever Jerusalem endured following the utterances of the prophets, whatever Babylon underwent as a result of the words of the Scriptures, and finally whatever Rome lived through when adorned by the noble martyrdom of the Apostles, I shall preserve a memory both in honour and in shame of just as many things which Spain—once delightful, now wretched—experienced.⁹

The alleged brutality, savagery, immorality and ungodliness of the Moors continued to be a primary focus of Christian accounts of the conquest during the

⁶ op. cit., page 13.

⁷ op. cit., page 13.

⁸ op. cit., page 13.

⁹ op. cit., page 13.

centuries to follow. In the Primera Crónica General de España, compiled in the thirteenth century by Alfonso X, and later Sancho IV, Muslim cruelty and lack of pity are again emphasized in this account of the last days of the conquest:

...finco toda la tierra uazia del pueblo, lena de sangre, bannada de lagrimas, conplida de appellidos....los moros de la hueste todos uestidos del sigro et de los pannos de color que ganaron, las riendas de los sus caualllos tales eran como de fuego, las sus caras dellos negras como la pez, el mas fermoso dellos era negro como la olla, assi luzian sus oios como candelas; el su caballo dellos ligero como leopardo, e el su cauallero mucho mas cruel et mas dannoso que es el lobo en la grey de las oueias en la noche. La uil yente de los affricanos que se non solie preciar de fuerça nin de bondad, et todos sus fechos fazie con arte et a enganno....Con los ninnos chicos de teta dieron a las paredes, a los moços mayores desfizieron con feridas, a los mancebos grandes metieronlos a espada, los ancianos et uieios de dias moriron en las batallas, y fueron todos acabados por guerra;...las mugieres guardauan pora deshonnar las....aquí perescio ell entendimiento de los prelados et de los homnes de orden; aquí fallescio ell ensennamiento de la ley et de la sancta fe....las cruces et los altares echaron de las eglesias....Tanto puio esta pestilencia et esta cueta que non finco en toda Espanna buena uilla nin cibdad...

[...the whole realm was empty of inhabitants, full of blood, bathed in tears, and loud with war-cries....the Moors of the host wore silks and colourful cloths which they had taken as booty, their horses' reins were like fire, their faces were black as pitch, the handsomest among them was black as a cooking-pot, and their eyes blazed like fire; their horses as swift as leopards, their horsemen more cruel and hurtful than the wolf that comes at night to the flock of sheep. The vile African people...achieved everything by stealth and deciet....The Moors dashed babies at the breast against the walls, killed the older boys with wounds, put the grown young men to the sword; the old men died in the battles, and all were destroyed by war;...[the Moors] put the wretched women aside to dishonor them later....The learning of the prelates and monks perished, and the teachings of the law and of the holy faith ceased....The Moors cast the crosses and altars out of the churches....[all turned into] pestilence and destruction...]¹⁰

¹⁰ See chapter 559 of the Primera crónica, "Del duello de los godos de Espanna et de la razon porque ella fue destroyda." English translation by Colin Smith, Christians and Moors in Spain, vol. I., pages 19-21.

In addition to emphasizing Moorish savagery, the authors/compilers of the Primera crónica describe the conquering Muslim forces as treacherous and given to conspiracy in their dealings with the Christian cities that they were not able to capture by honest means. In chapter 559, it is stated that the Moors plotted alongside Oppa, who was the son of king Egica and accepted among Spanish Christians as one of their own. Oppa was said to have traveled the countryside preaching that the Christians should surrender to the Moors, live under their rule and pay them tributes, rationalizing that, with such cooperation, they would be in a better position later to help other Christians should God decide to intervene. Thus, "...las çibdades que los alaraues non pudieron conquistar, engannaron las et conquiriron las por falsas pleytesias" [...the cities which the Arabs were not able to capture, they deceived and took over by false terms of capitulation].¹¹ Muslim trickery is also emphasized in chapter 478, which addresses the origin and early extension of Islam, and its practitioners' propensity for the black arts. In this section of text, Muhammad is described as being "...onme fermoso et rezio et muy sabidor en las artes a que llaman magicas..." [...a handsome and strong man, and was already very learned in the magical arts...]. Upon learning that a wealthy and prominent widow in Khurasan, named Khadija had fallen in love with him, Muhammad uses his knowledge of "charms and spells" to entice her further:

...començo de coytar la mucho et de constrennir la por sus coniuraçiones et sus espiramientos que se el sabia, de guisa que lo non entendiesse ella, diziendol con tod esto que ell era Messias, el que los judios atendien que auie de uenir.

¹¹ op. cit., page 21.

[...he began, by means of charms and spells which he knew, to press and persuade her [without her knowledge], telling her that he was the Messiah, he whom the Jews were awaiting.]¹²

In this short segment of text, we see that Muhammad—the founder and Prophet of all Islam—is portrayed as cunning and fond of using tricks and magic. He does not approach Khadija righteously, but rather uses magic to cloud her judgment so that she eventually marries him. It is interesting to note that Muhammad not only dupes Khadija with his spells, but also the local Jewish population as well.

According to the Alfonsine account of Islam's beginnings, the Khurisani Jews, upon hearing Muhammad's words, came to him in groups from many far away places, tended to his needs, believed all that he said, and accepted the deceitful laws he passed down to them. This description of Muhammad's willful use of sorcery not only emphasizes Moorish trickery, but the community's proximity to evil. Later in this same chapter, a direct relationship between Islam and Satan is again emphasized, as the author/s attempt to explain the Prophet's visions. One day, Muhammad, who is disparagingly described in the Alfonsine Crónica as having been epileptic, was overcome by a seizure and fell to the ground.¹³

¹² op. cit., page 3.

¹³ In the Middle Ages, epilepsy was known by the names: "falling sickness", "scourge of Christ" and the "falling evil." It was attributed to an overabundance of the moist humors of the head and a melancholic disposition. Epilepsy was said to block the principal sites in the brain which controlled motion and coherent thought. Signs included heaviness of the head and confusion of the wits, sluggishness, dimness of the eyes, biting of the tongue, and urine and/or feces which passed away from the epileptic against his/her will, and treatments included different herbal and organic methods, as well as prayer (Compendium of Medicine by Gilbertus Anglicus from Wellcome MS 537. "Mostly Medieval": <http://skell.org/SKELL/epilepsy.htm>, and The German Epilepsy Museum, Kork: http://www.epilepsiemuseum.de/alt/body_historen.html).

Khadija, his wife, is greatly distressed, but the cunning Muhammad explains to her that it is when the Lord's archangel, Gabriel, comes to him that he falls to the ground, unable to control his body. Muhammad seizes this opportunity to further manipulate and control his wife and community, producing portents and miracles in her presence, aided by his skill in magic and his guide, Satan. Within this description of Muhammad's use of magic, Muslim cruelty is also evident once again, as he orders that anyone who speaks out against him, or preaches a contrary doctrine within his borders, should be immediately decapitated (478).

In addition to the Continuatio and the Primera crónica general, there are other Medieval Christian works in Spain which portray Muslims in a negative light. Moorish cruelty, barbarity and ungodly nature are also found in works such as the Poema de Fernán González. Composed by San Pedro de Arlanza shortly after 1264, stanzas 467-560 of the Poema describe the Islamic army as placing its faith in the stars. The poet informs his reader that the Moors abhor God because they have turned these celestial bodies into their new Creator, relying on them for guidance, rather than the Lord (476). In addition to their skills in the art of astrology, the Moorish people are practiced in casting evil spells and charms, and associate directly with the devil, even to the point of conjuring Satan in the form of a serpent in order to frighten the Christian troops (477-78).

Luna's Re-writing of the Medieval Moor

Instead of representing the Moor as the embodiment of cruelty, savagery and ungodliness, Miguel de Luna recognizes such pre-existing literary and ideological contexts, enters into dialog with them, and refutes their negative images via the positive models of conduct he offers in his history. As will be seen, Luna's exemplary ruler, Auilgualit Miramamolin Iacob Almanzor, is shown to be the epitome of justness and sincerity: an embodiment of the virtues necessary to govern well. But in addition to characterizing Almanzor as virtuous in nature, as will be seen shortly, the literary context in which Miguel de Luna frames his (re)presentation of the king justifies and legitimates the inclusion of the monarch's biography in the Verdadera historia. This contextual justification further emphasizes the importance of the example embodied by the Muslim ruler.

The position of a given discourse within the greater context that frames it can alter the reader's perception of the information presented. In order to more fully understand the relationship between a particular utterance and the other phenomena which surround it and affect our understanding of the communicative event, "...it is necessary to study the textual details...[and] indexical connections that enable verbal art to transform, not simply reflect, social life."¹⁴ King Almanzor's biography appears situated between the first and second parts of the history, in the privileged central position of the Verdadera historia, a place reserved for the "...huesped honrado, noble y sabio" [...honored, noble and wise

¹⁴ Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs. "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life", 69.

guest] to whom the best seat in the house and the heart of his host are willingly given (130L). Luna's fictitious narrator, Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, relates to his reader that he has decided to incorporate the full version of Ali Abençufian's biography of king Iacob Almançor's life, word for word, within his own history, for two reasons (130R-131L). First, Abentarique mentions Abençufian's expertise as a writer, and the fact that, if he (Abentarique) were to write his own account of the life of king Almanzor, it would never equal what has gone before:

...escriuio la vida del Rey Abilgualit Iacob Almançor, con grande rectitud, putualidad y verdad, por lo qual se le deue mucho loor y agradecimiento, y...me parecia que era gastar el tiempo en balde, tratar yo della en mi historia; porque...no podria yo escriuir mas de lo que el escriue, ni con mejor estilo...

[...he wrote of the life of king Abilgualit Iacob Almançor, with great forthrightness, exactness and truth, for which he is owed much praise and thanks, and...it seemed fruitless to me, to write of Almanzor's life; because...I could never write more than he writes, nor with a better style...] (131L).

Second, our fictitious author underscores the value and importance of properly crediting the knowledge, learning and works of those wiser than oneself, in this case, Abençufian's words concerning Almanzor. Abentarique explains that:

...es grande osadia...o mejor decir, falta de razon y buen entendimiento...que vsan algunos ignorantes disfraçados, en abitos de hombres sabios, en querer alçarse con los bienes agenos, y venderlos por propios suyos...vsurpando el nombre de los tales autores....[Y] aunque yo no sea sabio que merezca nombre entre los que lo son, alomenos pareciome de ser discipulo y verdadero siervo suyo; porque comiendo las migajas de sus dichos y sentencias, me siruieron de sustento contra la pestifera hambre de la monstruosa ignorancia...

[...it is foolhardy...or better yet, shows a lack of reason and proper understanding...that a few ignorant men disguised as wise men employ, in attempting to take that which is not theirs, and sell it as if it were their own...usurping the wise man's name....[And] although I may not be among those who deserve to be called wise, at least it seemed right to me to become

their disciple and true servant; because the crumbs of their sayings and lessons, of which I partook, served to sustain me against the pestiferous hunger of monstrous ignorance...] (130R).

In these two sections of text, the significance and exemplary nature of Almanzor's biography are made evident on several levels. First, Miguel de Luna fabricates a literary context, or framework, for legitimating the story of the king's life which is to follow. An intelligent man quotes those wiser than himself, and acknowledges them for their words and lessons. Bearing this in mind, Abençufian's biography must necessarily represent the work of a wise man since it is included verbatim in the Verdadera historia, just as Luna's fictitious author, Abentarique, must necessarily be an intelligent and trustworthy man for having availed himself of the work of Abençufian. On another level, this biography is said to show great artistic merit, being better than anything that the fictitious Abençufian could have produced himself, therefore worthy of inclusion without revision. Finally, we are given to understand that the fictitious narrator considers Almanzor's life to be worthy of incorporation into his account of the conquest. If it is right to acknowledge and imitate those wiser than oneself, then to remember Almanzor and learn from his example is a noble endeavor. Based on the aforestated importance of crediting the original author of a text, we can assume, therefore, that not only should the fictitious biographer receive praise for his valuable remembering of Almanzor's life, but so should the words and lessons of the king be emulated just as they were uttered and faithfully recorded by Abençufian. Abentarique acknowledges his debit to the wiser men who had gone

before him, reiterating the benefit to be gained from imitating another's positive model:

[Y] para que a ymitacion del Sol que esta en medio de los demas Planetas, influyendoles luz y virtud para obrar, estando su libro colocado entre la primera y segunda parte, mi obra tenga aquella autoridad y verdad con que este graue autor exercito su pluma...y yo como sieruo de tal sabio, aure cumplido con la obligacion que tengo, en buena razon y verdadera amistad...

[In order that his work, being positioned between the first and second part [of this history] afford my work that authority and truth with which such a great author [as Abençufian] took up his pen, in imitation of the Sun in the center of all other Planets, influencing them with light and virtue to do good works...I as a servant of such a wise man, will have fulfilled my obligation, in good faith and true friendship...] (130R -131L).

This contextualization of Almanzor's life and biography leads the reader to enter into a sympathetic relationship with the Muslim ruler. Because the reader can understand the account of Almanzor's life as worthy of repetition and as the work of a wise man, s/he is invited to participate in the events narrated.

In direct contrast with the image of the Moor as an invader or foreign presence or interloper on the Peninsula, as depicted in the literary models our author questions (the Continuatio Isidoriana, the Primera crónica, and the Poema de Fernán González, for example), Miguel de Luna's Almanzor is described as an "...Espejo resplandeciente de Principes..." [...a shining Mirror of Princes...] (132L) who comes from "...claro, y alto linage, casa y solar conocido de los Reyes de las Arabias..." [...clear, and high lineage, a renown house and family of the Kings of Arabia...] (133R), and whose father was the "...gran Chalifa...Abihabdi Allahi Abigualit Abinaçr Abni Malique" [...great Caliph...] (133R) and whose grandfather was "el gran Chalifa Abni Abel Hazen, el

Motaleb..." [...great Caliph...] (133R).¹⁵ From these first words of Abençufian's biography, the reader is guided along a path which leads to the logical assumption that Almanzor is destined to, and should rightfully become, sovereign of the Spanish kingdom. As a young prince in Arabia, Almanzor shows innate nobility by demonstrating early prowess in both arms and letters from the age of fifteen (133R-134L). His natural abilities were so pronounced that it caused his teachers to marvel at him (134L). The young prince soon masters and perfects "...las siete artes liberales..." [...the seven liberal arts...] (134L), to the point that "...los hombres muy peritos en ellas hablaban en su presencia con mucho temor y verguença, porque a cada palabra les restava las imperfecciones que hablaban en su arte mal sabida" [...men who were very educated in them [the aforementioned liberal arts] spoke in his presence with much fear and shame, because each word they uttered demonstrated the imperfections of their poorly learned arts] (134L). As the future king grows and matures, the nature of his inborn capacity to reign and his might as a conquering force are foreshadowed when his father presents a sword to him for evaluation; "...un alfançe de inestimable valor..." [...a sword of inestimateable value...] (134L), with an emerald tip, a handrest and sheath of precious metals, the finest blade forged in the world, and encrusted with gemstones (134). Before presenting it to his son, the king allows his men try the sword, who agree among themselves that, "...si tuuiera medio palmo mas de largo, fuera la mejor pieza que huuiera en el mundo..." [...if it were a half-hand's

¹⁵ It is to be noted that Miguel de Luna takes significant liberties with the historical Almanzor's biography. These liberties will be discussed in a following section.

width longer, it would be the greatest piece in the world...] (134L). After noting their evaluation of the sword, the king calls for his son, with whom he has always consulted before making any important decisions, in order that the boy might give his opinion of the weapon. The boy finds no fault in the piece, wisely countering the estimation of his father's noblemen: "...el cauallero animoso y osado, no ay para el arma corta" [...for the brave and daring knight, there is no weapon too short] (134R). The section ends with the king embracing his son and admonishing him to conquer new kingdoms, as those he will inherit are few in comparison with his potential to rule (134R). Luna contextualizes Almanzor as rightful sovereign and natural leader of the territories he is to vanquish, and accomplishes this task in a way which does not alienate his Christian reader. Almanzor is shown to have inherited his authority legitimately, according to his nature and birthright, which is a form of characterization common to the literature of Christian Spain. Also, Miguel de Luna minimizes the difference between his protagonist's religious background and that of his reading audience. In his history, the most powerful Muslim ruler of Al-andalus is never addressed by his Arabic name or title in the Verdadera historia. Luna, as the self-proclaimed translator of this text, along with his fictitious author and biographer consistently use the westernized pronunciation of the king's name, not Al-mansur, and refer to him as king, never *chalifa*, a term which would have implied his role as leader of the Muslim world and a type of direct descendance from Muhammad, the Prophet, even though he would have inherited this title from his father and grandfather. Miguel de Luna presents Almanzor in a way which would seem

palatable to his sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Christian reader, and which would enable the audience to sympathize with this Muslim sovereign who would later rule the Peninsula.

In direct opposition to medieval representations of the Moor as a deceitful, cruel and ungodly savage, Luna's King Almanzor shows extraordinary compassion for the poor of his lands and an unmatched love for the truth. He routinely calls those in need to his court, and presents each one with a handful of gold coins (135L). On Fridays after worship, the king orders three tables set for the midday meal: one for the governors of his territories, one for his vassals of *mediana condicion* [average condition], and one for the servants and poor in his community. All, regardless of rank or wealth, are fed abundantly (136R). So great is Almanzor's compassion for those in need, that he gives equally to all, whether they are Christian, Jew or Muslim (143R), and admonishes his sons that "...quien no tuuiere misericordia con sus proximos, no la hallara en Dios el dia del juyzio final" [...he who has no pity for his neighbor will find none in God on the day of final judgement] (153R). When a truly poor servant finds himself held prisoner because of a debt, the king himself pays the man's creditors out of the royal treasury (138R). Even in his last hours of his life, the king bears the welfare of his subjects foremost in his mind. In his last dying breath, Almanzor orders that all his belongings and funds be given to the poor, that all his slaves be freed, and that a substantial dowry be awarded to each of one thousand orphan girls whose marriages he also arranges (154R). Although the Almanzor of the Verdadera historia is very generous with the people of his land, he holds honesty

above all else. To this end, instead of Luna's fictitious biographer contextualizing the king as a figure who dupes those around him with trickery and spells, as in the *Continuatio* and the *Poema de Fernán González*, Almanzor is shown to champion truth. In his kingdom, crimes of dishonesty against other citizens, primarily against those individuals in more subordinate social positions, are punished quickly and harshly. Robbery and lying (or giving false testimony) are considered infractions of the highest rank, and are punished so severely that no one dare commit either (138).¹⁶ Because of Almanzor's love of truth, a sense of fairness prevails in his kingdom. Lawsuits and grievances are dealt with swiftly, and those accused of a crime are not held more than a few days before sentencing is carried out (138). Miguel de Luna's Almanzor is thus characterized in contraposition to the common medieval representations of the Moors in Spain. He is a protector of the poor and weak, a godly man who holds truth in high regard, and, as we shall see, a man civilized enough to foster an atmosphere of safety for his community, no matter the personal cost.

¹⁶ Miguel de Luna's fictitious biographer informs his reader that king Almanzor never told a lie, and considered those who did, "...discipulo[s] del demonio...[...disciple[s] of the devil...]" (137R). The king is said to have considered lying one of the greatest evils of the world, and he who commits this sin, an "...injusto...traydor a la verdad y hombre sin virtud..." [...unjust...traitor to truth and man without virtue...] (137R). Lying was punished by social death—the community was forbidden to look the lyer in the face or have dealings whatsoever with him. Some were whipped, others had the end of their tongues severed so that they could never give false testimony again (138L). Although we are not given such explicit details about the forms of punishment reserved for thieves, Abençufian states that no one in the kingdom dared take that which was not his own, and if a lost article was found on the streets, the finder would make sure to display the item in the window of the nearest store so that it's rightful owner might find it (138R-139L).

