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**Morisco Survival: Gender, Conversion, and Migration in the Early Modern  
Mediterranean, 1492-1659**

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**Morisco Survival: Gender, Conversion, and Migration in the Early Modern  
Mediterranean, 1492-1659**

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For my grandparents: Bill, Gwen, Woody, and Adma.

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**Morisco Survival: Gender, Conversion, and Migration in the Early Modern  
Mediterranean, 1492-1659**

Elizabeth Woodhead Nutting, PhD  
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Supervisor: Denise A. Spellberg

In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Western Mediterranean, Moriscos were Christians whose ancestors had been Muslims. The term came into use in Spanish following the first forced baptisms in the Iberian Peninsula after the 1492 Spanish conquest of Granada, the last Muslim-ruled kingdom in Spain. Old Christians used “Morisco,” often pejoratively, to refer to a group of people whose religious, political, and cultural allegiances were suspect. The Spanish crown finally solved the “Morisco problem” by expelling every Morisco from Spain with a series of edicts between 1609 and 1614. The expelled Moriscos scattered around the Mediterranean and beyond, eventually losing the designation “Morisco” as they assimilated into their new homes as either Christians or Muslims.

Previous scholars have approached the Moriscos from a Spanish national historiographical context and have focused on the question of the Moriscos’ “true” religious identity. This dissertation puts new archival evidence in conversation with better-known printed material in both Arabic and Spanish to examine the socio-economic

history of Morisco men and women in a transnational context that expands our understanding of who the Moriscos were and the varied strategies they used to survive in a changing Mediterranean world.

This dissertation makes three central arguments about Morisco survival from a range of contexts that highlight the variety of Morisco responses to persecution and violence and to emphasize how Moriscos adapted to changing circumstances over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, Moriscos in Granada relied on the centrality of Morisco (and especially Morisca) labor to survive in a changing political world, but their economic leverage only lasted a few generations until they were expelled from the Kingdom in 1570. Second, Moriscos in Valencia increasingly relied on resistance as tension increased during the last decades of the sixteenth century and coexistence became increasingly dangerous and impossible. Third, Moriscos in the Mediterranean diaspora and beyond found survival even more difficult than their predecessors in Spain. Separation from communities and families made Moriscos particularly vulnerable and they relied on increasingly desperate strategies to survive. Throughout, gender and class determined the range of both challenges and opportunities.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

In 1629 in Cairo, the scholar Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari (born c. 1577 in Tlemcen, in what is now Algeria) wrote a long history in many volumes of al-Andalus.<sup>1</sup> He called his history *Nafh al-Tib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratib (The Breath of Perfume from the Green Branch of Al-Andalus)*. At the very end of his history, after thousands of pages of eloquent prose extolling the virtues of al-Andalus, its rulers, its poets, and its people, al-Maqqari told the story of the Moriscos, the last Andalusians.<sup>2</sup>

After describing the Christian conquest of Granada, which ended after decades of war in 1492, al-Maqqari described how Catholic Church officials, backed by Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, began to violate the terms of the surrender treaty. In 1499, seven years after the conquest, the Catholic Church began to forcibly baptize some of the city's Muslims under the pretense that their ancestors had once been Christians. The city's Muslims resisted unsuccessfully. As punishment for their rebellion, in 1500 the monarchy passed a law requiring every Muslim in Granada to convert to Christianity or face death. Some Muslims were able to escape across the Strait of Gibraltar, but al-Maqqari described the terrible fate of those who stayed behind in Spain:

Then, all of the baptized Muslims worshipped and prayed to God in secret, and the Christians monitored them very strictly, and they even burned many of them, and they prohibited them from carrying small knives or other arms. The people in the mountains [the Alpujarras near Granada] revolted again against the Christians,

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<sup>1</sup> *Al-Andalus* is the Arabic word for the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule. See J.D. Latham, and G.S. Colin, "Al-Andalus," In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden: Brill).

<sup>2</sup> In this case "Andalusian" is not related to the modern Spanish province Andalusia (though both terms come from the Arabic *al-Andalus*). Moriscos were Catholics of Muslim descent. A full terminology discussion is below.

but God did not grant them victory. Finally the Christians expelled them in the year 1017 [1609]. Thousands immigrated to Fez, thousands more to Tilimsan from [the port of] Oran, and even more immigrated to Tunis. . . . Some arrived in the great city of Constantinople and to Egypt, Syria, and other Islamic countries, where they still are today. The earth is God's to inherit, and he chooses its custodians in this world.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Maqqari's description of the hardships that the Moriscos faced in Spain after forced baptism in 1500 in Castile and 1526 in Aragon would have been familiar to Muslims in North Africa and throughout the Islamic world as the Spanish refugees swept across the Mediterranean. Al-Maqqari's history preserved their memories for future generations, and today is one of the few extant Arabic-language accounts of the experiences of the last generations of Spanish Muslims. Historians and the archival sources typically describe Moriscos as either

Christian converts from Islam or as crypto-Muslims (as al-Maqqari described them above), but in fact Moriscos could be Muslims, Christians, or neither. Some Moriscos spoke Spanish and others spoke Arabic; they were scholars, artisans, peasants, and slaves. Moriscos used economics, religion, and mobility as tools for survival, negotiating and renegotiating what it meant to be a Morisco. As their world transformed around them, they negotiated their place in Spanish and Mediterranean society in a variety of spaces—in household workshops, in marketplaces, in neighborhoods, and in courtrooms.

Previous scholarship has focused on the religious identity of the Moriscos—arguing for the primacy of assimilation and conversion to Christianity or for widespread,

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<sup>3</sup> Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratib* vol. 4, (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 527-528.

continuing Islamic practice among Moriscos. Historians have shown that Moriscos in some regions seemed to have genuinely converted to Christianity and spoke Spanish, while in other regions they continued to practice Islam in secret right up to the expulsion. This scholarship has failed to show the full range of Morisco experiences in Spain and beyond its borders. This dissertation examines how Morisco identity—an identity that was imposed upon Moriscos by others—changed over time as Moriscos adapted to varied Christian and Islamic contexts. This transnational context highlights the mobility of Moriscos.

Morisco identity was fluid and depended on a variety of socio- economic factors. This dissertation shows how gender, economic status, geography, family relationships, and local contexts all determined what it meant to be a “Morisco”—an identity that Moriscos challenged whenever possible and never adopted for themselves. The category of Morisco itself reveals the limits to Morisco agency—a limitation that is reflected in the near-invisibility of the Morisco perspective in the sources in both Spanish and Arabic.

Moriscos did not always survive—in a physical, material sense as well as the symbolic survival of Morisco culture or identity. These different kinds of survival did not necessarily depend on one another-- in fact, physical survival often meant the abandonment of Morisco culture or identity. At other times, Moriscos relied on religious identity and cultural difference to survive. Being a Morisco was very dangerous both in Spain and in the Mediterranean beyond. When Moriscos did survive, they did so by adapting or resisting to change, but Morisco survival strategies were frequently ineffective and many Moriscos perished.

Morisco survival is a lens that allows us to see beyond patterns of assimilation (to Christianity) and resistance (through Islam) to understand a spectrum of ways that Moriscos responded to increasing persecution and pressure that went beyond religion. Assimilation and resistance were not necessarily conflicting choices, they were part of a variety of ways that Moriscos tried to survive in the early modern Mediterranean. The survival of the Moriscos provides vital context to the long history of the presence of Muslims in Europe and new insights into the relationship between Muslims and Christians.

Historians studying gender in Morisco history have relied on a model of assimilation versus resistance, commonly speculating that Morisca women may have been more likely to resist than Morisco men. Morisca women, always at home, were more likely to cling to the traditions of their mothers and grandmothers and were more resistant to change. A closer look at the varied experiences reveals a much more complex picture. Morisca women did not stay in the home-- they worked and traveled both within their rural regions and the Mediterranean. Separated from their families and away from their neighborhoods and villages, women were particularly vulnerable to violence and just as likely as men to choose a variety of survival strategies depending on circumstances.

This dissertation begins in 1492 when the Spanish state conquered Granada. 1492 marks the end of Muslim rule in Spain and the beginning of a period of persecution and forced conversion. The first Moriscos came into being shortly after the conquest, at the time of the first forced baptisms in 1500. This dissertation concludes in 1659 for a practical reason-- the end of the Sa'adian Dynasty in Morocco marked a shift in dynastic

historical sources and it coincides roughly with the disappearance of Moriscos from the historical record as the last generation of Moriscos born in Spain died out. These Moriscos left behind descendants who were Muslims, Christians, Spaniards, North Africans, Ottoman subjects, corsairs, slaves, or diplomats-- but they were no longer Moriscos.

This dissertation makes three central arguments. In Granada immediately after the conquest until the Revolt of the Alpujarras (1568- 1571) and the resulting expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada, Moriscos relied on the centrality of Morisca women's labor to the Kingdom's important silk industry. Silk ensured the survival of Morisca women for a time, but Morisco integration in the new Granadan economy did not last, and eventually the value of Morisco labor declined in relationship to the threat of resistance and violent rebellion.

Second, it demonstrates that Moriscos in Valencia, where tension between Old Christians and Moriscos increased dramatically in the latter half of the sixteenth century, turned to resistance as a way to survive in a world where survival was becoming difficult and increasingly unlikely. After the expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada in 1570 the epicenter of the "Morisco problem" moved from Granada to Valencia, which had a dense (approximately 30%) Morisco population.

The Inquisition, which was very active in Valencia after 1568, provided new challenges for survival as Morisco men and women had to learn how to survive imprisonment, torture, and the threat of the death penalty, as well as how to keep their communities away from the Inquisition and from the Old Christians who threatened to

bring them to the attention of the Holy Office. It was the disintegration of coexistence between Old Christians and Moriscos in rural Valencia, which was both exacerbated by the Inquisition and reflected in the proceedings of the court, that explains King Phillip III's 1609 decision to expel the Moriscos of Valencia.

Third, this dissertation argues that for Moriscos who left Spain— either clandestinely before 1609 or forcibly after 1609—travel and diaspora provided new, and ever more dangerous circumstances. Separated from communities, friends, and families, Moriscos relied on increasingly desperate strategies for survival. They pretended to be Old Christians in order to stay in Spain. They joined corsair ships in exchange for food and a place to sleep and, maybe, a chance to return to Christian territory. In North Africa, the Moriscos were treated as Christian apostates. In the hands of the Inquisition, we find individuals who conformed to the demands of the Holy Office or resisted them, though neither strategy resulting in reunification with their families. The possibilities for assimilation and resistance and the inherent risks varied for men and women and for elites and working people.

## **WHO WERE THE MORISCOS?**

### **Terminology**

A Morisco was a Spanish person of Muslim ancestry who had been baptized a Catholic after 1500. An Andalusian was a person of Iberian origin (not necessarily from modern Andalusia, the Spanish province) living in the Islamic world. In this work I use

the terms Muslim, Morisco, and Andalusian.<sup>4</sup> There is significant gray area between these three possibilities—in fact, a single individual could be all three. Though Morisco is problematic for a number of reasons, there is no other term that accurately describes the group under discussion.

Another possibility that is still seen frequently in works written in English is the antiquated “Moor.” Moriscos sometimes called themselves *moros* (Moors) when speaking in Spanish—in those cases they simply meant “Muslim.” *Musulmán* (Muslim) was not used and *sarraceno* (Saracen) appeared only rarely in the documents I consulted. In all cases where *moro* was used to mean Muslim that is how I translate it, since that is the equivalent term in twenty-first century English. Moro has a pejorative meaning in contemporary Spain where it is a slur for North African immigrants and other Muslims—a usage that intentionally evokes the medieval-sounding term to depict Muslims as a timeless enemy.<sup>5</sup> In both English and Spanish it implies dark skin, which is not helpful in this context since Moriscos did not necessarily look different from anyone else in Spain—a meaning that is reflected in the derivative *moreno*. In early modern English it often meant “Berber.”<sup>6</sup> There is no Arabic equivalent to “Moor.”<sup>7</sup> At best, it is an ethnically and religiously vague term that is not useful.

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<sup>4</sup> I avoid the term *mudéjar*. *Mudéjars* were Muslims, and so “Muslim” is an appropriate substitute and avoids the confusion of having yet another term familiar only to specialists of medieval Spain.

<sup>5</sup> See Daniela Flesler, *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration* (Purdue University Press, 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Because of its connection with the Greek word “barbarian,” Berbers often prefer to be called *Amazigh*, a term which is presently virtually unknown in English.

<sup>7</sup> See “Moor,” and “Blackamoor” In *Oxford English Dictionary*; and “*moro*” in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*—Moor in English and *moro* in Spanish have identical etymologies—both from the Latin *maurus*.

I use “Muslim” to refer to Moriscos only when I have reason to believe that the person was a Muslim and I am intentionally drawing attention to their religious beliefs. Otherwise I prefer the religiously ambiguous Morisco. There were also Muslims in Iberia who were not Moriscos— mostly North African slaves but also people from other parts of the Islamic world, who were in Spain for various reasons.

Morisco is problematic because it was a category imposed by outsiders and it originally carried a pejorative meaning. It is a derivative of “moro” meaning “Moor-like.”<sup>8</sup> But Moriscos were a group that had a collective identity only because outsiders imposed one upon them—there is no alternative term that Moriscos used to refer to themselves collectively. Morisco is also problematic because it was not used consistently until the middle of the sixteenth century, and so applying it to people in the early days of forced conversion is a bit anachronistic. However, the term was in use at the first conversions, even if it was not employed consistently and its definition was unclear. By 1568 it was by far the most common term used in the primary sources and it is the most familiar to contemporary historians.<sup>9</sup> Further complicating matters, *morisco* came to have an entirely different meaning in the New World where it referred to the offspring of a

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<sup>8</sup> See “morisco/a” in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* and “moro” in the *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, edited by Joan Corominas and José Pascual, 6 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> As an adjective meaning “Moorish,” *morisco/a* has been in use since the earliest days of the Spanish language. As a noun, it was common from at least the middle of the fifteenth century. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, 151. See also Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 5.

*mulato/a* and a European—a racial category that exposes the multiplicity of racial and religious meanings that *moro* and *morisco* always carried.<sup>10</sup>

Andalusian was a term that was (and still is) used by the Andalusians themselves in Arabic. It simply means someone from al-Andalus, the Arabic term for the Iberian Peninsula. But it makes little sense in an Iberian context, where there is no evidence it was used by anyone. It is virtually unknown to historians who are not specialists of North Africa. In addition, it is easy to confuse with “Andalusian” meaning a person from the southern Spanish province, though Andalusians could be from anywhere in Iberia (and Muslims and Moriscos were not particularly concentrated in Andalusia).

On the eve of the 1609 expulsion, there were between 300,000 and 350,000 Moriscos in Spain, distributed widely but unevenly across the peninsula. Out of 5 or 6 million inhabitants in Castile, about 100,000 were Moriscos—about 2% of the total population. The Moriscos of Castile were concentrated in La Mancha, Extremadura, Andalusia, and Murcia. There were about 200,000 Moriscos in the Kingdom of Aragon (which included the regions of Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and the Balearic Islands) of a population of about one million—about 20%. The largest concentration of these Aragonese Moriscos was in rural Valencia, where they made up about a third of the populace. There was also a large Morisco community in the Ebro Valley.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This definition is listed by the DRAE as a Mexican variation, *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. Also see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008). *Moreno/a*, a variant of *moro*, is very common in contemporary Spanish and refers to brown skin color, DRAE.

<sup>11</sup> For a complete discussion of population estimates and the sources historians have used to come up with these numbers, see Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1959) and the summaries provided in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos : vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), 75-90 and Bernard

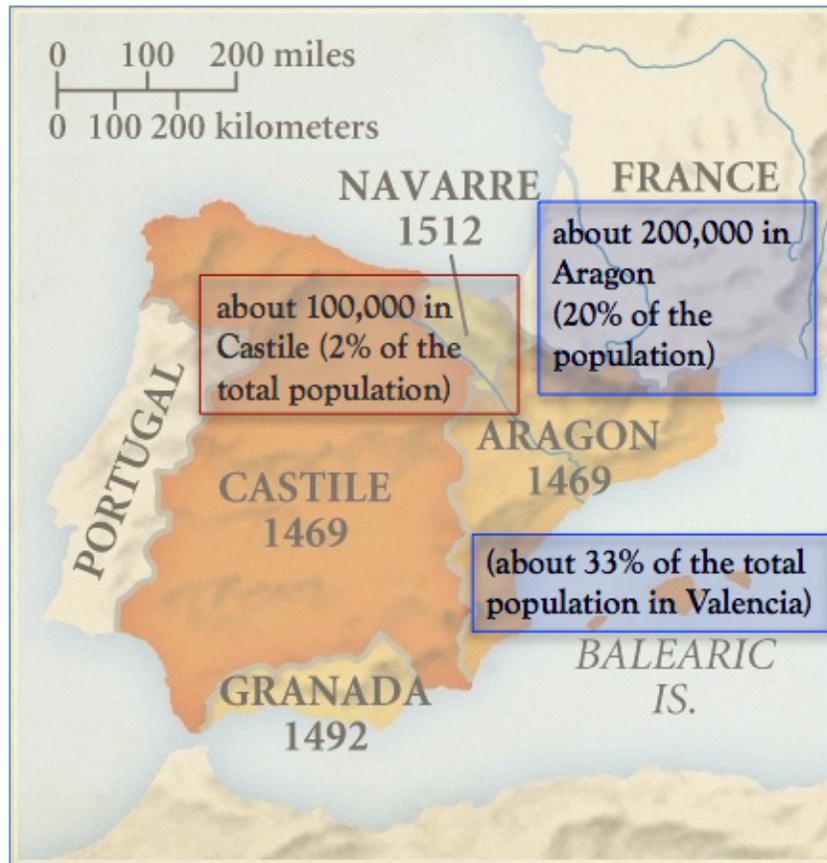


Figure 1. Morisco population in regions of Spain, c. 1609. Data from Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.

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Vincent, "La geografía de la expulsión de los moriscos: Estudio cuantitativo," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora* (Valencia, Universitat de València, 2013), 27-28.



Figure 2. Comparative size of Morisco population in areas of dense settlement, c. 1609. Data from Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.

The Moriscos were all baptized Christians. Between 1500 and 1526 the Spanish Crown required all Muslims in the Peninsula to legally convert to Christianity—that is, to be baptized. The result was that hundreds of thousands of Muslims, some of whom spoke only Arabic and nearly all of whom knew very little about Christian theology or practice, became Christians overnight against their will. The law also required Moriscos to attend church on Sundays and holidays, to confess annually, and to learn Christian prayers and the basics of Christian doctrine. It was difficult to enforce the requirement that Moriscos be continuously committed to Christianity and it was unevenly enforced, particularly before the 1560's when the Inquisition took up the role of ensuring that the Moriscos were good Christians.

**(Re)conquest and Religious Diversity in Medieval Iberia**

Iberia before 1492 was religiously and culturally diverse. There were kingdoms ruled by Christians and others ruled by Muslims, and most of those kingdoms had a mix of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim subjects. Slowly but steadily, the Christian-ruled kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon in the north spread south, absorbing formerly Muslim kingdoms and their mixed Muslim, Christian, and Jewish subjects. The concept of a Reconquista—a deliberate conquering of territory that was considered the rightful domain of Christendom—came later. Initially the goal was not a reunification of the entire peninsula under Christian rule, though the Pope recognized the conquest of Valencia as a Crusade.<sup>12</sup> Rather, the goals of conquests were varied and often had more to do with local circumstances than an international project of Christian domination.

The slow push of the Christian conquest picked up pace in the eleventh century with the conquest of Toledo (1085) and Valencia (1094, later retaken by Muslims). For the next century and a half, Christian rulers successfully conquered swaths of Muslim territory, taking Zaragoza (1118), Lisbon (1147), Mallorca (1231), Cadiz and Cordoba (1236), Valencia for the second and final time (1238), Cartagena (1245), and Seville (1248). Treaties that established the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of the conquered Muslims and Jews followed conquest.

Demographic change was gradual. Christian migration from the north (including significant population flow from France) and Muslim migration to the Islamic world (especially Granada or across the Strait of Gibraltar), as well as conversion to Christianity, eventually led to a decrease in the percentage of Muslims in territories that

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<sup>12</sup> Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), xiv.

had once been predominantly Muslim. However, demographic change took many generations. Expulsion was never systematic or total, though small-scale expulsions from particular areas sometimes followed rebellions. Expulsion accounted for a very small part of demographic change, and violence or forced baptism accounted for an even smaller part.<sup>13</sup>

By the time of the conquest of Granada in 1492, the Kingdom of Valencia in particular had a very large population of Muslims, densely concentrated in a few rural areas. The demographic significance of the Muslim population of Valencia contributed to the preservation of Islamic culture despite centuries of Christian rule. In Castile and Aragon, Christian settlers moved into Muslim lands after conquest and gradually replaced Muslims as the dominant group. In Valencia this did not happen as quickly or as completely as it did elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> From the time of the second conquest of Valencia in 1238, Muslims were incorporated into the Christian feudal system as vassals of the Christian nobility. The Christian nobility, in turn, offered the Muslims protection and freedom to practice Islam.<sup>15</sup> The historian R. Ignatius Burns wrote:

Valencia continued to look much like other Islamic lands; when the muezzin called over the countryside, it even sounded much the same. Islamic courts passed judgment; Moorish officials administered affairs as usual. Arabic names, uneasy on the Catalan tongue, defined the realm from top to bottom and obtruded at

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<sup>13</sup> There is an extensive historiography on the relationship between population growth and the Crusades. Population growth in France was one factor that encouraged crusading and many people left France for the Holy Land or for Spain to fight and eventually settle. Newly conquered regions of Spain absorbed large numbers of French crusaders in the late Middle Ages, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 8. See also Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*. (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 170-175.

<sup>14</sup> Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 119.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 133.

many turnings within the cities. . . . ‘As was the custom in the former days of the Saracens’ became a repetitious formula in the royal registers, for Christians as well as Moors.<sup>16</sup>

Valencia was unique in Christian Spain because of its larger, denser, and more isolated Muslim population continued to speak only Arabic. Elsewhere Muslim elites retained the use of written Arabic, but typically spoke Romance dialects at home and in their communities.<sup>17</sup> The Muslims of Valencia maintained economic, cultural, and even kin networks with North Africa, contributing to their ability to maintain strong cultural connections with the Islamic world.<sup>18</sup> Valencia was an Islamic cultural center in the late Middle Ages in Spain, although a minor one compared to Granada, and Muslim families in Aragon sent their sons to Valencia to become educated in the Arabic language, Arabic culture, and in Islam.<sup>19</sup>

Valencia exemplifies how the Reconquista had never brought about complete, sudden change. Never before the conquest of Granada had conquest entailed the forced baptism of masses of Muslim subjects. Change was gradual, as Christian populations migrated to once Muslim areas and more Muslims converted to Christianity. When the Capitulations of Granada were signed in 1491, few Muslims or Christians would have expected the conquest to be much different from the conquest of Valencia more than two hundred years before.

### **The Conquest of Granada**

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<sup>16</sup> Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 80.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 100.

It took the Kings of Castile two centuries after they had conquered nearly the entire Peninsula to finally take the Kingdom of Granada, which they won in the winter of 1491-92 after a decade of fierce fighting. King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, called “the Catholic Monarchs,” and the last Nasrid King of Granada, Abu ‘Abdallah Muhammad XII (often called Boabdil, a corruption of ‘Abdallah, in Spanish sources) signed a surrender treaty in the final days of 1491. The Capitulations of Granada spelled out the conditions of the Nasrid surrender, which included protections for the religious beliefs and cultural practices of the Muslim residents of the Kingdom. The surrender treaty was much like other treaties that signed by Christian and Muslim kingdoms in the Middle Ages.<sup>20</sup>

But it soon became clear that the relationship between the Spanish monarchy and the conquered Muslim subjects would not be peaceful. Granadans continued to resist Spanish control of the Kingdom, and in 1499 the monarchs sent the Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros<sup>□</sup> to strengthen Spanish rule. The conversion Muslims and Jews was an important part of the justification for conquest, and missionary efforts began immediately upon the occupation of the city. The Archbishop of Granada Hernando de Talavera led the early missionaries. Talavera opposed forced conversion and believed that teaching the Muslims about Christianity would convince them of the truth of Catholic doctrine. Talavera even learned Arabic to better proselytize. But Cisneros had very different ideas

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<sup>20</sup> For full text of the Capitulations translated into English, see "Capitulations of Granada (1491)," In *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

about how to proceed with the Kingdom's Muslim population.<sup>21</sup> His tactics included locking Muslims in a room for up to twenty days and forcing them to listen to Christian sermons until they submitted to baptism.<sup>22</sup> Rumors of Cisneros's tactics spread, and Muslims in the neighborhood of Granada began a rebellion. Isabella and Ferdinand saw the rebellion as a violation of the treaty, and rescinded their agreement to protect the Muslims from forced conversion.<sup>23</sup>

Al-Maqqari, writing from North Africa in the seventeenth century, described the experience of the Muslims of Granada as their descendants remembered it generations later from exile:

Then the Christians broke their agreement and began to infringe upon its stipulations, one by one, until finally they forced the Muslims to become Christians in the year 904 (1499). . . . These measures had become so excessive that the people of the Albaicín<sup>24</sup> went to the King's officials and killed them. This became the reason for more conversions, and they said: "A law has come from the King (al-sultān) that anyone who rises up against his officials (al-ḥakām) will be killed unless they convert to Christianity; only then might they escape death." Most converted to Christianity. Other people refused to convert, but [ultimately] it was of no benefit to them. They retreated to villages and similar places [in the Alpujarras] . . . . The enemy gathered their forces and they obliterated [the Muslims] killing them or capturing them. . . . Some escaped to the safety of Fez with their families and just enough money to survive.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Cardinal Cisneros was enormously powerful in the Spanish church and in the royal government. He was Queen Isabella's confessor and close friend. He would later become Grand Inquisitor, lead a crusade against the Muslims of Oran (in what is now Algeria), and act as regent for a young Charles V. For his role in the conversion of the Muslims of Granada, see Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 214-215. See also Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 329-330.

<sup>24</sup> The *Albaicín* is a hilltop neighborhood in Granada that in the sixteenth century contained a dense Muslim population.

<sup>25</sup> al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. 4, 527.

The Monarchs offered the rebels amnesty if they agreed to convert, and in 1500 the Muslims of Granada were baptized Catholics in mass conversion ceremonies. Muslims all over Granada resisted conversion, but their efforts everywhere failed.<sup>26</sup> Catholic priests baptized thousands of Muslims and gave them new Spanish names. Spanish authorities converted the kingdom's great mosques to churches with names like San Juan de los Reyes and San Nicolás. They added bells to the tops of the towering minarets and tore down the spacious, columned patios used for gathering in prayer. The author of an anonymous Arabic poem lamented: "Oh those mosques that have been walled in and converted to dunheaps of the unbeliever after they enjoyed pure ritual/ Oh those minarets in which the toll of the bells substitutes the *shahāda*."<sup>27</sup> While some Moriscos became sincere and practicing Christians, it is not surprising that many continued to practice Islam secretly in their homes and communities, despite the threat of prosecution by the Inquisition.

Soon after these forced conversions, the Church decided that Arabic language and culture was a barrier to the true conversion of the Moriscos. Spanish authorities reasoned that it would be impossible to enforce true Christian belief among the people of Granada without assimilating them to Spanish Christian culture. With the goal of eliminating crypto-Islamic belief and practice, the King outlawed Morisco dress in 1508 and

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<sup>26</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 19.

<sup>27</sup> The *shahāda* is the Islamic declaration of faith. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Maqqari, and Pascual de Gayangos, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-rattib wa tarikh Lisanu-d-Din Ibni-l-Khattib* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1964), 112. Also reproduced and translated into Spanish in *Los moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996).

prohibited all Arabic writing in 1511.<sup>28</sup> In 1567, the Morisco Don Francisco Núñez Muley sent an eloquent but unsuccessful plea to the Audiencia of Granada. In his letter, Núñez Muley argued for the separation of the use of the Arabic language and Morisco clothing and other cultural traditions from Islamic belief and practice. How could Arabic-speaking Morisco merchants, for example, write out their receipts if Arabic was forbidden? The prohibition of Arabic culture and language had negatively affected the prosperity of the kingdom's Moriscos.<sup>29</sup>

By 1561, when the first royal census was taken, the city of Granada's population had declined only slightly to about 45,000 people (from 50,000 just before the conquest), but only one-third of the city's residents were Moriscos. Many Moriscos had fled for North Africa and Christian immigrants from Castile moved into the city in great numbers. Following the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1569-1570 that came in the wake of the second Morisco revolt of 1568, very few Moriscos remained in the kingdom of Granada.<sup>30</sup> Granada was an entirely different place in 1570 than it had been in 1491. Granada's Muslim, Arabic-speaking population had left behind only a trace in the Christian, Castilian Kingdom.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada : ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957), 58 and Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 21.

<sup>29</sup> *Los moriscos*, 47-56, for more background see Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 211-214.

<sup>30</sup> David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15.

<sup>31</sup> Money, status, and intermarriage with Christians provided protection from expulsion for some Moriscos. At least some Moriscos stayed in Granada after the 1570 expulsion and in Iberia after the 1610 expulsion from Castile and Aragon, but there is no way to know exactly how many. Some successfully hid their Morisco identities from officials (or bribed officials if they had the means). Others had intermarried with Old Christian families. Still other Moriscos converted to Christianity and were absorbed into the Christian elite. See Chapter 4 for more on Moriscos who stayed behind during the expulsion. Most prominently

## The Baptism of the Moriscos in Castile and Aragon

Forced baptism in Granada was followed by forced baptism throughout Castile in 1502, which had a relatively small Muslim population outside of the Kingdom of Granada. However, the Muslims of the Kingdom of Aragon escaped this fate for another two decades. At one-third of the entire population, Muslims were much more common in Aragon than in Castile, and within Aragon proper they were highly concentrated in a few, mostly urban areas. The Muslims of Aragon spoke Aragonese and developed a sophisticated literary culture in Aljamiado, Aragonese written in Arabic characters. The Muslims of Catalonia spoke Catalan and were the most assimilated group of Muslims in the peninsula.<sup>32</sup> The Muslims of the Kingdom of Aragon were safe from forced conversion until 1526 because King Ferdinand and then Carlos V swore to protect the rights of their Muslim subjects to practice Islam.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Ferdinand and Carlos V were wary of risking the anger of the Aragonese nobility, particularly in Valencia, which was economically dependent on Morisco agricultural labor.<sup>34</sup>

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among this last group was the Venegas family, a branch of the Nasrid royal family, who remained important in local Granadan politics into the seventeenth century. For more about the Venegas family, see James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: the citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 59 and Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 42. However, these Moriscos were the most Hispanicized Granadans and did not maintain Arabic culture, Islam, or a Morisco identity for more than a few generations at most.

<sup>32</sup> Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 80.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 245.

<sup>34</sup> See Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 80-81 and Mark D Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 50-54, on whether Ferdinand was motivated by belief in his role as protector of Muslims or whether his motivations for holding off on forcing conversion were more practical. Either way, forced baptism did not happen during his lifetime.

A local conflict between *germanías*<sup>35</sup> and the Valencian nobility that began in 1521 eventually resulted in the conversion of the Muslims of Aragon. Muslim troops made up some of the force of the nobility, and in the midst of battle mobs led by the *germanías* forcibly baptized and murdered Muslims. The royal army defeated the *germanías* in 1522, but Carlos V was stuck with a predicament about what to do about the converted Muslims. A committee was created to consider the matter, which decided in 1525 that the conversions should be upheld, despite the very dubious nature of their legality.<sup>36</sup> With the permission of Pope Clement VII, Carlos V issued a proclamation requiring all Muslims in Aragon to convert to Christianity in 1526.<sup>37</sup> Thus the Muslims of Aragon became Moriscos just like their coreligionists in Castile, and the practice of Islam became illegal in all of Spain.<sup>38</sup>

## **HISTORIOGRAPHY**

### **The Early Modern Mediterranean: Bazaar or Battlefield?**

In a 2011 review article, Eric Dursteler summarized the state of the field of Mediterranean history as a clash between those who see the Mediterranean as a “bazaar” and those who see it as a “battlefield.” The first group emphasizes the Mediterranean as a space for exchange, connection, and unity. The second group views the Mediterranean as

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<sup>35</sup> Brotherhoods or guilds.

<sup>36</sup> "Cédula del emperador según la cual se confirma la validez de los bautizos de musulmanes realizados en Valencia durante las revueltas de las Germanías, tal y como había declarado la Junta de Madrid (4 abril 1525, Madrid)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, 245-246.

<sup>38</sup> Though Muslim slaves were not automatically converted to Christianity, so slaves and visitors from the Islamic world (such as diplomats) were allowed to continue to practice Islam.

essentially divided by religious conflict, violence, and profound civilizational difference.<sup>39</sup> Dursteler acknowledges that recent scholarship has been moving away from those stark binaries but calls for still more work towards creating a balanced view of the pre-modern Mediterranean:

. . . [T]he tendency to depict the Mediterranean as “a sort of universal hug” brings with it certain risks. There is a danger that the “black legend” of Mediterranean battlefields will be replaced with an equally imbalanced depiction of Mediterranean bazaars that ignores the sea’s long history of antagonism, division, miscomprehension, exploitation, and violence.<sup>40</sup>

Fernand Braudel wrote in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* that “the Turkish Mediterranean lived and breathed with the same rhythms as the Christian, that the whole sea shared a common destiny, a heavy one indeed, with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences.”<sup>41</sup> In Braudel’s Mediterranean there was fundamental unity despite conflict, and his vision continues to be influential. Braudel’s successors in the field of Mediterranean long-durée history have continued a tradition of treating the Mediterranean as a unit well suited to historical synthesis from the most ancient times to the present.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Eric Dursteler, "On Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts," *Journal of Early Modern History*. 15 (2011).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* vol. 1, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 14. One important critique of Braudel is that his conception of Mediterranean unity is Euro-centric. Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 2. See Allen Fromherz, "A Vertical Sea: North Africa and the Medieval Mediterranean," *MESA Review of Middle East Studies*. 46, no. 1 (2012): 64-71 for a postcolonial critique of Braudel and French Mediterranean historiography.

<sup>42</sup> See Peregrine Horden, and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000) and David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

The founder of the Mediterranean-as-battlefield perspective was Henri Pirenne, who argued that the advent of Islam in the seventh century marked the end of Mediterranean unity. In Pirenne's view, the Mediterranean had been unified in antiquity. The moment of disintegration came at the advent of Islam, which was fundamentally adversarial to Christianity and divided the Mediterranean into two civilizations for the first time in its history. Pirenne used economic data to argue that the Muslim conquests caused the true fall of the Roman Empire and the economic decline of Europe in the Middle Ages.<sup>43</sup>

Though Pirenne's thesis continues to be influential among some scholars,<sup>44</sup> in Mediterranean studies it has become far more common to place the moment of collapse in the early modern period, not the earlier medieval period. In his 1978 book *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier*, Andrew Hess argued that the connectivity of the Mediterranean ended during the sixteenth century. He presents as evidence the jarring juxtaposition of the neo-classical Catholic chapel in the middle of the Alhambra:

So raw is the aesthetic conflict between these architectural symbols of the respective civilizations that it suggests a theme, and a pattern of analysis, for Mediterranean history that is much at odds with the synthesis of Braudel. There on the sixteenth-century Hispano-Muslim frontier, the architecture of a cultural collision gives visual proof that the early modern era was a period when the division between Mediterranean civilizations became more important.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1939).

