

The Converted Menace:
Morisco Transformation, Resistance, and
Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Granada

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Between 1482 and 1492 a drawn-out and arduous war was conducted on the southern-most border of the Kingdom of Castile and the final Iberian Muslim Kingdom of Granada. While the conflict can be understood as local to the Iberian Peninsula and the growing incorporative efforts of the combined Crowns of Castile and Aragon, this event along with the subsequent century of consequences, offer insight into the larger tensions developing between Catholic rulers and the rising Ottoman Sultanate. The result of the *Toma* of Granada was a complex narrative that reflected the ongoing fluctuations between the political borders throughout the Mediterranean and affected every aspect of life for those individuals and communities within the frontier lands. This project will examine that very narrative as recorded through primary sources, along with maintaining a dialogue with many of the historiographical interpretations surrounding life in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Granada. As stated, the local history of Granada during this period opens up to a larger historical narrative that sees the entire Mediterranean world as a microcosm of political, religious, economic, and cultural negotiation. The aim of this paper will be to explore the various and multi-faceted ways in which the converted Muslim community or, Moriscos, exercised this negotiation, the forms it took, and the consequences it elicited. In turn, this may reveal those moments that demonstrate to the contemporary reader, agency at work by the historical actors themselves. The conquest of Granada constitutes one event of a larger narrative of historical silencing that often places the Islamic Mediterranean as a backwater of European dominance within the subsequent enterprise of rewriting history aimed to economically and politically privilege the latter rather than the former. Accordingly, this is where the historiography surrounding life in Granada during this period will be taken into consideration and examined as part and parcel of current historical interpretations that may benefit from further analysis.

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“The different viviparous quadrupeds utter different voices, but they have no power of speech; this power is peculiar to man. The possession of this power implies the possession of a voice, but the converse is not true.”¹

It was on January 2, 1492, that a French traveler stood below the Torre de la Vela of the magnificent Alhambra fortress. His journal recorded the culmination of the arduous ten-year war between the Castilian Catholic forces and the last remaining Muslim kingdom of al-Andalus. On November 25, 1491, King Fernando II of Aragon (r. 1479-1516) and Queen Isabel I of Castile (r. 1474-1504) had accepted the clandestine surrender of the final Nasrid emir, ‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII (known as “Boabdil” in Spanish sources, r. 1482-83, 1486-92), in the garrison town of Santa Fe, constructed twelve kilometers outside the city walls of Granada. As a part of the agreement, Boabdil and the inhabitants of the city were guaranteed a transfer of power, without bloodshed, within sixty days.² The army of the Catholic Monarchs, led by Fernando, marched into the city and greeted Boabdil along with his entourage while Christian soldiers secured the

¹ Aristotle, *Historia animalium II: Books IV-VI*, trans. A.L. Peck (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 79-81.

² Miguel Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada* (Granada: Tip. Lit. Paulino Ventura Traveset, 1910), 270. Also see, Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), 87.

³ Anonymous, *La tres celebrable digne de memoire et victorieuse prise de la cite de Granade* (Archivo de Granada: Sala, Caja 2, Número 16(A), 1492). “Santiago, Santiago, Santiago, Castilla, Castilla, Granada, Granada, Granada, por les muy altos, muy poderosos senores, don Fernando y dona Ysabel, rey y reyna despana que han ganado esta zibdat de Granada, y todo su reyno por fuerza darmas de los infieles moros con la ayuda de Dios y de la Virgen gloriosa, la ciudad de la bienaventurado apostolo (Santiago, Tip. Lit. Paulino Ventura Traveset, 1910), 270. Also see, Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), 87.

Alhambra. The French visitor noted the process of surrender in the display of authority and new governance from atop the Torre de la Vela, as clergy, bannermen, soldiers, and a herald gathered for a public announcement.

St. James, St. James, St. James! Castile, Castile, Castile! Granada, Granada, Granada! For the very high and very powerful Lords, Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, King and Queen of Spain, who have won this city of Granada and all of its kingdom by force of arms from the infidel Moors, with the aid of God and the glorious Virgin, his mother, and of the blessed Apostle Santiago, and with the aid of our most holy father, Innocent VIII, and the help and service of the great prelates, knights, noblemen, and communities of their kingdoms! And after the herald spoke and it was perfect and the cry was complete, it seemed as if the earth trembled due to the great noise fired from the bombs and cannons which were a sign of joy and victory, exploding all at once, then trumpets, clergy, and all manner of sounds and bellicose instruments rang out loudly as a sign of festivities and joy.³

To the majority Muslim population of Granada during this period, this overt display of conquest would constitute the beginning of a socially fracturing trauma that would extend through the sixteenth century. Although the *Capitulaciones*, or terms of surrender, guaranteed the religious, cultural, and political rights of the natives, a growing Castilian

³ Anonymous, *La tres celebrable digne de memoire et victorieuse prise de la cite de Granade* (Archivo de Granada: Sala, Caja 2, Número 16(A), 1492). “Santiago, Santiago, Santiago, Castilla, Castilla, Castilla, Granada, Granada, Granada, por les muy altos, muy poderosos senores, don Fernando y dona Ysabel, rey y reyna despana que han ganado esta zibdat de Granada, y todo su reyno por fuerza darvas de los infieles moros con la aida de Dios y de la Virgen gloriosa, su madre y del bie auenturado apostol Santiago, y con la aida de nuestro muy sancto padre Innocentio octavo, socorro y seruicio de los grandes prelados, caualleros, hijos dalgo, communiades de sus reynos. Et apres ce que ledit herault eut parfait et acheue ledit cry il sembla que la terre tremblast, pour le grat bruit q firent les bobardes et canons lesquelz en signe de ioye et victoire deschargerent tout a vng cop, lors oyt on trópettes e clerons e toutes manieres de sons e dinstrumes belliqueuy sonner haultement en signe de feste e deioye.” (Unless otherwise noted, all translations done by myself.)

population and government became increasingly avaricious for the spoils of their conquest. In turn, suspicion mounted against the Muslim community that expressed itself in a variety of ways that directly violated the terms of the *Capitulaciones*.

This project will examine those very violations, beginning with the signing of the agreement itself, and addressing the escalating severity of the subsequent political actions, legal treatises, and overall violence that resulted due to this enterprise. While a traditionally chronological approach will map the history of Granada during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, relevant historic events a century prior and after in the Iberian Peninsula and through the wider Mediterranean world will be woven into the narrative to provide a comprehensive background to the more local affairs of the city and surrounding lands of the newly conquered territory. As will be demonstrated, the native Muslim community, later designated as Moriscos after they had been forced to convert nominally to Christianity, acted in a variety of ways that defied any static explanation that some scholars have situated as a binary or even ternary categorization of “assimilator/resistor/compromiser.” While these categories have assisted in the scholarly understanding and interpretation of life in a variety of historically occupied spaces, this project will be more concerned with the limited meaning implied by such terms and the often vague explanations they can, at times, elicit from studies of Early Modern Spain.

That being the case, one of the primary components of this study will be the phenomenon of religious conversion as a continual and persistent concern present in the minds of the native and immigrant populations of sixteenth-century Granada, following the conquest. While the question of “sincere” conversion will appear in the analysis through the lens of such figures as Archbishop Hernando de Talavera and the Jesuit Friar,

Ignacio de las Casas, an examination of the political consequences that stemmed from growing anxiety surrounding religious identity will take precedence due to its palpable effects on the living conditions of both groups. The subject of conversion will be especially integral to this study as its implementation on the Muslim community transitioned from “pacific evangelization” to one of obligation and even violent enforcement.⁴ The first Muslim rebellion of 1499, in which a number of the native populace participated, will serve as a crucial component of this narrative both as a commentary on the evident duress under which the Muslims found themselves, along with the political consequences that followed and informed restrictive legislations through the rest of the sixteenth century.⁵ Key historical figures will provide a portrait of the socio-political landscape during this period of increased surveillance and government activity. Those actors under consideration in this project will entail a number of authoritative voices from within the Church such as the aforementioned Archbishop Talavera, along with his successor, Archbishop Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, the Archbishop of Valencia, Martín Pérez de Ayala along with Moriscos within the Jesuit Order established in Granada, Juan de Albotodo and Ignacio de las Casas.

Concerning the political atmosphere of Granada during this period, the President of the Royal Audiencia, Pedro de Deza, along with key figures within the *Veinticuatria* will serve to highlight the nuances of élite Morisco family interaction and involvement in city affairs as many of the primary sources regarding local policies concerning Christian

⁴ Mauel Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca, la convivencia negada* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2002), 69. “. . . su talante humanístico lo inclinaba hacia la evangelización pacífica.”

⁵ Sometimes referred to as the First Alpujarras Uprising as the rebellion extended into the surrounding mountains of Granada following its suppression in the city.

and Muslim/Morisco relations come to us from these local governing institutions.⁶

Crucial to this discussion will be the more widespread royal mandates and edicts issued by the Catholic Monarchs, but an emphasis will be given to policies introduced and later enforced by the Habsburg Kings, Carlos V (r. 1516-1556), Felipe II (r. 1556-1598), and Felipe III (r. 1598-1621). Under particular scrutiny will be those edicts that restricted and marginalized the former Muslim population with regard to cultural, linguistic, religious, economic, and political practice. In this way, local accounts of Granada during this period open up to a larger historical narrative that sees the entire Mediterranean world as a microcosm of political, religious, economic, and cultural negotiation. The aim of this thesis will be to explore the various and multi-faceted ways in which people exercised this negotiation, the forms it took, and the consequences it elicited. In turn, this may reveal those moments that demonstrate to the contemporary reader, agency at work by the historical actors themselves.

Accordingly, this investigation will engage with those texts that not only reveal the inner-workings of royal and secular politics during this period, but it will also employ methods of recovering the voice of those individuals and groups acting *au ras du sol*. By doing so, a “connected histories” approach will be effected by linking localized language and word choice to a broader conversation of power across Imperial Spain and the Ottoman Sultanate, through examining the principal defining characteristics of religious

⁶ The *veintiquatria* or *veinticuatria*, was an arm of the city council that consisted of twenty-four *caballeros* (noblemen) or *regidores* (councilmen), mostly of noble lineage, that met regularly in the former *madrassa* (school of Islamic theology) to decide upon various political and economic issues with regard to the wider region of Granada.

identities that came into contact as the Muslim community of the Kingdom of Granada became increasingly exposed to suppressive government regulations and action.⁷

Inherent to these hostile perceptions was the further specification of group identity situated in a political atmosphere that coexisted with what the contemporary academic would designate as religious language. In reality, the two categories were not so explicitly separated and so events, such as the War of Granada along with the First and Second Alpujarras Uprisings, were perceived by many as divine requirements that mandated, in this case, the complete control of the Iberian Peninsula by the Catholic Monarchs or the reestablishment of the Western Umayyad Caliphate.⁸ The result of the *Toma* of Granada was a complex narrative that reflected the ongoing fluctuations between the political borders throughout the Mediterranean and affected every aspect of life for those individuals and communities within the frontier lands.⁹

The key element of identity negotiation under duress of conquest will be brought to the forefront as a theme that can be read, with a variety of nuanced shifts, throughout the extensive period of European colonization. While the majority of this investigation will locate itself, temporally speaking, within the sixteenth century, political, religious, and cultural themes will be drawn out, revealing a narrative which still pervades contemporary systems and transmission of knowledge. The conquest of Granada constitutes one event of a larger narrative of historical silencing that often places the Islamic Mediterranean as a backwater of European dominance within the subsequent enterprise of rewriting history aimed to economically and politically privilege the latter

⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asia Studies* 31 (1997): 735-762.

⁸ The Second Alpujarras Uprising occurred from 1568-1571.

⁹ *La Toma*, literally translated is "The Taking."

rather than the former. Accordingly, this is where the historiography surrounding life in Granada during this period will be taken into consideration and examined as part and parcel of current historical interpretations that may benefit from further analysis.

The theoretical framework for this project will rest primarily on two twentieth-century thinkers with regard to language, the construction of the past through historical analysis, and colonial critique. While the narrative of sixteenth-century Granada will take precedence, the linguistic and historical reflections of Jacques Derrida and Homi Bhabha will provide a backdrop upon which concluding notes may tie in the project of colonization and the implications of rewriting history. In the case of post-conquest Granada and its inhabitants, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of the modern colonial project through a language that borrowed from the racist legislation aimed at marginalizing Conversos following the 1391 pogroms, coupled with Castilian encounters with the Muslim population, and subsequent delegitimizing of the Arabic language. The confusion, compromise, and conflict surrounding the very tangible consequences in the edicts proposed in banning written, read, and spoken Arabic, demonstrate the manipulation of language and meaning through a complex web of interpretation, re-interpretation, and what Walter Benjamin described as *mimesis* or “non-sensuous similarity.”¹⁰ This would entail the human capacity to imitate what is read, observed, or experienced, and repeat those actions with a soupçon of innovation through the unavoidable lens of interpretation. It is this definition of *mimesis* that will allow a critique

¹⁰ Walter Benjamin and Knut Tarnowski, “Doctrine of the Similar (1933),” *New German Critique* 17 (1979): 66.

to be drawn out in this paper, through Derrida and Bhabha.¹¹ While this project will not rely heavily on the work of Michel Foucault, it will be in conversation with the “progress of societies and the geneses of individuals,” as the creation of Granada’s Christian past evoked a teleological civilization aimed at fulfilling its role in the Catholic narrative of worldwide expansion.¹² The diffusion of these “new techniques of power” can be translated as the initiation of the modern colonial project.¹³

This final point will be positioned as the central argument upon which the complexities of identity negotiation and religious conversion by the Moriscos of Granada will be explained. While claims have been made with respect to the coalescence of a national identity in the form of “Spain,” along with an exhaustive scholarly treatment regarding concepts such as *convivencia*, the aim for this study will be directed at locating the modern colonial project as a nascent concept in the Iberian Peninsula, following 1492.¹⁴ The theories that have developed in the act of providing an historic narrative for

¹¹ Further explanation regarding Derrida’s ideas on “origin heterogeneous,” “time out of joint,” or “slippage,” along with Bhabha’s notion of “mimicry and menace,” will be provided throughout this project. (Jacques Derrida, *De l’esprit: Heidegger et la question* (Paris: Galilée, 1997). Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

¹² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 160.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ As for “Spanish Nationalism,” I am referring here to the birth of the concept in sixteenth century as a product of colonialism, according to some scholars like Walter Mignolo, followed by the modern concept of nationalism which emerged following the Cádiz Constitution of 1812, the rise of the liberal and traditional parties, and the Carlist Wars. A concise study on the topic of interpreting Spanish Nationalism can be found in, Diego Muro and Alejandro Quiroga, “Spanish Nationalism: Ethnic or civic?” *Ethnicities* 5 (2005): 9-29. *Convivencia* is popularly associated with a period in the history of Iberia in which Muslims, Jews, and Christians are claimed to have lived together “harmoniously.” Refer to Ryan Szpiech, “The Convivencia Wars: Decoding Historiography’s Polemic with Philology,” in *A Sea of Languages: Rethinking the Arabic*

modern Spain will be examined through the lens of the European colonial enterprise and will tie in current scholarly critique regarding the move to place notions such as ‘tolerance,’ ‘coexistence,’ and ‘religious identity,’ primarily beginning with Américo Castro, within medieval and early modern socio-political and cross-cultural Iberian interactions.¹⁵ Through this method of examination, a conceptualization of the past through a critical lens provides the opportunity to address what is considered a paramount yet overwhelmingly absent facet of history writing; the silencing of the vanquished and suppression of the minority voice. Through various methods of constructively questioning those interpolative arbiters that once gave authorization to “legitimate” historical writing, this voice may be recovered in such a way that history is refashioned in the collective consciousness of the West and those groups and individuals acting from within the new imperial powers.

This project will give further explanation to the continued and persistent enforcement of marginalizing laws on a group that, for all intents and purposes, had been converted to Christianity and continued in the Catholic tradition for over 100 years, leading up to the expulsion of 1609-1614. The primary question that will be under scrutiny here will be similar to that surrounding the expulsion of the Jewish community in 1492, then 1497 from Portugal. Why was a portion of the Christian population of the

Role in Medieval Literary History, ed. Suzanne Akbari and Karla Mallette (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

¹⁵ Refer to Américo Castro, *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948). While this is not the first instance of the use of *convivencia* as a term to describe interactions between various religious groups in the Iberian Peninsula, Castro’s re-envisioning of the expression to denote a sort of “tolerance” between the three Abrahamic communities took on a life of its own by inciting a variety of reactions for and against the concept that are still in conversation today.

Iberian Peninsula expelled? As briefly demonstrated through this introduction, the answer quickly takes on highly complex characteristics that will be shown to exhibit a fluidic quality that followed political, economic, cultural, and later, historiographical preferences and demands.

The Colonizing Effort Begins

The consolidation of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1469, through the somewhat surreptitious marriage of Isabel and Fernando, reignited the royal interest in the centuries-long enterprise of *reconquista*. The military project of steady movement southward by Christian forces had been defended as divine right bestowed by God in the name of “retaking” those lands formerly ruled by Visigoth kings prior to the crossing of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād (670-720) and his army from North Africa to Gibraltar.¹⁶ The unification of the two formidable kingdoms directed the royal gaze toward the south where the vestige of Hispania’s authoritative Islamic past remained in the form of a politically fractured kingdom. Similar to the fall of the magnificent city of Córdoba in 1236 to Fernando III of Castile (r. 1217-1252), due primarily to a gradually weakened political presence caused by internal quarreling and hostilities beginning with the death of al-Manṣūr in 1002, Granada found itself vulnerable as a result of infighting and disputes. Although the siege led by the Catholic Monarchs would stretch out for ten years, a crucial component to the eventual overthrow of the city played on the weakness of the divided leadership along with a gradual asphyxiation of resources and outside assistance. “Granada was disfigured and shattered like a head without a body and without arms.” Fernando was said to have advanced “eliminating, one by one, the seeds of Granada,” and following “the successive

¹⁶ جبل طارق, Jabal Ṭāriq, Mountain of Tariq, named after the famous General.

conquests of Alhama, Loja, Baza, Guadix y Almería, the Arabs only held power in that which their poets called, Granada of rubies, the nest of doves, cup of lilies (hyacinths), temple of love and gate to paradise.”¹⁷

Perhaps sensing the imminent and unavoidable invasion of his city, Boabdil signed the agreements of conquest while simultaneously securing the details of non-violence the transition would take.

Furthermore, that the King of Granada and all the people therein, the alcadís, the *alfaquis*, the *alguaciles*, the *alcaldes*, the noblemen, and the entire community, small or large, men and women of Granada and of the Albaycín, and surrounding villages, and all of those other places they (Castilians) want to enter with those of Granada, and those places that are outside of the city, with those of the Alpujarras and other areas, that they be well honored, treated, and shown favor, and kept safe, and that the people and their goods be protected and that they are allowed their inheritances and their houses inside of Granada, to those who are inside of the city or outside, and everything that they have in the form of other pieces of inheritance . . .¹⁸

¹⁷ D. Joaquín Durán y Lerchundi, *La toma de Granada y caballeros que concurrieron á ella, Tomo I* (Madrid: Imprenta y lithografía de los huérfanos, 1893), 15.