In Miguel de Luna's recontextualization of king Almanzor, the king shows a genuine interest in, and concern for the individuals of his lands, and strives to protect those weaker than himself. One particular instance in the Verdadera historia characterizes the rigor and desire for public safety that are typical of Almanzor's reign, as contextualized by Luna's biographer. After returning to Arabia from a mission to the newly acquired Spanish territories, one of the king's favorite governors, Abraham Maauya, relates to his sovereign an incident of special interest. The governor informs the king that, while walking through the flat grasslands of the area, he came upon an attractive woman walking alone, unaccompanied by a male escort. The governor, concerned for her safety, reprimands her for her behavior, but she answers him that:

...mientras viuiere nuestro Rey y señor Auilgualit Iacob Almançor (al qual el soberano Dios de largos dias de vida, y haga victorioso contra sus enemigos) nosotros podemos andar con seguridad por sus Reynos en el yermo, y poblado.

[...while our king and sovereign, Auilgualit Iacob Almançor, lives (may the all-powerful God grant him a long life and make him victorious against his enemies), we can walk with safety through the fields and the townships of his kingdom] (139L).

The governor tells the woman that she is being naïve in imagining such security, and that if a person of poor character should want to do her harm, there would be nothing Almanzor, who was in Arabia, could do to protect her (139L). Upon hearing this story, Almanzor is very displeased. The governor's act of placing the woman's honor in jeopardy by speaking with her as she walked alone in an unpopulated place, and the untruth he told by inferring that the king could do nothing to protect her, since he was so far away, is severely punished. Upon

the governor's return to the Spanish territories, he is taken prisoner and impaled. His body is then displayed in the same spot where he dared place the unknown woman's honor in doubt. The town crier informs the community that this man committed the crime of placing an innocent woman's honor and person in danger because he spoke with her while she was walking alone, and that this was the just punishment that Almanzor had ordered (139L).

Although Abençufian's voice as the narrator of Almanzor's biography is of undoubtedly important in Miguel de Luna's recontextualization of the Moors who invaded Spain, it is not the only one. In one of his marginal notes, Miguel de Luna's voice, as the apparent translator of the Verdadera historia, corroborates the information presented by his fictitious biographer in an attempt to draw the reader's attention to a sense of compassion, sincerity and fairness personified by the early Muslim conquerors of Spain. Through an explicit comparison that Luna makes between the eighth-century Moors of his history and their descendents, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Granadan Moriscos, Luna validates the character of each group. In the text's margin, directly next to a section dealing with the Moorish custom of hanging lost articles in local shop windows in order that the owner might find them, Miguel de Luna explains to his reader that this is a custom which has endured until modern times and has been passed down for centuries: "[e]sta costumbre usaron hasta nuestros tiempos los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada y entre ellos casi la tenian convertida en naturaleza" [the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada still used this custom until our own times] (138R). This assertion validates and justifies our author's representation of both

the Moors of the conquest, and the Moriscos of his own historical period, on two levels. First, in agreement with the criteria for judging the value of an act as stated at the beginning of Almanzor's biography, Miguel de Luna explicitly informs his reader that the Moriscos of Granada still make use of customs handed down for many generations—a statement which emphasizes both the value of the original act and the character of those emulating it. If, as stated at the beginning of Abençufian's biography of Almanzor, a wise man imitates the positive example of his predecessors, then the Moors must have been wise for establishing this custom, just as the Moriscos were wise for having continued it in like fashion. Also, in establishing this veiled dialog between the past which our author narrates, and the historical present in which he lived, Miguel de Luna emphasized the positive character traits of the Granadan Moriscos. Since truth and justice were considered virtues of foremost importance during Almanzor's reign, and the Moriscos of Granada continue to put these virtues into practice in the same way as their ancestors, then the reader must concede that the Granadan Morisco reflects that same level of character as did his predecessor. Through the interplay between his marginal comment and the central text, Miguel de Luna, in his explicit role as an historian, suggests what might be considered the true story buried within the apparent story.¹⁷ Luna vindicates the nature of the conquering Moors of Spain, while simultaneously affirming the character and value of their descendents, the Moriscos, and comments on the sociopolitical environment in

¹⁷ Hayden White. "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact", Tropics of Discourse, 84.

which he himself lived, while he simultaneously veils his observations in the historical past he re-presents.

As has been discussed earlier, the textual position that a specific utterance occupies is significant in guiding the reader's comprehension of the message. According to Bauman and Briggs, "[t]he illocutionary force of an utterance often emerges not simply from its placement within a particular genre and social setting but also from the indexical relations between [its] performance and other speech events that precede and succeed it" (64). Bearing this statement in mind, we see that Almanzor's life is exemplary not only because of its antithetical relationship to previous historical and literary models, but also because of the space it occupies in its textual setting. As already discussed, Almanzor's biography is centered in the most important, respected place of the text and is contextualized as worthy of imitation. But in the greater scope of the Verdadera historia as a whole, the exemplary Muslim ruler's life occupies a key position following the negative model presented by Rodrigo.

The loyalty Almanzor's behavior instills in his vassals significantly highlights the lack of the same seen in Luna's description of Spain's last Visigothic king, Rodrigo. Whereas Rodrigo is shown to have betrayed, and been a cause of embarrassment to the people of his kingdom (22R), Almanzor represents a source of pride for his subjects and is a man worthy of imitation (132L, 135R, 148R, 149R, 151R-152L). Contrary to the acts of treason Rodrigo is shown to have incited in his loyal vassals, as in his dealings with count Julián (54R), Almanzor always repays devoted service generously, thereby contributing

to a sense of loyalty among his troops (139-140). Even dead soldiers' families receive part of the war booty (148R). While Rodrigo takes advantage of those weaker than himself and is said to have raped the daughter of his vassal, count Julián (20L), Almanzor arranges marriages for the young women in his kingdom who have been orphaned, and even presents them with a generous dowry (143R, 154R), and instead of fleeing and leaving his troops in need, as did Rodrigo (34L), Almanzor goes into battle himself, alongside his soldiers (147). Finally, whereas Rodrigo is jealous of his political position to the extent that he attempts to, and eventually kills the rightful heir to the throne, don Sancho, Almanzor is humble when he speaks of the king's role in society and reminds his son how little any monarch's kingdom means, in the scope of all eternity (149-151). Almanzor is described as a father figure and protector to everyone in his kingdom, instead of taking advantage of those who trusted him, as did Rodrigo.¹⁸ Via the contrast Miguel de Luna establishes between the negative image of Rodrigo,

¹⁸ Upon the king's passing, prince Auilgualit Abhinaçr orders proclaimed throughout the kingdom, to men and women of all social strata and in every city under his command, that the magnanimous sovereign who had guarded them all fiercely during his life, has just perished. It is announced that King Almanzor, who throughout his life was considered an:

...alto, esclarecido espejo de Principes...[un] Leon [que] guarda a sus queridos hijos, adoctrinandoles en buenas y loables costumbres morales, como buen padre y señor,...socorriendo sus necessidades con largas y liberales manos, viuiendo con mucha vigilancia...traçando el gouierno que para el bien comun de sus Reynos conuenia.

[...high and shining mirror of Princes...[a] Lion [that] protects his beloved children, teaching them good and praise-worthy moral customs, like a good father and sovereign...taking care of their needs with liberal and generous hands, living with great vigilance...carving out a government that was fitting for the common good of his Kingdoms] (155L).

Spain's last Visigothic king, and the positive model that follows, Luna frames Almanzor's life in such a way as to be understood as a lesson for all men, especially those who would reign. As we have seen, throughout this section of the Verdadera historia, the reader is reminded repeatedly of the moral dimension of Almanzor's reign, a fact that refutes Spain's common medieval Christian literary representations of the Islamic conquest.¹⁹

But the image that Miguel de Luna presents of his history's greatest Muslim ruler is idealized. Luna appears to have taken extensive liberties with the biography of king Almanzor. The historical Iacob Almanzor was a relatively minor monarch who lived approximately four hundred and fifty years after the conquest of Spain, yet the Almanzor to whom the Verdadera historia seems to refer is another, more influential leader: the tenth century Abu 'Amir Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Amir al-Ma'afari, who was later to take the name "Al-Mansur" (translated as "the Victorious" and usually westernized as Almanzor).²⁰ In the Verdadera historia as in the historical accounts left to us, his reign represents the culmination of the period of greatest Islamic influence in Al-Andalus. The historical Almanzor is said to have ruled rigorously, but justly, and the sciences, medicine and education flourished under his command, characteristics which coincide with Luna's contextualization of his king. Also, as in the Verdadera historia, it was the reign of the historical Almanzor's son that ushered in the

¹⁹ For a more detailed analysis of the significance of Miguel de Luna's re-writing of the image of Rodrigo in Spanish history, see chapter two of this dissertation, "Justification and Legitimation: (Re)representational Tactics."

²⁰ See Richard Fletcher's work, Moorish Spain, 73.

period of the lesser kings, or *reino de taifas* in Spain.²¹ Although the details surrounding the historical Almanzor's life are somewhat limited, scholars have compiled enough basic information to briefly trace the most salient facets of the king's life. Almanzor was, in fact, one of the four most influential rulers of Al-Andalus, including: 'Abd al-Rahman III, "...during whose very long reign of nearly fifty years (912-61) the Spanish-Islamic state reached the peak of its power and renown"²²; al-Hakem II (also known as al-Hakam), who was Abd al-Rahman III's son (961-76); himself, and later his son 'Abd al-Malik, "...who governed successively in the name of the puppet ruler Hisham II (976-1009).²³ Almanzor himself was in unquestionable power between 981 and 1002, held absolute military authority,²⁴ and is credited with undertaking "...no less than fifty-seven victorious campaigns against the Christian north".²⁵ Almanzor is thought to have been, and asserted throughout his life that he was, a descendent of one of the original Arab conquerors of Spain (O'Callaghan, 126; Durán, 9). Contrary to

²¹ See Ángel Espinosa Durán's book, Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Victorioso por Allah.

²² Fletcher, 53. Fletcher's assertion here is also supported by Joseph F. O'Callaghan in his A History of Medieval Spain, page 126.

²³ Fletcher, 53.

²⁴ O'Callaghan, 126. This view of Almanzor's unequalled military might and prowess was also evidenced in medieval Spanish texts, including Alfonso X's Primera crónica, chs. 688, 690, 691, 734 and 747, where he is described as "...el mas poderoso moro..." [...the most powerful Moor...] (688) who laid waste to many Christian cities.

²⁵ Fletcher, 60. O'Callaghan credits Almanzor with fifty-two, not fifty-seven successful military campaigns against the Christian forces (127).

Miguel de Luna's portrayal of king Almanzor's noble lineage, the historical leader's father probably worked gathering *hadiths*, or the narrative records of the sayings and Traditions of the Prophet, Muhammad (Durán, 9). After his father's death, Ibn Abi Amir, the future Almanzor, made his way to the Cordovan caliphate where he dedicated himself to the study of science, literature and the gathering and transmission of Traditions. He later became an *alfaquí* [a learned man in Muslim law] and was granted a position as a *copista* [a copyist or scribe]. He gained favor with Subh, the wife of his sovereign, al-Hakem, and was placed in charge of their young prince's patrimony. Five years later, through a series of intrigues and conspiracies between the now late al-Hakem's *wazir* [vizier], al-Mushafi, himself and Subh, who had always championed Ibn Abi Amir's political rise, a governmental rebellion against al-Hakem's lineage was thwarted and Hakem's young, ten-year old son, Hisham II, was officially recognized as caliph. Ibn Abi Amir was named counselor of the state, and he continued to oversee Hisham II's affairs.²⁶

There are telling similarities and differences between the lives of the historical ruler Ibn Abi Amir and Miguel de Luna's Almanzor as presented in the Verdadera historia. Both exerted influence and won public support through their civil and military practices. The historical Ibn Abi Amir ensured a great degree of social harmony by "...continu[ing] the policy of tolerance and assimilation carried out by the first two caliphs [who had preceded him]" in his dealings with

²⁶ Durán, ch. 1; O'Callaghan, 126-130; Fletcher, 160-174 and the Primera crónica, 691 and 734.

the *muwalladun*, or native descendants of Iberian converts to Islam (O'Callaghan, 127). He allowed this marginalized population "...every opportunity to participate in government...",²⁷ and did not appear to have persecuted the Spanish Mozarabs, having allowed his Christian soldiers to celebrate their holidays and festivals while in service. Both the historical Ibn Abi Amir and the Verdadera historia's Almanzor were effective and respected military men who generously compensated their soldiers. Ibn Abi Amir established his reputation as a military commander when he assumed his first post as leader of an expedition that defeated and plundered Salamanca in February of 977, and maintained a highly efficient army. He then consolidated his position as military leader and head of state through a series of successful campaigns against Christian strongholds in which he employed Christian mercenaries and ensured their goodwill by lavishly compensating their service, thereby abolishing the tribal affiliations and conflicts which characterized the Muslim army.²⁸ But contrary to Miguel de Luna's textual Almanzor, the historical leader consistently referred to his actions against the Christians as *jihad*, and mounted a nearly continual assault on Christian lands. These constant attacks served not only to increase the wealth of the caliphate, but also served to characterize the Christian population as a threat against Islam, thereby rallying public support for the struggle. Thus, Almanzor's

²⁷ O'Callaghan, 127. Cordovan social hierarchy during the caliphal period suggests that the Berbers, *muwalladun* and Mozarabs were considered second-class citizens in comparison with those of Arabic descent, who populated the higher social strata. See Fletcher, ch. 4.

²⁸ O'Callaghan, 127-128.

contextualization of the Christians as a menace consolidated public opinion behind him, while also "...diverting attention from his own usurpation of the caliph's power" (O'Callaghan, 128). The historical Almanzor was not born within the caliphal lineage, as was Luna's protagonist. Ibn Abi Amir silenced and manipulated the caliphate's rightful heir, Hisham II, who exerted no will of his own and who was kept placated and out of sight.²⁹ In 991, the historical Almanzor's son, Abd al-Malik assumed the name *malik karim*, that is, "noble king", effectively confirming his and Almanzor's authority by inferring a hereditary nature to his father's position. In a bold statement of authority, Ibn Abi Amir went to far as to move the government seat to a palace he himself had constructed to the east of Cordova, which came to be known as al-Madina al-Zahira ("the glittering city"). This new palace was "...obviously intended to rival the [already existing] caliphal complex of Madinat az-Zahra, to the west of the city."³⁰ According to one specific writer of his time, al-Himyari in his Kitab al-Rawd al-Mitar, Almanzor:

...denied the caliph any participation in the affairs of government...once the seat of power transferred to the palace of al-Zahira, the caliph was left alone and ignored. People no longer spoke about him; his door remained closed and he no longer appeared in public. No one feared the slightest evil from him nor expected the slightest benefit.³¹

²⁹ Of his caliphal birthright, Hisham II retained only the right to inscribe his name on coinage, his official title, and the right to be commemorated during Friday prayers. See Fletcher, 74; O'Callaghan, 127, and al-Himyari, 169-170.

³⁰ See Fletcher, 74; O'Callaghan, 127, and al-Himyari, 169-170.

³¹ 169-170.

The fact that the historical Almanzor was not the Cordovan caliphate's rightful heir, and that he successfully challenged and replaced its legitimate successor, is significantly absent from Miguel de Luna's (re)presentation and recontextualization of his greatest Muslim ruler. Once again, Luna privileges one domain of facts over another as he presents the reader with information that emphasizes the innate worth and virtue of the Moorish conquest of Spain, while silencing other, less complimentary facts.³² In a poetic³³ (re)presentation of king Almanzor's life, Miguel de Luna chooses to remember certain events, and forget others. Our author's act of shaping the past he (re)presents allows him to exert his own, unique influence over the reader's interpretation of the events and socio-political context which surround his "true history." Through this reshaping of the past and his use of marginal notes (which explicitly link the Moors of his history with the Moriscos of his own time), Luna refutes the common, negative literary representations of the Moorish conquest of Spain that would have affected his reader's understanding of the period and its personages.

³² Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact."

³³ For a more detailed discussion of the term "poetic" and how it is employed in the realm of historical discourse, see Kieran Egan's chapter, "Thucydides, Tragedian" in *The Writing of History*, pages 63-92. According to Egan's reading of Aristotle, Miguel de Luna's (re)presentation of Almanzor and the authorial license he takes with the facts of this leader's reign would represent a more poetic, rather than historical approach to writing history. Egan states that, "...true incidents can be used quite as effectively as invented ones" and that "[w]hat determines whether the author is a poet or historian is not the sort of incident he uses, but rather whether he employs incidents in order to relate some more universal truth about man in the world rather than merely the details of what happened" (68).

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Historical Context

The negative literary images that are challenged by Miguel de Luna in his Verdadera historia are not limited to those of the medieval period. Our author also enters into dialog with the anti-Morisco sentiments espoused in Spanish texts of the sixteenth-to seventeenth centuries, re-writing them with an eye to emphasize the dignity and worth of the Moors' descendents in Spain. In contrast with the prevalent sixteenth and seventeenth century image of the Moriscos' religious apostasy, treason, and undesirable nature, Miguel de Luna offers his reader important examples of Moorish sincerity, constancy and loyalty. Our author accomplishes this goal on various levels. First, Luna's Moors are characterized as noble leaders of the civilized world, not rustic, uneducated farmers, as was typical of Christian treaties concerning the nature of the Morisco. Next, as will be seen through his (re)presentation of Moorish converts to Christianity, Luna shows his reader the extent to which ex-Muslims could and did become sincere and loyal Christians. Later in his history, Luna vindicates the use of the Arabic language and equates it with its Castilian counterpart. In doing so, our author describes the language of his history not in terms of a socially embarrassing "algarabía" or bastardized mix which marked the Moriscos as different and separated them from Old Christian society, but rather as a respected form of learned communication. Finally, instead of characterizing his Muslim personages as a treacherous and dishonest group, Luna presents an equitable vision of treason not only in the Muslim camp, but the Christian, as well. Using these examples of positive Moorish character and conduct, Miguel de Luna

elaborates the details of his history and the methods used to contextualize his protagonists in an effort to directly oppose and challenge the negative stereotypes concerning the nature of the Moriscos which were prevalent during his time. As has already been stated, the act of narrating history is an operation that directly influences how past events are shaped, and betrays the forms of appropriation and forces of legitimation that characterize the relationship between the events narrated, and the present context which surrounds them.³⁴ Also, history's objects are linguistic rather than objects of verifiable flesh and blood.³⁵ Given, therefore, that writing history is a linguistic operation that can never be undertaken in a void, and necessarily carries with it important sociopolitical contexts, norms of production, and commentaries, we will examine the ways in which Miguel de Luna moulds the facts he (re)presents in relation to the present situation in which he lived so as to achieve his goals.

According to Michel de Certeau, "...all historical interpretation depends upon a system of reference" (*The Writing of History*, 58). Miguel de Luna's dialog with pre-expulsion representations of the Spanish Moriscos would therefore be less meaningful without our first understanding the contextual, literary framework which underlie the production of his history. As suggested by Duranti and Goodwin, one must look beyond the events narrated to envisage the other phenomena within which the story is embedded (6-9). For this reason, it is

³⁴ Tom Conley, Introduction, *The Writing of History*.

³⁵ Lionel Gossman, "History and Literature: Reproduction or Signification."

necessary to examine the sixteenth and seventeenth century historical background and literature within which the Verdadera historia was born.

As Henry Kamen has noted in his work, Spain 1469-1714: A Society in Conflict, “[f]or both Moriscos and Christians the sixteenth century was a period of cultural confrontation.”³⁶ This instability was aggravated by numerous factors. Between 1502 and 1526, the Muslim population in Spain suffered forced conversions, first in Castile, then later in other regions including Aragon and Valencia. From 1526 on, Islam was no longer recognized as a religion in Catholic Spain, and all Mudejars were legally converted to Christianity, making them “Moriscos” as opposed to “Moors”. Efforts were made to evangelize these new “converts”, and during a short period of forty years, at which time the Inquisition was somewhat inactive, the Moriscos in some of Spain—Aragon, specifically—were not persecuted, and were permitted to maintain some of their customs in exchange for a tribute of 40,000 ducats. But, in the kingdom of Granada, where the Moriscos were not indentured to, and therefore protected by wealthy, Christian landowners, the atmosphere surrounding the forced conversions was not so tolerant. According to Kamen, “[d]irect pressure of land-hungry Christians on a free Morisco people created tension between the two communities and provoked grievances...” (173).