<sup>44</sup> For examples see Dursteler, "On Bazaars and Battlefields," 414.

<sup>45</sup> Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 2-3.

For both Hess and Pirenne, the Mediterranean had once been unified but that unity was shattered and the lands around the sea became divided by religion. One historian who agreed with Hess that the essential turning point was the sixteenth century was the Spanish literary scholar Américo Castro. Castro was best known for coining the term *convivencia* (coexistence) in his book *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judos* (*Spain in its History: Christians, Moors, and Jews*). For Castro, Spain in the Middle Ages was an ideal example of a tolerant, inclusive society defined by its connections rather than its divisions. But Spain rejected *convivencia* in 1492 when Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand conquered Granada and expelled the Jews.<sup>46</sup> Castro's idealization of the Middle Ages and dissatisfaction with the modern period—epitomized for him by the horrific violence of the Spanish Civil War—has been extraordinarily influential among scholars studying Spain in particular and the Mediterranean in general.<sup>47</sup>

More recently, historians have begun to question the stark dichotomy of unity and division as proposed by Pirenne, Hess, and Castro. David Nirenberg pointed to the continuity of religious violence during the period of so-called *convivencia*. Nirenberg argued that rather than thinking of *convivencia* and violence as mutually exclusive, violence was in fact a fundamental part of how tolerance worked in medieval Iberia.<sup>48</sup>

Jonathan Ray showed that many Jews in medieval Spain were extremely troubled by the

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<sup>46</sup> Américo Castro, *España en su historia : cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948); translated into English Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to their History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

<sup>47</sup> In particular, see Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002).

<sup>48</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*.

possibilities for assimilation brought by convivencia.<sup>49</sup> Janina Safran has studied the complex ways that Spanish Muslims understood tolerance and defined boundaries between faiths in their often-tense multicultural society.<sup>50</sup>

Early modernists too have taken up the call to complicate notions of unity/division and tolerance/violence in the Mediterranean, pointing to the ways that tolerance and connectivity continued to be ubiquitous across the Mediterranean despite the unremitting violence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. David Coleman examined the shared institution of corsairing on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar. The remarkable similarities between Christian and Islamic corsairs and the state support they received suggested cultural unity despite political disunity. Corsairs employed the concepts of holy war and religious violence for their own benefit, notions that were shared by people throughout the Mediterranean world. Coleman suggested that this began to disintegrate around 1600, after which Christians stopped financing and supporting their own corsairs and corsairing came to be associated with Islam only.<sup>51</sup>

Molly Greene showed that at the end of the seventeenth century corsairing began to decline as trade came to be under the control of northern European powers (especially the English and the French). As trade came more under state control, national identity began to matter more than religious identity in the world of Mediterranean commerce.

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<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing our Approach to Medieval Convivencia," *Jewish Social Studies*. 11, no. 2 (2005): 1-18.

<sup>50</sup> Janina M Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

<sup>51</sup> David Coleman, "Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades: Forms and Functions of Coastal Raiding on Both Sides of the Far Western Mediterranean, 1490-1540," *Medieval Encounters*. 19 (2013): 167-192.

But Greene pointed out that did not mean that religious identity ceased to matter or that we can pinpoint a moment when the balance tipped.<sup>52</sup>

Several scholars have tried to understand the complexity of the Mediterranean by focusing on groups of people who did not fit neatly into the vital categories of a fragmented Mediterranean. Greene and Coleman identified corsairs (many of whom were converts, renegades, or Moriscos) as one group that defied easy categorization.<sup>53</sup> Studies of the rich complexities of Jewish communities<sup>54</sup> and slaves<sup>55</sup> as well as Moriscos and corsairs have helped to expose the gray areas of the changing Mediterranean world of the early modern period. These groups reveal the ways in which individuals and communities understood identity in the Mediterranean and the ways in which categories were uneasily defined and redefined.

My research builds upon the scholarship of Greene and Coleman that shows how the dichotomous distinction between bazaar and battlefield does not explain the complexity of interfaith relations in the early modern Mediterranean. Connectivity

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<sup>52</sup> Molly Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present*. 174 (2002): 42-71.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid and Coleman, "Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades,".

<sup>54</sup> For examples, see Mercedes García-Arenal, and Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> See Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Aurelia Martín Casares, and Marie Christine Delaigue, "The Evangelization of Freed and Slave Black Africans in Renaissance Spain: Baptism, Marriage and Ethnic Brotherhoods," *History of Religions*. 52, no. 3 (2013): 214-235; Ariel Salzmann, "Migrants in Chains: On the Enslavement of Muslims in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe," *Religions*. 4, no. 3 (2013): 391-411; Alessandro Stella, "Être esclave et musulman en Espagne au temps de l'éradication des 'mauvaises sectes'," In *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe* vol. 1, (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011).

continued to define the Mediterranean alongside violence and exclusion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The conquest of Granada, the conversion of the Muslims of Spain, and the expulsion of the Moriscos were obvious departures from the tolerance (however complicated or limited it may have been) of the Iberian Middle Ages. But through these structural transformations, Moriscos continued to move between the Christian and Muslim spheres of the Mediterranean, appealing to still-powerful notions of tolerance and inclusiveness to survive in a dangerous, changing world.

### **The “Morisco Question”**

The story of the conversion, persecution, and expulsion of the Moriscos seems to confirm the decline of medieval coexistence in favor of inflexible religious boundaries. For Hess, who wrote at length about the Moriscos, the 1609 expulsion neatly concluded the closing of the Christian-Islamic frontier and symbolized the end of the *convivencia* of the Middle Ages:

Preceded over a century before by the other casualties of early modern state formation, the bulk of the Morisco emigrants crossed the Ibero-African frontier . . . . This major human movement, organized and carried out by the Habsburg bureaucracy, completed the social changes that Spain had initiated on the Iberian side of the military border between Spain and Africa since the conquest of Granada in 1492. Victims of the rapid differentiation of Mediterranean civilizations and the religious wars of the sixteenth century, the Hispano-Muslims were soon absorbed by their North African coreligionists. The Spanish, whose own origin owed much to the confrontation with Islam, then resolutely turned their backs upon Africa and upon Muslim civilization . . . .<sup>56</sup>

For Hess, the Moriscos were unfortunate casualties of modernity. Many contemporary observers understood the expulsion in the same way. In 1618, less than a

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<sup>56</sup> Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 154-155.

decade after the final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, the Dominican Friar Jaime Bleda wrote *Cronica de los moros de España (Chronicle of the Moors of Spain)*. Bleda's book was a defense of King Philip III's decision to expel the Moriscos. Bleda argued that the expulsion was the inevitable and desirable conclusion of the Holy War against the Muslims. The ultimate goal of the Reconquista had been the purification of the peninsula from heresy, and only by expelling all the Moriscos, who were all heretics, could Christianity triumph in Spain.<sup>57</sup>

Four centuries of sustained interest in the Moriscos has followed Bleda's work. Some scholars, like Bleda, have argued that the expulsion was desirable or at least inevitable. Others claimed that Philip III made a serious error that turned Spain onto a path of intolerance and violence that would ultimately lead to the Spanish Civil War in the twentieth century. Few historical questions have elicited such passionate responses from scholars for so many centuries. Fernand Braudel summed up the problem of Morisco historiography elegantly when he wrote:

But the most difficult question to answer is not whether Spain paid a high price for the expulsion and the policy of violence it implied, or whether or not she was right to take such action. We are not here concerned with judging Spain in the light of present-day attitudes: all historians are of course on the side of the Moriscos. Whether Spain did well or badly to rid herself of the hardworking and prolific Morisco population is beside the point.<sup>58</sup>

Braudel's words, written over half a century ago, still apply: the vast majority of work on the Moriscos is written with the understanding that the Moriscos are relevant as long as they can answer important questions about Spain's history.

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<sup>57</sup> Jaime Bleda, *Coronica de los moros de España dividida en ocho libros* (Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1618).

<sup>58</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* vol. 2, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 795, emphasis in the original.

Henry Charles Lea was the first scholar from the United States to take up the Morisco question in his 1901 book *The Moriscos: Their Conversion and Expulsion*.<sup>59</sup> According to Lea, the Inquisition was the primary cause of the decline of Spain because the Inquisition had stifled free speech and religious toleration.<sup>60</sup> But the expulsion was also a major contributor to Spanish decadence:

Fanaticism and greed led to persecution and oppression, while Castilian pride inflicted humiliation even more galling. The estrangement of the races grew ever greater, the gulf between them more impassable, until the position became intolerable, leading to a remedy [the expulsion of the Moriscos] which crippled the prosperity of Spain.<sup>61</sup>

The focus on the effects of the expulsion on Spain, and by extension on the religious beliefs and practices (the key to whether the expulsion could have been avoided or not) and the economic productivity of the Moriscos (the key to whether it was ultimately a mistake or not) has left a number of important questions about the Moriscos unanswered. The attention on the expulsion as the final, decisive moment in Morisco history ignores the fact that the Moriscos continued to be significant to Mediterranean history after 1609. I argue that by looking beyond 1609 and the borders of Spain, the experiences of the Moriscos fit into broader global histories of resistance, identity, and state formation.

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<sup>59</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (Philadelphia: Lea Bros. & Co., 1901). Lea was also the author of an extensive history of the Inquisition, Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (New York; London: Macmillan & Co., 1906).

<sup>60</sup> Richard Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *American Historical Review*. 101, no. 2 (1996): 423-446.

<sup>61</sup> Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, 22. See also Castro, *The Spaniards*, 246-249.

Only by studying the Moriscos through their own experiences and from a Mediterranean context rather than an exclusively state-centric context can we begin to understand the macro-changes that affected the Mediterranean at a crucial point in its history. This dissertation builds on scholarship that has recently begun the work of studying the Moriscos from new perspectives. Scholars such as Leonard Patrick Harvey, Vincent Barletta, Mercedes García-Arenal, and Marya T. Green-Mercardo have begun the task of studying the Moriscos using Arabic, *Aljamiado*,<sup>62</sup> and Spanish sources written by the Moriscos themselves in addition to other sources.<sup>63</sup> However, these scholars, with the exception of García-Arenal, are all from literary fields. Historians have yet to undertake the kinds of rich multi-lingual studies that have become standard in literature departments. Guillermo Gozalbes-Busto, Abdeljelil Temimi, Muhammad Razzuq, Gerard Weigers, Mercedes García-Arenal, and Karoline Cook have begun tracing the routes of Moriscos throughout the Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds after expulsion, but this work has slowed in the last two decades.<sup>64</sup> This dissertation brings together these two fields of Morisco history.

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<sup>62</sup> *Aljamiado* is Romance written in Arabic characters. Moriscos in Aragon proper in particular produced a large number of *Aljamiado* documents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>63</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*; Vincent Barletta, *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Mercedes García-Arenal, *La diáspora de los andalusíes* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2003); Mercedes García-Arenal, "Los moriscos en Marruecos: de la emigración de los granadinos a los hornacheros de Salé," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013); Luce López-Baralt, *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España* (Madrid: Trotta, 2009); Marya T. Green-Mercado, "Morisco Apocalypticism: Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean," (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012).; Marya T Green-Mercado, "The Mahdī in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism and Morisco Rebellions in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Medieval Encounters*. 19, no. 1/2 (2013): 192-220.

<sup>64</sup> Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos* (Granada: Published by the author, 1992); Abdeljelil Temimi, "Evolution de l'attitude des autorités de la Régence de Tunis face à l'accueil des

Understanding the Morisco question is essential to understanding the long history of Islam in Europe from the point of view of Muslim minorities as well as European states. Anwar Chejne suggested that historians continue to be fascinated with the Morisco question because the relationship between nation states and religious and ethnic minorities continues to be a crucial one.<sup>65</sup> In particular, the number of Muslims in Spain and throughout Europe continues to grow, and as Europe grapples with questions of what it means to be European and whether Muslims can truly be “Spanish” or “French,” etc., the Morisco question as it was discussed in the seventeenth century looks stunningly familiar. Morisco history is significant because it serves as a case study for how choices about religion and culture can be a part of resistance and survival for minority groups.

The notion that the Moriscos were diverse— particularly that they were not all Muslim or Christian— is not new. However, it is far from a universally accepted truth. For example, L.P. Harvey called his 2005 survey on Morisco intellectual and cultural history *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, claiming without exception that the Moriscos of Spain were in fact Muslims.<sup>66</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal identified this trend as one very common among literary scholars, suggesting that perhaps the assumption that Moriscos

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Morisques à la lumière d'un nouveau firman du Sultan Ottoman," In *Le Ve Centenaire de la Chute de Grenade: 1492-1992*. vol. 2, Edited by Abdeljelil Temimi (Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1993); Muhammad Razzuq, *Al-Andalusiyun wa Hijratuhum ila al-Maghrib: Khilala al-Qarnayn 16-17* (Casablanca: Afriqiya al-Sharq, 1989); Gerard Wiegiers, "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos During the Process of the Expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula around 1609," 36, no. 2 (2010): 141-168; Garcia-Arenal, *La diáspora de los andalusíes*; Karoline Cook, "Forbidden Crossings: Morisco Emigration to Spanish America, 1492-1650," (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2008)..

<sup>65</sup> Anwar G Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, a Cultural and Social History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*.

were Muslims results from a focus on Aljamiado and Arabic literary texts, which were frequently Islamic in content.<sup>67</sup> Historians focusing exclusively on Inquisition records tend to make the same assumption about nearly universal practice of Islam among Moriscos, as the Inquisition records also emphasize Islamic practice. The Inquisition was also less active (and therefore produced few records) in some regions, such as La Mancha, where the Moriscos may have been more Christianized.<sup>68</sup> I use both types of sources from across the Morisco Mediterranean in an effort to avoid the kinds of biases that have resulted in generalizations about Morisco society and culture.

### **Morisca Women**

There is a very limited historiography on Morisco women, gender, or family. One reason for this is the scarcity of sources.<sup>69</sup> But while it is true that there are no known sources produced directly by Morisca women and most Morisca women were illiterate, Morisca women appear frequently in both Spanish and Arabic archival sources. Historians of women and gender have established a rich body of methodological work on how to recover women's voices from sources just like these. In my own research I found no shortage of women in the archives.

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<sup>67</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age," *The Journal of Modern History*. 81, no. 4 (2009): 888-920.

<sup>68</sup> See Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614," *The Journal of Modern History*. 50, no. 2 (1978): D1067-D1095 and the following works by Trevor Dadson: Trevor Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV-XVIII) : historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid; Frankfurt: Iberoamericana; Vervuert, 2007), Trevor Dadson, "Los moriscos que no salieron," *Pedralbes*. 29 (2009): 213-246, and Trevor Dadson, "El regreso de los moriscos," In *Cartas de La Goleta* (Tunis: Boussaa, 2009).

<sup>69</sup> See Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 6

Mary Elizabeth Perry is one historian who has focused on Morisca women. In her 2005 book *The Handless Maiden*, Perry suggested ways that scholars might overcome the lack of sources for studying Morisca women:

Morisco women do not appear at all in many documents that focus on royal decrees, armed rebellions, and military concerns about Morisco aid to the Turks. In other sources, such as local and Inquisition records, Morisca voices can be heard only indirectly. Such evidence must be read ‘against the grain,’ with special attention to questions of power relationships, euphemisms, silences, and formulaic expressions.<sup>70</sup>

However, Perry does not use many local or Inquisition records; she relies primarily on literary evidence about women. This is useful work, but Perry misses a rich store of evidence about Morisca women’s lives that exists in notarial, court (including Inquisition), and legislative records. Though she is right that Morisca voices can be heard only indirectly in those male-produced records, Morisca voices are indirect in all of the records that we have, in all languages. This is equally true in Arabic and Spanish sources.

Where Perry does use archival sources, she examines women’s role in preserving Islam and Arabic culture in the home. In addition to some archival evidence, Perry relies on Bernard Vincent’s short 1992 article, “Las mujeres moriscas,” (“Morisca Women”) in which Vincent claims that women led the Islamic resistance by ensuring that domestic space remained Muslim in a way that male-controlled public spaces could not be.<sup>71</sup> Women were responsible for preserving rituals at home and for passing along religious knowledge and knowledge of Arabic. Although this is a compelling idea, Vincent and others making similar claims base their notion that women controlled religiosity in the

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>71</sup> Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," In *Historia de las mujeres en Occidente* vol. 3, (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1992).

home on circumstantial evidence or outright assumptions about Muslim women. Perry, for example, uses prescriptive literature written in twelfth-century Seville to show that the home was the domain of Moriscos.<sup>72</sup> Perry and others have repeated Vincent's claim that "Morisca women played a fundamental role in the survival of Islam in Spain,"<sup>73</sup> but few have been inspired to investigate further.<sup>74</sup>

Vincent argued that because women rarely knew Spanish and could only communicate in Arabic, they were "fiercely loyal" to Arabic and by extension, to Islam.<sup>75</sup> Vincent framed women's lack of access to basic education as a choice that women made in order to resist assimilation. In reality women's comparative lack of bilingualism was a disadvantage in court and for general survival. Vincent also discussed the question of whether or not Morisca women were more fertile than their Old Christian counterparts and whether polygamy was practiced by Moriscos—interesting questions given sixteenth-century claims that Moriscos reproduced too quickly—but the ambiguous

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<sup>72</sup> Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 66. Her source is Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn 'Abdun, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo XII : el tratado de Ibn 'Abdun* (Madrid: Monedo y Crédito, 1948).

<sup>73</sup> Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," 594.

<sup>74</sup> See Ronald Surtz, "Morisco Women, Written Texts, and the Valencia Inquisition," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*. 32, no. 2 (2001): 421-433, who argues that Morisca women in particular were committed to hiding illegal Arabic texts from Inquisition officials; Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla, "Quand les morisques se marient . . .," *Sharq al-Andalus*. 12 (1995): 477-505, who uses Inquisition records to examine marriage practices; and Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, "La femme morisque en Aragon," In *Les Morisques et leur temps: table ronde internationale, 4-7 juillet 1981, Montpellier* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983) on the religious practices of Aragonese Moriscos.

<sup>75</sup> Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas," 589.

answers that Vincent comes up with hardly tell us much about the experiences of Morisca women.<sup>76</sup>

A 2010 article by Renée Levine Melammed reveals the historiographical gaps. Melammed is a scholar of Conversa<sup>77</sup> women. She suggests that the religious experiences and community roles of Conversas and Moriscas were strikingly similar:

The similarities between the two worlds of crypto-observance are striking, most notably, in the matters of bathing, fasting, rites de passage, especially birth and midwifery, as well as death, the central role of women as teachers in their respective communities, disagreements within families, the appearance of visionaries, and acts of defiance toward the Catholic world.<sup>78</sup>

But the survey of the secondary literature on Morisca women that follows in her article reveals that the existing research does not go much beyond questions of religious practice.

### **Moriscos after 1614**

Compared to the intense and sustained scholarly interest in the Moriscos in Spain, very few studies extend past expulsion into the Mediterranean. There are a number of reasons for this imbalance. One reason for this is the relative scarcity of any kind of work, especially in English, on North Africa in this period. This can be explained in part by the lack of sources and by the linguistic and other difficulties in accessing the sources that have survived. Another reason, however, is that because most scholars have

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid. For more on this question see Carla Rahn Phillips, "Morisco Household and Family Structure in the Late Sixteenth Century," In *Estudios en homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* vol. 6, (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1990).

<sup>77</sup> *Converso/a* was a Christian of Jewish descent. The term is analogous to Morisco/Morisca.

<sup>78</sup> Renée Levine Melammed, "Judeo-Conversas and Moriscas in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of Parallels," *Jewish History*. 24, no. 2 (2010): 155-168.

approached the study of Moriscos through the point of view of the Spanish state, they, like the Spanish state, are no longer interested in them after they ceased to be a major concern to the monarchy. Historians looking at the effects of the expulsion, for example, have been primarily interested in how the expulsion affected Spain— if they do consider what happened after 1609 it is to consider how Spain changed, not to follow the Moriscos on their journeys out of the peninsula.

Guillermo Gozalbes Busto wrote:

It is true that our ignorance [about the Morisco diaspora] is caused by a number of serious considerations . . . The most important of these is the lack of adequate sources. Secondly is the tendency of historians, whatever their points of view, to believe that the Moriscos lost their history when they left Spanish history. So they were no longer a people or a differentiated minority. They ceased to have any identity, but perhaps for a few isolated incidents that signaled their existence. They disappeared completely in the tragedy [of the expulsion].<sup>79</sup>

Gozalbes Busto subtly pointed to another dilemma facing scholars studying the Morisco diaspora, which is that the Moriscos really do disappear (mostly) from the archives after 1614. Being a “Morisco” was never a desirable thing and Moriscos often sought to prove that they were something else (Old Christian, North African) whenever possible. The Moriscos who appear in the records were unsuccessful at hiding their origins; those who were more successful at blending in, either to Old Christian Spanish society or to earlier generations of Andalusian immigrants and other Muslims in North Africa, effectively ceased to be Moriscos. And as a legal category (which it always was primarily), “Morisco” existed only in the Spanish world.<sup>80</sup> It was not a label that followed

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<sup>79</sup> Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos*, 9.

<sup>80</sup> This is one of the ironies of the contemporary conflation of the terms Andalusian/Morisco in North Africa—to be a descendant of “Moriscos” has, for the first time, become desirable.

people outside of the peninsula in most cases. This problem, which is essentially one of terminology, has kept historians from tracing the Moriscos as they moved and settle abroad after the expulsion. But although the word “Morisco” did not survive the expulsion, many of the people who left did survive, and they had an important impact on the seventeenth-century Mediterranean.

Historians studying the Morisco diaspora have generally dealt with this problem in one of two ways. The first possibility is to look at Andalusian communities in North Africa rather than focusing exclusively on Moriscos. “Andalusian” was a label and an identity that survived long past exile from Spain and it is much easier to trace in North Africa. This approach makes sense given that most Moriscos did become Andalusians upon their arrival in the Islamic world. This was the approach taken by Muhammad Razzuq in his 1989 book *Al-Andalusiyyun wa Hijratuhum ila al-Maghrib: Khilal al-Qarnayn 16-17 (The Andalusians and their Migration to the Maghrib: During the 16th-17th Centuries)*, which is about all Andalusians and not the Moriscos in particular.<sup>81</sup> This is also the case in Mercedes García-Arenal’s *Diaspora de los Andalusíes (The Diaspora of the Andalusians)*<sup>82</sup> and in Gozalbes Busto’s *Los Moriscos en Marruecos (The Moriscos in Morocco)*. Despite the title, Gozalbes Busto’s book is not particularly about Moriscos, and in fact he rarely uses the term Morisco in the text itself, referring instead to “*hispano-musulmanes*,” “*andalucíes*,” “*granadinos*,” and “*hornacheros*.”<sup>83</sup> When he does use

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<sup>81</sup> Razzuq, *Al-Andalusiyyun wa Hijratuhum*.

<sup>82</sup> García-Arenal, *La diáspora de los andalusíes*.

<sup>83</sup> Hispano-Muslims, Andalusians, Granadans, people from Hornachos.

Morisco, he means Andalusian or Hispano-Muslim. He uses Morisco in the title, I suspect, only because the other possibilities would be less familiar to Western scholars.<sup>84</sup>

Another approach historians have taken is to try to find Moriscos among Andalusians and other groups. Mikel de Epalza limited his discussion to Moriscos—that is, Andalusians who had been baptized—but his discussion of the Morisco diaspora is limited to a brief period of assimilation. A decade or so after the expulsion he talks about “Andalusians” and not Moriscos.<sup>85</sup> Scholars looking at the Morisco diaspora outside of North Africa have a different, though not unrelated problem. Though there were many, many Moriscos who stayed behind in Spain after 1614 or who found their way to the New World or other Spanish territories in the Atlantic or the Mediterranean, finding them in the archives can be like looking for a needle in a haystack. One scholar who has done such painstaking work looking for Moriscos in Latin America is Karoline Cook.<sup>86</sup> Elena Pezzi and Trevor Dadson have done similar studies for Moriscos in Spain after 1614.<sup>87</sup> *Les Musulmans dans l’histoire de l’Europe*, edited by Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent, includes studies of Moriscos throughout Europe, including in Portugal, France, and Italy that show that at least some Moriscos remained in Europe after leaving Spain, blending in with Muslim slave populations or, particularly in southern France,

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<sup>84</sup> Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos*.

<sup>85</sup> Mikel de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992).

<sup>86</sup> Cook, "Forbidden Crossings," and Karoline Cook, "Navigating Identities: The Case of a Morisco Slave in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas*. 65, no. 1 (2008). For very tenuous evidence of a Morisco population in the southeastern United States, see Michael McClain, "Morisco Pioneers of the Old South," In *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac* vol. 2, (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1995).

<sup>87</sup> Elena Pezzi, *Los moriscos que no se fueron* (Almería: Editorial Cajal, 1991) and Dadson, "Los moriscos que no salieron," Dadson, "El regreso de los moriscos," and Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos*.

assimilating into local Catholic communities.<sup>88</sup> But a comprehensive study of Moriscos after the expulsion in any territory, including North Africa, is extremely difficult because of the lack of sources that refer specifically to Moriscos.

Muhammad Razzuq makes full use of the Arabic and European sources that are available. Only the second half of his book is about the Andalusians in Morocco; he first gives an account of their history in Spain that is basic and based on existing research—though he makes much of this history available for the first time to an Arabic-speaking readership. However, the second half of his book is based on original research and gives the best detail about the social, political, and economic history of the Andalusians in Morocco.<sup>89</sup> García-Arenal and de Epalza rely extensively on Razzuq's research.<sup>90</sup>

Gozalbes Busto also includes significant original primary research, though disappointingly little of it using Arabic primary sources.<sup>91</sup> His book is mostly about the Granadan communities in Tetouan, and he relies extensively on Muhammad Dawud's *Tarikh Titwan (History of Tetouan)*, the *Sources Inédites pour l'Histoire du Maroc (Unedited Sources for the History of Morocco, abbreviated SIHM)*, and the travel accounts of Leo Africanus and Mármol del Carvajal.<sup>92</sup> As a result, Gozalbes Busto does

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<sup>88</sup> António de Almeida Mendes, "Musulmans et mouriscos du Portugal au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," In *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe* vol. 1, (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011); Stella, "Être esclave et musulman en Espagne au temps de l'éradication des 'mauvaises sectes,'" Jocelyne Dakhliya, "Musulmans en France et en Grand-Bretagne à l'époque moderne : exemplaires et invisibles," In *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe* vol. 1, (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011).

<sup>89</sup> Razzuq, *Al-Andalusiyun wa Hijratuhum*.

<sup>90</sup> García-Arenal, *La diáspora de los andalusíes*; de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*.

<sup>91</sup> Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos*.

<sup>92</sup> Muhammad Dawud, *Tarikh Titwan* (Tetouan: Published by the author, 1959), Henry de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), Leo Africanus, *The*

an excellent job explaining how the Granadan elite in Tetouan participated in the political events of Morocco, but very little to say about social history. He explains that this is because there are few sources, which he says is because of

The poor historiography and political, social, and economic problems of the Muslims in the countries where the emigrants ended up, which meant that little historical attention was given to them, compared to what otherwise might have been.<sup>93</sup>

Gozalbes Busto's complaint about "poor historiography" might have been more convincing if he had made full use of the sources that do exist in Morocco for social history, which admittedly are quite different and less extensive than their Spanish archival counterparts. His contemporary Razzuq showed that much could be done with fatwas, agricultural and artisanal treatises, and traditional histories and biographies—sources that Gozalbes Busto did not consider.

The Tunisian historian Abdeljelil Temimi has convened conferences and written a number of articles on the Morisco diaspora in North Africa, particularly in Tunisia. Because of Temimi's work, particularly his pioneering work in the Ottoman archives, and his enthusiastic sponsorship of other scholars through his personal library and publishing house, there was a flourishing of scholarship on the Moriscos in Algeria and Tunisia in the 1970's, 80's, and 90's. However, since his retirement, scholarly interest in the Morisco diaspora of the eastern Maghrib has diminished significantly, leaving us with an

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*History and Description of Africa, and of the Notable Things Therein Contained* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1896), Luis Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Madrid, 1953).

<sup>93</sup> Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos*, 43.

excellent start but much work to be done. There are, as far as I am aware, no monographs on the Morisco or Andalusian diaspora in Algeria, Tunisia, or in North Africa generally.<sup>94</sup>

Recently, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers published an edited collection of essays related to the expulsion and the Morisco diaspora. This collection, which is divided by geographic area and includes pieces on the Morisco diaspora in France, Istanbul, Morocco, Algiers, and Tunisia, is a step towards broadening our knowledge of the basics of Morisco settlement in different parts of the Mediterranean. Synthesis and depth are still needed, but this volume suggests that more is in the works and that interest in Morisco history from a transnational perspective is increasing.<sup>95</sup> Though it is not a comprehensive history of the Moriscos in North Africa, this dissertation contributes to existing scholarship on the Morisco diaspora in the Mediterranean and in North Africa in particular.

### **Comparisons: The Jewish Case**

The conquest of Granada took place just months before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. The Inquisition began its persecution of Conversos before it began to arrest and try Moriscos, but both groups suffered at the hands of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Forced conversion and expulsion of both groups was part of the same policy of creating a

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<sup>94</sup> See Abdeljelil Temimi, "Une lettre des morisques de Grenada au Sultan Suleiman al-Kanuni en 1541," *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*. 3 (1975): 100-105; Abdeljelil Temimi, "Evolution de l'attitude des autorités de la Régence de Tunis face à l'accueil des Morisques à la lumière d'un nouveau firman du Sultan Ottoman," In *Le Ve Centenaire de la Chute de Grenade: 1492-1992* vol. 2, (Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1993).

<sup>95</sup> *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2013).

religiously unified Spain. The history of the Jews/Conversos and the Muslims/Moriscos in early modern Spain is entwined and in some ways inseparable.

However, despite many similar experiences there are important differences as well. Systematic persecution and forced conversion of Jews in Spain began over a century before the conquest of Granada threatened the protections of the Muslims, and the expulsion of the Jews took place decades before the forced conversion of the Moriscos. The Jews and Conversos were primarily urban and they spoke Spanish whereas the Moriscos, though there were many exceptions, often lived in isolated rural areas and spoke only Arabic. The Moriscos posed a very different kind of threat than the Conversos because of their ties to the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire and because their numbers made rebellion a real threat (and at times, a reality).

The differences are significant enough that the challenges to doing comparative history are formidable. In the recent book *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain*, James Amelang proposed to do what few before him have: study the Conversos and the Moriscos together. The reason for this lapse, according to Amelang, has been the generally separate historiographical traditions of Jewish and Islamic history.<sup>96</sup> But Amelang himself then essentially divided his book into two sections, where he discussed the Moriscos first and then the Conversos. After the introduction, he did not discuss the two groups together again until the epilogue.

Though this dissertation is not comparative in structure, I have found that Jewish/Converso history and historiography often provide useful points of comparison

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<sup>96</sup> James Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 2.

and instructive context. In other cases, the Jewish case broadens and clarifies the historical context. Frequently Jewish and Converso historiography is more extensive than Morisco history—particularly when it comes to a transnational approach—and I have learned much from historians working on the Jewish case. Scholarship on Conversos in Inquisition records has also provided models for using the available sources.<sup>97</sup> Such connections are drawn in the text or in the footnotes at relevant points.

## **SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY**

I use a wide variety of types of sources in Spanish and Arabic from the archives of Spain and Morocco. I chose Morocco for archival research in North Africa because its Morisco history is the least studied of the three countries (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia) that accepted large numbers of Morisco immigrants and had the best potential for finding relevant archival material in Arabic. However, I include Tunisia and Algeria in my study where relevant, using published primary sources and secondary literature.

One of the challenges of my research has been the uneven quantity and quality of sources in Arabic and Spanish. The Spanish archives have preserved far more records than are preserved in the archives of North Africa and the archival sources that are available in each country are very different. The bureaucratic practice of saving state papers of all kinds did not exist in early modern Morocco. As a result, the manuscripts in the archives tend to be almost exclusively books written for public consumption rather

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<sup>97</sup> Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 2007); and Gretchen D Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

than private papers of any kind. European state archives have preserved some official correspondence and diplomatic reports, but these are exclusively from a European perspective.<sup>98</sup> Many, though not all, of the sources in Arabic have been edited and published. Some have been translated into English, Spanish, or French, but whenever possible I rely on the original Arabic. Citations are given for all editions consulted and all translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

However, this does not mean that there are not valuable sources for the social history of North Africa in the early modern period. In particular, I found fatwas to be especially rich sources. I used both published and unpublished manuscript fatwas.<sup>99</sup> Fatwas are not court records. They are hypothetical and do not necessarily contain specific details such as locations, names, or dates. The fatwas we have today were compiled into books for use as legal references. The scholars who compiled these selected the fatwas that they thought would be most relevant and helpful to their fellow jurists, leaving out others that would be lost to posterity. However, despite these considerations fatwas are extremely valuable historical records. David Powers and Judith Tucker have shown how useful they can be for social history and for women's history in particular.<sup>100</sup> Fatwa collections can tell us a lot about the interests and priorities of those

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<sup>98</sup> These sources are the basis of the *SIHM: de Castries, SIHM*.

<sup>99</sup> I used the following editions of fatwa collections: Ahmad b. Yahya al-Wansharisi, *Al-Mi'yar al-mu'rib wa-al-jami' al-mughrib 'an fatawa ahl Ifriqiyah wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* (Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqaf wa-al-Shuun al-Islamiyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah, 1981); Ahmad b. Yahya al-Wansharisi, *Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Age : analyse du Mi'yar dal-Wansarisi* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1995); and 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Hasan Al-Zayyati. *Al-Jawahir al-mukhtara fi-ma waqafu 'alayhi min al-nawazil bi-Jibal Ghumara*. BNRM D-3832; BFRAAS 584.

<sup>100</sup> David Stephan Powers, *Law, Society, and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300-1500* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); David Stephan Powers, *The Development of Islamic Law and Society in the Maghrib: Qadis, Muftis and Family Law* (Farnham, Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate

who used the volumes precisely because they were selected as the most representative of contemporary concerns.

However, fatwas did not report details about the circumstances of cases. Information such as people's names, where they are from, and other specific data was left out—unless it was relevant to the outcome of the case. This is a particular challenge when studying Moriscos because, whether the people who were involved in the case were Moriscos or Andalusians was often not indicated. This means that the most valuable fatwas for Morisco history were cases where the fact that they were Moriscos was relevant. Fatwas about immigration often fall into this category, but fatwas about economic life, for example, contain little information specific to Moriscos (or to any particular group).

I also rely extensively on Inquisition records, most of which are held at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.<sup>101</sup> Inquisition records are problematic because they were created in extremely high-pressure situations. Prisoners were often tortured and their lives depended on their careful answers. However, they are nonetheless some of the best records for recovering the voices of the Moriscos themselves. They are the only records that preserve the voices of the majority of Moriscos (especially women) who were not literate and produced no writing of their own. I supplement the Inquisition trial records with other kinds of government sources, such as official reports and legislation, notarial records, and with sources that more directly capture Morisco voices, such as

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Variorum, 2011); and Judith E Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>101</sup> A very select few, though none from the Valencia collection as of July 2014, have been catalogued or digitized and are available on the PARES database. *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, <pares.mcu.edu>.