Granada estaba difigurada y deshecha como cabeza sin cuerpo y sin brazos,” según la gráfica expresión de Zurita en sus *Anales de Aragón*, porque Fernando había realizado el plan que se había propuesto de “ir quitando uno á uno los granos á la Granada” ; y conquistadas sucesivamente Alhama, Loja, Baza, Guadix y Almería, sólo quedaba en poder de los árabes la que sus poetas llamaban Granada de rubíes, nido de palomas, taza de jacintos, templo del amor y puerta del paraíso.

¹⁸ Garrido Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, 231.

Otrosy, quel Rey de granada y toda la gente della, y los alcadís, y alfaquis, é alguaziles, y alcaydes, y caualleros, y todo el común, chicos é grandes, machos y hembras de granada y del albayzín y sus aRabales, y todos los otros logares que quizieren entrar con los de granada de los logares que están fuera della, con las alpuxarras y otros logares, que sean bien honrrados y tratados y fauorescidos y seguros, y amparados en sus personas y bienes, y les dexten todos sus heredamientos y sus casas dentro en granada, los que están dentro en ella ó fuera della y á todo lo que tienen en otros cabos de heredamientos . . .

Contrary to the image of Boabdil later cast as a cowardly and inexperienced ruler who was even shamed by his own mother upon the surrender of the city, these propositions imparted to the Catholic Monarchs reveal a leader concerned with the protection of his people in the face of a clear defeat and conquest.¹⁹ Equally crucial to this investigation are those agreements sought by the final Muslim ruler which would have secured an extensive and rich legal tradition within the city and surrounding areas. “Furthermore, that Your Highnesses and your descendants be bound forever to leave them (Muslim subjects) to live within their law, in their *shari‘ah* and *sunna*, and their mosques, and their *qadis*, and their *muezzins* with their towers, and that they allow them to give voices to their *muezzins* just as it was before, with their customs.”²⁰ Isabel and Fernando initially agreed to these terms and as a political strategy, this would have ensured the prevention of an immediate uprising during a time in which the native population far exceeded that of the Castilians in number. It would be only after nearly a decade of immigration that the monarchs would install the new Archbishop Cisneros and enforce harsher edicts dictating the surrender of much more than physical space and goods.

Alguacil is the Hispanicized form of the Arabic “wazīr,” (وزير) which is an officially appointed minister or advisor. An *alcaide* come from the Arabic, “qā’id” (قائد), which can be translated as commander or leader.

¹⁹ Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada, Tomo I* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), 103. “. . . y que viendole su madre sospirar y llorar, le dixo: “Bien haces hijo en llorar como muger lo que no fuiste para defender como hombre.”

²⁰ Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, 231. “Otrosy, que sean obligados sus altezas y sus descendientes para siempre de dejarlos bivar en su ley y en su xaraçunna, y sus mezquitas, y sus alcadís, y sus almuédanos con sus torres y que les consientan dar voces á sus almuédanos como solían antes, con sus costumbres.” An *alcadī* is the hispanicized form of the Arabic, *qāḍī* (قاضي), or a judge concerning matters in Islamic law.

Before the events of 1499, the formative years immediately following *La Toma* will aid in explaining the gradual formation of Castilian colonization. This, of course, must include the “discovery” of the West Indies by the Genoese merchant, Christopher Columbus, the possible influence of the works by humanist scholar Antonio de Nebrija on Queen Isabel, along with the evangelization tactics and motives of her confessor and first Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera. Equally important to the conversation are the various interpretations and impacts modern historical analyses have constructed from these figures. These will briefly be touched upon, especially concerning Antonio de Nebrija and his looming spectre of linguistic colonization that has seemingly taken on a life of its own in the modern narratives of Spanish imperial expansion. Threads of colonial cross-pollination between Granada and the New World reveal a language, intimately interwoven with conquest and the Castilian/Catholic cosmological ordering of the universe, that was transmitted, not just west, but also “back” to the Iberian Peninsula.

The Legacy of Nebrija

Antonio de Nebrija, a Spanish Humanist scholar who rose to the influential status of advisor to Queen Isabel in the late fifteenth century, directly participated in the emergence of a philosophy of language movement that would seek to reprioritize Latin in the Iberian Peninsula. Educated by the Humanist intellectuals of the University of Bologna, Nebrija returned to teach in Salamanca and eventually published the popular grammar book, *Introductiones latinae*, in 1481. This book, especially the second edition, was a success and exemplified the Spanish humanist movement that placed an emphasis on mastering Latin as a means of continuing in the classical tradition of authoritative

recorded languages.²¹ Nebrija, borrowing from his Italian influences, approached Latin as a representation of the enlightened society and a means through which one could properly practice religion, law, the sciences, medicine, and participate in the Christian republic.²²

In the prologue of his book he defined grammar as “a correctly spoken and written science by scholars, and authorized collectively. . .this is, from letters, the same as a literary science.”²³ The book was popular enough that Queen Isabel requested a copy, accompanied by a Castilian translation. This, along with Nebrija’s association with Hernando de Talavera, established the scholar as an authoritative voice in the wave of humanist thought sweeping the universities of the Iberian Peninsula.

As with his prologue in *Introductiones*, Nebrija constructed the preface to the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* as an argument for the consolidation of the Spanish Empire *through* language. “One thing that I have found and taken to be a certain conclusion is that language always accompanies empire. In this way it has followed that together, they have begun, grown, and flourished.”²⁴ The opening lines of his prologue introduced the queen to the possibility that the Spanish Empire would carry forth the tradition of “civilized” language in the same way Hebrew, Greek, and Latin had

²¹ Hebrew-Greek-Latin.

²² Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization, 2nd Edition* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 50.

²³ Antonio de Nebrija, *Introductiones latinae cum commento* (Madrid: Typ. Nebrissensis: “Gramatica” (Haeb. 470), 1495), 141-142. “Scientia recte loquendi recteque scribendi ex doctissimorum virorum usu atque auctoritate collecta...A grammatis, hoc est, a literis, quasi scientia literaria.”

²⁴ Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984), 97. “Una cosa hálo y sáco por conclusión mui cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio; y de tal manera lo siguió, que junta mente començaron, crecieron y florecieron.”

purportedly done.²⁵ As a scholar surrounded by a blossoming humanist tradition in Spain, this was perhaps only surprising to the queen herself, as she had initially requested a second Latin grammar book. Recalling the words of Hernando de Talavera in his prologue, Nebrija quotes him as having said, “after Your Highness has subjugated the many barbaric people and nations of various languages under her yoke, their defeat will necessitate the adherence to the laws the conqueror places on the conquered, and with it, our language.”²⁶ Not only did Nebrija utilize such expressions as “barbarian,” “our nation,” and “our language,” he did so in such a way that created a legitimized continuity between the classic languages of the Christian Bible and Castilian, a connection that would become a vital component in colonizing the New World. It was the reconciliation of the Spanish Christian tradition along with the consolidation of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile that lent authoritative support to Nebrija's argument that would aid in legitimizing the subjugation of the remaining non-Castilian groups of the peninsula, mostly the Muslims of Granada.

The project Nebrija outlined took on a number of aspects that would justify a writing of Castilian grammar, but two of those served to reinforce his argument as a whole. He attributed the “decline” of classic Latin and Greek to the lack of enforcing it as a required part of legitimately participating in the empire.²⁷ His grammar would act as a

²⁵ Important to note is the surprising move of writing a grammar book based on the vernacular. Nebrija justified his project as a continuation of the divinely authorized lineage of languages (Hebrew-Greek-Latin-Castilian), the consolidation of the Crown's power through the vernacular, and his observation that Latin had “declined” due to the lack of enforcing it upon conquered peoples by the Roman authorities.

²⁶ Nebrija, *Gramática*, 101-102.

²⁷ “De allí, comenzando a declinar el imperio de los romanos, *junta mente* comenzó a caducar la lengua latina, hasta que vino al estado en que la recibimos de nuestros padres.” (Nebrija, *Gramática*, 98-100. My emphasis.)

base from which the Castilian language could be kept “in a single uniformity” and taught to the conquered peoples with which the empire found itself.²⁸ Although he still placed authority in the classic languages, the “corruption” of Latin and Greek served as a catalyst for his proposed political intervention in maintaining linguistic homogeneity, an idea not popular with his contemporaries.²⁹ He also called for the requirement of Castilian acquisition by those, such as the Italians, with whom Spain engaged in economic relations. In short, the maintenance of the language would ensure the stability and longevity of the empire. A second aspect of his theory rested on the allocation of a classically and biblically rooted Castilian as a language which “separates us from all the other animals, belongs to man, and so, results in contemplation followed by understanding.”³⁰ Nebrija’s linguistic theory dictated that language was the clear distinction that separated humans from animals and that the implementation of the *studia humanitates* of letters further elevated those societies in which it was practiced.³¹ The linguistic prioritization with preference given to Castilian would carry into the sixteenth century and directly affect the encounters with Muslims in Granada and Native

²⁸ Nebrija, *Gramática*, 101. “en una uniformidad”

²⁹ “Muchos de sus contemporáneos no estaban de acuerdo con esta idea porque veían en Italia una literatura descollante junto a una tremenda decadencia política.” (Antonio Quilis, introduction to *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, by Antonio de Nebrija (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984), 81.)

³⁰ Nebrija, *Gramática*, 100. “Nos aparta de todos los otros animales y es propia del ombre, y en orden, la primera después de la contemplación, que es oficio propio del entendimiento.”

³¹ An obvious influence from the resurgence of Aristotelian philosophy in the Renaissance humanist movements. “The different viviparous quadrupeds utter different voices, but they have no power of speech; this power is peculiar to man. The possession of this power implies the possession of a voice, but the converse is not true. . . Men have the same voice the world over, but different varieties of speech.” (Aristotle, *Historia animalium II: Books IV-VI*, trans. A.L. Peck (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 79-81.

Americans in the New World. Ultimately, Nebrija's connection of Castilian to the Augustinian notion of the original language, Hebrew, served to support the growing notion that Arabic, Quechua, Nahuatl, and thousands of other indigenous dialects, were void of any legitimacy. This, in turn, would reflect these groups as being "without history," and thus, justifiably colonized.

Crucial to this conversation though is the question of how well Nebrija's works were received in their own time. As some scholars, such as David Rojinsky, have pointed out, much of the conversation surrounding the possible influences of the Humanists' work on the collective consciousness of the people of the Iberian Peninsula and beyond, stem from modern historical analysis rather than primary source documents.³² While the *Gramática* did not seem to experience as much interest as *Introductiones* during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it saw a renewed publication in 1744 followed by intensified interest in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nebrija's close ties with Talavera and Queen Isabel would not necessarily indicate a widespread notoriety, yet the *Gramática* has been written into the history of Spain as a highly influential text. Perhaps a more beneficial approach to the works of Nebrija would be to examine the homologous currents which ran through corpus of his writings. As has been shown in both *Introductiones* and *Gramática*, our humanist grammarian was invested in linking the written word, in this case Latin and Castilian, to the imperial project, which at this time predated the "discovery" of the West Indies.

While Rojinsky examines Nebrija's use of the word *imperio*, translating it as "power" or "sovereignty" within a single kingdom rather than territorial expansion, the

³² David Rojinsky, *Companion to Empire: A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, c. 550-1550* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

fact remains that the project was aimed toward legitimizing Castilian/Catholic hegemonic rule over the world. This was reflected in the widespread use of *Introductiones* in the New World as a tool to categorize and order indigenous languages under a Latin alphabet. Although this was definitely not a direct incorporation of the message found in the *Gramática*, the concept of power through language prioritization and instruction was still voiced as it were, through the disembodied echoes of Nebrija in Granada and the forming identity of the Americas. Additionally, Nebrija and Talavera had previously exchanged ideas concerning the War of Granada when the Hieronymite friar requested a poem praising the Catholic Monarchs commitment to divine expansion into the final Muslim Kingdom of Iberia. “Because if, by chance, I myself should see with my own eyes the walls of Granada overthrown by my husband’s hands and by my enemies’ fear of you, then I will dedicate temples and sacred rites to you in the middle of the city, and we will drive that wicked people with their Mohammed from our shores.”³³ The poem, *Peregrinatio regis et reginae ad divinum Iacobum*, was read aloud in Salamanca before Isabel in 1488 and in the following year of 1489, Nebrija composed an additional poem, *Salutatio ominalis ad Ferdinandum/regem in die calendarum ianuarii*, in which Ferdinand is celebrated as the sovereign bound to the noble cause of holy war. “You, to whom (Ferdinand) the fates predict triumphs over the Muslims and the work of purging

³³ Rojinsky, *Companion*, 121. “Quod si forte mei manibus superata mariti, Atque tuo metu Granatae moenia cernam, Ipsa meis oculis, media tunc urbe dicabo, Templata tibi, ritusque sacros, gentemque nefandam, Cum Mahumete suo nostris pellemus ab oris.” (Translation by Rojinsky.)

religious beliefs . . . When you have subjugated our whole world beneath your feet and you have lived long enough for the fatherland, you will seek the stars.”³⁴

The conjunction of Nebrija’s publication of the *Gramática* and the first voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492 simply transmitted the emerging notions of “Spanish Empire” into a realm that required further evangelization and colonization. Although it is clear that modern historians have projected and perhaps even amplified the impact of the *Gramática* especially, a variety of conclusions may be drawn from this enterprise. While the nuances of constructing the past through the lens of contemporary interpretation that is informed by modern prejudices will be further examined in the theoretical analysis of this project, the abandonment of historical truth claims at this point will serve to disentangle and stimulate the possibilities for reading the colonization of Granada in a more grounded method which may shed light on the common folk under pressure from marginalizing efforts. Regardless of the seemingly poor reception of the *Gramática* during its own time, Nebrija’s work reflects the looming eschatological anxiety which was seized and fashioned in such a way that the political venture of territorial expansion was exercised *behind* the language of religious legitimacy. While we can speculate as to the trajectory of the Castilian colonial enterprise in the absence of Columbus’s “discovery,” a certain aspect to the project would surely have carried out the linguistic prioritization that is espoused in Nebrija’s writings. Whether this would have carried across the Strait of Gibraltar with Cisneros and beyond can only be a matter of conjecture at this point, but the details surrounding the increased unease amongst immigrant

³⁴ *Ibid.* “Cui mahumeteos portendunt fata triumphos/Atque repurgandae religionis opus . . . Cumque tuis pedibus nostrum subieceris orbem/Atque satis patriae vixeris, astra petes.” (Translation by Rojinsky.)

Castilians in Granada with regard to spoken and written Arabic indicates a strong tendency by the conquering authorities to institute “Castilian only” policies in most places they stepped foot.

What current analyses must be careful in asserting are the perceived *totalizing effects* of Nebrija’s claims regarding language and empire, along with the enforcement, on the ground, of Castilian in of Granada and the surrounding Alpujarras region. The recovery of the Morisco voice, which has parallel efforts of methodological advances with regard to the native populations of the Americas during the earliest European encounters, has often been located in finely-grained investigations of the supposed implications of the *Gramática*, an approach which grants an exaggeratedly authoritative and far-reaching agency to the text itself. While insightful arguments have been proffered by some scholars that situate the work as “groundbreaking” and inspire the effort of locating the voice of the vanquished, the individual and collective agency of the historical actors themselves is often diminished by presumptions of “universal” recognition and adherence to the observations of Nebrija.³⁵ In this sense, some efforts to recover the marginalized voice, at times, overshadow the complexities and abilities of those involved to exercise a form of power that ensured their survival, and at times, relatively comfortable positions within Granada.

As a final note, it is important to consider the relationship between Nebrija and Queen Isabel, along with implications of the degrees of influence the grammarian may or may not have held with matters of forming regulations aimed at ruling the conquered population. The political ambitions of the queen can be clearly observed early on in her

³⁵ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 27.

agreement to wed Fernando and unify the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. She also skillfully mounted the *reconquista* enterprise by carefully considering the advice offered by her confessors, Hernando de Talavera and Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros, some of which resulted in edicts of expulsion and forced conversion. While she undoubtedly came to respect the advice of Nebrija, some contemporary interpretations seem to suggest her absolute unfamiliarity with connections between language, power, and the civilizing project. It has been suggested that these notions had only been introduced to her by the Humanist scholar.³⁶ In turn, the historical prestige of Nebrija is further elevated through such an analysis, consequently positioning the conquered Muslim community as a static and powerless collective of simple political subjects upon whom discriminatory legislation was leveled, by proxy, through the unenlightened and zealously pious queen. The irony of this method resides in the granting of an immense amount of individual access to the exercising of power by one historical actor who was largely unrecognized throughout the sixteenth century. Rather than falling on one side of the argument, or the other, Nebrija's influence can be located on the ground and in the form of instances in which his texts were used to construct alphabets, delegitimize local languages and vernaculars, along with carrying the echo of imperial expansion through the power of the letter.

Columbus Sends Word

³⁶ While an excellent and masterfully researched source for colonial implications with regard to Spanish imperial expansion, brief references to the relation between Nebrija and Isabel can be found in, Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd Edition (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 37-41.

After being denied funding from the Portuguese Crown to secure a western passage to the Indies for trade, and a subsequent seven years of appeals to the Catholic Monarchs, Columbus was granted the resources and blessings of Queen Isabel, perhaps due to the timing of the end of the very lengthy and expensive war with Granada. The opening dedication of Columbus's *Diario* indicates a direct link between his project and the taking of Granada as the explorer recalls the display atop the Alhambra on January 2, and the tribute paid to the Catholic Monarchs by Boabdil. "And later, in the same month, with the information that I had given to your Royal Highnesses concerning the lands of India. . . Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and loving Princes and supporters of the holy Christian faith as well as enemies of the sect of Muhammad and all idolatries and heresies, thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to those mentioned parts of India to see their princes and the people and lands at their disposal, and to implement all methods of conversion to our holy faith."³⁷ Columbus frames his voyage as an extension of the conquest of Granada and the victory by the Catholic Monarchs over the Muslims and Jews.³⁸ From these victories, and steeped in the same religious language, the explorer set out toward the Canary Islands on August 3, 1492.

Columbus confirmed the sighting of land after more than two months at sea, at two o'clock in the morning on October 12, and according to his own journal, the

³⁷ Cristóbal Colón, *Diario de a bordo I* (Barcelona: Linkgua ediciones S.L., 2007), 11. "Vuestras Altezas, como católicos cristianos y Príncipes amadores de la santa fe cristiana y acrecentadores de ella y enemigos de la secta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y herejías, pensaron a enviarme a mí, Cristóbal Colón, a las dichas partidas de India para ver los dichos príncipes, y los pueblos y tierras y la disposición de ellas y de todo y la manera que se pudiera tener para la conversieon de ellas a nuestra santa fe."

