

Placing Islam: Alternative Visions of the Morisco Expulsion and Spanish Muslim-
Christian Relations in the Sixteenth Century

by

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of
Romance Studies in the Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

This thesis explores attitudes of Christians toward Islam and Muslims in Spain in the sixteenth century and intends to destabilize Islam's traditional place as adversary in Early-Modern Spanish history. My research aligns itself with and employs new trends in historiography that emphasize dissent and resistance exercised by individuals and groups at all levels of Spanish society in order to complicate popular notions about the extermination of Islam in Spain. I argue that within Spain there was, throughout the sixteenth century and after the expulsion of the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century, a continued interest in the religion and culture of Islam. I show that, far from isolating itself from Islam, Christian Spain was engaged with Muslims on multiple levels. The voluntary and involuntary migration of Spaniards to Muslim lands, for many emigrants of Christian decent, led to the embrace of a multicultural, multireligious, polylingual and polyethnic reality along the Mediterranean that was contrary to Spanish Counter-Reformation ideology. The dissertation includes textual examples from sixteenth-century Spanish and colonial "histories," and works by Cervantes, to support the argument that this official ideology, which has dominated historiography on this period, does not reflect much of the Spanish experience with non-Christians within and without its

borders. My goal is to expose a context within the field of Early-Modern Peninsular studies for alternative forms of discourse that emphasize toleration for religious and cultural difference, interfaith and intercultural dialogue and exchange, and a basic interest in and curiosity about Islamic ways of life.

Dedication

For Carlos and Rio

Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements	ix
Introduction	1
1. Contextualizing the Morisco Expulsion	14
1.1 Ambiguous Conquest	15
1.2 A Dissonant Retelling of the Expulsion	22
1.3 Institutions and Persecution	29
1.4 Censorship: Undifferentiated Targets	35
1.5 Heritage and Habits in Counter-Reformation Spain.....	39
1.6 Cultural Hybridity	49
1.7 The Case of the Sacromonte	51
2. Portraits of European Barbary and the European Non-Christian	59
2.1 Spanish Empire: Barbarians Within and Without	60
2.2 Travelers and Captives	65
2.3 Life off Shore	71
2.4 Shades of Conversion.....	80
2.5 Sancho Panza and the Independent Republic.....	85
2.6 Reading Barbary	87
3. Placing Islam in Early-Modern Spanish History	93
3.1 Spain and the Quasi-Historical: Moorish Pillars	93

3.2 New and Improved Histories	100
3.3 A Voyage to Turkey: Perpetuation of the Islamic Model	109
3.4 Against Islam: History as Spiritual Exercise	116
3.5 Readers: Receiving Impressions of the Other	122
3.6 New World Interventions	127
3.7 The Islamic Context.....	132
Conclusion	134
Works Cited	144
Biography	152

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Introduction

Among the curious incidents that occur at the inn in the first book of Don Quixote is the encounter with the captive and his beautiful Moorish travel companion, Zoraida. When the two first appear in Chapter 37, it is understood by the captive's attire that he is a Christian recently returned from Muslim lands. While being held prisoner in the *bagnos* of Algiers, the captive crossed paths with Zoraida. Through surreptitious communications, she promised to help free the captive if he would take her away to Spain, where she hoped to live as the true Christian that she had secretly become. The tale that the captive recounts to the guests at the inn begins with an account of his capture after serving as captain during the battle of Lepanto in 1571. The day after this great victory "que fue para la cristiandad tan dichoso, porque en él se desengañó el mundo y todas las naciones del error en que estaban, creyendo que los turcos eran invencibles por la mar" (I:39), the captain was taken prisoner by the renegade El Uchali and brought to Constantinople, where El Uchali was made captain-at-sea by the Grand Turk. The captive goes on to describe the battles between Christians and Turks he witnessed under El Uchali over the next few years. The most spectacular of these is the attack on La Goleta, at which the enemy presence was overwhelming:

de soldados turcos pagados setenta y cinco mil, y de moros y alárabes de toda la África, más de cuatrocientos mil, acompañado este gran número de gente con tantas municiones y pertrechos de guerra, y con tantos gastadores, que con las manos y a puñados de tierra pudieran cubrir la Goleta y el fuerte. (1:39)

The Christians could not survive such a powerful attack; but their gallantry and resolution was demonstrated by the state of the few hundred survivors, none of whom came out unscathed.

This account forms part of a canon of European literature depicting battles between Muslims and Christians in the sixteenth century, and in that sense is unremarkable. What interests me here are the 75,000 Turkish soldiers who accompany the 400,000 Moors and Arabs from all parts of Africa. These “Turks” appear throughout European art and literature on the subject, the mass of Muslims who fiercely fought Christians along the Mediterranean and controlled its waters for the greater part of the century. No more mention is made of these fighters in Chapter 39 of the Quixote, but the following chapter begins to give us some insight into their identity. A few months after the captive is taken back to Constantinople, his master, El Uchali, dies. We are told that El Uchali was Calabrian by birth and that he had rowed at oar as a slave of the Grand Turk. He converted to Islam to avenge an offense and eventually became king of Algiers before being named captain-at-sea, the third highest place that could be awarded a Turkish vassal. He was a morally worthy man, loved by his captives; and after his death, three thousand of these were divided between his renegades and the Grand Turk. The captive fell to the lot of Hassan Aga, a Venetian renegade who had been captured as a boy by El Uchali. Hassan Aga was a favorite of his master; he came to be the cruelest of renegades, grew very rich and was eventually also appointed king of Algiers. This is

where he took our captive from Constantinople—to the dreaded bagnos, where he would remain until his encounter with Zoraida.

Individuals such as El Uchali and Hassan Aga, Christian men of European descent who had converted to Islam, made up a great part of the Turkish army. They had, through their conversions to Islam, become Turkish themselves. It seems to me that when we have studied Spanish wars with the “Turks,” we have not had in mind the European identities of many of the people on both sides. This is no small detail: viewing fighting between the Ottoman and Spanish Empires largely as skirmishes between Europeans—those willing to uphold and protect the traditional and insulating structures of their countries, and those who would fight against them—shifts the frame of reference in which we are able to talk about Early Modern Europe, and certainly Early Modern Spain.

Making this shift is the purpose of this study, which aims, in light of the textual and historical examples given, to destabilize Islam’s traditional place as adversary in Early-Modern Spanish history. It is not my goal to claim that Spain did not have Muslim enemies during this period: it certainly did, and they were numerous. Rather, this study will show that the variety and complexity of Muslim-Christian relations in this period, both within Spain and beyond its borders, as well as the diversity of ways in which Spaniards themselves represented these relations, make it necessary to open up new conceptual spaces for Islam within Spanish history. To begin with, we must dissect the

myth that contemporary Spanish history grows out of the defeat and elimination of Islam from the peninsula. This was not done in one fell swoop with the conquest of Granada, nor was it accomplished by the expulsion of the Morisco population a century later. Dissenting voices regarding Spanish policy toward Muslims from all levels of Spanish society and government reveal a place for Islam and Muslims in Counter-Reformation Spain that was officially denied them. State rhetoric demonizing Muslims outside its borders also fails to hold in the face of the reality of Spanish Muslim-Christian relations along the Mediterranean. This study will present textual and historical examples depicting attitudes toward Islam and Muslims that make it necessary to reevaluate the way we think about these categories in relation to Spain in the sixteenth century.

By examining recent studies of the execution of Spanish policies regarding the Moriscos, Chapter One, "Contextualizing the Morisco Expulsion," will attempt to unravel the popular notion that Spanish history is largely shaped by *Reconquista*. This story of eight centuries of Christian resistance to foreign enemy rule begins in 711 with the Muslim invasion from North Africa and ends with a final Christian victory in 1492 with the conquest of the last Muslim stronghold in Granada. That eight centuries of Muslim presence in the peninsula could persist in the collective Spanish memory as merely a blemish in an otherwise Christian history is a remarkable testament to the efficacy of the efforts launched by the Catholic Kings to unify the culturally and

religiously diverse kingdom under the Catholic faith. This success was not immediately evident, however, as throughout the sixteenth century the series of legislations, programs and decrees aimed at homogenizing the Spanish population were continuously frustrated by the unwillingness of the Morisco population to become fully Christianized. That this process should be protracted comes as no surprise: before the sixteenth century, Christian conquest simply did not envisage the expulsion of the conquered Muslims from Spain. Already on the eve of the Muslim invasion the population of the Iberian Peninsula was ethnically diverse. The “Goths” who would later symbolize pure, untainted Spanishness were not the majority, and the Muslim invaders themselves were mostly Berbers, also an ethnically varied group. Throughout the Middle Ages the Iberian Peninsula was populated by a heterogeneous society. The first chapter of this study will attempt to show that the Royal determination to achieve cultural and religious homogeneity in the sixteenth century, which culminated in the expulsion of the Moriscos, was neither a logical nor plausible conclusion to 800 years of *Reconquista*.

Along with the expulsion, the campaign against any trace of Muslim presence in the peninsula will be reconsidered within the context of the greater movement of the Counter-Reformation and the activities of the Spanish Inquisition. The persistence of Islam was not the only obstacle in achieving social, religious and cultural heterogeneity within the Spanish Empire. The Moriscos were, in fact, only one of many religious

minority groups in Spain, forming part of a population that had fallen victim to the crown's efforts to homogenize it. The vast majority of cases that passed before the Inquisition were those of *crístianos viejos* influenced by unorthodox religious trends filtering into the country, or simply inclined to reject new dogma coming out of Council sessions. Many of the popular ways in which Muslims within and without Spain were demonized were also reflected in accusations made of their old Christian counterparts brought before the Inquisition. It is significant, for example, that the popular representations of Muslims as lascivious by nature came at a time when two of the most common causes of persecution of non-Muslims by the Inquisition were related to sexual practice, particularly the refusal to consider extramarital sex a mortal sin. In the sixteenth century Spaniards, regardless of their ethnic background (or the status of their *sangre*), were not a unified bunch, at least not in the way that the crown represented them. But it is precisely this propaganda, preserved and handed down for centuries, that has informed our understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in Spain in this period. As Harvey has pointed out, there is a tendency today to regard "Muslim" and "European" as mutually exclusive (135). In light of the forced conversions that shortly followed the conquest of Granada and the eventual expulsion of all descendants of Muslims from Spain, Morisco difference has been highlighted to the point of exclusion.

But Spain's Muslims, like their unchristian¹ Protestant counterparts, were Europeans of their age, participating in and contributing to their culture.

It is only when we look through the prism of state rhetoric that the expulsion, protested by both Muslims and Christians alike, becomes inevitable. Muslim inclusion in Spanish society, which always implies at the very least non-Muslim acquiescence, if not direct collaboration, is evident everywhere we look outside the ambit of state policy. If state legislation itself tells us anything about Spanish identity in the sixteenth century, it's that the Spanish character did not always adhere to or reflect national policy. That is to say that the Spanish, and not just Muslims, were not so Spanish after all. Decrees related to dress and local custom were repeatedly passed and renewed in an attempt to impose sameness on a diverse population. In this setting, Islam, not just as a faith but also as a culture, can be seen as one of several alternatives to official practice available to Spaniards at the time. We know that writing, in the sixteenth century, was largely an institutional activity. In his seminal work, La Cultura del Barroco, Maravall goes as far as to designate all art and writing as part of the baroque propaganda machine.

Maravall's book gives us an impressive view of the official values of Spanish baroque

¹ I am reluctant to use the term "Christian" as the necessary alternative to Muslim at this time. *Cristiano* signified then, as it still does today for many Spaniards, an adherent of the Catholic faith. Clearly, with the presence of the Inquisition, we see that this was as unstable a definition then as it is now.

culture, which even cursory research shows do not reflect the real lived experience of a great many Spaniards of the time.

Chapter Two, "Portraits of European Barbary and the European Non-Christian," will contrast official state rhetoric demonizing the Islamic other as savage, uncivilized and barbarian, likening him or comparing him to the newly encountered natives of the New World, with literary depictions of Muslims in the work of Cervantes. In Exotic Nation and Passing for Spain, Fuchs illustrates how the presence and participation of Islam in Spanish life reveals itself in a national literature that often subverts its own project. In the work of Cervantes neither Christian nor Muslim can be clearly categorized; rather there is considerable fluidity and overlapping between the two categories, as an array of complex situations reveal not only the uncertain identity of many characters, but also their ambiguous place within both Muslim and Christian societies. Three plays by Cervantes, "La Gran Sultana," "Baños de Argel," and "Trato de Argel," depict relations among Muslims and Christians, as well as those of thousands of European renegades who existed between the two realms, in Muslim lands. The Spanish crown's firm stance against Islam and the Muslim barbarian was at variance with the bustling cosmopolitan life along the Mediterranean, which many Spaniards, along with many more Europeans, willingly participated in and often embraced. As Spain rivaled its "Turkish" enemy, many Spaniards and Europeans were becoming "Turks" themselves; and it was these converts who largely manned and controlled the galleys

that threatened Christendom, as well as ruling the Muslim territories along the Mediterranean that continued to absorb more Christians, through capture and slavery as well as through voluntary European migration.

Cervantes reveals a life for captives in Barbary that would seem to contradict the portrayal in captive tales propagated by the crown, the Catholic Church, and especially by the redemptive Orders. The cruel and savage nature of the "Turk," and especially of the renegade who derived pleasure from the torture of the Christian body and soul, were depicted in popular art and literature and helped to perpetuate an ongoing crusade against Islam. But in reality, the sixteenth-century crusade against Islam was very different from its medieval counterpart, as the enemy had suddenly become strangely familiar. Many characters in the three Cervantes plays under study express anxiety over the conversion of Spanish Christians to Islam, but the conversions themselves are represented ambivalently. While for some characters virtue and faith prevail, others accept conversion with no apparent negative consequences. And some profess no belief and are neither punished nor demonized for it. Those captives who remain Christian enjoy freedom of movement, fair treatment, and toleration and respect for their culture and religion by their Muslim masters. This chapter will consider the possibilities for the many Europeans, whether converted to Islam or not, who chose to remain in Barbary and lead a new life there, thereby embracing a model for multiculturalism and religious tolerance absent in their homelands.

The third and final chapter, “Placing Islam in Early-Modern Spanish History,” will examine how this alternative model of coexistence was depicted within some “historical” works of Spanish literature, and consider who in Spain—beyond the mixed bag of travelers to Muslim lands—might have been receptive to these positive representations of Spain’s formal rival and enemy. The popular Verdadera historia del Rey Don Rodrigo (1592, 1600) by Miguel de Luna, a Morisco and the court translator to Philip II, challenges official rhetoric from the center. Luna retells the story of the eighth-century Muslim invasion of Spain in a way that casts a favorable light on the invaders, who in this version would save Spain from the corrupt rule of the Visigoths, restoring justice and order largely through blood mixing. His startling suggestions about race, justice, culture and education are not so hidden that his readers wouldn’t have spotted them. This work suggests that Muslim rule, lacking the negative characteristics which would prejudice people of non-dominant religions—such as censorship and promotion based on lineage rather than merit—and which functioned effectively in Spain’s past, might also work in multiethnic sixteenth-century Spain. The literary strategies used by the author to represent the work as a newer and truer version of history than past works, place the Verdadera historia squarely among other Spanish and European works of history of its time.

The author of the anonymous Viaje de Turquía (c. 1557) was so explicit in his praise of Muslim society and its values that the work was not published in its time. It is

unclear to me how critics have dismissed this book, with its meticulous account of Turkish customs, food, education and religious practice, as merely a critique of Spanish society. Like Luna's Historia, the Viaje clearly participates in the perpetuation of an image of Islamic governance that emphasizes religious and cultural tolerance over persecution, intellectual openness over censorship, and the compensation of merit over kinship and lineage. Both authors favor a more open society than that of Counter-Reformation Spain, whose attempts to homogenize a diverse nation included the persecution of the pursuit of any knowledge that contradicted Church dogma. By contrast, these works insist on the value of intellectual and cultural diversity and point toward Spain's potential to exploit its own diverse resources, both the physical remnants of its multicultural past and the people who still held a connection to it.

At variance with these representations of Muslim rule and life is Haedo's Historia y topografía general de Argel (1612),² which follows the genre of captive tales by upholding official state and Church rhetoric against Islam and Muslims, and especially against the European renegades who defected to their side. Such writing, which attempts to claim Barbary for Christendom and its historical canon, is presented by its author as a sort of spiritual exercise. However, at the same time that Haedo recounts the gruesome horrors experienced by the new Christian martyrs of Barbary, he betrays anxieties over the loss of many more Christian souls to Islam or atheism. He

² The work was composed between 1577 and 1581.

does not depict these converts directly, but includes passages in which captives who remain true to the Christian faith lament the converts' departure from Christianity, and thus establish their presence in Muslim society. Like Cervantes, then, Haedo reveals an alternative vision of Muslim-Christian relations in Barbary that contradicts the Spanish national discourse that one would expect him to sustain. This chapter will show that with a shift of frame of reference—from that of a closed orthodox Catholic Spain to an open Mediterranean in which many of its citizens participated—Haedo, like Luna and the anonymous author of the Viaje, creates a context within which positive representations of Islam, Muslims and Muslim-Christian relations could circulate.

Finally, the study of these alternative histories and representations in Spain is placed in the context of a greater literary trend, which extended to the New World, of non-dominant groups in dominant national discourse. As Luna attempted to forge a place for the Morisco population in peninsular Spain through his new and improved history of its Muslim past, the Inca Garcilaso would attempt to legitimate his own position in Spanish society through his Comentarios Reales (1609), which glorified the Incan people of his mother's bloodline at the same time that it exalted the heroic past of his Spanish conquistador father. In colonial Peru, the Quechua nobleman Guamán Poma, in an illustrated letter to Philip II (1615), elaborated a complex cosmology that connected past Andean dynasties to a Christian model of universal history, further legitimating in the process his own voice, which spoke out against the abuse of his

people in the colonies and demands a change in policy from the crown. Another hybrid colonial text is the mid-sixteenth-century Popul Vuh. Written in Maya-Quiché and alphabetical characters, its creation myth and elaborate genealogies illuminate a history that the crown tried to obliterate. All three works, along with Luna and the Viaje, interrupt the dominant vision of a monolithic Catholic crown and society whose policies aimed to persecute, silence or eliminate those outside of its strictly defined code. And this interruption, in turn, reveals a kingdom whose lived reality of difference—ethnic, religious and ideological—did not reflect the crown’s national construct.

This study argues for the reconsideration of both Spanish and European attitudes toward Islam as well as relations between Muslims and Christians in the sixteenth century in light of the diverse representations in the texts examined here. There is no doubt that many aspects of Spanish government, along with many Spanish institutions and a large segment of the Spanish population, were largely anti-Islamic in the sixteenth century; but this study argues that in many instances, in all three categories, this was also not the case. A retelling of any past moment must include alternative perspectives such as those presented here, even when they contradict dominant views of history. To contradict the dominant view is not to invalidate it; and though no history can include all perspectives, it is essential that a pluralistic approach at least be attempted.

1. Contextualizing the Morisco Expulsion

This chapter will attempt to demythologize popular notions about the extermination of Islam in Spain and show that, though debated for decades before its execution, the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain between 1609 and 1614 was not the expected, logical conclusion to centuries of *Reconquista* that its proponents made it out to be. There is no precedent during 800 years of conflict between Muslims and Christians in the Iberian Peninsula for the very particular concept of exclusion that characterized the expulsion of the Moriscos. Conquest, for Muslims and Christians alike, had never, until the expulsion of the Jews from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabel in 1492, resulted in the total removal of the other. Muslims and Christians had lived under each other's rule since the Muslim invasion from North Africa in 711; and likewise, Jews had lived under the rule of both Christians and Muslims. The elimination of the Jewish people from Spain, an unexpected and distressing event for many of their neighbors,¹ should not be considered a precedent for the kind of expulsion that would take place more than a century later; for the Moriscos, in an officially Catholic kingdom, were baptized Christians, many of whom had no connection to the Islamic faith to speak of. Their Converso counterparts, though similarly persecuted, were not expelled from the

¹ Kamen explains that many Spaniards were of the opinion that "the king was making a mistake to throw out of his realms people who were so industrious and hard-working... The expulsion decree came as a shock to many Christian communities which had lived peacefully with their Jewish minorities for a century or more and were unhappy about the conflictive situation being provoked by religious ideology" (Kamen, "Toleration" 9).

country, and so their experience cannot be conflated with that of the Moriscos. I will argue that, as baptized Christians, regardless of the specifications of their faith, numerous Moriscos experienced many of the consequences of the changes of administration and policy throughout the sixteenth century much as their non-Morisco countrymen, though, of course, they also suffered severe harassment and discrimination that was particular to them as a group. In this light, I will consider the persecution and eventual expulsion of the Moriscos within the greater context of the Counter-Reformation in Spain, under which all people were subject to the pressures of state efforts to homogenize a diverse nation. By examining some of the experiences shared by Moriscos and non-Moriscos under increasing pressure to conform to orthodox Catholicism, I will attempt to undo the notion of Spain as a monolithic government or society that supported, condoned and abided by the laws that were created to achieve such uniformity. My research aligns itself with and employs new trends in historiography² that emphasize dissent and resistance exercised by individuals and groups at all levels of Spanish society.

1.1 Ambiguous Conquest

Initially, the conquest of Granada did not unfold much unlike others that preceded it. In 1492, after vacillating between vassalage and resistance, Abu Abdulla (Boabdil) surrendered Granada to Ferdinand and Isabel. Though the terms of surrender

² See García Arenal, "Religious Dissent," for a review of recent studies that follow this trend.

were liberal, allowing Muslims to retain their property, practice their religion and remain under the jurisdiction of Muslim law, Muslims were encouraged to emigrate; and in 1493 Abu Abdulla himself left for the Maghrib with some 6,000 other Muslims (Abun-Nasr 144). Immigrants heading south to Muslim lands might have had reason to doubt the safety of their move, as many people connected with the Spanish court were eager to carry the crusade against the Muslims across the Mediterranean. Abun-Nasr explains that this might have been out of sheer tradition, as “the nobility had grown to look upon fighting the Muslims as a fitting means of enrichment and proving their aristocratic qualities” (144). In any case, their ambitions did not go unsupported; in 1494, Pope Alexander IV required the faithful to assist the Catholic Kings in their African crusade. Only fighting with France over Naples prevented Spain from occupying Melilla until 1497. After 1499, Archbishop Cisneros, who would incite the new Muslim subjects in Granada to violence with his hard-line tactics for conversion, argued forcibly for the permanent occupation of the central Maghrib and the foundation of an empire there; but after the death of Isabel in 1504, Ferdinand’s ideas about expansion in the Mediterranean prevailed and Spain’s objective in the Maghrib became the establishment of *presidios*, or garrison posts, along the coast, leaving the interior to indigenous rulers. The *presidios* effectively moved the national frontier from the peninsula to the Maghrib itself and later came to constitute a line of confrontation with the Ottoman Empire (Abun-Nasr 146-147). The conquest of Granada itself, then, had not been the final victorious end to

Christian ambitions for Muslim lands; and conversion did not go hand in hand with Spain's military plans.

The Christianization of Granada was not immediately realized by the 1492 conquest. Conquest in earlier periods had never implied "systematic ethnic cleansing" (Harvey 292) and there was no reason to expect that the Muslim inhabitants of Granada would be treated any differently. The new subjects were promised the freedom to continue to practice their religion and culture under the rule of their new Christian kings, who released a statement shortly after the conquest of Granada in order to quell fears:

Sepades que nos es fecha relación que algunos nos han dicho que nuestra voluntad era de vos mandar tomar e haceros por fuerza cristianos e porque nuestra voluntad nunca fue, ha sido, ni es que ningun moro torne cristiano por fuerza, por la presente vos aseguramos e prometemos por nuestra fe e palabra real, que no habemos de consentir ni dar lugar a que ningun moro por fuerza torne cristiano...(qtd. in El Alaoui 114)

In order to protect the Muslim property rights and other legal guarantees of the treaty of surrender, Christian immigration to the newly conquered city was initially limited.