Aljamiado and Arabic literary texts. More specific details about the sources used are in each chapter and throughout the footnotes.

There is a long tradition of using court records (and Inquisition records especially) to piece together the lives of people who appear in few other sources. I draw inspiration from Carlo Ginzburg in particular, who made a case for reading between the lines by focusing on “the discrepancies between the questions of the judges and the replies of the accused . . .”<sup>102</sup> The repetitive and formulaic nature of the Inquisition cases can be their greatest asset—frequently, it was when the case records diverged from set patterns that I found the most exciting material.

## **ORGANIZATION**

Moriscos defined and negotiated their identities in a variety of different ways, all of which were influenced by gender, class, and ever-changing conditions. I look at how Moriscos used commodity production, how they interacted with courts, and how they used migration and mobility to survive. Moriscos adapted their survival strategies as external circumstances changed—and they changed significantly over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My study shows that survival became increasingly impossible and more dangerous as Moriscos had less control over the categories being imposed upon them. Throughout I explore the differences in the ways that men and women experienced these changes, to the relationship between individuals and communities, and to the interplay between local and transnational contexts.

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<sup>102</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xix.

Chapter 2, “Muslim Families, Labor, and Survival, 1492-1609” looks at the economic relationships that gave Moriscos some leverage in negotiating their place in post-conquest Granada. The late conquest of Granada provides insight into the process of occupation. In Granada, silk work formed the basis of the economy, determined Granada's place in Mediterranean trade networks, and defined the rhythms of daily life. Granadan women dominated silk cultivation and spinning. The silk industry revealed the ways that Moriscos resisted and cooperated with Spanish officials as their identity and culture was increasingly under threat in the sixteenth century.

Chapter 3, “Under the Shadow of the Inquisition: Morisco Resistance in Valencia 1568-1609” uses Inquisition records to show how Moriscos responded to trial and punishment. I argue that the arrest, trial, and release of Moriscos was a ritual of humiliation and violence that reinforced the power structure of rural Valencia. Trials reenacted the total control that the Spanish state had over the bodies of the Moriscos, and Moriscos resisted in whatever ways they could. Morisca women faced particular kinds of violence at the hands of Inquisition officials and responded in particular ways. The Inquisition reinforced perceived differences between Old Christians and Moriscos and helped to deepen the social and cultural divides that ultimately made expulsion possible. After the expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada in 1570, Valencia became the center of Morisco population in Spain. The decision to expel the Moriscos took place primarily in and in reference to Valencia—and expulsion applied there first—making it the best place to study the social conflict that precipitated the 1609 expulsion.

Chapter 4, “Between Escape and Expulsion: Morisco Migration in the Mediterranean, 1568-1659” uses sources from Spain and throughout the Mediterranean, including Arabic sources from Morocco. Until the expulsion in 1609-1614, Moriscos were not allowed to leave the peninsula and after 1609-1614 they were not allowed to remain. However, Moriscos risked their lives to leave Spain when it was dangerous and illegal and came up with elaborate strategies to stay when they were required to leave, depending on what they thought better ensured their survival and the safety of their families.

Chapter 5, “Moriscos Between Worlds: Gender, Microhistory, and the Mediterranean, 1609-1614,” looks at the lives of three different Morisco individuals who left Spain just before or during the 1609-1614 expulsion. This close examination of the choices that Moriscos made as they tried to survive migration and the hardships of creating new lives allows for a deeper look at what expulsion was like for Moriscos. I argue that social status and gender determined the options available to Moriscos, who in turn made the most of whatever possibilities they had. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes that the diversity of Morisco experiences depended on local circumstances and socio-economic variables and the epilogue discusses the implications for Morisco history in contemporary Spain.

## Chapter 2

### Muslim Families, Labor, and Survival in Granada, 1492-1570<sup>1</sup>

In 1569, in the midst of the bloody violence of the second Morisco rebellion in the Castilian Kingdom of Granada, Hernando de Guzmán and Álvaro el Guajany submitted a petition to the royal Spanish government for special permission to travel from the city of Granada to the Morisco town of Pinillos in the Alpujarran countryside for the annual silk harvest.<sup>2</sup> The men, Moriscos residing in the San Salvador parish of the Morisco Albaicín neighborhood in Granada, warned the crown that if it denied their petition and they were unable to return to the mountains they would be unable to “raise [silk], [and they would] have nothing with which to pay [their] taxes.”<sup>3</sup> At the end of their petition, the men added that they would not go to harvest silk alone, but rather that they would need to go “with our women to cultivate the silk.”<sup>4</sup> The men revealed only at the end of their petition the vital role their wives played in the family economy.

The story of Guzmán and el Guajany was a story of survival. Moriscos used a variety of strategies to survive in a world that increasingly saw them as hostile. Silk was a fundamental part of the strategies Moriscos used to survive in Granada in the sixteenth

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared in my master’s report. Elizabeth Nutting, “*Vivir por la seda: Morisca Women, Household Economies, and the Silk Industry in the Kingdom of Granada, 1400-1570*,” (Master’s Report, University of Texas at Austin, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> 1569 was a particularly difficult time to be a Morisco in the kingdom of Granada, and travel from the city to the Alpujarras Mountains would have been extraordinarily difficult. The Morisco revolt of the Alpujarras was in full swing and tension between the Moriscos and the emigrants or Old Christians was reaching its peak in the city of Granada. The expulsion of the kingdom’s Morisco population was to come the following year, in 1570.

<sup>3</sup> AHA, Legajo 127/27.

<sup>4</sup> AHA, Legajo 127/27.

century. Morisco families relied on silk for their basic everyday needs, but silk was also a part of the Islamic culture that Moriscos sought to preserve. Women, as the kingdom's main silk producers, played a major role in the preservation of Granadan sericulture-- a process that took place in urban Morisco households and hillside farms all over the Kingdom of Granada.

The history of silk in Granada reveals the ways that Moriscos cooperated with Spanish authorities when advantageous. Silk gave the Moriscos a way to negotiate with the Spanish over the future of Granada. Guzmán and el Guajany knew that the Spanish crown had an interest in allowing them to travel to the mountains for the harvest. Their participation in the cultivation of silk gave them reason to expect the Spanish to consider their request for special reason to travel. The Spanish needed the tax revenue that the Morisco silk industry provided. The Moriscos and the skills that they alone possessed were essential to the Granadan economy, and this gave the Moriscos some leverage to use as the Spanish threatened every aspect of their way of life. Ultimately, silk would not help the Moriscos to survive Spanish subjugation. In 1570 the Spanish decided that they would rather do without Morisco sericulture when they expelled the Moriscos from the Kingdom.

Household silk production was a fundamental part of daily life in both urban and rural Granada before and after the conquest of the Kingdom in 1492. Silk defined Granada's place in Mediterranean trade networks, provided wealth for its people and its rulers, and dotted the mountainous landscape with mulberry trees. Women's labor was

essential to the silk industry. Women harvested mulberry leaves, raised silkworms, spun silk, and assisted in the weaving, dying, and selling of silk.

When the Spanish conquered the kingdom in December 1491 and officially ended eight centuries of Islamic rule in the Iberian peninsula, life changed for the Kingdom's Arabic-speaking, Muslim population. The Spanish kings forced the Muslims to convert to Christianity, restricted them to particular areas of the cities in order to make room for Christian immigrants, forbade the Arabic language and customs, and finally, in 1570, expelled Granada's Moriscos from the Kingdom. But through the chaos and conflict, daily life continued much as it had before.

Granada has received much attention from historians in part because the decisions made there by the Spanish monarchy seemed to exemplify the dramatic transformations of the sixteenth century that would determine Spain's fateful rise as a world power and dramatic fall a few centuries later.<sup>5</sup> The phases of conquest, intolerance, forced conversion, cultural oppression, Inquisition, and expulsion of the Muslims in Granada foreshadowed what would later happen in the rest of Iberia and in Spanish colonies in the New World, Africa, and Asia. In a period when Spain was creating its national character, Granada has much to tell us about how Spain saw itself and its position in the Mediterranean and the world.

The question of why the Spanish made particular policy decisions ignores the experiences and choices of the Moriscos. And all of the focus on religious tension ignores the complexity of Morisco identity and the multiple ways in which the Spanish conquest

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<sup>5</sup> George West on the conquest of Granada, George Herbert West, *The Causes of the Decline of Spain* (Oxford: T&G Shrimpton, 1867), 25; and Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 1-2.

assaulted Morisco life. Silk was an important part of that identity. The relationship between the Spanish and the Moriscos was not as simple as mere religious rivalry. Economic interests, political maneuvering, and survival all affected the ways that these two groups interacted with one another in the years after the conquest. Silk cannot be removed from this picture.

In this chapter I will first look at the role of women in Granadan sericulture. Women's work was essential to the silk industry and the prosperity of the kingdom, but women most often worked in the lowest-status and worst-paid jobs in the industry. They learned skills not as formal apprentices or students but at home from the other women in their families. They worked at home at tasks that they could do alongside other household responsibilities. Then I will look at a collection of inventories of the goods left behind in rural Morisco households as they fled for North Africa during the Second Alpujarras Rebellion. The inventories reveal that rural households cultivated, spun, and wove silk textiles for home use and for sale in the silk markets of the kingdom. Silk production and consumption were regular parts of the household economy. Finally I will look at the way the gradual Spanish takeover of the Granadan economy impacted the silk industry and the Morisco men and women who depended on silk for their survival.

## **HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES**

This study of the household silk industry in Granada in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fills a significant void in the scholarship on silk and women's work in Spain. In 1972 the historian Manuel Garzón Pareja wrote *La industria sedera en España: el arte de la seda de Granada (The Silk Industry in Spain: The Art of Silk in Granada)*, a top-down

study of Granada's silk industry that focuses on high-level production and international markets.<sup>6</sup> Francisco Bejarano's slim volume, *La industria de la seda en Málaga durante el siglo XVI (The Silk Industry in Malaga during the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)*, assumes that Christian silk workers took over the Morisco industry in Malaga almost immediately after the conquest. His history, like Garzón Pareja's, focuses on the official history of guilds and taxes, and he completely ignores Morisco silk workers after the conquest.<sup>7</sup> No work has seriously considered the role of Moriscos in Granadan silk production after the conquest.

Interest in sixteenth-century Granada has increased among historians of Spain, but this recent wave of scholarship has largely neglected the silk industry and has paid little attention to the Moriscos. Emblematic of recent scholarly trends are two recent works are *Creating Christian Granada* by David Coleman and *From Muslim to Christian Granada* by Katie Harris. Both of these historians examined the transformations that occurred in the sixteenth century, as Granada became a Christian city completely assimilated to the culture and administrative politics of Catholic Spain. But neither Coleman nor Harris dealt extensively with the Moriscos, focusing instead on the Castilian immigrants who created a new Christian city out of the remains of the Nasrid Kingdom. The hatred and tension between the Moriscos and the Islamic past that they embodied were essential for the way that Spanish immigrants forged a new local identity, but they were not major players in the transformation of the city and became increasingly marginal as the city became more Christian and more Castilian. Both authors noted that Granada's Christian

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<sup>6</sup> Manuel Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España: El arte de la seda de Granada* (Granada: Archivo de la Real Chancillería, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> Francisco Bejarano, *La industria de la seda en Málaga durante el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951)

immigrants often worked in the silk industry. They acknowledged the importance of silk to the city's economy without discussing how economic change or the ultimately unsuccessful attempt by Christians to take over of the silk industry helped to create Christian Granada.<sup>8</sup>

In her 2001 dissertation, Kathryn Camp argued that there was little conflict between Muslims and Christians in Granada before the middle of the **sixteenth** century, when high taxation and the state's increased concern for cultural practices created conflict where there had been little before and ultimately led to the 1569 Alpujarras Rebellion. Though Camp disusses Morisco adaptation to state policy, her reliance on state regulations and correspondence limits her ability to recover the Morisco perspective. Though it is clear that conditions changed for the worse in the middle of the century—not only in Granada but throughout the peninsula, as will be discussed in Chapter 3—the change was gradual and assimilation and convivencia do not make up the whole picture in sixteenth century Granada.<sup>9</sup>

Muslim and Morisco populations throughout Spain have also received more attention in recent scholarship, but historians have given little notice to household economics or women. Silk, which was an important commodity among Muslims throughout Spain, has rarely been a part of that historiography. A notable example is Leonard Patrick Harvey's two part series, *Islamic Spain 1250-1500* and *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. In contrast to Harris and Coleman, Harvey focused on the Muslims

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<sup>8</sup> Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 26-27; A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Kathryn Camp, "A Divided Republic: Moriscos and Old Christians in Sixteenth Century Granada," PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2001. Camp briefly discusses silk, 207-208.

and Moriscos and he made extensive use of Arabic, Aljamiado, and Spanish texts written by the Muslims and Moriscos. But Harvey did not discuss silk or any other type of production at all.<sup>10</sup> Mary Elizabeth Perry also turned her attention to Moriscos in *The Handless Maiden* and argued that Islamic culture found its most lasting expression in Morisco households and that women were important actors in resistance to Spanish culture. Perry noted that women's work, especially sericulture, was essential to the household economy, but this idea was peripheral to her interest in other kinds of resistance and she did not explore it further.<sup>11</sup>

Though there are few extant Arabic manuscripts from Granada, there are hundreds of thousands of Spanish records. Spanish historians have published many of these documents as interest in the conquest of Granada ensured a market for documentary collections. Rafael Marín López published an extensive collection of Spanish legislation related to the silk industry in Granada from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

A collection of inventories from Morisco households published by Juan Martínez Ruiz in *Inventarios de bienes Moriscos del Reino de Granada (Siglo XVI): Lingüística y civilización (Inventories of Morisco Property in the Kingdom of Granada [16<sup>th</sup> Century]: Language and Civilization)* is also useful. Martínez Ruiz's book is a study in the history of the Spanish language, and he is interested in the Arabic lexicon of the inventories. The collection of published inventories includes copies of sixty-eight documents from the

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<sup>10</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 211-214.

<sup>11</sup> Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, 76.

<sup>12</sup> Rafael Marín López, *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el reino de Granada (siglos XV-XVIII)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008).

Archivo de la Alhambra in Granada. Most of the documents are inventories of the goods found in Morisco households to be confiscated by the Spanish government because their owners had fled Spain. The dates of the documents range from 1549 until 1568, although the majority corresponds with the violence of the 1560s. Martínez Ruiz chose to include those inventories “rich in words referring to clothing, textiles, dowries, jewels, domestic utensils, tools, artisanry, special industries, cultivation, land distribution, place names . . . .”<sup>13</sup> Although undoubtedly many relevant documents were left out of Martínez Ruiz’s collection, his focus on documents with a rich vocabulary of technical, agricultural, and industrial terms provides a rich source for information on silk production in Morisco homes. The Moriscos who were able to leave Granada for North Africa were more likely to be well-off as the journey was expensive. Therefore, these inventories most likely do not represent the goods of the poorest of Morisco households.

In addition to a variety of published sources, I consulted unpublished manuscripts at the Archivo Histórico de la Alhambra (AHA) and the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos at the Ilustre Colegio Notarial in Granada (CNG). The notarial archives allowed for a close examination of the everyday economic activities of the city of Granada’s Morisco population. The administrative and court records at the Archivo de la Alhambra provided a wider view of the issues that concerned royal officials from across the entire kingdom. Many of these sources were produced by Old Christians. Even the notarial records, which were produced by a Morisco notary working with Morisco clients, were translated into Spanish and filtered through Spanish legal culture.

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<sup>13</sup> *Inventarios de bienes moriscos del Reino de Granada, siglo XVI: lingüística y civilización* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1972).

Using these records, it is possible to piece together how Moriscos produced silk in their homes. Most of the documents are in Spanish and from the point of view of the conquerors. None of the records directly recorded the voices of Morisco women. In the written record, women expressed their concerns through the voice of a male notary, householder, or legal official.<sup>14</sup> Despite these obstacles it is possible to determine how Moriscos produced silk by reading against the grain for indications of the presence of women and household production in notarial and official documents.

## **KINGDOM OF SILK**

In this city and its kingdom, so much silk is cultivated and harvested that the king is paid fifty thousand ducats in royalties from it. The silk trade is so extensive in this city that nearly all of the common people make their living in silk (*vive por la seda*). Ordinarily there are in this city one thousand weavers' shops, where all kinds of silks are woven and created. There are more than three hundred spinning wheels for gathering silk.<sup>15</sup>

When Pedro de Medina traveled to Granada in 1548 and wrote this description of the city, Granada was a kingdom of silk. De Medina described an entire city engaged in the production of silk cloth—a city with thousands of weavers and spinners. Nearly everyone, Muslim and Christian, had a hand in some part of the lengthy process of turning tiny silk worms into colorful Granadan silk. Contemporary travelers, historians, and observers writing about Granada's history and people in the century after the kingdom's conquest by Spain frequently commented on the importance of silk production

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<sup>14</sup> Judith Bennett has shown that it is possible, through careful analysis of notarial practice, to determine when men were acting as representatives of their households even though women were doing the work. Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 163-166.

<sup>15</sup> Pedro de Medina, *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España; Libro de la verdad* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944), 191.

in the mountainous region of southeastern Andalusia. Representatives of the Kingdom at the Court of Philip II in 1575 reminded the King: "Your Majesty knows, as is well-known, that the most important business that has sustained this city and its kingdom is silk . . . ." <sup>16</sup>

Silk production in the Mediterranean flourished after the Islamic conquests. By the seventh and eighth centuries, silk production increased throughout the Islamic Empire and silk textiles became readily available across the Mediterranean. <sup>17</sup> An Arab writer mentioned the presence of mulberry trees in al-Andalus in 740, just three decades after the conquest of the Peninsula in 711. <sup>18</sup> References to silk in Andalusian documents were frequent enough by the ninth century to indicate that silk production had become commonplace. <sup>19</sup> By the tenth century, Almeria had become the major port city of al-Andalus and had grown wealthy from the profits of Mediterranean shipping and silk manufacture. In the eleventh century the Cairo Geniza recorded a steady trade in silk between Alexandria and Almeria. Jewish traders dominated the trade network that linked Almeria with Alexandria, Sicily, and al-Mahdiyya in the Maghreb. <sup>20</sup> According to Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Idrisi (b. 1100), the author of one of the best known medieval

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<sup>16</sup> K Garrad, "La industria sedera granadina en el siglo XVI y en conexión con el levantamiento de las Alpujarras (1568-1571)," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*. 5 (1956).

<sup>17</sup> Mary Schoeser, *Silk* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 27-28 and Xinru Liu, *Silk and Religion: An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600-1200* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 141-147.

<sup>18</sup> David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 58 (2004): 197-240.

<sup>19</sup> Schoeser, *Silk*, 28.

<sup>20</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1996), 18-19.

books of geography in Arabic, there were eight hundred workshops (ṭirāz) in Almeria devoted to the production of highly-decorated finished cloth of the highest quality, and Almeria's ports were busy with ships from all over the Mediterranean.<sup>21</sup> Al-Zuhri, the author of the twelfth-century *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiya* (Book of Geography), described Andalusī silk in the markets of Ethiopia and Ghana.<sup>22</sup> Granada's greatest litterateur, Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib (d. 1375) proudly extolled the quality of the silk produced in his hometown: "this silk has no equal in the silk produced in Iraq, which is less fine, less smooth, and less strong."<sup>23</sup>

Silk production continued in Granada during the Nasrid period (1212-1492), but by the fifteenth century Genoese merchants dominated Granada's silk exporting, which primarily consisted of shipping raw Granadan silk to Genoese silk workshops.<sup>24</sup> Granadan silk was known in Italy as *spagnola* or *moresche*.<sup>25</sup> Granadans also exported some silk to Castile. In 1333, the Nasrid Sultan Muhammad IV presented the Castilian King Alfonso XI with silk and gold textiles.<sup>26</sup> One of the many extant Nasrid silks is decorated with the coat of arms of Castile and León (Fig. 1), indicating that it was given or sold to the Castilian Monarchy. By the fifteenth century the importance of Granadan

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 174. Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Al-Idrisi, *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqafah al-Dīniyah, 1990), 562.

<sup>22</sup> al-Zuhri, "Kitāb al-Jughrāfiya," In *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). The rest of al-Zuhri's name is not known, and we do not know exactly when he lived or wrote.

<sup>23</sup> Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)* (Paris: É. de Boccard, 1973), 355.

<sup>24</sup> Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 224.

<sup>25</sup> Arié, *L'Espagne Musulmane*, 362.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 470-471.

silk textiles as a commodity for export had decreased and Granada's economy increasingly relied on the export of raw materials on Genoese trading ships.<sup>27</sup> By the time the Christians marched through the gates of the Alhambra in January 1492, the eight hundred silk shops described by al-Idrisi were already long gone. Almeria, Malaga, and Granada had lost their status as major Mediterranean centers of silk weaving and shipping, even as silk continued to be essential to the local economy and to daily life.

In the fifteenth century, the Kingdom of Granada included the major port cities of Malaga and Almeria. Granada was the capital and largest city in the Nasrid Kingdom. The Sierra Nevada Mountains stretched east from Granada to Almeria and the Mediterranean Coast. The Sierra Nevada Mountains included the Alpujarras<sup>28</sup> mountain range. The mountainous geography of Granada helped to keep the Spanish military at bay for several centuries after the Spanish had taken over the rest of the Peninsula, and the mountains would continue to provide the ideal topography for launching the two Alpujarras Revolts in 1499-1501 and 1568-1569.

The Sierra Nevada also provided an ideal environment for growing mulberry trees, the required diet of silkworms.<sup>29</sup> Rural workers of the Alpujarras Mountains, usually women, collected the leaves of mulberry trees and fed the leaves to silkworms kept in specially-designed boxes in rural households. When the silkworms reached maturity, household workers extracted the silk fibers from the cocoons and spun the

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<sup>27</sup> Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 224.

<sup>28</sup> Old Spanish *Alpuxarras*, Arabic *al-Basharat*.

<sup>29</sup> Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 173.

filaments into thread.<sup>30</sup> Traders bought the silk thread and brought it to Granada, Almeria, or Malaga twice per year. Merchants sold silk thread and finished silk textiles in the qaysariyyah (Spanish *alcaicería*)<sup>31</sup> or silk market that was in each of the Kingdom's three major cities.<sup>32</sup> Some of that silk was then exported from the ports of Almeria and Malaga by Genoese, Valencian, or Arab merchants. Luxury Granadan silks were known for their bright colors, especially deep red tones, and their geometric, floral, and calligraphic patterns (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

### **GRANADAN WOMEN AND SILK PRODUCTION**

Granadan women, like women throughout Europe and the Islamic world, worked at a variety of jobs inside and outside of their homes. Between 1400 and 1570, women's work in Granada changed very little despite the enormous political and culture shifts taking place in the kingdom. Even when the Moriscos were forced out of the Kingdom of Granada in 1570 after the failed revolt of the Alpujarras, Granadan women took their silk work with them to Castile and Valencia and eventually to North Africa. Although women participated in every stage of silk production, they most often worked in the lowest-paid and lowest-status tasks. Women continued to dominate silkworm cultivation and silk spinning-- tasks that involved working with raw materials with very little profit margin. Silkworm cultivation and spinning were also mostly unregulated. These tasks were

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<sup>30</sup> Arié, *L'Espagne Musulmane*, 355.

<sup>31</sup> In the Kingdom of Granada the *alcaicería* was always the silk market, although elsewhere in the Islamic world it indicates a covered market more generally. Neither word is used in modern Spanish except as place names (for example, the neighborhood of Granada that used to be the silk market is still known as the Alcaicería, but without the meaning of a place where silk is sold)

<sup>32</sup> Anonymous, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 91, and 133.

informal, meaning that much of women's work was not directly taxed or controlled by guilds or state officials.

Silk and silk work has long been associated with women. In ancient Europe and the Middle East, textile work was the domain of women.<sup>33</sup> In ancient Chinese lore, only women were privy to the secrets of silk production. It was a woman, the legendary Silk Princess, who smuggled the secret of sericulture out of China to the West.<sup>34</sup> Early Islamic tradition allowed only women to wear silk.<sup>35</sup> Byzantine state-run silk factories employed mostly women.<sup>36</sup> E. Jane Burns has shown that in medieval French romance, women (and especially Eastern or Muslim women) frequently appeared as silk workers. In literature, women's skill at working silk marked them as feminine and linked them to a Mediterranean sphere where silk production and trade linked the West to the Islamic and Greek worlds.<sup>37</sup> In the thirteenth century, women ran Paris's small silk industry.<sup>38</sup>

In the context of the universal link between women and silk production and consumption in the pre-modern world, Granada was unexceptional. Women in Granada, like women elsewhere in the pre-modern Mediterranean world, made silk. They were the keepers of the secrets of sericulture. Silk is a window into the daily lives of women. Granada was not unique because women worked there, or because they worked in silk.

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<sup>33</sup> E.J.W. Barber, *Women's Work, the First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times* (New York: Norton, 1994).

<sup>34</sup> E. Jane Burns, *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 15-16. See also Luce Boulnois, *The Silk Road: Monks, Warriors, and Merchants on the Silk Road* (New York: Dutton, 1966), 179-183.

<sup>35</sup> H.J. Schmidt, "Harir," In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden: Brill).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Burns, *Sea of Silk*, 3.

But through the lens of silk production, it is possible to see how women and their work affected the economy and the culture of the worlds around them. It tells us something about the ways that women adapted to change.

Although historians have shown that silk was commonly women's work, the implications of this for the markets of the Mediterranean, household economies, and the place of women in society have not yet been discovered.<sup>39</sup> This is particularly true for the Islamic world, where textiles were fundamental to the economy of nearly every major urban center. There is much that we do not know about the ways that women shaped the social and economic conditions of the cities they lived in.

The placement of women's work within textile manufacturing is only one way that the experiences of Granadan women seem remarkably similar to the experiences of working women elsewhere. Although little work has been done on women's work in the Islamic world, historians have discovered much about women's work in medieval and early modern Europe, showing that women's work was low status, low skilled, and poorly paid.<sup>40</sup> Although the culture and economy of Granada changed significantly when the kingdom was incorporated into Castile, Granadan women continued to work as they had for generations. Despite the wealth of the silk industry, women's work was largely confined to the least profitable tasks.

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<sup>39</sup> Shatzmiller, Maya. *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.

<sup>40</sup> See Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England*; Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Louise Tilly and Joan Wallach Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978); Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, and Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul, 1700-1850," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60, no. 1 (2001): 141-152.

While the actual conditions of women's work changed little after the conquest of Granada in 1492, the representation of women's work in the documents changed significantly. Historians of women's labor in medieval and early modern Europe have shown that the written record obscured the extent and nature of women's work because women usually worked within household industries and were excluded from the legal rights of guild membership and property ownership.<sup>41</sup> Evidence from the Kingdom of Granada in the Christian period supports the conclusions of historians of women's work in early modern Europe. Women's work was so essential to the economy of the Kingdom that there was fear that the economy would collapse without their labor, but women's work was also part of a household economy that men officially controlled and managed that is difficult to track in the archives.

For many families silk was a primary source of income. For other families, silk was but one economic activity pursued alongside other productive endeavors. Often a husband or father had another profession, possibly outside of the home, while his family cultivated and produced silk and other textiles at home for additional income. Families involved in the harvesting of mulberry leaves, the cultivation of silkworms, and the spinning of raw silk were especially likely to engage in the production of other agricultural products and produced silk alongside other linen or wool textiles for sale and for personal use.

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<sup>41</sup> For example, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies*, 8, no. 1 (1982): 46-80 and Marta Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work: Women and Guilds in Early Modern Barcelona," In *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities* (Wesport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1996).

The 1589 Venetian costume book with engravings by Cesare Vecellio depicted a Morisca woman naked from the waist up holding a spindle wrapped with silk thread. The description says that Morisco women were "always spinning" because of their extreme poverty. The image is obviously an exoticised and unrealistic depiction of a Morisca woman, but it nonetheless reinforces the well-known association of the silk industry with Granada and spinning with impoverished Morisca women.<sup>42</sup>

Women participated in silk production at all levels, from picking mulberry leaves to weaving and selling high-end silk luxury goods in Granada's *alcaicería*.<sup>43</sup> But women were most dominant in the rural phase of silk production where they specialized in cultivating silkworms and spinning silk thread. These activities were crucial for silk production and required a high degree of skill and technical knowledge. However, they were the least prestigious tasks out of the many required to produce a finished silk cloth. These women came from poor, rural families and never made much money selling silk cocoons or thread. Rural women of the Alpujarras were typically illiterate and had less access to notaries and officials than their urban counterparts in the cities of Granada, Malaga, and Almeria. These women and their families rarely left written records of any kind. Despite the increasingly rare references to working women in the documents of Christian Granada, women continued to work throughout the Christian period in much the same ways that they had before the conquest.

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<sup>42</sup> Vecellio, "Donzella di Granata," *Costumes anciens et modernes*, 274. See also Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work," 274-275.

<sup>43</sup> From the Arabic *al-qaysariyya*. In the Kingdom of Granada the *alcaicería* was always the silk market, although elsewhere in the Islamic world it can have other meanings.

## Women and Silk Production through Conquest: 1492-1570

One collection of documents with references to women is in the *Inventarios de bienes Moriscos del Reino de Granada*. The owners of the items listed in the inventories included both men and women, as in the 1562 inventory of Beatriz de Tordesillas. De Tordesillas was a woman who owned extensive tools for producing silk and other textiles, but any member of her family could have used the items listed. Even when the owners were women it was impossible to know for sure who was using the *paneras*<sup>44</sup> to cultivate silkworms, or who was regularly sitting at the spinning wheel coiling silk thread.<sup>45</sup>

Upon closer inspection however, there were indications that the women of the household were often the ones doing the actual work of silk production. For example, Diego de Gaytero, a Morisco from the region of Almeria, fled to North Africa in 1559. When Spanish authorities went to his house to confiscate his belongings, one of his neighbors protested, claiming that a portion of the seven pounds of silk cocoon confiscated by the state belonged to him because de Gaytero's wife had cultivated the silk from his mulberry leaves, and accordingly owed him a fee of ten percent. De Gaytero's wife, otherwise not mentioned at all in the document, was the person doing the work of cultivating silk.<sup>46</sup>

Spanish notarial practice provided further clues about working women. Notaries in sixteenth-century Spain usually identified men by their professions as well as their

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<sup>44</sup> A *panera* is a box or basket made of esparto grass used for housing silkworms.

<sup>45</sup> *Inventarios de bienes moriscos*.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 250. Also, this is could be used for how the labor was organized.

important family relationships while they only rarely identified women by profession. According to Amalia García Pedraza's statistical analysis of Morisco wills, notaries defined 4.5% of women by occupation, compared to 74.5% of men.<sup>47</sup> Most of the women defined by occupation were domestic servants, one of the few professions women held that was outside the home and not related to a family business. In the indexed sixteenth-century notarial documents of the archives of the Colegio Notarial in Granada, Christian immigrants and Morisco men were identified as spice merchants, bakers, carpenters, shoemakers, dyers, velvet weavers, laborers, butchers, and tailors. However, they were not identified as silkworm cultivators or silk spinners, suggesting that these professions may have been the domain of women.<sup>48</sup> Sometimes it was clear that women described only as “wife of/ widow of/ daughter of” did in fact work in the silk or other industry. For example, a list of debts owed in the will of Morisca Leonor Hernández Ymbrana indicated that she was engaged in the cultivation of silk.<sup>49</sup>

Like silk cultivation, silk spinning was considered low-skill work and women earned neither prestige nor much money spending hours spinning silk thread from the raw fibers. In 1535 the Spanish authorities issued a series of ordinances intending to regulate silk spinning and to bring it under the control of the state. The ordinances related to spinning in particular revealed the gender division of the kingdom's spinners. In general, the language of silk legislation was not gender specific and the laws did not

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<sup>47</sup> Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI : los moriscos que quisieron salvarse* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2002), 383-385.

<sup>48</sup> Amalia García Pedraza, *Inventario de protocolos notariales: Granada, siglo XVI* (Granada: Colegio Notarial de Granada, 2008).

<sup>49</sup> García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 386.

distinguish between male and female workers. However, the language used to describe the kingdom's silk spinners was a striking departure from gender neutrality. The goal of the 1535 ordinances was to standardize silk spinning to maintain a high level of quality of the kingdom's finished silk products. The first part of the ordinances required that each spinner (here the gender neutral *hilador*) pass an examination to become certified. The ordinances went on to require that each spinner hire two boys or girls as assistants. Here the language specified the possibility of using girls as assistants (*muchachos o muchachas, qual mas quisieren*). Finally the last section referred not to spinners but to *las mujeres* (the women), revealing the gender of the spinners referred to throughout the document. The women, the law said, were to be paid eighty-five *maravedís* per thousand silkworm cocoons spun into thread or per day of work.<sup>50</sup>

Two other laws refer to master silk spinners with the feminine *maestra* rather than the masculine or gender-neutral *maestro* used to refer to dyers and weavers.<sup>51</sup> These official documents indicated not only that women dominated the profession of silk spinning, but that the kingdom's economic and governmental institutions recognized their work. Female spinners in particular were not just helpers in a family business. An official examination assessed women's spinning skills and they could be masters of their trade. They could employ others in their service, and they could demand wages from their employers.

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<sup>50</sup> "Ordenanzas de Granada sobre el hilar de la seda en madeja (1535, junio 8, Granada)," In *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino De Granada*, 119-120.

<sup>51</sup> "Ordenanzas de Granada sobre los hiladores de sedas (1589, septiembre, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino De Granada*, 174 and "Ordenanzas hechas por la ciudad de Granada para el labor y venta de la seda (1512, 19 marzo, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino De Granada*, 56-57.

Ordinances regulating the sale of silk issued in 1512 revealed women's informal role in the sale and dying of silk (professions that officially excluded women) and the efforts by the royal government to regulate the participation of women in the silk market:

The very excellent gentlemen of Granada declare, that because they have been informed, that because certain people . . . buy silk from unknown persons, in skeins, *azarjas, rodetes, or cañones*,<sup>52</sup> that appears to have been stolen by fault of the merchants who hide it in the silk they give to the *maestras*, spinners, and *rodeteros*. We order and mandate that from this point forward no person shall buy silk . . . that has been dyed or is to be dyed by any woman, slave, child, or suspicious person but rather only from a known person or a merchant who deals in silk, under penalty of two thousand *maravedís*.<sup>53</sup>

Women were officially recognized as silkworm cultivators and spinners, but the 1512 ordinances revealed that women participated unofficially in other phases of silk production and sale as well. This brief description of women's informal role in the markets suggests that women's presence in the markets was actually very common.

Women participated in a variety of economic activities related to silk production during both the Islamic and Christian periods. Some silk work was gender segregated. Women dominated silkworm cultivation and silk spinning—two tasks that earned women little prestige or wealth. Women needed little capital to begin cultivating silkworms or spinning silk and they could do their work inside the home alongside other daily household chores and agricultural activities. However, women's work was not restricted to silk cultivation and spinning—women also worked outside of their homes as brokers,

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<sup>52</sup> These are all technical terms for spun silk in various forms.

<sup>53</sup> "Ordenanzas hechas por la ciudad de Granada para el labor y venta de la seda (1512, 19 marzo, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino De Granada*, 57. The language does not make it clear what the role of the merchants was in this stolen silk scheme. Perhaps they were trying to avoid the high silk taxes by selling under the table?

sellers, and dyers both formally and informally. Women likely worked in these roles even more than their infrequent appearance in the written record suggests.