³⁸ Colón, *Diario I*, 11. "Vuestras Altezas haber dado fin a la guerra de los moros...Así que, después de haber echado fuera todos los judíos de todos vuestros reinos y señorios, en el mismo mes de enero mandaron Vuestras Altezas a mí que con armada suficiente me fuese a las dichas partidas de India."

conquest of the “new” lands began immediately through the colonial strategy of place designation. “To the first (island) that I found, I placed the name San Salvador, as a commemoration to His Highness, who has given all of this wonderfully; the Indians call it Guanahaní. To the second island I placed the name, Santa María de Concepción; to the third, Fernandina; to the fourth, Isabela; to the fifth, Juana, and so forth with a new name for each.”³⁹

Columbus tailored his letters to appeal to an authority that was interested in political expansion, economically speaking, and through religious language. The words used in illustrating the new land across the sea, and describing the “Indians,” in many ways, mirrored the linguistic project developed to marginalize and eventually expel the Jews of Spain and conquer the remaining Muslim kingdom. This political language was rooted in a Spanish Catholic theology that informed the “mental baggage” of Columbus as he hopped from island to island. His “rage of naming,” communicated through the written form, began to give shape to the political and economic project of the Crown, and would inform subsequent travelers about *how* to interpret their “findings.”⁴⁰ The specifics of such language can be examined further in Columbus’s letters.

“They should be good servants and are quite astute from what I witnessed, as they were able to repeat what I told them quickly, and I believe they will soon become

³⁹ Cristóbal Colón, *Diario de a bordo*, ed. Luis Arranz Márquez (Madrid: Editorial EDAF, S.A., 2006), 262. “A la primera que yo hallé puse nombre San Salvador, a conmemoración de Su Alta Magestad, el cual maravillosamente todo esto a dado; los Indios la llaman Gua-nahaní. A la segunda puse nombre la isla de Santa María de Concepción; a la tercera, Fernandina; a la cuarta, la Isabela; a la quinta, la isla Juana, y así a cada una nombre nuevo.”

⁴⁰ Kathryn Burns, “Unfixing Race,” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer et al. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 190. Mignolo, *Darker Side*, 288.

Christians; it seemed to me that they had no religion.”⁴¹ With the elaborate display of possession staged by the Catholic Monarchs atop the Alhambra palace in Granada still fresh in his mind, Columbus had taken possession of the island through the ritual of producing royal banners and the symbol of the cross. This act was continued at every disembarking as a visual marker of conquest for the natives as well as the Spaniards. “In all regions, islands, and lands where I entered, I always left a cross.”⁴² As the voyager’s letters reached the Iberian Peninsula and were disseminated among the literate population of Spain, which were relatively many at the time, the concept of the unknown land and its people began to form in the collective imagination of the Kingdom of Castile.⁴³

Consequently, these *epistolas*, or written accounts and copies of those accounts, reached out across the Atlantic and spurred oral narratives that also circulated extensively. As a consequence, the importance placed upon the written word was reinforced in a culture already committed to documenting the entire world around them, almost obsessively.

The transmission of the internal colonization dialogue, essential in justifying the conquest of Granada, found its way, along with the navigator, across the Atlantic Ocean.

⁴¹ Colón, *Diario I*, 24. “Ellos deben ser buenos servidores y de buen ingenio, que veo que muy presto dicen todo lo que les decía, y creo que ligeramente se harían cristianos; que me pareció que ninguna secta tenían.”

⁴² *Ibid.*, 50. “En todas las partes, islas y tierras donde entraba dejaba siempre puesta una cruz.”

⁴³ This, of course, was limited mostly to men. Due to the evangelization efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits, along with the spread of the printing press, and the Renaissance/humanist attitude toward learning written languages, a surprising number of middle to low-ranking men had access to education. This produced works from outside the intellectual élites of the Iberian Peninsula. Some examples would be Hernán Cortés’s letters, the “history” of Spanish soldier Luis Mármol de Carvajal, and the indigenous Andean, Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala. (Yolanda Fabiola Orquera, “Race” and “Class” in the Spanish Colonies of America: A Dynamic Social Perception,” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer et al. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 167-87.)

On October 29, 1492, Columbus took note of some of the native houses, choosing to call them “*alfaneques*,” and in doing so, evoked Castilian associations with the Muslim wartime campaign outposts.⁴⁴ With the immense number of words that the Admiral could have selected to describe the dwellings of the Amerindians, he chose a politically charged term that was directly connected to a war that ended only months earlier. After Columbus ordered two of his companions to scout further into the interior of the island with a native translator, a report was brought back telling of a reception by the natives in one of the larger and finest *alfaneques*. The ceremony took an interesting turn when “they received them with great solemnity, according to their custom, and everyone, men as well as women, came to see them. . .and they touched them and kissed their hands and their feet, in wonder and believing they had come from Heaven. . .The Indian who had traveled with them instructed the others in the Christian way of life and how to be good people.”⁴⁵ Absent from the account is any denial issued from the Spaniards as to the nature of their supposed divinity, followed by the assumption that conversion entailed a full embodiment of being “good people.”

It was no coincidence that, having come directly from the seizure of Granada, the act of placing names linked to a conquered people was applied from the first day of the

⁴⁴ Colón, *Diario I*, 39, 44. In a subsequent translation by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas the term “caja mora” is used to refer to the natives' houses. (Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1730), 24.) *Alfaneque* is also defined by the Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la lengua española* as, “(Del ár. hisp. **alfaráq*, y este del berb. *afraq* ‘cercado’) 1. m. desus. Tienda o pabellón de campaña.” Upon further inspection into *alfaráq* and its Arabic *jidr*, فرق, the word *alfirqa* (الفرقة) emerges, meaning troop, unit, division.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 44. “Los habían recibido con gran solemnidad, según su costumbre, y todos, así hombres como mujeres, los venían a ver. . .los tocaban y les besaban las manos y los pies, maravillándose y creyendo que venían del cielo. . .El indio que con ellos iba les notificó la manera de vivir de los cristianos cómo eran buena gente.”

“discovery.” A little more than a month after landing on the first island, not only did Columbus promise the Catholic Monarchs an abundance of gold and jewels, but he also reported the conversion project initiated in order to transform the natives into royal subjects. His project took on an important third aspect as he suggested the regulation of those who could be allowed to follow him across the Atlantic, in an obvious effort to begin monopolization of the trade routes between the old world and the new. “And I say that Your Highnesses should not consent to allowing any foreigner to set foot here, except Catholic Christians . . . that for the growth and glory of Christianity, no one who is not a good Christian is allowed to come to these parts.”⁴⁶ This suggestion was an obvious reference to the “converted” population of the Iberian Peninsula and would come to encompass the attempted barring of Protestants from crossing as well. As a result, the economic as well as religious influences in the New World would be secured by Spanish Catholic forces.

Late in his career, Columbus, having been subjected to a number of hardships, including a brief stint in jail, reflected on the people he repeatedly encountered in his “New World.” “Of all these lands, and that which is in them, there is a lack of language...Each group of people, being incredibly dense, have a different language, and it is such that they do not understand one another any better than we understand the people of Arabia.”⁴⁷ The echo of the linguistic colonial project was thus brought about full circle in the embittered late reflections that continued to imply a connection across the Atlantic,

⁴⁶ Colón, *Diario*, 59. “Y digo que Vuestras Altezas no deben consentir que aquí trate ni haga pie ningún extranjero, salvo católicos cristianos . . . que fuese por acrecentamiento y gloria de la religión cristiana, ni venir a estas partes ninguno que no sea buen cristiano.”

⁴⁷ Colón, *Cuatro viajes*, 200. “De todas estas tierras y de lo que hay en ellas, falta de lengua . . . Los pueblos, bien que sean espesos, cada uno tiene diferenciada lengua, y es en tanto que no se entienden los unos con los otros más que nos con los de Arabia.”

and between those groups that withstood the brunt of Spanish expansion. Along with a number of the early conquistadors, Columbus operated as a colonial subject himself, albeit in a position of authority, that structured the world within those imperial terms that coalesced with the *La Toma*. Contrary to the relative absence of Nebrija's *Gramática* within the larger Iberian population, the letters of Columbus circulated in such a way that supported, reinforced, and informed the conversation regarding the treatment of the conquered natives of Granada.

Talavera and the Natives of Granada

"I will not be a bishop, except for in Granada."⁴⁸ Isabel's confessor, Hernando de Talavera, was known to have made this comment on a number of occasions and was installed as the city's first archbishop with the expressed charge of converting the city's native inhabitants following the 1492 conquest. Unlike the conversion tactics used against the Jews following the 1391 pogroms, Talavera employed far less intrusive techniques in which "his humanistic talent inclined him toward pacific evangelization."⁴⁹ Efforts to instruct himself in the Arabic language, the call for translation of the catechism for the benefit of the community, and the incorporation of the *zambra* dance into the Corpus Christi festival, earned the archbishop the title of *santo alfaquí* by the locals.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Maue Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca, la convivencia negada* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2002), 69. "No seré obispo sino de Granada."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 69. "... su talante humanístico lo inclinaba hacia la evangelización pacífica."

⁵⁰ *Zambra* is a traditional celebration that often incorporated a double clarinet, woodwind instrument called, in Arabic, *zamr* (زمر). *Santo alfaquí* can be translated into something like a religious/holy wise man. *Faqīh* (فقيه) is an expert in Islamic jurisprudence, or *fiqh* (فقه).

Moreover, his letters to the clerics of his diocese encouraged nonaggressive tactics in conversion, rallying them to be “good and honest Christians.”⁵¹

Talavera’s desire for a voluntary conversion by the conquered people of Granada was an apparent manifestation of his expressed thoughts on conviction through reason and example rather than force.⁵² His tactics also honored the stipulations mandated in the *Capitulaciones* regarding the agreement to forego any and all manner of forced conversion efforts, even if this was not necessarily the archbishop’s primary concern. The details surrounding the consent by the Catholic Monarchs to abstain from mandatory conversion were themselves, quite extensive.

It is settled and agreed upon that no Muslim, man or woman, will be forced to convert to Christianity . . . It is settled and agreed upon that if any Christian man or Christian woman converted to Islam in the preceding years, no one will dare to dishonor or speak against them in any way; and if they do it, they will be punished by Your Highnesses . . . It is settled and agreed upon that if any Muslim has a Christian wife that converted to Islam, that she cannot convert back to Christianity without her own consent; and it must be in the presence of Christians and Muslims if she is asked if she wants to be a Christian; and concerning the children born of the gypsies, these rights be preserved as well . . . It is settled and agreed upon that if any married Muslim woman or widow or maiden wants to

⁵¹ J. Domínguez Bordona, “Instrucción de fray Fernando de Talavera para el régimen interior de su palacio,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* XCVI (1930): 785-835. See 790. “Ynstruir a las que de su voluntad y no por amor carnal se quisieren conuertir de todo lo que conuiene ser ynstruidas, preguntándoles primero las causas de su conuersion y sintiendo dellas ser verdad que con zelo de nuestra sancta fee vienen a ella, preponiéndoles la guarda della cumplidamente y que an de dexar de todo en todo la seta que tenían e todas sus circunstancias. Mirar que en su conuersion se guarde la capitulación que sus altezas tienen con los moros cerca desto.” A. Gallego y Burín and A. Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 163. “. . . buenos y honestos cristianos.”

⁵² Reference, Fray Hernando de Talavera, *Católica impugnación del herético libelo: maldito y descomulgado divulgado en la ciudad de Sevilla*, ed. Francisco Márquez Villanueva (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2012).

convert to Christianity due to love, that she not receive permission until questioned and reprovved according to said terms of the law.⁵³

Between the mandates of the transition of the city and the initial inclusive methods of Talavera, the Moriscos would have been looking at very minor adjustments in their daily lives, but that future would only last for about six years. The archbishop had set into motion a conversion strategy that would possibly have won over the Muslims through extended time and various generations, but the Catholic Monarchs would soon require a more rapid technique that would necessitate the initiative of the Franciscan Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros. As the influx of Old Christian immigrants to the city increased, the prioritizing of property rights, economic advantages, and secular pressures changed to benefit the incoming community.⁵⁴ From 1492 to 1499, Talavera only managed to convert a few hundred Muslims and the Monarchy revisited the notion of forced conversion that had been effective in eliminating the “Jewish

⁵³ Miguel Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada* (Granada: Tip. Lit. Paulino Ventura Traveset, 1910), 280-281. “Item es asentado e concordado que á ningund moro nin mora no fagan fuerza á que se torne cristiano nin cristiana . . . Item es asentado e concordado que si algund cristiano ó cristiana se hobieren tornado moro ó mora en los tiempos pasados, ninguna persona sea osado de los amenguar nin baldonar en cosa alguna; y que si lo hicieren que sean castigados por sus Altezas . . . Item es asentado e concordado que si algund moro toviere alguna cristiana por muger que se haya tornado mora, que no la puedan tornar cristiana sin su voluntad della; e que sea preguntada si quiere ser cristiana en presencia de cristianos e de moros; e que *en lo de* los hijos e hijas nacidos de las romías, *se guarden los términos del derecho* . . . Item es asentado e concordado que si alguna mora casada ó viuda ó doncella se quisiere tornar cristiana por amores, que non sea recibida hasta que sea preguntada e amonestada por los dichos términos del derecho.” Also refer to Carvajal, *Historia Tomo I*, 94.

⁵⁴ The term, “Old Christian,” or *viejo cristiano* developed as a way to distinguish those born of Castilian/Catholic families, as opposed to “New Christians,” *nuevos cristianos*, which constituted the Jewish and Muslim converts between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While Old Christians were granted a wider range of rights than New Christians, the most significant consequence of this division for this study is that of the *farda* tax, which was levied against the Moriscos primarily to raise revenue in defending the southern coast from Barbary corsair attacks.

problem” of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ As Julio Caro Baroja notes, “The social and economic subversion (of the incoming Castilians) was widespread from the first moments of the *conquista*,” implying that the initial *Capitulaciones* may have merely been a façade put forth to keep the early majority from rebelling.⁵⁶

What is certain is that the influence of Talavera and his practices extended out through the sixteenth century and would inform some Morisco voices, adding authoritative arguments constructed inside of the Christian narrative in order to secure rights and privileges for the minority community. It is noteworthy to comment on the “near certainty” of Talavera’s Jewish ancestry and the influence on his strategies for engaging the Muslim population of Granada.⁵⁷ His earlier publications espoused religious tolerance and his eventual summons to be presented before the Inquisition on charges of religious infidelity through crypto-Judaic practice would serve to tarnish his image of loyalty as well as his methodologies. Talavera, his sister, three nephews, and other friends, were all investigated by the *Santo Oficio*.⁵⁸ The two-year ordeal was dismissed by Pope Julio II and Talavera, along with his family, was acquitted of all charges just before his death in the same year, 1507. Although the archbishop was most certainly a devout Catholic, the Inquisition trial may be interpreted as testimony to his Judeo-

⁵⁵ “La cuestión judía.” This was the term used to address policy making concerning the Jewish population of Spain, which was later adopted for the Muslims of Granada as the “cuestión morisca.”

⁵⁶ Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, S.A., 2000), 42. “La subversión social y económica fue muy grande ya desde el primer momento de la conquista.”

⁵⁷ David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 83-4. Also see Coleman's reference notes 36-9 on page 214 concerning Talavera's supposed Jewish origin.

⁵⁸ Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 72.

Converso past and would help to explain his *modus operandi* as an empathetic personality in the conversion project of the new, Christian Granada.

Revolt, Defeat, and the Beginnings of Ambiguous Action

As property and economic rights shifted to the advantage of the immigrant population, along with increases in taxation leveled against the Muslim community, a growing sense of desperation, frustration, and anger developed in the wider native population. The implementation of the *farda* tax serves as an illustrative example in that it was imposed on the Muslim community following the conquest of 1492, and extended to include the converted population after the forced conversions of 1500-1501. Other fiscal impositions under which the Moriscos found themselves benefited some 9,000 élite Old Christian immigrant families, by assisting them in maintaining a lifestyle of relative luxury. Positions of local administration, such as those of the *alguaciles*, were also financed by taxes extracted from the conquered population.⁵⁹ Rather than being a sort of medieval vestige of fiscal design, the deliberate separation between Old and New Christians by economic distinction served to further establish the authority of the new rulers. As Galán Sánchez has posited, the intensifying fiscal discrimination, especially following the death of Queen Isabel in 1504, played a part in the political cohesion of the conquered population.⁶⁰

The tensions developing in native community were further exasperated by the increased activity of Cisneros in the city's political arena, circumventing the presence and authority of Talavera. News of the intensifying harsh treatment of imprisoned Muslim

⁵⁹ Refer to footnote 18 for an explanation of the term *alguacil*.

⁶⁰ Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición: Los granadinos de mudéjares a moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010), 33-37.

agitators by the intruding archbishop spilled into the streets of the Albaycín, which by 1498, was segregated from the Christian quarter of the city, furthering the sense of hostile isolation.⁶¹ An uprising erupted in the neighborhood on December 18, 1499, which resulted in the death of a Christian *alguacil* and the subsequent involvement of the Captain General and Count of Tendilla, Iñigo López de Mendoza.⁶² The uprising in the Albaycín was quickly and violently put down but the flames of discontent quickly spread into the surrounding villages of the Alpujarras Mountains.

In this time, those of the Albaycín made great efforts to block it (the conversion tactics of Cisneros) and sent word to the Sultan of Egypt complaining that they were being forced to convert to Christianity, and they appealed to him that he would show them favor by sending his ambassador to Spain with the understanding that he (the Sultan) would do the same to those Christians in his empire, compelling them to become Muslims. And the Sultan sent his ambassadors to the Catholic Monarchs telling them not to bother with forcing the surrendered Muslims to become Christians: and if this was done in Spain, he would do likewise in all of Asia with the Christian subjects of his empire.⁶³

⁶¹ These agitators were referred to as “*helches*.” The division of the city into respective Muslim and Christian sectors was the result of an agreement reached between Mudéjar and Christian leaders in 1498, that served to maintain not just physical boundaries in the space of Granada, but also limit social interaction. While a complex enterprise, some of the anxiety surrounding interactions between the Muslim natives and Christian immigrants involved sexual activity and the threat to traditions of agnatic succession prevalent in both communities. Reference, Coleman, *Christian Granada*, 50-72.

⁶² Here I’ve translated Manuel Barrios Aguilera’s “*amotinamiento*,” along with other historical accounts of the event, as “uprising,” rather than “riot.” This is primarily due to the connotation that a “riot” is essentially an unruly group of uncontrollable brutes causing chaos and violence without any clear objective. Translational moments such as these may serve in granting historical legitimacy to those groups who are often under-represented, or even depicted as barbarous, when, as is the case here, it was an organized reaction to an intensified threat against survival in many aspects. (Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 72.)