During the mid-to late sixteenth century, the situation of the Moriscos became more difficult. After the Reconquest of Granada, the Moriscos already living there were required to show written proof of land ownership. Those who

³⁶ 2nd. Ed. London and New York: Longman, 1991, page 174.

found themselves unable to comply with this demand were fined, and if unable to pay, their lands were confiscated and sold. According to Kamen, "...some 100,000 hectares passed into the hands of Christian officials during the period 1559-68 alone" (173). Also, measures were taken by the Catholic monarchy to seize the principal industry of the Granada countryside: the production of silk. Heavy taxes levied against Granadan silk paved the way for illegal importation from Murcia, undercutting and subsequently ruining Granadan producers (Kamen 173). But the most deeply felt grievances "...arose out of the evangelisation programme" (73). During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, many officials and learned individuals believed that the greatest barrier to effective conversion was the cultural separateness of the Spanish Moriscos. Such attitudes led to active social discrimination and reached their climax in 1565. In this year, the clergy met in synod in Granada and advised the king that the former policies of patient teaching should be replaced by more repressive tactics. It was suggested that the Moriscos be forbidden to use their language, dress, literature, baths, dances and traditional rites, that Moriscos be relocated within Castilian communities so that the former Muslim kingdom could be repopulated with willing Christians, and that the children of the region be relocated to areas more heavily populated by Christians so that they would be away from their parents' influence. In 1567, these proposals were published in a royal decree (Kamen 173). Conflict between the groups grew, with Castilian Christians feeling confronted by hitherto unknown Morisco populations, and reached its apex in the

bloody Alpujarras rebellion (Christmas Eve 1568-1571). Shortly after suppressing this uprising, the monarchy would order the Moriscos' expulsion.

Literary Representations of the Morisco

Negative Christian representations of the Muslims who conquered the Peninsula and of their descendents, the Moriscos, are not limited to Spain's medieval writings. Evidence of Christian antipathy towards Muslims, and of the conflict surrounding the Morisco problem, can be seen in sixteenth and seventeenth century literary production. According to contemporary researcher, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Spanish authors who addressed the issues concerning the Morisco's during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were divided between two primary categories: those who dared to criticize the royal decree, and supporters of and apologists for the expulsion order of September 22, 1609.³⁷ Those who supported the idea of ridding Spain of its Morisco community formed the overwhelming majority. As in all periods and social contexts, there certainly must have been citizens whose opinions would have differed from those which will be presented in this chapter. We can by no means assume that the ideas to be examined in this section are descriptive of every individual's worldview. However, having been formulated by the writers of the sixteenth- to

³⁷ Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: Historiografía de un grupo marginado, pages 13-16.

seventeenth-centuries, they are representative of much of the literary, educated segment of society at that time.

During the reigns of Phillip II and Phillip III and especially after the War of Granada (1568-1571), popular opinion concerning what constituted the nature of the Morisco grew more hateful. The Morisco population was said to consist of thieves³⁸ who robbed old Christian homes³⁹ and who would steal and sell Christian children.⁴⁰ Their expulsion was justified because of the imminent threat they were thought to pose to Spain's political system. In the opinion of many authors, the term "Morisco" was synonymous with "hereje", "traidor" and "apóstata."⁴¹ Their expulsion was just, necessary and of vital religious importance.⁴² In the opinion of many historical writers of the time, the Morisco was much more a Muslim than a Christian. In general, the Moriscos were described as perverse, false, given to vice, libidinous, pirates, and as a cancer upon the Spanish body (Bunes Ibarra, 34-38). They were said to have conspired with the Turks against their monarch and country, and although Christian Spain admired some of the qualities found in Morisco culture, there could be no

³⁸ op. cit., page 19.

³⁹ op. cit., page 27.

⁴⁰ op. cit., page 34.

⁴¹ op. cit., page 17. Also see Damián Fonseca's work, Iusta expulsion de los moriscos de España: con la instruccion, apostasia, y traycion dellos; y respuesta à las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca desta materia. Fonseca dedicates the majority of this multi-volume work to explaining the degree to which the Moriscos are traitors to the crown, apostates of the faith, and heretics.

⁴² Bunes Ibarra, page 16.

mistaking the threat posed to the crown. D. Pascual Boronat y Barrachina summarizes the attitudes of early post-expulsion historians, such as Pedro Aznar de Cardona, Guadalajara, Bleda and Escolano, stating:

No negamos su carácter laborioso [en el cultivo de la seda, del cáñamo, y del azúcar], pero aunque sea éste un elemento de valía...no debe olvidarse que...[sus efectos eran] contraproducentes en aquella sociedad...con menoscabo del progreso moral y del culto católico, [y que] era un peligro....Había entre los moriscos elementos aprovechables, es cierto, pero no los había asimilables....[N]o podemos dejar de aplaudir á la opinión pública que reclamaba enérgicas medidas contra aquella gente, peligro fuesto que amenazaba nuestra unidad religiosa y...nuestra unidad nacional ó política.

[We cannot deny their hard-working character [in the cultivation of silk, hemp and sugar], but although this might be an element of great value...it should not be forgotten that...[the effects of this personality] were socially counterproductive...with impaired moral and religious progress, [and that that type of character] was dangerous....There were certainly beneficial elements among the Moriscos, but none which could be readily assimilated....[W]e should never cease to applaud public opinion that called for stronger measures against that people, a danger which threatened our religious...national and political unity].⁴³

Early seventeenth century author Damián Fonseca informs his reader that the Moriscos were heretics and apostates, because after having been educated in the “verdadera Religion Christiana” [true Catholic Religion], they were ignorant still of the most basic tenets of faith: “...no sabian ni los articulos de la Fe, el Credo, ni los mandamientos de la Iglesia, ni aun el Pater noster, y el Ave Maria; no era por no auer sido instruydos, sino por no auerlo querido ser” [...they knew not the articles of Faith, nor the Creed, nor even the Our Father nor the Ave Maria; it was

⁴³ See Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión: Estudio histórico-crítico, vol. 1, pages 195-219. Here, the author quotes a previous work by Pedro Aznar de Cardona, Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles, from the year 1612. This chapter addresses what Boronat y Barrachina terms the “verdadero carácter de la raza morisca”. Quote taken from page 197.

not for lack of instruction, but rather lack of desire to learn].⁴⁴ In fact, educating them had been a waste of time, because, "...no se ha sacado otro fruto, que vn general desengaño de su obstinacion, y que todo era perder tiempo sin prouecho" [the only benefit derived [from their education], was a general sense of disillusionment with their stubbornness, and that it had all been a waste of time without advantage] (393). The Moriscos could not be excused as being ignorant of the Church's teachings, as so much effort had been expended in their instruction (394). Not only were they enemies of God, but of the Spanish crown as well. Fonseca states that "...muchos dellos...se vieron con el Turco, y le pidieron socorro contra nosotros, visitaron la casa de Meca, [y] traxeron renovada su secta" [...many of them...associated with the Turks, and asked them for help against us, they visited the house of Mecca, [and] returned, renewing their sect] (398). They were a lascivious group, vile in character, unkempt, uncivilized, which raised its children in a state of nature, without restrictions or education.⁴⁵ They were misers who cared only for increasing their wealth. They were superstitious, gluttonous, servile, rustic, vengeful and cruel.⁴⁶ They were impossible to assimilate, because they constantly reverted to their past modes of behavior and worship. They kept the Qur'anic customs of prayer, fasting during

⁴⁴ Iusta expulsion de los moriscos de España, page 390.

⁴⁵ Boronat y Barrachina, page 196-199.

⁴⁶ op. cit., page 196-97.

the month of Ramadan and sacrificing animals, besides refusing to give up their language, forms of dress, foods and baths.⁴⁷

As for arguments supporting the Moriscos' nature and presence in Spain, there were relatively few. These authors were not at liberty to openly criticize the royal decision, therefore their arguments are often veiled in the plot to a play, or the interactions of characters in a book. Calderón de la Barca, although he does not openly denounce the expulsion decree, is generous with the Morisco and sympathetic to his plight in the play Amar después de la muerte. He treats the Moriscos as the descendants of nobility, with a regal character that belies their customary, humble station.⁴⁸ Miguel de Cervantes describes his Moriscos as comparable in moral character with the Christians in his works. In his "Coloquio de los perros", Berganza speaks out against Moriscos in general, referring to them as:

...canalla...todo su intento es acuñar y guardar dinero acuñado, y para conseguirlo trabajan y no comen...de modo que ganado siempre y gastando nunca, llegan y amontonan la mayor cantidad de dinero que hay en España: ellos son su hucha, su polilla, sus picarazas y sus comadrejas: todo lo llegan, todo lo esconden y todo lo tragan.

[...swine...their only intention is accumulating and hoarding their amassed wealth, and in order to attain this goal, they work and don't eat...so that, always earning and never spending, they amass the majority of the money

⁴⁷op. cit., page 199, 218-19.

⁴⁸ A brief mention to this work is made in Bunes Ibarra's volume, page 21. The work is set in the midst of the Alpujarras uprising and explains the reasons why the Moriscos of Granada might have felt it necessary to revolt. The majority of the personages in this play are Moriscos, and are shown as virtuous, modest, honest people, but most importantly, as good Christians.

that there is in Spain: they are the country's piggybank, eating away at our wealth like larva, [they are Spain's] pox and weasles].⁴⁹

At first glance this statement seems disparaging to the Morisco, but one must remember the contextual circumstances, surrounding its utterance. Berganza is neither human nor necessarily trustworthy. He is a talking, picaresque, Christian dog and the figment of a syphilitic soldier's imagination. The reader must question which truly is worse—being such an animal or a man who works hard and accumulates wealth. In the *Quijote*, the Moriscos Ricote and Ana Félix are shown in a sympathetic light. Ricote is the friend and neighbor of the Knight's squire, Sancho Panza—he could, in fact, be anyone's neighbor. Ana Félix is accepted by, and is likely to marry into an old Christian family, thereby showing the possibility of union between both groups. She is pardoned by the Viceroy, which legitimates her in the eyes of the law. The reader feels compassion for father and daughter who have had to leave their home because of royal decree.⁵⁰

Further examples of how the Morisco was portrayed include their image in the romances of the sixteenth- to seventeenth-centuries. This poetic form which at times can be considered a form of popular history, demonstrates a tendency toward describing the Morisco in terms of a combination of nobility, loss, and emotional devastation (as in the Moorish novel), as an exotic or heretical figure

⁴⁹ *Novelas ejemplares*, 349-350.

⁵⁰ Chapter LXIII, second volume.

whose visual, social dimension is all important, or as inconstant apostates who renounce the Christian faith.⁵¹

Miguel de Luna presents the Moors of his history not as an ungodly, treacherous or socially inferior group, but in a generally positive light. His Verdadera historia demonstrates a sense of equity towards the Muslim population of Spain which, because of his own, direct association of the protagonists of his history with the sixteenth and seventeenth century Moriscos of his time, is extended to the latter, as well. Luna wrote his true history during a period of social conflict and discrimination directed towards the Moriscos, and most likely because of the social and political context surrounding the production of his text, he opted to disguise his own voice and assume the role of translator instead of author. This position affords him unique discursive privileges and responsibilities. The translator must negotiate two or more vocabularies and a wavering position of indeterminacy. S/he necessarily must bear in mind the cultural context of each group and be able to move from what is considered comfortable and known, to what is unknown or Other to each party. Part of the translator's art is to bridge this gap: to make understandable to his/her audience that which is strange. Miguel de Luna accomplishes this task by drawing his reader into an emotional relationship with the personages and events narrated, and by supporting his assertion of Morisco dignity and worthiness in ways that are non-threatening and intelligible to his reader. In his Verdadera historia, Miguel

⁵¹ See Chapter IV, "Re-Writing the Noble Moor" for a detailed analysis of the way in which Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with the existing romance tradition.

de Luna follows a pattern of veiled affirmation and praise of the Morisco population and sympathy for their political and social situation, in much the same manner as do Calderón de la Barca and Cervantes. Luna takes the negative preconceptions concerning the Moriscos which circulated in the literary works of his time and rewrites them into positive, acceptable contexts for a Christian reader via the ways in which he portrays the Moors of his history.

Some of the primary negative stereotypes with which Luna takes exception suggest that the Moriscos were cruel, vengeful and miserly in nature.⁵² Our author refutes these notions through the positive model represented by his Moorish leader, Almanzor. Whereas the Morisco is thought to be miserly, Almanzor is generous with all his subjects. One of the primary textual examples of Almanzor's liberal character is seen in the retelling of a particularly outstanding game of "cañas" in which the young prince participated. Luna's fictitious biographer informs the reader that, after having played very well and having defeated his opponents, the young Almanzor calls all his "alcaydes" (who had trained him in this sport) to court in order that he may grant them favors for having instructed him so well. Later, the juvenile sovereign realizes the inequity of giving favors to those who already have enough means for existence, and decides to call all the poor vassals of his kingdom to court so that he might distribute gold coins among them. His father, the acting king, reprimands Auilqualit's extravagance, but the son answers, "...mas muerto se podia llamar el Principe que fuesse avariento con los suyos...y el que no hauia nacido sino para

⁵² Boronat y Barrachina, 196-97; Damián Fonseca.

hazer mercedes, imitando a su criador cuya segunda causa era en la tierra que de tanta clemencia vsaua con sus criaturas.” [...the Prince who is greedy with his people...and was not born except to grant them favors, in imitation of his Creator whose second cause on earth was that he should use great clemency with his creatures, may as well be dead...] (135L). In direct opposition to the image of the Morisco as vengeful and cruel, Miguel de Luna’s conquering Moors are just and compassionate, even with those whom they have vanquished. Every time a Christian township is conquered in the Verdadera historia, the inhabitants are left unharmed by the victors and are allowed to leave with their belongings and family for Christian lands. Therefore, the Moor and hence, the Morisco, is no longer portrayed as cruel, vengeful or dishonest. They are men of their word and keep their promises, even to those who are conquered.

Concerning the Moriscos’ alleged disconcern for education, instead of living in a state of ignorance as authors like Pedro Aznar de Cardona⁵³ were inclined to assert, Luna’s Almanzor demonstrates the love for science, philosophy and all other aspects of learning that historically characterized the Islamic period in Spain. The Muslim King’s exemplary youth is the only childhood represented in the Verdadera historia. This representation of the king challenges the misconception that Moriscos raised their children in a state of nature. At eighteen years of age, Almanzor is represented by Miguel de Luna and his fictitious biographer as already having written three books on mathematics and astronomy. The young monarch is said to have also written a Compendio historial, the Arte

⁵³ Aznar de Cardona is quoted in Boronat y Barrachina, 195-219. See footnote 45.

mayor de Algebra, and a volume on the exercise of military arts. He is unusually adept at the liberal arts and corrects the mistakes of his elders. At age twenty-five, it is reported that the ruler could speak, read and write eleven languages with native fluency. Almanzor shows early prowess at the game of “cañas”, quotes sensible, wise sayings by which he personally lives and acts, and is an excellent warrior (134L-R). After assuming the throne, Almanzor dedicates one day each week to his passion for the sciences (135R), and invites the most learned men of his kingdom to visit his extensive library to discuss matters of science (145L). The Moorish king is described as a man who “...aborrecia y desechaua a los necios e inabiles...” [despised and thought little of those who were uneducated and incapable...] (144R), saying that “...no auia mayor miseria en el mundo que la ignorancia, ni auia monstruo por fiero, torpe y abominable que fuesse que con ella se pudiesse comparar” [...there was no greater misery in the world than ignorance, nor was there any monster, no matter how fierce, ungainly and abominable it was, that could compare] (144R). Almanzor, therefore, is contextualized as being a wise man, not superstitious and rustic like the Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula who believed that the winds of Andalusia could impregnate mares without copulation (163L). He is a man who, according to the opening materials of his biography, should be—and is—respected and emulated by his community, not the half-man, half-beast presented in Aznar de Cardona’s and Fonseca’s works.

Miguel de Luna’s Moors are noblemen and women, not peasants of servile character and dubious social worth as described in works by Fonseca and Aznar

de Cardona. They are leaders of the civilized world, rather than simple farmers or mountain dwellers, as significantly, the majority of the Christians in the Verdadera historia are described as having been.⁵⁴ As previously discussed, the Moors are educated patrons of the arts and letters. Their language is described as Arabic—not the frightening, forbidden “algarabía”, or a bastardized mix of languages which was forbidden by the sixteenth-century edicts.⁵⁵ This valorization of Arabic culture and language is important in understanding how Miguel de Luna contextualizes the center and periphery of his text.

⁵⁴ Luna’s fictitious author devotes several sections of text to geographic and ethnographic descriptions of the newly conquered land and its inhabitants. He explains that the naturals of the land graze their livestock in fertile fields (164R), cultivate five types of wheat and other grains (169R), grow olives and refine olive, linseed, sesame and almond oils (170L), and work the land with plows (170R). Nowhere does he mention any cultural advances, governmental structures, art or literature which would mark this population as highly developed. It is also interesting to note that while the Muslims show a natural affinity for the beautiful and fertile *montañas de Sol y Ayre* (“mountains of Sun and Air”, now known as the Alpujarra region), the mountains where the Christian forces maintained their last stronghold are rugged, wind-swept, cold and difficult to cultivate (165-166).

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that the Christian Spanish anxiety for the Arabic language did not begin during the sixteenth century. The ninth century St. Eulogius of Cordova describes the barbarous nature of the Moor’s tongue in his Memoriale Sanctorum. In this work, the author tells of the contortions necessary for speaking Arabic: “...with cheeks puffed out, and throat muscles working vigorously, and with crackling noises up in the roof of his mouth, he said the words of his ritual prayers.” This translation of the Memoriale Sanctorum is taken from Colin Smith’s Christians and Moors in Spain, vol. I., page 43. Smith uses Andreas Schott’s edition of the Hispania illustrata, which includes St. Eulogius’ work. See Schott, Hispania illustrata, pages 237-38. In this section, St. Eulogius is recounting the martyrdom of Isaac de Tábanos in 851. We are told that Isaac is in the public square in Cordova, away from his monastery. He approaches the city’s judge and feigns interest in converting to Islam, at which point the judge, with his “lying tongue” recites the aforementioned prayers. Isaac proceeds to insult the judge, Muhammad and Islam, and is shortly thereafter put to death.

Miguel de Luna creates a spatial relationship between the body of his history and the accompanying marginalia. Throughout the Verdadera historia, we see that Castilian Spanish fills the central, privileged portion of the text, while terms in Arabic are mostly found in what at first glance would represent a secondary location of importance—the margins. Luna informs his audience in the “Prohemio al Christiano Lector” that he had never before considered an undertaking of this magnitude in his more than twenty seven years of diligent sacrifice to Arabic language studies, because the two linguistic systems were just too different—“...entre si tan repugnantes” (10L). But the seemingly different and peripheral zone occupied primarily by Arabic terms is on all accounts essential to the “Christiano Lector” if s/he is to understand key concepts which are not always defined within the text. In some instances, uniquely Muslim terms such as “hegira”⁵⁶ and “djihad”⁵⁷ are found defined outside the main text, but the non-threatening manner in which they are presented influences the reader’s interpretation and acceptance of the history as well as Moorish, and later, Morisco civilization in Spain. Other times, terms in Arabic are found to be translations of Castilian terms within the body of the text. This category of marginal notes serves to stress linguistic unity and equivalence between Castilian Spanish and Arabic. Whereas a Christian would say “Criador” in reference to the Almighty

⁵⁶ “Hegira” (*hijera* in the Verdadera historia) is defined as “fuga” and the point at which the Arabs begin counting their years. There is no mention of Muhammad, Mecca or Medina, or the religious context of this flight (13R).