After the conquest, women continued to make up much of the silk industry's labor force even as their names became less frequent in the written record. Women picked mulberry leaves and cultivated silk worms in the Alpujarras, and they spun and wove silk in their homes in the hills of Granada and the beaches of Málaga and Almería. They never stopped relying on silk for the survival of their families. At the time of the expulsion of the Moriscos the Spanish authorities authorized the exception of 786 female silkworm cultivators and silk spinners.<sup>54</sup> After eighty years of transition from Islamic to Christian economic and social institutions and Christian immigration to Granada, in 1570 Granada's most important industry still relied on the work of Morisca women.

### **SILK IN MORISCO HOUSEHOLDS: THE *INVENTARIOS DE BIENES MORISCOS***

The household inventories collected as Moriscos fled the violence of the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras reveal the dynamic and active household production of silk by rural Morisco families. The frequency with which silk appears in the inventories reiterates the importance of the silk industry to the economy of Alpujarran families. Nearly all of the documents have at least one item made of silk, some of poor quality, and most have some item indicating that silk cultivation or production was taking place in the home.

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<sup>54</sup> José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada : Siglos XV y XVI," In *España y Portugal en las rutas de la seda: Diez siglos de producción y comercio entre oriente y occidente* (Barcelona: Comisión Española de la Ruta de la Seda, 1996), 57, Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España: El arte de la seda de Granada*, 249.

Also significant is the highly specialized vocabulary used for silk items and production. Martínez Ruiz's glossary contains many such examples of specialized terminology, such as an *azarja*, which Martínez Ruiz defines as "a type of [spinning] wheel used to gather raw silk."<sup>55</sup> Also, there are different terms for the different types and qualities of silk, such as *azache*, a term for low-quality silk made from the outer layers of the cocoon.<sup>56</sup> The high percentage of households engaged in silk production and the specialized vocabulary used for the both the equipment used to make silk and for finished silk items underlines the importance of silk in the Morisco communities of the kingdom of Granada. The fact that the court notaries did not use Spanish words for these items suggests that a Spanish vocabulary for silk work did not yet exist in Granada.

In the middle of the sixteenth century approximately four thousand Moriscos were involved in the cultivation of the silkworm.<sup>57</sup> Women in rural homes with access to mulberry trees cultivated silkworms at home. One of the things that made silk production practical for such a large number of Moriscos was that it could be done with relatively little equipment. The necessary items were usually relatively simple and inexpensive, especially for the earliest stages of production. To cultivate silk worms, for example, the only equipment needed was the worms, purchased from a breeder; mulberry leaves, purchased from a landowner with an orchard; and a *zarzo* or *panera* (a basket or box made of esparto grass used as a container for raising silkworms).<sup>58</sup> As the process

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<sup>55</sup> *Inventarios de bienes moriscos*, 40.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 62.

<sup>57</sup> Rachel Arié, *El reino nasrí de Granada, 1232-1492* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 173.

<sup>58</sup> *Inventarios de bienes Moriscos*, 154; 199.

continued, the equipment needed became progressively more complicated, more expensive, and took up more space. The next stage in the production of silk, extracting the silk threads from the cocoons and turning the filaments into raw silk, required a pot for boiling the cocoons, a spinning wheel, and spindles for winding the thread. The final stage, where the raw spun silk was turned into a finished cloth, required a bulky loom and, depending on the type of silk product being created, decorative elements such as gold or silver threads and tassels and other trim.

The inventories do not include the value of the items listed. However, one document is a list of household goods sold at auction that includes the purchase price. From this document it is possible to determine the relative price of some of the items used for silk production. For example, twenty-nine old *paneras* were sold for one real; nine old *zarzos* were sold for two *reales*; an old, broken spinning wheel for silk was sold for eight *reales*; a carder was sold for twenty *maravedis*. Although none of the items were of high quality or new, the broken spinning wheel was still the most expensive item.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the varying levels of initial investment required for different stages of production, few Morisco households specialized in any particular stage of production to the exclusion of other stages of silk production or other common economic and household ventures. In particular, many Morisco households produced silk as well as other textiles, and particularly linen, wool, and hemp.<sup>60</sup> A household might own *paneras* and silkworms, skeins of wool, and a loom for linen. In 1562, Beatriz de Tordesillas, a

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<sup>59</sup> *Inventarios de bienes moriscos*, 238.

<sup>60</sup> In the inventories spinning wheels and looms are often, although not always, designated as used for one particular type of textile (i.e. “*torno de hilar seda*” and “*un telar de texer lienço*”). *Inventarios de bienes Moriscos*, 188; 252.

Morisca from Notaez, inherited an extensive olive business from her parents, including plenty of olive groves, an olive mill, and several jars filled with olive oil. But her parents' property also included dozens of mulberry orchards, a total of ninety *paneras*, a black ox, and the frame of a loom for weaving linen. This particular family was apparently quite wealthy, as they owned far more land than most Moriscos. But even though their main source of income may have been olive production, silk was apparently a valuable addition to their income.<sup>61</sup>

Most Moriscos, unlike Beatriz and her family, did not own their own mulberry orchards. Mulberry trees were easily adapted to different terrain, and so most Morisco landowners had at least a few trees which they planted on available scraps of land dedicated to other types of agricultural endeavors such as olive or fruit trees, even if they did not have a dedicated mulberry orchard (*moral*).<sup>62</sup> The leaves of the mulberry trees were harvested each year in April, usually by women, and the harvest was a collective endeavor. The harvesters divided the leaves, reserving some for the owners of the trees, and used the rest to feed their own silkworms.<sup>63</sup> There are no similar household inventories for the Nasrid period, and the surviving fatwas and notarial documents tell us

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 253

<sup>62</sup> López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada," 34.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 35. There are several fatwas in al-Wansharīsi's collection that do not allow this type of collective harvest and communal distribution of mulberry leaves. A fifteenth-century fatwa attributed to the Granadan mufti al-Saraqusti says that mulberry owners must pay harvesters wages, a reiteration of the legal argument in a twelfth-century fatwa from Cordoba. This suggests that dividing the leaves from a harvest was common even if it was questionable legal practice according to the jurists. See Ahmad b. Yahya al-Wansharisi, *Al-Mi'yar al-mu'rib wa-al-jami' al-mughrib 'an fatawa ahl Ifriqiyah wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* vol. 6, (Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqaf wa-al-Shuun al-Islamiyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah, 1981), 254-255 and Ahmad b. Yahya al-Wansharisi, *Al-Mi'yar al-mu'rib wa-al-jami' al-mughrib 'an fatawa ahl Ifriqiyah wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* vol. 5, (Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqaf wa-al-Shuun al-Islamiyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah, 1981), 238-239.

little about the household economy of Muslim families in Granada. One fifteenth-century fatwa refers to the "silkworms of the owner and his family"-- suggesting that silkworm cultivation was a family occupation rather than one associated particularly with the (male) silkworm owner.<sup>64</sup>

In his essay on silk in Granada in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the historian José López de Coca Castañer divided the process of silk production into a rural and an urban phase. Mulberry leaves were harvested, silkworms were cultivated, and silk threads were extracted from cocoons in the rural phase. The skeins of silk were then sent to the cities, where they were dyed and finally woven into various textiles.<sup>65</sup> However, it appears from the evidence in the inventories of Morisco goods that the division was not quite so neat. It is clear that, for example, cultivation and weaving were often done in the same, often rural, house. In addition, silk intended for household use, to be sewn into bed sheets, carpets, basic clothing, and curtains, could be kept in the house or sold to neighbors without ever making it to the urban markets in Granada, Malaga, Almeria or elsewhere in Spain.

This kind of household economic organization allowed for a lot of flexibility, as families could produce whatever was relatively easy and inexpensive to produce and that were the most profitable in the local markets, changing how they spent their time as needed to maximize their ability to support the household. It is apparent from the inventories, where silk features prominently in Morisco household goods, that silk was a

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>65</sup> López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada."

large part of this makeshift household economy, and that women played an important role in generating household income. Silk continued to be fundamental for the survival of most Alpujarran Morisco families. Moriscos continued to produce silk as they had for many generations until war and finally expulsion forced them to leave their silkworms and spinning wheels behind in their abandoned homes for Christian officials to confiscate.

### **CONQUERING THE KINGDOM OF SILK**

Throughout the sixteenth century, the silk industry changed very little. It remained largely as it had been under the Nasrids in terms of production techniques, market regulation, and taxation. Under the Capitulations of the Conquest of Granada agreed upon by the Spanish King and Queen and the last Nasrid Sultan Boabdil, the Moriscos were permitted to maintain their own legal and commercial practices with little intervention from the Spanish. In fact, one of the only changes in the years following 1492 which affected silk production was that instead of paying taxes to the Nasrid king, Granadans paid taxes on their silk to the Spanish monarchy.<sup>66</sup> The sixteenth century was a period of dramatic changes in Granada. But silk production continued as it had before the Conquest, until the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1570 finally destroyed the kingdom's labor force.

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<sup>66</sup> "*Que los moros no darán ni pagarán á sus altezas mas tributo que aquello que acostumbran á dar á los reyes moros.*" "Capitulaciones De La Guerra De Granada, 1491," in *Los Moriscos*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975), 24.

When the Monarchs rescinded the terms of the treaty in 1500, the door opened not only for mass conversion but also for greater administrative interference in the Kingdom's economic life. Although the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity was officially accompanied by a change in the economic and legal system, in reality, after a few minor adjustments were passed in 1497, the administrative and taxation systems relating to silk "were maintained without major changes for generations."<sup>67</sup> Most significantly, the Islamic system of taxing ten percent (Arabic *'ushr*, Spanish *diezmo*) remained in place under Christian rule. Moriscos continued to produce silk using the same techniques and equipment as they had under the Nasrid sultans, and they continued to buy and sell silk goods in much the same way. But by the end of the Morisco period, the world of these household silk producers changed dramatically as they were forced to leave their homes and Christian immigrant families and merchants replaced Morisco silk producers. Silk production in the sixteenth century was characterized by long periods of continuity and gradual change punctuated by more dramatic crisis, reflecting the reality of Morisco life in Castilian Granada.

When the Spanish monarchy initially decided to maintain the Islamic legal and economic infrastructure as much as possible, they were closely following precedents set by previous Castilian and Aragonese rulers. As Father Robert Burns showed for Valencia, after the Conquest in 1238, the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish subjects of the Kingdom of Valencia lived under a complex, muddled system of customary laws

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<sup>67</sup> In other words, even after the expulsion the rules about silk production remained mostly unchanged, López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada," 45.

(*fueros*), Aragonese royal laws, and Islamic law.<sup>68</sup> Each region of Spain was governed primarily by local custom or *fuero* rather than a centralized royal law, and in lands newly taken from Muslims, local law meant Islamic law and custom.<sup>69</sup>

Taxation practices were particularly useful for Christian rulers to appropriate, because then they were able to use the existing tax-collecting infrastructure. For example, the thirteenth-century royal law code the *Siete Partidas* included a very high number of Arabic words associated with taxation, reflecting this long tradition of borrowing taxation practices from Islamic law.<sup>70</sup> Following the conquest of Valencia, another highly Islamicized region, King Jaime I of Aragón used the existing Islamic structure for collecting taxes in the thirteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Spanish taxation policies followed this same medieval pattern in Granada. Arabic and Spanish-speaking Granadans used Arabic words for the officials and taxes of the silk industry. The bureaucrats in charge of collecting taxes and fees and affirming the weight and quality of silk for sale were the *geliz*, the *motalefe*, and the *hafiz*. The silk tax was the *diezmo*, a direct translation of the Arabic ‘*ushr* meaning "tenth."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*. Burns wrote several studies of post-Conquest administration, society, and economy in Valencia that reveal a great deal of similarities between the Conquest of Valencia in 1238 and the Conquest of Granada in 1492. Unfortunately, no equivalent body of scholarship exists for Granada.

<sup>69</sup> The *shari'a*, in English also called Islamic law, was not the only kind of law in Islamic Spain. Like medieval Europe, local customs carried significant legal weight as well. Therefore the Spanish adopted not only the *shari'a* of Islamic courts but also other laws with their origins in Islamic local custom.

<sup>70</sup> Castro, *España en su historia : cristianos, moros y judíos*, 307-308.

<sup>71</sup> Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, 211.

<sup>72</sup> The *diezmo* in Spanish usually indicates the church tithe, but here it has a separate meaning derived from the Arabic custom.

Article 29 of the Capitulations assured the Muslims of Granada that Christian control would not affect the city's trade or the activities of its merchants:

It is established and agreed that all of the merchants of said city [Granada] and the Albaicin, its suburbs, lands, and the said Alpujarras Mountains, and of other places which pertain to this capitulation, will be allowed to come and go abroad to sell merchandise, safely and securely, and they may travel to and deal in all of the territories of your Highnesses, and they will not pay more taxes or tribute than the Christians pay.<sup>73</sup>

Only a few months after the Catholic Monarchs issued the Capitulations in November of 1491, the Spanish authorities began to issue legislation that revealed how the Capitulations were put into practice. In May 1492, the monarchy issued a royal *cédula* to select Muslims as *alamines* (Arabic *amīn*) to regulate the city's many guilds.<sup>74</sup> The preface to the *cédula* said that, although the Capitulations had not given the royal government the authority to choose the heads of the guilds, the city's notables had requested that the Spanish appoint these important officials so that the city would be "better governed." The royal *cédula* designated twenty-five Muslim men as *alamines* and four as *alarifes*,<sup>75</sup> each assigned to a different industry. Abulcasin el Gudixi was named *alamin* of Granada's silk market, the *alcaicería*. The Spanish appointed Alhafa

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<sup>73</sup> "Capitulations of Granada (1491)," *Los Moriscos*, 19-28.

<sup>74</sup> The Encyclopaedia of Islam defines *amīn* as the head of a guild, but the Dictionary of the Real Academia de España defines *alamin* as the official who regulates weights, measures and prices (not necessarily as part of a guild). The DRAE definition has the advantage of referring specifically to Hispano-Arabic usage, it also seems to fit the context of the appointments better since there are no references to guilds. See Claude Cahen, "Amīn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and "Alamín," *DRAE*.

<sup>75</sup> According to EI, *arīf* is a synonym of *amīn* preferred in the Eastern Islamic world. In the context of this *cédula*, *alamin* and *alarife* are clearly different although it is not clear what the difference is. See See Cahen. and Saleh A El-Ali, "'Arīf," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Abendafez as the *alamin* of the silk weavers and Yzmael Acab as *alamin* of the dyers.<sup>76</sup> Other than the designation of the city's *alamines* and *alarifes*, the Spanish, following the principles outlined in the Capitulations, did nothing to regulate the city's silk industry or trade.

### **CONVERSION: 1500-1512**

The repeal of the Capitulations opened the door for the transformation of the relationship between the Spanish authorities and the newly conquered kingdom's flourishing silk markets, but those shifts did not come immediately. The first modifications the Spanish made in the first decade of the sixteenth century reiterated regulations that had existed under Islamic jurisprudence. These early rulings marked an important difference not in practice but in authority and legal structure. The Capitulations had allowed the Muslims to decide how to apply and enforce Nasrid law in the Kingdom of Granada. The Spanish, by reissuing Islamic laws under the authority of the crown, gradually removed that power from the Muslims to the Castilian government without actually changing the content of the legal system and without significantly altering the way Granadans produced, taxed, and regulated silk in the Kingdom.

For the Spanish, appropriating and modifying Islamic legal concepts was a practical decision that resembled the previous Reconquest policies of the Spanish rulers. The three *alcaicerías* of the Kingdom of Granada already had efficient methods of

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<sup>76</sup> "Real Cédula De Los Reyes Católicos Nombrando Alamines Moros Para Todos Los Oficios (1492, Mayo, 25, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 42-44.

assessing the value of silk and collecting appropriate taxes and fees. Granadan merchants and silk producers already understood the Islamic system that had been in place for generations. Repeating the principles already in practice allowed the Spanish to ensure that they received their taxes. The incorporation of Islamic law into the Spanish legal codes also gave the Christian authorities the power to enforce Islamic law in their own royal courts. This was a significant departure from the language of the Capitulations, which had given the power of enforcement only to Muslim jurists.

In the first years of the sixteenth century, the Spanish were concerned with making sure that they received all of their revenue from the thorough assessment and collection of taxes of the kingdom's three silk markets: the *alcaicerías* of Granada, Málaga, and Almería. With this in mind, the Spanish tried to limit black market sales, a threat to royal tax revenue, by confining silk sales to the *alcaicería*, the local silk market, and appointing officials to make sure that all silk sold there was appropriately taxed. On July 2, 1501 the Monarchs issued an order restricting the sale of any type of silk to the *alcaicerías* of the Kingdom's three commercial cities: Granada, Málaga, and Almería. The language of the law clarified that this was nothing new in Granada: “. . . the said *prematca* was an ancient practice and custom that was done and practiced for the ennobling and common good of the said cities. . . .”<sup>77</sup> The language reflected the language of the Capitulations. This was not a change in policy and the monarchy defended its law by appealing to the policy's continuity with the Islamic past and the

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<sup>77</sup> “E por quanto la dicha *prematca* e uso e costumbre antinguo se hizo e usó por el enoblecimiento, bien, e procomun trato de las dichas çibdades.” “Sobrecarta de los Reyes Católicos confirmando la prohibición de vender seda fuera de la *alcaicería* (1501, Julio, 2, Granada),” in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 46.

practicality of its application. Restricting the sale of silk to the *alcaicería* helped to eliminate fraud, the *sobrecarta* affirmed, but undoubtedly the Catholic Monarchy was also concerned with assuring consistent taxation of the kingdom's most valuable commodity.<sup>78</sup> In July 1503 the Spanish issued another restatement of a well-established rule when they mandated a flat ten-percent *diezmo* tax on all silk sold.<sup>79</sup>

In November 1505 the Monarchy issued a much more specific and detailed reiteration of the Islamic system of taxing silk. The "*Arancel*<sup>80</sup> *de los derechos Moriscos de la seda del Reino de Granada*" or "Declaration of the Morisco Silk Taxes of the Kingdom of Granada" described in detail the process by which Morisco silk producers in Granada, Málaga, and Almería were to have their silk weighed and its quality certified by the *alcaicería's hafiz* (Ar. *ḥāfiẓ*), the Morisco official in charge of keeping the seals locked up.<sup>81</sup> The *arancel* established the taxes Morisco producers and sellers would pay on silk, which was always the ten percent *diezmo* as well as an additional tariff on exported silk. Producers who wanted less than a pound of silk for personal use were exempt from the *diezmo*.<sup>82</sup>

A second part of the same *arancel* detailed the fees sellers were required to pay to each official involved in the process of administering the market and collecting taxes. For

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 46

<sup>79</sup> "Capitulo del arancel de los derechos del almojarifazgo de Granada (1503, Julio, 11)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 51.

<sup>80</sup> *Arancel* (Arabic *al-inzāl*) was a particular type of law that established tax rates.

<sup>81</sup> Marín López, *Documentos para la historia de la seda*, 283.

<sup>82</sup> "Arancel De Los Derechos Moriscos De La Seda Del Reino De Granada (1505, Noviembre, 21, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 52-53.

each pound of silk, six *dineros*<sup>83</sup> would go to five different officials in addition to the ten percent *diezmo*. One *dinero* would go to the *hadid* or town crier, half of a *dinero* went to the gatekeeper at the Puerta de Bibarrambla, two *dineros* for the King and Queen (the *tartil*<sup>84</sup>), and two-and-a-half *dineros* for the *geliz*.<sup>85</sup> The titles of these officials, as well as the amount they charged for their services and their duties were completely unaltered from the existing Nasrid system.<sup>86</sup> The Spanish used transliterated Arabic titles to describe each administrator's role and the names of the different taxes, and even the unit of currency was still likely the Nasrid *dīnār*. Before the Conquest, the *tarīl* was a direct tax on silk that went to the Nasrid Sultan, here the tax was also a direct royal tax.<sup>87</sup> The Islamic origins of the system and its connection with local tradition were apparent. There was no attempt at this time to adapt the system to normal Castilian practice, to translate the Arabic terms into Spanish equivalents, or even to systematically replace the *dīnār* with the Spanish *maravedí*.

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<sup>83</sup> The Spanish *dinero* and Arabic *dīnār* have the same Latin origin. I think that *dinero* here is a translation of *dīnār* and is not the Spanish *dinero*. See Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 292 on Spanish *maravedí/dinero*.

<sup>84</sup> The *tartil* was a particular tax, according to Marín López it was usually nine *maravedís* given to the Crown, according to Arié after the Conquest it was usually eight *maravedís* per *raṭl* (an Arabic unit of weight, it is likely that the word *tarīl* is from the same Arabic root as *raṭl*). Here the amount is given in *dineros* and not *maravedís*.

<sup>85</sup> Arabic *jalīs*. The *geliz* was an official appointed by the Ayunatamiento. There was one *geliz* in each *alcaicería* who the city government authorized to buy and sell silk on its behalf. The *geliz* had a variety of other responsibilities in the *alcaicería*, including dealing with royal paperwork and provisioning visiting merchants (RAE and Marín López glossary).

<sup>86</sup> "Arancel de los derechos moriscos de la seda del Reino de Granada (1505, Noviembre, 21, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 54.

<sup>87</sup> Arié, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Temps des Nasrides (1232-1492)*, 219-220.

These three documents from the first years of the sixteenth century reveal the Spanish government's preoccupation with standardizing and streamlining taxation of the sale of silk. The Spanish attitude towards Granada's silk markets in this early period was consistent with the Reconquista precedents of the Capitulations. The Spanish did not intend to eliminate every aspect of Islamic culture. Conquest initially affected taxation more than it shaped any other aspect of economic life in Granada. The Spanish chose to adapt the traditional Islamic system of silk taxation and did not make any significant changes to the amount or to the way the kingdom's Muslim officials assessed and collected taxes.

The first more substantial reform to the taxation and regulation of the silk industry came in October 1501 in the form of a royal letter signed by Hernando de Zafra, the secretary to the Catholic Monarchs. De Zafra announced that the royal government would require the city of Granada to pay 240,000 *maravedís* each year for the defense of the Kingdom's coastline. The funds for the guards' salaries would come from the fees normally collected by the *alcaicería's* officials: in this case the *gelizes* and *almotalefes*.<sup>88</sup> De Zafra used persuasive language in the letter, urging the Muslim city government to accept the monarchy's suggestion. Although de Zafra's pleading language suggested that the city had a choice in the matter, the letter went on to threaten the city with expensive

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<sup>88</sup>The *almotalefe* (also *motalefe*, Ar. *mut'alif*?) was the official in charge of certifying the weight and quality of spun silk. The *almotalefe* would charge a fee to affix an official seal to skeins of spun silk (Marín López glossary).

fines if it did not comply with the Monarchs' orders within fifteen days.<sup>89</sup> In later years, the Kingdom's Morisco population would continue to be burdened with extra taxes to defend the kingdom from North African Muslims.<sup>90</sup> This 1501 decree revealed the growing tensions between the Muslim city and the Catholic Monarchy. At the same time that Cardinal Cisneros was beginning his project of forcing conversion of one of Iberia's last communities of Muslims, the Muslim city government was beginning to lose control over Granada's lucrative silk industry.

In the first years of Christian rule in Granada, Spanish authorities passed laws that addressed the new challenges that came with redirecting Granada's silk exports towards an Iberian market. Before the Conquest, Granada exported its high quality silk to ports throughout the Western Mediterranean and much of the silk ended up in Genoese ships bound for North Africa, France, and Italy. The Spanish takeover of Granada's ports shifted the city's market to Iberia and eventually the New World. Also, the conquest of Granada brought new competition to the silk industries of Valencia and Toledo.

On August 20, 1500, the Catholic Monarchs issued a *pragmática* forbidding the importation of raw silk from Spain's other territories into the Kingdom of Granada. For the offense of buying silk from Calabria, Naples, India, Turkey, or North Africa,<sup>91</sup> the offending merchant forfeited his cargo and risked banishment from his country of

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<sup>89</sup> "Carta real de merced de los Reyes Católicos concediendo a la ciudad de Granada los oficios de gelices y almotalefes de la seda de la alcaicería para ayuda a pagar las guardas de la costa (1501, Octubre, 11 Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el reino de Granada*, 49-50.

<sup>90</sup> Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 23; and Arié, *L'Espagne Musulmane*, 218.

<sup>91</sup> These places were not all under Spanish control in 1500, but Spanish merchants imported silk from these places.

residence. However, the Spanish would allow merchants to bring in certain types of silk from Valencia to the Kingdom, saying that “we are informed that it is not convenient for it [the prohibition of the importation of silk bolting-cloth<sup>92</sup> from Valencia] to be maintained for now, and we suspend the said prohibition.”<sup>93</sup> The Spanish authorities were beginning to consider the place of Granadan textiles in their growing empire that in 1500 included a number of other silk-producing regions. Even though the conquest did not bring about changes in regulation immediately, conquest did represent a shift in Granada’s position as a silk producing region of the Western Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula.

### **TAKEOVER: 1512-1570**

In the first decades after the sixteenth century, the Spanish monarchy became increasingly involved in the kingdom’s silk industry. One reason for their increasing concern over the markets was the influx of Old Christian immigrants from Castile into Granada. The 1491 Capitulations had restricted Christian migration and most parts of the kingdom remained almost completely Muslim until the turn of the century. After 1501, many Castilian families came to Granada in hopes of becoming wealthy from the

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<sup>92</sup> *Cedazo* is a sieve or bolting-cloth. Bolting-cloth is a mesh silk cloth used for embroidery or silkscreening. The exception of silk *cedazos* from Valencia may have been because it was a niche fabric not filled by Granadan producers, or it may have been that it was low-quality silk and did not pose a significant threat to the purity of Granadan silk, or it may have been the result of careful lobbying by Ferdinand for his Aragon's silk industry and the new competition it was facing from Granada.

<sup>93</sup> “*Y puesto que prohibimos en estos reinos no se metiessen de fuera del reino telas de cedazos, sino de Valençia, porque somon informados que no conviene que aquello se guarde por agora, suspendemos la dicha prohibición.*” “Pragmática de los Reyes Católicos prohibiendo la entrada de seda en madeja, hilo, capullo, pero si en cedazos (1500, Agosto, 20),” in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 45.

kingdom's lucrative silk industry and many joined their Morisco neighbors as silk merchants in the *alcaicería* or set up their own household workshops for spinning and weaving silk.<sup>94</sup>

At the same time, many Moriscos left Granada even before the expulsion in 1570, fleeing forced conversion and persecution by secretly crossing the Mediterranean for North Africa. By 1561, the year of the first official census in Granada, there were more than 30,000 Christian immigrants living in the city of Granada out of a total population of 46,794.<sup>95</sup> The changing demographics of the city provided a rationale for the Spanish government to become more involved in the silk industry. Now, one of the goals of silk legislation was to protect the interests of the Christian immigrants working in the industry.

Christian immigrants gradually took over some of the silk industry from the Moriscos. Christians purchased shops from Moriscos and eventually took over much of the *alcaicería*. Weaving, always the highest status occupation associated with silk production, became the domain of immigrant men.<sup>96</sup> In 1526, Morisco silkworm cultivators in the Alpujarras Mountains complained to the Crown that tax collectors were not taxing Morisco and Old Christian cultivators equally, revealing that immigrants had even moved into rural areas and were performing the most menial of jobs. It also suggests

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<sup>94</sup> Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 14-15.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

<sup>96</sup> Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 13.

that in practice different levels of taxation (although officially taxes were equal) may have disadvantaged Morisco silk workers.<sup>97</sup>

Like the processes of forced conversion and forced assimilation, the Spanish became more involved in changing the Kingdom's silk industry gradually. As more Old Christians became part of the kingdom's silk workforce, the Spanish authorities issued increasing numbers of laws dealing with more aspects of silk production. They were initially concerned only with collecting taxes and ensuring that cheating merchants did not compromise Granada's reputation for high quality silk by mixing silk of different qualities or by selling on the black market. The Spanish first departed from their relatively hands-off approach towards the silk industry in 1512, twenty years after the conquest and another decade after forced conversion. The city's comprehensive "Ordinances issued by the City of Granada about the production and sale of silk" overhauled the way city officials regulated all aspects of silk production from spinning to importing to exporting.

Despite their larger scope, the 1512 Ordinances were not a dramatic departure from previous Spanish policy. The intent of the Ordinances was not to change radically the processes by which Granadans produced and sold silk. Rather, they were supposed to standardize silk production and eliminate fraud, the same issues that had been concerning the Spanish in the first decades after conquest. However, the broader extent of these laws

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<sup>97</sup> "Real cédula de Carlos I ordenando que la tasación del capullo de seda sea igual para los cristianos nuevos y los viejos," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*.

represented the increasing willingness of the Spanish authorities to modify the existing local legal structure.<sup>98</sup>

In 1513 a royal letter created the new position of inspector of silk spinning in the Kingdom of Granada. The letter explained the rationale behind the office of inspector: “[a]s I have been informed that because there is no person in charge of caring for the way that silk is and has been spun in the Kingdom of Granada . . . .”<sup>99</sup> The addition of another official was a response to a particular need for further regulation and the inspector does not seem to have replaced any Islamic official. In 1520 the Spanish issued regulations about the kingdom’s *gelizes* and *motalefes*. The 1520 ordinances were another response to a particular problem—the prevalence of false *gelizes* and *motalefes* not appointed by the Crown in the kingdom’s *alcaicerías*. The Spanish clearly had not been successful at standardizing and controlling the existing system for regulation silk production. The royal government clarified the process by which the Crown would appoint *gelizes* and *motalefes* and detailed the responsibilities of those holding these positions.<sup>100</sup> The Spanish concern with standardizing silk production and eliminating fraud closely resembles the language of a market inspector's guide written in the eleventh or twelfth century in Málaga by Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Saqati. Al-Saqati's discussion of the buying and

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<sup>98</sup> "Ordenanzas hechas por la ciudad de Granada para la labor y venta de la seda (1512, 19 Marzo, Granada)", 56-58.

<sup>99</sup> “Por quanto yo he sydo ynformada que a cabsa de no haber persona que tenga cargo e cuydado ver de la manera que se ha hilado e hila la seda del reyno de Granada . . . .” "Carta real de merced de la reina D.A Juana, firmada por su padre el Rey Fernando, creando el cargo de veedor de la seda y nombrando para el al Licenciado Galindez de Carvajal (1513, Septiembre 4, Valladolid)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 61.

<sup>100</sup> "Ordenanzas de Granada sobre los gelizes y almotalefes (1520, Marzo 13, Granada)," in *Documentos para la historia de la seda en el Reino de Granada*, 71-73.

selling of textiles focused on carefully classifying different qualities of silk, linen, and cotton and insisting on harsh penalties for overcharging for a lower-quality piece of cloth.<sup>101</sup>

Even as the Spanish became increasingly involved in legislating the kingdom's silk industry, they never attempted to overhaul the Islamic system. Rather, the crown and the city government adjusted the existing system only as particular needs arose. This meant that as the sixteenth century wore on, these small changes created a somewhat hybrid system that largely preserved the Nasrid system for taxation and regulation.

The amount of taxes collected by the Spanish gradually increased throughout the sixteenth century. By 1561 the Spanish were collecting nearly five times the amount they had collected in 1505.<sup>102</sup> The Spanish were desperate for revenue after Philip II's bankruptcy in 1557, but the higher tax burden along with a 1552 prohibition on exporting silk from Granada crippled Morisco silk producers.<sup>103</sup> The 1568 rebellion started in the Albaicín by Morisco silk workers and quickly spread to the Alpujarras, where the decline of the Morisco silk industry had resulted in widespread poverty. While the cause of the revolt cannot be reduced to only economic strife, it is clear that the decline in the prosperity of the Moriscos, along with new decrees in 1566 prohibiting Arabic language

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<sup>101</sup> Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Muhammad al-Saqati, *Un manuel hispanique de hisba; traité d'Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abi Muhammad as-Sakati de Malaga sur la surveillance des corporations et la répression des fraudes en Espagne musulmane* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1931), 61-62.

<sup>102</sup> Garrad, "La industria sedera granadina," 91-92.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

and culture and an increasingly active Inquisition were all part of a wider assault on Morisco identity that finally led to rebellion and expulsion in 1571.<sup>104</sup>

## **EXPULSION: AFTER 1570**

In the matter of silk, without Moriscos the whole business is lost, because there is no one who knows how to cultivate it or to spin it. . . .<sup>105</sup>

The Spanish responded to the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras in 1569 by relocating 80,000 Granadan Moriscos throughout Castile.<sup>106</sup> The depopulation of the Alpujarras and the expulsion of most of the labor and artisan class of urban Granada devastated the kingdom's silk industry. Local officials complained to the monarchy that their decision to relocate the Moriscos had devastated the kingdom's economy. The kingdom continued to produce silk after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1570, but it never again reached the level of quantity or quality it had with a Morisco workforce.

Just five years after expulsion, the Granadan representatives to the Court of complained to King Philip II that foreign merchants were cancelling their orders and leaving town, complaining that the quality of Granada's silk had declined. The men went on to report that: “. . . of more than four thousand textile workshops that there were [in

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<sup>104</sup> For the connection between the decline of the silk industry and the revolt, see Garrad, "La industria sedera granadina." For an account that focuses on religious conflict and the Inquisition that closely follows the account in Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada* vol. 1, (Madrid: La Imprenta de Sancha, 1797), see Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, 157-162 or Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 180-182. The number of Moriscos tried by the Inquisition were relatively few before 1550, but that number began to rise in the 50's and 60's. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 23.

<sup>105</sup> An unnamed Granadan official in a complaint to the monarchy. Quoted in Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 24.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

the city of Granada], there are not even twenty five remaining. Of the more than three hundred merchants that dealt in silk, the most important have gone and there are not even forty left.”<sup>107</sup> Even with nearly eight hundred silk workers allowed to stay in Granada, the silk industry was unable to recover.<sup>108</sup>

After the expulsion, the Spanish considered introducing silk cultivation in Mexico. Colonial officials hoped that Indian peasants could replace the Moriscos as the Empire's silk producers. By the 1550's there were mulberry orchards in Oaxaca, Guerrero, Colima, Mexico, Michoacán, Nayarit, Guadalajara, Huasteca, Hidalgo, the Yucatán, and Puebla.<sup>109</sup> In 1581, Trujillo native and Oaxacan encomendero Gonzalo de las Casas published a manual for silk cultivation, *Arte nuevo para criar seda*. De las Casas had learned silk cultivation in Granada and wrote his manual to spread knowledge of proper silkworm cultivation. He envisioned a silk industry in New Spain using native labor that could produce high quality Granadan-style fibers.<sup>110</sup> However, Mexico's short-lived silk boom ended as cheaper silk from China became available from the Manila Galleon.<sup>111</sup> After the 1580's, Spain turned to inexpensive Chinese silk imported through the Philippines to supply their empire with the most luxurious of fabrics. The flood of

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<sup>107</sup> Quoted in Garrad, "La industria sedera granadina," 75.

<sup>108</sup> López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada : Siglos XV y XVI," 57 and Garzon Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, 249.

<sup>109</sup> Antonio Garrido Aranda, "Estudio Preliminar," In *Arte nuevo para criar seda* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 28.

<sup>110</sup> Cook, "Forbidden Crossings," 91.

<sup>111</sup> Geoffrey Spurling, and Richard E. Boyer, *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8.