⁶³ Carvajal, *Historia*, 122. “En el qual tiempo los del Albaycin hicieron grandes diligencias para estorvarlo, y enviaron al Soldan de Egipto quejandose que les querian hacer que fuesen Christianos por fuerza, y suplicandole que les favoreciese con enviar su embaxada á España, dando á entender que haria él lo mesmo con los Christianos que

This appeal to the “Sultan of Egypt” reveals a fascinating clue into two key aspects of local life for the Muslim population in Granada during this period.⁶⁴ The first, that the conditions under which this community found itself had worsened so much in the final years of the fifteenth century, a supplication sent to the furthest reaches of the Mediterranean was felt necessary. The second was that this cross-regional interconnection existed and was evidently utilized frequently enough to warrant such an intimate request. Not only did the relatively small and remote community of Muslims from the former Western Umayyad Caliphate maintain contact with the wider Islamic world, it also had the ability to voice itself through to the upper-most echelons of Castilian politics. The sixteenth-century historian, Luis del Mármol Carvajal noted that the Catholic Monarchs themselves received the Egyptian ambassadors very well, responding that “they did not want Christians by force, nor did they want Muslims in their kingdoms due to the lack of security they could have regarding their loyalty, and to those who voluntarily converted, they were treated very well and with mercy; and to those that wanted to go to North Africa, they were given the right to do so, and

tenia en su imperio, compeliendolos á que fuesen Moros. Y el Soldan envió sus embaxadores á los Reyes Catholicos, diciendo que no se sufria hacer fuerza á los Moros rendidos para que fuesen Christianos: y que si esto se hacia en España, haria él otro tanto en toda Asia con los Christianos subditos de su imperio.”

⁶⁴ The date this appeal was issued coincides with the tumultuous years of uncertain succession following the death of the Mamluk Sultan, Qaitbay (r. 1468-1496) leading up to the reign of the penultimate Mamluk Sultan, Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghawri (r. 1501-1516). Reference, L.P. Harvey, “The Moriscos and their International Relations,” in *L’Expulsió dels Moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià. Congrés Internacional 380è Aniversari de l’Expulsió dels Moriscos* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994), 135-139. And, Peter van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, “Islam in Spain during the Early Sixteenth Century: The Views of the Four Chief Judges in Cairo (Introduction, Translation, and Arabic Text)” in *Orientations: Poetry, Politics and Polemics, Cultural Transfer Between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, ed. Otto Zwartjes, et al. (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1994), 137-138.

permission to sell their goods, furnishings, and estates, and they were sent away with security to those ports where they wanted to go.”⁶⁵

Undoubtedly, this constituted a fair and just set of options for the conquered peoples, according to the Castilian authorities. The disregard for any consideration that most of the families in Granada were, by all definitions, natives whose property had been passed on for centuries through the agnatic succession traditions prevalent in Muslim societies, reflects the overwhelmingly popular notion of divinely mandated Christian right and history. Of course, this would also constitute the construction of a religious language that conformed to the political and economic interests of Castilian authority and opportunistic immigrants. The very authority that was derived by incoming élites and royalty following the fall of Granada was, in fact, validated by the conviction of a mythically uninterrupted Christian teleology that reached across space and time, from the reign of the last Visigoth King of the southern Iberian Peninsula, Rodrigo, to the Catholic Monarchs, who were seen as simply carrying on the true divine narrative of Granada.

The First Rebellion and Its Leader

The complex socio-political situation in Granada following the conquest of 1492 is embodied through the fascinating historical figure of Ibrahim ibn Umayya, the leader of the First Alpujarras Uprising of 1500. Belonging to the prestigious Umayya family, one of the élite Muslim lineages of the mountains surrounding Granada, Ibrahim maintained a position of influence among his community. As the Castilians began the political and

⁶⁵ Carvajal, *Historia*, 122. “. . . ellos no querian Christianos por fuerza, ni menos querian tener Moros en su reynos, por la poca seguridad que se podia tener de su lealtad; y que á los que de grado se convertian, se les hacia todo bien y merced; y á los que se querian ir á Berbería, les daban lugar para ello, y licencia para vender sus bienes, muebles y raices, y los enviaban con toda seguridad á los puertos donde querian ir.”

economic transition of the kingdom in the final decade of the fifteenth century, Ibn Umayya would have negotiated his own position in response to the myriad of administrative exchanges transpiring between his fellow *hombres de linaje*, or the élite Muslim men of Granada, and the incoming local, royal, and church authorities.⁶⁶ The Umayya family was widely recognized as directly descended from the Córdoba Caliphate of Abd al-Rahman III, which carried with it an implicit connection to the clan of the Prophet Muhammad.⁶⁷ This guaranteed a strong following during the months of unrest in the Alpujarras as Ibrahim, the “king,” rallied against the increased oppression and violation of the *Capitulaciones* by the local government.⁶⁸

The details surrounding the First Alpujarras Uprising are not as comprehensively recorded as those of the second, but for the aims of the present project it is the outcomes following the defeat of the rebellion that are important, as they shed some light on Morisco activity in the city and beyond. Here, Ibrahim ibn Umayya will be used as one example of many to illustrate the various ways in which the conquered and subjugated peoples of Granada managed and navigated between fabricated political, religious, and cultural boundaries. Through the correspondence shared between Ibn Umayya and Íñigo López de Mendoza, the same Captain General who had been charged with subduing the Albaycín uprising, the relation of the rebel leader to the wider Morisco community along

⁶⁶ “Men of noble lineage.”

⁶⁷ Carvajal, *Historia*, 251. Ginés Pérez de Hita, *La guerra de los moriscos (segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998), 11. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1970), 120.

⁶⁸ Carmen Trillo San José, *La Alpujarra antes y después de la Conquista Castellana* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994), 325. “En Válor era alguacil, en los años finales del siglo XV, Abrahén Aben Umeya, cabecilla – *los rebeldes lo nombran rey* –, más tarde, de la rebelión alpujarreña de 1500.” (My emphasis.)

with the Castilian authorities can be shown to have entailed highly complex and seemingly contradictory elements at times.

As part of the early strategy to maintain control over the majority Muslim population of Granada and the Alpujarras, the Crown had granted the already well-established native elite families similar positions of power to those they under Nasrid rule, offering them a type of lateral transition into the newly established Castilian polity. In fact, according to records of the time, there were no more than four hundred seventy Christian inhabitants of Granada up to 1495, so the delicate act of balancing colonial rule of a community that not only exceeded the Castilians in number, but were also clandestinely carrying firearms, was at the center of early policy making.⁶⁹ As a part of this strategy, the Crown granted the title of *alguacil* to a number of highly influential male members of elite Muslim families.⁷⁰ This title included political governance of smaller regions throughout the former Kingdom of Granada, called *ta'as*, or Tahas, which were typically the areas in which these elite men held their ancestral properties, and in which they were already well-established and recognized as authority figures.⁷¹ Accordingly, this entitlement included a fairly comfortable salary, along with influence in the wider political arena of the city of Granada. This participation was amplified under conditions of voluntary conversion to Christianity, which would usually be rewarded with a raise in pay, possible extension of territorial control, and consideration for position on

⁶⁹ Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad*, 25. The ban on firearms for Granada's Muslims came as a surprise when, in 1492, Fernando rescinded the agreement after entering the city.

⁷⁰ An excellent study of some of those elite Muslim men who were granted this title can be found in, Sánchez, *Una sociedad*, Chapter 3, "La difícil construcción de una sociedad mixta: De la emigración a la integración," 105-125.

⁷¹ *Taha* is the Hispanicization of the Arabic, قطع or قطعة, (qaṭʿ/quṭʿa) from the meaning "to divide," and its derivative of a designated piece of land. In the Spanish, the 'q' has been eliminated leaving only 'ta.'

the *veintiquatria*, or city council of noblemen.⁷² Voluntary conversion before the uprising of 1499, along with the subsequent forced baptisms of Cisneros, carried a social, political, and economic shift in emphasizing the category of Old Christian, or *viejo cristiano*.⁷³ While this label carried a distinction that allowed nearly unfettered access for the “former” Muslims to climb the Castilian socio-political ladder, it would come to play a much more vital role of survival following the violence of 1499-1501.

Ibrahim ibn Umayya was granted all of these privileges and power, yet this only occurred after his involvement as the “king” of the rebellion of the Alpujarras in 1500. Unlike some influential and outspoken leaders of the Muslim community prior to the revolt, such as Zegrí Azaator, in whom Archbishop Cisneros took a special interest, personally incarcerating and extensively torturing him until his conversion, Ibn Umayya experienced an unprecedented extension of “royal mercy.”⁷⁴ This can be traced to his close ties within the upper levels of the Castilian political sphere, especially with the Morisco sympathizer, Íñigo López de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla. The count was always attentive to mention his relationship with the former “rebel,” frequently claiming, “. . . always, Don Hernando (de Córdoba) . . . has been my friend,” and upon further inspection of Mendoza’s letters, it becomes evident that Hernando de Córdoba y Valor, once known as Ibrahim ibn Umayya, leader of the Alpujarras Uprising, quickly ascended

⁷² Refer to footnote 6.

⁷³ Refer to footnote 54.

⁷⁴ Carvajal, *Historia*, 114-115. A fascinating detail to this account is that Zegrí along with his descendants became avid and outspoken objectors to Morisco action against the secular and religious authorities. “Royal mercy,” or *real merced*, was considered one of the highest honors bestowed directly from the Crown.

into a lofty position of substantial power in Granada.⁷⁵ Evident in the multiple letters drafted by López de Mendoza, were the titles bestowed upon Hernando. “Hernando de Córdoba, alguacil of Válor . . . Hernando de Córdoba, alguacil of the Taha de Jubiles of this city of Granada . . . Hernando de Córdoba, *veinticuatro* of Granada . . .”⁷⁶

This series of letters indicates a continual increase in prestige for Hernando as the first position allowed him political jurisdiction over his hometown and region of Válor, followed by the bestowing of governance over the larger Taha de Jubiles. Accordingly, his property, houses, and goods were restored, along with annual increases in his salary and gifts. Finally, Hernando’s induction into the newly formed *veinticuatria* of Granada, a lifetime appointment as a member of the city council consisting of twenty-four aldermen, two general mayors, one *alguacil*, and twenty jurors, formally allowed his influence on policy-making in the city, which would hypothetically affect the entire community.⁷⁷ In the case of opening a position such as this to a former rebel, a *real merced* would be required from the Catholic Monarchs themselves, and so, one was granted to Hernando on August 31, 1501.⁷⁸ This placed Ibn Umayya in a position of great mobility following the dissolution of the rebellion and forced conversions as the count of Tendilla also proclaimed him as “the greatest vassal the King had and most helpful in the

⁷⁵ Emilio Meneses García, ed., *Correspondencia del conde de Tendilla, II (1510-1513)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974), 53. “. . . sienpre don Herrnando . . . a sido mi amigo . . .”

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 53, 145, 558. “Herrnando de Cordova, alguazil de Bálor . . . Herrnando de Cordova, alguazil de la Taha de Subiles de esta çibdad de Granada . . . Herrnando de Cordova, veinticuatro de Granada . . .”

⁷⁷ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, “Mudéjares y repobladores en el Reino de Granada (1485-1501),” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 13 (1992): 62-63.

⁷⁸ Francisco José Cano Hila, “Apuntes históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Válor,” *FARUA* 12 (2009): 5. Also refer to M.A. Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad: el primer libro de actas del cabildo de Granada (1497-1502)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005), 460.

security of the land . . . with the most devotion in aiding me with securing this piece of the Alpujarras which comprises the majority of the kingdom.”⁷⁹ Perhaps most importantly for the Córdoba y Valor family, this appointment relocated them into the same social position of Old Christian standing, effectively absolving them of additional levies such as the *farda* tax. Ibn Umayya’s son would therefore carry the Christian name of Hernando (Fernando) de Córdoba and inherit membership into the government of Granada, along with his descendants.

This radical shift, from rebel leader to Old Christian within a matter of two years, entreats further analysis regarding the nature of those forming categories to which the Moriscos of Granada were subjected. The story of Ibrahim ibn Umayya serves to demonstrate the highly nuanced socio-cultural performance that could be enacted by those individuals and groups, not only interested in remaining within their ancestral homelands, but residing in such a way that afforded relative comfort. This performance of identity negotiation reveals a dynamic and variable mode of reconstituting the self through conversion and operative participation in the act of *being* Castilian/Catholic. Further elaboration into what David Nirenberg designated as, the “violent destabilization of traditional categories,” will open up the discussion into mounting suspicions of those converted Moriscos, through the sixteenth century.⁸⁰

The Converted Menace

⁷⁹ Meneses García, *Correspondencia*, 382. “No dexo de dezir y avisar que don Herrnando a sido el mejor servidor quel rey a tenido y mas provechoso a la seguridad de la tierra, y el que con mas lealtad me ayudado a tener seguro ese pedaço de las Alpuxarras ques lo principal deste reino.”

⁸⁰ David Nirenberg, “Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth Century Spain,” *Past and Present* 174 (2002): 6.

The unstable political conditions that predated the Castilian conquest, in the form of unrest between the final Muslim rulers of Granada, had undoubtedly already placed the inhabitants of the region in a position of anxiety, which was then aggravated by the profound rupture of immigrant conquest, presence, and surveillance. The violence of the 1499 uprising provided a legitimate justification, in the eyes of Archbishop Cisneros, to implement the forced conversion of the Muslim community, thus formally withdrawing the original *Capitulaciones* of 1492 and drafting a series of new laws requiring the Christianization of all inhabitants. On 12 October 1501, a royal charter required all books, documents, contracts, and religious texts written in Arabic to be burned, which was primarily carried out in the town center plaza of Bib Rambla.⁸¹ This was followed by the royal decree of expulsion for all Muslims that resisted conversion, on 12 February 1502.⁸² The very term “Morisco” designated all those that chose to stay under the new edict as converted Christians, and was the shortened colloquial variant of something akin to “Muslim-like Christian.”⁸³ Of course, this designation would continue to haunt the former Muslim community throughout the sixteenth century, much as “Converso” marked the fourteenth-century Spanish Jew as “not quite Christian.” This repeatedly played a vital role in the persecution of the converted population through the creation of a taxonomic marker that situated the subject somewhere *between* the word Christian, and the “true” meaning of the concept.

⁸¹ This was one of a number of periodic searches and seizures of works in Arabic to be burned throughout the sixteenth century in Granada. Bib Rambla, or Bibrambla is the Hispanicization of the Arabic for “gate of the riverbed,” باب الرملة

⁸² Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 76.

⁸³ The prefix of the word, being “mor” of course refers to Muslim (Moor), while “-isco/a” is an adjectival modifier.

Following the death of Isabel in 1504, Queen Juana I began issuing royal provisions in repeated efforts to suppress various Morisco customs in 1511, 1513, and 1523, respectively. According to Barrios Aguilera, this was a systematic endeavor to “destroy the social cohesion of the newly converted,” but the native community found its hero in the Morisco and former page of Hernando de Talavera, Francisco Núñez Muley.⁸⁴ As the unofficial representative of the marginalized converts, in 1513, 1518, 1523 and 1526, and for various purposes, Muley earned the reputation as an effective mediator between the Christian lawmakers and the ever increasing disenfranchised Morisco population.⁸⁵ His persistent appearances and persuasive techniques in the local courts of Granada paid off with the suspension of many prohibitions, including a crucial forty-year “grace period” that stayed the enforcement of a comprehensive royal charter signed by Emperor Carlos V in 1526.⁸⁶ This “grace period” was only approved once the larger Morisco community consented to pay out the initial immense sum of 90,000 ducats, followed by a yearly tariff of 21,000 ducats, which would span the entire four decades.⁸⁷ While the details of the charter will be illustrated further on, as they were reintroduced in 1566, the statutes dictated a severe limitation and prohibition of cultural practices that

⁸⁴ Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 280. “. . . destruir la cohesión social de los nuevamente convertidos . . .”

⁸⁵ Maintaining cultural interests for the *moriscos* (Fernando the Catholic, 1513), appeal to the Marqués de Mondéjar (1518), the lifting of restrictions placed on *moriscos* with regard to baptisms, weddings and the profession of butcher (1523), appeal against the first overall sanctioning against *morisco* culture, purchase of 40 year grace period from Carlos V (1526). (Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Madrid: ISTMO, 2000), 159.)

⁸⁶ Reference Mármol Carvajal’s account of the assembling of Carlos V, “estimados theologos,” various military commanders, Inquisition officials and the royal secretary, in Granada “para reformacion de los Moriscos” in the *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada: Libro Segundo, Capitulo II* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797).

⁸⁷ Coleman, *Christian Granada*, 7.

carried any sort of connotation that could not be defined as having Castilian, Christian roots.

Concurrently, during this period, local Castilian military activity throughout Granada increased in aggression against the Morisco community. As Galán Sánchez has noted, the Moriscos of Granada, La Vega, and the Alpujarras were confronted frequently with outright extortion in relation to the leasing of property. In some cases it was reported that commissaries along with treasurers and *alguaciles* would force their way into homes in order to wrest remittances that had already been paid in full. Not only were these abuses prevalent in the city but they were also quite common in the Alpujarras, far from the reach of the judicial arm of the Granadan council, where the Moriscos even faced occasional theft by Christian soldiers. These injustices perpetrated by the Old Christian community also extended to the increase in the taxation of goods that directly affected the New Christians. The excessive inflation of levies on the marginalized community served to contribute to the already unstable relation between the communities of Granada and, as Garrad and Galán Sánchez have observed, played a significant role leading up to the second Alpujarras revolt.⁸⁸

The intensification of the hostile living conditions imposed on the converted population of Granada was precipitated by various measures of divisive strategies. Not only was the community confronted with repeated efforts in implementing edicts of prohibition, but it also faced an increasingly suspicious Inquisition. The activity of Granada's Inquisition, between the years 1529 and 1568, escalated in interest concerning the New Christians and turned its efforts toward rooting out heresy within the

⁸⁸ Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad*, 210. See pages 201-12.

community.⁸⁹ Bernard Vincent has noted that the 1560s constituted the most relentlessly oppressive period for Moriscos, which directly contributed to the eruption of the Second Alpujarras Uprising.⁹⁰ From 1560 to 1571 the percentage of Moriscos tried and convicted by the Inquisition relative to the total number of those sentenced came to 82.1%, while the records of seizure of goods between 1550 and 1570 reveal that seventy Moriscos were arrested and prosecuted per year.⁹¹ The heightened efforts of the Spanish Inquisition in searching out crypto-Muslims, especially during the 1560s, were due to the decrees stemming from the Council of Trent, which drew to a close in 1564 after three decades. Eager to enforce the revised definitions of true Christian conduct as dictated by the council, the Castilian authorities focused on the remaining un-assimilated group; *los moriscos*. The result of the Inquisition yielded what many of the Christian authorities had suspected, that many Moriscos had not in fact, truly converted and were practicing their heretical rituals behind closed doors.⁹²

Borrowing from preceding edicts issued by Juana I and Carlos V and designed to fracture the social cohesion of the Morisco community through cultural limitations, in

⁸⁹ “Heresy” by this point had expanded dramatically, by definition, to include Islam and Protestantism.

⁹⁰ Bernard Vincent, “Le Tribunal de Grenade,” in *Les Morisques et l'Inquisition*, ed. Louis Cardaillac (Paris: Editions Publisud, 1990), 203. “La période de répression la plus implacable fut celle qui précéda le soulèvement des Alpujarras...La décennie 1560-1570 correspond au paroxysme et l'Inquisition a largement contribué à creuser un fossé infranchissable.”

⁹¹ Vincent, “Tribunal,” 202. Louis Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979), 105.