Thus, the first wave of immigration that began in 1494 was small, and the first archbishop who catered to the nascent community, Talavera, adhered to the terms of surrender, making him a popular figure among the Muslim majority. He was known for his respect for the cultural traditions of the city's native population and his emphasis on evangelization by gentle persuasion rather than by force. The arrival of a second archbishop in Granada in 1499, General Inquisitor and Archbishop of Toledo Francisco

Jiménez de Cisneros, marked a turning point in relations between the new Christian and native Muslim populations. He embarked upon a forceful, often violent, conversion campaign that soon spurred a Muslim revolt that quickly spread to the Alpujarra Mountains. Particularly intolerable to the Muslim population of Granada was the increasing harassment of the *elches*, Christians who had converted to Islam before the conquest. Cisneros and his band especially targeted female converts, along with their Muslim children, inciting the community to act in their defense (Harvey 27). Those Muslims who could not emigrate were forced into mass conversion in 1500; and the rebellion was not put down until 1502. These events allowed Cisneros to argue successfully that the freedoms and protections granted Muslims under the conditions of surrender no longer applied to the native population, initiating a larger wave of Christian immigration that would continue throughout the sixteenth century, along with a more aggressive campaign to assimilate the newly baptized Moriscos.³ However, it is important to note that between 1492 and 1550, as García Ballester points out, both communities continued to coexist more or less peacefully. The Muslim community continued to follow traditional models and practices, such as those of medicine and science, though the dominant Christian community increasingly encroached upon Muslim rights to practice and study within a traditional Islamic context (Ballester 47-48).

³ For a general view of the early post-conquest years in Granada, see Coleman 1-12.

The crown was, of course, taking on the enculturation of two ethnically diverse groups at once, as it became increasingly embroiled in its efforts to colonize the Americas. As we will see in the next chapter, Moriscos and Indians were subject to the same rhetoric, as they were subject to the same religious and cultural campaign. For the monarchy, and even for those Christians who considered themselves the greatest allies of the newly baptized populations on both sides of the Atlantic:

to live like a man meant, ideally, to live like a Spaniard...within a few years of the conquest of Granada, Hernando de Talavera...was telling newly baptized Moors of the Albaicin that it was necessary for them to conform in all things to the practices of the Christians, "in your dress and your shoes and your adornment, in eating and at your tables and in cooking meat as they cook it; in your manner of walking, in giving and receiving and more than anything in our speech, forgetting so far as you can the Arabic tongue"...showing how difficult it was even had the desire existed, to separate the doctrinal requirements of a newly baptized Christian from the patterns of his social behavior. Doctrine and behavior were so closely associated in the minds of most Europeans that the friar who wrote of reducing those who lived like barbarians and brute animals to a Christian and human polity would probably have been hard put to distinguish between the two. Marriage and funeral customs, education and dress all came with in the ambit of a Christian way of life. (Elliott, Spain 53)

Accompanying this program of assimilation were many decrees banning all Morisco cultural expression, including the use of the Arabic language.⁴ The newly baptized Morisco population resisted these mandates and, after the decree of conversion or expulsion, largely began to practice its religion clandestinely, beginning an era of crypto-Islam in the peninsula that would continue until the expulsions of 1609-1614 (Harvey

⁴ For a detailed discussion of these decrees and the Morisco response, see Perry.

29). This resistance culminated in another rebellion that began in the Alpujarra Mountains on Christmas of 1568 and lasted until 1570. The war dragged on longer than anyone expected, due mostly to conflicts among Christian commanders; and in the end Christian victory seemed to come only from division among rebels on the side of the Muslims (Harvey 218). The last Umayyad pretender in Al Andalus, Fernando de Valor Aben Humaya, and other native Granadan commanders, as well as military experts sent from Algiers by Turkish authorities, led the Moriscos (Harvey 217). In February officials estimated the rebels at 150,000, of whom 45,000 were in a position to bear arms (Braudel 1060). Harvey now puts the estimate at 25,000; of these, 4,000 were Turks and Berbers (481). Once the war began, the crown no longer had any doubt about Morisco alliance with Muslim forces outside of Spain:

From the very heart of Spain, all the way to Turkey, an uninterrupted chain of intelligence operated, not to mention the itinerant and fugitive Moriscos who were indefatigable walkers, travellers and intermediaries: they had their agents and spokesmen in North Africa as well as Constantinople. (Braudel 1062)

As a Muslim victory would have established a Muslim bridgehead in the West, a decree for the expulsion of nearly all of the Moriscos from Granada, and for their dispersion throughout the rest of Spain, was forcibly put into effect following the suppression of the rebellion, emptying Granada of the majority of its inhabitants.⁵

This account of the first expulsion of the Moriscos within Spain, when looked at

⁵ However, Braudel reports that “sporadic war continued in the mountains with dangerous raids being launched against isolated Christians” (1071).

in isolation, sets the stage for their eventual expulsion from the country. Similarly, the final expulsion, when recounted in light of the *Reconquista*, as was immediately done by its apologists, reads as the logical conclusion to the story of a foreign, enemy group in Spain, inassimilable and dangerous to the stability and well-being of the country. This is how the fate of the Moriscos was depicted in many publications following the expulsion of 1609-1614 and even before. The popular epic poem by Juan Rufo, "La Austriada," which was written at court in 1582 under the patronage of Philip II, centers on the participation of Juan de Austrias in the Alpujarras rebellion, which the author depicts as an epic conflict between a native Christian population and a foreign Muslim enemy on Spanish soil. The poem was used and cited by apologists of the expulsion, such as Damián Fonesca (García Arenal, "Entorno" 319), and it appears notably at the end of the sixth chapter of the first book of the Quixote, in which the priest and the barber scrutinize Don Quixote's personal library in order to purge it of worthless, harmful or heretical literature. The verdict on the "Austriada" is positive, as the priest declares it, along with two others, to be "los mejores que en verso heroico, en lengua castellana están escritos, y pueden competir con los más famosos de Italia," ordering them all to be saved as "las más ricas prendas de poesía que tiene España." Thus the official story of the fate of the Muslim invader in Spain, finally expelled from Spanish soil in the guise of his Morisco descendants, is sanctioned in Spain's most celebrated work of literature. But as we will see, a closer look at the Quixote and some of Cervantes' other works reveals

different attitudes toward Muslims within and without Spain.⁶ Likewise, new historiography reveals that Muslims and Christians in this period, both among elite and lower classes, were engaged in an array of fruitful relationships that did not involve, much less center around, friction and hostility. As I will show, a plurality of voices among Christians at all levels of society expressed opposition to the views and legislation upheld by apologists of the expulsion.

1.2 A Dissonant Retelling of the Expulsion

A good point of departure for an alternative vision of the history of Islam in this period might be the contemporary Spanish historian, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, who has given many assurances of the undivided Christian support for the expulsion of the Moriscos in Spain. In Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico, Bunes Ibarra claims that, of the works written after the expulsion, “ninguna de estas obras se plantea crítica alguna al poder central. Consideran la medida justa, necesaria y religiosamente imprescindible. Gracias a ella poseemos un país del que, en el sentido más estricto, se han desterrado los herejes, apostatas y traidores” (16-17). And so as not to leave any room for doubt about the ubiquity of this anti-Morisco sentiment he continues in the same vein:

No debemos pensar que la expulsión de los moriscos fue una medida deseada tan sólo por los eclesiásticos o los círculos de poder de la época. El pueblo se

⁶ See chapter 2 for a discussion of these.

sintió especialmente dichoso cuando se dictaron los bandos de expulsión al ver como desaparecían unos competidores y un contingente de la población con costumbres alimenticias y culturales diferentes. (38)

According to Bunes Ibarra, there was absolutely no negative reaction in Spain to the expulsion—not a single critique of Spanish legislation regarding its policies toward the Moriscos—until the accession of Philip IV to the throne in 1621 (55). In another work, La imagen de los musulmanes y del norte de África en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII (whose subtitle, *Los caracteres de una hostilidad*, clearly announces what is to come), Bunes Ibarra makes plain in the introduction that, in the sixteenth century in Spain, there is only “un continuismo en el pensamiento español sobre los musulmanes” (IX); that is, the attitude toward Islam as enemy carries over from the Middle Ages without change. What has, in fact, remained fairly static is the view that Bunes Ibarra upholds regarding attitudes toward Islam in Spain.⁷ Any alternative history of the Moriscos or Islam in Spain in the sixteenth century must begin by contrasting itself with this official, antagonistic version, which begins with the Muslim invasion in 711 and ends with expulsion of the Moriscos nine centuries later. I contend that a reading of history that highlights friction and incompatibility between Muslims and Christians during this period, and which was propagated by the crown at the time of the expulsion, is

⁷ This is notwithstanding the popular movement inspired by Americo Castro’s work on the notion of *convivencia* in Spain. More recently, see Menocal.

maintained by many historians and Hispanists today.⁸ My aim is to uncover, or recover, historical details that will enable us to develop an alternative vision of a history of Muslim and Christian relations around the time of the expulsion, which would in turn give us an alternative reading of the expulsion itself. An alternative vision of Spain's relation to Islam—in this case, regarding its own Muslim population—must give significance to various positions, experiences and attitudes of moderation, toleration and dissent.

Certainly any history of Spain dealing with Christian-Muslim relations (through the present) must acknowledge some degree of hostility, conflict and antagonism flowing in both directions. But one could also envision a history that would include positions that emphasized either resistance or moderation, especially within the dominant group—in this case, the non-Morisco majority. To begin with, there was never unanimous support for the final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, neither among administrators, the clergy, nor their non-Morisco countrymen. Even in 1602, when the fundamental question of the expulsion had been officially determined, and even on the eve of the expulsion in 1609 many non-Muslim Spaniards still hoped for the sincere

⁸ Even definitive works such as Harvey's Muslims in Spain notably omit Spanish dissent regarding policies toward Muslims and Islam. In the introduction to his book Harvey does, however, allow that "what actually happened, both over the short term and over the longest of periods may be conceptualized in totally different ways by members of different groups," (ix) leaving room for other interpretations.

conversion of their countrymen (Harvey 294). When the expulsion was finally made public on April 9, 1609, the announcement coincided with the 12-year peace treaty that the Duke of Lerma and Philip III signed with Dutch rebels (Elliott, Imperial Spain 300). The crown's intention was to overshadow this humiliating defeat with the triumphant act of removing the last traces of Islam from Spain, but the chaos that followed did not have this effect.

As it immediately became obvious that the expulsion would drag on, affect the economy, and cause much suffering for those expelled, literature justifying the expulsion proliferated. A few titles are quite telling about the effort made to sell the expulsion to non-Morisco Spaniards: Damián Fonseca, Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España, con la instrucción, apostasía y traición de ellos: Y respuesta a las dudas que se ofrecieron acerca de esta materia (1612); Antonio de Corral y Rojas, Relación del [sic] rebelión y expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Valencia (1613); Fray Marcos de Guadalajara, Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España (1613). From these titles one surmises that treachery, apostasy and rebellion were justly punished with exile; but one can also surmise that much of what has been understood about the life of Moriscos in Spain comes from these state-sanctioned stories supporting the policies and actions of the administration of Philip III and Lerma. Such propaganda—copious tales of Moorish malice, coupled with another popular source for historians, Inquisition files (testimonies brought on by the accusations of foes)—has

contributed disproportionately to Morisco historiography. Other sources—local and seigniorial files—show that these treatises were in direct conflict with local, ecclesiastical, and even government response.

As Trevor Dadson has demonstrated, letters contesting the expulsion reached the court from all parts of the kingdom. Neighbors, upset by the forced departure of their friends, remained in contact with expelled Moriscos and in many cases aided their return. Many towns and municipalities wrote to defend their small populations of Moriscos. A group of theologians meeting in Madrid in December of 1609 to give their opinion on the expulsion of the Moriscos from Castile had this to say:

Los antiguos de Castilla son los más entendidos de todos, todos reciben los sacramentos, tienen cofradías, traen armas, tienen oficios públicos como boticarios, médicos, graduados por universidades, letrados, escribanos públicos y reales; no saben cosa alguna de la lengua, y los hay del Rey Católico que les permite algunas de estas cosas como a los otros cristianos viejos. Hanse muchos de estos mezclados con cristianos viejos por los matrimonios...Y las razones que ha habido para la expulsión de los de Valencia no militan en los de Castilla, ni se pueden traer a consecuencia las pragmáticas del Rey Católico, ni la del año de 1492 ni la de 1515, porque se mandó salir los judíos primero y los moriscos después que no se convirtiesen, pero no los convertidos ni los bautizados...de manera que la expulsión de los moriscos de Castilla no puede regularse por las resoluciones que están tomadas. (qtd. in Dadson 8)

Many contemporary histories of the Moriscos and their expulsion focus on the edicts that aimed at persecuting the community as a whole. However, many historical records of the expulsion—like those presented by Dadson—reveal that Spain as a monolithic state following a single ideology no more existed in the case of policies regarding the Moriscos than it did for other aspects of Spanish government. Rather, Spain was in the

Early Modern period – as it had been throughout the Middle Ages – a conglomeration of independently run smaller states. Kamen explains that

Government throughout the Habsburg period was typically regional and autonomous rather than national. At an even lower, day-to-day level, traditional structures were based on community authority, exercised through village councils, which made the major decisions on all aspects of communal life. None of this implied a weak crown; in a federal monarchy such as the Spanish it is possible to view local autonomy as a strength rather than a weakness. It was also more economical since it minimized the need to create a national bureaucracy. (“Habsburg Lands” 484)

Once the expulsion was in motion, locals often did their best to impede or delay the process. Troops and commissars sent to oversee the details of the expulsion were detained at the gates of villages and towns, where their papers were checked and from which they were often turned away (Dadson 7). Powerful nobles such the Mendoza family refused to collaborate with the expulsion and allowed many Moriscos to remain on their estates with no consequences for the nobles or the Moriscos who they protected (Dadson 10). As Elliott has pointed out, the king’s authority rested on great skill in managing relationships and cooperating with local officials in order to avoid the use of naked force, for “at every turn he found himself baulked by laws and institutions which drastically curbed the exercise of royal power” (Spain 84). It is evident in the case of the Moriscos that local leaders were not afraid to take matters into their own hands when they disagreed with the court’s decisions.

The only place where the expulsion was truly successful was Valencia; everywhere else many Moriscos either remained or returned shortly after having left the

country (Dadson 17). In the first expulsion from Granada, so many Moriscos remained or returned that by 1580 there were around 10,000 there (García Arenal, "Entorno" 304). The reality of Morisco integration meant that it was not easy to detect Moriscos in a town's midst. Their names do not stick out in university records, for in many cases they were no different from the names of their non-Morisco classmates. Many Morisco graduates in New Castile and Extremadura held important positions in their communities, serving as lawyers, doctors, teachers, and priests and holding valued posts such as *alcalde*, *regidor*, *escribano* and *notario* (Dadson 13). Moriscos formed part of the social and economic landscape of Spain, whether faithful Christians or Muslims, and as social and economic entities had long been integrated into the country's (their country's) structure. Of course Moriscos were also infamously excluded from elite positions:

armados y vestidos como cristianos, y hablando la misma lengua [...] Que se hacían dueños del dinero porque estaban apoderados de todos los tratos y contrataciones, mayormente en los mantenimientos, que es el crisol donde se funde la moneda. Y, para mejor usar de ello, se habían hecho tenderos, dispenseros, panaderos, carniceros, taberneros, y aguadores, pasteleros, buñoleros y hortelanos, y que era inconveniente que nuestros enemigos declarados se hiciesen dueños de lo que es dinero, consistiendo en él la mayor parte de la conservación y prosperidad de la cosa pública. (qtd. in Dadson 12)

The Moriscos were continually depicted as either culturally other and inassimilable by their detractors, or, if like Christians, were often suspected of being spies in cahoots with the enemy; if they were economically successful, they were accused of trying to control the local economy. But for many others, the Moriscos were simply neighbors and countrymen who had long lived and worked in their communities.

1.3 Institutions and Persecution

Morisco integration in Christian communities is often difficult to imagine, as for most people familiar with Spanish history any mention of the sixteenth century inevitably conjures up a complex web of statutes, such as those related to *limpieza de sangre*, aimed at separating “old Christians” from new. Albert Sicroff’s work has painted an impossible picture for Moriscos within Christian society in this period. Tensions between *cristianos nuevos* and *cristianos viejos* certainly were heightened by long-running debates over the legitimacy of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, which were increasingly applied to different institutions across Spain since the end of the fifteenth century, though they did not receive royal and papal approval until 1555. The application of these statutes meant that anyone proven to have “stained blood,” even if inherited from a Jewish or Muslim ancestor from centuries past, would not be eligible to enter the ranks of the Church, and would be excluded from most professional posts. But, Henry Kamen has questioned the importance of these statutes, arguing that Spain has always been and continued to be throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a society of dissent (“Toleration and Dissent”). Since these statutes have long marked our vision and understanding of Early Modern Spain, it is worth quoting Kamen at length on the subject:

A statute of *limpieza* was, quite simply, a membership rule drawn up by private bodies in the fifteenth century...all such statutes were drawn up primarily and exclusively because there were status struggles between groups. Wherever we find a statute—in a city council, in a religious order, in a cathedral chapter—it is

because two competing groups were locked in conflict. The central issue was power: race or religion was secondary...The parameters of *limpieza* were even narrower than this. The statutes...had no judicial or legislative basis. They never formed part of the laws of Spain. They had the status only of rules adopted by private societies, and had no validity or force outside them. Since they had no force in law, they were frequently not complied with even where they existed. Second, the statutes could be found only in Castile and only in a very small number of bodies there...*no general support was ever given to limpieza rules*, and no scholar has ever been able to cite more than a handful of bodies that had them. A sprinkling of organizations in Castile—university colleges, some towns, some religious orders, some urban guilds—make up the absolute total of those with statutes...the whole controversy over *limpieza* was, notoriously, not Spanish but Castilian. And even in Castile majority opinion was not in favor. (Kamen, “*Limpieza*” 20-21, emphasis mine)

Advocates for Morisco rights were opponents of these statutes, seeing them as part of a hypocritical campaign that could only impede the desired assimilation of the newly baptized population. But so, too, were many Christians accused of having Jewish ancestry.

Any study of Muslim-Christian relations in Spain during this period must include the Inquisition. Muslims inside and outside of Spain⁹ naturally feared and abhorred this institution, as stories traveled across Europe and the Muslim world about death by torture of even suspected Muslims. But the Inquisition, an often grossly misconceived institution, functioned largely not to persecute ethnic minorities, but to manage tensions between local custom and Church dogma across Spain—to ensure that the old Christians themselves were not constructing local realities contrary to the

⁹ For the latter, see Matar, Europe 13.

orthodox identity upheld by the Church and the crown. First instated by Ferdinand and Isabel in the late fifteenth century to discover and punish crypto-Judaism, the Inquisition was the only authority that reached into all realms. Later, it did its part to discover and punish crypto-Islam, but during the Counter-Reformation, which begins with the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Inquisition, as an arm of the state, was engaged in discovering and punishing all heterodoxy within an officially Catholic Spain.¹⁰ Upholding Church dogma coming out of Council sessions in the middle of the sixteenth century was not an easy task even within the Church itself, shot through as it was with ignorance and corruption (the banishment of which was preeminent on the list of Council goals), let alone in the majority of rural Spain, where locals still needed to be schooled in the basic tenets of Christianity.

In fact, one of the greatest complaints throughout the sixteenth century regarding the persecution of the Moriscos was that no real effort had been made to convert them. Indeed, with so many trained religious overseas¹¹ and in other parts of the Empire (not to mention a shortage of funds due to war with England and the Netherlands), the structure and support simply did not exist to undertake the education and enculturation of such a large group of people. Again, Spain was having a hard enough time with its non-Muslim population. Even the Inquisition mostly excluded rural populations.

¹⁰ For the Inquisition's role in Spain during the Counter-Reformation, see Boeglin 14-16.

¹¹ According to Elliott, in 1559 there were 802 members of religious orders in Mexico alone (Spain 12-14).

William Christian finds Inquisitorial records useless for understanding everyday life in the majority of Spain, claiming that “building a picture of rural Catholicism from their archives would be like trying to get a sense of everyday American political life from FBI files” (4). Across Catholic Europe, the Counter-Reformation came up against local tradition:

the habits which the Counter-Reformation was seeking to eradicate went deep: there is a lot to be said for the view that the great obstacle to Tridentine uniformity was not individual backsliding or Protestant resistance but the internal articulations of a society in which kinship was a most important social bond, and feud, in however conventionalized a form, a flourishing social activity. Persuading the whole population of a parish to assemble regularly in its parish church or to communicate together at Easter proved often enough beyond the powers of the clergy. (Bossy 55)

We can say with some certainty that, within Counter-Reformation Spain, local belief, like local cultural practices that reflected those beliefs, strayed from official doctrine for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Life in the city might be easier to track, but perhaps no easier to match with an image of a monolithic state and homogeneous society. Michel Boeglin paints a colorful picture of Seville in the sixteenth century:

tratantes, negociantes, marineros y aventureros venidos a probar fortuna en esta provincia, ya fueran ingleses, franceses, flamencos, de fe no siempre conforme con la religión oficial. La deportación masiva de los moriscos granadinos en 1570 agudizó aún más la tensión cultural y religiosa de la Sevilla imperial que ya albergaba una asombrosa proporción de esclavos procedentes del África negra y de los países islámicos. (17)

Like Madrid, whose population by the early seventeenth century had doubled to 100,000, Seville had grown from 70,000 to 150,000 in the same century (Elliott, *Spain* 18). And yet, between 1560 and 1700, the number of old Christians who passed before the Inquisitorial *audencia* there for questions of faith fluctuated between one-third and two-thirds of the total number of people questioned (Boeglin 19), while that of crypto-Muslims reached only 14.9 percent from 1560 to 1599 and 9.6 percent in the following 40 years (Boeglin 78).

Even before the end of the Council of Trent Boeglin finds a spike in minor offenses in the Inquisitorial files between 1560 and 1638. These included bigamy, blasphemy, witchcraft and other “proposiciones erróneas y malsonantes” (Boeglin 21). Marriage practices are of particular interest as they came under attack in all communities:

what seems particular to this period is that the motive of imposing Christian ethics on social behavior had lost ground to the motive of imposing conformity in religious observance....The council of Trent, in particular, enacted a matrimonial code which ran counter to the collectivist and contractual traditions of kinship morality by invalidating marriages not performed in public before the parish priests, insisting on individual liberty in the choice of partners, and affirming that marriages contracted by minors without parental consent were valid, though not lawful. It led in consequence to a vigorous attack on the traditional and extrasacramental espousal or *fiancailles* which had maintained into the sixteenth century the contractual marriage theory. (Bossy 57)

In Seville, however, the most clamorous persecution of this period was against the quietists,¹² marking the Inquisition's advance on Christian society and control of its behavior (Boeglin 140). Some problems, like bigamy and a vague wavering from Church dogma, were common to both Muslim and non-Muslim society in Spain. The vast majority of people affected—85 percent according to Boeglin—were economically from the lowest ranks of society (258).¹³ Certainly many Moriscos all over Spain formed part of this majority of the underprivileged, undereducated and easily targeted.

Of course there were customs that were particular to Morisco culture that were regularly monitored and persecuted. Circumcision, for example, was a major concern. Instructional literature did not ignore the issue; the following was included among the recommendations of the assembly of the Royal Chapel of Granada in November 1526:

We also command that from now on no surgeon or doctor or any other person may give permission to the newly converted of this kingdom, with or without information, to cut off the foreskin of the penis, without express permission from the prelate or the chief magistrate (corregidor), nor should he personally remove it, under penalty of loss of property and permanent exile from the kingdom for whoever does so without permission. (qtd. in Vincent 80)

The same terms were reiterated in the 1565 provincial council of Granada. And an Inquisition text dated 1581 states that "because experience has shown so far that all the

¹² The mystical practices of the quietists emphasized intellectual stillness and interior passivity with the aim of attaining perfection.

¹³ Excepting what he calls an "anti-protestant fury" between 1560 and 1563 and again between 1660 and 1690, when the Inquisition did dare to try people from the upper rungs of society.

Moriscos of this kingdom are circumcised and that they circumcise their infant sons, it has seemed fitting to become stricter with the parents and to condemn them all to be whipped if a son is discovered to be circumcised” (qtd. in Vincent 89). Circumcision, like other external signs, was a declaration of faith, both for Muslim and non-Muslim Spaniards, and obsessed Christian society during the years of Morisco persecution in Spain. But other prohibitions were not suffered by Muslims alone.