⁵⁷ “Djihad” is defined simply as “arte militar”, again without any reference to practices which would mark the Moors as ideologically different than the Christian peoples they came to conquer. The idea of a holy war, or of an organized response to an attack against Islam, is conspicuously absent (18R).

from whom all things come, Luna informs his reader that Moors who conquered Spain said “alhalic alhadim” (12R). Different words, of course, but the concept presented is the same: “God” is the “sumo hazedor” (supreme creator) (12R), although it is interesting to note the absence of “God’s” name — “Allah” — throughout in the Verdadera historia. Luna also forges a connection with his reader by creating a temporal link between the Muslim and Christian calendars. Throughout his history, all important days, months and years appear in Arabic. Luna allows his non-Arabic speaking reader to participate in the timeline of his narration by translating these references from their original Arabic into their Castilian equivalent. Miguel de Luna’s use of marginalia, therefore, serves several functions. First, our author, in his capacity as translator, equates Arabic and Castilian vocabulary and dates, and thereby vindicates the Arabic language, bringing it out of the realm of the unknown and frightening, into the familiar for his reader. Next, the play between center and margin is metaphorical of the relationship between past and present in any historical discourse, as well as representative of the fact that the Moriscos of Luna’s day lived in much the same way — on the margins. The Moriscos were constrained by law to reduce outward, public signs of “Moorishness” by the succession of royal edicts that legislated acceptable behaviors, dress and language. Miguel de Luna’s vindication of the Arabic language and forms of thought, and equation of these with compatible, yet non-threatening meanings in his society’s dominant linguistic paradigm — Castilian Spanish — shows a desire to incorporate both within the same textual and social context. Through his position as translator,

Luna strives to show the worth of each linguistic system, not “expelling” one because of its difference.

Miguel de Luna also address the prejudices held by many Christian historical writers concerning the religious inconstancy of the Moriscos.⁵⁸ Instead of portraying his converts as the embodiment of religious apostasy, as in the Iusta expulsion, or the Expulsion justificada, Luna shows his Moors who come to profess Christianity to be steadfast in the face of religious persecution. The most telling example in the Verdadera historia of the new Christians’ sincerity is seen in his portrayal of the young Muslim woman, Zahra Benalyaça. Benalyaça is said to have converted to Christianity in order to become Rodrigo’s wife. After her husband’s defeat she is captured by Moorish soldiers who try to force her to denounce her new God. She refuses. She meets another Moor by birth, Mahometo Gilhair, and the two fall in love. She promises to secretly marry him, provided that he converts to Christianity as well. Gilhair converts and the couple shares a few joyful days, until they are denounced to their captors by Sisiberta, Zahra’s servant. They are given the choice of denying their Christian God or death. Both refuse to recant, even in the face of immanent execution, and die martyrs at the hands of the Islamic troops (35-37). Neither Zahra Benalyaça nor Mahometo Gilhair is by any means a heretic or apostate to the Christian faith. The sympathetic connection Miguel de Luna fosters between reader and text functions to bring the new converts to Christianity out of their position as unknown, heretical entities and into an emotional relationship with the reader.

⁵⁸ See Bunes Ibarra, and sixteenth-to seventeenth-century authors Damián Fonseca and Pedro Aznar de Cardona, cited in Boronat y Barrachina.

Luna appeals to his audience by questioning and (re)presenting existing assumptions concerning Morisco religious insincerity in the form of a tragically doomed pair of lovers, which evokes a sympathetic reaction. It is important to note that Luna does not alienate his reader by evoking such sympathy directed towards an overtly Muslim couple. The converts are portrayed as being religiously steadfast to Christianity—their new faith—not Islam, their heritage faith. This assertion not only refutes the commonly held notion that Spain's new converts to Christianity were apostates at heart, but also supports the Christian faith as the more powerful of the two, thereby allowing the Old Christian reader to feel comfortable as s/he empathizes with Luna's personages.

Closely associated with the idea of the Moriscos' religious apostasy is the notion that the group posed a national threat to the Spanish crown. Writers such as Fonseca and Aznar de Cardona chose to highlight what they believed to be the intimate relationship that the Moriscos maintained with the Islamic Turks and Africans—a relationship which pointed to the treacherous, untrustworthy nature of the Moriscos. Miguel de Luna uses his position as an historian to create an area of play between his object of study and the reader's understanding of that object, wherein a positive sense of Morisco heritage and identity can be forged.

In an effort to refute the idea that the Moriscos were by definition treasonous conspirators against the Castilian throne, Miguel de Luna depicts instances of treason in both the Christian and the Muslim camps. Among the Christian traitors we find Luna's anti-*espejo de príncipes*, Rodrigo the Last Visigothic King. This poor example of a ruler attempts to poison his young

nephew who is in reality the rightful ruler of Spain, and in whose stead Rodrigo acts only temporarily, rapes his vassal's daughter, corrupts the country's clergy, and puts those who depend on him in jeopardy.⁵⁹ Also, Luna tells of another Christian traitor—a soldier named Sisiberto who betrays his countrymen to the conquering Moorish forces (31R). In the Moorish camp, coincidentally, there is also a matching “Sisiberta” who betrays her master, Zahara Benalyaça, the faithful New Christian convert (35-37). Also, as discussed in Chapter Two, Lela Marién—the first wife of Muslim leader Abdalaziz—is responsible for the death of her own husband, his second wife and their unborn child. Other examples of treasonous behavior in the Moorish camp include Luna's reference to the lesser rulers of the Spanish and African territories. These lesser kings are usurpers of Almanzor's bloodline and rebel and make numerous attempts at gaining control of the Spanish and African kingdoms. These nobles are interested primarily in increasing their own wealth rather than in political unity, as was their predecessor, Almanzor.⁶⁰ But in Miguel de Luna's (re)presentation of the conquest, the Moors are no more, and often less treacherous than their Christian counterparts.

This chapter has examined the ways in which Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with, and refutes, the prevailing negative images in Spanish Christian letters concerning the Islamic conquest of Spain, and the character of their descendents, the Moriscos. Existing medieval chronicles had emphasized the cruel, godless, false and barbarous nature of the Moorish forces that entered the

⁵⁹ Chapters I-X of the first book of the Verdadera historia.

⁶⁰ See volume II of Luna's history.

Peninsula in the eighth century. In contrast, Luna offers his reader examples of Moorish dignity, sincerity and generosity, embodied by his idealized recontextualization of the historical king Almanzor—a true *espejo de príncipes*. This (re)presentation of the life of Ibn Abi Amir is constructed in such a way that it is validated in the eyes of the reader. Whereas the audience was previously convinced of the illegitimacy of the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo's rule, Luna's Almanzor is shown as rightful heir to the throne, and as a monarch who has earned the respect and love of his vassals. The Moorish king seeks to better his subjects' living conditions, and continually bears their safety and the tranquility of his kingdom foremost in his mind. Therefore, unlike Rodrigo, he is accepted by his loyal community. The positive image of Almanzor which Miguel de Luna employs makes the *Verdadera historia*'s underlying message of Moorish honor, worth, dignity and morality more accessible to the Old Christian reader, while simultaneously questioning existing stereotypes concerning the nature of the conquest. But our author does not limit himself to a (re)presentation of the conquest alone. Luna's own voice, as self-proclaimed translator of the text, draws his reader's attention to the relationship between Moor and Morisco, and thereby validates the heritage and character of the latter on the Peninsula. Whereas the Morisco was often described as an insincere, uncivilized, treacherous apostate to God and the Spanish crown, Luna presents positive examples such as Zahra Benalyaça and Almanzor, which refute such images. By recontextualizing and validating their history and nature, our author emphasizes the Moriscos' worth and dignity as citizens of the Spanish throne.

CHAPTER V

RE-WRITING THE NOBLE MOOR

Beginnings of the Moorish Novel

According to Claudio Guillén, the narrative genre commonly referred to today as the Moorish Novel gained significant popularity in Europe between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.¹ The work considered today as the seminal masterpiece of this genre, El Abencerraje, was probably written and first published between 1550 and 1561 either in Valladolid as a part of the Corónica del ínclito infante don Fernando, or as text published in Toledo by Miguel de Ferrer.² During the next ten years, the Abencerraje was printed several times, and received its most enduring fame and widest dispersion after having been added to Montemayor's Diana by an enterprising printer in 1561.³ One particular facet of the Abencerraje, which according to both Guillén and other authorities can be considered representative of the Moorish Novel as a genre, is the idealized figure of the noble Moor.⁴ This literary figure, or type, achieved considerable popularity

¹ Claudio Guillén, "Literature as Historical Contradiction: *El Abencerraje*, the Moorish Novel, and the Eclogue" in Literature as System, page 159-161.

² op. cit., page 170-171, footnote 13.

³ op. cit., page 160.

⁴ It is interesting to note that Guillén's classification of the Abencerraje as a Moorish Novel, and his level of acceptance of said generic description have evolved throughout his career. In his essay titled "Individuo y ejemplaridad en el *Abencerraje*" (1965), Guillén questions the Moorish Novel as a generic category, and the place this particular work is thought to hold as the forerunner of the genre.

during its time, and became what Guillén terms "...somewhat of a fad" (161).

The image of the "...noble, chivalrous Moor and the story of his deeds in love and war, set against the splendid but melancholy background of the last years of the Moslem kingdom of Granada" had existed already in Spain since the ballads and chronicles of the fifteenth century, but recaptured the public eye in the anonymous El Abencerraje as well as in other works considered representative of the Moorish Novel: Ginés Pérez de Hita's two-volume Guerras civiles de Granada and the story of Ozmín and Daraja in Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache.

The wide-ranging popularity of the Moorish Novel and especially its prototypical work the Abencerraje, with its exotic and chivalrous protagonist, is evidenced by the fact that the latter was translated into numerous languages, owing in great part to its inclusion within Montemayor's Diana, and disseminated throughout Europe. The figure of the idealized Moor became so popular, in fact, that it gave rise to similar characterizations in French, Italian and English literatures during the years that followed. Examples of the gallant Moor can be seen in late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Italy in Francesco Balbi da Correggio's historia de los amores del valeroso moro Abindarráez y de la hermosa Jarifa and Celio Malespini's Ducento novelle, and in eighteenth and nineteenth-century France in the beginnings of the *conte philosophique* and Chateaubriand's Les aventures du dernier Abencérage.

Later, in his volume Literature as System: Essays toward the Theory of Literary History (1971), essay number six, "Historical Contradiction: *El Abencerraje*, the Moorish Novel and the Eclogue", Guillén equates the two. For the purposes of this chapter, I will assume the validity of a literary grouping referred to as the Moorish Novel, and that El Abencerraje is indeed an example of that genre.

Like Claudio Guillén, María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti also acknowledges the popularity of the Abencerraje and traces the beginnings of the Moorish Novel to the epic and romance traditions of the centuries preceding it.⁵ In her study titled The Moorish Novel, Carrasco-Urgoiti states that much of the foundational material for the genre was taken from accounts concerning the war against Muslim Spain which had "...provided the backdrop and much of the subject matter of Castilian epic poetry..." during the Middle Ages (41-43). This material later flourished in the form of the romance, and finally found expression in the Moorish Novel (41-43). According to Carrasco-Urgoiti, in spite of the fact that the epic and romance traditions often depicted the Islamic forces as foes and warriors, the Muslims were also, at times, treated with considerable sympathy and viewed as peasants, burghers, or as friends of great Christians, as in the representation of the Cid's friend and confidant, Avengalvón in the Cantar de Mío Cid. The dichotomous portrait of the Moor as simultaneously embodying the enemy and the friend was seen well into the fourteenth century in the Spanish frontier ballads wherein the Muslim population was alternately defined as untruthful, cruel and warlike, or as a noble community doomed to failure and loss.⁶ This interplay between Muslim nobility and barbarism forms what Guillén

⁵ Carrasco-Urgoiti, The Moorish Novel, chapter three.

⁶ In the "Romance de Abenámar", it is subtly suggested that being Moorish was equated with lying. In the verses 7-8, the Muslim Abenámar is cautioned against telling untruths: "moro que en tal siglo nace / no debe decir mentira" [a Moor who in such a time is born / should not tell lies]. The "Romance antiguo y verdadero de Álora, la bien cercada", although emphasizing the Christian conquest of the town, also details the weapons and fortifications utilized by the Moors, thereby characterizing them as warlike in nature. Muslim cruelty is brought to light by

and Carrasco-Urgoiti consider to be the essence of the idealized Moor in Spanish literature. As both critics have asserted, the literary type known today as the noble Moor moved within a textual intermingling of legend and history which formed the background for the genre. Rather than being portrayed as an individual in his own right, he was an idealized and exoticized type. The noble Moor was shown as the embodiment of virtue and chivalric values, and was characterized by an exaggerated sentimentality and feeling of loss. These exaggerated and idealized characteristics create a gallant literary type that stands out in direct contrast with the historical Morisco of the seventeenth century, who was often viewed with suspicion or disdain. Of noble lineage, the idealized Moor is seen as the incarnation of chivalric virtue and generosity. He shows great physical strength and beauty, is deeply sentimental and committed to the ideals of romantic love. He longs for what he has lost, and nostalgically remembers his past as he often is a captive, separated from his home and family by his Christian opponents. These characteristics—an emphasis on the description of emotional landscapes, an exoticized and externally defined Other, and the use of great losses suffered by the once-dominant Moorish population—form the basis for the narrative known today as the Moorish Novel. In this chapter, I will examine the ways in which Miguel de Luna adheres to and affirms the image of the noble Moor and his relationship to Christian Spain as evidenced in the Moorish Novel,

references to killing the messenger who bears bad news as seen in the “Romance de la conquista de Alhama, con la cual se comenzó la última guerra de Granada”. The loss suffered by the Moors is often commented on by the authors of the romances, as evidenced in the last two romances mentioned. See Ramón Menéndez Pidal’s *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, pages 217-238.

as well as analyze the ways in which Luna subverts these common modes of representation.

The Gallant Moor: An Idealized Figure within an Historical Context

As Dominick LaCapra states in his History and Criticism, "...a conversation with the past involves the historian in argument and even polemic...over approaches to understanding that are bound up with institutional and political issues."⁷ For LaCapra, any representation of the past is rhetorical in nature, and even accounts that appear to be objective or empirical in fact process or rework their material in ways intimately entwined with the greater sociopolitical context (38). As a rhetorical construction, history, as much as any other discursive practice, "...engages the dialectic of recognition among speakers..." (39) and should not be considered primarily a vehicle for transmitting a fully mastered object of knowledge, but rather as a process that "...involves a dialogical understanding of discourse and of "truth" itself in contrast to a monological idea of a unified authorial voice providing an ideally exhaustive and definitive...account..." (36). Defined as such, we understand the transmission of history as a necessarily subjective act that is dependent upon a sense of mutual visualization common to both the author and the reader, insofar as the author must look back into the past and create a narrative that will link distant events with his readers' understanding. In the case of sixteenth-century Spain's

⁷ See chapter one, titled "Rhetoric and History", page 36.

Moorish Novel, the unknowable Moor that had ceased to exist historically after the fall of the Kingdom of Granada is symbolically brought to life through the text's intermingling of historical circumstance and exoticized imagery.

According to Claudio Guillén, the Muslim protagonists of the Moorish Novel were generally portrayed as idealized and sentimental characters set within a composite background of "...legendary and factual materials...[within which] past occurrences and contemporary standards mingle[d]..." (162). Although the framework of the story was historical, the figure of the gallant Moor and his relationship with Christian society represented, in Guillén's estimation, a peaceful, idyllic interlude juxtaposed to the chaotic and violent reality of life during the war in Granada and the period of forced conversions and conflict that followed.⁸ The noble, chivalric nature of both Christian and Moor as evidenced in this genre, their equitable and just treatment of one another, and the mutual dependence they demonstrate represent to him a poetic contradiction of the historical reality in which the stories of the gallant Moors were written and read (169-170). Hence, in Guillén's estimation, the Moorish Novel represents an idealized evocation of unity and harmony in the face of difficult, social and political situations.

If viewed and understood separately, a number of details and characters found in the Abencerraje and other narratives involving the noble Moor demonstrate the historical quality of the Moorish Novel to which Guillén refers.

⁸ Guillén emphasizes this point through his essay, but makes special mention of it in part two, pages 178-192. I will discuss the image of the idealized Moor in greater detail in the following section.

In the Abencerraje, we see that the principal characters of the novel—Rodrigo de Narváez, who was said to be the Christian governor of both Antequera and of Alora, and his Muslim captive Abindarráez—were indeed historical in nature, as was the geographical location that serves as the setting for their meeting. There is evidence that Narváez participated in the capture of Antequera by the Castilian prince don Fernando in 1410 and that he was subsequently granted authority over that city as a reward for his military service, although the historical facts surrounding the Christian soldier's representation in the Abencerraje are embellished to a certain degree.⁹ In like fashion, it has also been documented that an important Muslim family known as the Banu Al-Sarradj, whose name was later hispanized as “Abencerraje”, did in fact live in the geographical area known to Christian Spain as the kingdom of Granada.¹⁰ This family was probably of North

⁹ See pages 104-105 of López Estrada's edition of El Abencerraje. Chronicles of the same period refer to a governor of Antequera named Narváez who had been successful in battle against the Moors of the area, substantiating part of the novel's representation of the Christian soldier, although it would have been chronologically impossible for this same individual to have simultaneously governed Alora. María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti is particularly critical of this embellishment of historical context, and states that since Narváez assumed the governorship of Antequera in 1410 and Alora remained in Moorish hands until the last war of Granada, which began some seventy years later in 1482, it is a “...gross anachronism in the novel...” (58) to associate both towns with the same Castilian alcaide. For specific documentation concerning the historicity of the Abencerraje's representation of Rodrigo de Narváez, see Francisco López Estrada's preliminary study to El Abencerraje: Novela y romancero, pages 33-37. López Estrada cites such primary historical documents such as royal chronicles and biographies in support of his research. These documents include García de Santa María's Crónica and Fernando del Pulgar's Claros Varones de Castilla.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the etymology of the name Banu Al-Sarradj and the importance of this family in the political life of the Granada kingdom, see Guillén, page 163, Rachel Arié's España musulmana, pages 41-42 in the series Historia de España.

African or Arabic origin and was "...one of the most powerful clans in Arabic Andalusia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries...".¹¹ Last, rather than transpiring in a fabulous, remote place and period, the events of the Abencerraje are contextualized in real locations that would have been familiar to the reader, and which represented life on the frontier before and during the Christian reconquest of Granada.¹²

Other works considered to be exemplary of Spain's Moorish Novel, such as Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles de Granada and the interpolated story of Ozmán and Daraja in Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache employ the same use of historical context to establish the idealized, exotic Moor and his sentimental world. In the case of the Guerras civiles, the historicity of the work can be seen in

¹¹ See Guillén, page 163. As with the personage Rodrigo de Narváez, the Abencerrajes are also depicted as a fusion of fact and legend. Although the existence of this noble Muslim family is undisputed, there is no evidence to support the novel's suggestion that Abindarráez was the clan's last surviving member. Nor has it been documented that the entire family was accused of treason and sentenced to death by the king of Granada, or that Abindarráez was enamored of the beautiful Jarifa. See pages 114-122 of López Estrada's edition of El Abencerraje for Abindarráez's account of his family history and his love for Jarifa. Also, Claudio Guillén asserts that the Abencerraje family was most likely of North African origin (163), while López Estrada characterizes them as Arabic in heritage (35). Although we do not know precisely from where the family originated, it is important to note that there is no disagreement as to the historical existence of the group.