⁹² Demographically speaking, Bernard Vincent indicates that the vast majority of the Moriscos targeted by the Inquisition between 1550-1570 consisted of “gens modestes,” while there were less instances of the poor due to their required labor and services to the elite. Moriscos of high standing constituted a very small percentage of those brought before the *Tribunal*, while 38.6% of all the Moriscos examined were women. (Vincent, “Tribunal,” 212-14.)

November of 1566 a royal charter was drafted and ratified by Felipe II in 1567 that explicitly prohibited all forms of spoken and written Arabic, granting the members of the community a period of three years to learn Castilian. It erased all family names derived from Arabic as well as markers of native Granadan descent such as, donning traditional garb, the use of henna, the performance of customary music, the use of public bath houses, the possession of slaves, and the celebration of weddings outside of Christian ceremony, and included details outlining each prohibition. Important to this charter was the reaffirmation of the prohibition of firearms, which indicates that the Muslim, or rather Morisco, community clearly did not observe the original edict promulgated by Fernando, in 1492.⁹³ The renewal of what were essentially the 1526 prohibitions of Carlos V was spearheaded in part by the newly appointed President of the Royal Audiencia, Pedro de Deza, who continued to play a crucial role throughout this tumultuous period in Granada.

A particularly damaging consequence of the charter resulted in an economic blow to the natives of Granada at the hands of the incoming Christians. This involved the nullification of all contracts written in Arabic, and the concomitant dissolution of property rights. This, in turn, allowed immigrants to seize land, houses, and places of business belonging to Moriscos. All the more stressing was the fact that this was all happening under great pressure from the Inquisition, as outlined earlier. As recorded by Luis del Mármol Carvajal, the historian who was present during the Alpujarras uprising and expulsion, Núñez Muley's famous *Memoria* against the 1566 charter was presented as a speech, vocalized in the court of Pedro de Deza. Carvajal's comments regarding

⁹³ Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos*, 158-159. Also reference, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010), 60.

Núñez Muley reveal a shared respect for the man, which would have granted significant leverage to his appeal. “Francisco Núñez Muley, who, due to his age and experience, had much practice in this business, and had negotiated at other times with past Kings in the years before . . .”⁹⁴

The *Memoria*, a concise, pragmatic, but respectful defense against the prohibitions put into place by the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court, attempted to demonstrate the separation of Arabo-Islamic language and customs from the practice of Islam as a religion, and did so by situating those prohibited elements as inconsequential and without connection to religious practice. The careful construction of the argument against the intrusive and antagonistic decrees can be seen in his choice of words. Núñez Muley opened the treatise by overtly situating the Morisco as a “native” of the territory, and so, implied a natural dichotomy based on historical right that favored the minority group.⁹⁵ Language such as, “the naturals of this kingdom” and “the aforementioned naturals” provided a repeated appeal to historical legitimacy, especially when directly connected to Núñez Muley’s accusations that the initial treaty signed by the Catholic Kings had been violated in that there would be no forced conversions.⁹⁶ Not only did

⁹⁴ Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada* (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), 151-2. “un Morisco caballero llamado Francisco Nuñez Muley, que por edad y experiencia tenia mucha practica de aquel negocio, y lo habia tratado otras veces en tiempo de los Reyes pasados . . .” (The first publishing in 1600 was written as a response to the *Guerra de Granada* by Diego de Hurtado de Mendoza which was disseminated and used as a reference among Spanish intellectuals but not published until 1627.)

⁹⁵ Native/Immigrant.

⁹⁶ Núñez Muley, “Memoria,” 206-207. “los *naturales* deste rreyno . . . los dichos *naturales* . . . No creo que ay memoria que de nynguno deste rreyno que se acuerde de tal pacto y conueniencia, lo qual no auido ni creo que parecera por escripto, porque la conversion de los dichos *naturales* deste Reyno fue por fuerça y contra lo capitulado por

Núñez Muley evoke the status of “natural” but he also pushed against the supposed rationale of the charter, by calling upon the dual authoritative positions of Christians in the holy land of Jerusalem. “The Catholic Christians of the holy house of Jerusalem and all of *our Kingdom of Christians*, speak in the Arabic language, and they write their evangelical books and all manner of science or wisdom that they have, and laws and everything that is connected with Christianity, writings, and contracts (in Arabic), but what is not found in this kingdom are texts, contracts, or testaments in Arabic, like the charter claims.”⁹⁷

Here, Núñez Muley masterfully underlined the separation between religion and cultural practice in the attempt to secure the traditions directly threatened by the 1566 edict. He maintained that the converted population of Granada preserved and honored its commitment to Christianity, stating, “the (Arabic) language is not linked to the sect (Islam), nor the sect to it.”⁹⁸ Ultimately, the project of the *Memoria* was to construct a defense of maintaining communal traditions based on the juxtaposition of what constituted religious practice and local custom. Núñez Muley’s remarks, voiced in the sixteenth century, reveal a fascinating example of the modern formation of the religious/secular binary. While religion and culture were not so clearly defined as distinctive, the revolutionary dimension of the *Memoria* resides in the very construction of that boundary as a response to early western notions of sanctioned/unsanctioned

los Reyes Catolicos...y que no les tornasen cristianos.”(Núñez Muley, “Memoria,” 206-7.)

⁹⁷ Núñez Muley, “Memoria,” 232. “Los cristianos catolicos de la casa santa de jerusalen e todo nuestro rreyno de cristianos hablan en lengua araviga y escriven sus libros de evangelios o qualquier çiençia o sabiduria que tienen y leyes y todo lo que toca a la cristiandad y escrituras y contratos, lo que no se hallara que en este rreyno se aya hecho scritura ni contrato ni testamento en aravigo como la prematica lo dize.”

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 232. “no toca la lengua a la seta ni contra ella.”

practice and social participation. By highlighting these “differences,” Núñez Muley built an argument that relied on the clear demonstration of adherence to Catholic practice by the Morisco community, exposing the true agenda of the discriminatory legislation. “The natives” of Granada were presented in such a way that attempted to authorize their “not-quite-Christian” status, by appealing to nascent ideas of what we now call nationalism.

The authority of Núñez Muley’s language not only resides in the “native” status of the Moriscos, but he himself acts as the embodiment of that very status. As a “privileged actor” it is worth mentioning that the “voice” of the marginalized community of Granada belonged to an élite class of Moriscos that were inclined toward conversion before the mandates of Cisneros.⁹⁹ Without negating the religious element of conversion in this instance, the primary motivating factors that contributed to the transition for these élite families rested on political agendas and the assurance of status preservation.¹⁰⁰ Some, such as the Granada-Venegas family, could be interpreted as “collaborators” due to their seemingly unwavering loyalty to the conquering Christian royalty, but the actions of Núñez Muley, a member of the influential Muley Fez family, denote a more complex attitude taken toward concepts of conversion, cooperation, and identity management. The life and *Memoria* of Núñez Muley can be examined as an attempt to preserve certain religious and cultural elements that eventually constituted its own distinct identity that neither worked directly against the conquering forces, nor completely assimilated.

⁹⁹ Vincent, “Et quelques voix de plus,” 136. “Il est la mémoire de la communauté parce qu’il est âgé et parce qu’il a été un *acteur privilégié* de la convivance.”

¹⁰⁰ Refer to, García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, 79. “La conversión religiosa por parte de individuos pertenecientes a la élite y que deseaban seguir perteneciendo a ella en un cambio de situación o de deslizamiento de la frontera política, fue muy frecuente.”

Echoing the growing concerns surrounding lineage that took on a more distinct role during the fifteenth century due to the “Jewish problem,” Núñez Muley delivered a strong argument against the denial of familial names for Moriscos. The strategic maneuver to eliminate the Arabic names of the Moriscos denotes the intentional effort, by Castilian authorities, to weaken social bonds through the denial of “legitimate” lineage rights. The Morisco community still depended on the recognition of family and lineage for marriages, contracts, and social associations, as was customary according to the Islamic tradition. This, in essence, was a vital component of the identity of the collective group and the act of outlawing Arabic surnames would serve to erase memory. Again, Núñez Muley displayed his *savoir faire* in dealing with the Christian authorities by attempting to appeal to the dangerous decree of eliminating Arabic surnames, while reinforcing the New Christians’ commitment to the Church. “So, concerning the Morisco surname, how are the people to distinguish and understand how to treat one another with Castilian surnames, and not lose themselves in the people and the Morisco lineages? They will not know with whom to communicate, nor do business, nor marry without knowing the family lineage. What does it serve in wanting them to lose such memories through customs and clothing, just as with surnames and all I have mentioned before?”¹⁰¹

At this point, Núñez Muley was well acquainted with the machinations of the Christian authorities and his appeal is loaded with subtle vitriolic remarks that would surely have been detected by some listeners and readers. These comments are quickly

¹⁰¹ Núñez Muley, “Memoria,” 229. “Pues que lo que toca en el sobrenombre morisco, como se an de conoçer la gente y tratar con los sobrenombres castellanos, e no mas perderse an las personas y los linajes moriscos, no sabran con quien tratan ni conpran ni casan no conoçiendo el linaxe de rrayz; pues de que se sirve querer perderse tales memorias así en los abitos o traxes como en los sobrenombres, como en todo lo susodicho?”

followed by an appeal to the decisions made by the Catholic Kings in preserving the past memory of Granada as a sign of victory. “Doesn’t it seem to Your Most Revered Highness that there are great lessons in keeping these memories, to show the diverse ways in which these kingdoms were won by the Royal Monarchs? And this was the intention of the Royal Monarchs in protecting this kingdom in the same way I and the past archbishops protect it; and the emperors and Catholic Monarchs had this intention and desire in protecting the memories of the royal houses of the Alhambra and other memories such that they stay in the same form they were during the time of the Muslim kings, so that what Their Highnesses had won would be displayed clearly.”¹⁰²

Once again, Núñez Muley is shown to have a firm command of the nuances regarding narrative construction, by tying in the preservation of “Morisco culture” to notions of conquest and the preservation of that victorious memory. Evoked in his *Memoria* is the historical importance of the Crusades and *reconquista* in the larger Christian/Mediterranean narrative that authorized the mission toward world sovereignty by Catholic royalty. The shrewd nature of such an appeal would not have been lost upon the Christian authorities listening, but their interpretations would take on Núñez Muley’s proposal as a call for the display of Catholic/Castilian superiority through the wider Mediterranean. In turn, the Morisco community would be granted, at least a temporarily renewed period of relative social mobility and freedoms. Most likely, this was what

¹⁰² Núñez Muley, “Memoria,” 229-30. “No le paresçe a vuestra señoria reverendisima que quedar esta memorias ay grandes enseñamientos de los Reyes que ganaron estos Reynos, de ver las diversas maneras que ganaron? Y esta fue la yntinçion de los Reyes catolicos en anparar este rreyno en la manera que lo anparo y los arcobispos pasados; y esta yntinçion e voluntad tuvieron los enperadores e reyes catolicos en anparar las memorias de las casas rreales de la alhanbra y otras memorias tales que quedasen en la misma forma que heran en tienpo de los rreys moros, para que se manifestase los que ganaron sus altesas y se paresçeria mas claro.”

Núñez Muley was hoping for and it must have been quite a shock when the Royal Audiencia struck down his appeal, making it the first supplication by the aging Morisco scholar to be denied since 1513.¹⁰³

Hidden Practice

“But on the inside, they abhorred the bondage of the Christian religion, secretly indoctrinating and teaching one another the rites and ceremonies of the sect of Muhammad.”¹⁰⁴ What has become a somewhat attractive theme for scholars in the discussion surrounding Morisco action and reaction in post-conquest Granada, is that of *taqiyya*.¹⁰⁵ The exercise of *taqiyya* by the crypto-Muslim community is a concept rooted in the Qur’an and developed by the persecuted Shī’ah minority under Sunni rule in the eighth century.¹⁰⁶ Usually translated as “dissimulation,” it stipulates that any Muslim individual or community in immediate danger due to religious beliefs is allowed to feign the acceptance of the imposed practice in the interest of self-preservation. In response to questions posed by the Granadan Morisco community concerning the practice of Islam, after the forced conversions of Cisneros, Ahmad ibn Abu Yuma’a, a *muftī* of Orán issued a two-part *fatwā* in 1504 reiterating the foundational principles of Islam and details on

¹⁰³ Refer to footnote 85.

¹⁰⁴ Carvajal, *Historia*, 128. “. . . en lo interior aborrecian el yugo de la religion christiana, y de secreto se doctrinaban y enseñaban unos á otros en los ritos y cerimonias de la secta de Mahoma.”

¹⁰⁵ Further information regarding *taqiyya* (تقية) can be found in Louis Cardaillac's *Moriscos y cristianos*, 85-118, Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 43-45, as well as the historiographical article addressing those scholars actively involved in the conversation regarding *taqiyya* by Maria del Mar Rosa-Rodriguez, “Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa,” *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): 143-180.

¹⁰⁶ *Sūrah* 3:28.

adhering to *taqiyya* under the Christian authorities.¹⁰⁷ Within the *fatwā*, the Moriscos are reminded of the basic tenants of Islam such as, *tawhid*, *wudu*, along with examples of *haram*, as a reinforcement of those beliefs and practices which are then “allowed” to be concealed.¹⁰⁸

The second part of the *fatwā* then outlines those exceptions granted to the Morisco community regarding the practice of Christianity under the scrutiny of the Castilian rulers. Essentially all prohibitions which Muslims are required to observe, such as the denial of Muhammad’s prophetic status, the consumption of pork and wine, prayer to and adoration of the “idols” of Christianity, referring to the anthropomorphic representations of God as Jesus of Nazareth, etc., were temporarily suspended as long as the Moriscos were in the perceived danger of execution. At the root of the *fatwā* rested the call for subtle action by means of recognizing traditional Islamic practices such as performing ablution at night, behind closed doors, or “negating with the heart what you say with your words.”¹⁰⁹ In fact, the *muftī* of Orán situated the true intention of those under Christian rule within the heart. “God does not care about your external actions, but rather the intention of your hearts.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Muftī* (مفتي), is an Islamic scholar and expert in *ṣarī‘ah* and *fiqh*. *Fatwā* (فتوى), is a legal opinion or interpretation issued from a *muftī*.

¹⁰⁸ *Tawhīd* (توحيد), is the unique ‘oneness’ of God, or the core concept of monotheism in the Islamic tradition. *Wuḍū’* (الوضوء), is the tradition of ablution, or the cleansing of the body with water in preparation for ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*/صلاة). *Ḥarām* (حرام), is a general term for any act that is forbidden within the Islamic tradition. A related term that is sometimes used synonymously with *taqiyya* is *kitmān* (كتمان), which is usually translated as ‘concealment’ rather than ‘dissimulation.’

¹⁰⁹ Mercedes García-Arenal, trans., “Respuesta que hizo el mufti de Oran a ciertas preguntas que le hicieron desde la Andalucía,” in *Los moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 45.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

The primary argument amongst scholars of the sixteenth-century Morisco community, with regard to their recognition of *taqiyya*, is whether the majority of them “actively” performed hidden practice as “crypto-Muslims,” sincerely converted to Christianity but practiced a sort of “hybrid” version of the tradition that incorporated a variety of *cultural* aspects native to the population, or if their practice of Islam wasn’t, in fact, so hidden, as has been most recently pointed out by scholars such as Amina Nawaz.¹¹¹ Once again, for the purposes of this project, the question of “sincerity” in conversion or practice will not take precedence, rather the implications as to why such a concept at *taqiyya* or *kitmān* would appear in the face of conquest and oppression. In all three examples of scholarly arguments made to the nature of Morisco observance of hidden practice, there still lies the unmistakable labor of acting in-between those legitimized spaces and binary categories of Muslim/Christian, Christian/Muslim. The very notion of *taqiyya* carries the innate quality of existing outside constructed boundaries of the sanctioned categories that were subject to political rule and persecution by foreign powers. As will be demonstrated, the Moriscos of Granada never fully resided within or suffused with the subtly intricate and historically informed mold of the Castilian Catholic. The very act of limiting the rights of the former Muslims created new forms of representation, performance, and belonging, to which most Moriscos met the challenge under the duress of survival, but to the immigrant Castilians, they always *just missed the mark*. Suspicion of heresy and hidden practice flared up multiple times throughout the sixteenth century, the Moriscos were seen as false imitations of “true”

¹¹¹ Amina Nawaz, “Beyond Crypto-Muslims: Perspectives on the Moriscos in the Early Modern Mediterranean” (paper presented at the CU Mediterranean Studies Group Seminar, Boulder, Colorado, January 15, 2015).

Catholic identity, and much of Old Christian misgivings stemmed from political and economic ambitions cloaked by the language of religion.

Umayyad Dissent is Reborn

“The perception of crisis was provoked, I would suggest, not by the converts’ . . . practices, but by a much more complex phenomenon: the mass conversion’s destabilization of an oppositional process of identification by which generations of Christians had defined themselves theologically and sociologically against.”¹¹² Although Nirenberg commented regarding the converted Jewish population of the Iberian Peninsula, following the 1391 pogroms, the statement reflects an analogous series of events that led to the violent backlash of the Second Alpujarras Uprising. The three primary sources most often referred to in analyzing the mid-century Morisco revolt consist of the *Guerra de Granada*, written by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza well before the close of the sixteenth century, but first published in 1627, *Historia del [sic] rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada*, written by the Christian soldier, Luis del Mármol Carvajal and published in 1600, and *La guerra de los moriscos*, completed by Ginés Pérez de Hita in 1597 and first published in 1604 (of which no copies are known to exist).¹¹³

As historical sources, all three may represent a Christian voice to the narrative of events. Hurtado de Mendoza’s account constitutes the closest located to the actual event,

¹¹² David Nirenberg, “Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain,” *Common Knowledge* 9 (2003): 149.

¹¹³ Despite the late publication date, Hurtado de Mendoza died in 1575, which clearly indicates an early completion of his work. Some theories have circulated that Mármol Carvajal's history was taken directly and re-worded from Hurtado de Mendoza but there is no absolute evidence that supports this claim other than the fact that he, along with other historians of the time, were using manuscripts of the *Guerra de Granada* to piece together their own narrative of events. Caro Baroja, *Moriscos*, 260-61. Joaquín Gil Sanjuán, ed., *La guerra de los moriscos (segunda parte de las guerras civiles de Granada)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998), 3*.

chronologically speaking, and avoids much of the gratuitous language employed by his fellow historians. Mármol Carvajal may provide a more accurate account due to his involvement and presence as a soldier during the uprising, but his lengthy and detailed narrations of dialogue and events reveal a story in which no person could have participated to the extent of his claims. Pérez de Hita seems to draw from a variety of sources, including intercepted letters (just as Hurtado de Mendoza and Mármol Carvajal), circulating “histories,” published and unpublished, as well as possible influence from popular literature of the time. His account is suffused with poems, songs, and a general atmosphere of Spanish Romance that would most likely have made his history attractive to the literate population.