1.4 Censorship: Undifferentiated Targets

The ban on the Arabic language affected scholars for whom Arabic, like Hebrew, had formed an important part of biblical exegesis since the Middle Ages. As the language of Islam, a religion declared a Christian heresy by the Medieval Church, its popularity among students had waxed and waned with the crusades. The fifteenth century brought the beginning of a sustained interest in Arabic among scholars throughout Europe,¹⁴ especially among humanists—and especially in Italy—many of whom collected printed books and manuscripts. By the end of the sixteenth century many books were being printed in Europe in the Arabic language. In the 1580s the Medici Press in Rome was the first to develop a good Arabic type. In 1591 it printed the four gospels in Arabic, in 1592 a grammatical tract, in 1593 Avicenna’s Cannon and in

¹⁴ In his study “L’arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance,” Bataillon points out the irony that “L’Espagne de la Renaissance était a la fois le pays le mieux désigné pour devenir une pépinière d’arabisants et le pays le moins dispose a jouer ce rôle” (qtd. in Subrahmanyam, Intertwined 123).

1594 Euclid's Elements. In 1614 the Medici Press' place was taken by a new oriental press in Rome, and in 1615 this press was moved to Paris (Dannenfeldt 116). At least some Spanish humanists must have been aware of the circulation of these publications, if not in possession of them. The public burning of 5,000 Arabic manuscripts in Granada in 1499 on the order of Cardinal Cisneros did not completely discourage the pursuit of knowledge of Arabic in Spain. Emilio Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), author of the acclaimed Diccionario de la lengua castellana (1492), was one of the earliest humanists in the country to learn Arabic. Talavera himself studied the Arabic language and ordered that Arabic grammar books and dictionaries be written so that priests and sacristans living in the towns of the newly baptized could learn it also. His efforts led Hieronymian monk Pedro de Alcalá to publish a Spanish-Arabic dictionary entitled Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana in Granada in 1505 (Dannenfeldt 105). And, notably, the noble and humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575) studied Arabic in Granada before going on to the University of Salamanca. He was also a collector of Arabic manuscripts, which he later gave to the Escorial (Dannenfeldt 107).

At the universities in Spain, despite the risks involved, many would not give up Arabic as a valuable tool. Fray Luis testified before the Inquisition on November 13, 1573 that a book entitled Expresión sobre el Cantar de los cantares de Salmón, which was confiscated from his cell, did in fact have "dos renglones escritos en hebreo, dos renglones y medio en griego y un renglón y medio en árabe" (qtd. in López Baralt 22).

Martín Martínez, jailed on May 27, 1572, confessed to the Inquisition that he had purchased a piece of the Koran in Medina before the Commission of the Holy Office. He had brought the text to the university in order to refute it (López Baralt 43). A 1561 statute mandated that five visits a year would be made to the classrooms of professors in order to ensure that no heretical materials were being covered there. Classrooms had traditionally received similar visits by the oldest member of the faculty, but now these visits were state-regulated. Everything that took place in the classroom was scrupulously written down by the visitor and recorded in the *libros de visitas a cátedras* (López Baralt 22-24). For students and professors, the ban on the use of Arabic was not necessarily associated with Islam at all; rather it formed part of a greater policy of the repressive government of Philip II. In 1559 the king mandated that Spanish students no longer be allowed to study abroad. The subsequent overcrowding of the universities incited many students at the University of Salamanca to violent protests. Still aggrieved by the unfavorable conditions and limitations in place at the university, in 1572 two hundred armed students tried to take the *Ayuntamiento*; more civil disobedience related to the treatment of students broke out in 1593, leading the statutes to be revised in 1594 (López Baralt 27-28). Censorship, under which the ban on the study of the Arabic language fell, did much to contribute to these acts of protest and reform.

Throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century, state efforts to control what people read and learned extended outside of the Morisco home and the universities.

Books with any heretical content were burned and banned. In 1511 this had already included many books with valuable scientific content written in Arabic (Ballester 50). Spain's borders were patrolled to prevent the entrance of unwanted literature. But just as some Moriscos continued to write in *aljamiado*, illegally using Arabic characters to transmit information in Castilian about prohibited Islamic religious themes,¹⁵ and Christian academics used the Arabic language to elucidate difficult passages of the Bible, books of all heretical shades continued to enter and circulate within Spain. Books entered the country via merchants, pilgrims, and other travelers coming and going and converging in larger cities like Seville, Madrid and Barcelona. Inquisitor General Fernando Valdes published his Index of Prohibited Books in 1559. Lists of banned and confiscated books tell us that there was no lack of circulation. Within Spain, Catholic writers and reformers who had led a popular mystical movement in the first part of the sixteenth century were censored after the Council of Trent, and those who tried to access their writing or follow these now-heretical practices were punished.¹⁶ Intellectual and cultural persecution, then, was also an experience shared by the Spanish population as a whole, including Muslims.¹⁷

¹⁵ For more on the use of *aljamiado*, see Harvey 133-136.

¹⁶ For a discussion on mysticism in this period, see Rhodes.

¹⁷We might note that Muslim mystics had similarly experienced waves of celebration and persecution under different Islamic governments in Iberia before the Christian conquest of Granada.

1.5 Heritage and Habits in Counter-Reformation Spain

It is possible to study the Moriscos alongside other Spaniards who lived through the oppressive reign of Philip II. It is, of course, their eventual (but not inevitable) expulsion that compels those interested in Spanish history to study them always in isolation. Many Moriscos were not Muslim at all and knew no more about Islam than Santa Teresa most likely knew about Judaism. That is, they felt no more Muslim than she did Jewish; and if not for the expulsion, they would have ceased to identify themselves, or be identified by others, with the Muslim faith at all, as was undoubtedly the case with many who were expelled after their Muslim heritage had been uncovered.¹⁸ Moriscos, like Conversos, might have almost ceased to exist with a more successful project of assimilation.¹⁹ This was already evident for many defenders of the Moriscos.

Ignacio de Las Casas' arguments focused on Morisco participation. The Jesuit had entered the Order in 1572, twenty-one years before its adoption of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, and fought against their application and for the rights of the Moriscos until their expulsion. He argued for the total integration of the Moriscos in society and

¹⁸ See Tueller's study on assimilated Moriscos of Castile.

¹⁹ This study concentrates on Moriscos in the context of greater Spanish society and is not interested in a parallel Jewish history. For a comparative study of the Moriscos and Judeoconversos, see Amelang. It is, however, worth citing here a closing remark to his study stressing the strange irony reflected by the expulsion of the Moriscos: "que el grupo más irreductible, más contaminante, fue el que al final acabó integrándose en la sociedad" (178).

against special taxes that were applied to them, as well as against any other form of racial discrimination. In a letter to Pope Clemente VIII in 1605 he writes:

No puede ser excluido de la honra del sacerdocio el que tiene derecho para participar della y porque está instituida de Christo para todas las naciones del mundo nadie tiene autoridad para excluir della alguna nación en siendo los della christianos y bastantemente cultivados con buena instrucción y doctrina, siendo hábiles y capaces y pasando el noviciado de cristiandad, parece que tienen derecho para tener sacerdotes y obispos de su nación. (qtd. in El Alaoui 103)

Las Casas makes the commitment to defending the rights of the Moriscos as a separate nation to form part of the Church at all levels, while working for the enculturation of this group through the schools established and directed by the Jesuits. This program did not—indeed could not at this time—separate doctrine from behavior; Las Casas’ goal was to turn the Moriscos—in look, belief and actions—into beings indistinguishable from their old Christian counterparts. Las Casas’ letter also exemplifies the sixteenth-century debates surrounding the adoption of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, which for many were obviously in direct conflict with Christian doctrine and the foundation of the Church. Las Casas recognized the fundamental problems of the Moriscos in Spain and lamented the forced conversions that had taken place in the first part of the century after the rebellions in Granada and Aragon, which had been declared valid despite the obvious tensions they produced:

Siendo mahomoetanos y estándose en su secta por estar en estos reynos de España, eran fielísimos amigos de los cristianos y súbditos a sus señores y reyes y a su costa guardavan las costas del mar de los corsarios de su secta e yvan a las guerras contra ellos; bautizados...se convirtieron en crueles enemigos. (qtd. in El Alaoui 114)

What Las Casas objects to here is the turning away from a policy of assimilation that he still advocates in favor of force. In the face of this oppression, many Moriscos did turn their homes into places of resistance, where they could continue to pass down their culture and religion (to the best of their ability) to their children. Cardillac describes Morisco sentiments toward the Spanish authorities that persecuted them:

para los moriscos...la Inquisición va contra la verdad y está al servicio del oscurantismo: meter a alguien en las negras mazmorras de la Inquisición es querer esconder la verdad...cuando los moriscos hablan de la Inquisición es siempre en tono de diatriba...los inquisidores son para ellos “lobos robadores sin bondad. Su oficio es soberbia y grandía y sodomía y lujuria y blasfemia y reneganzas y poma y vangloria; y tiranía y rozamiento y sin justicia.” (98)

This opinion, expressed by the authors of a manuscript written in the years after the expulsion, was certainly shared by anyone targeted by or forced to deal with the Inquisition at the time.

A few examples, the first fictional, and the others pulled from the archives of the Inquisition, show how the complex identities of some people—uncertain lineage, mixed cultural heritage and unorthodox religious practice—came directly into conflict with the expectations of the crown and the Inquisition. Mateo Aleman’s 1599 picaresque novel, Guzmán de Alfarache, demonstrates the pessimistic mood of sixteenth-century Spain regarding birth, race and place in society by using the theme of conversion to illustrate the sociopolitical situation of the individual in Counter-Reformation Spain, rather than the theological problem of the salvation of the soul. The narrator’s constant moralizing, often contradictory, hypocritical and difficult to follow, could be read as a reflection of

the crown's own vacillating policies regarding national identity and the social status of its subjects, especially after the Council of Trent. These largely theological debates arose directly from the conflict between the idea of a national identity as defined by the crown (centered on orthodox Catholicism) and the Iberian reality that consisted of a diverse population with varying beliefs and cultural practices that had existed in the peninsula for centuries. Indeed, difficult questions surrounding identity seem to move the narration of the Guzmán.

Early in the novel, Guzmán presents the reader with the dubious details of his birth: "tuve dos padres, que supo mi madre ahijame a ellos...Ambos me conocieron por hijo: el uno me lo llamaba y el otro también...sería gran temeridad afirmar cuál de los dos me engendraron o si soy de otro tercero" (Alemán 140-141). He not only casts doubt on the lineage of his father, but also that of his mother, whose last name he has taken: "si mi madre enredó a dos, mi abuela dos docenas...Con esta hija enredó cien linajes, diciendo y jurando a cada padre que era suya...Los cognombres, pues eran como quiera, yo certifico que procuró apoyarla con lo mejor que pudo...A los Guzmanes era donde se inclinaba más" (Alemán 143-144). But it is the life of the father, or the man chosen to fill this post, that is of most interest here. While fictional, the story of his activities reads much like a composite from the archives of the Inquisition. In order to resolve his financial problems, his father leaves Seville on a boat that is raided. He is taken captive with the rest of the passengers and taken to Algiers,

donde, medroso y desesperado, el temor de no saber cómo o con qué volver en libertad...renegó. Allá se casó con una mora hermosa y principal, con buena hacienda...vendió la hacienda y...con las más joyas que pudo, dejándola sola y pobre, se vino huyendo...reduciéndose a la fe de Jesucristo, arrepentido y lloroso, delató de sí mismo, pidiendo misericordiosa penitencia...Ésta fue la causa por que jamás le creyeron obra que hiciese buena. Si otra les piden, dirán lo que muchas veces con impertinencia y sin propósito me dijeron: que quien una vez ha sido malo, siempre se presume serlo en aquel género de maldad. La proposición es verdadera; pero no hay alguna sin excepción. (Alemán 115-116)

Apparently, neither his father nor Guzmán will prove the exception.

Like his father and others of his time, Guzmán crosses the political and cultural frontiers of Europe. He changes his name, leaves his country, rises and falls on the social ladder—always with the same pessimism that marks his birth and grows throughout the novel to mark his view of the world. His experiences seem to solidify this view, as he declares in the third book with despair, “Todo ha sido, es y será una misma cosa. El primero padre fue alevoso; la primera madre, mentirosa; el primero hijo, ladrón y fratricida. ¿Qué hay ahora que no hubo, o qué se espera de lo por venir?” (Alemán 355).

The continuous use of the present tense to talk about his condition leaves the reader little hope for his future conversion: “como yo soy malo, nada juzgo por bueno; tal es mi desventura y de semejantes” (Alemán 481). Guzmán struggles with the contradictions and hypocrisy found within a kingdom whose official values he, like many of his compatriots, is unable to reflect. He complains that one’s good intentions often come to naught: “Que un hombre rece, frecuente virtuosos ejercicios, oiga misa, confiese y comulgue a menudo y por ello le llamen hipócrita, no lo puedo sufrir ni hay maldad

semejante a ésta” (Alemán 113), describing precisely the experience of new Christians in Spain. This was his own father’s experience—though in his father’s case, as Guzmán explains, there was good reason to doubt his sincerity.

Samuel Pallache is a real-life contemporary of Guzmán’s fictitious father. Born in Morocco in 1550, descendant of grandparents who had taken refuge there after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, he worked as a commercial and diplomatic agent for the sultan Muley Zaydan until his death in 1616. His work took him to Lisbon for the first time in 1605 (then under Spanish rule), where he went to buy jewels for the sultan Ahmad al-Mansur. The fact that he was Jewish did not seem to impede his entrance to the kingdom. Upon gaining contact with the Spanish court, Samuel Pallache offered his hosts information about Morocco. Then he asked for and was granted permission to stay in the country and bring his family from Ceuta. Thus he became one of many men who appeared in the court to sell their services as informants or intermediaries. Pallache converted to Catholicism and his sons were converted in 1607. But Pallache did not prove faithful to his host country or the Church, as he soon offered the same services to the king of France, Henry IV, to whose kingdom he fled the same year as the conversion of his sons, when the Inquisition came looking for him. He then

returned to Holland, where he once again became a prominent member of the Jewish community.²⁰

Just like Guzmán's father, Samuel Pallache had no problems crossing the political and cultural borders of his time, despite the strict rules about identity and nation that purportedly defined Spain in the sixteenth century. Archives from the Inquisition offer similar stories, such as that of Abraham Abzaradiel (1484-1514), a native of a town outside of Toledo who also left Spain during the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. He was baptized "Luís de Ysla" in Italy and returned to Spain to reunite with his community and learn a trade. Luís de Ysla also changed his religion and name regularly as he traveled from one country to another in order to make a living.²¹

According to Cavillac, it was not enough for the new Christian to falsify his identity; if he wanted to do well, he had to break all ties with his community of origin (29). But we see that this rupture was not necessarily definitive, a fact that contributed to suspicions about the community of new Christians in Spain.

In the introduction to the story of Samuel Pallache, Nirenberg and Kagen describe the situation of the Jewish convert in Spain:

In a world that defines all Jews as changeable and duplicitous, it becomes impossible to establish the Jews' true identity. The Pallaches, like many other Jews and converts from Judaism, sometimes benefited from this paradoxical status: it made possible their movement across cultures and frontiers...defined as

²⁰ For the life of Samuel Pallache, see García Arenal and Wiegers.

²¹ For the life of Luís de Ysla, see Kagan and Dyer.

chameleons, they were never allowed the possibility of choosing their own allegiance, whether of nation or of cult. Their political commitments were by definition expedient and insincere. (IX)

This perception also accords with one of the principal definitions of the *pícaro*, understood as someone who is always in a state of transformation and continual movement (Dunn 142). As the final example and the following chapter of this study will show, the characterization of certain individuals as chameleons is just as fitting for Muslim and Christian converts moving between nations, cultures and religions.

A final example, again from the archives of the Inquisition, is another contemporary of Guzmán (or Alemán). Diego Díaz was expelled from Spain with the Moriscos in 1609. He crossed the Pyrenees and arrived at the South of France, but returned to his country after 15 days and remained there peacefully for ten years, until he was finally detected by the authorities and deported. In his confession, Díaz maintained that he never arrived at Christian lands, as he had been ordered, but instead was taken to Algiers, where he was taken captive, forced to convert to Islam, and circumcised against his will. He claimed that although he lived in Muslim lands, dressing as other Muslims, he continued to secretly practice his Catholic religion. In a dramatic story, he escaped in a boat from Algiers and threw himself into the water near Spanish soil, which he then swam to. Once back in his native land, he married a Christian, had three sons and worked as a butcher until the Inquisition arrested him again in 1632 under suspicion of practicing crypto-Islam. In his confession he denied all

accusations of being a Muslim. The questions asked him by the inquisitors were all based on observations made by his accusers related to food, hygiene and dress.²²

These external expressions of faith, as sole markers of difference, were fundamental for both faithful Muslim Moriscos and for the Christians who wished to turn them in. But persecution for failure to comply with national policy regarding appearance and behavior were not problems dealt exclusively with by Moriscos. Dress, for example, played an important role the discussions of national identity on several different fronts. State policy was not only trying to make new Christians, as a marginalized community, conform to the rules of national identity established by the Church and the crown; but also was trying to make the mass of old Christians do the same. The Guzmán gives countless examples of what Bernis Madrazo describes as “el deseo incontenible de vestir con riqueza y ostentación, que se había extendido en grandes sectores de la sociedad,” adding that “los gastos que ello ocasionaba fueron causa de preocupación constante para los legisladores” (12). While the 1526 decrees regarding Morisco cultural expression, largely centering on traditional costume, were being legislated the crown was also paying attention to what others in the kingdom were wearing. Charles V prohibited all of his vassals

de cualquier condición y calidad o preeminencia o dignidad que fuesen exceptuando su persona y la de su majestad la emperatriz su mujer e infantes sus hijos, fuesen osados en traer ni vestir brocado...echar guarniciones, en las dichas

²² For the life of Diego Díaz, see Kagan and Dyer 119-151.

ropas ni en otra cosa, de hilo de oro ni de plata ni hilado ni tirado, ni pudiesen traer bordado ni recamado de seda ni cosa hecha en bastidor. (qtd. in Bernis Madrazo 13)

As the Moriscos risked punishment by the Inquisition for expressing their culture through clothing, others risked punishment for expressing pretensions through the same medium: “la mayor que podía recibir el que no se ajustase en sus vestidos a la pragmática era ser desterrado por cinco años; pero el sastre, jubetero o guarnicionero que cortare, cosiere, o bordase lo prohibido, a la segunda vez que desobedeciese la pragmática sería condenado a servir perpetuamente en galeras” (qtd. in Bernis Madrazo 14). We see, then, that for the crown there existed a sense of national costume that its non-Morisco subjects also could fail to adhere to.

Like religion, dress was an important part of identity in all of Europe and the Muslim world; that is why disguise is such an important decoy in literature of this period. Núñez Muley was a staunch defender of Morisco rights and one of the oldest living Moriscos at the time—old enough to remember the conquest of Granada, having served as a liaison between the newly subjected Muslim population and the administration of the Christian occupiers. Núñez Muley argued that it was precisely the traditional Morisco dress that obsessed old Christian society at the time that made the Moriscos Spanish. In a letter to Don Pedro de Deza, director of the Audencia de Granada, he opposed the 1567 decree against Morisco cultural expression:

porque el ábito y traxe y calçado no se puede dezir de moros, ny es de moros. Puédes decir ques traxe del rreyno y prouincia, como en todos los rreynos de

Castilla y los otros rreynos y prouincias tienen los traxes diferentes unos de otros, y todos cristianos; y así el dicho ámbito y traje deste rreyno (es) muy diferente de los traxes de los moros de aliende y berbería y allá, también en muy grandes diferencias de un rreyno a otro...de manera que no se puede afundar ny dezir que el traje de los nueuamente conuertidos es traje de moros. (qtd. in Fuchs, *Mimesis* 102-3)

Núñez Muley insists that the Moriscos are as Spanish as any other member of the nation, exhibiting their specific regional cultural identity in a way that is done across Spain. Further, he dispels popular beliefs about the Moriscos pertaining not to Spain, but to other Muslim nations, pointing out that their culture is, in fact, completely unlike that of other Muslim nations, but is instead specific to Granada. In addition, Núñez Muley suggests that the presence of the Moriscos in Spain serves as a reminder of the glorious conquest of the Catholic Kings: removing them suddenly from the country would culturally impoverish the nation; it would be like extracting a piece of Spain's history (Fuchs, *Mimesis* 106).

1.6 Cultural Hybridity

The Iberian reality of a culturally diverse population posed a constant challenge to the ambitious national project of forging a national identity based on the unity of the kingdom under the Catholic faith. Faith and custom were evidently difficult to untangle, but so too was the hybridity of a culture long shared by Muslims and Christians. Núñez Muley's argument for regional difference was reflected in the need for certain laws banning Morisco cultural expression to be passed several times in order to expressly include old Christians. For example, in an attempt to get Morisco women to stop veiling

themselves in public, four decrees were released banning all women from covering their hair, for this was a custom shared by many Christian women as well²³ (Perry 27). When a Christian woman visiting people in another town was asked where she was from, she replied, “¿No has conocido que soy de Jaén por la manera de cubrirme la cabeza?” (qtd. in Berniz Madrazo 49). Henna, too, was used by old Christian women and Moriscas alike, but still justified suspicions of heresy (Root 127).

Confusion between traditional customs and religious doctrine had come up in the Middle Ages in relation to Spain’s Mudejar population. The 1215 Lateran Council decided that traditional customs maintained by new converts were not heretical in themselves, but should be discouraged. Centuries later, statements from the Vatican addressed Morisco cultural expression as a heretical deviation from Catholic doctrine, rather than from customary practice (Root 125). But it was impossible at all levels of Christian society to extricate Muslim influence. From the late medieval period through the Early Modern, Moorish garments could be found on the nobility and “plain folk in the Castilian countryside” (Fuchs, *Exotic* 63). Ferdinand and Isabel themselves had appeared in Granada at the time of the war dressed in Moorish garb. By the sixteenth century, games and pastimes of the Moorish nobility, such as the *juegos de cañas* and *jinete*, were so prevalent among the Spanish nobility that they came to represent

²³ For more on the uses of the veiling in Spain during this period, see Bass and Wunder’s study of *tapadas*.

Spanishness abroad. Moorish decoration in the homes of even the most well-known Spaniards, like Lope de Vega, was commonplace (Fuchs, *Exotic* chapters 3 and 4). Some of these elements were more problematic than others for authorities, as many aspects of Moorish style, language, food, music, and architecture clearly continued as permanent features of Spanish life and culture. The clash between an official vision of Spanish identity centered on orthodox Catholicism and lineage often went ignored by the Spanish themselves, both among members of the Spanish court, Church and local populace. This is especially evident in the case of the Sacromonte affair, which took place in Granada in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

1.7 The Case of the Sacromonte

In 1588, while excavating the site of Granada's central mosque in preparation for the construction of the third nave of the city's cathedral, workers found a leaden box that contained relics and a folded parchment written in Arabic and Castilian. Translations revealed that the Arabic text explained that the parchment contained a prophecy from Saint John the Evangelist translated from Hebrew into Castilian by Saint Cecilio, first bishop of Granada. The Arabic text also included comments by Cecilio explaining that the contents of the leaden box were, besides the new Apocalypse of Saint John, a bone of the martyr Saint Stephen and part of the handkerchief used by the Virgin Mary to wipe her tears during the crucifixion. An inscription in Latin explained that the prophecy had been hidden in order to protect it until the day when the Christian Moors

would be able to decipher its message. Seven years later, more relics and scripts were found within the caves of Valparaíso, just outside the city. Lead plaques with inscriptions recounted the martyrdom of Saint Mesitón, as well as that of Hiscio, a disciple of Santiago, along with four of his companions in the caves of Valparaíso, which became known soon after the findings as the Sacromonte. In the following weeks, the remains of the named martyrs were discovered along with a third plaque that told of the martyrdom of another disciple of Santiago; a fourth plaque revealed that Saint Cecilio himself had also been martyred inside the caves the same year, 56 A.D., and directed the discoverer to the 1588 findings at the Torre Turpiana (Harris, "Forging" 945-46).

The impact of the discovery of twenty-two lead books containing the story of the twelve Sacromonte martyrs along with their remains immediately changed the climate of the city. Within days, so many people from all ranks of society had come out to pay homage to the sacred caves that the number of crosses left at the Sacromonte reached more than 1,200. These were often brought by processions organized by various institutions and confraternities of the city (Harris, "The Sacromonte" 523). Many visits to the site of the findings led to great miracles, mostly attributed to Saint Cecilio, which in turn served as proof of the authenticity of the relics (Calero Palacios 15). An inquisitorial panel was soon set up by Pedro de Castro, the Archbishop of Granada, in order to determine the authenticity of the relics as well as to record several of the testimonies of people who claimed to have seen lights emanating from the mountain even before the

discoveries. These testimonies also came from all levels of society, including the enthusiastic archbishop himself, and from translator Miguel de Luna²⁴ (Harris, "The Sacromonte" 525). The mountain was quickly established popularly as a site of supernatural power, as represented in Góngora's *Al monte Santo de Granada*: "Este monte de cruces coronado/cuya siempre dichosa excelsa cumbre/espira luz y no vomita lumbre."