¹² Both Guillén and Carrasco-Urgoiti recognize the verifiable geographical setting of El Abencerraje and the importance of setting to framework of the narration. Carrasco explains that the incidents of the Abencerraje transpire between "...Castilians stationed in Álora and Moors living in Cártama and Coín" (57), and that these three towns all exist geographically in the Sierra of Ronda, and were "...strategically situated fortresses along a war route leading to Málaga," (57-58). Guillén also emphasizes the fact that the work takes place on the frontier, a point of contact and conflict between Christians and Moors (165).

the most basic fabric of the text. The first volume of Pérez de Hita's text is presented as an account of the social and political climate of Moorish Spain during the Nasrid period, and the second volume as the history of the Morisco uprising in Granada, also known as the Rebellion of the Alpujarras, which took place between 1569 and 1571. Pérez de Hita emphasizes the historicity of his first volume by offering a survey of the Nasrid monarchs from Alhamar to the region's last ruler, Boabdil, the lineages of many of the kingdom's lesser nobility, and a discussion of the tensions and conflicts which eventually contributed to the downfall of the state.¹³ In writing the second volume of his work, Pérez de Hita interviewed many Moriscos concerning the Alpujarras uprising, one of them being Fernando de Figueroa, formerly known as "El Tuzaní", who had personally fought in the war and found his betrothed dead in a looted town. His use of first-hand accounts of the rebellion given by those who took part in the action and his use of factual information concerning Granada's Nasrid dynasty form the historical framework within which the image of the noble Moor finds expression.¹⁴ In the case of story of Ozmín and Daraja in Mateo Alemán's Guzmán, the tale is set within a verifiable historical moment—the Catholic Monarchs' bloody struggle for control over Baza against the Moorish troops between the years 1488 and 1489. Alemán also employs well-known political figures from the period in an effort to enhance the setting of his narrative. King

¹³ See Carrasco-Urgoiti, pages 87-88.

¹⁴ For a brief overview of the plot and setting of Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles, see María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti, page 76.

Fernando and Queen Isabel play important roles in the development of the plot, and the actions and movements of these sovereigns, their armed forces and those of other lesser Christian nobility mentioned are historical in nature.¹⁵ It is within this context of historicity that the gallant, idealized Moor is brought to life.

Visual Qualities of the Idealized Moor

The image of the noble Moor as presented in the Moorish Novel appears within an elaborate framework of precious objects, contrasting colors and elements that provoke a sense of wonder in the reader.¹⁶ His physical strength and character are only matched by the most worthy of his Christian counterparts, and the descriptions of his clothing, as in the chivalric romances of the past, hold an almost ritualistic value (Carrasco-Urgoiti 69). In the Abencerraje, Abindarráez's vestiment is described in great detail by the Christian troops that are about to engage him in battle, as he travels in search of his love, Jarifa:

Y mirando con más atención, vieron venir...un gentil moro en un caballo ruano; él era grande de cuerpo y hermoso de rostro y parecía muy bien a caballo. Traía vestida una marlota de carmesí y un albornoz de damasco del mismo color, todo bordado de oro y plata. Traía el brazo derecho regazado y labrada en él una hermosa dama y en la mano una gruesa y hermosa lanza de dos hierros. Traía una darga y cimitarra, y en la cabeza una toca tunecí que, dándole muchas vueltas por ella, le servía de hermosura y defensa de su persona. En este hábito venía el moro mostrando gentil continente y

¹⁵ See Samuel Gili y Gaya's edition of Guzmán de Alfarache, pages 175-245.

¹⁶ See Guillén, pages 161-63, Carrasco-Urgoiti, page 50 and López Estrada's edition of El Abencerraje, page 107, footnote 12.

cantando un cantar que él compuso en la dulce memoria de sus amores....¹⁷

[And watching with great attention, they saw come...an elegant Moor riding a roan horse; he was strong of body and beautiful of face and handled his horse well. He was wearing a crimson tunic and an embroidered silk cloak of the same color, everything trimmed with gold and silver. He had his right arm in his lap and embroidered on his sleeve was the image of a lady, and in his hand he held a thick, beautiful double-edged sword. He carried a dagger and scimitar, and covering his head was a Tunisian headdress that, wrapping it around him many times, served as adornment and protection of his person. In this dress the Moor approached showing elegant continence and singing a song that he himself composed in sweet memory of his beloved...]

This description of Abindarráez's appearance emphasizes the physical strength, exoticized beauty and courtly manners of the Christians' opponent. He is "grande de cuerpo", armed with sword, dagger and scimitar, and presents such a formidable image to the Castilian soldiers that they decide it best to attack the Moor from behind so that he cannot respond as easily, even though Abindarráez travels alone (107). He is strong and valiant enough to defend himself against five of Narváez's Christian men, each of whom "...bastaba para diez moros" [were worth ten Moors] in the narrator's estimation (109).¹⁸ His clothing is colorful and his cloak is a crimson red embroidered with threads of precious metals, symbolizing his passion and burning love.¹⁹ Because of the narrator's use of detailed external markers such as colors and objects in his description of

¹⁷ *El Abencerraje*, pages 107-108.

¹⁸ The narrator further emphasizes Abindarráez's strength, suggesting that the only reason Narváez triumphed over such an opponent is that he himself had not fought yet, and was rested, whereas the Muslim and his horse were both injured from having done battle already (109-110).

¹⁹ López Estrada emphasizes this particular symbolism of the color red in his edition of *El Abencerraje*. See page 107, footnote 12.

Abindarráez, the reader is given to understand the internal life of the Moor via his outward appearance. This process of literary characterization based on visual criteria reifies the complex human subject, in this case the Muslim Other of Granada, and reduces him to the status of a static, visually exotic figure whose intentions are discernable to the observer.

Similar to the image of the noble Moor as seen in the Abencerraje, in Ginés Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles de Granada and Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache, emphasis is placed on descriptions of the Moor which are limited to that which can be perceived externally. In volume one of Pérez de Hita's work, the narrator describes one of the Muslim protagonists in the following terms:

...Zaide...muchas veces mudaba trajes y vestidos conforme la pasión que sentía. Unas veces vestía negro solo; otras, negro y pardo; otras, de morado y blanco, por mostrar su fe; lo pardo y negro, por mostrar su trabajo. Otras veces vestía azul, mostrando divisa de rabiosos celos; otras, de verde, por significar su esperanza; otras veces, de amarillo, por mostrar desconfianza, y el día que hablaba con su Zaida se ponía de encarnado y blanco, señal de alegría y contento.²⁰

[...Zaide...often changed clothing according to the passion he was feeling. At times, he wore only black; others, black and brown; others, he dressed in purple and white, to show his faith; the brown and black was to show his hardships. Other times, he dressed in blue as an emblem of his fervent zeal; other times, he wore green, to signify his hope; other times, yellow, to show his distrust, and on the days when he would speak with his Zaida he wore red and white as a sign of his happiness and contentment.]

Mateo Alemán's Guzmán similarly emphasizes the fabrics, bright colors and pageantry displayed by the local inhabitants of Baza, a city in the province of Granada conquered by the Catholic Monarchs in 1489. In order to ease the intense emotional suffering Daraja is said to experience because of her separation

²⁰ See P. Blanchard-Demouge's edition of the Guerras civiles, vol. I, page 45.

from her husband, Ozmín, her Christian captors and newly-appointed governors of the area call for "...unas fiestas de toros y juego de cañas" [bullfights and games of *cañas*] (208). The city is described as being exceptionally accommodating to this request, and numerous groups of worthy participants assemble. The reader is informed that "[j]untáronse las cuadrillas, de sedas y colores diferentes cada una mostrando los cuadrilleros en ellas sus pasiones, cuál desesperado, cuál con esperanzas, cuál cautivo, cuál amartelado, cuál alegre, cuál triste, cuál celoso, cuál enamorado..." [the teams were gathered, with each one dressed in silks and different colors with each one showing the passions of its members, those who were desperate, hopeful, captive, tormented with emotion, happy, sad, jealous, in love...] (208). Later that day, as the *juego de cañas* begins:

[l]o primero de todo, trompetas, menestriales y atabales, con libreas de colores, a quien seguían ocho acémilas cargadas con haces de cañas. Eran de ocho cuadrilleros que jugaban. Cada una su repostero de terciopelo encima, bordadas en él con oro y seda las armas de su dueño. Llevaban sobrecargas de oro y seda con los garrotes de plata....[Los caballos llevaban] arzones...pintadas en ellos enigmas y motes, puestas bandas y borlas, cada uno como quiso. Los caballos llevaban...sus petrales de caxcabeles y todos con jaeces tan ricos y curiosos, con tan soberbios bozales de oro y plata, llenos de riquísima pedrería...²¹

[first of all, trumpets, minstrels and drummers, with colorful uniforms, which were followed by eight pack-mules loaded with bundles of canes. The canes were for the eight team members who were competing. Each one wearing his velvet covering, with the emblem of his master embroidered in gold and silk. They were burdened with gold and silk with silver clubs....[Their horses wore] saddles with emblems and mottos painted on them, with sashes and tassels, each according to his own taste. The horses wore breast straps with bells and each one's harness was quite lovely and curious with such exquisite halters of gold and silver, full of rich stonework...

²¹ Guzmán de Alfarache, pages 211-212.

In addition to the pageantry of the colors, jewels, precious metals and garments worn by Baza's Moorish citizens, the idealization of the noble Moor's extreme beauty is also evident in the Guzmán. Shortly after Daraja's capture by the Catholic Monarchs in their raid of Baza, we are informed that she is doted upon by her captors because "...donde tanta hermosura de cuerpo estaba, no tuviera el alma fea" [...where such physical beauty resided, there could not be an ugly soul] (178). Daraja is described as possessing "...una de las más perfectas y peregrina hermosura que...se había visto..." [...one of the most perfect and unique beauties that...had ever been seen...] (178). She is in fact so beautiful that even though she is now dressed in Christian garb and he cannot truly discern her face, Ozmín is sure it must be her he sees one day in a garden, because "...tanta hermosura no podía dejar de ser la suya" [...such beauty could belong to no one but her] (187-188). In these particular examples, the beauty, attire and contrasting colors that are used to characterize the Moors serve to define them and communicate their internal life to those around them. The description of Abindarráez in the Abencerraje evidenced the Moor's passion via the crimson cloak that symbolized his devotion and love for Jarifa, the changing colors of Zaide's vestiment mirror the changes in his emotional and spiritual life and communicate that information to those around him, and Daraja's idealized physical beauty is seen to reflect her internal qualities. In the case of the participants in the chivalric games described in Alemán's Guzmán, the myriad colors, textures, and adornments worn by Baza's Moorish population mark them as exotic Others and serve to make evident their inner passions. Outward, visual appearance—whether made evident by

descriptions of the Moor's exotic, colorful wardrobe and customs, his use of precious metals and gems, or his extreme physical beauty—comprises one of the fundamental elements which characterize the figure of the Moorish Novel's noble Moor.

In keeping with the generic norms that characterized Spain's Moorish Novel, Miguel de Luna utilizes recognizable, historical figures, settings and information as the basis of his history. Individuals such as the Visigothic king Rodrigo, his nobleman Count Julián, Moorish captain Tarif Abentarique and the Arabic ruler of al-Andalus known as Almanzor are all historical in nature, although the details concerning their lives have been altered in Luna's narration. In like fashion, the premise of Miguel de Luna's Verdadera historia is also founded on historical events: Christian Spain was invaded by Muslim forces from Africa and Arabia in the year 711, those forces achieved predominance in a large part of the Peninsula, and the downfall of their government was in large part due to internecine conflicts that arose during a time known as the period of lesser kings, or the *reinos de taifas*. Luna further emphasizes the historicity of his work by including the dates of specific battles and events in both the Muslim and Christian calendars, defining basic Arabic terms and concepts in his marginal notations, promoting himself not as the author of an original text but rather as a worthy translator of the court, and by tracing the physical and ethnographic geography of the Peninsula. But in direct opposition to the idealized, visual image of the Moor who functions within an historical context as depicted in the Abencerraje, the Guerras civiles and the Guzmán, Luna makes no attempt to

present his Muslim protagonists as visually exotic, idealized types. In the Verdadera historia, the Moors who conquered the Peninsula are either shown as individuals with personal strengths and weaknesses, or as realistic, positive role models that do not embody the exoticism seen in the Moorish Novel's noble Moor. Miguel de Luna's Muslim protagonists are not understood as "noble" simply because of the richness of their wardrobes or because of the author's emphasis on their now-vanished, once-great heritage. The Moorish civilization Luna portrays in his history is considered "noble" precisely because it was just that—the most powerful sector of society during the period narrated. This fundamental break with the norms governing the image of the gallant Moor in the Moorish Novel presents his reader with a reminder of the inner strength and value of the Morisco in Spain via the subversion of his literary counterpart, the idealized, sentimental Moor.

There are virtually no descriptions of Moorish dress, and very few references to Moorish arms to be found in Miguel de Luna's history. Contradictory to the detailed image of Abindarráez's vestment in El Abencerraje, or of Zaide's polychromatic wardrobe in the Guerras civiles, we see in the Verdadera historia that the spiritual and emotional landscape of the Moor is not defined by his clothes or other outward trappings so much as by his deeds and the inner characteristics that mark his soul. Among the numerous battles and historical references found in his history, Luna includes intercalated narrations that offer details concerning how the conquering Muslims viewed the Peninsula, as well as the personality and daily life of particular Moorish personages. The

most telling of these accounts are found in two key segments. First, Luna's fictitious biography of the Muslim ruler king Almanzor offers the reader a positive model of Moorish nobility without defining the ruler in terms of jewels, precious metals, sumptuous clothing, or other exotic, external markers. This characterization of the Moorish king, based on his internal, human qualities stands in direct opposition to the fetishized image of the noble Moor in his colorful garb as seen in the Moorish Novel. Miguel de Luna also includes in his history a letter purportedly written by Muça, an influential Muslim captain who was one of the first soldiers to have set foot on the Peninsula. It is through this fictitious letter that Luna enters into dialog with the ethnographic descriptions of Muslim society and activities as characterized by the Moorish Novel's generic conventions and the figure of the gallant Moor. As opposed to the descriptions of Moorish horsemanship and chivalric games as seen in Spanish frontier literature, Luna's Muça offers the reader a detailed description of the Christian populations encountered by the conquering Muslim forces, their customs and outward signs of difference. This emphasis on describing the appearance and social practices of the Christian, rather than the Muslim Other, stands in direct contrast with the literary norms of the Moorish Novel. In addition to offering the reader a portrait of Christian instead of Moorish alterity, the second way in which Muça's letter contributes to Luna's re-presentation of Moorish society in Spain is through the implicit dialog he engenders with the sense of sentimentality and loss commonly displayed by the Moorish Novel's noble Moor. As will presently be discussed, Luna chooses to describe his Muslim protagonists not in terms of weeping or

sighing for what they have lost, or as longing for a return to their once-great past as often evidenced in the Moorish Novel, but rather as a strong, virile force that conquers and subdues new lands. This portrait of strength that Luna paints stands in contrast with, and draws the reader's attention to the precarious social situation of, Spain's Moriscos in the years immediately preceding the expulsion decree of 1609.

The first narrative portrait of a Muslim offered in Luna's history is that of Islamic Spain's greatest ruler, Abu 'Amir Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Amir al-Ma'afari, who was later to take the name "Al-Mansur" (translated as "the Victorious" and usually westernized as Almanzor).²² In keeping with the characteristics of the Moorish Novel, Luna's representation of this particular sovereign incorporates the use of historical information embellished to fit the needs of his text. The broad details concerning the life of Luna's Almanzor coincide with what present historical research has confirmed. Like the historical Muslim ruler, Luna's king reigned during the height of Islamic civilization on the Peninsula, a period characterized by great achievements in the sciences, arts, medicine and education. Also, in both history and text it was the succession of Almanzor's son to the throne of Andalusia that ushered in the turbulent period of the *reinos de taifas* in Spain.²³ But in order to legitimate his Moorish king in the eyes of his readership, Luna takes significant liberties with his biographical information. Contrary to his

²² See Miguel de Luna, pages 133R-158L for his fictitious biography of Almanzor, and Richard Fletcher's work, Moorish Spain, 73 for currently accepted historical information.

²³ See Ángel Espinosa Durán's Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Vitorioso por Allah.

historical namesake, who came to power in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, Luna's Almanzor is said to have reigned shortly after the Islamic conquest. Luna portrays his Muslim king as having been by birth the legitimate sovereign of Al-andalus whose father had been king before him, instead of having usurped the caliphal lineage of Hisham II and rising to power through a series of intrigues, as did the historical Al-mansur.²⁴ But although Luna invokes the Moorish Novel's tradition of using an historical personage, embellishing that individual's biography, and of describing the Moor as an individual who was in some way noble by birth, our author breaks with generic practices and chooses to offer his reader a vision of the Muslim king based on inner, spiritual characteristics rather than primarily concentrating on clothing, jewels, colors and outward appearances.

Instead of being defined by the valuable objects which characterize the Christian perception of the Moor and of Muslim Spain's opulence as seen in the Abencerraje and other Moorish Novels, Miguel de Luna chooses to characterize his exemplary ruler according to the king's actions and his sense of morality. Luna's Almanzor is seen as the embodiment of the inner virtues necessary to good government: generosity, justness and sincerity. As detailed in Chapter Three, Luna's Almanzor shows exemplary compassion, generosity and prudence with the poor of his lands. The king routinely calls the needy to his court, and presents each one with a handful of gold coins (135L). When Almanzor receives

²⁴ For more information concerning Almanzor's life, see: Richard Fletcher, Moorish Spain, Ángel Espinosa Durán, Almanzor: Al-Mansur. El Vitorioso por Allah, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain. Also see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

word of truly poor servants who have been imprisoned because of debt, the ruler pays their creditors out of the royal treasury (138R). So great is his compassion for those of little economic means that the king orders all his possessions and wealth to be dispersed among the needy upon his death, that all his slaves be freed, and that a substantial dowry be awarded to each of one thousand orphan girls whose marriages he also arranges (154R). One particularly telling moment in Luna's description of the Muslim king is seen during a typical midday meal in the sovereign's palace. Almanzor's biographer informs the reader that every Friday after worship, the king prepares his palace for the midday meal, and orders tables to be set not only for himself and the governors of his territories, but also for his vassals, servants and the poorest members of his kingdom (136R). While we are told that all in attendance are fed equally well regardless of social position, Luna never mentions any type of material adornment which would embellish this scene. In fact, the opposite is true. While all the king's guests eat in a common area and are fed "...abundantísimamente..." [with extreme abundance] (136R), as is befitting in the house of a monarch, Almanzor himself eats alone, in secret (136R). The sovereign's biographer informs the reader that "[e]n tiempo de paz, ni de guerra, nunca comia [Almanzor] ni bebia en basija de oro, ni de plata, aunque tenia muchas..." [neither in time of peace, nor of war, did [Almanzor] eat or drink from a golden or silver cup, although he had many...] (136R). The Muslim ruler was attended by only two servants and he never ate more than two servings, and at times much less (136R). The king's sense of humility, his respect for the poor, and his indifference to material objects of beauty are apparent, and

contradict the exoticized imagery that strives to confine Granada's Moor within visually definable parameters as seen in the Moorish Novel.²⁵

Another example of how Miguel de Luna chooses to contradict the physically exoticized image of the noble Moor is seen in the emphasis he places on Almanzor's inborn capacity to rise above the imperfections of the material world. Whereas the worldly goods that characterize Abindarráez of the Abencerraje and Zaide of the Guerras civiles define each of them and make evident their inner, sentimental state, the material objects of value which surround the adolescent Almanzor fall short of matching his inner capacity to reign and his prowess as a conquering force. Almanzor's capacity to surpass material objects rather than be defined by them is evidenced when the adolescent prince's father presents a sword to him for evaluation. The weapon is jewel-encrusted and described as an object of significant value. But rather than functioning to symbolize the identity of the Muslim protagonist, in this case the object is seen as inferior to its owner. The sword is said to be:

...un alfange de inestimable valor porque el puño era de finisima esmeralda, y el pomo de una piedra que se llama Balax, con su vayna taheli de oro de martillo; sembrado con muchas diferencias de piedras; la hoja era Damasquina finissima...