Chinese textiles into the markets of Spain and its colonies further marginalized whatever minor industry had managed to survive the expulsion.<sup>112</sup>

The Morisco silk industry provides a new perspective on the conquest of Granada that both corresponds with the ways that historians have understood the conquest for years and provides new ways of understanding the processes of change in sixteenth-century Granada. The Spanish takeover of the Granadan silk industry was gradual and mirrored the processes of conversion, oppression, and expulsion. As the Spanish pushed their policies of oppression by forcing conversion and forbidding the Arabic language and Islamic culture, they also increasingly interfered in the economic life of the kingdom. Spanish silk policy underlines the ways that the Spanish ultimately decided that religious purity and international security were more important than stable economic policy.

However, the Spanish were clearly concerned about the effect the expulsion would have on the economy. They knew it would likely be a disaster. In a final attempt to preserve the silk industry, the crown allowed nearly a thousand Morisco women to stay and apply their skills to the now Christian-controlled manufacture of silk.<sup>113</sup> We do not know what happened to those women or why their labor could not save the silk industry. Perhaps they were too few, or perhaps they did not stay after all. Women who did stay would have been expelled during the final expulsion of the Moriscos from all of Castile in 1609, unless they or their daughters had married into Old Christian families and given

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<sup>112</sup> Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 291.

<sup>113</sup> López de Coca Castañer, "La seda en el Reino de Granada," 57 and Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España: El arte de la seda de Granada*, 249.

up their Morisco identities. It is difficult to imagine what incentive the king might have offered to convince these women to stay while their families were forcibly relocated north. Robbed of their language, culture, identity, and now their families, staying behind as a low-paid cultivator or spinner cannot have been an appealing option for many women. In any event, whatever exceptions the crown tried to make to save the economy failed, and Granada would never have a significant silk industry again.

Many Moriscos resisted integration by keeping their Islamic and Arab culture. Other Moriscos intermarried with Christian families, learned Spanish, and gave up all Islamic practices in favor of attending the local parish church.<sup>114</sup> Morisco silk producers, including many women, cooperated with Christian officials by paying their taxes and providing silk for Spanish merchants and markets. Morisco silk producers also rejected and resisted the Castilian takeover with the violence of the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras.

These represent the variety of strategies that Morisco families used to survive, resist, and cooperate with Christian authorities. In the story of the Morisco silk industry, all of these strategies appear as Moriscos used their skill in silk as a tool with which to negotiate their status with Christian officials. Silk work provided for the basic day-to-day needs of Morisco families. When silk could no longer ensure survival, as during the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras, Moriscos fled Granada and took their silk work with them to North Africa.

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<sup>114</sup> For more on Morisco assimilation see García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*.

## CONCLUSION

Moriscos continued to produce silk outside of Granada, though they never managed to truly replicate the thriving industry as it had been at its peak. Silk production continued after 1570 and provided Moriscos with a livelihood until the expulsion. Moriscos in the Inquisition records all over Spain talk about silk—they often traveled for the annual silk harvest, supplementing whatever other work they could find with silk production.<sup>115</sup>

Many Moriscos continued to produce silk in their new homes. Leo Africanus described a town fifteen miles west of Fez where the people brought white mulberries from Granada and continue to raise silkworms in their new homes: “[a]nd whereas the Granatine are great merchants of silke, they caused, for the breeding of silkworms, great store of white mulberrie trees to be brought hither.”<sup>116</sup> The Portuguese cleric Antonio de Sosa also noticed that “[m]any of these Moors make silk. . . .” in Algiers.<sup>117</sup> Though the Moriscos no longer harvested silk or sat at looms in Granada, silk continued to provide them with a means of survival in their new homes.

The Spanish takeover of the Granadan silk industry reveals some of the ways that Morisco families responded to conquest and conversion before the 1569 revolt. Though Moriscos in the silk industry increasingly felt the effects of Spanish control over the

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<sup>115</sup> See AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Legajo 554/19; AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Legajo 553/23; AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Legajo 554/12 for examples.

<sup>116</sup> Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, 415.

<sup>117</sup> Antonio de Sosa, *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's Topography of Algiers (1612)* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 123. Also see Friedman, Ellen. "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Expulsion of the Moriscos," *The International History Review* 1, no. 1 (1979): 1-16, 11-12.

economy, silk still provided Moriscos with a possible means of survival. As we move to Valencia in the period after the revolt, we will see how the value of Morisco labor, which for a generation had protected them in Valencia as well, ceased to offer Moriscos much protection.

## Chapter 3

### Under the Shadow of the Inquisition: Morisco Resistance in Valencia, 1568-1609

On May 9, 1568, a Valencia Inquisitor gave a Morisco man named Baltasar Faraykh a piece of paper and requested that he write a few words on it. They wanted to analyze his handwriting to determine whether or not Faraykh was the author of an illegal Arabic text. Faraykh scrawled these words in unstandardized Valencian Arabic: “I have not done any of the things that the prosecutor has accused me of. -Baltasar Faraykh.”<sup>1</sup> These words are the only direct testimony we have from any Morisco denying charges of heresy, but Baltasar Faraykh’s words were echoed in the notary-recorded testimony of thousands of Valencian Moriscos who were on trial for heresy by the Inquisition between 1568 and the expulsion in 1609.

#### HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

There are many excellent works on the history of the Inquisition in Valencia, and I rely on all of them for background and context. However, my conclusions in this chapter about the function of the Inquisition in Valencia and the way it operated in practice are new. This is partly a consequence of methodological difference. Ricardo García Carcel wrote *Herejía y sociedad en el siglo XV: La Inquisición en Valencia 1530-1609* (*Heresy and Society in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century: The Inquisition in Valencia 1530-1609*) in

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<sup>1</sup> “Baltasar Faraykh. *Ma ‘amaltāy shī min aladhī shtīk al-fīshqal ma.*” Carmen Barceló, and Ana Labarta, *Archivos moriscos: textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009), 295.

1980 during a wave of regional social histories about Spain and the Inquisition. However, the vast majority of his archival sources come from the tribunal's internal correspondence, correspondence with the Suprema,<sup>2</sup> and prescriptive literature and manuals. He only used the actual court cases to collect statistics—how many tried, what the sentences were, etc.<sup>3</sup> By reading the court cases themselves, it is possible to understand how the Valencian Inquisition carried out its policies in Morisco communities and in the courtroom and how Moriscos responded to them. Focusing on the court cases allows us to see the differences between prescription and practice.

A decade later Stephen Haliczer updated García's work, adding an excellent and careful analysis of the Inquisition's familiars and their genealogies. However, like García, Haliczer did not do any serious analysis of the court cases.<sup>4</sup> Several historians have worked with the Valencia tribunal's court cases, producing a number of articles and short monographs about particular aspects of Morisco culture and religious practice.<sup>5</sup> This chapter studies the court cases to understand the ways that Moriscos interacted with the institution.

The trial records reveal what Moriscos thought about the Inquisition and what the experience of arrest, trial, torture, and punishment was like for them. I do not presume to

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<sup>2</sup>The *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisition*, usually shorted as the "Suprema," was the main supervisory body headed by the Inquisitor General and under direct control of the Crown. The Suprema governed the local tribunals.

<sup>3</sup> Ricardo García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad en el siglo XVI : la Inquisición en Valencia 1530-1609* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1980).

<sup>4</sup> Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society*.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Ana Labarta, *La onomástica de los moriscos valencianos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1987), Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla, Aurelia Martín Casares, and Marie-Christine Delaigue, *Los nombres del diablo : ensayo sobre la magia, la religión y la vida de los últimos musulmanes en España* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005), and Surtz, "Morisco Women."

determine whether or not defendants, witnesses, or court officials were telling the truth. The court records present far more interesting and relevant questions: what choices did Moriscos make when faced with a charge of heresy? Why might they have made those choices? What did they tell the court about their experiences outside of the question of heresy?

The Morisco voices in the court records have reached us only through a number of filters. Their words came in answer to particular questions posed by the judge and were recorded through court translators and notaries, with plenty of chance for mistakes and distortions. But despite these problems Morisco voices often come through loud and clear—and they are often the closest we will ever get to the Morisco point of view. However, it is sometimes impossible to do more than speculate given the problematic nature of the written record.<sup>6</sup>

The data for this chapter comes from the 262 extant court cases of the Valencia tribunal that are at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.<sup>7</sup> These are the actual court records, not the summarized *relaciones de causas*. Not much is known about the provenance of these extant cases. We do not know why these 262 survived and thousands of others did not. They are what remained in the Valencia tribunal's archive when the Spanish government transferred the records from the Archivo General Central of Alcalá

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<sup>6</sup> All court records are problematic. Defendants had a lot to lose and there was real incentive to lie in court. The Inquisition's job was to prove guilt and it had reason as well to present a particular version of the truth.

<sup>7</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajos 548-556. Each *legajo* has between 22 and 38 cases of varying degrees of completeness, quality of preservation (though the vast majority are in readable condition) and length. The folios are not numbered. They are arranged more or less alphabetically by defendant's last name. Archivists numbered and alphabetized the cases in the nineteenth century. This is the "Morisco" section of the Valencia tribunal's records, but there are seven Converso cases mixed in, leaving 262 Morisco cases.

de Henares (now closed) to the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid in 1895.<sup>8</sup> Based on extant *relaciones*, 2,634 Moriscos were tried between 1566 and 1620, meaning that 10% of the case records are extant.

I chose to focus on Valencia because the records of the Valencia tribunal, while by no means complete, are more comprehensive than those for other areas that had significant populations of Moriscos. While there are case summaries from Granada and Zaragoza, there are very few surviving trial records. Toledo has perhaps the most complete records of any tribunal, but there were few Moriscos under its jurisdiction. Valencia provided the best opportunity for a systematic study of case records and of the interactions between the Inquisition and a particular Morisco community.

Regional differences in how the Moriscos interacted with the Inquisition were significant. The Valencia tribunal was in the middle in terms of how harshly it treated the Moriscos. The Inquisition mostly left the Moriscos in La Mancha (Toledo) alone and only a few ended up on trial there.<sup>9</sup> At the other extreme, the Inquisition in Aragon (Zaragoza) was much more cruel than the Valencia tribunal. It arrested Moriscos far more frequently and punished them more severely, with a death penalty rate for Moriscos six times that of the Valencia Inquisition.<sup>10</sup>

When King Philip III decided to expel the Moriscos in 1609, the Moriscos in Valencia were foremost on the King's mind. The Archbishop of Valencia Juan de Ribera

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<sup>8</sup> Gustav Henningsen, and Jaime Contreras, "Forty-Four Thousand Cases of the Spanish Inquisition (1540-1700): Analysis of a Historical Data Bank," In *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> Phillips, "The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614,".

<sup>10</sup> E William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 189-190.

was an influential advocate of the expulsion. The decree applied to Valencian Moriscos first. The Moriscos of Castile did not leave until 1614. The key to understanding the expulsion lies in the deteriorating relations between Moriscos and Old Christians in Valencia.

The Morisco communities of Valencia were particularly isolated. Elsewhere in Spain, Moriscos spoke only Romance and lived in towns among Old Christians.<sup>11</sup> In Valencia, there a greater language barrier. Valencian Moriscos were mostly peasants and lived and worked in particular areas that were dominated by Morisco serfs. There were about 85,000 Moriscos in Valencia in 1569, and they were concentrated in inland hilly areas north of the Turia River (around the Vall d'Uixó) and south of the Júcar River (around Xàtiva and further south in Cocentaina). These were arid regions, and Morisco peasants farmed crops suitable to dry farming such as grapes, olives, and carob trees. Some also lived along the coast between Denia and Gandía, growing rice, cereals, and sugar. There were mixed communities with significant Morisco populations just west of the city of Valencia in Paterna and Mislata. In all of these areas, Moriscos produced silk.<sup>12</sup>

## **THE TERROR OF TRIAL**

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<sup>11</sup> Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 33-34. Assimilated, Romance-speaking Moriscos were called *tagarinos*. In Valencia, *tagarinos* were usually foreign Moriscos, often from Aragon. From the Arabic root th-gh-r, frontier of a hostile country. RAE has *thaghrī* (Andalusi Arabic) from *taghrī* (classical Arabic) meaning frontier. I suspect that the classical root the DRAE has is incorrect here (or it is a typographical error).

<sup>12</sup> See Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 189-196 and Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*.

Historians have long pointed out that the Inquisition was not as “severe” with Moriscos as it had been with Conversos in the first decades of its existence. In his 1880 classic *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles (History of Spanish Heterodoxies)*, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo said that the Inquisition occasionally tried [Moriscos] as apostates, but in the end it always treated them with extraordinary kindness. It did not impose the penalty of relaxation or confiscation of belongings because they alone could not be held responsible for their heresy.<sup>13</sup>

Though few historians would deny that Menéndez y Pelayo was exaggerating, many scholars have nonetheless continued to echo his assumptions. For example Joseph Pérez wrote:

The expulsion of the Jews had taken place at an early date and conversos had very soon become victims of the Inquisition. But where the Moriscos were concerned, Spain for a long while hesitated and the Inquisition acted less harshly. That was because the Moriscos lived on the margins of Christian society rather than intermingled with it, as the Jews did. They posed a problem that was more social than religious.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* vol. 2, (Madrid: Librería católica de San José, 1880), 363. Particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there is a clear divide among Anglo-Protestant historians such as Lea and Spanish Catholic historians such as Menéndez y Pelayo on the question of how severe the Inquisition was in its treatment of Moriscos. These historians were no doubt influenced by the Black Legend, whether they were influenced by it or reacting against it. However, by the second half of the twentieth century this divide had all but disappeared and in some ways has even reversed with Henry Kamen leading the revisionist/ apologist school of English-speaking historians re-examining the Inquisition. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 44.

Pérez gives a different reason for the Inquisition's benevolence in its treatment of Moriscos, but he continues to assume that the Inquisition was more benign towards Moriscos than it had been towards Conversos.<sup>15</sup>

It is true that the Inquisition did not burn Moriscos at the stake at nearly the same rates as it burned Conversos. The first decades of inquisitorial activity in Converso communities was a horrific period for Conversos. Between 1484 and 1530 (when vast majority of Conversos were tried), the Valencia Tribunal tried 2,160 people for practicing Judaism and it gave 909 death sentences, or 42%.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, between the founding of the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, the Tribunal tried about 2,634 Moriscos. Of those, 96 were given a death penalty, or about 3%. Of those, all but 25 were burned in effigy.<sup>17</sup>

The Inquisition greatly reduced its use of capital punishment after about 1530—around the same time it stopped trying Conversos in high numbers. The mass burnings of the late fifteenth century represented the Inquisition at its most horrific. However, the Inquisition was able to effectively terrorize its victims even without the death penalty. After 1568 the Inquisition developed a system of terror designed to make sure that the

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<sup>15</sup> See also Jeanne Vidal, "Los moriscos españoles y la Inquisición: Tactica inquisitorial y resistencia morisca," In *Mélanges Luis Cardaillac* vol. 2, (Zaghuan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1995), 713.

<sup>16</sup> Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society*, 223. It is unknown how many of these victims were burned in effigy and how many were actually killed. Technically when the Inquisition gave a death sentence it "relaxed" the victim to the secular authorities for punishment. Many historians use "relax" in place of other verbs (and that is the language of the court records), but I prefer to be direct.

<sup>17</sup> García Cárcel, *Herejía y sociedad*, 223-224. García Carcel does not tell us how he came up with these numbers. Monter says the number is about 2,000: Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 189.

Moriscos did not revolt or ally with Spain's enemies. In Valencia, the Inquisition was an instrument of political and social control.

Popular fear and hatred of Moriscos bolstered the Inquisition's authority. Valencian Old Christians had initially feared the Inquisition as an infringement on their ancient fuero rights, but by 1568 they had come to accept it as performing an essential role in protecting them from a dangerous internal enemy. Capitalizing on popular and official fear of Morisco violence, the Inquisition was able to once again make itself indispensable to the Crown and to the Old Christians of Valencia.<sup>18</sup> Even after 1568 officials continued to express a concern that the Inquisition's operations interfered with the Crown's policy of conversion. The Archbishop of Valencia, Martín Pérez de Ayala, said that "[t]he Inquisition should have nothing to do with them [the Moriscos], except those who sin shamelessly and publicly."<sup>19</sup> In 1571 King Philip II, Inquisitor General Gaspar de Quiroga, representatives from the Valencian nobility (who wanted the Inquisition to stop interfering with their Morisco workforce), and a group of Moriscos reached an agreement that limited the reach of the Inquisition.

Though the agreement did not keep Moriscos out of court, it kept the Inquisition from confiscating Morisco possessions and restricted fines to ten *ducados*, which would be given back to Morisco parishes in exchange for annual payments of fifty sueldos from

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<sup>18</sup> Stephen Haliczer argues that although during the first decades of the Inquisition's operations in Valencia it was controlled from Castile, by the middle of the sixteenth century "local forces were reasserting themselves. . . ." and Castile no longer showed much interest in the institution; Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society*, 8.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 20.

Morisco communities.<sup>20</sup> Quiroga agreed to the provisions because he recognized that “the Moriscos are delinquent through ignorance and lack of instruction rather than out of malice. It would be overly rigorous if we were to execute the maximum penalties under the law on those who have apostatized.”<sup>21</sup> Another official who agreed with Quiroga’s statement and supported the 1571 agreement was Pérez de Ayala’s successor, Archbishop Juan de Ribera. Ribera believed that the Moriscos would eventually convert and he took up the cause of making sure that Morisco parishes were well staffed and had the resources to evangelize the unenlightened peasants.<sup>22</sup>

The Inquisition kept up its persecution of Moriscos even though it did not lead to confession or conversion. I argue that this was because the arrest, trial, and release of Moriscos was not necessarily supposed to result in their conversion (though when that happened the Inquisition was undoubtedly pleased). It was a ritual of humiliation and violence that reinforced the power structure of rural Valencia. The process symbolized the total control that the Spanish state had over the bodies of the Moriscos. They could be arrested, tortured, and released at the whim of the Inquisition. The Morisco strategy of resisting by refusing to cooperate was the most they could do, but ultimately the ritual served its function whether or not the Morisco gave in and confessed.

Almost three thousand Moriscos faced the Inquisition in Valencia between 1568 and 1609. 72% of all trials during those years were against Moriscos for practicing

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<sup>20</sup> "Confirmación real ratificando los capítulos acordados entre los convertidos del Reino de Valencia y la Inquisición de Valencia, recogida en la provisión del Inquisidor General Diego de Espinosa, cardenal de Sigüenza (6 octubre 1571)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 84.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 86.

Islam.<sup>23</sup> The experience was traumatic for individuals and for Morisco communities. Arrest and trial by the Inquisition meant years in a “secret” jail cell. The process was designed to intimidate the defendant in order to encourage confession. Defendants did not know why they had been arrested and they received minimal legal counsel. Multiple torture sessions were very common. Punishment was intended to publicly humiliate the convicted heretic and often involved more jail time as well as fines and labor sentences. Those who survived returned to their communities to tell their families and friends about their experiences.

Soon after arrest, the accused appeared before the inquisitor for a first audience. The first audience consisted of a standard set of questions that never varied. The court used this first audience to get basic information about the accused such as their name, age, lineage, whether they knew basic Christian prayers such as the Ave Maria and the Paternoster, whether men were circumcised, where they were from and whether they had ever traveled abroad (and therefore might have connections with foreign Muslims). The audience was also the court’s first attempt to get the defendant to confess their crimes. This was done through intimidation. The accused knew nothing of the charges against them until many months into the trial. At first, they were simply told that the Inquisition had solid evidence against them and they would be shown mercy if they told the court everything. If they refused they would be burned at the stake.

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<sup>23</sup> Rafael Carrasco, "Le refus d'assimilation des Morisques: aspects politiques et culturels d'après les sources inquisitoriales," In *Les Morisques et leur temps: table ronde internationale, 4-7 juillet 1981, Montpellier* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 208.

The court repeated this warning to the accused at least three times. This lengthy warning varied little with each new defendant. The judge repeated the warning during the trial of María Calvo:

She was told that the Holy Office does not arrest anyone without significant information that they have done, said, or seen someone else do or say to other people things that are against our Holy Faith. She should know that they have such evidence against her. This is the first warning and they urge her, for reverence of God our Lord and His blessed Mother the Holy Virgin Mary that she should confess the complete truth of anything she has done, said, or seen done by others of that is or appears to be against our Holy Catholic Faith and Christian religion without giving false testimony and without protecting herself or anyone else. As a Christian Catholic this is her duty and with her they will have mercy and dispense justice.<sup>24</sup>

Failure to confess was itself evidence of heresy. A good Christian would cooperate and tell the Inquisition everything. According to Henry Kamen, “the sole task of the Inquisition was to obtain from its prisoner an admission of guilt and a penitential submission . . . it was to act not as a court of justice but as a disciplinary body.”<sup>25</sup>

In theory it was possible to prove one’s innocence and be released, but in practice trial hardly ever resulted in outright absolution. Guilt was assumed. It was up to the defendants to their innocence and this was virtually impossible given the nature of the crimes. How could anyone prove that they had never fasted for Ramadan or worn clean clothes on a Friday or that they believed in salvation through Jesus Christ? If the three warnings failed to produce a confession, the Inquisition tortured the defendant—usually once or twice but sometimes several times over the course of several months or a year.

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<sup>24</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/17.

<sup>25</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 193.

The court only accepted confessions that included significant information about the supposed crimes of the Morisco's friends and families. The Inquisition did not believe that anyone practiced Islam alone, and anyone who failed to at least tell the court where they had learned to practice Islam had their confessions rejected by the court.<sup>26</sup> Accused heretics had legal representation, but the primary role of court-appointed lawyers was to help obtain a confession. And defendants had no legal representation until after the three warnings, so for the first few terrifying audiences there was no one to help the accused understand what was happening or what their options were.

There was also a language barrier. The Inquisition brought in translators (usually Jesuit priests, often Moriscos themselves), and many Moriscos spoke some Valencian.<sup>27</sup> But these measures were not always sufficient for the accused to understand the intricacies of what was happening. For example, at the conclusion of the 1602 trial of Catalina Mandarani the inquisitor read the text of the abjuration and asked her if she understood. She told the court that "she did not understand what they told her." The court

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<sup>26</sup> For example, see the confession of Juan Vale, discussed below. AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/8.

<sup>27</sup> Two translators who appear frequently in the court records are Hieronymo de Mur and Ignacio de las Casas. Las Casas was a Morisco orphan from Granada who was brought to a Jesuit school as an adolescent. For more about him and his writings opposing the expulsion, see Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13-17. Las Casas was also known for being an early believer that the Sacromonte lead books were forgeries. Valencian is a Romance language that is disappearing though still spoken in Spain. It is closely related to Catalan. According to Haliczzer, bilingualism was common among the Moriscos of Valencia and the use of Arabic may have even been declining. Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, 249. The Inquisition almost always used an Arabic translator in court, but in at least one case it is clear that the Morisco knew at least some Valencian even though a translator was present at her audience, see AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/12. Therefore, I suspect that Haliczzer may be right and that we cannot assume that the use of translators was evidence that Moriscos spoke no Valencian. Translators may have been present by default in the event that they were needed—it is not clear how much translation they actually did.

proceeded anyway and verified the abjuration.<sup>28</sup> In some cases, Moriscos may have feigned ignorance to avoid answering questions. For example, when the inquisitor asked Gerónimo Hachech whether or not he was circumcised, “he said he does not know what it is to be circumcised.”<sup>29</sup>

The Inquisition tortured accused heretics when the three warnings failed to elicit a confession. The Inquisition arrested María Calvo when she was sixteen years old for fasting for Ramadan. When she finally learned why she had been arrested after two months in jail she told the court that the sole witness against her had a grudge against her because he mistakenly thought she had cheated him out of some money. Despite witness testimony that confirmed the dispute, the court was not convinced and ordered her to the torture chamber. In March 1602, five months after her arrest, the Inquisition tortured her on the rack.

She was told to tell the truth so they would not remove her clothes.

She said, “Before God I have not done anything. Before our Lord I have not done or thought anything.”

They ordered her clothes removed and being naked she was warned to tell the truth. She said, “I have nothing to say, the testimony against me is false. If I have done nothing what do I have to say? Nothing.” And she cried and wailed a lot and she was naked. She was warned to tell the truth so they would not order her arms tied.

She said “I have nothing to say señor. For the love of God señor, for love of our Lord. I have not done or imagined or thought such,” and she cried and repeated that she did nothing.

She was warned to tell the truth so they would not turn the cords.

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<sup>28</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/19.

<sup>29</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/30.

She said she has nothing to say.

A pull was ordered and she was squeezed and she gave a loud scream and said, “Kill me please, señores, for the love of our Lord. I have nothing to say. You want to kill me and I have done nothing.”

They ordered her to be untied and to remove the cords. She sat down and was warned to tell the truth; that it is what is best for her and they do not want to see her in so much pain.

She said she has nothing to say.

She was warned to tell the truth so they would not tie her arms again.

She said she has nothing to say, and having been sufficiently warned the said Inquisitors ordered the torture suspended and so it ended. The prisoner was ordered back to the secret jail.<sup>30</sup>

If the prisoner refused to confess under torture, as María Calvo had, the Inquisition would repeat the session. However, they would wait months and in the meantime the prisoner lived in constant fear of more torture. It was over a year later, on May 14, 1603, that María’s second session came. The judge ordered her back to court for another questioning and when she refused to confess they sent her back to the torture chamber. The session began as the first one had, but María fainted soon after they began

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<sup>30</sup> “Fuele dicho que diga la verdad donde no se mandara desnudar/ Dijo por aqui delante dios no he hecho tal por aqui delante de nuestro señor no he hecho ni pensado en tal/ Fue mandada desnudar y estandose desnudando fue amonestada que diga la verdad y dezia no tengo que dezir que me levantan falso testigo sino lo he hecho que tengo que decir no tengo que decir y lloraba y se lamentaba mucho y estando desnuda fue amonestada que diga la verdad donde no se le mandaron atar los brasos./ Dijo que no tengo que decir señor por amor de dios señor por amor de nuestro señor que no lo he hecho ni ymaginado ni pensado en tal y lloraba y repetia que no lo habia hecho/ Fue amonestada que diga la erdad donde no se le mandara da una buelta/ Dijo que no tiene que decir/ Fuele mandado dar una buelta y apretalla y apretandola daba grandissimos bozes y dezie que me matan señores por amor de nuestro señor que no tengo que decir que me quieren matar sin culpa/ Fue mandado desatar y quitar los cordeles y assentar y amonestada que diga la verdad que es lo que le conviene y no se quiera ver en tanto trabajo/ Dijo que no tiene que decir/ Fue amonestada que diga la verdad donde no se le mandaran volver a atar los braços/ Dijo que no tengo que decir y aunque la amonestaron muchas vezes a todo respondia que no lo habia hecho/ Fue amonestada que diga la verdad donde no la volveron atar los braços/ Dijo que no tiene que decir y con tanto amonestada que piense en ello y la diga los dichos señores inquisidores mandaron suspender el tormento el cual cesso y fue mandada volver a esta rea a su carcel secreta.” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/17. This is one of the only instances of direct quoting in the first person in the court records.

to pull on the cords. The inquisitor continued as though she was alert, warning her and intensifying the torture each time she stayed silent. She woke up briefly when they poured water down her throat, screaming and moaning in pain before passing out again. Finally the Inquisition gave up, calling her “stubborn,” and sent the very ill prisoner back up to her cell. María’s refusal to confess was not proof of her innocence, but it was enough to cast serious doubt on the witness testimony. The Inquisition suspended her case and released her the following day.<sup>31</sup>

The Valencia Inquisition relied primarily on the rack, called a *potro*, to torture Moriscos. The victim was tied to a board with thick cords. The executioner controlled the tension of the cords by turning a crank. If the victim refused to confess, the cords could be wound gradually tighter. However, stubborn prisoners could be subjected to two other kinds of torture as well: the *garrucha* (where the victim was hung by the wrists from above and raised and dropped suddenly) and the *toca*, a kind of waterboarding. This was the second type of torture used on María Calvo.<sup>32</sup>

Torture was common in Inquisition trials throughout the office’s existence. According to Stephen Haliczer, the Valencia tribunal tortured 19.4 percent of people it tried, and repeated torture in only .8 percent of cases.<sup>33</sup> But, he argued, the court was more likely to torture Moriscos. 27% of Moriscos (32% of men and 14% of women) were

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<sup>31</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/17. Suspension was very rare. In this case María Calvo eventually convinced the court to dismiss the witness testimony.

<sup>32</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 190.

<sup>33</sup> Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society*, 79.

sent to the torture chamber at least once, compared to 12% of non-Moriscos.<sup>34</sup> According to the Inquisition, Moriscos were particularly stubborn and the ability to resist torture once was not enough to prove innocence.<sup>35</sup> Repeated torture also served to further terrify Morisco prisoners. After the initial session they knew what to expect and lived in fear of another session on the rack.

As Henry Charles Lea wrote, “suspicion of heresy was . . . in itself a crime requiring punishment.”<sup>36</sup> If a Morisco did not confess or failed to give a confession that was satisfactory to the Inquisition, they would eventually be released after a ceremony called an auto-da-fé. During this public ritual, suspected heretics were sentenced to abjure, or formally repudiate heresy at an auto-da-fé. The sentence of abjuration could be *de vehementi* (vehement) when the court’s suspicion was strong or *de levi* (light) when the suspicion was slight. Typical punishments included lashings, fines, a period of imprisonment for instruction in Christianity, and galley service for men (which because of the high mortality of galley slaves was essentially a death sentence).<sup>37</sup> A second accusation and trial in the future could result in even harsher punishment.<sup>38</sup>

The distinction between vehement and light suspicion of heresy was another way that the Inquisition applied different policies to Moriscos. In general, abjuration *de levi*

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<sup>34</sup> Carrasco, "Le refus d'assimilation des Morisques," 208.

<sup>35</sup> See Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 93-94 for more on the increasing distrust between Moriscos and the Inquisition.

<sup>36</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 123.

<sup>37</sup> See Salzmänn, "Migrants in Chains: On the Enslavement of Muslims in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe," 398-399.

<sup>38</sup> My description of the process of Inquisition trials comes from my own reading of hundreds of primary sources, but what I found in the records is corroborated by secondary sources such as Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*.

was much more common, but not so with Moriscos, who were normally required to abjure *de vehementi*.<sup>39</sup> Miguel Calvo, a seventeenth-century treasurer of the Valencia Inquisition, said that with Moriscos suspicion was always vehement.<sup>40</sup> The legal difference between *de levi* and *de vehementi* was no small matter. A heretic who had abjured *de vehementi* was considered a relapsed heretic if they were charged again. The usual punishment for relapse was the death penalty.<sup>41</sup>

Moriscos whose confessions were accepted by the court were treated more leniently. They were still required to publicly repudiate heresy in an auto-da-fé, but instead of months or years in jail, they would be released quickly. They were not usually subjected to further punishment such as fines or lashings or galley service. They were not tortured. They would be required to serve as witnesses in any trials taking place as a result of the information given during their confession.<sup>42</sup>

Very few Valencian Moriscos confessed to the Inquisition. Most refused to say anything; others confessed their own crimes (though they usually tried to minimize these or insisted that they had occurred long ago) but refused to implicate anyone else. Typically, Moriscos who were arrested by the Inquisition spent between six months and two years in prison and were tortured at least once. Unless the defendant was a young man and ended up in galley service, the punishments were not especially harsh. But the

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<sup>39</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 123.

<sup>40</sup> In *Ibid*, 123. Original source is Archivo de Alcalá, Hacienda, Legajo 544/4 (Since moved to the AHN and impossible to trace.)

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 124.

<sup>42</sup> Accepted confessions usually resulted in reconciliation but they could still result in abjuration, in which case the punishments were lighter.

experience of arrest and trial by the Inquisition was nevertheless a painful, terrifying, and traumatic experience that thousands of Moriscos suffered through between 1568 and 1609.

In his book *Communities of Violence*, David Nirenberg argued that “violence was a central and systemic aspect of the coexistence of majority and minorities in medieval Spain, and . . . coexistence was in part predicated on such violence.”<sup>43</sup> Nirenberg’s statement referred to medieval Spain before the establishment of the Inquisition, but the practices of the Spanish Inquisition in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Valencia fit with the process that Nirenberg observed for earlier centuries. Inquisition trials ritually reenacted violence over Morisco bodies over and over again. The Inquisition symbolically threatened Moriscos with annihilation if they refused to cooperate with the Spanish state.

## **MORISCO LEGAL STRATEGIES**

On August 19, 1604 the wardens of the Valencian Inquisition brought a young Morisca woman named Ángela Rabaça into the courtroom. She had been arrested the day before and sent to the Inquisition’s secret jail cells. Now she stood before the inquisitor for her first audience. No one had told her why she was there, but she knew.

The Inquisition had a standard procedure that they followed exactly with every prisoner. The judge asked Ángela to identify herself. She gave her name. She did not know how old she was, but the court scribe guessed that she was about twenty-two. The

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<sup>43</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 9

judge asked for her genealogy. She listed the name of every relative, living and dead, that she could remember. Like many Moriscos, she did not know much more than her parents' names. Then the inquisitor asked her for the story of her life (*discurso de la vida*). She was born in a village called Valles, near the town of Xàtiva. Her father was a peasant and a miller and her mother worked as a servant in a noble family's house. The farthest she had ever been from home until a few days ago when she was arrested and brought to Valencia was Xàtiva. She lived in a small rented house with her siblings and made a living harvesting olives and cultivating silk. She was engaged to be married to a Morisco from her village.<sup>44</sup>

The inquisitor then asked her if she knew why she had been brought before him. Ángela knew why—during the past year she went to Xàtiva for the silk harvest and she stayed in the house of an Old Christian woman. “She presumed that [her arrest] was because of what she had said to the woman of said house and Ana, her servant, and that is why she has been taken prisoner and she asks for mercy.” But she hesitated to tell the court what it was that she had said. The inquisitor told her to “declare what had happened with said woman and her servant and to relieve her conscience and tell the truth and then she will deserve mercy.”

The next day Ángela returned to the courtroom:

Now she remembered that on said occasion when she was in Xàtiva where she was helping a woman and her servant with the silk, on the subject of the virginity of Our Lady she said to her that after Our Lady had given birth she was no longer a virgin and she did not remember saying anything else and she asked for forgiveness and mercy.

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<sup>44</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/12.

She was asked what it is that she now believes about the virginity of Our Lady before, during, and after childbirth.

She said that now she believes that Our Lady was a virgin before, during, and after childbirth and God knows all things.

She was asked by whose teachings did she say in front of said women that Our Lady was not a virgin.

She said that said women called her morisquilla (little Morisca) and so in anger she said those words and that her father is dead and her mother is a servant so who could have taught her and no one ever taught her and that is truth and she has nothing more to say.<sup>45</sup>

Ángela was a poor Morisca woman who may not have spoken much Valencian.<sup>46</sup>

She was illiterate. Perhaps she was a Muslim and had strong beliefs about Mary's virginity after childbirth. Perhaps she was skeptical of Mary's virginity but otherwise knew nothing about Islam.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps she was otherwise a practicing Christian. Whatever

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<sup>45</sup> "Dixo que agora se acuerda que en la ocasion que a dicho que estubo en Xativa ayudando a la seda a una señora donde estava otra ama suya tratandose de la virginidad de Nra Sa dixo a esta que despues que Nra Senora avia parido no avia quedado virgen y no se le acuerda aver dicho otra cosa e de lo que dixo pida perdon e misericordia. Preguntada que es lo que agora cree açerca de la virginidad de Nra Senora en su parto y antes del parto e despues del parto. Dixo que esta agora cree que Nra Senora fue virgen antes del parto y en el parto y despues del parto e que dios sabe todas las cosas. Preguntada por cuya enseñaça dixo esta delante de las dichas mugeres que no hera virgen nra señora. Dixo que las dichas mugeres llamaron a este morisquilla y ansi con enojo dixo las dichas palabras e que su padre es muerto e su madre esta sirviendo que quien la avia de enseñar a este e que jamas se lo enseno nadie e questa es la verdad y no tiene mas que dezir."

 AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/12.

<sup>46</sup> The Inquisition brought in a translator for Ángela's trial (Jaime Pras) but the fact that she had a conversation with an Old Christian woman suggests that she spoke at least some Valencian.

<sup>47</sup> Though the belief that Mary was no longer a virgin after giving birth was especially common among Moriscos, skepticism about Mary's virginity was widespread among Old Christians as well. William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 148. For Morisco beliefs about Mary's virginity see Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens : un affrontement polémique, 1492-1640* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 268-279. Muslims believe that Mary was a virgin at conception, but in orthodox Islam there is no clear doctrine on whether Mary remained a virgin after delivery, Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 78. On shared Morisco/Old Christian reverence for Mary see Amy Remensnyder, "Beyond Muslim and Christian: the Moriscos' Marian Scriptures," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. 41, no. 3 (2011): 545-576 and Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

the truth of her inner beliefs and religious practice, Ángela employed a strategy for dealing with the charges against her that revealed a remarkably sophisticated knowledge of inquisitorial procedure. She confessed, but gave a minimal amount of information and said nothing about the beliefs or practices of her family and friends.

Although Inquisition officials did occasionally go into Morisco communities looking for Muslims, the Inquisition was not usually proactive in seeking out defendants. Ideally, Moriscos would turn each other in—confessing their own sins and testifying to the sins of their family and friends. But in practice this rarely happened. Far more commonly, Old Christians turned their Morisco neighbors and coworkers into the Inquisition for things they had said or done in the presence of Old Christians. Local law enforcement officials such as *alguaciles* (constables), familiars of the Inquisition, or zealous Old Christians sometimes stopped and searched Moriscos who were traveling outside of their communities.

The most effective strategy that Moriscos had was to avoid arrest in the first place. Moriscos who did not leave their villages were rarely accused. In Valencia, Moriscos normally lived in villages with other Moriscos. Inter-marriage was not common. But although Moriscos were quite isolated, they could not avoid interacting with Old Christians at all. In particular, working often required Moriscos to leave their villages and interact with outsiders, as Ángela Rabaça had when she stayed in the home of an Old Christian woman. These were moments when Moriscos risked ending up in the jails of the Inquisition.

Other Moriscos left Spain for North Africa out of fear for the Inquisition. The Morisco Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusi fled Spain for Morocco in 1599 because he was convinced that it was only a matter of time before the Inquisition arrested him.<sup>48</sup> Escape, as we will see in detail in Chapter 4, was extremely dangerous, but many Moriscos accepted that risk in order to stay away from the dangers of the Inquisition. Many of these Moriscos ended up in the hands of the Inquisition anyway, charged with trying to immigrate to Islamic lands.

Once arrested, Moriscos in Valencia responded in remarkably uniform ways over many generations. Moriscos almost never confessed to the Inquisition. This is surprising, because there were very tempting incentives for confessing. Acquittal was nearly impossible, and maintaining one's innocence almost never resulted in the Inquisition dropping charges. Refusing to confess almost always resulted in torture. Confessants were also required to be publicly reconciled with the Church, but this process was expedited and less severe than for Moriscos who refused to talk. The interrogation focused on getting defendants to confess through both threats and persuasion. Despite the obvious advantages to confessing, Moriscos rarely cooperated. When they did confess they usually did so immediately. The repeated admonitions and torture had little effect once a Morisco had decided not to confess.

Abu al-‘Abbās Ahmad b. Abi Jum‘ah al-Maghrawi al-Wahrani, also known as the “Mufti of Oran,” wrote a letter in 1504 that provided guidelines for how Muslims might

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<sup>48</sup> Ahmad b. Qasim Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din ‘ala al-Qawm al-Kafirin, (The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997), 19 (Arabic).

deceive Christian officials when necessary and still maintain their Islamic faith.<sup>49</sup> Though the document was written before the Inquisition began persecuting Moriscos in great numbers, al-Wahrani's words provided some potential guidance on how to deal with trial. There are four extant texts of the letter from Spain, three in Aljamiado and one in Arabic, indicating that the fatwa was circulated by Moriscos.<sup>50</sup>

If they oblige you to pronounce words of blasphemy, do what they ask, but employ whatever stratagems of equivocation you can, and if you do pronounce the words they require, continue to put your trust in the faith.<sup>51</sup>

The mufti's words allowed Moriscos who wanted to be Muslims to say as little as possible to the Inquisition while not directly challenging the authority of the Church.

Occasionally Moriscos resisted the Inquisition in other ways. The most common kind of overt resistance was attempting to escape from prison or avoiding arrest by hiding from officials. This was unusual and the consequence for getting caught was the death penalty. María la Rostrilla successfully avoided arrest by the Inquisition. When the court could not find her, they sentenced her to death on August 18, 1581 and she was burned in effigy. In punishment for her "rebellion" the Inquisition confiscated her belongings and declared her children perpetually infamous and ineligible for privileges.<sup>52</sup> In another case, discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Francisco Pérez ('Ali in Arabic) confessed to being a

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<sup>49</sup> On the identity of the "mufti of Oran" see Devin Stewart, "The Identity of the "Muftī of Oran," Abū L'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum'ah Al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917-1511)," *Al-Qantara*. 27 (2006): 265-301.

<sup>50</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 64. There is no way of knowing which regions the extant texts came from. One is dated 1564.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 62. There are several fatwas from this period dealing with the question of emigration, including this one (which clearly states that it is NOT required). I discuss these in Chapter 4.

<sup>52</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 555/8.

Muslim but refused to repent. His refusal to play his role cost him his life when the Inquisition burned him at the stake in 1621.<sup>53</sup>

### **Community First: Protecting Family and Friends**

Whether a defendant confessed or denied the charges against them, the Inquisition made sure to ask them if they had learned any Islamic rituals from anyone. When Moriscos acknowledged that someone had taught them about Islam, they almost always named a relative who was already dead or outside of Spain. For example, in 1589 Mariana Caten accused her new husband and his brother and sister-in-law of fasting for Ramadan and praying the *çala* (Ar. *ṣalāa*). When her sister-in-law, María Raçada, appeared before the court, she admitted only that she had once fasted for Ramadan as a child at the instruction of an aunt who had since died. Through the standard three warnings that she tell the truth, María continued to insist that she had never fasted as an adult and that no other family members had ever practiced Islam.<sup>54</sup>

Ángela Çamar also admitted that she had practiced Islam as a child but had since become a good Catholic. Çamar was a Morisca from Granada who had come to Valencia after the 1568 revolt. She admitted that she had been a Muslim as a child in Granada, perhaps knowing that the Valencian Inquisition was not likely to believe that any Granadan Morisco was innocent of heresy. Çamar claimed that her dead parents had taught her to fast for Ramadan. The Inquisition was convinced that she must have

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<sup>53</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

<sup>54</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/15.

information about the Muslim practices of her Morisco neighbors in Mislata, Valencia, but Çamar refused to give them information about any Moriscos who were still alive.<sup>55</sup>

When Juan Vale confessed to being a Muslim in 1606 he claimed that his dead brother and no one else had taught him about Islam. The Inquisition did not believe Vale, and warned him:

It is impossible and very difficult to believe that he had been a Moor the entire time as he has confessed and kept the sect of Muhammad and living his whole life among Moriscos and yet never communicated with any of them that he was keeping said sect and does not know of anyone else who keeps it.<sup>56</sup>

Unable to convince the Inquisition that he had practiced Islam in isolation, Vale eventually admitted that his wife was a Muslim too.<sup>57</sup> In 1595 Pedro Maymon came voluntarily to the Inquisition to confess that from the age of fifteen he had fasted for Ramadan and performed other Islamic ceremonies. His grandfather, now dead, had taught him.<sup>58</sup>

One reason for the consistent refusal of Moriscos to cooperate with the Inquisition was the fear of revenge by other Moriscos. In 1605 a Morisco named Luis Pastoret disappeared after supposedly testifying against other Moriscos before the Inquisition.<sup>59</sup>

Fatwas from the seventeenth century collection *Al-jawahir al-mukhtara fi ma waqafu*

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<sup>55</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/26

<sup>56</sup> “*Fuele dicho que parece imposible y muy dificil de creher que haviendo sido todo el tiempo que tiene confessado moro y guardado la secta de Mahoma y biviendo toda su vida entre moriscos no haya comunicado con ninguno dellos que guardaba la dicha secta ni sepa de otros que la guarden.*” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/8.

<sup>57</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/8. His wife was already in jail when Vale accused her of practicing Islam with him—they had been arrested at the same time. Unlike her husband, María never confessed even under torture. She was released from jail a year and a half later because she was severely ill. There is no further record of what happened to her.

<sup>58</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/15.

<sup>59</sup> Haliczzer, *Inquisition and Society*, 255-256.

*‘alayhi min al-nawazil bi-Jibal Ghumara (Selected Jewels: Legal Cases I Encountered in the Ghumara Mountains)* suggest a chilling precedent for this kind of community retribution. A fatwa written by Abū al-Hasan ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Ali al-Aghsawi, also known as Ibn Bartal (d.1506) divided Muslims who lived in Christian lands into five different categories. Of the five categories, the worst were Muslims who spied on other Muslims and gave information to Christians. “As for those who spy on the Muslims, the commonly accepted view is that the life of a spy is licit, that he should be killed, and that his killer should be rewarded.”<sup>60</sup>

## **DEEPENING DIVISIONS: MORISCOS AND OLD CHRISTIANS**

The Inquisition more frequently tried Moriscos who lived in villages with mixed Old Christian and Morisco populations.<sup>61</sup> But even Moriscos who lived in Morisco-only areas were vulnerable when they left their communities. Linguistic and geographical isolation gave the Moriscos an advantage in maintaining their distinct culture and staying away from the Inquisition, but Moriscos were never totally isolated. Morisco labor and consumption were vital to the economy of Valencia. They interacted with their lords, bought and sold goods from Old Christians, and traveled outside of Morisco areas for

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<sup>60</sup> Ibn Bartal fatwa. Translated Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 396. Not necessarily circulated in Spain, though variations of the fatwa appear twice in the much-circulated *Al-Jawahir al-mukhtara*.

<sup>61</sup> “Although Valencia contained few places where Catholics and Moriscos lived side by side, the Inquisition made most of its arrests in such places, or just outside them,” Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 196. Monter correctly says that one reason for this was that most Moriscos were denounced by Old Christians and therefore they were more vulnerable when they were in daily contact with them. However, he also suggests that the Inquisition’s ignorance of spoken Arabic made prosecution of isolated, Arabic-speaking Moriscos difficult. In my own readings of court cases, the Inquisition never hesitates to bring in a translator when necessary and there are few instances where communication is a serious problem.

work. Many Moriscos who ended up in the jails of the Inquisition had, for some reason or another, been away from the safety of their Morisco villages.

Poverty often forced Moriscos to travel and women were especially vulnerable when they were away from home. For example, Ángela Çamar, a seventeen-year old Morisca from Mislata, survived by traveling and selling sugar.<sup>62</sup> Ángela Espadañer traveled around Valencia begging for alms. She was away from home in Xeraco (on the coast north of Gandía) when an *alguacil* caught her and her companions with a *hirz* (Spanish *herçe*, a protective amulet inscribed with Qur'anic verses).<sup>63</sup> Ángela Rabaça, the Morisca who questioned Mary's virginity, would never have ended up in the Inquisition's jails if she had not traveled to Xàtiva for the silk harvest. She was hired by an Old Christian woman to work with her and her regular servants, and because she had to travel for the job she stayed with the woman in her house. The job was risky for Ángela because she had to travel outside of her community and work and live alongside outsiders.<sup>64</sup>

María Redonda had always managed to avoid much interaction with Old Christians. Her parents left her when she was young and she survived by working as a household servant in Petres, "always dealing with other Moriscos." In 1602 María left the safety of her Morisco community to travel to Valencia to buy some items that she needed for her son Luis's wedding. She went with four of her children to the city. On the way

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<sup>62</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/26.

<sup>63</sup> ". . . es muger errada que suele yr por la tierra deste y por otros lugares del Reyno buscando quien le de un real," AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/6.

<sup>64</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/12.

back a local official stopped them because they looked “suspicious.” The official found a *hîrz* hidden in María’s clothes.<sup>65</sup>

Moriscos who regularly lived and worked outside of Morisco communities were especially at risk. The Inquisition arrested María de Santa Ana at least twice for practicing a form of witchcraft that drew some influence from Morisco culture and Islam. Santa Ana was a Morisca from Granada who spoke Spanish and lived among Old Christians. She made a living selling spells and magical objects to Old Christians. Santa Ana’s authority as an *hechicera* (witch) came from her Morisco background. Her spells were in Arabic, and her Old Christian clients believed that there was something powerful in the Arabic words she repeated and wrote down.<sup>66</sup> Santa Ana may have made a decent living—she charged one client three *reales* for a love spell. But dealing with Old Christians proved dangerous and in 1603 she was brought before the Inquisition for a second time under charges of witchcraft. One of her clients had experienced a fit of guilt over his dealings with her and confessed to his priest, who insisted that the man report Santa Ana to the Inquisition. The Inquisition found more witnesses and she was sentenced to one hundred lashes and exile from Valencia for ten years.<sup>67</sup>

Occasionally the Inquisition charged whole Morisco communities with heresy. These cases revealed the deep animosity that many Old Christians had for Moriscos. In

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<sup>65</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/21

<sup>66</sup> There was nothing Islamic about Santa Ana’s spells. She claimed that her knowledge came “from the stars and the sun.” But she repeated phrases (the witnesses did not know what she was saying) in Arabic and wrote charms in what was supposed to be Arabic (she was illiterate and the “Arabic” was actually nonsense.) Although the case was missing the usual list of specific charges, the Inquisition seems to have charged her only with *hechicería* and not with practicing Islam.

<sup>67</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/42.

August 1589 Joan Ximenez, an *alguacil* in Almecita, reported to the Inquisition that the Moriscos in his district and “all of them in the region and in the kingdom [of Valencia] are Moors and they should all be burned.” His evidence was that when he was touring the fields in his district he noted that the laborers seemed particularly subdued. An Old Christian who was showing him around told him that that was because the “fast of the Moors” started on that day. He also noted that on the “Passover of the Moors” they seemed to eat more than usual.

A second witness in the same case was a baker from Gandía named Ysabel Joantello de Metaller. She noticed that recently the Moriscos only bought her bread in the evening instead of throughout the day as they had before. She considered this proof that “the Moriscos of the countryside and other places fast as though they were in Algeria.” These Old Christian witnesses were unable to name even one Morisco by name. Trying all of the Moriscos in the countryside of Gandía was impossible but the Inquisition still pursued the case. They brought in some Moriscos from the area and tried unsuccessfully to get confessions out of them.<sup>68</sup>

Just as leaving their communities could be dangerous, allowing Old Christians into their homes and villages could also be risky. One Morisco family in Soto hired an Old Christian shepherd to tend their sheep and allowed him to live among them. The Old Christian was a Frenchman named Joan Pepi Pastor.<sup>69</sup> He was poor and already an outsider in Valencia—perhaps that helped to make both him and the Morisco family

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<sup>68</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/36.

<sup>69</sup> There was a very significant French immigrant population in Valencia and in other parts of Spain. French foreigners were often suspect in their orthodoxy and appear frequently in Inquisition records, especially as Protestants.

more comfortable living among each other. Eventually Pastor converted to Islam at his employers' encouragement. The Inquisition arrested him in 1605. He readily confessed all that he knew about his hosts who were arrested, tried, and convicted.<sup>70</sup>

## **MAGICAL PROTECTION AND PHYSICAL RESISTANCE**

Possession of forbidden texts was the most common charge that brought Moriscos to the Holy Office.<sup>71</sup> An Islamic text was a valuable piece of physical evidence and the Inquisition pursued these cases eagerly. Moriscos accused of possessing an Arabic text were much more likely to have been caught red-handed by an official and arrested immediately. This often resulted in direct confrontation between Old Christians looking for evidence and Moriscos. The Inquisition charged Morisca women disproportionately possession of forbidden texts and women seemed to be more likely to actively defend such texts from Inquisition officials.<sup>72</sup>

The circumstances surrounding these searches were often hazy. Sometimes these officials were searching through Morisco houses doing an official inventory, usually because some member of the household had been arrested.<sup>73</sup> Other times the Inquisition was proactively searching for Arabic texts in Morisco houses. For example, the Inquisition sent Baptista Çelma to Morisco villages to find Arabic texts and he brought

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<sup>70</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/24.

<sup>71</sup> Surtz, "Morisco Women," 424.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> For example, officials were at the home of Catalina Mandarani to inventory the possessions of her husband, Antonio Amarell, AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/19.

dozens of cases to court.<sup>74</sup> In other cases local officials searched the homes and bodies of Moriscos in circumstances that were not fully explained to the court. These were random searches of Moriscos by local officials, and their frequency suggests that officials looking for evidence of heresy often harassed Moriscos.

During the 1590 trial of Gerónimo Hachech, the accusing witness was a familiar of the Inquisition named Pedro Sans. Sans testified that he went to

... search the houses of some Moriscos in [the village of Lombay] with the *alguacil* Faydia and many other men who the witness does not know. They searched the house of Hieronimo Achech, a Morisco peasant from said village, and they had the house surrounded by men.<sup>75</sup>

This scene suggests mob violence in the name of the Inquisition.

In cases involving Arabic texts, the texts themselves were the evidence. Witnesses needed only to establish that the text had been found in the house or on the body of the accused Morisco. In these cases, the defendants knew exactly why they had been brought to the Inquisition and they could not use the usual Morisco defense of refusing to say anything at all. However, the Moriscos still denied the charges against them, pleading ignorance about the books and their contents. Many referred to their own illiteracy. Catalina Mandarani and Leonor Posibla both said that they thought the Arabic books were account books of some kind.<sup>76</sup> Esperanza Genen claimed that she thought she was

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<sup>74</sup> Labarta, "Inventario," 117. For example, see AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/26, AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/6, and AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/25.

<sup>75</sup> "*Preguntado dixo que viene a descargar su conçiencia de el jueves pasado estando en dicha villa de Lombay fueron a reconoçer las casas de unos moriscos de dicha villa y yba el aguazil Faydia y otros muchos hombres que este no conoçio y reconoçiendo la casa de Hieronimo Achech morisco de dicha villa ques labrador y tubiendole la casa rodeada de hombres.*" AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/30.

<sup>76</sup> For examples see AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/19, AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/7. Though the Inquisition did sometimes register non-religious Arabic texts, these were usually found alongside Islamic texts or in cases where there were other charges. It does not seem that the Inquisition

carrying a book of Christian doctrine. When the booklet turned out to be a *hirz*, Esperanza said that she had just found it, and maybe it belonged to her brother.<sup>77</sup> María Catalan told the court that she had thought she was hiding money from the officials inventorying her house.<sup>78</sup>

One type of text that Moriscos were often in trouble for having was a *hirz* (pl. *aḥrāz*)—a piece of paper with Qur’anic *suras* or other Arabic prayers written on it. The paper was folded up and wrapped in a piece of cloth or leather and worn around the neck as an amulet.<sup>79</sup> Many Moriscos believed the *hirz* would offer its wearer protection. In the context of Valencia during the years of active Inquisition, *aḥrāz* gave Moriscos a private, secret way to own part of the Qur’an and to carry it around with them as a reminder of their Muslim identity and as extra protection against the many threats Moriscos might face on a daily basis, including the threat of arrest by the Inquisition. Literacy levels among Valencian Moriscos were very low. The power of the *aḥrāz* was not in the content of its words. Rather, the symbolic meaning of the Qur’an and the written Arabic word gave them their power.<sup>80</sup>

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pursued cases where the texts in question turned out to be non-religious or Christian. Many of these actual texts are still present in the Inquisition files. Ana Labarta has catalogued the Arabic texts that are extant in these files, *Ibid*.

<sup>77</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 551/26.

<sup>78</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/11.

<sup>79</sup> Many *aḥrāz* are extant in the Inquisition files, see Ana Labarta, "Inventario de los documentos arabes contenidos en procesos Inquisitoriales contra moriscos valencianos conservados en el Archivo Historico Nacional de Madrid (Legajos 548—556)," *Al-Qantara* (1980): 115-164 for a complete list.

<sup>80</sup> For more on amulets in Islamic practice, see Jane Dammen McAullife, and Kathleen Malone O'Connor, "Amulets," In *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* vol. 1, (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001). In Arabic this type of amulet is more often called a *ṭilasm* pl. *ṭilāsim* (talisman) but *hirz* is not unknown outside of Spain. See forthcoming dissertation of Ariela Marcus-Sells, "Sainthood and Magic in the Writings of Sidi al Moktar and Sidi Mohamed al Kunti," (Stanford University).

Morisca women often hid Arabic texts from Inquisition officials in their homes or in their clothing. They resisted officials who tried to find the hidden texts by running away, screaming and making a scene, or actively fighting with officials. These women defended their bodies and the texts they were hiding from search. Ronald Surtz speculated that perhaps because women were nearly always illiterate, *ahrāz* and other written texts became fetishized objects that they were willing to defend with their lives if necessary, while perhaps they did not carry quite as much meaning for Morisco men.<sup>81</sup> However, the vast majority of Morisco men were also illiterate, and they certainly seemed to value *ahrāz* enough to wear them with great frequency and Qur'ans enough to have them in their homes.

There is another possible explanation for women's physical resistance to officials' searches. For Morisco women, they may have been as concerned with protecting themselves from the violence of search and seizure as protecting the hidden texts. Perhaps officials were more likely to use a search of their bodies as an opportunity to humiliate and violate them—a tactic which might have been less effective with men. Women had more at stake in these very tense situations.

For example, when Baptista Çelma searched the house of Pedro Çahori in 1584, he saw Çahori's eighteen-year-old daughter Beatriz hide something in her bodice. To keep Çelma away, Beatriz threw herself upon the ground, Çelma managed to pull her up onto a bed, where the two struggled for a long time until finally Çelma managed to pull the book from her bodice while Beatriz screamed and cried. Çelma took Beatriz into the

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<sup>81</sup> Surtz, "Morisco Women," 425-426.

Inquisition, where she initially refused to talk and then finally said that the only reason she fought back was to keep Çelma from touching her. She tells the court that she became angry with him because “he put his hands on her breasts, and because she was a virgin she took it as an insult to her honor.”<sup>82</sup> The scene suggests a rape. For Beatriz, keeping Çelma off of her may have been as much about protecting herself as it was about protecting the text she was hiding.

In 1602 Marco Antonio Alaiz, *alguacil* of Jarafuel, entered the house of Joan Catalan de la Pena to inventory his belongings when his wife, María Catalan ran upstairs. Alaiz assumed that she was trying to hide something and sent his men up after her to see what she was up to. They saw her take a package out of a trunk and start to hide it in a straw mattress, then change her mind and tie it into her petticoats. Then she went back downstairs and the men reported to Alaiz that she had something hidden in her skirts. He asked her to reveal what she was hiding, and she said she had nothing. She screamed and cried and finally threw herself on the floor. Alaiz pulled her up and she squeezed her thighs together, but he forced his hands between her legs and pulled out a book. She screamed and cried and eventually fainted.<sup>83</sup>

In 1585 officials were searching the house of Juan Çalot when one of the officials, Pedro Jiménez Vergueta, decided that there was something suspicious about Çalot’s wife, Ángela Marrut. According to Jiménez’s testimony, Ángela was lying in bed. When Jiménez ordered her to get up she said that she was unable to because she was very ill. He

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<sup>82</sup> “*Dijo que ella no defendía el papel sino que se enojó con el hombre porque el ponía las manos en los pechos, porque siendo donzella lo tenía por affrenta.*” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 549/25.

<sup>83</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 550/11.

grabbed her hand to pull her up and a *hirz* fell from her hand. He searched the mattress and found an iron cask and a knife. Ángela tried to flee, but Jiménez caught up to her on a nearby street and dragged her back to the house. He told her to give up whatever she was hiding. She remained silent, but through her clothes he felt something under her arm. She immediately went limp and let whatever it was fall between her legs. When he reached for it, she let both the object and her petticoat fall to the floor. She lifted up her shirt, and said, “look, I have nothing.” Jiménez grabbed the object, a book, from underneath her fallen skirts, but she grabbed it back. He pushed her to the ground and pulled the book from her hands, page by page. Then he brought her and the book and papers he had found to the Inquisition. However, Ángela’s version of the story was quite different. On her first questioning she denied knowing anything, but upon the second warning she claimed that Jiménez took the piece of paper directly from her hand and that he shamed her by putting his hands on her breast. She said she knew nothing about the other papers.<sup>84</sup>

As in all court cases where there is so much at stake, the actual truth in these cases is elusive. In some cases, such as Ángela Marrut’s, it was the word of an Old Christian official against the word of the accused Morisco. But whatever the truth about what actually happened or where the papers came from, Morisca women who faced search by officials were violated and humiliated, and they defended their bodies by running away, making a scene, screaming, crying, and fighting the officials who felt entitled to search

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<sup>84</sup> “*Dixo que no paso de la merna que dize el testigo sino que tenia el papel en la mano e que tenia berguença que la andavan metiendo la mano en el seno e de la mano la tomaron el papel a la puerta que sale al carrer.*” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/13.

their bodies under the slightest suspicion. Men were not subjected to the same kinds of humiliating searches and therefore did not need to react with the same kinds of open resistance to protect themselves.

## **CONCLUSION**

In 1609 King Phillip III decreed the expulsion of all of the Moriscos from Valencia. The deepening divisions between Old Christians and Moriscos in the second half of the sixteenth century are clear in the Inquisition's court cases. The Inquisition's increased prosecution of Moriscos for heresy was an important step towards expulsion. In 1568 Spanish officials gave up pursuing assimilation and conversion and began to pursue a policy of police control that undermined whatever *convivencia* had been left.

The arrest, trial, torture, and public punishment of Moriscos for heresy ritualized the control of the Spanish state over Moriscos. This performance reminded everyone, Moriscos and Old Christians alike, that Moriscos were dangerous outsiders and heretics. Mob violence was legalized through the Inquisition's practice of encouraging Old Christians to search for evidence against Moriscos and bring them in for arrest and trial. The Holy Office did not become rich from its imprisonment of the impoverished Moriscos as it had from its persecution of wealthy Conversos. But its power grew as it established itself as Spain's protector from Morisco treason.

The Moriscos did everything they could to protect themselves and their communities from the Inquisition. Again and again they showed a remarkable understanding of how the tribunal worked and what it expected of them. They showed incredible bravery when they resisted torture, but their words of defiance also revealed

their desperation. The Moriscos were a people who had few options and little control over their lives, and things were getting worse as King Phillip III came closer to accepting the certainty of expulsion.

## Chapter 4

### **Between Escape and Expulsion: Morisco Migration in the Mediterranean, 1568-1659**

No matter where we are we weep for Spain, for, after all, we were born here and it is our native country; nowhere do we find the haven our misfortune longs for, and in Barbary and all the places in Africa where we hoped to be received, welcomed, and taken in, that is where they most offend and mistreat us. We did not know our good fortune until we lost it, and the greatest desire in almost all of us is to return to Spain; most of these, and there are many of them, who know the language as well as I do, abandon their wives and children and return, so great is the love they have for Spain; and now I know and feel the truth of the saying that it is sweet to love one's country.<sup>1</sup>

These are the words of the fictional Morisco character Ricote in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, explaining his circumstances to Sancho Panza. Cervantes published the second part of his novel, where the story of Ricote appears, in 1615. The expulsion was recent and its effects were still being felt deeply in Spain. Ricote was an expelled Morisco who had returned to Spain to find money he had buried. Once he had found his treasure he planned to return to Algiers to find his wife and daughter. He hoped to take them eventually to Germany, for they were Christians and in Germany "each man lives as he chooses."<sup>2</sup>

Ricote's words express the ambivalence that many Moriscos must have felt at leaving Spain. Leaving Spain meant that Moriscos who wanted to be Muslims could practice Islam openly in North Africa, but it also meant leaving behind their homes and the homes of their ancestors. It meant significant financial hardship for people who were already poor, as there were strict limits on what kinds of moveable goods the Moriscos

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<sup>1</sup> Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote* (New York: Ecco, 2003), 813.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 814.

could take with them. There was no compensation, including for land that was confiscated and turned over to the nobility. In addition, Ricote hinted at two other hardships that Moriscos faced during and after expulsion: violence in North Africa and the breakup of families.

Migration, both clandestine and forced, carried a variety of meanings for Moriscos. Religion and religious identity was one part was one part of the complex meaning of migration for Moriscos. Migration to the Islamic world meant adopting Islam; staying in Spain, migrating to France or to another place in Europe or the New World meant embracing Christianity. For the Spanish, control over Morisco mobility was a way of controlling Morisco religiosity. Forbidding the Moriscos from emigrating was an attempt at forcing their conversion and assimilation. Officials understood that expelling the Moriscos was the same as allowing them, even forcing them, to convert to Islam. Men and women had different options when trying to navigate complex choices related to migration and conversion. In this chapter I discuss the relationship between migration and religion and the limits of Spanish control over both. I use mobility to indicate a broader range of movement than just migration, including the travel for trade or diplomacy as well as permanent migration and local travel as well as long-distance journies.

Migration, in addition to being a religious statement, was also a practical choice. Survival for Moriscos was precarious and it became more so at the end of the sixteenth century. As Moriscos sought ways to survive, migration was an important part of the choices they made to increase their chances at survival. Some Moriscos migrated illegally

to the Islamic world or to France, hoping that their material circumstances and their safety would be improved by leaving Spain. Other Moriscos stayed behind, hiding in remote areas or trying to blend in with their Old Christian neighbors, uninterested in leaving their homes for the unknown cities of the Mediterranean. After the expulsion, some Moriscos who went to North Africa found survival impossible in their new circumstances and they tried to return to Spain or to Europe, hoping to recoup some of the stability and security they had left behind. Moriscos controlled their own mobility by migrating illegally or by refusing to leave during the expulsion in acts of resistance.

Migration and expulsion affected men and women differently. Men, generally speaking, were more mobile than women. In the years before expulsion, men could more easily leave Spain if they wanted to and they could more easily pass as Christian travelers.<sup>3</sup> Traveling was dangerous for all Moriscos, but men were less vulnerable than women were (especially women who were separated from their families). Men could more easily return to Spain after the expulsion, leaving their families behind in North Africa, as Ricote did. On the other hand, it was easier for women to stay in Spain after the expulsion if they wished. Women did not pose the same security threat as Morisco men in Spain and officials were less interested in tracking down every last Morisca. In all cases, migration could break up families and often left Moriscos without the protections of family and community.

Spanish control over the mobility of Moriscos was part of a larger project to convert the Moriscos to Christianity and to prevent rebellion or invasion by Moriscos and

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<sup>3</sup> For an example of a Morisco who left Spain by pretending to be an Old Christian, see account of al-Ḥajarī in Chapter 5.

their potential allies. These two goals were frequently at odds with one another. In the end, security was deemed the more important objective. The policy of the Spanish monarchs of the sixteenth century was to prevent the apostasy of Moriscos by not allowing them to travel to the Islamic world. This served a dual purpose of also keeping them from cooperating with the Ottoman Turks in the Mediterranean. King Philip III changed this policy when he decreed the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609.

## **HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES**

The most important work on the Morisco expulsion is Henri Lapeyre's 1959 *Geographie de l'Espagne Morisque*. Lapeyre did a painstaking study of the expulsion, compiling tables and statistics on the logistics of expulsion based primarily on official reports from the Archivo General de Simancas. Lapeyre's work has held up, and scholars still cite his calculation of approximately 300,000 Moriscos expelled in 1609-1614.<sup>4</sup> Another classic work that established much of the groundwork for Lapeyre and others (and includes an impressive documentary appendix) is Florencio Janer's *Condición social de los moriscos*, published in 1827.<sup>5</sup>

More recently, several scholars have worked on the politics of expulsion. Grace Magnier and Benjamin Ehlers have written biographies of Pedro de Valencia and Juan de Ribera, two of the leading advocates for expulsion in Valencia.<sup>6</sup> Two recent dissertations have explored the writings of various church and state officials who were involved in the

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<sup>4</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*.

<sup>5</sup> Florencio Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos: Causas de su expulsión y consecuencias* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1827).

<sup>6</sup> Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*.

decision.<sup>7</sup> However, there are few works on the expulsion focused on the perspective of the Moriscos rather than that of church officials or the Spanish state. L.P. Harvey includes useful information in *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, but he devotes only one chapter to the expulsion.<sup>8</sup> Trevor Dadson has added to our knowledge of how the Morisco expulsion was carried out in La Mancha, but we are lacking similar works for other regions of Spain.<sup>9</sup> There is a near complete lack of work on Morisco migration before 1609, and no scholar has looked at Morisco migration before and after the expulsion as part of a continuous process.

The material for this chapter comes primarily from Inquisition cases. This dissertation is the first documentation of the Morisco expulsion using Inquisition cases, which allow us access to Morisco accounts of the expulsion, including where they went and what life was like abroad. Though it is unfortunate that these accounts are filtered through the Inquisitorial court system, these are remarkable sources and the only ones that contain Morisco narratives of the expulsion. I found these cases by looking at Inquisition summaries as well as trial records (where available) for Barcelona, Murcia (which held jurisdiction over Oran), Valencia, Sicily, and Cartagena de Indias for the years during and immediately after the expulsion. I purposely chose port cities where

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<sup>7</sup> Kathleen E Bartels, "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Spain: Nationalism and the Rejection of the Morisco 'Other,'" (PhD Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 2013) and Meaghan O'Halley, "Placing Islam: Alternative Visions of the Morisco Expulsion and Spanish Muslim-Christian Relations in the Sixteenth Century," (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*.

<sup>9</sup> Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos* and Dadson, "Los moriscos que no salieron."

Moriscos would be likely to be in transit.<sup>10</sup> Though there were far fewer Moriscos in the Inquisition's records after 1609, they still appeared frequently, until about the 1630's when they rarely appeared anymore. These were Moriscos who, for any number of reasons, had either stayed in Spain at the time of the expulsion or who left and came back or ended up in another part of the Spanish Empire. Often these Moriscos were slaves or captured corsairs (or both).