By the time the Second Alpujarras Uprising erupted, the family of Ibrahim ibn Umayya had expanded and passed down the privileges of the *real merced* through three subsequent generations, still under the Christian name of Córdoba y Valor. Although the family was well off, one of the grandsons of Ibrahim, Antonio de Córdoba y Valor, along with his son Fernando, managed to spend most of their money on frivolous activities and Fernando found himself in debt. During a meeting of the *Veintiquatria*, of which Fernando had curiously inherited the position over his father, the other members left their swords outside due to a no-weapons policy, but the young Morisco entered into a heated argument with the senior constable, Pedro Maça, and brandished a dagger, accusing the council of unspecified grievances against his honor, swearing on the “royal crown of his ancestors” for revenge.¹¹⁴ He was then placed under house arrest during which time he attempted to sell his position on the *Veintiquatria* to another Morisco citizen of Granada,

¹¹⁴ Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra*, 9. “real corona de mis passados.”

Miguel de Palacios, who had posted his bail and to whom he was even further indebted. With the 1,600 ducats expected from the transaction he planned on fleeing to Italy or Flanders but unfortunately for Fernando, the deal went sour when a constable appeared, having been tipped off, and confiscated the money. On 23 December 1568, the destitute and powerless descendant of one of the most influential families of Granada fled into the night “with only a single Morisca woman, who was a friend, and a black slave.”¹¹⁵

After spending the night in the orchard of the Granada-Venegas family, outside of the city, the three fugitives reached the town of Béznar in the Lecrín Valley. It was there that Fernando de Válór found himself in the presence of a clandestine council that had elected him as the new “King” of the Moors, echoing the legacy of his great-grandfather. With the intention of uniting the Moriscos of the Alpujarras in a revolt against the Christian authorities of Granada, Hernando El Zaguer, uncle of Fernando and brother of Antonio, had proposed the election of a leader to give motivation and authority to the movement, months before Fernando’s arrival.¹¹⁶ His suggestion came during the third meeting of twenty-six influential members of the Alpujarras community and one, San Miguel, placed his vote for Fernando de Válór, who was subsequently approved by the rest of the council. This decision was made three months prior to the appearance of the young Morisco and so indicates a coordination effort, mostly on the part of his uncle, in building the mythological character of Aben Humeya.¹¹⁷ His arrival precipitated a hasty coronation ceremony in which he was adorned in purple, and given celebratory swords

¹¹⁵ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia*, 252. “con sola una muger Morisca, que traía por amiga, y un esclavo negro.”

¹¹⁶ Also referred to as Abenchoar, Abenchohar, and Xahuar.

¹¹⁷ This was the name taken by Fernando de Válór following his “reversion” to Islam, which was simply his traditional family name that hadn’t been used since before the conversion of his great-grandfather, Ibrahim ibn Umayya.

that were wrapped in a red sash, reaching up around his neck. The floor was decorated with four flags indicating the four corners of the world, and Válor prostrated himself toward Mecca swearing allegiance to Islamic law and his kingdom. "His *justicia mayor* (Farax ibn Farax) lifted him upon his shoulders, moving eastward, and raised him up high, proclaiming: "God exalt Muhammad ibn Umayya, King of Granada and of Córdoba.""¹¹⁸ Following his designation as Captain General of the revolution by his nephew, El Zaguer publicized the news to the neighboring Morisco communities in preparation for the uprising.¹¹⁹

On the night of Christmas Eve, 1568, Ibn Umayya's highest-ranking officer, Farax ibn Farax, led 150 rebels into the city of Granada in an attempt to raise reinforcements from the Albaycín and capture the Alhambra.¹²⁰ The end result of the effort to seize the great fortress and the city of Granada was a massive failure. Critical to point out here is Bernard Vincent's observation that indicates a probable conspiracy on the part of Granada's Castilian authorities, that would directly affect this tremendous

¹¹⁸ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra*, 122. "A éste hizo su justicia mayor: lleváronle en hombros, levantáronle en alto diciendo: *Dios ensalce a Mahomet Aben Humeya rey de Granada, y de Córdoba.*"

¹¹⁹ For another fascinating account of the coronation of Aben Humeya reference the interrogation record of Brianda Pérez, wife of Hernando de Válor. (Pedro de la Fuente, "Copia de un testimonio dado por el escribano Pedro de la Fuente, en el cual consta la declaración que hizo Brianda Pérez, mujer de don Fernando de Válor, cuando le proclamaron por rey de los moros en su rebelión y de lo que ocurrió en dicha elección. Fecha en la ciudad de Granada á 23 de marzo de 1571 (I)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* LXV (1914): 385-92.)

¹²⁰ This number, as reported by Hurtado de Mendoza, may be debatable as Julio Caro Baroja indicates that the Marqués de Mondéjar recorded no more than 23 rebels present at the Alhambra the same night. (Caro Baroja, *Moriscos*, 176.)

fiasco led by Farax.¹²¹ Vincent points to two sources that lend solid credibility to the claim that local Christian authorities, headed by Pedro de Deza, were well aware of the oncoming Morisco guerrillas due to a series of “preventative measures” enacted at the beginning of 1568, nearly a year before the revolt erupted.¹²² Carvajal noted that during these early months, local authorities filtered through the Albaycín and arrested “many suspicious men, and among them, some of the richest.”¹²³ These were all, of course, Moriscos. While these arrests were made on the grounds of suspicious activity, such as frequent visits from Moriscos of the countryside interacting with those of the Albaycín, along with an increase in the sightings of arms in the hands of Moriscos, specifically crossbows, further “proof” of conspiratorial proceedings supported the arrest in the form of confession under threat of torture.

On the 22 February, 1569, a year after the multiple and repeated arrests based on “inchoate suspicion,” the black slave of Antonio de Válor, father of the rebel leader, Ibn Umayya, and a prisoner himself at the time, revealed damning details surrounding the aforementioned meetings in which the revolt was coordinated. The slave implicated all of the same wealthy Moriscos arrested the year before as having participated in organizing the rebellion from their meeting house within the Albaycín.¹²⁴ This must have provided additional justification and reassurance for those Castilian officials involved in the seizure of the men, along with their property and goods a year previous, in view of the

¹²¹ Bernard Vincent, “Les élites morisques grenadines,” *Siglos dorados: homenaje a Augustin Redondo* 2 (2004): 1467-1479. Also refer to Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (València: Universitat de València, 2006), 187-199.

¹²² Vincent, “Les élites,” 1476. “les mesures préventives.”

¹²³ Carvajal, *Historia*, 204. “muchos hombres sospechosos, y entre ellos algunos de los mas ricos . . .”

¹²⁴ This would be the same house in which El Zaguer participated in the “third meeting” during which Fernando de Válor was elected leader of the rebellion.

fact that they killed every single one of them from the night of March 17 into March 18, while they were incarcerated. “Moreover, the prisoners could not see because the Christians had extinguished the torches, and between the dust and smoke, they killed everyone, not leaving one man alive . . . the fighting lasted seven hours, and 110 Moriscos who were imprisoned, died, and many of them were found cut up . . . Five Christians died in this skirmish and seventeen were injured. The prison warden was well pleased with the results of those who died, because as they were rich people, they had large amounts of money with them.”¹²⁵ As Vincent points out, the silence of the text indicates a deliberate and coordinated effort to purge Granada of those Moriscos who would possibly assist the rebellion.

Pérez de Hita records that as the rebels entered the city calling for assistance from the local Moriscos, an old man climbed a tower playing an *añafil*, singing in Arabic that they had arrived too late and with too few men.¹²⁶ Hurtado de Mendoza recounts the story in which the *viejo* opened the window to ask how many had come, to which the rebels replied, “six thousand,” and closing the window the old man commented on how few they were and that they’d made a mistake in coming to the Albaycín when they should have attacked the Alhambra first.¹²⁷ Despite the minute differences in the details of the story, the revolt had suffered a devastating opening defeat, which undoubtedly

¹²⁵ Carvajal, *Historia*, 517. “Mas aun esto no pudieron ver, porque los Christianos apagaron el fuego, y entre polvo y humo los mataron á todos, sin dexar hombre á vida . . . Duró la pelea siete horas, y murieron ciento y diez Moriscos, que estaban presos, y muchos de ellos se hallaron estar retajados . . . Murieron cinco Christianos en esta refriega, y hubo diez y siete heridos; y el alcayde fue bien aprovechado de los despojos de los muertos, porque eran gente rica, tenian buena cantidad de dineros consigo.”

¹²⁶ Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra*, 20. An *añafil* (derived from the Arabic, *naḡīr*, نفير) was a trumpet-like instrument that was used in this region to signal the call to prayer for Muslims.

¹²⁷ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra*, 129.

discouraged those involved. Caro Baroja notes that had the city's Morisco population gotten involved the movement would have amassed approximately 10,000 men, ready and willing to fight.¹²⁸ Rather than calming the rebellion, those involved in the Christmas Eve attempt regrouped with others back in the Alpujarras and refocused their efforts on campaigning through the small mountainous towns. The revolt then took on a slightly different turn in that it concentrated on its immediate surroundings and spread out until it encompassed the entire Kingdom of Granada. This was the intention anyway.

For the sake of brevity, we can refer to Manuel Barrios Aguilera's division of the revolt into four phases that concisely map the progress on both sides of the conflict. The coronation of Ibn Umayya in Bézna, to March of 1569, constitutes the first phase, and situates the various uprisings dotting the Alpujarras and the responsive efforts of Íñigo López de Mendoza, in Órgiva.¹²⁹ The second phase, which dates from March to December, 1569, emphasizes the response from the Christian authorities as they become increasingly concerned in the face of, what they realize, might be a successful revolt. Felipe II appointed his half-brother, Juan de Austria, as Captain General of the Granadan army, charging him with crushing the rebellion. Ibn Umayya's hometown of Válor was taken back by Christian forces in August of 1569, and less than a month later, two hundred Turkish soldiers arrived on the coast to assist in the revolt, adding the substantially dangerous new possibility of Ottoman assistance. In October of the same year, conspirators charged Ibn Umayya with treachery and executed their "king" in

¹²⁸ Caro Baroja, *Moriscos*, 176.

¹²⁹ Following the eventual quelling of the uprising, Íñigo López de Mendoza, grandson of the same Count of Tendilla who continually supported Ibrahim ibn Umayya after the First Alpujarras Uprising, was stripped of his position due to the family's continued and obvious sympathetic attitudes toward the Morisco community.

Laujar de Andarax by hanging.¹³⁰ Abén Aboo, his cousin, was then coronated against his will, following the refusal by the two Ottoman captains, Hussein and Jaljāl, of the position themselves. “They didn’t want to accept the offer, saying that Uluç Ali had sent them, not to be kings, rather to support the King of the Andaluces, and that the primary objective was to place the government in the hands of one of the natives of the land, that it be an *hombre de linaje* within whom they could trust to secure the well being of the Muslims.”¹³¹ From January to April of 1570, the third phase of the war was punctuated by multiple victories carried out by Juan de Austria, and the tide turned in his favor. The fourth and final phase lasted from April of 1570 to the spring of 1571. This period was marked by renewal efforts from Abén Aboo to regain momentum, but Juan de Austria continued to take back towns in the Alpujarras. Meanwhile, Morisco diplomats were dispatched from Granada to negotiate an end to the conflict.¹³² In an ironic twist, Abén Aboo was violently assassinated by his cousin, El Seniz, who delivered his severed head to Pedro de Deza on March 13, 1571, thus officially ending the Second Alpujarras Uprising.¹³³

During the two years of campaigning in the mountains outside of Granada, talks between the city’s political leaders and Juan de Austria resulted in a royal order of

¹³⁰ Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra*, 219. Mármol Carvajal, *Historia Tomo II*, 165. Abén Aboo, cousin of Ibn Umayya, Diego Alguacil, Diego de Arcos, and two Turkish Captains.

¹³¹ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia Tomo II*, 165. “. . . no quisieron aceptar la oferta diciendo, que Aluch Alí los habia enviado, no á ser Reyes, sino á favorecer al Rey de los Andaluces, y que lo mas acertado era poner el gobierno en manos de alguno de los naturales de la tierra, que fuese hombre de linage, de quien se tuviese confianza que procuraria el bien de los Moros . . .” For further information on Uluç Ali’s remote involvement in the Second Alpujarras Uprising, refer to Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 88-90.

¹³² Hernando el Habaquí and Alonso de Granada-Venegas.

¹³³ Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 329-34.

expulsion issued by Felipe II that was implemented in June of 1569. The Moriscos were separated and relocated to various parts of Castile, including Córdoba, Jaén, and Écija. The project presented the enormous logistical task of moving fifteen to twenty thousand people whose families had been present in the city for multiple centuries. Disputes broke out between the dispossessed citizens and the Christian authorities overseeing the removal, and due to a small riot that broke out, some Moriscos were killed by soldiers.¹³⁴ Luis del Mármol Carvajal, who was present during the expulsion, described the event as “a miserable spectacle, to see so many men of all ages, their heads hanging, hands crossed, faces bathed in tears, and expressions of pain and sadness. Seeing them leave behind their gracious homes, their families, their homeland, their birthplace, their estates, and as good as they had it, not knowing for certain where they would lay their heads.”¹³⁵ By the end of the rebellion in 1571, only three to four thousand Moriscos still inhabited the city, and those who were allowed to stay most likely had appealed to the authorities through sympathetic Old Christian friends who held sway in the political sphere of Granada.¹³⁶

While the revolt presents an impossibly complex series of events that are too convoluted to describe here, certain conclusions may be drawn, not only from the interactions between the Moriscos and Castilians, but also between individuals and families from within the rebel community, and with Ottoman soldiers. Old tensions

¹³⁴ Coleman, *Christian Granada*, 184.

¹³⁵ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia*, 102. “. . . fue un miserable espectáculo ver tantos hombres de todas edades, las cabezas baxas, las manos cruzadas, y los rostros bañados de lagrimas, con semblante doloroso y triste, viendo que dexaban sus regaladas casas, sus familias, su patria, su naturaleza, sus haciendas, y tanto bien como tenían, y aun no sabian cierto lo que se haria de sus cabezas.”

¹³⁶ Coleman, *Christian Granada*, 185.

between the élite Morisco families were reignited in some cases, as some claimed the role of “king” belonged to Ibn Umayya’s General, Farax ibn Farax. At the coronation of Ibn Umayya it is noted that some had supported Ibn Farax as the rightful “King of the Muslims” as he had already coordinated the invasion of the Albaycín. “Farax according to some, had been the author of liberty and *had* to be the King and ruler of the Moors, and also he was of the noble lineage of the Abencerrages family.”¹³⁷ The timing of Ibn Umayya’s coronation seemed to directly coincide with the failed campaign led by Farax in the Albaycín, implying an intention on the part of El Zaguer to exclude the general from the ceremony. Although other accounts report that the campaign began directly following the coronation, Carvajal’s history would suggest a political motive behind the schedule of events. Ibn Farax’s arrival from the city of Granada was in the company of *monfis*, “with his two banners,” which would be ever-present during his various military operations throughout the Alpujarras.¹³⁸ Significant details in the retelling of the events of the rebellion indicate a loyalty to Ibn Farax that could have been gradually subverted by the ambitions of El Zaguer and his companions to keep power in the Umayya family. As a result, this also weakened the desired unity the community had been striving for in the collective effort of retaking their homeland. The discontent of the *alguacil mayor*¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia*, 254. “. . . daba voces, que habia sido autor de la libertad, y que habia de ser Rey y gobernador de los Moros, y que tambien era él noble de linaje de los Abencerrages.” (My emphasis.)

¹³⁸ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia*, 254. “con sus dos banderas . . .” *Monfis* were those Moriscos who were initially disquieted by the 1492 conquest and subsequently relocated to the various parts of the Alpujarras region. During the period of the Second Alpujarras Uprising, they constituted those within the community who were predisposed to revolutionary activity and quickly answered the call. *Monfi* is derived from the Arabic *manfi* (منفي), which originates from the word *nafaṭa* (نفث), meaning “to discharge.” So, a *monfi* would be one who has been exiled.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 254.

over his dispossessed title did little to deter his resolve in effectively leading the rebellion, as Ibn Umayya remained a representative figure who often rode in atop his white horse following bloody confrontations through the mountainside.

Eschatological Anxieties

The conquest of Constantinople by Ottoman forces on 29 May 1453, signaled for many the fulfillment of an apocalyptic tradition that stressed the imminent end of the world.¹⁴⁰ While many Muslims viewed the conquest as the realization of a *hadith* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that predicted the fall of the Byzantine city, a reigniting of the sense of apocalyptic urgency amongst European Christians established itself.¹⁴¹ The complex intellectual tradition surrounding eschatological speculation within both religious communities experienced a profound stimulation as the taking of Constantinople at the hands of the Muslims occurred only thirty-nine years before the seven-thousandth year that marked the end of Creation on the Christian cosmological calendar. Constantinople became the reign of the Anti-Christ for many Christians while the Muslim tradition borrowed the Byzantine prediction of a retaking of the city by the “Blonde Peoples,” or European Christians.¹⁴² Konstantin Mihailović, a young Serb forced to serve in the Ottoman janissary corps for eight years following his capture in 1455, escaped, returning to his Christian life, and was compelled to write, “Know, therefore, that the Turkish emperor is very insecure, and the Turks greatly fear that Christendom might rise up and

¹⁴⁰ Refer to, Kaya Sahin, “Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 317-354.

¹⁴¹ “Constantinople shall be conquered indeed; what a wonderful leader will that leader be, and what a wonderful army will that army be.” Sahin, “Constantinople,” 319.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 324-25. *Banu al-Asfar* (بنو الأصفار).

invade their lands more valiantly.”¹⁴³ In either scenario, the Messiah would descend to earth to reclaim a political and military leadership role, thus recovering Constantinople for both groups, depending on who was telling the story of course.

This wider narrative of apocalyptic anxiety through the Mediterranean played an instrumental role in the Second Alpujarras Uprising, propagated by the principal coordinator of the rebellion, El Zaguer. The prevalence of portentous literature and messages was widespread enough for Mármol Carvajal to devote a sizable portion of his history to popular prophecy and “*jofores*” which were circulating intra and inter-communally.¹⁴⁴ El Zaguer actively disseminated these prophecies through the Morisco communities of the Alpujarras, in part, to inspire solidarity for the approaching revolt. Not only was he spreading the apocalyptic message that would invigorate some to join the rebellion, but he was also key in expressing anti-Christian declamations to the community:

As you are all well aware, it has been nearly one hundred years since the Christians robbed us and seized our joyous splendors and esteemed spoils of those former times of gains and winnings. And not content with this, our cities, villages and any place where they wanted to stay, having promised not to take anything from us. They also took away our arms with threats of severe punishment if we would make use of them. And so goes our misfortune with all of this. And with an increasing insatiable hunger for our lives and property, they have passed laws prohibiting our ancient customs and our sweet language (something we cannot tolerate nor stand for). This is sufficient cause for all of us

¹⁴³ Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. Benjamin Stolz (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1975), 147.