The relics were promptly incorporated into the altar of Granada's cathedral. Despite the force of the cult that sprang up around the findings, doubt as to the authenticity of the relics and lead books grew outside of the city from the time of the discoveries. Already in January of 1596, a papal brief from Pope Clement VII forbade all discussion of the books. Regardless, Pedro de Castro convened two theological meetings, one in September of 1596 and another in February of 1597, to initiate the process for the certification of the relics. Both declared the relics, as well as the parchment, to be authentic. Castro himself published a decree in April 1600 ordering the establishment of a provincial council to proceed with the process of certification; and that same month, seven sessions were held on the topic, leading to a final decree that declared their authenticity. Nevertheless, the lead books were eventually extracted from the enthusiastic community of Granada in 1631 by court order and taken to Madrid, where they remained until 1642, when they were finally called to reside permanently in

²⁴ See chapter 3 for more on Luna and his work.

Rome. Forty years later, all further discussion of the texts was once again prohibited by the authorities in Rome (Harvey 269), and the books were condemned by Pope Innocent XI “por puras ficciones humanas fabricadas para ruina de la fe católica con resabios de mahometismo y reminiscencia del Alcoran,” although the Church considered the relics authentic and approval was given for their continued veneration (Calero Palacios 17).

Condemnation of the texts was based on the largely Islamic content of the findings. According to the lead books, the city’s first bishop, as well as his brother and fellow martyr, Tesifón, were of Arab descent, having been converted to Christianity by Jesus of Nazareth himself. Shortly after the crucifixion, they accompanied Saint James on his first missionary trip to Hispania. After their arrival, the brothers were among those present when James performed at the Sacromonte the first Christian mass ever held on the European continent. The brothers returned to the Holy Land, but after the death of James, came back to the Iberian Peninsula, where Cecilio became the first bishop, and then, along with ten others, became its first martyrs when they were put to death in a series of executions at the site of the Sacromonte (Coleman 191-192). Several of the texts seemed aimed at eliminating the elements of Christian doctrine that were most offensive to, or irreconcilable with, Islam. Thus Jesus was referred to as the spirit (*ruh*) of Allah,²⁵ rather than God’s son; and the Trinity, as well as offensive customs such as the use of

²⁵ Compare the Koranic “there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet” to the Sacromonte text’s “there is no God but Allah and Jesus is the spirit of Allah.”

wine at the celebration of mass, were condemned, while the idea that women should cover their hair was validated. Most notably, the Arab people and their language were elevated above all others. The Blessed Virgin Mary is asked “Tell us about the excellence of the Arabs, who are to be those who aid religion at the end of days, and tell us about their reward, and of the superiority of their language over all other languages.” She confirms that “the Arabs will be those who aid religion in the last days. The superiority of their tongue over all other languages is as the superiority of the sun over the stars of heaven. Allah has chosen them for his purpose and has strengthened them with his victory”(qtd. in Harvey 389). Later she speaks of the equality “of all races” (Harvey 392). The heretical Islamic contents of the corrected texts, which their authors intended would serve as a supplement to the Acts of the Apostles, went ignored by the lay community that continued only to celebrate the ancient Christian past of Granada (Harvey 265-66).

Much later, these forgeries were attributed to the Morisco community of Granada (García Arenal, “Entorno”), but the intervention in Spanish history made by the forgers in order to create a future place for people of Muslim descent in Spain was not effective. Rather, it was turned on its head, giving non-Morisco locals the desired Christian past that the city of Granada had been lacking during the first part of the sixteenth century, as a new Christian administration and Christian immigrants tried to make the Muslim city their own. That the heretical Islamic content of this new history could be ignored should come as no surprise: what, for a Christian inhabitant of a city

such as Granada, with its Islamic architecture and Muslim population, would be out of keeping about such a story? In the same way that mosques were converted into cathedrals, this Arabic past was easily made Castilian. There was no more need to remove conflictive elements from the findings than there was to physically destroy the architectural remnants of Granada's Muslim past; for, in an environment in which Islam and Christianity were in many ways materially, spiritually, and culturally fused, there was nothing incongruous or jarring for many native Spaniards about such a hybrid history. In a sense, then, the forgers were not off the mark in thinking that they could get away with such a daring endeavor; for contrary to official rhetoric, the climate in Granada, and the rest of Spain, was not completely inhospitable to people and histories that moved between Christian and Muslim realms, or embodied them both at once. The Sacromonte affair was the real-life performance of the same sort of history-making forces that were otherwise expressed through the writing of books both in Granada and other parts of Europe.²⁶ As with its textual counterparts, the events that unfolded contributed to the formation of a canon of Spanish Christian history, but they also serve as testimony to the special space and place in sixteenth-century Spain that made such an intervention—and more importantly, the embrace of such an intervention—possible.

This chapter has shown that after the conquest of Granada and throughout the sixteenth century, Muslims and Christians continued to interact with one another in a

²⁶ See chapter 3.

variety of ways as both religious communities underwent change under the Counter-Reformation. I have emphasized that Spanish individuals across cultural and religious divides shared experiences of persecution under legislation aimed at reforming and homogenizing Spanish religious and cultural practice, and that a range of voices from both communities and at all levels of society protested many of the policies created for this objective. The expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain formed part of this legislation and was consistently contested before, during and after its execution. Due to fierce opposition and a continuous toleration for religious and cultural difference found within many Christian communities, the expulsion was not fully successful; and Spain continued, after 1614, to be home to many Moriscos. Culturally, spiritually and physically, Spain was in the sixteenth century and beyond, as it had been in the Middle Ages, a country infused with Islam. This hybrid environment lent itself to the construction of complex identities, experiences and “histories” that did not reflect state and Church models of Spanish identity.

The following chapter will continue to highlight discord between official government and Church rhetoric regarding Islam-as-adversary and the lived experience of many Spaniards in this period who engaged with Islam and Muslims on a variety of levels. The focus of chapter 2 will shift to the Mediterranean. I will begin by considering how the evolution of the concept of empire influenced the way the crown and the Church thought about and acted toward non-Christian others. A discussion of Spanish

discourse about the newly conquered natives of America is imperative here, as comparisons between Spain's newest subjects and its traditional adversary abounded during this time. Chapter 2 will contrast theological debates about the Native American and Arab barbarians with representations in works by Cervantes to show that the experiences of non-Morisco Spaniards and other Europeans in Barbary reveal much more diverse, and often more favorable, attitudes toward Islam and Muslim peoples.

2. Portraits of European Barbary and the European Non-Christian

The first chapter examined the expulsion of the Moriscos within the context of the Spanish crown's domestic policies and the greater objectives of the Counter-Reformation that stressed cultural and religious homogeneity. These factors, in turn, were measured against local realities that reflected cultural, ideological and religious difference within Spain. This chapter considers the larger framework of Spanish imperial activity across the Atlantic and around the Mediterranean. How the crown thought about and dealt with non-Christian peoples outside of Spain affected its treatment of Muslims within Spain. Likewise, the traditional Spanish stance toward Islam influenced its treatment of the native people whose fate and that of the Moriscos were concurrently debated. "Non-Christian" as a category in this case refers, of course, to the Natives of the Americas, to Protestants and to many Moriscos who had fled Spain or been expelled; but more remarkably, it refers also to the many European converts of Christian descent in Barbary who lived, worked, worshiped and fought alongside other Muslims. A few works by Cervantes will be cited to illustrate a trans-Mediterranean reality that many Spaniards shared with other Europeans, and which sharply contrasts with Spanish Counter-Reformation rhetoric regarding Spain's position toward Islam.

2.1 Spanish Empire: Barbarians Within and Without

In order to understand Spanish political thought in this period and how Spain approached people outside its domain, it is critical to understand the development of Roman law. From Rome emerged the idea of empire, and in three senses—as limited and independent rule; as a territory embracing more than one political community; and as the absolute sovereignty of a single individual—this concept helped define Spain in the sixteenth century. The Roman *imperium*, more than simply a political order, constituted a kind of society whose identity came to be defined by the concept of *civitas* (Pagden 17). People within this social body were bound by a law that differentiated them from those who resided outside of it:

The civil law itself, which had been created by human reason...out of an understanding of the natural law, was the human law, the *lex humanus*. Those who lived by it were, by definition, 'humans,' those who did not, were not... 'Barbarians' were those who lacked the necessary qualities for membership of the *civitas* and anyone who in this way did not share the Greek, and later Roman, view of the nature of the good life was an object of fear and distrust...amount(ing) to the denial of their humanity. (Pagden 20-21)

With the triumph of Christianity, *imperium romanus* would become *imperium christianus*, and so to be fully human (one who was *civil*), one had also to be Christian. The *imperium* was designed to expand, and in order to fulfill its purpose, those inside could legitimately declare war on those outside with the aim of absorbing more territory and people into the community.

During the Middle Ages, disputes between Christian European rulers were temporarily resolved by the Concordat of Worms (1122), an agreement between the Church and temporal rulers that upheld the position of the Church as ultimate spiritual and political leader, while relegating certain lesser rights pertaining to spiritual matters to rulers over their subjects. But, as Grovogui explains,

While in Europe the Church was compelled to relinquish political power to temporal rulers, in other parts of the world it proclaimed its sovereignty. Beginning in 1302, Boniface VIII proclaimed that humankind (including non-Europeans and non-Christians) could be saved only through Christ, the Catholic Church, and its apostles. In *Unam Sanctam*, dated December 18 of that year, he declared that in the interest of salvation every human creature was subject to the Roman pontiff. Through this statement, the Catholic Church claimed sovereignty over the world, both Christian and non-Christian. From this date, the debate over the exact spheres of authority between the papacy and non-European spiritual and temporal rulers was theoretically resolved in favor of the church—and ultimately Europe. (19)

As Spain looked to extend its empire west into the existing and populated lands it had recently appropriated, evangelization would justify its project of expansion. Initially, Castilian claim to the American possessions was based on five Bulls issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 vaguely conceding the right to Ferdinand and Isabel to occupy whatever lands they would discover. These lands were represented in Spanish historiography as donations (Pagden 31-32), but the legitimacy of the Pope's edict would be hotly debated during the colonization of the Americas, as would the nature of the subjects whose land the Spanish Empire meant to absorb and what place they would be allowed within it once legitimately under its domain. The legitimization of the

possession and control of New Spain¹ was intricately connected to discourse about the humanity of the non-Christian people who inhabited it.

Spanish Early Modern vocabulary used to describe the nature of the humanity of Native peoples is not unfamiliar. Terms and concepts such as “barbarian” and “savage” peppered all discourse relating to the Americas, even when in defense of the Natives. The famous 1550 debate in Valladolid between Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de Las Casas over the legitimacy of the war on the American Indians centered largely on the level of humanity of the conquered peoples. There was no question for either disputant of whether they were barbarians; the concern was rather on *how* barbarous they actually were. Las Casas’ defense of the Natives relied heavily on contrasting them with the Muslims of Asia and Africa, true and traditional barbarians who undeniably did fulfill the requirements for just war:

que en las escripturas profanas y sagradas: se hallan tres maneras, o linajes de barbaros. La primera es tomando el vocablo largamente por qualquiera gente que tiene alguna estrañeza en sus opiniones, o costumbres; pero no les falta policia ni prudencia para aregirse. La segunda especie es: porque no tienen las lenguas aptas para que se puedan explicar por characters y letras ...que por esto se les pueda hazer Guerra...La tercera especie de barbaros son: los que por sus peruersas costumbres y rudeza ingenio y brutal inclinacion: son como fieras sliuestres que biuen por los campos sin Ciudades ni casas sin policia, sin leyes, sin ritos ni tractos que son de *iure gentium*: sino que andan *palantes* como se dize en latin: que quiere dezir robando y haziendo fuerca como hizieron al principio los godos y los alanos: y agora dize que son en Asia los arabes y los que en Africa nosotros mismos llamamos Alarabes Y destos se podria entender los que dize

¹ For more on this process of legitimization in the Spanish American literary tradition, see Adorno.

Aristotiles que como es licito caçar las fieras: assi es licito hazerles guerra defendiendonos dellos que nos hazen daño, procurandoles reduzir a la policia humana...Por esta ocasion el señor Obispo conto largamente la hystorica de los yndios: mostrando que aunque tengan algunas costumbres de gente no tan politica; pero que no son en este grado barbaros: antes son gente gregatil y ciuil: que tienen pueblos grandes y casas y leyes y artes y señores y gouernacion: y castigan no solo los peccados contra natura: mas aun otros naturales con penas de muerte. Tienen bastante politica para que por esta razon de barbaridad no se les pueda hazer guerra. (Soto 46-47)

According to the categories laid out by Las Casas, the Natives must be considered barbarians to some extent. Their lack of a proper alphabet and the strangeness of some of their ways make them less civilized than the Spanish; but they have sufficient law and order to facilitate reasonable communication and are docile enough not to pose a threat to the Christian empire. Therefore the crown should be able to absorb these new subjects without the use of force. For Las Casas, the real danger, against which any new threat is measured, is the traditional enemy, Islam. While Sepúlveda argues for a lesser status for the Indians, he would not argue with Las Casas' point of reference, nor with the principle of *just war*, which sanctions violence as "a necessary and acceptable means that guarantees the absolute nature of the concept of the spiritual and temporal powers in Christendom and their justice" (De Courcelles 5).

For Vitoria (1483-1546), founder of the School of Salamanca (often considered the father of international law), the conquest of the Americas was justified by the responsibility of Christian rulers to liberate the innocent, in this case the Indians, from tyranny and the barbaric customs that he considered the Natives' failure to uphold

natural law. This justification effectively grants the civilized (Christians) guardianship over uncivilized peoples (everyone else) and lays the groundwork for colonial expansion and globalization (De Courcelles11-12). Again, it was the Natives' contrary nature or customs that justified Spanish/Christian intervention. Still, there was no agreement on how to fully justify the appropriation of Indian lands, and the School of Salamanca continued to debate the issue.

Many theologians rejected the authority of the papal Bulls issued to Ferdinand and Isabel, for while they accepted that the Pope had spiritual dominion over all Christians, they acknowledged that he could exercise no control over non-Christians. The Natives would have to voluntarily surrender to the Spanish crown their natural legislative right in order to legitimate non-evangelical Spanish activity there. And so polemics continued to circulate around the nature of the Indians who occupied and controlled the desired territories, as did comparisons with Spain's traditional enemy, Islam. For those defending the rights of the Natives (the right to be left completely alone was not in the picture), the Muslim issue was a real conundrum. Just how barbaric were the Indians? More or less barbaric than the Arabs and other Muslims? An interesting juxtaposition, for at the same time a similar debate was taking place within Spain over the Arabness or Africanness of the Moriscos, who, as the previous chapter showed, were defended or condemned as being more or less Spanish—that is, more or less Arab/Moor/Muslim/African than other Spaniards. And yet, at the same time, these very

Moriscos were the point of reference for the evangelization of the Indians, the same handbooks being used for the conversion and enculturation of both peoples.²

2.2 Travelers and Captives

There are other incongruities in Spanish policy and thought toward Indians and Muslim peoples. Another particularly problematic justification for the conquest was that the Native Americans had violated the right of “society and natural communication” by resisting Spaniards’ legitimate wish to travel over their lands and therefore could be punished with conquest (Pagden 61). Of course Muslims were completely prohibited from passing over Christian lands. Even the native Moriscos’ movements were impeded within Spain almost immediately following the 1492 conquest, making their eventual expulsion a very sad and tricky affair, as they were barred from most routes out of the country. But for the average non-Spanish Muslim of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, entry into Christendom was officially prohibited. Nabil Matar lists this prohibition among the principal reasons one does not find a canon of Arabic literature about the *nasara*, or Christians, among Muslims, who did not reciprocate this treatment. Christians, like Jews, as People of the Book, were allowed by Islamic law to visit and even settle in Muslim lands, free to practice their religions and maintain their cultures.³

² For a discussion of these missionary projects, see El Alaoui.

³ Non-Muslims were “free” to settle in Muslim lands in the sense that immigration was permitted and often encouraged. Muslim law required non-Muslim residents to pay

The Spanish, like other Europeans of their age, took advantage of this privilege, for, as Henry Kamen has pointed out, despite “the so-called isolation of Spain...during the age of empire Spaniards were the most traveled nation in the world” (“Habsburg Lands” 480). According to Matar,

the reason Europeans did not want Muslims to visit their lands, and when and if Muslims did, did not facilitate their return, was their fear that Muslims would learn—and write—about the host countries. Evidently Europeans noted the “curiosity” of visitors and travelers—and were uncomfortable about the extent of information that Muslims could gather. (Europe 11)

However, Muslims did not have to go to Christian lands to obtain their secrets, as Christians were brought or went to them in hoards, offering Muslims a chance to observe Christian culture in their own lands, acquiring knowledge and technology first hand from their “enemies” without setting foot in Christian territory. While the absence of frequent Muslim travel to Christian lands has lead historians such as Daniel Newman to claim that no Muslims “showed any real interest in the Europeans as a people, and (that) there are few comments on general social customs and habits, unless they were in some way extraordinary or connected with Islam⁴” (40), Matar has shown that when Muslims were granted permission to travel to Christian lands, usually for trade or

special taxes, as Muslims in Christian lands had been required to do in Spain before the forced conversion of its Muslim inhabitants.

⁴ In addition, Newman writes that, “the Spain the travelers visited was a mythical territory, which seemed to exist only through the manifold manifestations of its Muslim past” (39).

diplomacy, they seized the opportunity and wrote reports for their own countrymen describing in detail local architecture, customs, dress and landscape (13). But again, these reports were as rare as Muslim admission to Christian lands.

On the other hand, there exists a large canon of Christian art and literature dealing with Muslims and Muslim lands, most of it inspired by the theme of captivity. This was very much a public theme constructed by captives in autobiographies and reconstructed by writers in poems, plays and histories, and by painters, priests and storytellers. This tradition of textual, pictorial, and oral stories formed part of a campaign against Islam and followed a specific paradigm that did not leave much room for descriptions of local custom. Matar explains why there is no counterpart in Arab sources:

Magharibi writers did not have, like their European Christian counterparts, the theological imagery (and vast iconography) of a suffering Christ whose pain the captive was willing to emulate—and to describe to others. They did not have a theological legacy where torture, humiliation, and defeat/crucifixion were part of the victory over the wicked. Captivity was not a matter in and by itself, revealing personal tribulation leading to salvation and “redemption” (an apt term used in the liberation of Christian captives), but part of the larger narrative of the Muslim in his submission to Allah. Captivity was God’s will, and every Muslim had to accept it and not make too much of it. It was an episode in Allah’s mysterious destiny for His followers, and His followers had to submit without trying to turn themselves into heroes....The Arab-Islamic paradigm of captivity writing was “private,” more allusive and coded than expository. Such was its status in written texts, but in the oral tradition it developed into a narrative that was remembered for generations. (Europe 40-41)

Likewise, while Arab sources may have been filled with anti-Christian rhetoric, there was no Islamic tradition of animalizing or dehumanizing the Christians. In fact, Muslims similarly revered Christian prophets and figures such as Jesus and Mary.

However popular, the Christian genre of captivity, aptly described by Matar, does not account for all literature on Islam and Muslim lands in this period. No whole canon of Christian literature could escape prejudice against Muslim peoples, as much popular and state literature appears to uphold a medieval tradition of anti-Islamic rhetoric; yet it is impossible for all Spanish writing to maintain this attitude in a period of such high contact between Muslims and Christians around the Mediterranean. Even at the state level this rhetoric was not completely upheld. Kamen cites Valencian humanist Fadrique Furió Ceriol, who counseled moderation while acting in the Netherlands as one of Philip II's advisors. His Council and Counselors of the Prince (1559), dedicated to Philip II and published in Antwerp, is remarkable for the passage stating that "in the whole world there are only two nations: that of the good and that of the bad. All the good, whether Jews, Moors, Gentiles, Christians, or some other sect, are of the same nation, family and blood; and all the bad likewise" (qtd. in "Toleration" 17). Similarly, in 1582 Luís de Granada, the most prominent religious writer for the Spain of Philip II, published his "Introduction to the Creed," which included an attack on all religious persecution. Kamen notes that "had such views, coming from so famous a source and in so well-known a book, been anathema to the religious establishment, Luís

de Granada would certainly have been in trouble. Neither then nor at any other time, however, were these or similar views called in question" ("Toleration" 21).

Differences of language, culture and religion have led historians to talk about a divided Mediterranean, but as many historical sources and literary examples show that in the sixteenth century intercourse between different cultural groups had become increasingly common, it is more accurate to think of the Mediterranean as a connector, rather than a divider. Thierry Hentsch notes that "two radically distinct Mediterraneans no more existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than in the Middle Ages: there were at once one, and several—just as there were several Europes: Mediterranean and Atlantic, Catholic and Protestant, Western and Eastern. The fault lines were multiple, and convergent" (56). He describes the Mediterranean as a melting pot for its inhabitants, among which were to be found many Christians, and asks "why the positive aspects of this encounter were almost systematically overshadowed and masked by the dimension of conflict" (45). Perspectives that highlight Mediterranean heterogeneity and contact, rather than Counter-Reformation rhetoric that demonized people outside of orthodox Catholicism, should serve as an alternative frame of reference when reading Spanish literature dealing with Muslims or Muslim lands.

In the sixteenth century, as "relations" (*relaciones*), personal accounts of one's experiences or travels, became popular in the Christian West, many writers moved away from religion as the point of reference from which to judge non-Christian subjects. This

was a departure from the medieval linkage of the Orient with pilgrimage that was described in biblical anecdotes; a move away from mythical realities toward living realities that would be described in great detail by Christians voyaging to Muslim lands out of simple curiosity and a desire to observe and set down what would become part of a Christian body of knowledge about the Orient (Hentsch 60). One prominent example is that of Haedo's Topografía e Historia General de Argel,⁵ composed in the latter half of the sixteenth century. While his text is littered with familiar stereotypes, it is still perhaps the greatest source of information on Argel at the time.

But "relations" are not the only genre in which descriptions of a lively, multicultural Mediterranean abound. While his work has been considered by scholars such as Enrique Fernández part of a canon of historical monographs dealing with the situation of captives, Cervantes' works of fiction that touch on Muslim themes also reveal a life for Christians and Muslims in Algiers not completely in keeping with the picture painted by traditional "captive tales." The presence of conventional depictions of Arabs, Moors, renegades, and Turks within these works should not have the effect of blinding the reader to the diverse activity taking place within Cervantes' work, much of which portrayed dealings between European Christians and European Muslims.

⁵ Haedo's work will be further discussed in the following chapter.

2.3 Life off Shore

Shortly after leaving his *insula* Sancho Panza encounters a group of German pilgrims (Cervantes, Don Quixote, II:54). Initially they are unable to understand one another, but after feasting together and sharing several bottles of wine they slip into a *lingua franca* to declare their unity. Of course one of the Germans turns out to be Sancho's old Morisco neighbor, Ricote, clandestinely back from exile in search of hidden treasure. It is interesting that Sancho should encounter the Morisco Ricote just after resigning as governor of an island, for the use of this Mediterranean pidgin language evokes the lives of people who Sancho Panza only hours before might have had reason to fear, people who move between nations, cultures, laws and political systems— pilgrims and merchants, maybe, but principally slaves and corsairs who threatened the coastal territories of Spain throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Why should this language appear at this point in the story? Robert C. Davis explains that the language was used by property owners of Barbary Coast society for giving orders to slaves, and that they spoke it among themselves when they did not have a language in common. He notes, however, that elite society tended to shy away from a language associated with slaves (114). This could be why Zoraida, in "The Captive's Tale," prefers to use hand signals rather than communicate in a language we are told she is able to speak: "que aunque ella hablaba la bastarda lengua... declaraba su intención por señas que por palabras" (Cervantes, Don Quixote I:41). We first encounter this language

in the Quixote when the hero meets his mistress's father, Agi Morato, in his garden: "el cual me dijo en lengua que en toda la Berbería y aun en Constantinopla *se halla entre cautivos y moros*, que ni es morisca ni castellana ni de otra nación alguna, sino una mezcla de todas las lenguas, con la cual todos nos entendemos..." (I:41, emphasis mine).