## **MORISCO MIGRATION BEFORE EXPULSION, 1492-1609**

### **Muslim Mobility**

Spanish policies to control Muslim mobility date to the post-Reconquista Middle Ages. For example, between 1382 and 1408 the Valencian *fuero* (charter) included a stipulation forbidding Muslims from traveling to Muslim territory.<sup>11</sup> The reason for this was primarily economic. The Valencian nobility relied upon Morisco peasant labor in the fields and mass migration to Granada or North Africa was a growing economic problem. However, other customary law and treaties guaranteed the right of Muslim subjects to travel to the Islamic world. For example, a 1250 charter granted by James I to the Muslims of the Vall d'Uixó in Valencia stated: "Any person wishing to depart from the Vall d'Uixó to go to Moorish territory may do so, and this is permitted even though no

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<sup>10</sup> I consulted the following: AHN Inquisition (Barcelona) Libros 732 and 733; AHN Inquisition (Murcia) Legajo 2022; AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Libro 939; AHN Inquisition (Sicily) Libros 899 and 900; and AHN Inquisition (Cartagena de Indias) Libros 1009 and 1010. In addition I looked at all of the Valencian Morisco legajos (548-556), which are arranged alphabetically, not chronologically like the summaries.

<sup>11</sup> Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 135.

truce be in force. . . ."<sup>12</sup> Travel could be permitted or restricted. The degree of freedom of mobility depended upon particular economic circumstances and the negotiation potential of Muslim minorities.

Many thousands of Muslims emigrated from Spain to North Africa during the late Middle Ages, with waves following every major Christian conquest, including during and after the 1492 conquest of Granada. The 1491 Capitulations of Granada assured that Muslims could emigrate if they wished:

Those Moors, both great and small, men and women, whether from Granada or from the Alpujarra and all other places, who may wish to go to live in Barbary or to such other places as they see fit, may sell their property, whether it be real estate or goods and chattels, in any manner and to whomsoever they like, and their highnesses will at no time take them away, or take them from those who may have bought them.<sup>13</sup>

However, the Crown rescinded the generous terms of the Capitulations, including the right to emigrate, when it began to baptize Moriscos against their will in 1500. As the Spanish military suppressed revolt in Granada, military leaders offered terms whereby a few people would be allowed to emigrate at great cost, but the majority of the population was required to stay in Spain and face baptism.<sup>14</sup> The decision to enforce baptism and limit the possibilities for emigration became precedent and was enacted in Castile in 1502 and in Aragon in 1526.

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<sup>12</sup> Translated in *Ibid*, 125; also see Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 121-123.

<sup>13</sup> "Capitulations of Granada (1491)," *Los Moriscos*, 346.

<sup>14</sup> Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, 40-41.

The 1502 law that required the conversion of the Muslims of Castile was called the “Provision of the Catholic Monarchs that the Moors leave the Kingdom . . . .”<sup>15</sup> The law was framed as a choice—Muslims could accept baptism or leave. But the choice in this case was a legal fiction. The law went on to say that Muslims would be allowed to leave only via ports in Basque country along the French border—far away from any of the centers of Muslim population. In addition, the law stated that “because we are at war with the Muslims of Africa and with the Turks, we also mandate that they may not go to Africa or to the lands of the Turks, under penalty of death and confiscation of all property.”<sup>16</sup> Muslims were also prohibited from going to any Spanish territory, including the other Iberian kingdoms or the New World.

Once baptized, Moriscos were forbidden to travel to the Islamic world under pain of death.<sup>17</sup> There were several reasons for this. One reason for restricting travel to North Africa was security. Spanish officials were perennially worried about a Morisco-Ottoman alliance, and Moriscos who attempted to travel to North Africa or who had contacts in the Islamic world were suspected of plotting a rebellion or an invasion. And as in the Middle Ages, landowners did not want their Morisco laborers to leave their fields uncultivated.

A final reason was religious—Moriscos were Christians and leaving Spain for North Africa was apostasy and heresy. This was why the Inquisition held jurisdiction

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<sup>15</sup> "Provisión de los Reyes Católicos para que los moros salgan del reino y sobre la manera en que han de andar los que fueron cautivos (12 febrero 1502)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 235.

<sup>17</sup> Migration and communication with North Africa was highly restricted in general; Old Christians could also be subject to secular or Inquisitorial punishment for attempting to travel to the Islamic world without the proper permits. Clandestine migration was under the jurisdiction of overlapping secular and Inquisitorial authorities. See Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, 188-190.

over Moriscos who were caught trying to leave Spain. This did not apply only to Moriscos—occasionally the Inquisition tried Old Christians for apostasy for traveling without permission to North Africa. For example, in 1611 the Murcian Tribunal tried a young Old Christian soldier from named Miguel Pérez for traveling in Muslim territory without permission. He told the court he left Oran because he was sick and needed to return to Spain, but could not get the necessary permits. He decided to try and get back to Spain via Melilla, though he never got further than Tlemcen. On the road he pretended to be a Morisco in order to avoid unwanted attention.<sup>18</sup>

Restrictions against Morisco mobility were not limited to traveling to North Africa or the Ottoman Empire. For example, a 1502 law prohibited the Moriscos of Castile from traveling to Granada or anywhere outside the Kingdom of Castile.<sup>19</sup> A 1537 law ordered the death penalty or galley sentences to any Moriscos found near the sea in the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>20</sup> A 1567 decree issued by Philip II in Valencia, no doubt with the growing tensions in Granada in mind, prohibited the Moriscos from moving to Christian areas or traveling along the coast between Valencia and Barcelona.<sup>21</sup> These restrictions were all issued with security in mind. Restricting the mobility of Moriscos

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<sup>18</sup> See AHN Inquisition (Murcia), Libro 2022/32.

<sup>19</sup> "Pragmática dada por los Reyes Católicos sobre que los recién convertidos de Castilla no se trasladen al Reino de Granada (17 septiembre 1502, Toledo)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012), 238.

<sup>20</sup> "Disposición sobre moriscos en las Cortes de Monzón de 1537 (1537, Monzón)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> "Pragmatica dels novament convertits, sobre lo muda sos domicilis de un lloch a altres y del costarse e tractar ab los moros que vene de allende ab fustes y de altres coses (1567, junio, 25, Valencia)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012). The law was repeated in 1586, suggesting that it was not effectively enforced.

could help prevent a rebellion; Moriscos in Granada or near the coasts were particularly dangerous.

### **The Muslim Obligation to Emigrate**

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mālikī<sup>22</sup> fatwas clearly establish the obligation for Muslims to emigrate from non-Muslim territories by any possible means.<sup>23</sup>

The fatwa collections demonstrate that the question of migration was an important one for Muslims in Spain and North Africa and that migration carried religious meaning. The central question was whether a Muslim could live in non-Muslim territory. Specifically, the fatwas considered when Muslims would be required to leave non-Muslim lands and under what circumstances they might be permitted to stay. The number of fatwas that considered migration indicate that this question was of great significance.<sup>24</sup>

Long considered a fatwa, though it likely was not, is a document written by Ahmad b. Abi Jum‘a al-Wahrani (d. 1511), better known in Spanish historiography as the “Mufti of Oran.”<sup>25</sup> Al-Wahrani instructed the Moriscos in how they might continue to

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<sup>22</sup> The *Mālikī* school of law is one of the four principle schools of Islamic law. It was (and is) prevalent in Islamic Spain, North Africa, and West Africa.

<sup>23</sup> See Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 53. Mālikī law was particularly conservative about Muslims living under non-Muslim rule. Alan J. Verskin, *Oppressed in the Land?: Fatwas on Muslims Living under Non-Muslim Rule from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2013).

<sup>24</sup> This is not the only historical moment when this question was considered to be of utmost importance. For a longer historical context see Alan J. Verskin, *Oppressed in the Land?: Fatwas on Muslims Living under Non-Muslim Rule from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2013) and Khaled Abou el Fadl, "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities: The Juristic Discourse on Muslim Minorities from the Second/Eighth to the Eleventh/Seventeenth Centuries," *Islamic Law and Society*. 1, no. 2 (1994): 141-187.

<sup>25</sup> Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 240 and Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 58-65. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of the content of the “fatwa.” Though it is usually called a fatwa, it does not follow the structure of a fatwa and the reasoning is not based on legal precedent and Islamic texts, as would be expected in a fatwa. Thanks to Jocelyn Hendrickson for pointing this out.

practice Islam after forced baptism. Many historians, and possibly some Moriscos or other contemporaries, have interpreted this to mean that al-Wahrani dissented from the majority opinion, saying that a Muslim might stay in non-Muslim territories. However, this was not the case: al-Wahrani merely gave instructions about what to do if migration was impossible.<sup>26</sup> In recognizing that migration was, generally speaking, an unreasonable requirement for most, al-Wahrani did show exceptional empathy for the circumstances of the Moriscos. The popularity of al-Wahrani's letter among Moriscos in Spain shows that many Moriscos were aware of the obligation to emigrate. Al-Wahrani's was the only document that addressed the concerns of the Moriscos specifically. Al-Wahrani asserted that Moriscos could be good Muslims, but his opinion was unique and relevant in Spain but less so in North Africa— no copies of the document have ever been found in North Africa.

There were several fatwas on the obligation to emigrate issued around the time of the conquest of Granada. The other emigration fatwas dated from the late fifteenth century and were clearly talking about Mudéjars (Spanish Muslims) and not the baptized Moriscos. The juridical consensus was that Muslims must emigrate whenever possible. The jurists varied in their opinions as to how grievous it was for a Muslim to stay in Christian territory. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah Ibn Bartal said that Muslims living in Christian territory could be redeemed if they eventually left,<sup>27</sup> while al-Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah al-Waryagli said that Muslims living in Christian territory were

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<sup>26</sup> See L.P. Harvey for a translation of the letter: Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 61-63.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Zayyati. *Al-Jawahir al-mukhtara* BNRM D-3832; BFRAAS 584. Translated in Jocelyn Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharisi's 'Asna al-matajir' Reconsidered," (PhD Dissertation, Emory University, 2009), 402.

not Muslims at all and were enemies of the religion.<sup>28</sup> The hostility toward Spanish Muslims in these Moroccan fatwas reflected the tension between North Africans and the Andalusian immigrants whose numbers were increasing in the wake of the conquest of Granada.<sup>29</sup>

Another example of a fatwa that directly addresses the Andalusians is “The Most Noble Commerce, an Exposition of the Rulings Governing One Whose Native Land has been Conquered by the Christians and Who Has Not Emigrated, and the Punishments and Admonishments Accruing to Him,” in Arabic “*Asnā al-matājir fī bayān aḥkām man ghalaba ‘alā waṭanihi al-Naṣārā wa-lam yuhājir, wa-mā yatarattabu ‘alayhi min al-‘uqūbāt wa-l’zawājir,*” a fatwa written in 1491 by the jurist (and compiler of a large collection of Maghribi fatwas) Ahmad al-Wansharisi.<sup>30</sup> The question posed in the fatwa presents the problem of a group of Andalusians, likely immigrants from Granada, who decide upon their arrival in Morocco that they would rather go back to Spain. The questioner (who was not one of the Andalusians) presented their enthusiasm for life in Spain, which was based on a desire for material comfort and security rather than religion, as a betrayal of Islam:

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<sup>28</sup> Translated in Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 397-399.

<sup>29</sup> I agree with Hendrickson here that these fatwas must be examined in their North African context, but Hendrickson connects the fatwas to the increasing Spanish and Portuguese presence in North Africa and not to the immigration of Andalusians; both of these trends are relevant to the historical context. Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate."

<sup>30</sup> Al-Wansharīsī compiled a well-known fatwa collection that has been fully published in Arabic and partially translated to French. It has been the basis of a number of historical studies including Powers, *Law, Society, and Culture*. See *Al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib wa al-jāmi' al-mughrib can fatāwī ahl Ifrīqiya wa al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib* (Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqaf wa-al-Shuun al-Islamiyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah, 1981) and al-Wansharisi, *Histoire et société en occident musulman*.

After having reached the land of Islam they regretted their emigration (*hijra*). They became angry and alleged that they found their condition difficult and impoverished. They alleged that they did not find in the land of Islam – which is this land of the Maghrib, may God preserve her, guard her dwellings, and grant her ruler victory – with respect to the means for procuring any type of income at all, any kindness, ease, or support; nor did they find sufficient security with respect to their ability to move throughout the region. They made this clear with a variety of ugly language which demonstrated their weakness in religion, their lack of the correct certainty in their faith, and the fact that their emigration was not for God and His messenger as alleged. Rather, it was only for worldly gain that they hoped to attain immediately upon their arrival, in convenient accordance with their desires. When they found that [emigration to the Maghrib] was not amenable to their interests, they openly derided the land of Islam and its state of affairs, cursing and defaming that which had prompted their emigration. They openly praised the land of unbelief (*dār al-kufr*) and its inhabitants, and (openly expressed) regret at having left it.<sup>31</sup>

Al-Wansharisi's answer was that material concerns had no effect on the obligation to emigrate and that it would not be acceptable for the Andalusians to return to Christian Spain. The fatwa, like other fatwas of its time, reveals antagonism towards Andalusians. The Andalusians in the question were not good Muslims. They valued wealth over religion and were willing to submit to the King of Castile in order to live more comfortably. Al-Wansharisi's emphatic disapproval of these Muslims is obvious in his answer, which goes on for many pages.

But there is also a hint of compassion in al- Wansharisi's lengthy response as he acknowledged that emigration is not always possible:

Thus if the one who is afflicted with this residence is incapable of fleeing with his religion and unable to find a way to do so; and no scheme appears to him, nor any power to devise such a scheme by any way or means; or if he is in the condition of one who is confined or imprisoned; or if he is very sick or very weak; then it is

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<sup>31</sup> Ahmad b. Yahya al-Wansharisi, *Al-Mi'yar al-mu'rib wa-al-jami' al-mughrib 'an fatawa ahl Ifriqiyah wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* vol. 2, (Rabat: Wizarat al-Awqaf wa-al-Shuun al-Islamiyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah, 1981), 119-141. Translated in Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 341-342.

hoped that he will be forgiven, and he comes to occupy the same [legal status] as one who is forced to utter words of unbelief. However, he must also maintain a steadfast intention that, if he had the power or ability, he would emigrate. Accompanying this intention must be a sincere resolve, that if he gains the power to emigrate at any point, he will use that [power] to do so. As for the one who is capable [of emigrating], in any way and by any possible means, he is not excused [from doing so]. He wrongs himself if he remains, according to what is indicated in the relevant Qur'anic verses and hadith.<sup>32</sup>

Though al-Wansharisi's response was clear about the sins of the Andalusians who were disappointed by the land of Islam and Muslims who did not emigrate in general, he recognized that emigration was not always possible for Muslims in Christian territory for a variety of reasons. Though this fatwa was written before the forced conversion of the Moriscos, the jurist nonetheless recognized that emigration in the Western Mediterranean was not always a free choice for Muslims. Taken as a whole, these fatwas on the obligation to emigrate given in the context of both Christian rule in Spain and in North Africa expressed hostility towards Muslims who lived under Christian rule but they also allowed for some flexibility depending on specific circumstances. There was considerable room for interpretation in what was meant by "capable."

### **Escape**

Many Moriscos resisted the mobility restrictions by traveling abroad or by traveling between Spanish kingdoms or in other prohibited areas. Moriscos left Spain to escape persecution by the Inquisition,<sup>33</sup> in order to practice Islam openly, to reunite with family, or to seek better material circumstances. Moriscos frequently left for religious

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<sup>32</sup> al-Wansharisi, *al-Mi'yar*, vol. 2, 119-141. Translated in Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 347.

<sup>33</sup> See the example of al-Hajari, discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

reasons. There are no estimates as to how many Moriscos left Spain before the expulsion in 1609, particularly because migration was illegal and successful migrants kept their travels secret. But there is evidence in the Inquisition records and elsewhere that migration was common, especially as rumors of imminent expulsion spread.<sup>34</sup> In a letter to the Duke of Gandia written in 1560, Phillip II expressed dismay that Moriscos (along with their valuables) were leaving Spain and requested that the Duke be vigilant.<sup>35</sup> The Portuguese cleric Antonio de Sosa, who was held prisoner in Algiers in the late 1570's, estimated that there were one thousand Morisco households in Algiers and noted that the arrival of Moriscos in Algiers was a daily event.<sup>36</sup>

Moriscos often traveled to the Islamic world via France. This route was safer because the border with France was less strictly monitored. Also, the consequences for getting caught going to France might be less severe, though Moriscos caught en route to France might still be suspected of trying to escape to the Islamic world. There were three primary routes out of France: via the Atlantic ports Saint-Jean-de-Luz or La Rochelle to Morocco, via Marseilles to Algiers or Tunis, or overland to Venice and from there to the Ottoman lands of the eastern Mediterranean. Enough Moriscos passed through the

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<sup>34</sup> Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 177-178.

<sup>35</sup> *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845: Archives et bibliothèques d'Espagne* vol. 3, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1961), 1-3.

<sup>36</sup> Sosa, *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam*, 123 and 319. This work was formerly attributed to Diego de Haedo.

Pyrenees into France that a sophisticated infrastructure existed to help get them to their destinations.<sup>37</sup>

A sixteenth-century Aljamiado manual provided emigrating Moriscos with instructions on how to get to Venice through France, including hints on how much to pay in tolls at different places along the way. The guide even warns Moriscos to make sure to agree on a price before renting a room in an inn in Venice and to avoid eating in the hotel because they overcharge. The guide then instructs Moriscos to find a Turkish merchant (identifiable by their white turbans) at the Piazza San Marco in Venice and to tell them that they had a brother in Salonica they wanted to visit. The final boat trip to Ottoman lands was one ducat per person.<sup>38</sup>

In 1577, the Valencia Tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition accused a Morisco man named Doctor Jabar “the Surgeon” of being a secret Muslim. The trial was conducted as every trial was—witnesses provided testimony, the Inquisition collected evidence, the judges voted on a verdict and punishment. However, in this case, however, there was no prisoner. Doctor Jabar was long gone and living in Algeria. The Inquisition conducted the entire trial with the defendant in absentia, calling on witness after witness to provide

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<sup>37</sup> Jorge Gil Herrera, and Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Los moriscos fuera de España: rutas y financiación," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013), 215. Also see García-Arenal, "Los moriscos en Marruecos," 287-295.

<sup>38</sup> The original is Aljamiado Manuscript #774 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Transcribed and translated in J.N. Lincoln, "An Itinerary for Morisco Refugees from Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Geographical Review*. 29, no. 3 (1939): 483-487.

testimony. On June 19, 1583, the Inquisition burned Doctor Jabar the Surgeon at the stake in absentia.<sup>39</sup>

The Inquisition's evidence that Doctor Jabar was a secret Muslim was the very fact that he had left Spain for Algeria. They called in witness after witness who had seen Doctor Jabar make preparations to go to Algeria or who had helped him in some way. Many of his neighbors assumed Doctor Jabar was an Old Christian—he apparently spoke Spanish fluently and sometimes in the documents his last name is spelled Jover. One witness referred to him as *el vizcayno*—the Basque.<sup>40</sup>

Doctor Jabar took advantage of his ability to convince people that he was an Old Christian as he began to formulate his plan to leave Spain. He told neighbors that he was planning on going to Málaga and from there to Seville and then to the Indies, where he wanted to join his rich brother. He contracted a fisherman named Alonso to take him on the journey to the Spanish port. According to Alonso's testimony, Doctor Jabar told him he was planning on going to the Indies, but after the two men had sat and shared a meal the Doctor confided in him that he really wanted to go to Algiers, where he had an uncle who was second in command to the King (presumably he meant the Ottoman Pasha). The Doctor would pay Alonso handsomely for the journey and they would both come back with seventy or eighty ransomed Christian captives.

The Doctor told Alonso that he should not worry about the ethics of the proposition, since although it was bad to go to Algiers, it was good to ransom captives.

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<sup>39</sup> Meaning that an effigy of the doctor was burned at a public auto-da-fé. AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 552, no.9.

<sup>40</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 552/9.

Alonso agreed, but told the Doctor that there was no way his little fishing boat would make it to Algiers since it was designed to stay along the coast. So Doctor Jabar found a different boat and the men set out on their trip.<sup>41</sup>

In a letter written in Arabic that Doctor Jabar sent to a relative named Muḥammad in Valencia from Annaba, Algeria, the Doctor recounted the rest of his journey. He first went to Barcelona and from there to Marseilles. From Marseilles he went to Annaba with three other Muslims. In Annaba, he met a wealthy man (*qā'id*, the Morisco translator rendered this as *alcalde*) who gave him a horse in exchange for medical treatment. He still hoped to make it to Algiers. He ended the letter beseeching Muḥammad not to worry about him and said that he hoped that they would meet again soon, somewhere. He signed the letter 'Ali ibn Muhammad.<sup>42</sup>

Doctor Jabar's escape from Spain required careful planning, connections, and a lot of money. The journey itself was dangerous, especially in a small boat. Doctor Jabar was lucky—his successful escape kept him out of the hands of the Inquisition and his burning was symbolic only. Many others who were caught before they could actually leave or who perished at sea were not so lucky.<sup>43</sup>

### **An Ode to Migration**

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<sup>41</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), 552/9.

<sup>42</sup> The actual Arabic document is in the trial dossier along with the court's translation, AHN Inquisition (Valencia) 552/9. In the letter Doctor Jabar does not mention Alonso, but according to Alonso's testimony he went all the way to Annaba with him. More description of the condition of the letter in Labarta, "Inventario," 150. Excerpts of the trial record, including the letter, are in Luis García Ballester, and Rosa María Blasco Martínez, *Los moriscos y la medicina : un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Labor, 1984), 186-188

<sup>43</sup> Doctor Jabar's story of escape is hauntingly reminiscent of the illegal and dangerous journeys on tiny, frail boats many immigrants take today in the opposite direction.

A sixteenth-century poem written by a Valencian Morisco who escaped to Algeria describes the experience of migration to Algeria and, like the letter that Doctor Jabar sent to his relatives from Algeria, proves that Moriscos who left Spain were sometimes able to stay in touch with friends and family back in Spain. Perhaps this correspondence encouraged others to follow in the footsteps of successful emigrants by revealing the most successful paths of clandestine migration. Moriscos who maintained ties with relatives in North Africa could plan on joining them at their final destinations and could rely on the support of fellow immigrants to get settled, as immigrants today often do.

Little is known about the provenance of the poem. It is Valencian and dates from sometime in the sixteenth century, but there is no indication of a specific date or who the author or the recipients might have been. The poet talked about his trip to Algiers through Barcelona and then Marseilles. He recounted to his loved ones his first visit to the Great Mosque of Algiers, and how moved he was by the sight of so many people shouting “*Allāhu akbar!*” While inside the mosque, he reflected on all the times he had been forced to visit churches in Spain, and talked about the enormous relief and happiness he felt to finally be in a mosque. But for the last several lines, the poet turned to his grief at leaving his family and loved ones in Spain, saying: “Separation is bitter/ absence is life in days/ I left my family and loved ones/ to grieve for all time.”<sup>44</sup>

It is remarkable that Moriscos were able to send letters back to their families and friends in Spain after emigration, but it must have been very difficult to send news given the restrictions on travel between North Africa and Spain and the illegal status of Arabic

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<sup>44</sup> Printed in: Barceló and Labarta, *Archivos moriscos*, 255. Original is at the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Navarra, Colección Luis Cebrián Mezquita, caja 29.

writings. This particular poem was copied at least once, suggesting that news like this was treasured and shared among family members if not the larger community. News of any kind, but especially happy news of successful travel and arrival in North Africa likely encouraged others to make the same journey. Both Doctor Jabar and the anonymous poet gave a fairly detailed account of the route they took—perhaps intending to provide specific guidance for others who might join them, disguised as a mere account of their trip.

## **EXPULSION AND RETURN, 1609-1659**

### **The Decision to Expel**

There is no way of knowing exactly when the idea of expelling the Moriscos from the peninsula first emerged or when it was first discussed seriously by the King or his advisers. It seems to have gained traction in the 1560's, as tension between Old Christians and Moriscos was increasing in Granada and then as war broke out in the Alpujarras. The idea became more and more popular and continued to be discussed seriously at court. Eventually the debates were about how and when expulsion would happen.

Advocates of expulsion argued that the Moriscos were still Muslims a generation after baptism, and that their presence in Spain was dangerous.<sup>45</sup> Rebellion seemed possible at any moment; and in the event of an attack by Huguenot Protestants from France just across the border the Moriscos might help the enemy. If the Ottomans or

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<sup>45</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 294.

corsairs from North Africa were to raid or invade, the Moriscos would surely help their coreligionists—in fact, they would try to encourage them to come and give them valuable intelligence that would help them mount an attack.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the increasing popularity of expulsion and rising tension between Moriscos and Old Christians in the last decades of the sixteenth century, there continued to be many who opposed expulsion. However, even opponents did not argue that the continued practice of Islam among Moriscos was problematic, just that they believed that the Moriscos should be given more time to convert and assimilate. Language barriers and a lack of resources had hindered the Church's efforts at true conversion, but those were obstacles that could be overcome, they argued. Opponents cited financial considerations—an expulsion would be expensive and divert funds from other, more important things—especially while Spain was at war with the Netherlands. The Moriscos paid taxes, which benefited the crown and the Valencian nobility. In addition, Valencian landholders relied on Morisco labor for production. Others, especially within the Church hierarchy, were appalled by the possibility of sending baptized Christians to the Islamic world, where they would likely be forced to become Muslims again. Many were concerned in particular with the souls of innocent Morisco children who might have grown up to become good Christians in Spain.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, there were many who were concerned about Spain's security if the Moriscos were sent to North Africa. Morisco immigrants would augment the number of

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<sup>46</sup> Miguel Ángel Bunes Ibarra, "La expulsión de los moriscos en el contexto de la política mediterránea de Felipe II," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013), 47-48.

<sup>47</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 297-298. See also Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*.

Spain's enemies on the nearby shore, swelling the numbers of corsairs and others who might attack Spain or its ships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. And the Moriscos, with their knowledge of Spanish and of Iberian geography, would be especially dangerous. Finally, because the Moriscos were baptized Christians, and it was generally acknowledged that at least a few were genuine Christians or might one day become genuine Christians, expulsion horrified many on spiritual grounds. Surely the Church could win them over, given enough time and resources; the alternative was to send them back to Islam.<sup>48</sup>

In 1581 King Phillip and a group of advisers met in Lisbon to discuss, among other things, possible solutions to the "Morisco problem." The Junta of Lisbon considered a number of different possibilities, many of which were far more horrifying than expulsion. One extreme proposal suggested taking some Moriscos (those thought to be more Christianized would be exempt) to sea and intentionally sinking the ships, drowning the Morisco passengers—a solution that would appease those who were concerned about the Moriscos augmenting the population of Spain's enemies abroad.<sup>49</sup> Phillip II was in favor of expulsion but worried about the spiritual implications of expelling Christian souls, insisting that if the Moriscos were to be expelled, their children should stay behind in Spain.

The Junta asked the Inquisitor of Valencia, Jiménez de Reinoso, for his thoughts on the possible expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia, and the Inquisitor sent back a

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 301-303.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 295 and Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, 296.

lengthy reply enthusiastically encouraging expulsion. Though he acknowledged the disadvantages, particularly for the nobility, he urged the King on, saying that the benefits greatly outweighed the costs.<sup>50</sup> The Junta of Lisbon recommended expulsion as the only way to prevent revolt in Valencia. They further recommended that baptized children be required to stay in Spain, and that the Valencian nobility be compensated with confiscated Morisco lands.<sup>51</sup> Following the Junta's recommendation, in September 1582 the Council of State endorsed the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia, but not from Castile or the rest of Aragon. King Phillip II ultimately decided against following the recommendation, persuaded by the Valencian nobility led by the Marquis of Dénia that the economic effects would be catastrophic.<sup>52</sup>

Phillip II continued to pursue conversion and assimilation, perhaps hoping that the discovery of the Sacromonte Lead Books in 1595 would finally encourage the Moriscos to embrace Christianity.<sup>53</sup> He also continued to consider more permanent solutions. In 1587 the Bishop of Segorbe, Martín de Salvatierra, suggested first castrating and then deporting the Moriscos to Newfoundland, where they would be sure to quickly die off.<sup>54</sup> In 1599, the Council of State proposed sending all Morisco men between 15 and 60 to the galleys.<sup>55</sup> Proposals to sterilize Moriscos or to send the Moriscos to die at sea continued

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<sup>50</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 298.

<sup>51</sup> Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 201, report in Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* vol. 1, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992), 300-301.

<sup>52</sup> Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 106.

<sup>53</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 300.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 296, original in Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, vol. 1, 633-634.

<sup>55</sup> Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 201.

to surface until a decision was made in 1609.<sup>56</sup> Proponents of genocide argued that sending the Moriscos to North Africa was too dangerous for Spain's security. When Phillip II died in 1598, his son Phillip III continued his father's Morisco policy. He continued to consider possibilities ranging from intensifying missionary efforts to expulsion to genocide, but at first he was as hesitant as his father.

One influential advocate of expulsion was the Archbishop of Valencia Juan de Ribera. The Archbishop had once been an opponent of expulsion. He began his career in Valencia in 1569 optimistic about the conversion of the Moriscos, but by 1582 he had given up and decided that the Moriscos would never become true Christians. Ribera began a campaign of enthusiastically lobbying Phillip II and then Phillip III for expulsion, making his claims on theological grounds and using his extensive familiarity with the Morisco communities of Valencia to argue that they were dangerous and unassimilable.<sup>57</sup> Ribera also took on those who opposed the expulsion for economic reasons, arguing that the Moriscos were actually hurting Spain economically: "They work for less than the Old Christians . . . because the Moriscos are so frugal and avaricious that they neither eat, nor drink, nor by clothes."<sup>58</sup> Juan de Ribera's support lent Church authority to expulsion, which was especially important given the papacy's refusal to back it.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 297.

<sup>57</sup> Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 103-106.

<sup>58</sup> Translated in *Ibid*, 130.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 143; Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 160. For more on the role of Rome see Stefania Pastore, "Roma y la expulsión de los Moriscos," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013).

By 1608 the balance had tipped in favor of expulsion. Historians disagree about the exact reasons why the moment was suddenly right for action, most agree that one important factor was that the Duke of Lerma Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, a hugely influential person in King Phillip III's court, decided to back expulsion. Lerma was a member of the Valencian aristocracy, and like his fellow noblemen, he had opposed expulsion on primarily economic grounds. Kamen and Harvey both argue that it was economics changed Lerma's mind. Before expulsion would have cost Lerma and others in the Valencian nobility, but Lerma proposed that the Valencian nobility receive as compensation the confiscated Morisco lands. This proposal tipped the balance of opinion among the Valencian aristocracy, who had once been the primary defenders of the Moriscos, in favor of expulsion.<sup>60</sup>

Part of the answer may also be in Phillip III's evolving foreign policy in the Mediterranean. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra argues that the expulsion of the Moriscos fit into a policy of greater aggression towards Muslims by Catholic Europe, including Spain, Rome, and Venice. The Duke of Lerma believed that control of the Mediterranean was vital to Spain's international security and was also behind the 1610 invasion of Larache on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Rumors of a possible Dutch- or English-Ottoman alliance put additional pressure on King Phillip III to do something about the Moriscos as potential supporters of the Ottomans in the event of an invasion. Though contemporaries often understood the decision in its Mediterranean context, in recent years historians have typically emphasized other reasons. One reason for this, according

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<sup>60</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 302 and Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (London and New York: Longman, 1991), 220-221.

to Bunes Ibarra, is that historians have assumed that the Ottoman Empire was not much of a threat anymore by 1609 and the attention of Spanish foreign policy was elsewhere. But this is an assumption based on what we know in hindsight— the decline of the Ottoman Empire was far from obvious to the Spanish crown.<sup>61</sup>

### **The Realities of Expulsion**

King Phillip III signed the expulsion decree on April 14, 1609, the same day he signed the Twelve Years' Truce with the Netherlands. To what extent the two events were related is a matter of interpretation. The expulsion may have provided a way for Phillip III and the Duke of Lerma to shore up their Christian credentials in the face of defeat with Protestants in Europe.<sup>62</sup> Whether or not that was their intent, that was how they presented the decision to the public.

Phillip III's decision was made in April, and the decree was announced in Valencia on September 22, 1609. For logistical reasons, expulsion would happen one region at a time, and Valencia would be first because its Moriscos were considered to be the most problematic and dangerous. Ships would be assembled at ports along the eastern coast of Spain where they would take the Moriscos to North Africa. Though the decision was supposed to be a secret before the official announcement in September, the Crown assembled fifty galleys off the coasts of Valencia, brought in 4,000 soldiers from Italy

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<sup>61</sup> Bunes Ibarra, "La expulsión de los moriscos en el contexto de la política mediterránea de Felipe II," 60-61. Feros implies that Lerma always opposed expulsion, by discussing his reasons for opposing and never suggesting that he changed his mind or had a hand in the 1609 decision. But he does not discuss it directly or provide evidence, making it difficult to take his position seriously given the consensus that he was an important voice behind expulsion. He also does not discuss Phillip III's Moroccan policy or the invasion of Larache, Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, 198-206.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 203-204 and Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 143.

and stationed them at port cities, and assembled the Castilian cavalry at the border to keep people from trying to escape into Castile. Everyone noticed the preparations, and there was widespread panic in Valencia during the summer of 1609.<sup>63</sup>

The English diplomat Hugh Lee was stationed in Lisbon at the time of the expulsion. He sent a letter home describing the massive mobilization he witnessed in the fall of 1609.

At present this state are wholly busied in the providing of shipping to send into Andolozia for the transporting of Moores into Barbary, by reason of treason complotted by theym to gyve ane entrance unto the Great Turke into these kingdoms the which being discoverid they are sentensed generally to be banished.<sup>64</sup>

Lee went on to describe how the Spanish gathered ships and soldiers from their entire Mediterranean fleet to transport the Moriscos.<sup>65</sup>

Henri Lapeyre calculated that 47,000 Moriscos left via Dénia, 18,000 via Valencia, 6,000 via Moncófar, 15,000 via Alfaques, and 30,000 via Alicante, for a total of about 116,000 Moriscos leaving via Valencian ports in the fall of 1609.<sup>66</sup> Most of the vessels from these eastern ports went to Oran in what is now Algeria. Moriscos were not allowed to stay in Spanish-controlled Oran. From there most traveled east to Algeria and Tunisia; others stayed near Oran or traveled west to Tlemcen or Morocco.

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<sup>63</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 179.

<sup>64</sup> *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845: Archives et bibliothèques de Angleterre* vol. 2, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925), 428-429

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 429.

<sup>66</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*, 62, see summary in Vincent, "La geografía de la expulsión," 30. For population statistics I rely mostly on Vincent, who has summarized Lapeyre's 1959 findings and supplemented them with more recent research where available.

One of the reasons that the Crown hesitated to expel the Moriscos was fear of revolt. The Spanish stationed experienced troops in the mountains of Valencia, predicting that revolting Moriscos would take high ground. Between ten and twenty thousand Moriscos revolted, choosing undefended mountainous areas. The Moriscos managed to hold their positions for several months until the harsh conditions of winter and lack of supplies forced their surrender. The rebels were enslaved or deported and many were sent to the galleys.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 313-314 and Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 183-185.

The next region after Valencia was southern Castile: Extremadura, Andalusia, and Murcia, decreed and announced in the winter of 1609-1610. These decrees gave Moriscos just thirty days to leave the Peninsula. Most left through the ports of Seville (18,000 people), Malaga (11,000 people), and Cartagena (6,500 people). Many of the ships that left Seville went to Ceuta (another Spanish-controlled town), Tangier, or Marseilles.<sup>68</sup> Many Moriscos from Castile also traveled overland to France: 17,000 Moriscos passed through Burgos on their way North before Phillip III closed the French border in April 2010, once again fearing a Huguenot-Morisco alliance.<sup>69</sup> A final wave of Castilian Moriscos left Cartagena in the summer of 1610 (15,000 people).