¹⁴⁴ Mármol Carvajal, *Historia*, 177-198. *Jofo* is the Hispanicized form of the Arabic, *jafir* (جفر/علم الجفر) which translates as “divination.” This was a traditional practice done using a camel’s diaphragm, which eventually just took on the general concept of divine prediction.

who are from the state of Granada, to look for and seize liberty so that we are not oppressed nor cheated by the greedy Christians.¹⁴⁵

García-Arenal has indicated that the atmosphere leading up to the rebellion was that of immediacy due to the apocalyptic signs that were deemed significantly ominous by both, Muslims and Christians alike.¹⁴⁶ El Zaguer may have felt himself to be fulfilling a role that was required by the narrative of the coming end. With the looming Lutheran heresy gaining momentum in the north and producing adherents for the Inquisition to interrogate in Spain, the physical manifestations of suspicious signs, such as a solar eclipse and the escalation of “visionaries” declaring the final unification of all people under Islamic law, fortified the rebel leader in his campaign against the Christian invaders.¹⁴⁷ The culmination of the two-year campaign lends credibility to the effective and revolutionary voice of El Zaguer which serves to position his nephew, Ibn Umayya, as a willing participant in the construction of his royal identity, whether legitimately linked to Abd al-Rahman III or not. Pérez de Hita also notes that El Zaguer “said that the coronation wasn’t due to coincidence, because he wanted all of the *rich Muslims* who

¹⁴⁵ Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra*, 13-14. “Bien sabréis cómo casi ha cien años que los Christianos nos tienen robadas y usurpadas nuestras felices glorias y estimados trofeos en los passados tiempos por los nuestros adquiridos y ganados; y no contentos con esto, con nuestras ciudades, villas y lugares quisieron quedarse, aviendo prometido de no quitárnosla; también nos quitaron las armas, con graves penas amenazados si usáramos dellas; ya con esto passara nuestra desventura; mas con insaciable hambre de nuestras vidas y hazienas, a proveydo que nos quiten nuestro antiguo hábito y nuestra dulce lengua (cosa que no podemos tolerar ni sufrir); bastante causa para que todos los del granadino estado busquemos y procuremos libertad para que de los codiciosos Christianos no seamos constreñidos ni estropeados.”

¹⁴⁶ Mercedes García-Arenal, “Un réconfort pour ceux qui sont dans l’attente,” *Reue de l’histoire des religions* 4 (2003): 445-486.

¹⁴⁷ Reference, Mercedes García-Arenal, “A Catholic Muslim Prophet: Agustín de Ribera, “the Boy Who Saw Angels,”” *Common Knowledge* 18:2 (2012): 267-91.

were invited, be present at the festivities.”¹⁴⁸ The implications within this statement are by no means obscure. Ibn Umayya’s uncle was clearly interested in legitimizing his entire family in the eyes of the rich and influential Moriscos of Granada, which could prove advantageous in both scenarios of success or failure. By maintaining these ties, the family would have been provided a secure escape when faced with the possibility of defeat, while securing absolutely sovereignty in the eyes of the wider community, upon victory.¹⁴⁹

The Final Resistance

Following the end of the Alpujarras Uprising the Moriscos of Granada were relocated to various parts of Castile and the prohibition edict, argued against so fervently by Núñez Muley, was renewed and enforced.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the Castilian authorities refused passage to North Africa for all Moriscos, keeping them trapped inside the peninsula and in their worsening socio-political position. The final effort in the defense of the minority community came in the form of Bishop Martín Pérez de Ayala and the Jesuit Order.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Pérez de Hita, *La Guerra*, 12. “. . . dixo que no avía de ser de aquella suerte su coronación, porque él quería que todos los *ricos Moros* del Reyno que estavan encartados se hallassen presentes en tales fiestas.” (My emphasis.)

¹⁴⁹ Joan Scott has pointed to the thought-provoking analysis of Eric Hobsbawm with regard to revolution and apocalyptic anxieties. “Yet Eric Hobsbawm has argued . . . that apocalyptic movements coincided with heightened revolutionary activity, indeed that religious and revolutionary movements often informed one another.” (Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 77.) E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Norton, 1959), 106-7.

¹⁵⁰ Refer to *Pragmáticas sobre los moriscos de Granada*, first published on October 6, 1572, then again a year later in May, 1573.

¹⁵¹ The Society of Jesus, founded by Ignacio de Loyola (Ignatius Loyola), who secured official recognition for the group by the Church in 1540, became an influential element in the efforts of proselytizing in Granada and Andalusia. The aggressive techniques employed by Jesuit missionaries prompted Juan de Ávila and many of his disciples to support and even join the Society. By 1554, the Jesuits were given their own house in

Although Pérez de Ayala died in 1566, he had encouraged the evangelization of the Moriscos of Valencia through the use of the Arabic language. He requested the Morisco Jesuit, Jerónimo Mur, to return from Rome and preside over the enterprise, but it was soon abandoned after his death, until the arrival of Ignacio de las Casas to Valencia in 1587. Las Casas arrived at the primary convictorium established by the Jesuits in the Albaycín, and began his studies in 1562 under Juan de Albotodo, also a Morisco and founding member of the order. After five years he went on to study for a year at the Jesuit school in Montilla, then Córdoba from 1568-1570.¹⁵² This time reinforced his stance on the importance of Arabic in the effort to convert the Morisco population and the Jesuit friar engaged himself in the study of the Qur'an, among other traditional works in Arabic, in order to employ effective arguments against the more educated members of the community. Perhaps as a result of his own experiences of being a fatherless Morisco taken in by the Jesuits, Las Casas advocated for the active indoctrination of young boys already fluent in Arabic, who would then be able to successfully inspire sincere conversion. As Barrios Aguilera notes, the apostasy and subsequent fleeing of Las Casas' brother to North Africa, which prompted the Jesuit Father General, Claudio Aquaviva, to send him to Rome to denounce any association with the scandal, may have served to intensify his evangelical mission.¹⁵³

Granada and they gained the support of Archbishop Guerrero, a follower of Juan de Ávila. Interesting to note is the conflict that existed between the Order and the Inquisition since its inception as Ignacio de Loyola had fallen under suspicion of heresy in 1527, and permission to join was extended to Conversos and Moriscos. (Coleman, *Christian Granada*, 153–55. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 159, 245.)

¹⁵² Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 9-17.

¹⁵³ Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca*, 312.

Las Casas divided the Moriscos into four distinct groups, “Those of Castile, whose degree of acculturation and integration was more advanced . . . Those of the Crown of Aragon, these did not know Arabic either . . . (and) those of Valencia and Granada were the least acculturated.”¹⁵⁴ Success in Valencia, for the friar, meant a framework from which to take and apply toward the mission in Granadan, and the prohibition of the native language only served to act against the integration of the Morisco communities. “The prohibition of it (Arabic) would be detestable and hurtful for their conversion, and would cause in them the effect that was caused in those of Granada, that resulted in the cruel rebellion that cost the blood of so many Christians.”¹⁵⁵ By connecting the numerous acts of prohibition to the violent deaths of the Christians in the Alpujarras during the two-year uprising, Las Casas reminded the Spanish authorities of the very real consequences of such forceful conduct. This was also reiterated in his views concerning the forced conversions at the beginning of the sixteenth century, calling the Moriscos involved “baptized by not converted.”¹⁵⁶

In his first letter to Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605), he also advised to prohibit the term *New Christian* after a period of one hundred years, for any converted Morisco family. This served to reinforce Las Casas’ argument for equal treatment of the minority population, especially concerning the issue of elevated tax rates that crippled many families of the community. The friar appealed to the fact that the king had promised “the

¹⁵⁴ El Alaoui, “Ignacio,” 321. “Los de Castilla, cuyo grado de aculturación y de integración era el más elevado . . . Los de la Corona de Aragón. Éstos tampoco sabían árabe . . . Los de Valencia y Granada eran los menos aculturados.”

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 17. “El prohibírsela sería odiosísimo y dañosísimo para su conversión y haría en ellos el efecto que hizo en los de Granada, que fue la cruel rebelión que costó tanta sangre de christianos.”

¹⁵⁶ Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 270. “. . . bautizados pero no convertidos.”

liberties and generosity that, as Christians . . . should be protected for you, and do all of those favors, and treating you well, as our faithful subjects.”¹⁵⁷ His letter to the pope also called for the permission of mixed marriages between Moriscos and Old Christians, and the right to individual and fair trials based on canon law.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps the most radical of his positions centered on the rejection of the *limpieza de sangre* statutes that served as an umbrella decree comprised of the aforementioned prohibitions. In stressing the importance for missionary efforts to be concentrated within the peninsula rather than the New World, Las Casas appealed with the notion that “. . . the Moriscos are closer and of Spanish blood.”¹⁵⁹ Although the friar exercised a significant amount of influence, as can be read through his involvement in both, the local and wider ecclesiastical community, his arguments were brushed aside in favor of more drastic measures taken in “dealing with” the converted population. Leading up to the final expulsion edict issued by Felipe III in 1609, Cardinal Aquaviva requested the presence of Las Casas as an active voice in the assemblies discussing the issue, but the friar died in July, 1608.

The discovery of a lead box in the rubble from the demolished minaret of the Great Mosque of Granada in 1588, led to the unearthing of the Lead Books within the caves of the Sacromonte.¹⁶⁰ These books contained what seemed to be a blended message combining Christian and Islamic narratives and ideologies to form a historical continuity that included the Moriscos as the descendants of the first Christian inhabitants of the

¹⁵⁷ El Alaoui, “Ignacio,” 324. Original citation taken from “Información,” fols. 7v–8r. “. . . las libertades y franquezas que como christianos [...] se os deven guardar y hazeros todo favor y buen tratamiento como a fieles súbditos nuestros.”

¹⁵⁸ Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 292, n.10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 298, n.35. Original citation from Las Casas, MS 10.238, BL, fol. 214^r. “. . . siendo los moriscos más próximos y sangre española.”

¹⁶⁰ Referred to as the *libros plúmbeos*, or *libros de plomo*.

Iberian Peninsula. The books were written in “proto-Arabic,” Latin, and “old Castilian,” and described the arrival of St. James to the peninsula, with a group of “Phoenicio-Arabs,” including St. Cecilio, the patron saint of Granada, and his brother, St. Tesifón. After their alleged conversion by Jesus of Nazareth himself, the two brothers were martyred on the Sacromonte and, as indicated by the Lead Books, their remains would be found upon further excavation. The discovery of their bones, along with other ecclesiastical writings, created an enthusiastic bid for elevated status of the city by church officials, but there were many who doubted the veracity of the books. According to the comprehensive investigations of the Lead Books by Gerard Wiegers, Peter van Koningsveld, and Mercedes García-Arenal, among a number of other scholars, the books have been confirmed as forgeries, and the entire event seems to have been an elaborate undertaking that spanned generations of Moriscos, including a number of influential officials in the Castilian government of Granada. Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, who were both Moriscos and affluent members in Granada’s political arena, were coincidentally charged with the interpretation of the texts. Among many suspicious passages and signs engraved on the tablets, the inclusion of the *shahada*, as well as an explicit *lack* of proclaiming Jesus’s divine status, gave many reason to proclaim the writings as fabricated.¹⁶¹ “What was within the Lead Books was this: a vindication of the Arabic and Muslim identity on Spanish terms; a disguised, or blunt if you will, vindication of a clear affirmation of religious and cultural principles for those that did not submit. In this sense, they planted an authentic and intellectual rebellion in Granada after the significant disaster of the Alpujarras, from which no one could go back; a rebellion that implied an

¹⁶¹ The *shahada* (الشهادة) is the required profession of faith by all Muslims. “There is no God but God (Allah), and Muhammad is his messenger.”

intricately planned reversal of the history and religion of Granada and Spain, in favor of the Moriscos.”¹⁶²

In his introduction to the thorough “history” of Spain, as written by Miguel de Luna, the same Morisco who was implicated in the creation of the Lead Books, Bernabé Pons describes the “discovery” and subsequent excavation of these religious artifacts leading up to the turn of the century, as the final attempt to establish a legitimate space in Castilian Granada for the descendants of the former majority community. The elaborate undertaking, which spanned at least three generations, can be read as an “intellectual rebellion” due to intimate knowledge of the political inner-workings between the Castilian Catholic, and Morisco community, on the part of the forgers themselves.¹⁶³ What must have been apparent at this time was the fact that following the failure of the Second Alpujarras Uprising, any attempt to engage in violent opposition would be catastrophic in the end. The Castilian presence in Granada by this point constituted the majority community, as opposed to the population distribution one hundred years prior, and the Ottoman Sultanate was not particularly interested in assisting with any sort of military endeavor in that area. Consequently, the Moriscos who felt compelled to resist during the final two decades of the sixteenth century, were only left with the very

¹⁶² Luis F. Bernabé Pons, Introduction to *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo*, by Miguel de Luna (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), xxii.

¹⁶³ Gerard Wiegers, “The Persistence of Mudejar Islam? Alonso de Luna (Muhammad Abu ‘L-‘Asi), the *Lead Books*, and the *Gospel of Barnabas*,” *Medieval Encounters* 12, 3 (2006): 509. Here, Wiegers points to the probable involvement of Miguel de Luna’s father-in-law, Alonso del Castillo. Some years later, the son of Miguel de Luna, Alonso, was called before an Inquisitorial Tribunal on the suspicion of heretical acts. Alonso de Luna had written a letter to the Pope testifying to the imminent apocalyptic conversion of the people through the Arabic language, and his integral role in these prophecies. He utilized the Lead Books as a direct reference and claimed they had not been properly understood until his own interpretation. (Bernabé Pons, Introduction, xxxii.)

colonial language enforced upon them, beginning in 1492. The Lead Books then, mimicked the political project of the conquerors, which was intrinsically linked to religious language and the façade of divine preference.

The failure to substantially change the situation “on the ground” for and by the Moriscos, resulted in the final expulsion implemented by Felipe III, beginning in 1609.¹⁶⁴ Families who had not already been dispersed from Granada throughout the Kingdom of Castile, following the defeat of the Second Alpujarras Uprising, were uprooted and displaced, many of whom chose to cross to North Africa and seek refuge in Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis. Without safe passage, many Moriscos died in transit, adding yet another episode of violence and hardship to the post-1492 narrative of the minority community in Granada. For those who survived the trauma of having to leave behind their ancestral homeland, efforts to integrate into foreign domains and social groups proved difficult. Neighborhoods, small towns, and communities of Moriscos coalesced from France and Morocco to the Eastern Mediterranean and Constantinople. There were even examples, albeit miniscule in number, of Catholic Morisco communities who were allowed to establish somewhat separate villages under their own laws and religious traditions.¹⁶⁵

Colonial Implications

¹⁶⁴ Refer to Aznar Cardona, Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles* (Huesca: Pedro Cabarte, 1612) and de F. Marco de Guadalajara y Xavierr, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolas de Assiayn: Impressor del Reyno de Navarra, 1613).

¹⁶⁵ For a comprehensive study of the Morisco exiles following the 1609-1614 ejection, refer to, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, eds., *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora: Una perspectiva internacional* (València: Universitat de València, 2013).

Throughout this project, one aim has been to demonstrate reoccurring and interrelated threads of knowledge transmission between communities that reveal the formation of the modern colonial project as it developed as a political enterprise among growing European empires. The Morisco community of Granada, while constituting one of the last Muslim collectives in the Iberian Peninsula, provides fertile ground for a wide range of cross-disciplinary scholarship, and the opportunity to examine the finer attributes of conquest and subjugation at the local level. The timing of the acquisition of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs also came at a moment of increasing anxieties in Europe with regard to Ottoman advances, which in turn directly informed the apocalyptic expectations of Moriscos, as demonstrated through the figure of El Zager. Far reaching currents of popular perception within the lands north of the Mediterranean, which were intimately connected to wider political and economic shifts, began to coalesce within a language that was reacting against the ominous and foreign imperial shadow, Islamic Constantinople. This language located the anxiety of invasion, exercising political power through religious terms that were directly informed by Catholic constructions of heresy, which expanded over the centuries of the medieval period to eventually include Islam. The native population of Granada often carried the tripartite classification of Muslim-Mudéjar-Morisco as a temporal marker of conquest, providing the contemporary scholar a linguistic map to the growing perceptions of a taxonomic “necessity” that would eventually culminate in the European Enlightenment, the Orientalist movement, and modern notions of difference and distinction.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Mármol Carvajal indicates that many Castilians were aware of the political implications of the applying such categorical markers on the conquered population. “. . . en este lugar nos ocurre hacer una breve relacion, para que el letor entienda lo que es

As the contemporary Islamic and Western worlds have been increasingly compelled into political conversation stemming from European colonial presence in North Africa and the Middle East, proxy wars funded between the former Soviet Union and United States, the more recent dialogue that has developed around “terrorist” violence, especially following the intentional collision of two commercial planes into the World Trade Center of New York City in 2001, and the subsequent highly controversial wartime occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, the tendency by many to look to the past for explanations has inspired a wide range of scholarship on the subject of Christian/Muslim relations. Especially relevant for this project is the question of Spain’s Islamic history and the injection of contemporary meaning into that conversation. While many have gazed through the historical spyglass with the objective of “understanding” the present, the dangers of reinforcing volatile and very real political consequences are often overlooked. “History of religion has become a battlefield in something of a proxy war over how we should think about our own time and place.”¹⁶⁷

Moro y Mudejar, y de donde vinieron estos nombres. Los sectarios sequaces de Mahoma, propriamente *deben ser llamados con dos solos nombres Alarabes, ó Agemes*, los Alarabes son los originarios, y los Agemes los advenedizos, que de otras naciones y provincias abrazaron su opinion. A estos llaman generalmente los Mahometanos entre sí Mucelemin, y nosotros los llamamos Moros, *nombre impropio*, porque Mauros fueron uno pueblos Fenicios que vinieron de Tiro á poblar en Africa, y edificaron la ciudad de Utica, y despues la de Cartago, setenta y dos años antes de la fundacion de Roma . . .” (Carvajal, *Historia*, 130.) (My emphasis.) Note the careful distinctions Carvajal points out in the identification of Muslims throughout history. Especially fascinating is his recognition of the term “Mucelemin,” or as we spell it now, Muslim, along with his acknowledgment of the inaccurate Castilian label of “Moro.”

¹⁶⁷ David Nirenberg, “Sibling Rivalries, Scriptural Communities: What Medieval History Can and Cannot Teach Us about Relations between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,” in *Faithful Narratives: Historian, Religion, and the Challenge of Objectivity*, ed. Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 64.

Remaining cautionary of the types of violence that are elicited from such studies entreats the scholar “to fully realize, and take responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present.”¹⁶⁸ This project is, in part, designed to examine the language of history and historiography surrounding the conflicts beginning with the 1492 conquest of Granada, and between the native and immigrant community. “Language” in this context, is meant to denote the active exercise of creating meaning through the construction of borders, boundaries, or differentiation, resulting in identity fabrication. This process is the very act of doing politics in that differentiation establishes the inherent enterprise of creating hierarchy and assigning the “self,” with a political alliance, whether that be the modern concept of individual or community. Conflict, in this case, violently reaffirms this alliance and determines the grounds upon which “new techniques of power” are legitimized through the development of a more distinct and restricting political language.¹⁶⁹ By scrutinizing this language, a critique can be drawn out that may hold the historian responsible as a producer of meaning her or himself.