Sancho leaves the overwhelming regimentation of his imaginary *ínsula* and immediately enters into merriment with a group of fakers, one of whom the reader knows for certain is a Morisco, disguised as German pilgrims, yet speaking the *lingua franca* associated with slaves and corsairs in places such as Barbary and Constantinople. Ricote is on his way to Algiers. One cannot be certain of the identity of his companions, nor of their plans, though one might suspect that they have passed through Barbary, perhaps with Ricote himself. The travelers' disguise, while a popular decoy in Spanish literature of this era, can be interpreted as a marker of sameness as well as difference, as Ricote was not immediately recognized by Sancho as his Morisco neighbor, but rather was able to pass for a traveling European Christian. Dress was an important indicator precisely because, as Matar has pointed out, "there often were no other dividers between European Christians, Euro-Muslims, North African Muslims, and North African Christian converts to Islam. In a community of hybrids and fakes, it was not clear who was the Christian and who was the Muslim" (Europe 68). As for the Germans, certainly there was no shortage of Europeans from all nations in Barbary, as Haedo famously explains in his Topografía e Historia General de Argel:

no hay nación de cristianos en el mundo de la cual no haya renegado y renegados en Argel. Y comenzando de las remotas provincias de Europa, hallan en Argel renegados Moscovitas, Roxos, Rojalanos, Valacos, Búlgaros, Polacos, Úngaros, Bohemios, Alemanes, de Dinamarca y Noruega, Escoceses, Ingleses, Irlandeses, Flamencos, Borgoñones, Franceses, Navarros, Vizcaínos, Castellanos, Gallegos, Portugueses, Andaluces, Valencianos, Aragoneses, Catalanes, Mallorquines, Sardos, Corzos, Sicilianos, Calabreses, napolitanos, Romanos, Toscanos, Ginoveses, Savoyanos, Piamontes, Lombardos Venecianos, Esclavones, Albaneses, Boznos, Arnautes, Griegos, Candiotas, Chipriotas, Surianos y de Egipto, y aun Abexinos del Prestejúan y Indios de las Indias de Portugal, del Brasil y de Nueva España. (52-53)

These travelers would not have been out of place, then, among a diverse population that included even American Natives. And while there is a marked difference between the cosmopolitan Algiers described by Haedo and the ostensibly closed Spain of Sancho's time, Fuchs has shown that Cervantes' "emphasis on the permeability of the contact zone and on the fluidity of the subjects who inhabit it effectively undoes the orthodox narratives of homogeneous and fully realized national identity put forth by the Spanish Crown" (*Passing*, 10). The mysterious travels of a Morisco and his unidentified foreign companions through Spain hint at a conception of Spanish life that will become clearer in other works by Cervantes dealing with Algiers and places along the way.

Within the *Quixote* itself, "The Captive's Tale" in the first book links inland Spain with some of the more fantastic adventures that were taking place, or had already taken place, off shore. Zoraida, who had secretly converted to Christianity and escaped to Spanish soil from Algiers with the captive, appears as a representative of her culture; beautiful, sophisticated, kind, generous and noble—and not just because of her

conversion, as her father, Agi Morato, demonstrates the same qualities. Similarly, in Cervantes' play "Los Baños de Argel," Zahara is to marry the King of Fez, Muley Maluco. He is described as a sophisticated, educated polyglot liberal, wise and *de mil gracias adornado*. He is so highly praised that one wonders why Zahara would exchange the opportunity for such an alliance for an uncertain fate in Spain. These descriptions can be easily linked to the popular genre of maurophilia, thoroughly discussed by Fuchs (Exotic Nation) and Urgoitié, but when coupled with Cervantes' accounts of life in Algiers, they do more to elucidate a greater narrative of Mediterranean life. Allusions in the Quixote to people who were in contact with both Barbary and Spain reflect the reality of individuals who were so numerous that the imagination of Cervantes' characters and contemporaries could not have failed to be swayed by at least the idea of their lives.⁶

In the 1580s, according to Haedo, slaves comprised more than one quarter of Algiers' 100,000 inhabitants. According to a Spanish report of 1568, there were about 10,000 renegades in Algiers, two-fifths of them Corsicans, outnumbering other national communities such as Turks, Moors and Jews (53). Barbarossa alone brought 5,000 captives from Minorca to Tunis, and in the 1540s so many Christian slaves were captured off the Gulf of Naples and Cadiz that they were sold back on the spot because

⁶ Cervantes himself would come into contact with such individuals during his captivity in Algiers from 1575-1580.

they were too many to transport (Clissold 37). In the war of Granada, especially in the fall of 1577, many Spanish prisoners were taken and sent to Barbary as slaves, often in exchange for arms, on the basis of “a Christian for a musket” (Clissold 29). Until the 1640s, according to David Brion Davis, there were many more English slaves in Muslim North Africa than African slaves under English control in the Caribbean. He cites that between 1580 and 1680 some 850,000 Christian slaves were taken in chains to the Maghreb (51).

But not all Christians in North Africa were captives. Clissold describes a tendency that would have a great effect on Western Christendom:

While Rome was fighting to stem the Protestant tide in the north, a flow of deserters continued to leave for the Moslem lands to the south. Many were simple seamen, peasants, artisans, prepared to ‘turn Turk’ in expectation of a better life. Boatloads of volunteers were constantly arriving from Sicily and Corsica. We even hear of Christian slaves, after they had been ransomed, deciding to apostatize....or returning after having been ransomed, to settle permanently in Barbary. (87)

Henry Kamen describes how, despite a Castilian law in place since 1255 forbidding Christians to convert to other faiths, “it remained a constant recourse for disgruntled Castilians to convert to Islam if they felt a grievance against the Christian authorities.” Under Cardinal Cisneros in the 1490s hundreds of friars passed over to Barbary, preferring to live with the infidel rather than conform to the cardinal’s reforms; while under Philip II unpaid garrison soldiers in the *presidios* deserted in large numbers to the Muslims (“Toleration” 6). Preying on the lands in which they had been raised, the

European renegades contributed at least as much to upholding three centuries of Barbary corsair control throughout the Mediterranean as their ethnically Muslim companions—though this difference is difficult to gauge, as the concept of Turkish identity is clear-cut only from a European perspective. (Kadar explains that, from the Ottoman point of view, everyone “eventually became as Ottoman as anybody else...the Ottomans, after all, did not call themselves ‘Turks,’ nor their land ‘Turkey,’ for these were European terms which ethnicized...what was basically a supra-ethnic identity...the still current uses of ‘Ottoman’ and ‘Turk’ or ‘the Ottoman empire’ and ‘Turkey’ as interchangeable terms are comparable to the use of ‘Italy’ for the Roman empire or ‘Italians’ for the ancient Romans” [619]). Renegades and Christian slaves transmitted naval and military technology to Islamic lands. They were responsible for the building of ships that took them back to Christian lands, whose weakest spots they marked out for raids that led to the sacking of the towns of their countrymen and the capture of more Christian slaves (Lamborn Wilson 13-14).

Three plays by Cervantes—“*Los Baños de Argel*,” *Trato de Argel*” and “*La Gran Sultana*” —depict the lives of such Christian captives, slaves and renegades in Algiers. The characters’ actions reflect a freedom of movement one might not expect of slaves treated with such notorious cruelty in the canon of popular literature already discussed. In any case, as Robert C. Davis notes, “one cannot help being skeptical of the detailed descriptions of tortures and executions offered by ex-slaves and especially by priests of

the ransoming orders" (132). This cruelty was certainly meted out to the most unfortunate "public slaves" purchased by local officials and destined for the frightful conditions of the *bagnos* that would house them. But not all slaves were doomed upon capture. Many were rented out to Christian missionaries or councils in town. These slaves had an existence not unlike that of a servant in his or her homeland, often speaking his or her native language and surrounded by a familiar culture (R. Davis 108-109). Others ended up in private Muslim households, as in Cervantes' plays; well dressed, treated, and kept, and entering into alliances with their masters. Cervantes suggests this possibility in "Los Baños" when the Spanish captive Don Fernando, who has already been taken into the confidence of his master, asks his mistress to treat her new slave/servant (his Spanish lover) well. Halima replies, "como ella me sirva bien, no la trataré yo mal" (Second Act). Communications between Muslims and their Christian slaves of the opposite sex were neither prohibited nor discouraged, as the scene between the captive and Zoraida in Agi Morato's garden in "The Captive's Tale" illustrates, and Halima directly states in "Los Baños:" "No hay mora que acá se abaje a hacer algún moro ultraje con el que no es de su ley, aunque supiese que un rey se encubría en ese traje. Por eso nos dan licencia de hablar con nuestros cautivos" (Second Act).

This sort of freedom of communication and movement existed at varying levels for different individuals. Robert C. Davis describes enslavement in Barbary as "more like a business arrangement between master and captive than outright American-style

slavery" (101). Christian slaves were often given no specific work at all, forced instead to give their masters a specific sum of money nightly, weekly or monthly. These slaves were encouraged to be entrepreneurs, going into the city to make money any way they could. Sometimes slaves went into business with other slaves, setting up specialty shops or, more commonly, taverns in the *bagnos*. These, small, dark bars were the only places where Muslim believers could go to drink alcohol, as they were prohibited from owning taverns or serving alcohol themselves; and tavern keepers would often fare quite well with this business. Any slave who could maintain this sort of operation (sometimes with the help of his master), or who could buy a position as scribe in the galleys or the *bagnos*, might buy his own ransom. Yet many slaves chose instead to never fully pay off their ransom, preferring to remain in Barbary and make the sort of living and enjoy the sort of freedom that they could not have enjoyed in their homeland, where their economic situation may have been less than favorable (R. Davis 97-99).

Many of those who chose to remain did, of course, convert to Islam and improve their situation in Muslim lands. The tale of the ex-captive, turned renegade, then returned to Spain and reconciled with the Church was a popular literary motif in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as we saw in the first chapter in the narration of the father of Guzman de Alfarache's life. From these many "confessions" have come countless tales of the terrible cruelty meted out to Christians in Algiers. But these tales, like the fiction of Cervantes, also hint at the vast number of Christians who did not

renege on their conversions, but rather remained in Muslim lands and integrated into Muslim society with no horrors to speak of. Many of these led ordinary lives while others rose to positions of great power. When Sancho tells his old friend and neighbor that he was the governor of an island, Ricote is not convinced. Sancho, however, does not marvel at how a man of his low background could have risen to such a position, for in the time of the *insula*, European men were rising from the lowest to the highest ranks around the Mediterranean. Algiers itself had been famously founded by the Barbarossa brothers, Aruj and Hayreddin, after they captured the area from the Spanish in 1516. The brothers were sailors and then corsairs before becoming rulers of the important seaport. When Leo Africanus (c. 1494-1554), a Granada-born diplomat and author of the popular Description of Africa,⁷ visited Cairo around the same time, the Mamluk sultan, Qansuh al-Ghawri, was “twenty-second in a succession of rulers of mostly Circassian origin, all of them Turkish-speaking, all of them starting as military slaves...and all of them having to renounce the Christianity into which they had been born; each one coming to power not in principle by inheritance but through maneuvers, connections, and military force” (Zemon Davis 35). For those interested in braving the seas as

⁷ Leo Africanus was also known as Hassan Ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al Fasi. This work was written during his time in Italy and published in 1550 under the title Della descrittione dell’Africa et delle cose notabili che iui sono. The popularity of the work is attested to in Haedo by the captive Sosa, who has a copy with him in his cell: “aquí tengo un libro prestado de un moro nacido en granada y criado en la ciudad y reino de Fez, que trata de la descripción de toda Africa” (201).

corsairs, joining the military as janissaries or taking one of a number of other positions serving the court, opportunities for converts under Ottoman rule were limitless. As Kafdar explains, “renegades could strike Ottoman roots so easily just because they were not anomalous, because they already had much in common with numerous others in this society, in which migration and conversion were common” (Kafadar 620). In addition, much unlike Habsburg Spain, which emphasized lineage and heredity in most professional positions, promotions under Ottoman rule were based on merit and experience (Kafadar 602-605). It was not uncommon, then, for a slave or servant in the Ottoman Empire to end his life in a far better position than that in which he began.

2.4 Shades of Conversion

This story of the Christian slave or servant turned ruler, repeated throughout the Mediterranean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was well known throughout Christendom. And while the idea could not have failed to fascinate, within Spanish fiction dealing with captivity and slavery the possibility of success haunts characters through manifestations of anxiety over their own conversion and the conversion of their companions. In turn, this anxiety serves as a constant reminder to the reader of the opportunities that existed for the captive in Barbary. In Cervantes’ three plays on captivity, the most consistent element is a preoccupation with the temptation to convert to Islam. But the theme of conversion is treated differently in each play. In “Trato de Argel,” two young brothers, Juan and Francisco, demonstrate opposing reactions to the

temptation of conversion. While Francisco remains faithful to Christianity, his younger brother explains why conversion was the easiest choice for him, and urges his older brother to do the same:

Por qué conviertes en lloro mi contento, hermano mío? Ése es grande desvarío. ¿Hay más gusto que ser moro? Mira este galán vestido, que mi amo me le ha dado, y otro tengo de brocado, más bizarro y más polido. Alcuzcuz como sabroso, sorbeta de azúcar bebo, y el corde, que es dulce, pruebo, y pilao, que es provechoso. Y en vano trabajarás de aplacarme con tu lloro; mas, si tú quieres ser moro, a fe que lo acertarás. Toma mis consejos sanos, y veráste mejorado.
(Third Act)

One might argue that these lines were written in order to inspire alarm or horror in the spectator. But, as Juan's attitude here and the historical fact of so many voluntary conversions to Islam make clear, many Spaniards and other Europeans did not find the prospect of conversion horrifying in the least. And, while Francisco is devastated over the loss of his brother's soul, there is no apparent negative consequence to the benefits listed by Juan.

In contrast, just before this exposition of luxury acquired as a result of conversion, another internal struggle is acted out by Aurelio, the good Christian on whom the play largely centers. Here, sexual submission to a Muslim mistress stands in for submission (*Islam*) to Allah. This temptation is represented by the appearance of *Ocasión* and *Necesidad*, which are prompted by his lascivious, irreverent, and at times irreligious mistress Zahara and her *hechicera* servant Fatima. Aurelio recognizes the ease with which he could alter his life and articulates his effort to resist the material gain that

would come with surrender to her desires: “pues yo sé, si quisiese, que podría salir desta miseria a poca costa...con no más de querer bien a mi ama, o fingir que la quiero, me bastaba. Mas, ¿quién podrá fingir lo que no quiere?” (Third Act) Here virtue and faith prevail, but the appearance of opportunity was surely enough to titillate a Spanish audience accustomed to being bedazzled by stories of Ottoman power. A period European perspective is often difficult to keep in mind when reading texts dealing with Muslim themes. As Harper points out,

The Europeans, who students and even scholars tend to instinctively regard as conquerors and colonizers, actually occupied a much more ambiguous position in the premodern and early modern periods. By no means assured of their dominance of the world, Renaissance and Baroque Europeans anxiously watched the steady progress of a powerful enemy Other, which had colonized the territories of the now defunct Byzantine Empire and was colonizing large parts of the Venetian and Holy Roman empires. (7)

Struggles between righteousness and immorality, then, must have been especially captivating to Spanish audiences alert to the movement of the Turks across Europe.

Virtue prevails for two other characters in “Trato de Argel.” When Pedro confesses to Sayavedra that he is thinking of pretending to convert to Islam, an act that would require him only to “decir ciertas palabras de Mahoma, y no otra cosa,”⁸ Saayavedra convinces him that this would be just as damning as a real conversion. The same sort of conversion is treated much more ambivalently in “Los Baños de Argel.”

⁸ Again, Sayavedra highlights the simplicity of conversion to Islam.

Hazén, a fake renegade who remains faithful to Christ, kills Yzuf, a sincere renegade, and most likely a Morisco, who opens the play with a planned attack on Spain, boasting that he knows the land well because he grew up there. Hazen is then martyred after declaring his Christian identity. In another instance, Juanico and Francisco appear in Turkish costume, promising their father that they have converted only in appearance: “de aquesto no hay que temer, porque si nuestra intención está con firme afición puesta en Dios, caso es sabido que no deshace el vestido lo que hace el corazón” (Second Act). Neither of the false conversions is condemned; in fact, these fake converts who have apparently been integrated into Muslim society are much more sympathetic characters than Pedro, in “Trato,” who is never actually allowed conversion and continues in his shady dealings with Christians and Muslims alike. He is concerned neither with faith nor virtue, but rather with his own profit and gain, which will be greater in Argel than in Spain, as he tells Sayavedra: “Siete escudos de oro he granjeado [co]n mi solicitud, industria y maña, [y au]n son pocos, según he trabajado. Nunca tuve otros tantos en España, cuando anduve en la guerra de Granada, armado nueve meses en campaña” (Fourth Act). Sayavedra condemns Pedro’s actions and accuses him of being a disgrace to all Christians: “Desdichado de aquel que acaso topa contigo, Pedro, y tú más desdichado, que así cudicias la cristiana ropa! ¡En peligroso golfo has engolfado tu barca, de mentiras fabricada, y en ella tú serás sólo anegado!” (Fourth Act)

Perhaps the most ambiguous representation of conversion within these three works is found in "La Gran Sultana." Salec tells the newly arrived Roberto, who is disguised as a Greek, not to be afraid, that here "todo es confusión, y todos nos entendemos con una lengua mezclada que ignoramos y sabemos"⁹ (First Act). He goes on to tell Roberto that he doesn't feel like talking about himself, that he doesn't believe in anything. When Roberto accuses him of sounding like an atheist, Salec replies that he doesn't know what he believes in (*yo no sé lo que nuestro*). More than depressed or tormented about his identity in Algiers, Salec comes across as ambivalent about his own life. The great conversion that the title of this play implies never actually occurs. Catalina decides to marry the *Gran Turco* on the condition that she can remain a Christian and continue to have relations with other Christians. This does not seem to pose a problem for the Turk, whose own law allows this; rather, he ends by liberating all of his Christian captives. The religious tolerance exhibited by the *Gran Turco* is also emphasized in "Los Baños de Argel" when Vivanco marvels at how freely he and his fellow Christians are allowed to practice their religion. This tolerance is reinforced by the appearance of Cauralí, captain of Argel, at the Easter celebration, where he assures everyone that he has come in peace to witness the events. Throughout the play it is the Sacristán who exhibits such extreme intolerance toward both Jews and Muslims that his fellow Christians from the Easter celebration remove him; he is eventually banished

⁹ This is another reference to the *lingua franca* spoken by the inhabitants of Algiers.

from the country by the Jews, who redeem him in order to get him out of their hair. In sum, Cervantes does not treat conversion in black and white terms. The nonchalance with which Juan treats his own conversion is indicative of the kind of ease with which many individuals moved between religious categories. This ambivalent treatment of conversion from a Counter-Reformation Spanish writer points toward a greater ambivalence in Spain toward Islam that contradicts much official Church and state rhetoric toward the religion and the people who practiced it.

2.5 Sancho Panza and the Independent Republic

Algiers was not the only place that stories such as those acted out by the Christians, Muslims and renegades of Cervantes could be set. All around the Mediterranean cosmopolitan life was flourishing, as Europeans contributed in large numbers to the growth of many busy Muslim port towns. Some of these were not directly under Ottoman control, but rather functioned as independent rogue states, the most powerful of which was Salé.

1614 marked the end of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain; but it also marked the confiscation and confinement in the Escorial of 4,000 Arabic books on Islamic topics from Sulyman's library within the country (Garcés 97). This "great fluidity of information and circulation of human beings," as Garcés describes it (81), also marks the date of the publication of the second book of the Quixote. As Sancho governed his *insula*, across the Bou Regreg River from Rabat the Hornachegos were

already establishing their rule in valuable Moroccan coastal area, in what used to be a refuge for Barbary pirates and corsairs (Sánchez Pérez 132). There the expelled Moriscos established independent government similar in structure to the one they had in Hornachos. According to Sánchez Pérez, the Moriscos had rallied behind Haruch Barbarossa in the early sixteenth century as he threatened Christendom with attacks on papal galleys. Sánchez Pérez describes the Moriscos, by the time of Philip II, as the most well informed inhabitants of the peninsula, knowing what went on inside and outside of its borders, in intimate contact with a wide range of Spaniards and their enemies (110). They had also enjoyed a certain autonomy, having been granted special privileges by Philip II, such as the possession and use of arms (Lamborn Wilson 78).

The Morisco republic in Salé was governed by an *alcalde*, elected annually and assisted by a *consejo* of 14 members. Soon French and English merchants as well as Jewish merchants from the Netherlands established themselves in Salé, acting as bankers and representatives of their respective countries. Moriscos, Christian captives, and European specialists, especially from the Netherlands, helped to construct the boats that would be used in corsair missions. The rowers were principally African slaves or Christian captives, while adventurers from all over Europe worked on the boats as surgeons, pilots, and carpenters; and, Europeans who converted to Islam might become local leaders in Salé (Sánchez Pérez 134). As diplomats, the Hornachegos made pacts

with England, France and Holland, treaties that were written in Castilian, like all of their letters and communications (Sánchez Pérez 138-39).

Salé became an internationally recognized corsair republic that would last until 1668 in some form.¹⁰ Other republics appeared and passed, but none as important and politically active as Salé. In “The Captive’s Tale,” reference is made to the independent Protestant municipality of La Rochelle (Cervantes, Don Quixote I:41), which was throughout the sixteenth century a nest of Huguenot corsair activity. The captain who takes the captive and Zoraida in “The Captive’s Tale” was bound for La Rochelle. Also mentioned in this story is Sargel, known today as Cherchell, then a small port 100 kilometers west of Argel, and thus closer to Spain; it was populated by Moriscos who had fled Andalucía and Valencia and who maintained contact with their brethren in these cities. Like Salé it was a corsair town dealing in the traffic of captives and arms (Cervantes, Don Quijote, footnote to page 517). This was the destination of the renegade who acquired a boat for the captive and Zoraida. Rogue coastal territories are very much on the political map of the Quixote, which makes the choice of the *insula* for Sancho’s governance all the more compelling.

2.6 Reading Barbary

Modern histories like Bennassar’s book, Les Chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats (XVIe-XVIIe siècles), which attempts to reconstruct the lives

¹⁰ Lamborn Wilson describes the demise of Salé (90-92).

of renegades based on captive tales and inquisition files, cannot be more reliable than their sources. Bunes Ibarra's criticism of Bennassar's book (Reflexiones 181-198) suggests why it is important to approach these present-day narratives with caution. In referring almost exclusively to apostasy and chronicles of circumstances that led to the conversions, Les Chrétiens adopts the forms and models of the redemption books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries upon which Bennassar's research has relied. According to Bunes Ibarra, studying defection from Christian Spain as an exclusively religious phenomenon amounts to a reduction of collective reality. For many renegades, what began as a transitory situation became a permanent way of life. He stresses that the stories of apostasy, captivity and reintegration into Christian society that came out of Spanish and Italian cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are only a small part of a new history that was being forged in Istanbul, Tunis, Argel, Fez and Salé. For many, apostasy was not a traumatic choice between fighting for Christ or fighting for Alá: it was just opting for another way of life. In addition, Mercedes García Arenal warns that:

Historical and social scientific studies focusing on those who preserved their separate identities rarely pay attention to the other side of the coin, that is, those who chose anonymity through a total or partial absence of differentiation that enabled hundreds of thousands of Moriscos, Jewish converts, and European Muslims to become virtually invisible within the wider society....isolating a community by itemizing its "differences" can lead to its confinement and, in the last resort, its expulsion, be this a physical historical experience of exile or a historiographical one that banishes the group from inclusion in the idea of the host nation. ("Religious Minorities" 891-2)

The phenomenon described by García Arenal also applies to the construction of a

historical context in which to read a “national literature” of the country of origin of so many emigrants.