[...a sword of inestimable value because the hand guard was made of the finest emerald, and the hand rest of a precious stone called "Balax", with its sheath and belt of forged gold; encrusted with many different gemstones; the blade was of the finest Damascus steel...] (134L).

²⁵ I will offer a more detailed discussion of the significance of the material goods used by the authors of Spain's Moorish Novels in their characterizations of the Noble Moor in a following section titled "Sentimentality and Loss." For more information concerning this topic, see María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti's The Moorish Novel, page 52.

Before showing it to his son and asking his opinion, the king allows his advisors an opportunity to try the sword. All in attendance agree that the arm, although beautiful, is lacking in size: "...si tuuiera medio palmo mas de largo, fuera la mejor pieza que huuiera en el mundo..." [...if it were a half-hand's width longer, it would be the greatest piece in the world...] (134L). The king then calls for the young Almanzor so that the boy might offer his opinion of the weapon. The prince finds no fault in the piece, wisely countering his father's noblemen as he advises "...esta pieza vale vna Ciiudad...[y está] acabado como se podia dessear...[ya que para] el cauallero animoso y osado, no ay...arma corta" [...this piece is worth an entire city...and is as well finished as one could desire...since for the brave and daring knight, there is no weapon too short] (134R). The scene continues with the juvenile prince taking a step forward with his right foot, sword in hand, explaining to all that "...con vn passo adelante [el arma] se haze mas larga de lo que se puede dessear..." [...with one step forward, the sword becomes longer than desired...] (134R). The king is greatly pleased with his son's wisdom and reasoning. He embraces Almanzor and symbolically passes his kingdom and royal authority on to him as he fastens the weapon around the boy's waist, informs him that the sword is for him alone, and admonishes the prince to conquer new terrain and further his lands (134R).

This brief segment of text is important on several levels. First, Miguel de Luna engages in what LaCapra has termed the "dialectic of recognition" with his reader as he frames the description of Almanzor's rise to power in intelligible

terms for his reader.²⁶ In keeping with the generic conventions common to Spain's Moorish Novel, this greatest of Muslim kings in the Verdadera historia is characterized in relation to a valuable material object that is described in detail. Second, Luna chooses to rely on a shared context or metaphor for the transfer of power which would be recognizable to his reader: the passing on of a weapon from either a king or other worthy knight to another.²⁷ In what can be considered an attempt to incorporate the Christian reader within his history as opposed to alienating him or her, the object symbolizing royal authority in Islamic Spain is seen as somewhat inferior or lacking. The shortcomings of the sword contextualize Almanzor as less menacing in the eyes of an Old Christian reading audience; the Moorish king's reign, although impressive, is not perfect. But the fact that Luna's Almanzor uses his intellect and character to rise above the limitations imposed upon him by material goods allows the noble king to compensate for the shortcomings seen in his weapon, and by extension, his reign. This compensation marks a significant rupture with the Moorish Novel's static characterization of Islamic Spain. Whereas the Noble Moor as an idealized, literary type is defined by the objects that surround him—the reader is made aware of the Moor's emotional state, his intentions, and his heritage because of the clothing, jewels, and weapons he wears—it is Almanzor himself who actively

²⁶ LaCapra, 39.

²⁷ The process of knighting, known as *amarse caballero* in Castilian Spanish, was such a literary commonplace in the chivalric romances which preceeded Luna's history, that one of Miguel de Luna's contemporaries, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, parodied the practice in his El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (see Book I, Chapter III).

defines the proper use of his sword. By characterizing Almanzor's inner strength via this creative approach to problem solving, Miguel de Luna successfully invokes of the worth of the individual and his or her capacity to grow rather than defining the human subject based on material goods. This re-characterization of the Moorish king de-emphasizes the importance of the Christian gaze which strives to capture a visual record of the past, and stands out in direct contrast with the extravagant appearance of the Moorish Novel's noble Moor.

Nobility and Virtue Embodied

In addition to his outward beauty, the figure of the noble Moor as evidenced in the seventeenth-century Moorish Novel embodies Castilian Spain's ideals of virtue and nobility. As previously stated, the action of the Moorish Novel takes place during the last years of the Christian Reconquest, and on the frontier—a point of contact between Christian and Muslim civilizations. This setting offers the reader a nostalgic, idealized panorama of the grandeur that characterized the Islamic period in Spanish history, and this idealization is carried over into the genre's characterization of the figure of the noble Moor. The Muslim protagonists of the Abencerraje, the Guerras civiles and Guzmán de Alfarache are not depicted as artisans, farmers or laborers as were in reality the majority of the Moors' descendents during the period in which these works were written, but rather are shown to be virtuous members of the noble families that were influential in the political structure of Islamic Spain. This quality of nobility

is thought by scholars to be one of the primary traits of the Moorish Novel's Muslim protagonist.

Claudio Guillén has commented on the nobility and virtue of the gallant Moor, asserting that the positive model of conduct presented by personages such as the *Abencerraje*'s Abindarraéz forges a sense of unity and shared values in the minds of readers, as opposed to emphasizing the cultural differences between the Muslim literary figure and Christian reading audience. Guillén likens this idea of unity to the peaceful interlude commonly seen in the pastoral genre, in that both represent "...a fictional picture of perfection...experienced by the reader...as the antithesis of the imperfections among which he lives."²⁸ Guillén states that "*El Abencerraje* alludes to contemporary history by means of silent contradictions. It offers a vision of peace and unity against the background of past wars between Christians and Moslems" (178), and that the genre's vision of peace, like that of the pastoral, allows the reader "...a pause in the process of living...a breathing spell from the fever and anguish of being" (179). In contrast, although María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti admits that the nobility and virtue of the Moorish Novel's gallant, Muslim protagonists could have functioned on a certain level to shape a more positive consciousness among the educated and ruling class of the time, she asserts that such a "...chivalric environment is used to introduce external tensions or acts of violence..." (50).²⁹ She explains this assertion, stating

²⁸ Claudio Guillén, "Literature as Historical Contradiction: *El Abencerraje*, the Moorish Novel, and the Eclogue" in *Literature as System*, page 178.

²⁹ On page 49 of *The Moorish Novel*, Carrasco-Urgoiti states:

that although some scholars suggest these works of fiction were intended to inspire a sympathetic attitude toward the descendants of the Moors, "...[t]he standard opinion...is that [these works] are unrelated to the existence and problems of the Moriscos, unless one considers parodies that [are] used for comical effect...[and which form a] contrast between the idealized Moors, male and female,...and the commonplace artisans who bore the same names."³⁰ She also offers examples of ballads possibly composed by Morisco authors that were intended to "...defend against ridicule the type of the gallant Moor, on the ground that the Peninsular Moslem warriors were no less Spanish than their Christian counterparts...[and to save] from social degradation the class that may be defined as the Morisco gentry."³¹ In his *Verdadera historia*, Miguel de Luna follows the literary conventions of the Moorish Novel in that his Muslim protagonists are shown to be virtuous and noble members of Islamic society. But, unlike the characteristics of the genre as expressed by Guillén, the history Luna narrates is not intended as a cathartic, fictional picture of perfection and unity. Luna's Moors are considered noble because they are born of high lineage, because they express exemplary character traits, and because they personify the dignity of their birthright. But their nobility does not represent an idealized interlude away from

...men of letters and part of the ruling class in the era that created the Moorish ballad felt that life itself was largely shaped by the poetic imagination, and...the people shared in this attitude sufficiently to appreciate such a genre, in spite, or even because of, the disparity between the dreamed-of society it depicts and actual conditions of existence.

³⁰ op. cit., page 51.

³¹ op. cit., page 51.

current social conflicts. Miguel de Luna's Muslim personages are shown to be active figures who decide their destiny, rather than exemplary captives as in the Abencerraje and the tale of Ozmín and Daraja. Also, contrary to Carrasco-Urgoiti's suggestion that the representation of the noble Moor can be seen as a parody of Morisco nobility, Miguel de Luna's protagonists embody the virtue and dignity of Islamic society—especially that of the common artisans and laborers who are implicitly honored by Luna's noblest of Moors, king Almanzor. In this way, Miguel de Luna breaks with standard conventions governing the literary representation of the gallant Moor as seen in the Moorish Novel, and forges a new discursive site wherein Morisco identity can be reclaimed.

In the anonymous El Abencerraje, Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles and Mateo Alemán's Guzmán, the nobility and virtue of the gallant Moor is seen on several levels. Abindarráez is described as being one of the last surviving members of an influential, respected Granadan family, while his beloved Jarifa is the daughter of Cártama's governor (112-16). As a knight of good character, he recognizes the virtue and nobility of his adversary and captor, Rodrigo de Narváez (112). Abindarráez is a man of his word, and keeps his promise to marry Jarifa, the "dueña" or captor of his heart (123-25), and to return to the Christian's house as the governor's prisoner (127-28). As an example of his gallant nature, Abindarráez follows chivalric precedents in that he serves his beloved Jarifa and bears her image sewn onto his sleeve and sings a song written in his damsel's honor (110). The Moorish captive and his Christian enemy address each other with accepted linguistic forms of courtesy and show the great degree of respect

for each other that is due a noble knight. But primarily, Abindarráez's behavior is considered to be virtuous and exemplary because of the fact that he keeps his word as a noble prisoner and returns willingly to Rodrigo de Narváez's house.

In Mateo Alemán's Guzmán, Ozmín and Daraja's nobility is reiterated in much the same way. Daraja's virtue and character are described in terms of her physical beauty, and the fact that she is the daughter of an honorable gentleman and his wife, who is the daughter of the king of Baza's sister, and is therefore of notable lineage (181). She also is said to possess a "...bondad y limpieza de vida..." [...goodness and cleanliness of life...] that is evident to her captors (192). Ozmín, for his part, is said to be worthy of such a virtuous damsel because he is a relative of Granada's Rey Chico, and is described as a "...mancebo rico, galán, discreto y, sobre todo, valiente y animoso..." [...wealthy, chivalrous, discrete and, above all else, brave and spirited young man...] (180-81). He is, in fact, so worthy of respect, that his Christian employer exclaims one day, "...que debes tener principio de alguna valerosa sangre...virtudes y nobleza" [...you must possess the roots of a worthy bloodline...virtues and nobility] (196). Both are considered exemplary prisoners and inspire affection in the hearts of their Christian superiors. At one point, after she is first captured by the King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, the reader is informed that she is treated not so much as a captive, but rather as an honored guest (178). The young lovers and their families are so exemplary, in fact, that after the fall of Granada in 1492, they all ask to be baptized and convert to Catholicism (237-45). The Catholic Monarchs are so pleased with their new subjects that they agree to become the couple's godparents

and allow them to be together once again (245). In the Guerras civiles de Granada, the entire first part of the history traces the nobility and elite lineage of the Moors who settled in Granada. The author discusses the most important of these clans, characterizes this period of Spanish history as a time of courtly festivals and tournaments, and describes the courtesies exchanged by Muslim noblemen before duels.³² In these instances, although the Moors are not taken captive by their Christian opponents and therefore do not have the opportunity to behave as exemplary prisoners as in the Abencerraje and the tale of Ozmín and Daraja, they are seen as virtuous because after having been vanquished by Christian opponents they either convert openly to Christianity or vow to do so in the future.³³

As is the case with the Moorish Novel, Luna's authorial voice narrates a history that evokes images of the great past of Muslim Spain. The protagonists in both the Moorish Novel and Miguel de Luna's history are represented as gallant descendents of nobility, not as simple laborers or artisans, although as will be

³² op. cit. Carrasco-Urgoiti offers a brief summary of these episodes on pages 90-91 of The Moorish Novel. She refers to two specific segments: a duel between the Maestre de Calatrava and the Moor, Albayaldos, and another between Ponce de León and Malique.

³³ This is one aspect wherein the Abencerraje differs significantly from both the Guerras civiles and Guzmán de Alfarache. As opposed to an implicit respect for religious difference maintained by the protagonists of the Abencerraje, in the other two works, the idea of Muslim conversion to Christianity is seen as a sign of virtue. It is interesting to note that in some of these cases, Old Christians serve as guardians or patrons of the Moors who convert, as in the case of Ozmín and Daraja as well as the knights who, after the slaughter of the Abencerraje clan as ordered by the king of Granada, defect to the Christian forces in the Guerras civiles. See Carrasco-Urgoiti pages 90-91 and Pérez de Hita, 179, 237 and 245.

seen, Luna allows for the valuation of these lesser professions. In the Verdadera historia there is little question as to the inherent nobility, moral integrity and refined nature of Muslim civilization and its inhabitants in Spain. Miguel de Luna's principal example of Moorish character, king Almanzor, is described as a man of noble birth: an "...[e]spejo resplandeciente de Principes..." [...a shining Mirror of Princes...] (132L) who comes from "...claro, y alto linage, casa y solar conocido de los Reyes de las Arabias..." [...clear, and high lineage, a renown house and family of the Kings of Arabia...] (133R), and whose father was the "...gran Chalifa...Abi habdi Allahi Abigualit Abinaçr Abni Malique" [...great Caliph...] (133R) and whose grandfather was "el gran Chalifa Abni Abel Hazen, el Motaleb..." [...great Caliph...] (133R). In this respect, Luna's history and the Moorish novel share some basic, representational strategies. The protagonists of both are members of noble families, and they exhibit the virtues associated with their station: loyalty to one's rightful sovereign, allegiance to love, and concern for honor.³⁴ But, unlike the subordinated Muslim figure of the Moorish Novel, Luna characterizes his personages as an active force, rather than as exemplary captives.

Whereas Abindarráez of the Abencerraje is joined as an honorable prisoner to his captor, Narváez, in a process of maturation and learning self-discipline, Miguel de Luna's Almanzor is seen as a paternal figure whose nobility

³⁴ See María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti's The Moorish Novel, chapter four, Claudio Guillén's "Literature as Historical Contradiction: *El Abencerraje*, the Moorish Novel, and the Eclogue", pages 193-208 and Luna's Verdadera historia, page 155L.

of character is already worthy of emulation.³⁵ While incarcerated in Narváez's house, Abindarráez must learn to tame his passion for Jarifa and his tendency to act before considering the outcome of his actions.³⁶ The young Moor is effectively placed in a subordinate, almost child-like position to his captor, in that his union with Jarifa and eventual release to freedom depend on the Christian's goodwill.³⁷ In contrast, Almanzor shows exemplary maturity as he actively weighs all issues facing him, and takes decisive measures when the need arises. Miguel de Luna undermines the idea of the noble Moor as exemplary prisoner and dependent vassal by offering his reader the portrait of Almanzor—the king of all known Islamic territories—rather than the typical gallant Moor who is a distant descendant of a once-great family, and who is often a prisoner, not a ruler.

Almanzor works to achieve a high degree of civil peace in his kingdom, but this peace is not described in terms of idyllic unity between Christian and Muslim as Guillén suggests is characteristic of the Moorish novel. In Almanzor's kingdom, crimes of dishonesty against other citizens, primarily against those individuals in more subordinate social positions, are punished quickly and harshly. Giving false testimony was punished by social death—the community

³⁵ op. cit., pages 65-66. Also, Miguel de Luna characterizes Almanzor as a source of pride for his subjects and is a man worthy of imitation (132L, 135R, 148R, 149R, 151R-152L).

³⁶ See María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, The Moorish Novel, chapter four.

³⁷ A similar situation is seen in the tale of Ozmín and Daraja in Aleman's Guzmán. Since both young lovers are prisoners or vassals of Christian lords, their only chance of freedom and union rests upon the goodwill they inspire in their superiors.

was forbidden to look the accused in the face or have dealings whatsoever with him. Some of the guilty were whipped, others had the end of their tongues severed so that they could never again speak an untruth (138L). Luna's fictitious biographer, Abençufian, states that no one in the kingdom would dare to take that which was not his own, and if a lost article was found on the streets, the finder would make sure to display the item in the window of the nearest store so that its rightful owner might find it, because the penalty for robbery was so severe (138R-139L). Almanzor so actively polices public safety that he has one of his governors punished for accidentally placing an unknown woman's honor in danger (139L).³⁸ Luna's Muslim king embodies, therefore, the strength of character necessary to be a true leader.

But the Moorish king is not without compassion. The peacefulness of his kingdom is evidenced in that lawsuits and grievances are dealt with swiftly, and those accused of a crime are not held more than a few days before sentencing is carried out (138). Almanzor orders schools, hospitals and places of worship built. He gives alms to the poor and dedicates himself to education alongside of the great minds of his time. He devotes one day a week to God and prayer, and manages state affairs in such a way as to bring a realistic sense of tranquility and security to his vassals. His decisiveness and strength foster such a sense of safety that even women have no fear of traveling alone (133R-152L). Most significantly, as opposed to what Carrasco-Urgoiti has suggested to be the Moorish Novel's inherent parody of the commonplace Morisco professions,

³⁸ See Chapter Three for detailed accounts of these incidents.

Miguel de Luna allows his sovereign to elevate the status of these tasks. Even though king Almanzor is of noble birth, he recognizes the virtues in those who are not. Luna's fictitious biographer states that the Muslim king compensated his soldiers handsomely for their efforts (140L, 141R, 148L), and that he appointed men to important positions based on their merit and experience rather than any form of "alto linage" [high birth] (140R). Almanzor spends his one day of rest each week perfecting his craftsmanship by creating some of the finest inlay in his kingdom (144R). The fact that the greatest sovereign presented in Luna's history found such worth and dignity in crafts and professions generally associated with Morisco artisans stands out as an implicit valorization of the nobility and virtue of these activities and those who practiced them. In fact, the king holds the opinion of the common man in such high esteem that in order to keep himself informed of their concerns, Almanzor at times disguises himself as either a common man, a merchant or a soldier so that he might move freely among the general population and discern their needs and perspectives (142). Therefore, instead of representing a parody of the idea of Morisco nobility, or describing Spain's Islamic population in terms of their positive qualities as prisoners or as passive vassals of once-great families who now depend on their Christian sovereign's benevolence, Miguel de Luna's Verdadera historia stresses the inherent dignity, virtue and nobility of Almanzor's reign as the greatest among all the Moorish rulers, and lends a sense of dignity to typically Morisco areas of endeavor.

Ethnographic Narrative, Sentimentality and Loss

Ethnographic Narrative

In addition to the references concerning the Moor's nobility, his forms of dress, and the jewels, precious metals and fabrics that commonly were used to characterize him in Spain's Moorish Novel, El Abencerraje, Guzmán de Alfarache and the Guerras civiles de Granada also painted a portrait of Muslim society through their exoticized ethnographic descriptions of cultural practices that, in the Old Christian population's estimation, were typical of the conquered Islamic peoples of the Peninsula. These ethnographic descriptions often included references to the Moors' great skill as horsemen and their agility in chivalric games—two activities that emphasized their perceived adversarial relationship to the Catholic crown and that implicitly celebrated the military prowess of the Christian nobles that defeated them. In addition to re-writing the exoticized figure of the noble Moor based on a model of personal strength and reason rather than characterizing him in terms of valuable material goods, Miguel de Luna also enters into dialog with the generic conventions of Spain's Moorish Novel by offering his reader an ethnographic narrative of the Christian populations of the newly-conquered land. In a letter purportedly written by Muça, one of the first Muslim captains to have set foot on the Peninsula and Almanzor's primary military leader, Miguel de Luna paints an ethno-geographical picture of the Peninsula as seen through the eyes of the Muslim, rather than Christian subject.