As demonstrated, the *Capitulaciones* of the Catholic Monarchs initiated a prolonged project of conquest that repeatedly had to alter its own language to meet a population that was willing to conform out of the necessity for survival. The hegemonic administrative apparatus imposed upon Granada, as a result, was forced to create further categories concerning what constituted the “legitimate” political subject. Jacques Derrida located the “problem” that follows in the creation of identity and the crossing of those boundaries of self-constitution in the inherent quality that a border will always be crossed,

¹⁶⁸ Bhabha, *Location*, 17-18.

¹⁶⁹ Foucault, *Discipline*, 160.

and so, politically compromised.¹⁷⁰ The act of self-identification is the placing of an “intangible border,” which becomes vulnerable to infiltration by what lies outside.¹⁷¹ The political language that sharpened after the First Alpujarras Uprising and the forced conversion efforts of Archbishop Cisneros, serves as an example of when the borders of language and meaning are “stepped over,” in this case, violently, and reconstituted in the interest of maintaining a particular social hierarchy.¹⁷² What becomes evident in the narrative of the increasingly harsh edicts leveled at the Morisco community is the fact that the Castilian, and later Spanish, colonial powers were unable to ideologically enclose the native population in any sort of static category that fit within their own socio-political framework.

While Antonio de Nebrija’s *Gramática* may not have had the widespread and immediate impact that has been propagated in some academic conversations, the ideas present in the treatise were enacted on the ground in two crucial ways for this project. By injecting the Castilian language with imperial authority, the colonized peoples of Granada and the New World were consequently displaced as illegitimate subjects that were justifiably conquered. The act of conquest then, was a reflexive enterprise. The colonizing project was justified by constructs of political, religious, and cultural superiority, while simultaneously, the constructs of superiority were reinforced by the “success” of the colonizing project. The following literary venture that ensued in writing

¹⁷⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Apories: Mourir – s’attendre aux <<limites de la vérité>>* (Paris: Galilée, 1996), 30.

¹⁷¹ Derrida, *Apories*, 30. “une bordure intangible”

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 23-30. Here, Derrida plays with the nuances of the word “pas” in French. It is used as an example of the ambiguities within a language, along with the disconnect that is created in language when it undergoes translation. In this particular example, Derrida is using the “pas” of ‘pass,’ or ‘step,’ when speaking to the ruptures in identity caused by a crossing of superficially indivisible borders by outside forces.

the history of Spain can be read as part and parcel of legitimizing the subjugation of the conquered communities, and a vital component in that effort consisted of the strategic silencing on the part of the victors. Speaking on the act of writing history, Derrida points to the “violence of disregard,” stating that “writing is the concealment of the natural, first, and immediate presence from the soul within the logos. This violence is enacted upon the soul unconsciously.”¹⁷³

Composing the history of Spain then, provided a linguistic map that eventually occupied the collective consciousness of its subjects, to varying degrees, regarding the colonized territories of Granada, Tenochtitlan, and Tawantinsuyu.¹⁷⁴ The “space” between this map and the actual territory, Derrida designated as a “slippage” operating within a time that is “out of joint.”¹⁷⁵ The moment in which experience is made manifest is defined as the “origin heterogeneous” which lies just beyond the human capacity to identify.¹⁷⁶ For Derrida, this is the *non-binary* phenomenon of “différance,” which also

¹⁷³ Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie*, (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1967), 55. “Violence de l’oubli.” Derrida, *grammatologie*, 55. “L’écriture est la dissimulation de la présence naturelle et première et immédiate du sens à l’âme dans le logos.”

¹⁷⁴ Here I am deliberately using the language of Jorge Luis Borges, with regard to his commentary on empire, mapping, and territory, in “Del rigor en la ciencia.” A significant aspect of the piece is that it is “written” by the fictional traveler, Suárez Miranda, providing an additionally subtle critique to the act of creating “reality” through a language of verisimilitude. Curiously, the fabricated account ends with the gradual dilapidation of the map due to neglect by future generations. Suárez notes, “En los desiertos del Oeste perduran despedazadas Ruinas del Mapa, *habitadas por Animales y por Mendigos . . .*” Borges here, is making a thought-provoking statement by placing the “voiceless” subjects of the empire, animals and beggars, as the only remaining inhabitants at the miserable and lifeless borders of the imperial representation, rather than the empire itself... (Reference, Jorge Luis Borges, “Del rigor de la ciencia,” in *El hacedor* (New York: Vintage Español, 2013), 137.) (My emphasis.)

¹⁷⁵ Derrida, *grammatologie*, 352, 358, 360. “glisser . . . glissement.” Jacques Derrida, *Spectres de Marx*, 42.

¹⁷⁶ Jacques Derrida, *De l’esprit: Heidegger et la question* (Paris: Galilée, 1997), 166-167. “hétérogène à l’origine”

“exists” outside of the hegemonic framework in the western world that produced “occidental metaphysics . . . as the domination of the linguistic form.”¹⁷⁷ This critique of the power exercised over the written and spoken word is carried into Derrida’s comments concerning justice, injustice, and the “ethical-political accusation: the exploitation of people by people is the doing of cultures of western writing.”¹⁷⁸

The repeated edicts against which Francisco Núñez Muley so fervently argued provide us an example of the domination of language by Castilian colonial authorities, and subsequently, the Muslims of Granada. As one who was educated in the tradition of the incoming immigrant élites, Muley was well aware of how to manipulate language to suit the Catholic/Castilian cosmological ordering of the universe. This is why he primarily argued in terms of cultural distinction from religion, effectively contributing to developing notions of secularity and growing constructs of political action as separate from religious action. The narrative of Ibrahim ibn Umayya offers a similar conclusion in that the former rebel leader of the First Alpujarras Uprising was very familiar with the inner workings of the new ruling class, which makes him a particularly fascinating figure in the examination of cross-lateral movement between opposing political spheres.

Although these men, along with various others such as El Zager, Ibn Umayya (Fernando de Valor), and Miguel de Luna, occupied positions of privilege and authority, one aspect kept them perpetually separated from their colleagues; political and religious suspicion.

The spectre of Granada’s Islamic past haunted the Morisco community without regard for

¹⁷⁷ Derrida, *grammatologie*, 37-38. “La métaphysique occidentale . . . come la dominion d’une forme linguistique.”

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 177. “. . . une accusation éthico-politique: l’exploitation de l’homme par l’homme est le fait des cultures écrivantes de type occidental.”

social position or influence, and each member of the conquered population exercised resistance in various ways.

Through the aforementioned description of *mimesis*, or the “non-sensuous similarity” of Walter Benjamin, resistance by negotiation, compromise, and conflict can be explored in such a way that grants greater agency to the historical actor.¹⁷⁹ The understanding of *mimesis* as a subtly altered interpretation through observation, in this case concerning the Morisco attempts at appropriating aspects of Castilian identity, directs this study to the post-colonial analysis and explanations of Homi Bhabha’s reading of mimetic behavior through the post-colonial lens of critique, or “mimicry and menace.”¹⁸⁰ “The *menace* of mimicry is its *double* vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority.”¹⁸¹ The injection of a post-conquest anxiety inspired mimetic behavior, or mimicry, within the Muslim community of Granada as a strategy of survival. As a result, suspicions were reinforced within the Castilian hegemonic framework of whether the city’s native inhabitants could “truly” convert. Just as the Converso community experienced the consequences of legal loopholes created to marginalize them through the fifteenth century, the Moriscos encountered a similar mode of being situated as “not fully Christian,” albeit converted. In this sense, the very project that created words such as Converso and Morisco, constituted a fundamental element of the Castilian enterprise of colonization. Such constructed identity markers served to categorize these communities as both, insiders and outsiders,

¹⁷⁹ Refer to footnote 10. While these three designations of “resistance” are being provided as examples here, part of this project is to denote the numerous ways in which colonized subjects carry out their own enterprise of survival.

¹⁸⁰ Bhabha, *Location*, 121.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

as Christian and not-quite-Christian, and as legitimate and illegitimate political subjects that were under constant threat of being shuffled into the latter classifications. Bhabha designates this “in-between existence” as a “*partial presence*,” which, when articulated as mimicry, “coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses and immanent threat to both ‘normalized’ knowledges and disciplinary powers.”¹⁸²

The writing of an “uninterrupted” Christian history in the Iberian Peninsula by Spanish humanists, and its adoption by the Church and secular authorities, is equally best read through the lens of “the ‘political’ as a form of calculation and strategic action dedicated to social transformation.”¹⁸³ In this case, the “social transformation” endeavored to construct the Kingdom of Granada through the rewriting of its past, which initiated the violent act of silencing nearly eight hundred years of Islamic history.¹⁸⁴ In the actual events of cultural ritual and religious observance, the historical actor was an active participant in the repetition of past ritual while incorporating Islamic and Christian influences, resulting in a series of innovative interpretations that gradually constituted “conversion.” The embodiment of “converted” by the Moriscos, constituted such a repetition that never fully mirrored the Castilian perception of Christian identity. While this can be read as the repetition of *slippage* and *différance*, the very act of reconstituting Castilian/Christian identification posed a threat to “the question of the *authorization* of colonial presence; a question of authority that goes beyond the subject’s lack of priority

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁸⁴ Here I am referring the “violence de l’oubli” as described by Jacques Derrida in *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1967), 55.

(castration) to a historical crisis in the conceptuality of colonial man as an *object* of regulatory power, as the subject of racial, cultural, national representation.”¹⁸⁵

In summary, the linguistic theories of Derrida as reimagined through a Benjamin-Bhabha dyad of political and colonial critique, place the Morisco voice in the position of escape from the restricting classifications of *convivencia*, “syncretic,” “hybrid,” “assimilator,” and “compromise.” Upon recognition of the modern historian as a “literary creature” and “political animal,” the “attempt to fully realize, and take responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present,” engages current scholarship in reinterpretation of those categorical markers that legitimize certain narratives while silencing others.¹⁸⁶ An exemplary model for such an endeavor can be found in the concept of “*conveniencia*” as first proposed by Brian Catlos in 2001.¹⁸⁷ This idea has most recently been elaborated upon in his 2014 monogram, in which *convivencia*, as a modern historical claim, is put under critical scrutiny. “Neither Latin Christianity nor Islam was ideologically inclined to countenance the existence of a Muslim community living willingly and freely under Christian rule . . . This was not a consequence of a predisposition towards “tolerance,” or because of a culture of *convivencia*, but rather, as a result of *conveniencia*.”¹⁸⁸ This “principle” rests upon the examination of the wide-range of advantages and disadvantages in which the Christian and Muslim communities found themselves during the eight centuries of contact on the Iberian Peninsula. While the notion of *convivencia* evokes a somewhat romanticized interpretation of inter-religious

¹⁸⁵ Bhabha, Location, 129.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

¹⁸⁷ Brian Catlos, “Cristians, musulmans, i jueus a la corona d’Aragó: Un cas de *conveniència*,” *L’Avenç* 263 (2001) 8-16.

¹⁸⁸ Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 521-522.

dialogue during this period, it silences the highly complex and constantly altering interface of “bilateral negotiations.”¹⁸⁹ “The way that people conceived of themselves and of members of religious out-groups depended on various factors, including the nature of the transaction they were engaged in, the attitude and expectations of their audience of peers, and the advantage they felt they might derive from expressing themselves in terms of religious identity and *difference*.”¹⁹⁰

In her work examining conversion in the Ottoman Balkans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Tijana Krstić masterfully unpacks the problematic use of such terms like “syncretism,” which has become somewhat of a buzz-word regarding individual and communal expressions of religious faith that could be situated somewhere between Islam and Christianity. Krstić’s critique situates syncretism as a concept that “. . . smoothes over what was a considerably rougher fabric of early Ottoman history and glosses over the power struggle and political initiatives that underscored the encounter between different political and religious communities . . .”¹⁹¹ In an interpretation that keeps the author in conversation with such terms, rather than disregarding “syncretism” altogether, Krstić reassigns the concept “as both the site of “politicized difference” and of “contact and reconciliation.”¹⁹² Evoking the post-colonial echo of “difference” inherently opens the term to a broad understanding of conversion and the identity negotiation, or even *conveniencia*, of groups like the Moriscos. This “opening up” of the term is however, kept rooted in the political realm of historical action, agency, and interpretation.

¹⁸⁹ Catlos, *Muslims*, 522.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 523. (My emphasis.)

¹⁹¹ Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 16-17.

¹⁹² Krstić, *Contested Conversions*, 18.

Such an example with regard to this study, which is often found coupled with descriptive markers such as “syncretic,” and “hybrid,” is located in the multi-generational project of the Lead Books. While the Lead Books maintained a religious façade through its language and references, they constituted a political rupture that far exceeded the simple binary classificatory designation of Christian/Muslim.

The “colonial implication” here is meant to illustrate the continual injection of western models of categorization into conquered territories and peoples, and an archaeology of knowledge rooted in the act of exercising political power through a variety of linguistic modes. “Logocentrism is an ethnocentric metaphysics in the original meaning, and not “relativist.” It is linked to the history of the West.”¹⁹³ Derrida’s “logocentrism” as a political enterprise that stems from western academia, recognizing, categorizing, and dividing the world and its inhabitants into distinct *types*, entreats the scholar of marginalized and subjugated communities to question and deconstruct the taxonomy of the tradition. In doing so, the very concept of “borders” will come under suspicion as a colonial fabrication which was, and is, constituted and maintained as a politically imbued effort with the objective of social control. Just as the Moriscos embodied colonial menace in that they repeatedly threatened the order of Castilian hegemony, so must the modern historian, as a political subject who is historically constituted, threaten the very classificatory system that is intimately informed by the western project of “enlightenment” and colonization. In doing so, the “archaeology of . . . silence” within the professionalization of the academic study of history may be fractured,

¹⁹³ Derrida, *grammatologie*, 117. “Le logocentrisme est une métaphysique ethnocentrique, en un sens original et non <<relativiste>>. Il est lié à l’histoire de l’Occident.”

recovering the lost voice of the marginalized.¹⁹⁴ This form of writing can be understood as “the historical moment of political action.”¹⁹⁵

Conclusion

The words of Aristotle regarding to language and power at the outset of this project are meant to situate the unfolding narrative of the modern colonial enterprise. While the implications of this extract may be apparent by this point, the quote serves to illustrate the aims of the thesis in a number of ways. A reoccurring exercise of language privileging as a mode of political authorization, legitimization, and silencing, appropriated an exclusive series of epistemological treatises that were transmitted from Aristotle across the space of the Mediterranean Sea, and consequently, across the span of centuries. While the preservation of Greek philosophy may be attributed to Arabo-Muslim thinkers who disseminated that information into the European Peninsula, the complex web of a politics that became increasingly entrenched within religious language privileged the “power of language” in a reflexive gaze that injected Castilian with linguistic authority. A number of consequences may be gleaned from this enterprise, but a two-fold observation and conclusion may serve the limitations of this study in a more productive way.

The development of the colonial project following the union of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon can be read as a process of political exertion informed by the injection of self-ascribed authority, while simultaneously, as a process of authoritative injection of fabricated hierarchies informed by political exertion. This is not meant to convey any sort of historical “truth” or objective claim, rather it is an interpretation of the continually self-authorizing project of subjugating the natives of Granada. As has been

¹⁹⁴ Foucault, *History*, xxviii.

¹⁹⁵ Bhabha, *Location*, 33.

demonstrated throughout this project, any and all techniques of constructing a legitimized space for and by the Morisco community was answered by subtle alterations in legal policy, status recognition, and religious identification, that ceaselessly situated the conquered population within the realm of *not-quite-being*. The critical language that engages the spaces of undescriptive historical presence provides the possibility for recovering what is lost through the “violence of disregard,” or the voice of the vanquished.¹⁹⁶

The historical circumstances which situated Castile as a truly global empire in the sixteenth century, locate this study as an analysis of the nascent European perceptions of modernization and the right to worldwide conquest and occupation. Granada’s post-conquest narrative situates this idea on the ground and at a local level, from which these ideological developments can be read in the primary sources that outline the varied political and legal activity of the time. The exclusionary tactics enforced by the secular and ecclesiastic authorities of Granada worked to distance themselves from the Islamic past of the peninsula by prohibiting any custom not associated with the fabricated, uninterrupted, Christian narrative of Hispania. By creating an “uninterrupted history” of Granada an intrusion and displacement was imposed on its natives, which consequently, informed the initial execution of the colonial project in the New World.

Finally, through the examination of writing history as a political act, this thesis endeavors to dissolve any static notion of border identification. It has been made evident that the Castilian authorities, as well as the Morisco community were in contact and informed by the wider Mediterranean world, and the ensuing imperial anxiety aggravated

¹⁹⁶ Refer to footnote 184.

by these connections infiltrated the royal policies aimed at limiting political involvement of anyone who fell outside of the increasingly strict demarcations of Castilian/Catholic identity. While modern interpretations of history might situate the Moriscos as a “borderland people” due to their location between the Christian and Islamic Mediterranean, this oversimplifies the larger scope of the past as continuously redefined in terms of political impositions of fabricated normative categories rooted in advantageous perceptions.¹⁹⁷

The voices of the conquerors have cast a long shadow of reading history and so, take on a reflexive quality that may prejudice the contemporary understanding of past events, which is commonly expressed in questions like, “what *really* happened?” The act of recognizing the search for “truth” in history as a political gesture, exposes the colonial construct of superiority, and inspires the recovery of the silenced and marginalized voice. The haunting of Aristotle’s allocation of power in those who control language is revealed to have taken on the violent element of situation groups, like the Moriscos, as voiceless and so, without history. Acts of resistance that were expressed through the aggressive revolts of the First and Second Alpujarras Uprisings, the political negotiations of Núñez Muley, the lateral movements of conversion, and the intellectual enterprise of the Lead Books, reflect the birth of the colonial project by threatening its very linguistic and political authority. The menace posed by Morisco presence, while informed by a complex series of events and ideological developments in the sixteenth century, rested on the fluid negotiation of the very socio-political categories the Castilian hierarchy enforced upon them. The fact that a large number of the native community remained in Granada until

¹⁹⁷ Catlos, *Muslims*, 523.

the final expulsion of 1609-1614 reveals the irony in that the conquered population continually shifted any and all forms of imposed identity markers and classificatory systems in the interest of survival. As a result, the colonial inclination toward a method of hyper-categorization of the world developed as a necessity for social control and subjugation. This directly informed the European Enlightenment as a continuation of ordering the universe in such a way that positioned the various colonial empires as the center of intellectual and political superiority. These “new techniques of power” began their consolidation against the Moriscos of Granada, initiating the centuries of violence that embraced a language that authorized the dehumanization effort of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, and the extermination of the native communities of the New World.¹⁹⁸ As the sixteenth-century Castilian historian, Francisco López de Gómara, commented with regard to native encounters in the America, “Whoever does not colonize does not conquer well, and without conquering land, the people will not convert; so, to maximize conquering, one must colonize.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Refer to footnotes 12 and 13.

¹⁹⁹ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (Barcelona: Linkgua ediciones S.L., 2008), 86. “Quien no poblare, no hará buena conquista, y no conquistando la tierra, no se convertirá la gente; así que la máxima del conquistar ha de ser poblar.”

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