As this chapter has shown, Europeans did not disappear into a completely foreign realm by converting and choosing to remain in Muslim lands. The independent territories discussed were diplomatically and commercially important to the major European powers that dealt with them, officially or (as was often the case with the corsairs towns) unofficially. While European rulers may have regarded the Barbary States as a monolithically Muslim territory, those who actually visited these territories often discovered otherwise. The term “Barbary,” as Matar notes, was not used in the North African Arabic or Turkish languages, but to European writers

it referred to the Ottoman regencies of Libya (Tripolitania), Tunisia and Algeria, and the kingdom of Morocco....They differed in that Morocco was independent of Ottoman rule, while Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya had both Ottoman pashas who oversaw their affairs and Ottoman troops with their designated military commanders (*aghas*). The states were similar in their jurisprudential traditions as well as in their regional identity. Thousands of English and Scottish traders, soldiers, sailors and travelers repeatedly met with the peoples of those states and learned of their distinct form of Islam and distinct ethnolinguistic characters...The Moors of the Barbary States, with their fearsome pirates and dignified ambassadors, rich resources and multireligious society, became a defining region for British soldiers, sea captains, merchants, and craftsmen in the Mediterranean and Atlantic. (Matar, Britain 3)

Matar’s findings in his study of British relations with the lands the British knew as Barbary, which included republics such as Salé, must have been true too for other Europeans. Not only captives and renegades, who often remained in Muslim lands,

learned of Muslim society, but also soldiers, sailors, merchants and craftsmen, many of whom returned home with oral histories of their travels, while many others would be enticed into renouncing their allegiances to their religion and monarch. All of these Europeans, and the nations they belonged to, were affected by these encounters, of which scarce written record remains. Spanish Counter-Reformation rhetoric that demonized the inhabitants of these lands must be read against this reality of high levels of contact between the Spanish people and those whom the Church and state attempted to dehumanize.

Inga Clendinnen's strategy for discovering the indigenous experience of the Maya and Spanish encounter in the Yucatan is germane to an understanding of the Spanish experience around the Mediterranean outside of the well-documented wars with the "Turks." In a New World context, Clendinnen states that "the trick is to strip away the cocoon of Spanish interpretation" from dominant views of the conquest in order to uncover the actions and intentions of the Natives involved (132). Likewise, given the meager written trace the subjects have left of their own experience, it is important to begin by shedding the similar cocoon of anti-Islamic rhetoric that has dominated Western history of the Mediterranean. This means reading the works of Cervantes from the point of view of a Europe who was still largely fighting for its survival, rather than the culturally superior entity that Europeans themselves—those who were in a position to create literary expositions—represented. While Kafadar

emphasizes how terms such as “Turk” used by Europeans to talk about the variety of people they encountered around the Mediterranean ethnicizes an identity that went beyond ethnicity, Matar describes how

the racial binary that dominated Europe and Eurocentrism in the early modern and modern periods and that proved instrumental in conquest, expulsion, and ethno-national cleansing is notably absent in North African writings. Magharibi writers very rarely refer to the racial character of the *nasara* (or, for that matter, of their own compatriots, and coreligionists); and if they do, they do not project racist purposes. When Magharibis feared or hated, cursed or liked the Europeans, it was not because of skin color; it was because of actions and words. (Europe 134)

This tradition exhibited a different perspective—one that stands in sharp contrast to the racially charged, imperial rhetoric that the first part of this chapter considers. But it is a perspective with which many Europeans must have had to grapple, and which some came to adopt. And it is from this perspective that Spanish works of literature of all types should be (re)considered.

The following chapter will examine a few Spanish “histories” and consider the greater map of sixteenth-century history making. I will show how perspectival difference within Spain was manifested in an interest among writers and readers in Islamic modes of existence. By examining a few colonial texts, I will also demonstrate how Spanish authors extolling Muslim life participated in a greater tendency within the Spanish empire to interrupt official court and Church versions of reality that

diminished, disparaged or were exclusive of non-Christian subjects and their perspectives.

3. Placing Islam in Early-Modern Spanish History

The previous chapters have shown that the antagonistic stance against Islam and Muslims taken by the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not universally adopted, either within Spain or beyond its borders. This lack of unanimity is evident in the failure of the crown to fully execute any of its policies against its own Muslim subjects due to insufficient collaboration on the part of its elite and common subjects, and to its own vacillation regarding the place of Muslims in Spanish society. Further, literary representations, such as the works of Cervantes discussed in the previous chapter, reflect a multicultural, multireligious, polylingual and polyethnic reality along the Mediterranean which many Spaniards and other Europeans participated in and embraced. This final chapter will consider “historical” representations of Islam and Muslims during this period in light of this alternative vision of Muslim-Christian relations. It will also reflect on their place within contemporary trends in historical writing in Spain, Europe and the New World to show that positive representations of Islam were not unique in their attempt to disrupt a national discourse in Christian-ruled lands that would exclude non-Christian others and non-Christian perspectives.

3.1 Spain and the Quasi-Historical: Moorish Pillars

Michel de Certeau envisages history as an operation linked always to a place, to analytical procedures, and to writing, thus emphasizing the productive act, or the

“making” of history (chapters 1 and 2). He describes how any attempt to organize past events into a narrative will invariably be haunted by details the historian has chosen to omit:

whatever this new understanding of the past holds to be irrelevant—shards created by the selection of materials, remainders left aside by an explication—comes back, despite everything, on the edges of discourse or in its rifts and crannies: “resistances,” “survivals,” or delays discreetly perturb the pretty order of a line of “progress” or a system of interpretation. These are lapses in the syntax constructed by the law of place. Therein they symbolize a return of the repressed, that is, a return of what, at a given moment, has *become* unthinkable in order for a new identity to *become* thinkable. (4)

This “return of the repressed” is particularly obvious in Spanish works of the sixteenth century, when historians struggled to reconcile incongruities between a purportedly Catholic present and a recent Muslim (and Jewish) past. Rooted in classical tradition, the sixteenth-century historian, writer or maker of history was not necessarily committed to the organization of facts in narrative form. Facts and truth were not necessarily linked, as moral and spiritual truths were often valued over factual, or historical, truths. Though literary criticism of the Renaissance was largely concerned with differentiating between historical fact and fiction, justifications of fictitious narratives abounded. Many historians and their readers still believed that “though fiction was not the truth of history, it was nevertheless truth in some other, more profound sense” (Nelson 8). Whether fact or fiction, a work could not be considered true in the medieval tradition if it contradicted dominant ideas about what constituted the good or proper way to live; and it was the historian’s responsibility to uphold and propagate official state or Church

rhetoric.¹ So, with mounting pressure to produce historically true—as opposed to spiritually or morally true²—narratives, many historians simply “strained their imaginations to provide the most authoritative and circumstantial proof of their historicity” (Nelson 19).

William Nelson describes this “quasi-historical mode,” prevalent in the Middle Ages and still present in the sixteenth century:

typically, the medieval story is a historical report the credibility of which is reinforced by its venerable antiquity, by the circumstantial nature of its testimony and by the unimpeachable character of its author. The discovery of an old book containing such a report is a remarkably common device: the book has lain hidden for a long time; it was buried, lost or closely guarded. The discovery is often said to have been aided or witnessed or corroborated by some responsible person, an emperor, an abbot, or an archdeacon, the book is found in a tomb, under the high altar of a monastery, in the ruins of (an) ancient city...It may be written in an exotic language or in a strange script...It is partially destroyed or faded or difficult to decipher. Sometimes the discoverer translates it in full; sometimes he summarizes it; sometimes he supplements it from other reliable sources. It is impossible to test the accuracy of these prefatory statements for somehow the long lost book rarely turns up again. (21-22)

The strategies described by Nelson had their basis in the medieval notion of authority, which emphasized the *auctor* as “someone who was at once a writer and an authority, someone not merely to be read but also to be respected and believed.” (Minnis 10) Such strategies were employed by some Spaniards in the sixteenth century in an effort to

¹ See Mignolo, “El metatexto historiográfico.”

² The popular genre of hagiography best exemplifies a body of literature valued for its spiritual and moral truth, though other works were valued for the moral examples they gave. For a period evaluation of popular literature within a work of fiction, see Don Quixote I:6.

make histories that would resolve contemporary ethnic and religious conflicts in the peninsula. If, as Hayden White claims, “every historical narrative has as its latent or manifest purpose the desire to moralize the events of which it treats” (18), then these tactics were used to reinforce the truth of the authors’ moral stance—i.e., how the crown should act regarding its own Muslim (or Jewish) population and regarding Muslims (and Jews) in general.

Of course in Spain the trope of the found Arabic manuscript translated into Castilian is well known. Cervantes explains that the narrative of Don Quixote itself was created from an Arabic manuscript authored by the Muslim historian, Cide Hamete Benengeli. Ginés Pérez de Hita’s Guerras Civiles de Granada (1595-1619) uses the pretext of a translation from the Arabic original in order to corroborate a history that ennobles the Moriscos and supports their presence in Spain just before their expulsion. Discoveries at the Sacromonte in Granada between 1588 and 1606³ of relics, parchments, and lead books with texts in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin—also meant to distinguish the Morisco inhabitants of Granada—gave the city’s new Christian inhabitants great encouragement as they tried to forge a Christian identity for their city after the 1492

³ See the first chapter of this study for a summary of these events. Also summarized in Amelang 75-80 and extensively covered in Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada. For an extensive bibliography, see Amelang 222.

conquest.⁴ Some voices within Spain contested the findings; and authorities, especially outside of Spain, did not ignore their heretical content.⁵ Nevertheless, many local residents turned a blind eye to suspicious “evidence” that placed the Arabic language on the peninsula long before the Muslim conquest, reconciled difficult differences between Christianity and Islam, and incorporated Islamic customs into Christianity. Locals appeared in large processions at the site of the findings, quickly converting it into a holy place; and the city was permanently transformed⁶ by its embrace of a story, which told of the country’s first bishop and Christian martyrs, albeit at the time of Nero. However, the story’s potential to include and distinguish the Moriscos, thus securing their place in Spain, went unexploited by local Christians and the Spanish crown; and the ultimate papal rejection of the forgeries nearly a century later did little to change the history of Granada which they had helped to establish.

⁴ In 1594, the work of Román de Higuera endeavored to bolster the descendants of the Jewish community in Toledo suffering under the application of the statutes of *limpieza de sangre*. Though uncovered and condemned as false, his work, which “proved” that there had been Jews in Toledo before the death of Christ, thus freeing their descendants in Spain from the crime of deicide, similarly inspired great religious enthusiasm, patriotism and local pride in Toledo (García Arenal, “Entorno” 301).

⁵ In 1642, Felipe IV finally allowed the findings to travel to Rome, to which they had been called by the Pope. In 1682, the Vatican declared that part of the findings (though not all!) were, indeed, both heretical and fraudulent.

⁶ On this transformation, see Harris, “The Sacromonte and the Geography of the Sacred in Early Modern Granada.”

One of the suspected authors⁷ of the Arabic texts that constituted part of the findings was the Morisco Miguel de Luna, licensed medic and court translator to Philip II. Until recently not much was known about Luna's identity other than of his work as translator and his connection to the lead books. Available sources had shown no connection between Luna and the Islamic communities of Spain or Morocco. He was thought to consider himself, and be considered by others, an "Arab-Christian" (García Arenal, "Cristiano árabe"). It is known that he was not expelled from Granada along with other Moriscos in 1610: he remained there and died a Christian death in 1615 (García Arenal, "Miguel de Luna" 225). But in 2010 García Arenal published findings that show that Luna was not just intimately involved with, but held an important position among "los moriscos más fervientes de Toledo," who listened to Luna at clandestine meetings, considering him an authority on Islamic law (García Arenal, "Miguel de Luna" 258). By forging the texts, Luna was, according to García Arenal, participating in a historiographical trend that began in the 1540s, which García Arenal classifies as "anti-Roman" ("Entorno" 300). This reaction to an Italian humanism that gave preeminence to Italy over other European nations for its Roman roots manifested itself in Spain and other countries as the expression of pride in a Gothic past. More importantly, the forgeries coincided with a greater obsession with genealogy that was

⁷ For a fascinating study of the authorship of the lead books, see García Arenal, "Entorno."

reflected in historiographical trends of this period, especially in Granada. Moriscos who could prove that their family had been baptized voluntarily before the decree of conversion or expulsion were recognized as *cristianos viejos*; while those who could prove that they were of noble Muslim origin, meaning that they had pertained to the Muslim ruling class before the conquest of Granada, and who were providing service to the crown, could be granted the status of *hidalgo*, which exempted Moriscos from the edict for expulsion, in both 1570 and 1610. Miguel de Luna had such a claim pending in 1610 (García Arenal, "Entorno" 306).

The privilege that such a ranking promised inspired a series of forgeries of ancient family trees. The prominent Morisco family, Venegas, created one of the most complex genealogical works of its time in a book entitled Origen de la Casa de Granada.

According to García Arenal,

esta obra no se contenta ya con demostrar que los Granada pertenecen a linajes reales nazaríes, sino que los entronca con linajes aristocráticos de la Hispania anterior a la conquista musulmana y les proporciona un origen godo de sangre real.... mezcla documentos falsos y documentos verdaderos. ...presenta a los diversos miembros de la familia, durante el período islámico, como filocristianos o cristianos encubiertos que colaboran a menudo, en las correspondientes guerras, con los reyes cristianos. ("Entorno" 316)

As García Arenal points out, this collaboration with Christian Spain is also what characterizes the Muslims who become the "good" Moriscos in the first part of Pérez de Hita's book Guerras civiles de Granada. Pérez de Hita was not far removed from the Venegas family's literary circle. The Venegas held important *tertulias*, or intellectual

gatherings, at their house, which one Gonzalo Mateo de Berrío attended. When Pérez de Hita presented his manuscript of Guerras civiles to the board of censors to be approved for publication, Berrío provided his endorsement (García Arenal, "Entorno" 319-22).

Luna, too, created pre-conquest Muslim characters that are sympathetic to and collaborate with Christians. But in his book La verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo Luna diminishes the importance of Spain's Gothic roots in order to elevate its Muslim invaders. Here it is not Gothic blood that ennobles, but rather the dissolution of Gothic blood through mixed marriages with Muslims that improves the character of the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, who before the Muslim invasion had been living under the corrupt rule of the Gothic king. Genealogy does not function in Luna's tale as a traceable line exemplifying purity of blood; rather, it serves as a tool to erase difference in an ethnically diverse land.

3.2 New and Improved Histories

Luna's new and improved history of the Muslim conquest was published in 1592 and 1600, during the time of the translation of the *plomos*, or lead books, found at the Sacromonte in Granada. For his Historia, too, Luna uses the trope of the found ancient Arabic manuscript that requires the expert skills of an experienced translator. In his introduction he describes translation as a spiritual exercise and discusses the most difficult challenges that the translator faces, which his studies have prepared him to tackle. To begin with, he writes, Arabic is an especially difficult language to translate,

one that will require him to study the marginalia, which elucidate particularly confusing points. And this work was written by hand, before the invention of the printing press (though quite a bit later than the first-century *plomos!*), so it is very hard to read. But most importantly, Luna is committed to conserving the *meaning* of the author, Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique. This will, Luna explains, require him to take certain liberties in his translation as well as in the editing process. The inclusion of letters and other “*pruebas de veracidad*” assure the reader that he or she will be getting the real story. This is important, as he explains in the introduction to the second part of his book, because until now the “histories” that have been written have been so muddled that none can be considered true:

Están tan confusas nuestras historias (discreto lector) que a ninguno de quantos hasta hoy las han leído, han dado satisfacción de la verdad... y a esta causa nuestros historiadores escribieron por conjeturas, lo que era cierto, confundiendo la primera entrada de los Arabes en España con Tarif Abenzier, Capitán General del Rey Almançor, con la segunda entrada que en el hizo Mahometo Abdalaziz, General del Rey Abencirix, siendo diferentes y aviendo pasado entre estos dos Generales tiempo de veinte y cinco años...(229)

He goes on to describe a few more names and facts that have been confused in previous histories, assuring the reader that these errors, and others, will be corrected in his newer and truer version.

Again, this emphasis on the truth of a particular narrative, especially among competing histories, was increasingly popular in the sixteenth century, as much invention began to give way to fact-based histories. Fernández de Oviedo served as

official Court Chronicler to Charles V. His Historia general y natural de las Indias (1535, 1547, 1557) recorded Spain's activities in the New World as they happened; and his accounts sometimes came into direct conflict with those of the real-life protagonists of his narratives, such as Hernán Cortés and Las Casas. Oviedo has several strategies for assuring his readers that his account is the truest of those available,⁸ among them conventional expressions establishing the veracity of his statements, and innovative uses of dialogue that allow him to provide firsthand testimony that corroborates his historical account. Most notably, Oviedo, whose first book was a chivalric romance entitled Don Claribalte (1519), assures his readers that he is not "telling them nonsense like the lying books of Amadís and those which depend on them" (qtd. in Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined" 132). Of course, as Myers points out, Oviedo's historical work, in its descriptions of the natural wonders of the New World, falls back on narrative style akin to his earlier romance (623). Even as truth and fiction competed during the sixteenth century, there was not a clear line between the two. William Nelson points out that "before the conventionalizing of the novel the signs by which we readily distinguish fiction from nonfiction—place on library shelves, format, style—were not available, so that only the quite incredible tale could be free from confusion with historical report" (8). Though he does not indulge in the more spectacular description that a New World account might inspire, Miguel de Luna feels comfortable professing the veracity of his

⁸ For an analysis of these strategies, see Kathleen Myers.

narrative at the same time that he marks out his right to embellish it in order to remain faithful to a greater moral truth that he wishes to communicate. The gist of Luna's message, again, is that Muslim presence in Spain improved its inhabitants' lot by a) conversion and blood mixing, which cleansed the nation of corrupt Gothic blood, and b) bringing law, order, justice and a cultural life unknown under both Gothic rule and, implicitly, subsequent Christian rule.

The first point is stressed most heavily at the beginning of the novel. Chapter three explains *como el rey Don Rodrigo mandó derribar muchos Castillos en su Reyno, y mató los Alcaydes de ellos, y de otras insolencias que usó con los suyos, por donde vino a ser castigado de Dios nuestro Señor*. Here, Luna discusses out how, shortly after his coronation, "le vino (al Rey Don Rodrigo) a quitar en un punto todo lo que le auia dado, priuandole de los contentos de esta vida miserable: porque buscando los medios para conseruar su Reyno, en lugar dello, halló la ocasión de su perdición." Don Rodrigo's downfall begins when he becomes suspicious of all of his vassals and, in order to avoid potential betrayal, orders the capture and decapitation of many *Alcaydes* of Castile and Andalusia who have shown signs of sympathy for Prince Don Sancho. This done,

hizo derribar muchos castillos y fuerças en la mayor parte de España, entre los quales resolvió algunos que le parecieron buenos, y conuenientes para su seguridad, y en ellos puso algunos criados suyos por Alcaydes, de quien se confiaua: demás de lo qual, mandó pregonar en todos sus Reynos, que ninguno de sus vasallos fuesse ossado a traer, ni tener ningún genero de armas, antes las presentasen ante el, pena de la vida, y que dexassen el exercicio del arte miitar, y se diesen a las labranças del campo. (13)

But it was the king's own vice that ultimately destroyed his kingdom, as the author discovers from very reliable sources:

porq' hecho esto, andaua descuidado, exercitando algunos vicios, mayormente los carnales, de los quales me informé de muchos Prelados de sus Reynos, y otras personas, dignas de ser creidas: los cuales me contaron, que por quitar a hombres honrados sus honestas, y castas mujeres, e hijas les mandaua quitar a ellos las vidas, de cuya causa no se adminisraua justicia en sus Reynos, como era razón. (14)

The cruel and irrational rule described above coupled with the carnal vice that follows threatens to poison the people of Don Rodrigo's kingdom, as the author's judgment shows:

Y como los Reyes, y Principes son espejo de sus Republicas, de donde los populares toman dechado de viuir con rectitud, verguença, y criança, quando sus mayores son virtuosos, y de buena vida, y costumbres; y por el contrario, si son malos, y viciosos. Del mal exemplo de vida, y costumbres de este Rey nacieron tantos vicios, maldades, y traiciones entre sus súbditos, que no se trataba de verdad, ni podia viuir, sino con grande trabajo: y asi no me marauillo del castigo, y plaga que Dios embio sobre ellos. (14)

Don Rodrigo sets an example "de vida y costumbres" that gives birth to many "vicios, maldades, y traiciones" among his own subjects and that in turn causes God to punish the entire kingdom.

The pestilence and war that was part of this divine punishment wipes out so many Spaniards that repopulation becomes a major concern for the Arab invaders, who later convene about how to "ordernar el buen gobierno, y población de España." In addition, the new conquerors found themselves without women of their own ethnicity. Both problems would be resolved through miscegenation and conversion:

y como gente de guerra, la mayor parte dellos solteros, y por casar, todo lo qual era grande dificultad para la nueva población. Tambien considerauan, que no eran bastantes ellos para poderles llevar mujeres de Africa con quien se pudiesen casar, porque sus padres, y deudos no las querian dar para llevarlas a España: para remediar esta necesidad que se les ofrecia, ordenaron, y mandaron pregonar en toda España, que todas las mujeres Christianas de sus naturales moradores y otra qualquier nación, que quisiesen tornara a su ley, y casarse con los Moros conquistadores, pudiesen gozar de las mismas preminencias que ellos gozauan, y lo mismo los varones, ofreciéndoles otras libertades, y repartimientos de tierras. Con este nuevo vando, unos por miedo, y otros por codicia, *se tornaron Moros infinito números de Christianos en muy breue espacio de tiempo y se casaron las mugeres con los conquistadores.* (71, emphasis mine)

The conversion of an “infinite number” of Christians to Islam included those of Archbishop Don Orpas and Archbishop Toriso, a close relative of Don Rodrigo. Notably, the marriages that took place between conquistadors and Christian women included both local Christians and those from other nations (“qualquier nacion”). The important event here, which did not occur so successfully in sixteenth-century Spain, was the mass miscegenation, which, according to Luna’s “history,” wiped out the importance of bloodline from the beginning of the Arab conquest. The implication here, of course, is that if the importance of lineage was wiped out so early in Spain’s history, bloodline could not have any real relevance in Philip II’s Spain.

The insignificance of lineage is further stressed in the story of the life of Rey Jacob Almançor. It is through him that Luna makes his second point that the Arab invasion improved Spain socially, culturally and politically. Almançor is a wise man, “amigo de hombres sabios,” the perfect gentleman, militarily prepared, and especially well formed in the liberal arts. Notably, he is open to all knowledge, “todo genero de

ciencias,” and would appear to be an enemy of the censorship, or “ignorancia,” that formed a marked part of Philip II’s Spain:

Era tan sabio el Rey Jacob Almançor en todo genero de ciencias, y amigo de hombres sabios de cualquiera facultad....dezia que no avia mayor miseria en el mundo que la ignorancia, ni avia monstruo, por fiero, torpe, y abominable que fuesse, que con ella se pudiesse comparar. Tenía puesto edicto en todos sus Reynos, que cualquiera persona que le traxesse libro que no estuviesse en su librería, de cualquier facultad que fuesse, se lo pagaria con doblado valor...en justa estimacion y asi los recibia y pagava si eran libros exquisitos, y muy buenos, los pagava muy bien al que los trajo, dandoles por ellos grandes premios. Con esto edicto juntó tanta multitud de libros, que haziendo numero dellos, halló en su librería cincuenta y cinco mil setecientos y veinte y dos cuerpos de todo genero de ciencias, y lenguas varias: y pesandoles en un peso, pesaron mil y doscientos y diez y nueve quintales de papel. Y para certificar esta verdad viva, esta de presente la mayor parte de la librería en su Real Palacio, que hoy posee Vuestra Alteza. (259)

The final line is a touching appeal to King Philip II himself, who, in upholding a ban on the use of the Arabic language, which included the possession and circulation of Arabic texts, housed (or held hostage) thousands of Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial. Luna’s reference to the “multitud de libros de todo genero de ciencias, y lenguas varias,” is also an appeal to his readers to realize that the proof of Spain’s enlightened Muslim past lies in the heart of Spain and could be recovered and revived, and that such a revival could only benefit a country whose domestic and international policy would cut its citizens off from contact with anything, including this treasure of “libros exquisitos, y muy buenos,” outside of Catholic orthodoxy.

Not only was Almançor intellectually unbiased, his policies of promotion for those who had served him nobly were also liberal and nondiscriminatory regarding blood and lineage:

No tenia atención a sangre, ni menos a altos linajes, porque si era hombre particular de mediana condición, y tenia valor para regir, y gobernar, le daba el mejor lugar, y cargo de sus consejos. Y si era hombre de gran linaje, y no tenia valor, no hazia caudal para servirse del en cosa alguna...y como no se osaba nadie mentir, a ninguno valia con el favor sin justicia, y asi todos procuraron de servirle con grande animo, teniendo por muy cierto, que su trabajo avia de ser gratificando conforme al servicio que le hubiesse hecho, y esta fue la causa principal por donde era bien servido, y temido de todas las naciones del mundo. (251)

We see here that Almançor was not influenced by men simply because they were of “gran linaje”; it was whether the individual showed promise, or “valor para regir, y gobernar,” even if he was of a lower or “mediana” station, that would determine if he would be allowed to affect the king’s decisions. It is this impartiality, above all else, that gives Almançor the power and authority that causes him to be feared and respected first at home and then by the rest of the world. This was, of course, a characteristic obviously painfully lacking in sixteenth-century Spain, and perhaps the principal inspiration for Luna’s work, especially as he found himself required to prove the nobility of his own lineage.