One of the typical cultural references that characterizes the noble Moor of Spain's Moorish Novel is a high level of equestrian skill. In the Abencerraje, the description offered of Abindarráez emphasizes his ability and grace as a horseman. As mentioned previously, the Moor is seen by Narváez's soldiers while on his way to meet the damsel Jarifa, and is described by the Christian troops as a formidable and handsome opponent who "...parecía muy bien a caballo" [...seemed very at ease on his horse] (107). Abindarráez is in fact so practiced in his horsemanship that he successfully battles against and defeats three of Narváez's soldiers at the same time. In reference to Abindarráez's equestrian skills, the author states that the Moor "...sabía más de aquel menester..." [...knew more about that business...] (109), and that after losing his lance and simultaneously being attacked by all three Christians, the Muslim enemy demonstrates great agility atop his steed:

...fingiendo que huía, [Abindarráez] puso las piernas a su caballo y arremetió al escudero que derribara, y como una ave se colgó de la silla y le tomó su lanza, con la cual volvió a hacer rostro a sus enemigos...y dióse tan buena maña que a poco rato tenía de los tres los dos en el suelo...³⁹

[...feigning retreat, [Abindarráez] spurred his horse forward into one of the squires, knocking him to the ground, and like a bird he hung himself over the saddle and took the fallen man's lance, with which he returned to face his enemies...and with great skill and dexterity shortly defeated two of the three...]

It is only after he and his horse are both wounded and are too weak to fight any longer that Rodrigo de Narváez enters into the struggle. The Christian governor then vanquishes the Moor and takes him captive (109-110). The association of

³⁹ El Abencerraje, page 109.

the horse with Islamic society is further emphasized when, after safely returning to Muslim lands, Abindarráez sends four beautiful stallions with four golden lances and daggers as a gift to his captor (135). The equestrian skill of the Moor is also referenced in Mateo Aleman's Guzmán de Alfarache. Daraja's captors, don Luis and his son don Rodrigo, order "...unas fiestas de toros y juego de cañas..." [...bullfights and games of *cañas*...] (208) in order to cheer the young woman who is suffering from the absence of her husband. Ozmín hears news of the festivities and strikes out with his master to attend the competition. The young Moor, along with numerous other contestants, enters the ring, mounted on his horse, "...ambos bien aderezados" [...both well adorned] (209). They step into battle with "...un famoso toro que...era de Tarifa, grande, madrigado y como un león de bravo...[y que] a todos les puso miedo" [...a famous bull that...was from Tarifa, large, experienced and fierce as a lion...[and that] inspired fear in all] (209). The bull frightens away all of the horsemen except for the valiant Ozmín, who with "...graciosa destreza y galán aire le atravesó por medio del gatillo todo el cuerpo, clavándole en el suelo...dejándolo allí muerto" [...with graceful skill and gallant air he ran the bull through at the nape of the neck, nailing him to the ground...leaving him for dead] (209-210). The scene ends with a discussion of the opulent ornamentation of horse and rider, and a statement concerning the equestrian skills of Andalusia's Moors, who "...en toda la mayor parte del Andalucía...sacan los niños...de las cunas a los caballos" [...in the greatest part of Andalusia...children are taken...from the crib straight to the horse] (213). Finally, as mentioned earlier, in the Guerras civiles Pérez de Hita

also makes reference to the Moors' equestrian prowess through his descriptions of the games of horsemanship in which the knights of Granada engage.⁴⁰

Instead of devoting a significant part of his work to illustrating the equestrian skill and physical agility normally associated with the idealized Muslim subject of Spain's Moorish novel, Miguel de Luna's narrative voice enters into dialog with this particular generic convention and offers his reader a portrait the lifestyle and activities of the Christian naturals of who lived in the new territory. In Muça's letter to Almanzor, the captain offers his sovereign a detailed account of the "...modo y manera de viuir de...[los] naturales moradores..." [...the form and way of life of...[the] natural inhabitants] (158R) of the area, and an ethnographic account of the various groups of people who had inhabited the land. According to Muça, the natives live long, healthy lives, don't fall sick to contagious illnesses, have not suffered from plagues and "...mueren naturalmente sin dolor..." [...die naturally without pain...] (169R). They dress in garments made of wool cloth dyed in many colors and often eat the meat of domestic swine (170R). In addition to pork, their typical diet consists of the fruits brought forth from the region's fertile soil—five different types of wheat called "patianchuelo", candeal", bermejuelo", arisnegro", and "modoro" (169R) in the

⁴⁰ On page 89 of her work *The Moorish Novel*, Carrasco-Urgoiti observes the elaborate, visual pagentry among the Moors during a *juego de sortija*:

...galloping horsemen show their skill by snatching a ring with a spear...[and e]laborate details are given about the emblems and attire displayed in the game as well as about the ornaments and the complicated mechanical devices of the various cars in which knights convening for the competition appear in the arena, each carrying an effigy of his ladylove.

natives' tongue—and never suffer from hunger or need. Along with the meat and variety of grains they eat, the naturals also cultivate great extensions of vineyards. They drink so much wine, in fact, that according to Muça's observations, "...si las bodegas que tienen soterradas se vaziasen por su orden, podrian hazer vn rio que continuamente corriessse deste licor" [...if their underground wine cellars all emptied at once, they would make a river of this liquor that would run without end] (169R). Continuing his description of the inhabitants' customs, Muça refers again to the consumption of alcohol, and specifically wine, saying that the drink "...[les sierve] de gran sustento y estan tan acostumbrados a beberlo, que no se hallan jamas sin el vn solo dia" [...[it serves them] as a great staple and they are so used to drinking it, that they never live a single day without] (169R). But only the married men of the region enjoy such liberties, not the women or young girls unless for medicinal reasons, and the women who drink while in good health are said to be "...infames y gente de poca capacidad..." [...of poor character and little capacity...] (169R). The Christian inhabitants are said to produce some of the best olive, linseed, sesame and almond oils in the world, which they trade with other places across the ocean for large sums of money (169R-170L). The general disposition of the naturals is good, and they are described as a curious, clean people (170L). The inhabitants inherited a great part of their juridical system and social structure from the first inhabitant of the land, Sem Tofail, who is said to be one of Noah's sons (159R-161R). Muça traces the natives' social development and offers the reader glimpses into the region's folklore, military strategies and technological advances (159R-163L, 167L). He compares the livestock bred in

this new land to that raised in Africa and Alexandria, emphasizing Spain's economic potential for the Islamic conquerors (170R), although he also mentions some potential drawbacks for the Muslim inhabitants: the land is inhospitable and even harmful for camels and dromedaries (170R-171L), there is little silk cultivated, herbs and dates are scarce, and there is no gold to be found (171L). Not only does this segment of text demonstrate that Miguel de Luna sought to imbue his narrator and his history with a sense of veracity by offering a detailed description of Spain's natural and human geography, but also and more importantly, Luna describes the newly-conquered territory and its people in terms of the material and human wealth they could offer the Muslim invaders.⁴¹

Sentimentality and Loss

The use of historical context in the Moorish Novel is not meant solely as a vehicle for reporting fact. In María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti's opinion, the authors' incorporation of verifiable individuals, happenings and places functions as a literary device aimed at conveying mood and emotion, as it had throughout the romance tradition in Spain (49). Tracing the genesis of the Moorish Novel, Carrasco states that in fifteenth-century ballads special attention is paid to the historical Moors' "...expressions of anger or grief, to the beauty of their cities, to their music, and to the colorful luxury displayed by a small group on a raid, or by

⁴¹ Significantly, Tarik Abenziet's description of the Peninsula not only serves to mark Luna's history as truthful, but also functions as an act of the symbolic appropriation of the territory. This linguistic ownership will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three of this project.

knights engaging in a *juego de cañas*" (45). In these romances, incidents carrying emotional impact are most generally seen from the perspective of the individual or community adversely affected, be it Christian or Muslim, and not by the vanquishing forces. This perspectivism of the romance tradition is contextualized, as is also the case in the later Moorish Novel, by a mingling of history and sentiment, and serves the purpose of evoking a passionate response within the reader. Therefore, although the actions of the narrative might have taken place in historical reality, the authors of these works subordinated the historical facts they used to the emotional message they wished to impart by embellishing their representation of the text's personages.⁴² As will be seen in the case of Spain's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Moorish Novel, the depiction of the Muslim inhabitants of the Peninsula via their literary representation often focuses on an exaggerated sense of sentimentality and loss, just as it had in the previous romance tradition. This emotional environment, in both Carrasco-Urgoiti and Guillén's opinion, is characterized by references to historically great cities that once marked the culmination of Islamic civilization on the Peninsula, combined with signs of exaggerated sentimentality: the sighs and tears shed by the vanquished Moors who lost these cities to the Reconquest, the general sense of loss and nostalgia forged through difficult romantic situations in which the Moor finds him or herself, and the use of exoticized imagery relating to the

⁴² For a detailed examination of the norms governing the writing of historical discourse in pre-modern Spain, see Chapter One of this dissertation in which I discuss the conventions set forth by court historians such as Luis Cabrera de Córdoba and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas.

Moorish Novel's description of its gallant protagonist. This emotionally charged framework draws the reader into a sympathetic relationship with the text, thereby engaging him or her in a dialectic of recognition and empathy which allows for the transmission of implicit messages concerning the institutional and political milieu surrounding the narration (LaCapra 39). As will be seen, in his Verdadera historia Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with, and effectively re-writes the image of the Moorish Novel's sentimental Moor, who had been typically described in terms of suffering and loss as previously stated, and re-characterizes him as an active, positive force who is able to affect his environment.

As stated earlier, Claudio Guillén characterizes the Moorish Novel as a composite of "...legendary and factual materials...[within which] past occurrences and contemporary standards mingle[d]..." (162). In his opinion, this mingling of past and present allowed its authors to offer the reader a polarity of values that exemplifies "...the capacity of the literary imagination for historical contradiction, or for contradiction through historical allusiveness" (172). Guillén emphasizes the genre's capacity for textually embodying and evoking within the reader this sense of contradiction via the "...memory of, or nostalgia for, the more humane forms of existence belonging to earlier times in Spain" (172). Given that "...the literary work of art uses language in order to transcend it; and it develops a style in order to surpass it" (177), the Moorish Novel's invocation of the gallant Moor of the past must necessarily imply the existence of some point of reference in the present. In his opinion, the loss and sadness the noble Abindarráez suffers as he strives to reunite with his beloved Jarifa, along with the exemplary moral

characteristics he embodies, invoke an idealized image of the Moorish knight that stands out in direct contrast against the marginalized position endured by many Moriscos of the time. This sympathetic image of the Moor, although not historical in Guillén's estimation, is not incompatible with what he terms "...a profound scorn for the *morisco*, who was always plebeian."⁴³

María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti also agrees with Guillén in that the figure of the Moorish Novel's noble Moor calls the reader's attention to the difficult socio-political position of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Moriscos in Spain, although in a different way. Whereas for Guillén, the figure of the gallant, sentimental Moorish knight is thought to evoke a nostalgic response within the reader, and hence, to draw him or her into a sympathetic relationship with the text which would in turn facilitate an acceptance of what he believes to be the author's implicit message of mutual tolerance between faiths, Carrasco-Urgoiti views the Moor's tears, sighs, longings and losses in a less integrationist light. In her opinion, these demonstrations of emotion serve as reminders of the Christian victory over Islam. For Carrasco-Urgoiti, the sentimental Moor does not represent a desire to return to an idyllic time of *convivencia*.⁴⁴ In the case of the Abencerraje, Carrasco-Urgoiti traces Abindarráez's outpouring of sentiment to references concerning Granada's last Muslim ruler, Boabdil, and the tears he is reported to have shed as he and his family fled the conquered kingdom as described in the Spanish romance tradition. She also observes that the Moorish

⁴³ Guillén, page 193, footnote 39.

⁴⁴ See The Moorish Novel, pages 22, 50-52, 69, 98-99 and 145-46, footnote 5.

Novel's tendency to characterize its gallant protagonists in terms of the precious objects that surround them directly reflects the same types of jewels, garments and arms that were taken from the Morisco population in the confiscations of 1570. Both of these references point to the losses suffered by the Moors and later, by the Moriscos, at the hands of the dominant Old Christian government. In addition to being contextualized in terms of what he has lost to the Catholic crown, in Carrasco-Urgoiti's estimation, the gallant Moorish knight is removed from his historical context and represented as an isolated figure, an orphan or a refugee who is displaced and who longs for reincorporation. It is precisely this sense of displacement, loss, suffering and isolation that Miguel de Luna challenges as he re-presents the sentimental figure of the noble Moor in his Verdadera historia.

In the Abencerraje, Abindarráez narrates the story of his losses and separation from his birthright and his love immediately after he is wounded in battle and subsequently allows himself to be taken captive by Narváez.⁴⁵ The Moor is seated on one of the Christians' horses and the party begins the return trip to Alora. The Muslim prisoner travels in silence for some time, then, in an exaggerated show of nostalgia and grieving, sighs "...un grande y profundo suspiro..." [...a great and deep sigh...],⁴⁶ after which he begins to recount the events that have led up to his capture. Abindarráez informs his captors that he is of noble lineage and that he has lost his honor and inheritance because of false

⁴⁵ El Abencerraje, page 110.

⁴⁶ op. cit., page 111.

information that implicated his family in a plot to overthrow and assassinate the king. In order to protect himself, the king has ordered twelve of Abindarráez's family members killed in their sleep, and Narváez's prisoner is forced to abandon his city and never return. Although he is allowed to leave unharmed, because of this incident Abindarráez cannot openly marry the woman he desires and must live the rest of his life in exile.⁴⁷ The city of Granada mourns the great losses suffered through the death of so many exemplary knights:

Cuando la gente se vio sin esperanzas de sus vidas, comenzó de nuevo de llorarlos. Llorábanlos los padres que los engendraron, y las madres que los parieron; llorábanlos las damas a quien servían y los caballeros con quien se acompañaban.⁴⁸

[When the people saw themselves without hope of their lives, they began to weep for [the Abencerrajes]. They wept for their fathers who had engendered them, and their mothers who had give birth to them; the damsels who they had served wept and the knights with whom they had kept company.]

As Carrasco-Urgoiti has noted, Abindarráez's deep sigh and his story of isolation and exile function on several levels to encapsulate the personality of Spain's gallant Moor. Throughout the romance tradition and into the later Moorish Novel, the sentimentality and loss experienced by this literary type serve as reminders of the fall of Granada, the loss suffered by the kingdom's last Muslim ruler, Boabdil, and by extension, the victories won by the Peninsula's Old Christian monarchy.⁴⁹ While Abindarráez's emotionality evokes feelings of

⁴⁷ op. cit., pages 111-115.

⁴⁸ op. cit., page 114.

⁴⁹ Carrasco-Urgoiti, page 22, footnote 5, and pages 145-46.

sympathy within the reader as Guillén has asserted, it also functions to contextualize the Moor as one who is lacking an essential component in his life, and who exists in a subordinated rather than dominant position.⁵⁰ By observing the tears shed by the Abencerraje's Muslim protagonist, the reader becomes acutely aware of the losses he has suffered. Abindarráez is one of the few surviving members of his family. He is separated from his betrothed, and therefore lacks any hope of marrying and continuing his lineage, unless his circumstances can be changed. As previously stated, the external markers used to represent Abindarráez are the same ones referred to in the items lost by the Moriscos to the Christians in the confiscations of 1570: jewels and garments identical to those described in the Moorish novels.⁵¹ He has been taken captive by Narváez, and therefore finds it impossible to redeem his family honor and live among his people. He has effectively lost his land, his family and his love—losses that, later in the work, will only be remedied by the goodwill of his Christian captor. This situation of loss, exile and disintegrated lineage point to Abindarráez as a sort of allegorical figure for the situation facing the Moriscos of pre-expulsion Spain.⁵²

Pérez de Hita's Guerras civiles de Granada and Mateo Alemán's story of Ozmín and Daraja in Guzmán de Alfarache also characterize their sentimental Moorish protagonists in terms of loss and captivity. As in the case of the

⁵⁰ op. cit., pages 50, 69.

⁵¹ op. cit., page 52.

⁵² op. cit., page 56.

Abencerraje, the geographical and socio-political setting of the Guerras civiles is of documented, historical origin. This historicity is important in that it narrates the fall of Islamic Spain and the uprising and subsequent defeat of the Granadan Moriscos who had rebelled against the repressive measures levied upon them by the Old Christian monarchy, thereby emphasizing what had been lost by these communities. As in the Abencerraje, Pérez de Hita inserts sentimental stories of love within his narration of the Islamic occupation of the Peninsula, Granada's influential Nasrid dynasty and the clan wars between two influential factions that vied for control of the political life of Granada and fell in and out of favor with the ruling powers—the Zegrís and Abencerrajes.⁵³ These romantic stories include a love triangle between a young woman named Fátima, the object of her desire, Muza (who is the *Rey Chico* and last Moorish ruler of Granada—Boabdil's—half-brother) and Daraxa, with whom Muza is infatuated, a romantic affair between Zaide and Zaida, and a brief segment wherein a Moorish couple named Abindarráez and Xarifa appear as a mutually faithful couple.⁵⁴ Pérez de Hita describes in detail the arms, emblems, clothing and jewels worn by Moorish knights and their ladies, and spends considerable time explaining the courtesies and moods of his Muslim protagonists, and describing their customary *juegos de cañas*, *juegos de sortijas*, bullfights and duels.⁵⁵ In the Guzmán, the young lovers,

⁵³ For an examination concerning the political life of the Abencerrajes, see Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes' work Los Abencerrajes: Leyenda e historia, Granada, F. Roman, 1960.

⁵⁴ Pérez de Hita, part I, page 255, chapter 16. Also see Carrasco-Urgoiti, 101.

⁵⁵ op. cit., part I. Also see Carrasco-Urgoiti, pages 88-89, 98-99, 101.

Ozmín and his betrothed, Daraja, are separated by the war waged upon the kingdom of Granada by the Catholic monarchs. Daraja is taken prisoner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, and although treated with the greatest kindness and respect, she is not permitted contact with her husband (175-82). As soon as he receives news of his love's capture by enemy forces, Ozmín falls into a melancholic stupor that nearly takes his life. The reader is told of the:

...exclamaciones que [Ozmín] hizo, lástimas que dijo, suspiros que daba, efectos de tristeza que mostró....Mas, como el daño fuese tan solo suyo y la pérdida tan de su alma, tanto creció el dolor en ella, que brevemente le cupo parte al cuerpo, adoleciendo de una enfermedad tan grave...[que c]recían los efectos con indicios mortales....⁵⁶

[...exclamations that [Ozmín] made, the suffering of which he spoke, the sighs he gave, the signs of sadness he showed....Then, as the pain was so intimately his and the loss so much of his spirit, the pain grew so so much inside him that in a short while it took over his body, making him suffer from such a grave illness...[that] it seemed he was about to die...]

Ozmín later gathers his strength, abandons his native town and sets out for Christian lands in search of his beloved. Disguised as a bricklayer, he finds Daraja in her captors' home, whereupon seeing her for the first time since having been taken prisoner, the young man's eyes "...reg[an] la tierra con abundancia de agua que salía de ellos..." [...watered the earth with the abundance of tears that they shed...] (189), and he suffers from the "...opresión de los suspiros..." [...oppression of his sighs...] (201). As was seen in the *Abencerraje*'s description of Abindarráez's emotional turmoil and exile, the sighs, tears, and pain suffered by Ozmín during his separation from his town, family and Daraja draw the

⁵⁶ *Guzmán de Alfarache*, page 182.

reader's attention to that which he has lost: the homeland he was forced to abandon in order to reunite with his wife, the customs and clothing that had been his, and his family.