Further diminishing the importance of blood and lineage throughout the Historia is Luna’s continued emphasis on conversion and mixed marriages. In the second book, Chapter Nineteen tells the story of *como Mahometo Abdalaziz se casó con la*

Infanta Egilona, hija del Rey Don Rodrigo, dejandola en su ley Cristiana. This is a story of true love in which “si el la queria, ella a el mucho mas le amava; y asi deseava ella en su coraçon que Abdalaziz quisiesse tornarse Chrstiano, y no osva decir ninguna cosa q tocasse a esta mate” (400). Abdalaziz does, in fact, secretly turn Christian and begin to venerate images, which he hides in his home. The following chapter tells of *como el rey Abencirix embió a dos Morabitos devotos suyos al Reyno de España para hazer pesquisa secreta contra el General Abdalaziz.* The religious who come to spy on Abdalaziz find him in reclusion and, after observing his religious practice, determine that he is a true Muslim believer, incapable of treason. Thus the text shows that it is impossible to differentiate a true Christian from a true Muslim. Difference is erased through the act of conversion itself. This, it would seem, is the type of conversion desired by the Church and the crown, but made impossible by their efforts to attain it. Abdalaziz is eventually crowned king of Spain, but is killed by his own people for having married a Christian outside of his bloodline.

That such a positive attitude toward miscegenation as well as such blatant praise of an Islamic rule so contrary to that of the author’s time and place went unopposed should raise suspicion as to the ubiquity of opposition to such multicultural visions. Far from being anonymous, Miguel de Luna held an important position in Philip II’s court. His book passed censorship without difficulty and was read by his peers, presumably Moriscos and non-Moriscos alike.

3.3 A Voyage to Turkey: Perpetuation of the Islamic Model

Luna was not alone in developing literary strategies for criticizing the status quo in Spain. Another text that compared Spanish models to their Islamic counterparts and found Spain lacking in everything from education to the handling of the military is the Viaje de Turquía (c.1557). Anonymous⁹ and not published in its time,¹⁰ Viaje de Turquía was most likely not as widely read as Luna's published work. The author of the Viaje's criticism of Spanish policy is not couched in narrative examples; rather, the book is written in Renaissance dialogue form. However the dialogue in the Viaje functions differently than Renaissance dialogue, which characteristically "juxtaposes opposed points of view at a brief and clearly defined moment of time. Pedro, the main speaker in the Viaje, who has returned to Spain and run into a couple of old friends after years of captivity in Constantinople, begins the dialogue by praising an aspect of Turkish law or custom. His interlocutors then have the opportunity to propound an opposing view, or at least a defense of Spanish practice, which is almost always contrary to the Turkish ways described by Pedro. But rather than try to convince Pedro that Spanish ways are superior to those of her enemy, as would occur in Renaissance dialogue form, his friends

⁹ Marcel Bataillon has argued that the author was the physician and humanist Andrés Laguna. See "Le Docteur Laguna." The author of the Viaje has also been identified as Cristóbal de Villalón. See Fernando G. Salerno's edition.

¹⁰ There are five known manuscripts of the Viaje de Turquía. See Ortola 48 for a description of these. The work first appeared in print in 1902 in Manuel Serrano y Sanz's volume of Autobiografías y memorias edited for the Nueva Biblioteca de Autores (Hart 107).

are swayed by Pedro's descriptions of Turkish life and heap more praise on its people and further criticism on the Spanish.

Contemporary criticism of the Viaje disregards the importance of this work's attitude toward Turkish life and politics. As Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra explains,

La mayor parte de las ediciones actuales de este diálogo creen que la persona que lo escribió nunca estuvo en los territorios donde se desarrolla su relato. Resume y sintetiza la mayor parte de los textos europeos sobre los otomanos...existe una intención manifiesta de ensalzar a los más tradicionales y peligrosos enemigos de la cristiandad en las postrimerías del siglo XVI para criticar los comportamientos de los habitantes de la Península. (La Imagen de los musulmanes 85-86)

Bunes Ibarra himself echoes this sentiment in a footnote about the Viaje when he writes,

El texto que muestra un apostura más favorable a los turcos es el *Viaje a Turquía*. La explicación de ello no es imputable a la simpatía hacia estos musulmanes, sino la crítica a los vicios y errores de los españoles del siglo XVI. En un momento en el que se están enfrentando directamente dos estados *es imposible encontrar textos de tipo conciliador*. (77, emphasis mine)

Notwithstanding the author having actually traveled to Constantinople, as a captive or otherwise, one would think that the aforementioned praise of Turkish custom in dialogue form is enough to warrant consideration of the text as more than a treatise on poor Spanish behavior and policy. Attitudes such as those described and held by Bunes Ibarra toward the Viaje influence readings of the text. For example, a footnote to Marie Sol-Ortola's 2000 edition of the Viaje likens Pedro to the "judío errante" (205) because he is described as knowing several languages. But there is nothing strange, suspicious or incongruent about a captive who speaks several languages, especially when that captive also served as a physician. Captives from all over Europe brought to metropolises such

as Constantinople or Algiers came in contact with a multitude of languages, and learning them could only be to their advantage. Focusing on the biographical details of the author (who remains unknown) is unhelpful for analyzing a text that takes such an interest in what could be considered, with so many Europeans of its time defecting to Islam, if not a counter-cultural, then certainly an alternative way of living and thinking within Spain.

Observations in the book¹¹ attesting to the fact that slaves in Constantinople are treated much better than those held by Christians abound. They are better fed (262), often enjoy freedom of movement (303), are held in better conditions (337), are treated with more compassion (342) and are honored on their religious holidays (414). When Pedro's own master dies he deeply mourns his death as he would that of a good friend or family member (431). As a captive who appears not to have reneged on his religion, his friends beg Pedro to tell them if what they so often hear about the renegades is true:

Gran deseo tenía de preguntar sobr'eso, porque an venido por ac'a algunos renegados diziendo que por fuerza los an hecho ser moros o turcos. Otros que an estado cautibos cuentan milagros de los grandes martirios que les daban porque renegasen. También se dexan decir otros que al que reniega luego le hazen uno de los principales señores. (322)

This angers Pedro, who insists that these accounts are all lies, "porque...mi voluntad, con todo su poderío ni todos los tormentos del infierno, no me la pueden forzar a qu

¹¹ All citations from the Viaje de Turquía are from the Ortola edition.

diga de si donde no quiere" (323). Later, Pedro describes the joy and honor a conversion brings to the people of Constantinople:

Cuando algún christiano se buelve moro de su voluntad y quiere ser circuncidado, que acontece muy ordinario por la gran carga de tributos que sobre sí tienen, a este tal llébanle por todas las calles de la ciudad con grande honra y alegría del pueblo tañendo un tambor, y del día que se circuncida no paga tributo al rey. (626)

He goes on to describe in detail what conversion to Islam consists of, as well as Muslim customs related to prayer (627-28). Juan asks if Muslims really perform the ritual of prayer five times a day. Pedro responds, "¡Mirad qué higa tan grande para nosotros que no somos cristianos sino en el nombre!" (632). Juan then asks if the Muslims really believe in God. Pedro's response is entirely positive, though contrary to orthodox Catholicism: "sí, y que no hai más de uno y sólo aquél tiene de ser adorado y de aquí viene que aborrecen tanto las imágenes que en la iglesia ni en casa ni en parte ninguna no las pueden tener, ni retratos, ni en paramentos" (636). In fact, Islam is rarely disparaged in the text except in obligatory clichés, best illustrated by Pedro's reply near the end of the book when Juan exclaims, "¡Gran virtud de gente es ésa y muy grande confusión nuestra!" Pedro agrees, "no he visto gente más virtuosa y pienso que tampoco la hai en Indias ni en lo que no he nadado, *dexando aparte el creer en Mahoma, que ya sé que se ban todos al infierno, pero hablo de la lei de natura*" (774, emphasis mine).

This is the sort of token anti-Islamic rhetoric that can be found sprinkled throughout the Viaje. Much more common are straightforward descriptions of local custom that receive

surprised approval from Juan and Mata. Overall, conditions in Constantinople are such that “cristianos muchos que han sido cautivos y son ya libres, viendo que hay mejor manera de ganar de comer allá que acá luego toman sus mujeres y hacen casa y hogar” (674).

Another point that puzzles Pedro’s friends is that of religious tolerance in Turkey. Pedro explains that “que no porque se llame Turquía son todos turcos, porque hai más cristianos que viben en su fe que tucos, aunque no están sujetos al Papa ni a nuestra Iglesia latina, sino ellos se hazen su patriarca que es Papa d’ellos” (451-2). When asked how the Sultan could permit such a thing, Pedro describes a social milieu that was current in Spain itself until the conquest of 1492: “¿Qué se le da a él si le pagan su tributo, que sea nadie judío, ni christiano, ni moro? En España ¿no solía haber moros y judíos?” (452). The peaceful coexistence of Christians, Muslims and Jews is a recurrent theme throughout the Viaje. The author stresses Turkish unity over cultural, social and ethnic diversity; and, Like Luna, he describes a hierarchy based not on economic or, genealogical, religious or racial categories, but rather on individual merit (694). All citizens are given fair shares for going off to war, “ansi a turcos como judios y christianos para ayuda de defender sus tierras contra christianos” (709). Pedro adds that “los judios an mostrado hazer artilleria, y escopetas,” reminding the reader what Turkey had gained from the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (710). On a personal level, Pedro tells how a Jewish man helped him carry a heavy load (336) and describes his experience

in the public baths, which are not segregated, but rather used by Christians, Jews and Muslims alike, and where he goes every fifteen days in order to maintain his health and cleanliness, adding that “una de las cosas que más nos motejan los turcos, y con rraçón, es de sucios, que no hai hombre ni muger en España que se labe dos vezes de cómo nace hasta que muere” (831). But the most striking example he gives of the level of intimacy between people of different ethnic and religious groups is in his description of a certain ritual performed between men that turns them into blood brothers:

una manera de ermandad que usan por la qual se llaman hermanos de sangre, y es que quando entre dos ai grande amistad, para perpetuarla con mucha solenidad se yeren cada uno un dedo de su mano quanto salga alguna sangre y chupa el uno la sangre del otro, y desde aquel punto ya son hermanos y tales se llaman y no menos obras se hazen, y esto no sólo turco con turco, sino turco con christiano y judío. (847)

The account of this rite, which clearly serves to create alliances across religious and cultural barriers, seems to go beyond mere criticism of Spain’s policy of religious and cultural intolerance. Rather, it would appear to emphasize the insignificance of such categories in the face of the basic human need for camaraderie. Blood is not exchanged in order to create friendship, but to solidify a friendship that has already developed. This implies a society in which such relationships were free to blossom. It also suggests that friendships across religious and cultural barriers in an unsegregated society are natural and even inevitable, making the kind of prohibition and intolerance exercised in Spain seem aggressively unnatural by comparison. Based on the Viaje’s description of Constantinople’s society, one guesses that the author imagines that Spain, home for

centuries to the same three religious groups, need not have missed the opportunity to flourish in a similar manner.

Of course much of the Viaje does seem directly aimed at Spanish failings, especially in social programs. When Juan asks Pedro if there are any schools in Constantinople, he replies,

Infinitas. Los señores, y primeramente el emperador, las tienen en sus casas para los pajes. Tienen maestros salarados que van cada día a leerles su Alcorán, que es en arábigo, y el Musaph, de manera que como nosotros el latín les es a ellos el arábigo. Léenles también philosophía, astrología y poesía... En aquellas quatro mezquitas grandes hai también escuelas como acá universidades, muy bien dotadas, y colegiales muchos dentro. Y es tan grande la limosna que en cada una se haze que si tres mill estudiantes quisiesen cada día comer en qualquiera de las mezquitas podrían... Más es la gente que allá sabe leer y escribir mucha que no acá. (650-51)

The Turkish are described as infinitely more charitable than the Spanish, and especially unswerving in maintaining justice. Pedro gives a rundown of some petty crimes and punishments as well as a general description of the role of the Royal Council and other committees. For the most part, the legal structure is the same as Spain's, but superior:

"Sus libros tienen los juezes, y letrados hai como acá, pero no tanta barbarería y confusión babilónica" (685). Most striking is Pedro's account of how the *Gran Señor* goes to the mosque every Friday to personally resolve the problems of his people¹² after receiving a weekly list of their petitions (687-88). Luna paints a similar picture in his Historia. Rey Jacob Almançor, whose many virtues are listed above, orders the

¹² Much as Sancho Panza would be expected to do as governor of his *ínsula*.

foundation of great academies with their own hospitals for the poor and the sick, with high salaries for professors, prizes for the best instruction, and free education, food, books and clothes for poor students. The king himself visits these hospitals and academies, tests students and awards them positions according to their skill (261-62). Luna describes how things were once done on the peninsula, while the Viaje shows how they are presently done elsewhere. Both works suggest that Spain has much to gain from observing how at least some Muslims run their countries. For their part, Pedro's friends agree that such a nation does not deserve to be demonized. Mata asks rhetorically if these are the people that Spain holds as *bárbara* and exclaims that "nosotros lo somos más en tenerlos por tales," while Juan concurs that "todos son buenas maneras de justicia ésas y aghora los tengo por rrectos" (684).

3.4 Against Islam: History as Spiritual Exercise

Needless to say, neither of these works is valued today for its historical content, unlike Haedo's Topografía e Historia General de Argel, composed between 1577 and 1581 (though not published until 1612) during the Turco-Spanish peace treaties of 1577-1584. This treatise on the bustling Mediterranean metropolis is still one of the greatest sources of information on Algiers in the sixteenth century, appearing in indexes and bibliographies of major contemporary works of history, and cited by most historians who even touch on Mediterranean history. It was written precisely when, according to de Bunes Ibarra's study of the treatment of Muslims in Spanish historiography, "el Islam

pasó a ser por primera vez un enemigo de relativa poca consideración al que se podía volver la espalda; y esto se trasluce en los tratados de tipo histórico y geográfico” (La Imagen 4). But this sociopolitical context did not mitigate the book’s anti-Islamic perspective and spirit. The Topografía, while very insightful regarding the history, structure and demography of the city of Algiers, is aggressively opposed to Islam and all people who nominally or verily practice the religion. Two chapters are dedicated exclusively to demonizing the Muslim inhabitants of Algiers: Chapter 35 is entitled *Miscelánea de algunas opiniones, costumbres, usos y observaciones que tienen los turcos, moros y renegados de Argel* and assures the reader that its subjects are all ignorant sodomites. Chapter 36, *De los vicios generales que tienen los vecinos de Argel*, drives this point home, though the following chapter, *De algunas bondades que en los turcos y moros de Argel se hallan*, does allow “que el que decide vivir como verdadero moro, lo es” (181). The unexpected appearance of this virtuous *verdadero moro*, found chiefly among the very old, is at odds with what Haedo would have the reader believe is the essence of the Turk, Moor, Arab or renegade. It is as though, perhaps unconsciously, Haedo recognizes that the Spain from which he either mentally or physically writes forces him to characterize Argel’s inhabitants as invariably evil. The phantasmagorical appearance of the *verdadero moro* suggests the presence of a living soul, like that of Luna’s Almançor, whose difference from true Christian believers cannot so easily be distinguished.

This figure will not appear in the second part of Haedo's book, which, like the Viaje, is written in dialogue form. The captive, Sosa, and his friend, Antonio, contemplate life and captivity in Algiers. Sosa's indictment of the inhabitants of North Africa is unequivocal and stands in stark contrast to Pedro's glowing survey of the people of Constantinople. Sosa's subjects are, indeed, not even human, likened to all other monstrous aspects of the continent:

Y sin duda ninguna, de la constelación, naturaleza y propiedad tan mala del aire y tierra de Africa, todas las regiones y partes della fueron siempre y son hoy día muy abundantes de monstruosos y fieros animales ...aun hasta los hombres nacidos en esta tierra y debaxo sus constelaciones, participan de su calidad y propiedades naturales. Porque siempre fueron gente monstruosa, mal proporcionadas, bárbaros, rudos, incultos, agrestes, ferinos, inhumanos. (129)

He goes on to compare the savages of Africa with the civilized people of Europe and Asia, further stressing the contrary nature that is particular to the African continent and that can be tracked in its Moorish, Arab and even Turkish inhabitants:

Y siendo las otras dos partes del mundo, Asia y Europa, pobladas casi todas de gentes, ciudades y pueblos, que viven en toda buena orden, gobierno y policía, solo Africa, al contrario, por la mayor parte siempre tuvo habitadores que en su vida no fueron ni son menos que animales, bestiales y sin razón...buen testigo desto...son también tanta multitud de bárbaros que hoy día la habitan y dominan de moros, alarbes, cabailes y algunos turcos, todos gente puerca, sucia, torpe, indómita, inhábil, inhumana, bestial, y por tanto, tuvo por cierto raspón el que de pocos años acá acostumbro llamar a esta tierra Barbaría, pues su naturaleza es tal, que aun hasta los hombres que nacen y viven en ella son de tan extraña naturaleza y monstruosas condiciones, que siendo animales racionales en la sustancia, en lo demás y en las obras son leones, tigres, bestias salvajes y como brutos animales. De manera que la naturaleza humana, cuyo propio es que todo lo que en ella hubiere sea humano, en ellos, como vemos, anda todo al revés y como transfigurada en otra forma y vestida de propiedades bestiales. (130)

Europeans who renounce their own religion to ally themselves with the inhabitants of this place take on their monstrous qualities. All of these forces come together in Algiers to torment the true Christian body and soul.

The value of Haedo's text for its readers, even into the twentieth century, went beyond its insight into the layout and political and social structures of Algiers: it was praised for its *spiritual* value as well. After assuring the reader of its "autenticidad indiscutible y extraordinario...interés y valor histórico," (ix) the prologue of the 1928 edition claims that the captives' ability to surmount the evils found in Algiers and described by Haedo "prueba a la vez la resistencia física y la fortaleza de ánimo que aceraba los pechos de los españoles de antaño, aherrojados por su desdicha e infortunio en las míseras mazmorras argelinas" (x). Not only did Haedo's work catalogue information that might have helped Spain in a future invasion, then, it also attested to the force of will of a nation that might have undertaken such a venture. However, the characterization of this force of will is greatly at odds with the book's greater preoccupation: the loss of so many Christian souls to this monstrous enemy, not by death, but by conversion. This is an incongruity that neither Haedo, nor the Spanish crown, nor the Church could quite resolve. Tension over conversion emerges in a strange burst of despotic spirit when Sosa compares the "forced" conversions of Algiers with the "voluntary" conversions taking place in Spain. First he declares that "mienten como grandísimos bellacos en decir que los hacen por fuerza ser cristianos" (253), using

the near presence of *Berbería* to justify Spain having given its Muslim inhabitants the option of conversion or expulsion. He goes on to defend the activities of the Inquisition, which assured that those who had converted would not change their minds. Then follows a tirade against freedom of religion, which could only harm the nation:

resultaría gran perjuicio del mismo servicio de Dios y del bien y conservación de la República. Porque ¿qué confusión habría en el mundo, o cómo alguna ley sería guardada, o cómo se conservaría la adoración y servicio de Dios si a cada uno fuese lícito tomar una ley y dexarla cuando quisiese, hacerse cristiano o moro y dexarlos de ser si se le antoja, y, finalmente, andar variando y mudándose de una ley para otra, como quien en la farsa muda máscara y vestido....porque casi todas las repúblicas, ciudades y reinos del mundo que se perdieron fue la causa por permitir nuevas mudanzas y variaciones en ellos....No conviene permitir tal cosa, ni abrir tan gran puerta para confusión y destrucción de las Repúblicas, antes en tal caso como ese, es muy gran prudencia y misericordia, usar contra esos todo rigor de justicia, como contra enemigos de la República, cuyo bien público y general, se ha de anteponer a los antojos y ciegos deseos de uno o de muchos particulares (256-58).

Of course the very thing that could not be permitted in Spain was part of everyday life in Algiers, where, as in Constantinople and other lands under Islamic law, Christians, Jews and Muslims lived side by side, and where, as Sosa himself sadly reports, many Christians “poco a poco ponen duda si la religión Cristiana es la buena y si nuestra santa fe es verdadera” (169). Like Salec in Cervantes’ “La Gran Sultana,”¹³ many of these doubters are alleged to fall into the void of atheism, often “turning Turk” and, from Haedo’s standpoint and that of other European Christians, ending up neither here nor there. While Haedo does not describe the reality of the thousands of people he depicts as

¹³ See chapter 2.

weak-willed, lost and confused in a foreign, enemy land, the implication is that many would be integrated into Muslim society, along with their children and grandchildren, who would know no other life. But of these the reader knows nothing.

Though not written in narrative form, Books Two and Three, with their focus on captivity and martyrdom, respectively, are purportedly interested only in the Christians of Algiers, thus claiming a part of Algiers' history for Christendom. Gruesome details of the torturing and killing of Christians, usually at the hands of heartless renegades (who are even more cruel than natural Turks) are recounted many times with recapitulations such as, "y desta manera los mataron cruelmente, deshaciendo todos los miembros y moliendo todos los huesos de los mártires de Cristo" (66). But even as he tries to establish this new Christian history through horrifying stories of death by torture, Haedo reveals a different life for Christians living in Algiers. As Garcés has pointed out (81), the fluidity of movement and communication around Sosa, who receives several visitors, Muslim and Christian, paints a picture of the life of at least some Christian captives in Algiers much different from those described by Sosa. Christians are shown, not living in isolation, but side by side with Muslims, with whom they are free to converse, even discussing—however antagonistically—the more difficult points of religion, culture and politics. Sosa's conversational partner Amud is the son of two renegades and, one assumes, a true Muslim, as he acts as a representative of Islam and Muslims in this scene (Diálogo Tercero), if only to allow that Sosa "le muestre los

grandes errores y las falsas opiniones que los morabutos (esto es), los letrados y chazizes de los turcos y moros les enseñan y tienen persuadido” (193). Still, there they are, side by side, speaking and listening, coming and going; and though Haedo writes only of the comings, he cannot help but show the goings as well, thus opening the work up to something outside of Christian history.

3.5 Readers: Receiving Impressions of the Other

Though the Viaje was written before the Turco-Spanish peace that allegedly made it possible for the Spanish to write about the Turks more objectively, its tone is not more belligerent than its peacetime successor, Topografía e Historia General de Argel. Given that the Viaje was written at a time when Spain was experiencing what Braudel has called “a crisis of insubordination” (957), between the open defiance of the Moriscos at home and ongoing conflict with the Turks during a period of Turkish supremacy,¹⁴ it is significant that such a work was produced in Spain at all, regardless of its failure to be published. For whom was this work written? Surely the author had an audience in mind when he wrote with such little inhibition in praise of Muslim life and law. While overseers of Spanish history—beginning with the censors who prevented such work from being published in its time—would have had posterity believe that there could be no such audience (unless it was to be found among the dissident Moriscos themselves),

¹⁴ Braudel marks 1560 as the apogee of Ottoman power in the Mediterranean (987).

more recent historiography, depicting the voluntary migration of so many Europeans – the Spanish among them – to Islamic lands during this period, indicates otherwise.

Thomas Hart suggests that “Pedro’s account of Turkish customs was included for its own intrinsic interest...the work was probably intended for private circulation among readers who, like the author himself, had received a humanistic education” (108). Further, Delgado Gómez stresses that “la íntima asociación de viaje y conocimiento es característica del humanismo médico renacentista” (486). Like its 1555 contemporary, Pierre Belon’s, Les Observations des plusieurs singularité et choses mémorables trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays essangés, the Viaje de Turquía is also, according to Delgado Gómez, “un libro de viaje naturalista” (487). He points out that, in recounting Pedro’s travels through various Greek isles that functioned as communes for the religious who inhabited them, the author¹⁵ has Pedro focus entirely on diet and means of self-subsistence (488). The account of his travels through Italy produces much of the same, his interest lying mainly in food and medicinal plants (Delgado-Gómez 489). This is an interesting observation, considering that, outside of the religious orders, it was primarily the humanists, and especially doctors, who were interested in and collected manuscripts in the Arabic language. Nicolas Clenardus, a frequently cited Flemish grammarian, traveled from the Netherlands first to the university at Salamanca and then to Evora, where with the help of a physician,

¹⁵ Like Hart, Gómez Delgado follows Marcel Bataillon in attributing the work to Laguna.

Antonious Philippus, a man well versed in Arabic and Arabic medicine, he was able to continue his study of Arabic and complete a dictionary he had begun working on at Louvain (he hoped to return to Louvain as an instructor in that language and to print books in Arabic, as books were printed in Hebrew in Venice.). Clenardus bought an educated Morisco slave to help him in his endeavors, but in Granada the Inquisition would not allow him access to manuscripts unless he agreed to establish his school there,¹⁶ so he traveled on to Fez instead (Dannenfedt 113). What is most significant in this account is that, in the 1530s and 40s, Iberia was still the first stop in the search for people and texts associated with Arabic language and knowledge.

Disregarding the value the Viaje might have had for Spanish readers of the sixteenth century due to its pro-Islamic content perpetuates the dominant history that was created by European powers during the Renaissance. As Terry Brotton explains,

standard histories of the European Renaissance have invariably defined the development of its love of learning and commitment to a civilizing process in direct opposition to the menacing threat of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, persistently represented as a dark despotic threat looming over the forces of enlightenment and its interested intellectual enquiry which supposedly characterized late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe. (90)

Brotton suggests that it is important to reject such pejorative accounts in order to discover “to what extent the Ottoman empire was constitutive of, rather than antagonistic to, the formation of the cultural and geographical map of (Early Modern)

¹⁶ Ironically, the Inquisition’s demand would presumably have served to advance missionizing efforts among the Moriscos there.

Europe" (91). The imaginary divide that Istanbul represented for the West between itself and the East was in fact frequently traversed with geographical, diplomatic and intellectual exchanges throughout this period. Further, Subrahmanyam argues that "ideas and mental constructs (that) flowed across political boundaries...even if they found specific local expression, enable us to see that what we are dealing with are not separate and comparable, but connected histories" (Connected Histories 748). In the sixteenth century, Istanbul had become a major center for intellectual and artistic production which was enthusiastically supported by Ottoman leaders, making the empire an important contributor to the Early Modern world (Brotton 97-99). The Viaje itself, with its peaceable depiction of inter-faith and inter-cultural life in Constantinople, would not seem to contradict the perviousness of such imagined borders. Such a book ceases to be strange or out of place within the context of a social and political reality that it already portrays.

Nor is the Viaje anomalous within a canon of literature produced within Europe and the Spanish Empire of its time. Belon was not the only other writer able to convey his ethnographic impressions without disparaging the subjects of his observations— though he, like the author of the Viaje, does "unconditionally surrender to the deprecatory stereotypes of the traditional Christian vision of the Qur'an and its 'false prophet Mohamet'" when turning to the origins of Turkish law (Hentsch 62). Gaspar Correia (ca. 1492-1563) was a Portuguese chronicler who described in colorful detail

what he encountered on his travels through Asia, with no apparent regard for the expectations and demands of the crown or his peers (Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined" 130). That his writing was "steeped in the Iberian chivalric tradition," while at odds with the expectations of future historians, would not have been a problem for his contemporaries; rather, it was his "total lack of subservience to official hierarchies and their demands and the fact that his book was not dedicated or contained within a scheme of *capatatio benevolentiae*" that separated him from popular currents of his time (Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined" 130). Correia claimed to have incorporated into his accounts exchanges of correspondence between Asian monarchs transcribed from the Persian into Portuguese. Other Portuguese historians, too, constructed their narratives with the help of Persian (and Arab) *Tarighs*, or histories, learning the language or acquiring translators—usually slaves—for this purpose, at the same time that their Ottoman counterparts were gathering knowledge regarding Europeans and rendering it into Persian (Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined" 143). Knowledge of Persian had become, by 1500, especially important for Portugal in its communications with the Persian Gulf and its offices there (Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined" 136). "Histories" on both sides of the divide, then, were created against a backdrop of communications between language, political and cultural systems.

3.6 New World Interventions

In Spain, as in other parts of the world, there was more than one mode of perceiving the past. In Europe, chronicles, chivalric romance-style narratives, world histories, universal histories and oral histories were produced simultaneously.¹⁷ The three examples studied here, Luna's Verdadera historia, the anonymous Viaje de Turquía, and Haedo's Topografía e Historia General de Argel, all use different narrative styles and strategies to relate stories about Islam or Muslims in relation to Spain or the Catholic Church. Among these three, Haedo's is the least surprising account in the sense that it delivers the anti-Islamic discourse that was dominant in orthodox Catholic Spain. But the efforts of the other two works to break down the antagonism that official state rhetoric had created against Islam and Muslims are not unique in the broader view of the contestation of official policies regarding non-Christians within Spanish-ruled lands. In the New World, hybrid texts and "new histories" also emerged at this time in order to combat a version of history and reality imposed by the Spanish crown, its historians and its conquerors. The Popol Vuh (Teddlock edition) is a colonial text that was written in Maya-Quiché and in alphabetical characters around the middle of the sixteenth century. It was discovered and translated into Spanish at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Walter Mignolo describes this text as a "mixture of traditional oral history, hieroglyphs,

¹⁷ For a comparison between these forms and others used further to the east, see Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians."

and alphabetical performances, whose hybrid cultural production...discloses the darker side of the cultural metropolitan centers, in this case the European and Spanish Renaissance" ("Darker Side" 818). Of course it was this "darker side" that concurrently tried to occlude Islamic relevancy in European and Western life and history.

Two other New World examples bear particular comparison to Luna's work, which attempted to give his readers a truer version of history that favored the persecuted Islamic community to which he belonged. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega was born in Cuzco in 1539. The son of a noble Incan woman and a prestigious Spanish conquistador, Garcilaso moved to Spain in 1561 and remained there until his death in Córdoba in 1616. He joined the military in 1570 and, interestingly, fought in the Alpujarras war against the Moriscos. From Spain, he wrote his Comentarios Reales de los Incas, which was published in Lisbon in 1609. This work, while it does not question Spanish presence or authority in New Castile, does extol the Inca, who, according to Garcilaso, had already passed the age of barbarism and savagery and were on the path to enlightenment, ready to receive European truth when the Spanish appeared. The First Book focuses on the Incan bloodline of Garcilaso's mother, legitimating his own nobility through the virtuous and heroic deeds of his ancestors, while the Second Book centers on the past of his father, who had been defamed by other Spanish historians. Garcilaso does not accuse these writers of lying; rather, he claims that they were forced to rely on false testimony, as others had relied on false testimony about the Inca. Unlike the

simultaneous attempts of the Moriscos in Granada to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of Christian Spain, Garcilaso's effort to clear his name with the Comentarios Reales did not involve the creative invention of genealogical trees. In the New World, identity was defined in legal terms and in relation to a political system. Garcilaso makes frequent reference to law and the legal system throughout his work, making it an allegory of legitimation.¹⁸

The final example also comes from colonial Peru in the early seventeenth century, though in this case from within the viceroyalty itself. In 1615 Guamán Poma de Ayala, a Quechua nobleman, wrote a letter to Philip II notifying him that he had finished his Crónica (Adorno edition), which dealt with Andean history from its beginnings through the reign of the Inca, describing the trauma and crises that colonization had brought to its people. Most fascinating is his elaboration of a complex cosmology that connected past Andean dynasties to a Christian model of universal history. According to Guamán Poma, the inhabitants of the New World were the lost descendants of Adam and Eve and the Inca the last great dynasty. Depicting the corruption of colonial society and the harm done to its native inhabitants through drawings, Guamán Poma begs the king, who never received the document, to stop the destruction of Andean society. He rejects the legitimation of Spanish right through just war because the natives were not

¹⁸ For a more detailed discussion of this process of legitimation in the Comentarios, see González Echevarría, chapter 2.

able to defend themselves, thus delegitimizing the *encomiendas*. He also condemns the *repartimientos*, claiming that it was not possible to control such distant and extensive lands, and complains about the priests and evangelizers and demands change, saying that the Andean people are the greatest resource the king has in the Indies. Guamán Poma's work, and especially his insistence on coexistence, as Mignolo suggests, "advanced an argument that was both *an alternative to the just war advocated by Ginés de Sepúlveda and an alternative to peaceful evangelization advocated by Las Casas*" ("Delinking" 26). In this "paradigm of coexistence," Guamán "is struggling not to assert the modern subject but, rather, to decolonize the colonial subject" ("Delinking" 4). Like Luna and the Inca Garcilaso, Guamán uses "History" as a tool to carry out his own project of decolonization.

Guamán Poma's text illustrates Subrahmanyam's claim that "there are many modes of perceiving the past in any society" ("World Historians" 28); and, while Subrahmanyam denominates some of these modes as historical and others as non-historical, it is also useful to think of History itself "not (as) an ascending linear move from any origin to an only and unique present, but as coexisting modes of representation, each the result of a distinct reality, experience and mode of perceiving and relating that reality" (Mignolo, "Delinking," 11). History, insomuch as we think of it as the recounting of a past, is itself a manifestation of the reality experienced by its makers. In the sixteenth century, as now, different histories were manifested and co-

existed, as did the people who created them. This pluralism was not particular to the sixteenth century, though the sixteenth century certainly had its particularities. As Ramón Panikkar states,

pluralism enters when we discover the mutual incommensurability of human attitudes. It is the recognition of incompatibility of ultimate beliefs. We should take seriously the human experiences and struggles of the last 8,000 years of historical memory, each party thinking to do the right thing, and the other one believing that this is not so. (98)

What can be gained, then, by reading the Viaje, Luna and Haedo side by side? And, what can be gained by reading them all alongside the Popol Vuh, the Inca Garcilaso and Guamán Poma, for that matter? All of these texts are in dialogue with official rhetoric that justified the persecution of non-Christians. The texts do not follow each other, but exist side by side along with state documents, epic poems, *relatos*, travel documents, letters, plays, chronicles, papal bulls, edicts and dialogues, not to mention painting, sculpture, architecture and music—all of which, taken together, tell tell an impossibly contradictory story about the Spanish Empire. But, as Said has pointed out, it is precisely “because of Empire, (that) all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic” (xxix). Accepting the contradictions implicit in such a reality is an important part of making a new history (or at least a new curriculum) that would highlight plurality over uniformity. Coherency and consistency in narrative history come only through selection.

3.7 The Islamic Context

Fuchs' description of the particular complexities of coming to terms with the popular genre of Maurophilia in this purportedly anti-Islamic period in Spain highlights the problems that have also kept many of the above-cited works out of the mainstream construction and understanding of the Spanish past—and its present, for that matter:

the problem of reconstructing the valence of Moorish culture in this sixteenth-century context is...at least twofold. How does Spain, in its development as a nation-state, negotiate its often contradictory identifications with Moorishness, and how does this relationship change over the course of the sixteenth century, as the vestiges of al-Andalus recede and the Counter-Reformation puts pressure on all forms of heterodoxy? Conversely, how does the rest of Europe represent Spain's connection to the Moors, and how is this connection exploited for particular political goals? Rather than a binary opposition between "Europe" and "Islam" the real interest lies in the strategic characterizations of Spain as Moorish, by Spaniards themselves and by other Europeans, at a time of striking political and religious upheaval. Maurophilia is an unstable and often risky proclivity, which makes its embrace all the more intriguing for a cultural history of the encounters between East and West, and of Spain's development as a (quasi-) European nation. Yet that history cannot be separated from intra-European pressures, and from the discourses that enlist Moorishness to construct legends of national distinction. The story of maurophilia must be told dialectically, from within and from without Iberia, and across the cultural spectrum, reading its sophisticated textual productions alongside the habitus of Moorishness that so profoundly marked Spain. (*Exotic* 10)

It is from this same place, too, that books such as the *Viaje*, Luna's *Historia* and even Haedo can be most fruitfully read. But also from the place of the sixteenth-century Spaniard, Frenchman or Englishman who leaves his country for Muslim lands with the intention of converting and beginning a new life, or that of the European traveler who has legally lived with the *infidel* in foreign land as a Christian, doing business, sharing

stories and then returning home. Or even from that of the European diplomat who honored and entertained his Muslim counterpart at home, or who went to a Muslim court to be honored and entertained. Just as Fuchs has revealed a national, simultaneously Spanish and Moorish context for a body of maurophilic literature, a similar frame of reference must exist outside of the official state and Church narrative for a body of "history" concerning Islam and Muslims within and beyond its Spanish borders.

Conclusion

In the introduction we saw how “The Captive’s Tale” in the first book of Don Quixote illustrates how the stories of a host of European Christian converts to Islam have been lost to the collective image of the “Turkish” fighter. This is just one aspect of the complex relationship between Europe and Islam in the sixteenth century. Europeans engaged in a wide variety of relationships with the religion and people of Islam throughout this period; even through conversion Europeans experienced Islam in different ways. The case of Spain can be particularly perplexing, as its native Muslim population, and even its non-Muslim population, inhabited a space in which Islam and Christianity, as cultural codes, converged. In her essay “Religious Dissent and Minorities,” García Arenal discusses the obstacles that have faced historians interested in Islam and Spain, who have more often than not perpetuated myths that have impeded an understanding of Spain as anything other than monolithic:

Spanish historiography on this period has been sharply divided between a traditional, Catholic, nationalist strand and a liberal, secular strand that in turn was linked to and nourished by the Protestant historiography of Spain that developed in northern Europe beginning in the seventeenth century. Although diametrically opposed to one another, both in fact present the same image of an undivided Spain, where absolute royal power and the church are inextricably linked, where there is no intellectual or ideological pluralism of any kind, and all of whose citizens stand firmly united behind its singular version of the Catholic Reformation credo under the watchful eye of the Inquisition. (896)

Further, she explains how Morisco historiography (and I would add all historiography related to Europe and Islam) is influenced by the “currents and controversial presence of

Muslims in Europe today,” media representations of which “bear a striking resemblance to the discussions and emotions that were engendered in sixteenth-century Spain and that reached a peak around the expulsion of the early 1600s” (891). Present-day representations of Muslim-Christian relations in Europe (and America)—which are predominantly antagonistic—no more reflect a comprehensive range of lived experience than their sixteenth-century counterparts which have largely marked our understanding of Muslim Christian relations and Christian attitudes toward Islam for centuries.

This study has shown that there is no simple way to define Spanish Muslim-Christian relations in the sixteenth century. Likewise, it is not possible to designate a sole place for Islam in Early Modern Spanish history, for the array of attitudes held and shared by Muslims and Christians within Spain, as well as outside its borders, defy the sort of straightforward categorization that links “Islam” with “adversary.” In the first chapter we saw that, within Spain, Spanish policies aimed at persecuting Muslims, leading up to and including the expulsion of the Moriscos, were neither unanimously supported nor executed by its non-Muslim population. This chapter further showed that, in many ways, Moriscos shared the experience of the vast majority of Spaniards who fell victim to the Inquisition for their failure to abide fully by the conventions laid out by the Church and the crown. We saw examples of how diverse cultural heritages, as well as local customs and trends, made adherence to a strict code of orthodox Catholicism, which would encompass all aspects of daily life, impossible for many

Muslims and non-Muslims. The following chapter expanded our purview beyond Spain's borders. The cultural hybridity considered in the first chapter was further discussed in the context of European life in Barbary. Works of Cervantes centering on the life of captives in Algiers were shown to reveal similarly complex individual experiences—some teetering on the border of the realms of the Christian and the Muslim—that further broke down static notions of religious antagonism. Studied within the historical context of a steady migration of Europeans to Muslim lands in the sixteenth century, Cervantes' work shows that there was no unanimous anti-Islamic sentiment among Spanish and other Europeans, many of whom would remain in Muslim lands as Christians or converts to Islam, integrating into a cosmopolitan society that differed markedly from the religiously intolerant communities they had left behind. As Cervantes shows, many Europeans embraced, if not Islam, life in Muslim lands and the culturally and religiously open societies that flourished there. The final chapter extended representations of this Spanish embrace of or curiosity toward Islamic models of society to include "historical" texts. The production, publication and circulation of texts praising Islamic law, education, culture (including religious practice), and social order point toward an interest in Islamic modes of existence within Spain that contradict the image of Spain and the Spanish as uncompromisingly anti-Islamic. Furthermore, Spain's own cultural hybridity created by its Moorish heritage gives rise to a contemporary Islamic context within which such historical texts can be read.

The aim of this study is not to unveil “sympathetic” depictions of Moors in Spanish literature. María Soledad Carasco Urgoiti’s important 1956 work, El Moro de Granada en la literatura del siglo XV a XX, has already shown how the figure of the Granadan Moor was romanticized and idealized in Spanish and European literature in the time under study and beyond. Barbara Fuchs has more recently developed in her books Passing for Spain (2003) and Exotic Nation (2008) the case for cultural hybridity within Spain that makes such depictions more a part of Spanish national discourse than an exception to it. This study extends Fuchs’ idea beyond literary representations of Moors or the cultural hybridity that reproduces them to include the complex array of attitudes toward the religion and cultures of Islam itself. Fuchs’ argument for a “habitus of Moorishness,” (Exotic 10) that gives rise to a national context for maurophilia further strengthens my own argument that “historical” texts that perpetuated, mimicked or borrowed from Islamic models do not necessarily contradict national discourse. Rather, it is the idea of a national discourse that necessarily diminishes Islam and Muslim peoples that should be revised in order to open up a space for alternative forms of discourse within the category of “nation,” forms that emphasize toleration for religious and cultural difference, interfaith and intercultural dialogue and exchange, and a basic interest in and curiosity about Islamic culture (including the Arabic language) and ways of life.

While Morisco studies have done much to show how the particular case of Islam in Spain affected national government and Church policy throughout the sixteenth century, the ultimate expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain has played too important a role in the way such studies have portrayed the more general relationship between Islam, as a religion and culture that existed apart from the Moriscos, and Spain. In the Morisco context, Islam is always portrayed in isolation and in contrast to the concept of the Spanish “nation” itself. James Amelang recently laid out a comparative history of the Moriscos and the Jewish Conversos in his Historias paralelas (2011). This work gives an idea of some of the experiences shared by these two religious minority groups, but otherwise exemplifies the sort of isolationist, or fringe, study that hinders the development of a vision of Islam as anything other than an element of friction in Spanish society. In the same way, two works of Bunes Ibarra in the 1980s, Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico (1983), and La imagen de los musulmanes (1989), maintain that there was no place in Spain in the sixteenth century for any vision of Islam or Muslims outside of the paradigm of anti-Islamic rhetoric constructed in the Middle Ages, neglecting to recognize that such a paradigm did not hold true in either period. Later, Bunes Ibarra’s own negative criticism of studies on European renegades, “Reflexiones sobre la conversión al Islam,” would center on how these studies simulated the sort of Church propaganda on which their research relied. Somehow in the case of European converts to Islam Bunes Ibarra was able to conclude that the stories of Spaniards and

other Europeans in Muslim lands must have been more heterogeneous than traditional tales focusing on apostasy and the circumstances surrounding religious conversion. However, Bunes Ibarra's earlier work on images of Muslims and Islam in Spain had the same defect, reading popular literature through the lens of anti-Islamic apologetic works dealing with the expulsion of the Moriscos, or Church rhetoric about Spain's traditional enemy Islam. Likewise, other important works on the Moriscos, such as L.P. Harvey's Muslims in Spain (2005), have overlooked any images of Islam or Muslims that contradict the scenario of antagonism that would, in the dominant narrative, eventually lead to their expulsion. It is as if the expulsion of the Moriscos has made impossible any notion of the Spanish as tolerant toward, interested in or engaged with Islam.

For this reason, I began my study with a reconsideration of the expulsion, following the lead of historians such as Terry Dadson and Henry Kamen, who have shown that there were in fact many dissenting voices at all levels of Spanish society regarding not just the expulsion, but all aspects of Morisco persecution. Further, breaking open a place for dissent regarding the Spanish perception of the Moriscos made it possible to show that, despite bans and prohibitions regarding Islamic cultural production, there was indeed an interest in Islamic topics within Spain that existed outside of the Morisco community.

I hope that this study has shown that the cultural exchange, overlap, hybridity and mingling that took place in Al Andalus in the Middle Ages was not wiped out by

the conquest of Granada. Some Spaniards and other Europeans continued to participate in what Américo Castro dubbed *convivencia* in his 1948 España en su realidad histórica and what María Rosa Menocal has more recently described as a “culture of tolerance” in her book Ornament of the World (2002). The problematic aspects of this term have been discussed by García Arenal (Rev. of Ornament); I reference Menocal’s term to evoke and contrast the multiculturalism that was sanctioned by Muslim law but prohibited by Counter-Reformation Spanish policy. Of course sixteenth-century Algiers with its bustling international markets and slave trade was nothing like tenth century Córdoba during what many have dubbed an intellectual and artistic golden age; and the interactions in Algiers between people of different cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds were not a continuation of the intellectual activities in Al Andalus that have called so much academic attention to medieval Iberia with its “three cultures.” The point is that cultural exchange continued in the Early Modern period in its own particular context and that Spaniards, despite prohibitive national policies, participated in these exchanges. Further, as I have already stated, some individuals—again, despite laws banning the circulation of Islamic materials—continued to seek out information within Spain about the Arabic language, Arabo-Islamic history, medicine and other elements of Islamic culture.

Studies like those of Katie Harris and García Arenal on the Sacromonte affair have shown how Muslims and Christians in sixteenth-century Granada negotiated a

shared past as they tried to fashion a future in a setting that was in many ways only nominally Christian. A recent study by Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Un Oriente Español (2010), investigates the knowledge and use of the Arabic language in Spain and of an Orientalist scholarship that extended outside of Spain and into the seventeenth century. Other works by García Arenal have elucidated the special experience of the expelled Moriscos. La Diaspora de los Andalusíes (2003) discusses the Moriscos as cultural transmitters between north and south and points more toward the interests of my dissertation, which has been guided by the works of historians such as Thierry Hentsch, Terry Brotton and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. These historians' emphases on an open Mediterranean and connected histories favor a reading of Spanish national literature that highlights Spanish participation and contribution instead of withdrawal and isolation from the international scene.

A future expansion of this study would place more emphasis on the connected histories of the New World, which are so often studied in isolation. Chapter Two briefly discussed how the indigenous peoples of America, as newly conquered subjects of the Spanish crown, shared many experiences with Spain's Muslim population. Theological debates regarding both groups hinged on the extent to which the new subjects' language and culture should come into play in the process of conversion. Just as the use of Arabic was banned completely in Spain in the 1560s, the use of indigenous languages for missionizing purposes was banned in America since the mid-sixteenth century (García

Arenal, “Religious Dissent” 901). But more importantly, as this study has only begun to show, resistance to missionizing efforts to convert Muslims and New World natives to what the Spanish crown and Catholic Church deemed Christianity—a system that encompassed all areas of life—also manifested in strikingly similar forms.

The three examples that appear in the third chapter of this study (3.6)—the Inca Garcilaso’s Comentarios Reales, Guamán Poma’s Crónica, and the Popol Vuh—are only a sample of the textual interventions, produced in America by native “historians,” in an exclusionary Spanish domestic discourse manufactured and maintained by the crown. Certainly American experience was in many if not most ways unique, but a parallel study of dissenting voices within Iberia and the New World will contribute to breaking down the image of an undivided Spain. I would like to examine a larger selection of American texts alongside an assortment of peninsular works that, like Luna’s Verdadera Historia and the Viaje, produce a parallel history of contemporary sixteenth-century Spanish discourse about the Spanish empire itself, its subjects and their relationship to the crown and its vision and version of reality. Breaking down assumptions about the extent of the influence of royal power and the church, and about the lack of intellectual or ideological pluralism within the Spanish empire, can only strengthen my argument that Islam’s place in Spanish life and thought was multifarious.

Future work in this vein might also include many other works of Spanish literature and especially of poetry, which was not treated here. The sixteenth-century

romancero viejo with its recurrent Moorish themes, especially that of unidealized love between Muslims and Christians, does much to undo fixed notions about attitudes toward miscegenation in this period. More information regarding the circulation of manuscripts like the Viaje and other unpublished works dealing with Islamic themes would give a clearer picture of the readership that such literature enjoyed within Spain, as would a better understanding of interest in and access to the vast collection of works in Arabic held within the Escorial. Given the necessary time and financing for travel, this study should include other Arabic language sources outside of Spain, especially from the nearby Muslim lands to which many Spaniards migrated. Developing a clearer picture of Spanish experience there, beyond the familiar territory of religious conversion, would further enable alternative readings of national Spanish literature related to Islam.

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Biography

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