As previously stated, the authors of Spain's Moorish Novels characterized their gallant Muslim protagonists as a wandering orphans in search of something that had been lost. Through the symbiotic relationship between historical discourse and the time in which such discourse finds expression, this quality of incompleteness or loss calls the reader's attention to the precarious situation facing Spain's Morisco population during the last half of the sixteenth century. The Moriscos had suffered forced conversions on several occasions during the first half of the sixteenth century, then later, various edicts aimed at destroying any visible trace of "Moorishness" in their communities were mandated by the crown, and finally came the confiscations of 1570 and the dispersion of Granada's Moriscos into other regions of the Peninsula in the years preceding the culmination of the Alpujarras rebellion in 1571. It seems plausible to assume that the Moorish Novel's characterization of the gallant Moor as a disconnected, exiled individual who tearfully mourns his past could have held strong meaning for a Spanish reading audience in the years immediately preceding the expulsion decree of 1609. In contrast with this characterization of the Spanish Muslim couched in terms of what had been lost, in his Verdadera historia Miguel de Luna engenders a dialog with, and subverts the traditional image of the noble Moor. Instead of describing his Muslim protagonists as solitary, exiled wanderers, Luna creates a literary space wherein a sense of Moorish, and hence Morisco unity,

common ancestry and shared history is enacted. As Homi K. Bhabha has asserted, any type of collective “many” must necessarily be forged from disparate elements or individuals of differing socioeconomic, religious, racial, sexual or ideological backgrounds, into one cohesive, imagined mass.⁵⁷ Bringing together these once scattered entities comprises an act of ritual gathering and revival of group identity.⁵⁸ In re-narrating the Islamic conquest of Spain, Miguel de Luna enters into dialog with that “immemorial past” to which Benedict Anderson refers as the engendering site of Nation, and which cannot be questioned because of its distance from the here and now, and effectively constructs a positive sense of Morisco community and identity.⁵⁹ This historical discourse not only is seen as an act of appropriation, but also implicitly reflects the investments the current time places in the past and which shape the narrative voice’s representation of historical circumstance.⁶⁰

Miguel de Luna chose to narrate a history that reflects the locality or place wherein Morisco identity can find expression. To this end, he described Muslim civilization in a positive light and reflected upon that which it had won, rather than mourning its losses. One of the principal ways in which Luna achieves his valuation of Morisco history is via his geographical description of Islamic Spain

⁵⁷ Nation and Narration, pages 295-7.

⁵⁸ *op. cit.*, page 291.

⁵⁹ Brennan, “The national longing for form”, Nation and Narration, pages 44-70. Reference taken from page 45.

⁶⁰ Tom Conley, Introduction to The Writing of History, by Michel de Certeau, page ix.

as seen in the letter his fictitious narrator offers immediately following the intercalated biography of king Almanzor's life. This detailed, ethno-geographical narrative offers the reader a description of the natural and human landscape of the newly conquered Peninsula, and comprises a lengthy section of text (158R-171R). The narrative, in Tarif Abentarique's words, is a letter written to king Almanzor by his principal captain, Muça, upon having arrived and seized control of the territory. The physical, geographical spaces won by the Muslim forces are described as precious treasures and fertile places of abundance which have been captured and now form part of Islamic world. This description of what was actively appropriated by the Muslim troops contradicts the figure of the nostalgic, gallant Moor. Luna's Muslim protagonist is no longer represented as shedding tears for what he could not defend, or as looking backward at a past he has lost and sighing. He is seen to be a conquering and civilizing force, rather than the typically passive, feminized figure who weeps impotent tears and longs for his past.⁶¹

Luna's fictitious narrator, Tarif Abentarique, opens the second half of his history with a "Prohemio a los Lectores" in which he calls the reader's attention to the battles fought and territories won by the Muslim troops invading the Peninsula (158R-159R). The reader is drawn to consider this section and its material in depth because Abentarique admits he has been criticized for not beginning the first part of his narration with this information, as had normally

⁶¹ See María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *The Moorish Novel*, pages 22 and 68-69 specifically.

been done by the "...autores doctos y graues..." [...grave and educated authors...] before him (158R). In drawing the audience's attention to a repositioning of what he suggests are normalized and formulaic discursive elements within an unexpected framework, the narrator invokes the reader's curiosity and invites him or her to participate more actively in the discourse. He further emphasizes the importance of this material to a proper understanding of the text, stating that he has chosen to include the "...particularidades necessarias para la buena declaracion de la historia; para que acaecimientos de guerra, tiempos y ocasiones della que se offrecieron...puedan ser entendidas sin confusion alguna" [...necessary particularities for the correct telling of the history; so that incidents of war, periods and occasions of which were to be offered...could be understood without any confusion] (159L). He asserts that a geographical understanding of the newly-conquered lands will resolve potentially difficult questions that may have arisen in the first half of his history (159). Hence, the reader is led to understand that what he is about to read is designed to instruct him and guide him towards a proper understanding of the conquest of Spain by the Islamic troops, which, in contrast with the Moorish Novel's representation of the noble Moor, is presented as more a story of victory than of loss.

The description of the Spanish kingdom offered by Abentarique is narrated within a letter written to king Almanzor by his captain, Muça, and included in the Verdadera historia by Luna's fictitious narrator. The letter opens with a symbolic act of mapping the territory known presently as "Spain", which

was one of the first sites repopulated by Noah and his family after God punished mankind with a great flood that destroyed the world. Luna's narrative voice emphasizes the fact that these eight people were the only ones worthy of surviving divine punishment, and were, significantly, Arabic speakers of Oriental descent.⁶² Noah is granted dominion over the entire world, and he and his family set about the task of repopulating. Noah divides all known lands into three distinct geographical regions: Asia, Africa and Europe, and sends his sons and later, his grandsons to populate different areas. It is one of Noah's grandsons, known as Sem Tofail, and his family, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of post-flood Europe (159R-160R). Sem Tofail is described as "...magnanimo y generoso...muy sabio en todo genero de letras, por que era Astrologo, Mathematico y Philosopho natural, y dotado en otras ciencias marauillosamente..." [...magnanimous and generous...very wise in all areas of letters, because he was an astronomer, mathematician and natural philosopher, and marvelously gifted in other sciences...] (160L). The fact that Sem Tofail has survived the destruction of the world, as well as the fact that he embodies the learning and personal characteristics of a good leader legitimates him in the eyes of the audience as a worthy citizen of the Peninsula. This legitimation in turn facilitates the readers' acceptance of the Arabic-speaking peoples' presence on the

⁶² Luna states that the survivors of the flood included Noah, his wife, their three sons and their three wives (159R). Although our author never explicitly states that Noah and his family spoke Arabic, he explains the etymology of Noah's name, which signifies "lloro" or "llanto" [lamentation] in Arabic (159R). It seems evident that, if Noah had an Arabic name and lived in the "Oriente" [Middle East] (160L), he would have been a speaker of that language.

European continent, and functions by extension as a symbolic appropriation of the area known as “Spain” by the Arabic-speaking Moors who conquered the Peninsula.

After claiming Spain as the legitimate birthright of Sem Tofail, the Arabic-speaking repopulator who was said to have fathered 65,000 descendents in the region (161L), Luna’s narrator begins to trace the conquest of the Peninsula by the Moors, and to map the extent of their geographical holdings. Abentarique emphasizes the fact that he is narrating the story of a successful conquest, making mention of “...la tierra conquistada...su fertilidad y asiento...sus terminos, limites y mojones...[el] modo y manera de viuir de sus naturales moradores...las armas que vsan...su animo y valor...” [...the conquered land...its fertility and situation...its boundaries, limits and landmarks...the way and form of life of its natural inhabitants...the arms they used...their disposition and their worth/valor...] (158R).⁶³ Luna’s narrative voice demarcates the boundaries and frontiers of each province and major city within the Peninsula (166L-168L) and describes the land as an earthly paradise: fertile, and densely populated with hundreds of rivers, hot springs, an abundance of grazing lands, fruit trees, waters, cattle and natural resources of all kinds including lead and silver mines that could be utilized by the Muslim invaders (165R-167). The land is shown to be ready for occupation, since it offers “...arboles frutales silvestres...venados, cabras...y puercos javalis...conejos, liebres y perdices...leña...pasto de ganados, y mucha caça de aues y animales” [...wild fruit trees...deer, goats...and wild

⁶³ See Chapter One, footnote 44 for a discussion of the term “valor” in Spanish.

pigs...rabbits, hares and partridges...wood...grazing lands, and many animals and birds to hunt] (165R-166L).⁶⁴ Due to the temperate climate, consistent rainfall and the fertility of the northern regions, Spain offers an abundance of fish, animals and agricultural potential (164L-165R). In addition to describing the appearance and fertility of the newly conquered land, Muça also calls his reader's attention to the health benefits the region offers. He states that the Christian naturals of the land swim in rivers whose waters have curative properties (167R) and live to between one hundred fifteen and one hundred twenty years of age (168R). An entire chapter is dedicated to the wealth of breads, wines and oils that were cultivated and used by the inhabitants and which are used in commerce with other countries (169L-170L), all of which were to become property of the conquering Muslim monarchy. This lengthy, geo-topographical appropriation of the Peninsula, and Luna's subsequent commodification of the land, its inhabitants and the products they manufacture effectively deconstructs the Moorish Novel's image of the noble Moor as an exiled orphan who passively longs for what was once his. In the *Verdadera historia*, Miguel de Luna's Muslim protagonists do not mourn a loss or weep for their once-great cities. They are presented as a legitimate, dominant force that conquers lands and builds an empire.

In this chapter, I have examined the ways in which Miguel de Luna utilizes and refutes the image of the noble, gallant Moor as represented in Spain's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Moorish Novel, in order to construct an active

⁶⁴ See Chapter One, footnote 43 for a discussion of Miguel de Luna's inclusion of pork and wine within this list of comestibles.

and positive representation of the Peninsula's Islamic history. Luna follows his generic model in that he incorporates historical elements such as individuals, places and events into his narration, as well as stressing the nobility and virtue of the Muslims who conquered Spain. As Claudio Guillén has observed concerning the Moorish Novel, Luna weaves together legendary and factual elements in his history, and specifically in his biography of the Islamic kingdom's greatest ruler, king Almanzor, in order to engender a dialog between the grandeur of the past and the present situation in which his narration is written. But, as opposed to the Moorish Novel's idealized and exotic image of Granada's noble Moor, Miguel de Luna opts not to present his Muslim protagonists within a framework of precious objects and visual splendor, or as orphaned, sentimental types who mourn the loss of their families, homes and lands. Instead of contextualizing Muslim society and its inhabitants based on outward markers that draw the reader's attention to that which had been lost by the Spanish Moors, Luna offers his audience a portrait of the Moor as a strong, sincere, innately virtuous and active individual who takes active control of his world. Miguel de Luna neither strives to create an idyllic, fictional place of perfection in which Christian and Muslim can peacefully co-exist, as Claudio Guillén has suggested, nor does he present his noble Moors as humorous types by associating them with the commonplace Moriscos of his time, as has been observed by María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti. Instead, Luna's protagonists embody the strength, virtue and dignity of Islamic society while simultaneously vindicating traditionally Morisco fields of endeavor. In this way,

Miguel de Luna subverts the image of the exotic Noble Moor and creates a literary space wherein Morisco identity and heritage can be valued.

CONCLUSION

Fewer than one hundred years after the forced conversions of 1500 and very shortly before the impending Morisco expulsion decree of 1609, in the shadow of the rebellion of the Alpujarras and during a time of royal edicts aimed at destroying any visible trace of “Moorishness” in the Morisco populations of Spain, Miguel de Luna published La verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo. Luna’s “true history” of the first fifty years of Spain’s Islamic period functions on several levels to create a literary space wherein the various communities known as the “Moriscos” can be united in a shared past, and can be presented to an Old Christian reading audience in a positive light. Bearing in mind Luna’s collaboration with his father-in-law, Alonso del Castillo, in the forgeries of the Pergamino de la Torre Turpiana and the Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte, we have demonstrated that the Verdadera historia shared the same general purpose: to represent Spain’s new Christians as worthy citizens of the Crown, and to reaffirm the grandeur and dignity of their past, thereby reclaiming a sense of common identity. Luna accomplishes this task by emphasizing the nobility, integrity, and inherent worth of the Moors who conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighth century, and by presenting his Muslim protagonists in such a way as to not alienate the Old Christian reader. Luna’s emphasis on the importance of Spain’s Muslim population directly refutes many commonly held misconceptions concerning Morisco identity and character, and effectively re-writes these prejudices. It is within this discursive space that Miguel de Luna constructs a

place wherein Morisco identity can be articulated and reclaimed, and the group's worth as citizens of the Crown can be emphasized.

One of the primary ways in which Miguel de Luna positively characterizes Islamic society in Spain and draws the reader's attention to the plight of Spain's Moriscos is by rewriting figures iconic to the development of Iberian identity and unity. The figures he chooses to recontextualize in his narrative have historically been important to Spain's identity as a Christian country and were used in its process of nation building and would be, therefore, of fundamental importance to his readership. One of these figures is the Christian Virgin Mary. While the Virgin had functioned to legitimate Spain's military efforts in works that reference its battles against Muslim forces, such as El poema de Mio Cid, or in works that emphasize the Peninsula as a conquering force in the New World, such as Hernán Cortes' Segunda carta and Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's La araucana, Miguel de Luna employed the image of the Holy Mother in a different context. Instead of presenting the Virgin as the founding mother of a community of believers or as a supernatural force that protected Christian soldiers and assured the victory of their just cause, Luna's Virgin is recontextualized within the body of the Muslim woman Lela Mariém, who is responsible for the death of the Peninsula's first mixed-blood, or "Morisco" baby. In addition to re-writing the Virgin as a Moorish princess who embodies the human flaws of jealousy and anger, and who facilitates the death of the only "Morisco" child in the Verdadera historia, Luna also mixes Qur'anic and Biblical traditions concerning Mary in his description of captain Abdalaziz's second wife and Rodrigo's daughter, Egilona.

In Miguel de Luna's history, Egilona strives tirelessly to force her Muslim husband into worshipping what to him are her Christian idols. Rodrigo's daughter places religious images of saints in her room, and tricks Abdalaziz into bowing down before them in order to enter and speak with her. Egilona's efforts to indoctrinate her husband in the practices of Catholicism are symbolic of the strong-armed tactics employed by Church officials such as Cardinal Ximénez in his dealing with the new converts to Christianity, and are exemplary of the difficult position in which Spain's Moriscos found themselves during the years preceding their eventual expulsion. Through his intermingling of Qur'anic and Biblical descriptions concerning Mary and 'A'isha, Miguel de Luna also calls his readers' attention to the high degree to which Moors and Christians had intermingled throughout history, effectively blurring the dividing line in his readers' minds between the faiths. Unable to distinguish the Christian Mary from the Muslim 'A'isha, the reader is thus forced to contemplate the extent to which it is possible for Spain to expel its Morisco population without losing sincere Christians in the process.

Another iconic figure questioned and recontextualized in the Verdadera historia is the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo. In Spain's romance tradition, Rodrigo has been typically associated with the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula, owing, as legend often suggests, to his unbridled passion for his vassal Julián's daughter, Florinda. In the majority of Spanish romances, Rodrigo is portrayed as a strong ruler whose will cannot be denied, and who feels a genuine desire and love for Florinda, upon whom he forces himself one day at court. In contrast to this

image of Rodrigo as a sincere, albeit misguided sovereign who, according to romance tradition, earns God's forgiveness for his sins of lust by doing penance in a cave, Miguel de Luna chooses to recontextualize him as the brutal rapist of Florinda and as an illegitimate heir to the throne who plots to assassinate the country's true ruler and his own young nephew, don Sancho. Luna also de-emphasizes Florinda's culpability as seen in Spain's romance tradition by portraying her as an innocent victim who mourns the jeopardy in which Rodrigo's act has placed the Peninsula, and by referring to her by her given name rather than the pejorative title, "La Cava." Instead of embodying the positive qualities normally associated with a good king, Luna's Rodrigo is sinful, immoral and ineffectual coward who abandons his troops in battle and feels no concern for the safety and well being of his vassals. This negative portrayal of Spain's legendary, last Visigothic king serves to characterize the moral climate of pre-Islamic Spain, and functions in an antithetical relationship with the positive models of Muslim conduct Miguel de Luna proposes in his history.

Miguel de Luna then forges a literary space wherein Morisco history and identity can exist. Luna sets up a binary relationship between the substandard ruler king Rodrigo and the exemplary, "espejo de príncipes", Moorish king Almanzor. Almanzor is represented in Luna's history as encompassing everything that Rodrigo is not: Luna's Almanzor is the legitimate heir to the throne of Al-Andalus, and he is compassionate, generous, and interested in the welfare of his vassals. Luna contrasts the Rodrigo legend with his re-writing of Almanzor's life, and lifts the Muslim king out of his historical context and

repositions him as Rodrigo's counter-myth. This repositioning thus removes Rodrigo from his privileged position in popular ideology and proposes a new, positive model of conduct: that of Moorish role models on the Peninsula. This model of right conduct challenges his reader's preconceptions concerning the prejudices associated with the Spanish Moriscos that circulated in literary works of the time, and vindicates Muslim figures and society as positive examples of behavior.

In addition to recontextualizing and (re)presenting important figures in Spain's history as a nation, Miguel de Luna also constructs a positive sense of Morisco identity and emphasizes their worth as Spanish citizens by entering into dialog with the generic norms that governed literary production during his time. As was typical of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Moorish Novel, Luna portrays his Muslim protagonists as noble and virtuous, and there is little question as to the inherent moral integrity and refined nature of Muslim civilization and its inhabitants in Spain. But, in direct opposition to the detailed descriptions of clothing, jewelry, customs, and sentiments that commonly characterized the noble Moor, we see in the Verdadera historia that Spain's Muslim population isn't defined by clothes or outward appearance, but rather by the internal qualities that exemplify their positive traits. There are notably few descriptions of Moorish dress to be found in Miguel de Luna's work, and nowhere does Luna portray his Moors as weeping for lands, family, love or inheritance that they have lost. Rather, Miguel de Luna's protagonists are presented as strong, rational

individuals who subdue and civilize new lands, rather than as passive, feminized figures that shed tears and long impotently for the past.

Finally, Miguel de Luna adheres to the accepted generic norms for writing history in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, and frames his text as a “true” account of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by the Islamic forces. Luna’s act of contextualizing his Verdadera historia as “true” legitimates his project in the eyes of his readership, and thus creates a space wherein the narrated events acquire a greater veracity. The symbiotic relationship Luna creates with his invented narrator functions in tandem with his own literary presence as official court translator in order to meet the readers’ expectations for historical discourse, and his characterization of king Almanzor’s exemplary nature serves as a “truthful” model of proper conduct. By framing his text as a true history, Luna presents the Verdadera historia as worthy of his readers’ attention and respect, and emphasizes the veracity of the events narrated. Following the generic norms for historiographical discourse during his time marks Luna’s work as worthy of the readers’ attention, therefore his audience is called upon to participate in his re-writing of foundational personages in Spain’s history as a nation, and to reconsider the importance of the Moorish, and by extension the Morisco presence on the Peninsula. In this way, Miguel de Luna creates a literary space wherein the history of Spain’s Morisco population is validated and their importance as citizens of the Crown can be celebrated. Thus, Luna reclaims the dignity of the Islamic period in Spain and presents his personages as worthy of incorporation rather than expulsion.

Miguel de Luna's history is important to the study of early-modern Spanish literature on several levels. The Verdadera historia's numerous published editions suggest that the text was widely read and well known during its own time. This assumption is further supported in that modern scholars have also noted Miguel de Luna's possible influence on other works of its time, most notably, Cervantes' Don Quijote. The Verdadera historia also engages with the understanding and representations of alterity in the literature of its time. Like El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's Comentarios reales, Miguel de Luna's history vindicates "other" voices and "other" histories in Spain's early-modern period by making known the identity, history, legends, language, customs and social structure of a marginalized population that found itself in danger of extinction at the hands of the dominant Christian Spanish government.

Miguel de Luna's Verdadera historia is also significant given the avenues of study that it opens. Luna's re-writings of the Virgin Mary, Rodrigo and king Almanzor offer potential points of departure for further studies of their representations in Aljamiado, Arabic and Castilian literatures. Also, a comparison of the legitimization strategies employed by Luna and by Garcilaso de la Vega could offer a clearer picture of the ways in which marginalized groups sought to reclaim their identities in early-modern Spain. Finally, analysis of Luna's work may also serve as a starting place for examining the discursive construction of identity throughout sixteenth- and seventeenth -century Spanish literature. Luna's history opens the way for a more profound understanding of the

ways in which an author might forge a sense of discursive, group identity, and is therefore significant in the study of a broad range of texts.

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