In May Phillip III signed decrees of expulsion for Catalonia and Aragon. About 42,000 Moriscos (about 4,000 from Catalonia, the rest from Aragon) left via the port of Alfaques, mostly bound for Oran but some destined for Marseilles, Livorno, Tetouan, or Tunis. An additional 10,000 Aragonese Moriscos left overland via Navarre.<sup>70</sup> Adding up these numbers gives us a number of 243,000 Moriscos who left Spain in 1609-1610. An additional 29,000 mostly from Castile, left Spain between 1610 and 1614. By February 20, 1614, the expulsion of the Moriscos was complete.

The records are fairly reliable about how many people embarked at each Spanish port, but their final destinations are much more difficult to determine. Generally speaking, the majority of the Moriscos who left from eastern Spanish ports went to Oran

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<sup>68</sup> Vincent, "La geografía de la expulsión," 32, Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*, 169-170. See Vincent for more about the questions surrounding those Marseilles-bound vessels.

<sup>69</sup> Vincent, "La geografía de la expulsión," 33.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 34-35.

and those who left from Seville or Malaga went to Moroccan ports (Tangier or Ceuta). Where they went after arrival is even trickier to ascertain, and many likely traveled to very distant places after that initial overseas journey. From Oran many went further east to Algiers or Tunis, others settled near Tlemcen to the West, and still others went eventually to Morocco. From Moroccan ports many settled near Tetouan or near Rabat-Salé on the Atlantic Coast.<sup>71</sup> Some Moriscos traveled further south, across the Sahara desert, or further east into the heartlands of the Arab world and the Ottoman Empire.

A very large number of Moriscos initially went not to North Africa, but to France—either on ships that stopped in Marseilles or overland across the Pyrenees. Vincent estimates that 50,000 to 60,000 Moriscos went to France. However, most people who initially went to France did not stay there. Initially, Henry IV intended to allow Moriscos who were willing to convert to Christianity to stay in France. A law passed in February 1610 invited the Moriscos to stay in France, though they would not be allowed to stay too close to the Spanish frontier:

His majesty has every good intention toward them—of treating them with humanity, receiving them in his realms, where those willing to make a profession of the Roman Catholic Apostolic faith may reside in all security. Those others who do not wish to do so will be granted right of passing freely as far as his ports for the Levant so that they may thence arrange transport to Barbary, or elsewhere, as they may wish.<sup>72</sup>

Undoubtedly Henry IV's offer is why so many of the expelled Moriscos went to France in the first place. But Henry IV's death just a few months later effectively ended the Moriscos' chances to settle in France and most of the Moriscos who traveled to

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted and translated in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 318.

Marseilles probably made their way eventually to the Islamic world (especially to Oran or Tunis); though some stayed in France or made their way to other parts of Europe or to the Ottoman Empire. The lack of French records similar to the Spanish embarkation records makes it impossible for us to know for sure, though a letter sent in March 1609 announced that from that point forward Moriscos would be turned away at the French border and sent to Cartagena and from there to North Africa.<sup>73</sup> Still, Voltaire later claimed that many of those who wished to be Christians stayed in Provence, Languedoc, and even Paris, where they were “incorporated into the nation.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *SIHM*, vol. 2, 431.

<sup>74</sup> Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII* (Geneva, 1771), 269. See also Dakhli, "Musulmans en France et en Grand-Bretagne à l'époque moderne : exemplaires et invisibles".



Figure 3. Expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia, including approximate number of people who left via each embarkation point. Data from Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.



Figure 4. Expulsion of the Moriscos from Castile, including approximate number of people who left via each embarkation point. Data from Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.



Figure 5. Expulsion of the Moriscos from Aragon, including approximate number of people who left via each embarkation point. Data from Lapeyre, Henri. *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1959.



Figure 6. Principal expulsion routes, 1609-1610.

### Moriscos in Spain after The Expulsion

Do you not understand, that every day many of us go to Algeria and to Barbary, purchasing and stealing boats with great risk and danger? And now we are given safe and free passage. Who would miss out on such a good opportunity to go the land where our ancestors lived, [where we would live] under the government of our King the Turk, who will let us live as good Muslims and will not treat us as slaves as our masters treat us here?<sup>75</sup>

An *alfaqui*<sup>76</sup> (a Muslim religious leader) uttered those words at the port of Alicante in southeastern Spain in the fall of 1609, as the Spanish crown deported 116,000 Moriscos from Valencia.<sup>77</sup> Jaime Bleda recorded the *alfaqui*'s words as part of a justification of the 1609 expulsion, and the statement cannot be taken at face value. But

<sup>75</sup> Bleda, *Coronica de los moros de España dividida en ocho libros*, 1003. Maybe emphasize how many of these Morisco voices familiar in the historiography are actually fictional—Old Xians projecting what they think Moriscos should be saying.

<sup>76</sup> From Ar. *al-faqīh*. In Spanish *alfaquí* is a generic term for a Muslim religious leader.

<sup>77</sup> Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque: Démographie et sociétés*, 175. Lapeyre's statistics about the expulsion, compiled from embarkation records and other state documents, are still the generally accepted figures.

the report nonetheless suggests a range of possible Morisco reactions to the expulsion and the contradictions inherent in the complete policy reversal. Before 1609 Moriscos were prohibited from leaving under pain of death; after 1609-1614 they were put on ships and sent to North Africa.

Of those Moriscos who stayed behind in Spain the largest group were children who were placed in group homes or Old Christian families (and sometimes went to one and then ended up in a family home). The official expulsion edict included exceptions—children under four years old would be allowed to stay, as would Morisca women who were married to Old Christian men. There is no way of knowing how many people fell into these categories.

Other Moriscos stayed behind because they simply did not leave—either by pretending to be Old Christians or by escaping the notice of authorities in some way (sometimes because they lived in very remote areas or in areas with few other Moriscos). In some areas, especially where Moriscos were more assimilated and spoke Spanish, it may have been relatively easy to escape forced embarkation. The number of Moriscos who stayed in Spain was larger than historians will ever be able to uncover.<sup>78</sup> Moriscos who stayed by successfully escaping the notice of officials are completely absent from the written record. However, I also found that Moriscos who attracted the attention of the Inquisition, sometimes through voluntary confession, were typically allowed to stay in Spain.

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<sup>78</sup> Trevor Dadson suggests that as many as 40% of Moriscos stayed in Spain, but as he does not give his reasoning for coming up with the figure on a national scale and the evidence is so sparse I do not wish to repeat the figure here. Dadson, "Los moriscos que no salieron," 213. See also Pezzi, *Los moriscos que no se fueron*.

Many Morisco children stayed in Spain, separated from their families—there is no way of accurately estimating how many. The official expulsion edict stated, “that the boys and girls under four years old who wish to stay, and their parents or guardians (if they are orphans) agree, will not be expelled.”<sup>79</sup> The language of the edict suggested that the decision to stay or leave would be left up to the children themselves, with some control left in the hands of Morisco parents. The reality was that many children were forced to stay and separated from their parents. And the conciliatory language of the edict bears little resemblance to the language King Philip III used in a letter to the Valencian Archbishop Juan de Ribera:

That it will be assured that boys and girls under ten years old will stay behind in the care of priests or other trustworthy people.

That if the fathers or mothers of said boys and girls have such repugnance in leaving them, the ministers who are to execute the expulsion order of His Majesty shall cut the throats of those parents in punishment for their resistance; or to prevent a great scandal in some cases the parents shall be permitted to take those who are over five years of age because it is determined that at that age they have been instructed by their fathers and mothers in the Sect of Muhammad and it can be feared that they will remain in it and be averse to our holy faith . . .<sup>80</sup>

The letters from local officials and the local nobility to the King during the expulsion emphasize how smooth the process was and how well order was maintained, sometimes with suspiciously consistent optimism—making it difficult to ascertain what problems there might have been. For example, a letter to the King from the Marques de Santa Cruz dated October 21, 1609 in Dénia near Valencia simply said that “[b]ecause of

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<sup>79</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 311 and Georgina Dopico Black, "Ghostly Remains: Valencia, 1609," *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*. 7 (2003): 91-100. For text of the edict see "Bando de la expulsión de los moriscos valencianos (22 septiembre 1609, Valencia)," In *De la convivencia a la exclusión: Imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII* (Madrid: Sílex, 2012).

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Black, "Ghostly Remains: Valencia, 1609," 95, my translation.

the excellent treatment that they given they [the Moriscos] were very pleased to leave for Barbary.”<sup>81</sup>

However, we do know that many Morisco children remained in Spain. This is apparent from officials’ concerns about what to do with the Morisco children left in Spain,<sup>82</sup> and from evidence in the Inquisition records. Some of these children turned up in Inquisition offices all over the Spanish Empire to request absolution for practicing Islam with their Morisco families before the expulsion. We have no context for these “spontaneous” confessions—likely some were sincere and others were pressured or coerced by their new guardians or Inquisition officials to turn themselves in. These cases were short and bureaucratic. In the years immediately following the expulsion, dozens of children appear in lists with their places of origins and the ages with no further details about their cases. Many of these “children” were much older than ten; some were as old as 20 at the time of the expulsion.

The Valencia Inquisition absolved 40 Morisco children in 1612; 49 in 1613; 21 in 1614; 8 in 1615; 19 in 1616; 7 in 1616; and 8 in 1618—after that the numbers dwindled and the Inquisition stopped grouping them together in the records.<sup>83</sup> The case of Juan Carate, a fifteen-year-old who spontaneously confessed in 1615 was typical of the cases that include details about the confession. He told the Inquisition of Murcia that his parents had taught him to be a Muslim and that until the time of the expulsion he believed

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<sup>81</sup> AGS Estado, 213.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Libro 939, f. 157v-158v, 189v-191r, 205v-207v, 233v-234v, 246r-47v, 264v-265r, 309v-310r, 348r-249r.

that Islam was the path to salvation. He was nine years old when the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia began. His father was killed and his mother was put on a ship. Carate was taken to Novelda near Alicante where he was taught about Christianity, “and seeing that he had been in error he [left Islam] and wanted to be a Christian.”<sup>84</sup> These brief descriptions of the separation of families, which are almost devoid of information, are among the few records left by Moriscos about the breaking up of families at the time of the expulsion.

The Inquisition records reveal the suffering of the expulsion and the vulnerability of Morisco children to violence and exploitation during this moment of chaos. In 1610 a 50-year-old man named Joan Orosqueta Durango was accused of blasphemy when he told some men in a tavern that he thought some Old Christians were taking eleven- and twelve-year-old Morisca girls not to indoctrinate them and teach them about Christianity but to take advantage of them; but that was God’s fault for making them men.<sup>85</sup> A report sent to the King of France reported that upon arrival in Oran, the Moriscos were often killed, robbed, and “the least ugly of the women” raped.<sup>86</sup>

Some Moriscos chose to ignore the orders and stay in Spain. Miguel de Blanco Reboltet voluntarily told the Inquisition in 1611 that he had been a Muslim up until the expulsion when a group of soldiers told him that if he went to Barbary and lived as a Muslim he would go to hell. He decided to stay behind as his parents embarked. He then

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<sup>84</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia) Leg 2022/33

<sup>85</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Libro 939, f. 77r-78r.

<sup>86</sup> *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845: Archives et bibliothèques de France* vol. 2, (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1905), 494.

found his way to Sicily where he lived as a Christian, though he gave no further details about how he managed to get to Sicily. He was reconciled without confiscation of his belongings and without an auto-da-fé.<sup>87</sup>

María Camayret was twenty years old in 1609 when she chose to stay behind in Valencia. She escaped her parents' house, claiming that if they knew she was a Christian they would have killed her, and went to Valencia with a group of other women. In Valencia she went first a school (colegio) for young Morisca women. She would receive no punishment from the Inquisition as long as she remained in residence at the school for instruction in Christianity.<sup>88</sup>

The separation of parents and children was a particularly traumatic part of the expulsion, and many Moriscos cited reunification with family as a reason for crossing the sea. We know very little about how separation affected the children—the Inquisition records in these cases are largely devoid of emotion. The records are mechanical reports about the children's past lives as sinners.

Children were not the only ones who stayed behind in Spain during the expulsion. The decree also exempted Morisca women who were married to Old Christians.<sup>89</sup> Though in general intermarriage between Old Christians and Moriscos was relatively rare, in some regions with a greater degree of assimilation, a large number of Morisca women may have stayed behind with their families. As with children, it is very difficult to get a sense of how many people that might have applied to.

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<sup>87</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Libro 899, f.497v-498r.

<sup>88</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Libro 939, f. 55v-56v.

<sup>89</sup> "Bando de la expulsión de los moriscos valencianos (22 septiembre 1609, Valencia)."

Other Moriscos, including both men and women, stayed behind simply by avoiding the attention of the authorities or by passing as Old Christians. For example, in 1612 a Barcelona priest turned in one of his parishioners, a woman named Isabel Marquina, who he suspected of believing in Islam. She had reportedly joked that the sign of the cross was just a silly gesture and that belief in the divinity of the host amounted to polytheism. Isabel confessed to the court and told them she wanted more instruction in Christianity. She was originally from Almonacid de la Sierra in Aragon, and she had gone with all the other Moriscos in her community to Tortosa in 1610 at the time of the expulsion. But once she arrived at the port, she decided she did not want to leave and instead she took her two young daughters to Barcelona. She was reconciled and given a lenient punishment by the Barcelona tribunal.<sup>90</sup>

### **Coming Home**

Moriscos also returned to Spain, probably in great numbers. Officials began complaining about Moriscos returning from abroad in 1610, when the Count of Salazar asked the State Council for permission to deal with Granadan Moriscos returning from France, supposedly to recover money they had left hidden in Spain.<sup>91</sup> Also in 1610 the Duke of Medina Sidonia complained to the State Council about the number of Moriscos returning to Spanish ports claiming to be Christians.<sup>92</sup> A Malaga official wrote to the King in 1610 that:

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<sup>90</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, 139v-142v.

<sup>91</sup> Dadson, "El regreso de los moriscos," 85.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 87.

“The Moriscos who had gone to Barbary are returning, and because they are so assimilated (son tan ladinos) and they do not return to the places that they are from, they are [impossible to distinguish]. Some have returned and they say that the others who remain in Barbary will do the same because of how poorly they are treated by the Moors.”<sup>93</sup>

However Moriscos might have felt about leaving Spain, the realities that awaited them elsewhere were often truly horrifying. As Ricote told Sancho Panza, “that is where they most offend and mistreat us.”<sup>94</sup> Whether conditions were worse in North Africa than in Spain is subjective and depended upon the experiences of individuals—circumstances varied greatly in and in North Africa. But for many Moriscos, whatever hardships they had faced in Spain were nothing compared to what awaited in Africa.

There were a number of reasons for the harsh welcome of the Moriscos in North Africa. One reason was that the first decades of the seventeenth century were rife with political and economic turmoil. Morocco was in the midst of a secession crisis that followed the death of the Sa‘adī Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur in 1604.<sup>95</sup> An epidemic of plague (1598-1607) further devastated the economy of North Africa. And the arrival of Moriscos in 1609-1614 was not a trickle—it was a massive influx of tens of thousands in North African port cities in a matter of months. The refugees, perhaps about 40,000,<sup>96</sup> were mostly peasants and they arrived without money and without connections, as previous generations of Andalusī immigrants had. The large numbers of destitute people strained the resources of cities along the North African coast.

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<sup>93</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*, 88.

<sup>94</sup> Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote*, 813.

<sup>95</sup> García-Arenal, "Los moriscos en Marruecos,".

<sup>96</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 233.

In Inquisition records, returning Moriscos and captured corsairs talk about their desperation to survive in North Africa and the violence of their arrival. According to these descriptions, Moriscos in Tetouan, Algiers, and Tunis faced similar conditions upon arrival. For example, Joan Çamar, a mule driver from Valencia, told the Inquisition that he saw three Moriscos burned in Algiers and five others sent to the galleys for practicing Christianity.<sup>97</sup>

Conversion to Islam was particularly violent for men. Morisco men frequently talked about the forced circumcision they were subjected to upon their arrival in North Africa. Circumcision, along with taking a Muslim name and dressing in Muslim clothing was a major part of mass conversion rituals and a traumatic memory for many of these men, who mention it frequently. Miguel Laçaro, a Morisco from Teruel, told the court that he was circumcised in Algiers. He “let them circumcise him out of fear because if he did not they would burn him. They circumcised all of the Moriscos who left Spain.”<sup>98</sup> Joan García, a Morisco from Ocaña, was sixteen at the time of the expulsion. He was so terrified of the procedure that he hid in a mountain near Tunis for eight days, hoping to figure out how to get back to Christian territory. Eventually he ran out of food and returned to Tunis.<sup>99</sup>

However, conditions were not the same everywhere that Moriscos went, and after arrival many Moriscos prospered. The Morisco Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusi

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<sup>97</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 899, f. 399v.

<sup>98</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Libro 939 f. 308v.

<sup>99</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f. 203r.

wrote that “Today [c. 1640] Tunis is the best place for those of our nation [Moriscos].”<sup>100</sup> The same Ottoman policies that welcomed Moriscos to Anatolia made them welcome in Tunis. The ruler of Tunis, Uthman Dey, planned to provide the Morisco refugees with new homes and tax relief. As a result of these policies and a lack of the kinds of hostility that Moriscos faced in Morocco and Algeria, Moriscos, generally speaking, prospered economically in Tunis in agriculture and artisan production. Unsurprisingly, the special privileges given to Moriscos created some resentment among other groups and there was tension—nonetheless the situation of the Moriscos was much better in Tunis than elsewhere.<sup>101</sup>

In the century before the expulsion, Andalusian migrants flocked to Algiers and their numbers helped the city grow from a small outpost to a major city in the sixteenth century.<sup>102</sup> Algiers, with more independence from the Ottomans than Anatolia or Tunis, seems to have less consistently followed Ottoman policy of encouraging Morisco settlement and conditions there were more like they were in Morocco. Moriscos who arrived in Oran were not allowed to stay in the Spanish-controlled city, and hunger and

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<sup>100</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusí, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*, 55. See Chapter 5 for more on al-Hajari.

<sup>101</sup> See Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 357-360. See also *Recueil d'études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (Madrid and Tunis: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1973); Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 240-243; Temimi, "Evolution de l'attitude des autorités de la Régence de Tunis,"; and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, "Los moriscos en Túnez," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013).

<sup>102</sup> See Sakina Missoum, "Inmigración andalusí y desarrollo urbano en Argel (ss. XVI-XVII)," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013).

cold assaulted them on the deadly trip to Algiers. Most of the Moriscos who did end up in Algiers were Valencian peasants and they settled in suburban agricultural areas.<sup>103</sup>

A relatively small number, perhaps a few thousand, went to the eastern Ottoman lands. We know that there were small Morisco communities in Salonica and Istanbul. Called the Endülüs (Andalusi) or Mudayyal (Mudejar) ta'ife, in Istanbul they joined a Spanish community in Galata that included Muslims, Jews, and some Christians.<sup>104</sup> There were also Morisco communities in Bursa, Adana, Azir, Sis, Tarsus, and Kars—the result of an Ottoman policy to settle Moriscos (thought to be loyal Sunni subjects) in strategic places.<sup>105</sup> Some Moriscos traveled through Morocco across the Sahara Desert, particularly as soldiers.<sup>106</sup>

### **Corsair Narratives**

One group whose stories about the expulsion and life in North Africa are available in the archives is the captured Morisco corsairs tried by the Inquisition throughout the Spanish Empire. Corsairs<sup>107</sup> came from many different backgrounds,

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<sup>103</sup> Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 238-239. For more general information, see Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* and Mikel de Epalza, "Estructuras de acogida de los moriscos emigrantes de España en el Magreb (siglos XIII al XVIII)," *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*. 4 (1996): 35-58.

<sup>104</sup> Tijana Krstic, "Los moriscos en Estambul," In *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora, una perspectiva internacional* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013), 259.

<sup>105</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 357 and Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 230.

<sup>106</sup> See Ismaél Diadie Haidaras, "Les morisques en Afrique subsaharienne (XVI-XVIIe siècles): Essai d'évaluation quantitative," In *Le Ve Centenaire de la Chute de Grenade: 1492-1992* vol. 1, (Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1993). Al-Ifrani (b. 1669) mentioned al-Mansur's Andalusian troops, Muhammad al-Ifrani, *Nuzhat al-Hadi bi-Akhbar Muluk al-Qarn al-Hadi* (Casablanca: Maṭba'at al-Najāh al-Jadīda, 1998), 192-193.

<sup>107</sup> Corsairs were privateers. In North Africa, corsairs operated out of many of the coastal cities and made up a large part of the economy and political structure of those cities. See Alan G Jamieson, *Lords of the*

including many Moriscos. Because of the lack of economic opportunities of Moriscos in North Africa, it makes sense that many joined corsair operations. One English diplomat remarked with a hint of ironic satisfaction that the Morisco corsairs were tormenting their former King by using their knowledge of the Spanish coast to raid.<sup>108</sup>

As with all trial records, there is reason to doubt details of their stories—after all, a sufficiently tragic story might have resulted in a lighter sentence. It was in the interest of the Moriscos to show that their conversion to Islam had been forced and violent. But the similarities between the tales and the consistency with which they talk about how devastating the expulsion was suggest that there was some truth to their stories. Though many women stayed behind in Spain, I found no evidence of women returning from North Africa. Though undoubtedly some did return, probably with their families, returning was much easier for men who could more easily (and more safely) find passage across the Mediterranean.

One such man was brought to the secret jail cells of the Inquisition of Barcelona on November 15, 1614. ‘Ali had been sailing the Mediterranean on a corsair ship when the Spanish navy captured the small galley ship and brought it to port in Barcelona. ‘Ali and the other “renegades” on the ship were taken straight to the Holy Office of the Inquisition. ‘Ali was a renegade because he was a Morisco from Pliego in the Kingdom of Murcia and therefore a baptized Christian.<sup>109</sup>

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*Sea: A History of the Barbary Corsairs* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), and Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib* (Cambridge: University Press, 1971).

<sup>108</sup> *SIHM*, vol. 2, 512.

<sup>109</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, f. 263r. On renegades see Ellen G Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Bartolomé

In his first audience with the judge, 'Ali told the Inquisitor that he and his wife left Spain six years before at the time of the expulsion. They embarked at Malaga on a ship headed for Tetouan. From Tetouan they went to Fez where 'Ali established himself as a soldier of the King Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Ma'mun. He served the King for four years. As a soldier he was required to wear Muslim dress and use a Muslim name, though they did not require circumcision. When the King died in 1613 'Ali went to Algiers where he entered the service of the "King of Algiers" (the Ottoman Pasha, Hassan IV r. 1614-1616). He embarked on a corsair galley to go to Spain and "rob Christians."<sup>110</sup> When the Catalonian galleys approached, 'Ali and a number of others jumped into a skiff and escaped to shore, where they were captured.<sup>111</sup>

'Ali told the Inquisition that before he left Spain he had never practiced Islam and that he had always been a good Christian. But when he went to Barbary, he was forced to become a Muslim and perform the ceremonies of Islam. He was a Muslim only to spare his life, but he had never been a Muslim in his heart. This was the one and only time he had ever sailed as a corsair to rob and kidnap Christians. He had wanted to return to Spain to live as a Catholic. He begged for mercy and recited the Paternoster, the Ave Maria, the Tridentine Creed, the Salve Regina, and the confession all in excellent Castilian.<sup>112</sup> The Inquisition sentenced 'Ali to return to the galleys while the Barcelona Tribunal awaited further instruction about what to do with the expelled Morisco corsairs.

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Bennassar, and Lucile Bennassar, *Los cristianos de Alá: la fascinante aventura de los renegados* (Madrid: NEREA, 1989); and Coleman, "Of Corsairs, Converts and Renegades,".

<sup>110</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, f. 263r.

<sup>111</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, f. 263r- 263v.

<sup>112</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, f. 263v.

On February 10, 1615, ‘Ali was sentenced to life as a galley slave and he was returned to the ship.<sup>113</sup>

I found records of 29 Moriscos, including ‘Ali, who returned to Spain on North African corsair ships between 1610 and 1631. These men were typically on ships that were captured by the Spanish navy. All of the men on board captured ships were arrested and put to work as galley slaves on Spanish ships, but the Moriscos and renegades were normally taken to the Inquisition where they were also charged with apostasy. The Muslim members of the crew were not baptized and therefore not under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Typically Inquisition officials were not concerned with the religious practices and beliefs of Moriscos once they were serving on galley ships as slaves. In 1625, when the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias in what is now Colombia sent a letter to the Suprema asking them what to do with “six or seven Moriscos of those expelled from Castile and Valencia and captured as corsairs” who were living openly as Muslims on galley ships. A reply came several years later, ordering the Cartagena Inquisition to not prosecute any Moriscos who were slaves of his majesty.<sup>114</sup> This appears to have been a consistent policy. Moriscos were valuable as laborers on galley ships, and isolated among other Muslim slaves, their religion was not a threat to the Crown.

Of the 29 captured Morisco corsairs, six told the Inquisition that they had joined corsair ships with the intention of eventually returning to Spain. In 1613 Joan Arraez Muça told the court that “it was true that he arrived as a corsair, but that his intention was

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<sup>113</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 732, f. 264r.

<sup>114</sup> AHN Inquisition (Cartagena de Indias), Libro 1010, f. 49v and 322r. Cook, "Forbidden Crossings," 1.

not to rob Christians but rather to try and jump ship [in Christian territory].”<sup>115</sup> Arraez had a clear incentive to lie in this situation. Piracy was one of the charges against him, and if he could convince the court that his intentions had been Christian then he might expect a lighter sentence.

However, in the testimony of other Morisco corsairs there is evidence that some Moriscos may have in fact joined corsair ships with the intention of returning to Europe.

In 1610 Joan Çamar told the court that

with desire to return to Christian lands he embarked on a vessel with eight Englishmen and one Fleming and other renegades. The Englishmen took over the ship and put all of the Moors below deck to sell them, which they did upon arrival in Malta. From there he was brought and sold in this city [Palermo] and he was very happy to find himself in Christian lands.<sup>116</sup>

But Çamar was not in trouble with the Inquisition for being a corsair—in fact, he was not in trouble at all. He went to the Holy Office of Sicily voluntarily and told them his story. The Inquisition absolved him and ordered him to pray the rosary on Sundays and holidays for six months and to fast on Fridays.<sup>117</sup>

In 1614 Diego Ruyz also claimed to have joined a corsair ship in Algiers with the intention of returning to Christian lands. However, his ship was not captured; he actually did jump ship near Cartagena. Secular authorities arrested Ruyz outside of the city, and he told them that he was on his way to turn himself in to the Inquisition. He was absolved

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<sup>115</sup> AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 939, f. 183v.

<sup>116</sup> “*que con deseo de volverse el a tierra de xpianos se havia embarcado en un baxel con ocho ingleses y un flamenco y otros renegados y los dichos ingleses se hizieron señores del baxel y pusieron los moros abaxo para venderlos como lo hizieron en llegando a Malta, y de alli fue el traydo y vendido en esta ciudad y estava muy contento de verse en tierra de xpianos.*” AHN Inquisition (Barcelona), Libro 899, f. 340r.

<sup>117</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 899, f. 340r.

and returned to secular jail.<sup>118</sup> Gaspar Adal was a Valencian Morisco who turned himself into the Inquisition of Cartagena in 1614. He told the court that he had joined a corsair ship hoping to return to Spain and jumped ship “because he wanted to live in our Holy Catholic faith.”<sup>119</sup>

In 1619 the Neapolitan navy captured a corsair ship near Sardinia that turned out to have three Granadan Moriscos from Toledo on board. The Moriscos were taken to Messina in Sicily to be sold as slaves and then to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Palermo. The records do not say who brought them or give any more details about why they were taken to the Inquisition.<sup>120</sup> One of the three, Joan García told the Inquisition that he had joined the ship in order to return to Spain, but not because he wanted to be a Christian. He believed in Islam, but he did not want to live in Tunis because he was not doing well there (presumably he means materially, but he does not say). The ship was captured before he could escape.<sup>121</sup>

Even when the Inquisition accepted the men’s stories and gave them light sentences, they still faced punishment by secular authorities for being corsairs. If indeed some of these people joined corsair ships hoping to escape near Christian shores, they must have been very desperate to come up with such a risky scheme. For some, it was worth risking punishment by the Inquisition or galley service to return, and perhaps many

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<sup>118</sup> AHN Inquisition (Murcia), Legajo 2022/32, n. 16.

<sup>119</sup> AHN Inquisition (Murcia), Legajo 2022/32, n. 21.

<sup>120</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f. 200v- 204v.

<sup>121</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.203v.

did get back into Spain or elsewhere in Europe without capturing the attention of the authorities.

While some Moriscos embarked on corsair ships in North African ports hoping to return to Europe, other Moriscos were searching for a way to make a living. Moriscos talk about economic desperation (which Joan García also hinted at)<sup>122</sup> Gerónimo Verge gave the Inquisition a detailed account of how difficult survival was for Moriscos in North Africa. Verge went with his father and other Moriscos from Cocentaina near Alicante to Tetouan, Morocco, in 1609. In Tetouan the Moriscos received such a hostile welcome (“*les hicieron los moros tant mal acogida*”) that they had to go their separate ways to survive. Parents and children separated and that was the last Verge had heard of his father.<sup>123</sup> He spent six years trying to make a living as a trapper, but finally, “with a desire to better his circumstances he became a soldier of the sea.”<sup>124</sup>

And his circumstances did improve, initially. On his first journey his small ship captured three large ships near Sicily without losing a single man by pretending to be a friendly Christian vessel. The ruse was possible only because the Moriscos on the ship fooled the crew of the larger vessel into thinking they were Christian Spaniards while the North Africans hid below deck. Verge brought back great wealth (*gran riqueza*) to Algiers. However, on his second voyage the entire 23-person crew of the frigate was captured near the coast of Alicante.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.203v.

<sup>123</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 556/12.

<sup>124</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 556/12.

<sup>125</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 556/12.

Further evidence that some corsairs hoped to return to Christian lands can be found in a proposal sent by the Hornachero corsairs of Salé to Phillip IV in 1631. The Hornacheros promised to give Phillip IV Salé and hand their corsair ships in at the port in Seville if he allowed them to return to Hornachos. They would be Christians, though they asked for a grace period of immunity from the Inquisition to allow those who had been born in Morocco to be indoctrinated. The Salé corsairs also requested that the children who had been taken from them in 1610 be returned. It is not clear how the Spanish court received the proposal or whether it was seriously considered, though similar negotiations continued until 1663.<sup>126</sup>

Though the Spanish tried to control the mobility of Moriscos, Moriscos resisted at every stage. They escaped, they hid, and they returned. Many more broke the rules than we will ever know about. Before expulsion, Moriscos spent a lot of money and took great risk to try and travel to the Islamic world, contracting fishing boats or hiking through the Pyrenees. After expulsion, Moriscos hid from authorities or passed as Old Christians to stay in their homes. They joined corsair ships and negotiated with the King for permission to return.

The testimony from Morisco corsairs contradicts the prevailing assumption that Moriscos took up corsairing because they sought revenge on the Spanish for the expulsion.<sup>127</sup> This was a widespread belief among Spanish and other European officials,

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<sup>126</sup> The manuscript of the proposed treaty is at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Originally published by G.S. Colin, "Projet de traité entre les morisques de la Casba de Rabat et le Roi d'Espagne en 1631," *Hespéris*. 42 (1955): 17-26. See also Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 235-237 and García-Arenal, "Los moriscos en Marruecos," 308-310.

<sup>127</sup> Ellen Friedman, "North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century."

who assumed that corsairs were religiously motivated and looking for vengeance on their former rulers. Of course, it would have been unwise for a Morisco to admit that their motivation was revenge to the Inquisition, so the evidence here does nothing more than suggest a range of motivations. However, it is worth noting that all of the evidence of revenge-hungry Morisco corsairing comes from official reports and not, in any instances, from Moriscos. In addition, though English diplomats in Morocco hoped that they could take advantage of Morisco (and Jewish) antipathy towards Spain to form an alliance, nothing ever came of attempts to arm Moriscos and Jews for an attack on Spain.<sup>128</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Migration across the Mediterranean was not the end of the Morisco story. Over the course of the sixteenth century, Moriscos were increasingly seen as outsiders in Spain by both the state and many Old Christians. From the perspective of the Crown and advocates of the expulsion, as well as many scholars, the Moriscos were going “home” when they left Iberia in 1609, and it was assumed that "assimilation" would be irrelevant and unnecessary. North Africans and Moriscos did not see it that way. Outsiders in Spain, they were also outsiders in North Africa and elsewhere in the Islamic world, and survival was extraordinarily difficult. So difficult that many of those who were able, including young Morisco men in particular, tried to return to Spain to regain some of what they had lost. Their desperation reveals how difficult migration was for the Moriscos in 1609-1610.

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<sup>128</sup> For example, See "Lettre de John Harrison au Commandant de la Flotte Britannique, Tetouan, 30 juillet, 1625," In *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845: Archives et bibliothèques de Angleterre* vol. 2, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925).

Despite these Morisco efforts to resist Spanish control over their mobility, Spanish policy kept a tight control over where Moriscos were allowed to go in the Western Mediterranean. Both before and after the expulsion, Moriscos struggled to find a safe place to live with their families in the Mediterranean and beyond.

## Chapter 5

### **Moriscos Between Worlds: Gender, Microhistory, and the Mediterranean, 1609-1614**

In 1614, a Morisca woman named Zahra pleaded with the Inquisition of Sicily to release her from jail. Just twenty years old, Zahra had left her native Valencia with her family and hundreds of thousands of other Moriscos in 1609 when King Philip III had issued an edict expelling everyone of Muslim descent from the Kingdom of Aragon. On her way to Oran in what is now Algeria, a ship official kidnapped her and her stepsister Maryam and possibly other women on the ship and took her to Palermo, Sicily, which was under Spanish rule. The official tried to sell the women as slaves, but Zahra and Maryam successfully petitioned a local nobleman for freedom papers. However, their freedom lasted only until the Spanish Inquisition, which operated a tribunal in Palermo, arrested them in 1614.<sup>1</sup>

For many Moriscos, embarking on a ship from Spain in 1609-1614 was the beginning of a long and dangerous journey that sometimes took them to unexpected corners of the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds.<sup>2</sup> If they made it across the sea, the exiles faced harsh economic conditions and more religious persecution in North Africa. The journey itself was dangerous, and women like Zahra and Maryam were especially vulnerable to violence. As Moriscos traveled around and across the Mediterranean, they traveled between worlds, crossing a frontier region of connection and conflict. Many

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<sup>1</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily) Legajo 1747/22. Digitized copy of the entire trial record is on PARES website, pares.mcu.es. Reference code ES.28079.AHN/1.1.11.4.14.7//INQUISICIÓN,1747,Exp.22.

<sup>2</sup> See my discussion of Moriscos in Cartagena de Indias in Chapter 4. See also Cook, "Forbidden Crossings."

Moriscos displayed an extraordinary ability to adapt—learning new languages and customs and negotiating new identities. The experiences and circumstances of the exiled Moriscos varied greatly across continents and regions. Through their travels and hardships, Moriscos continued to negotiate and renegotiate their identities as Muslims and Moriscos in new contexts.

In this chapter I discuss the lives of Zahra and two other Morisco men. With these three stories I examine a few of the possible paths that Moriscos took (or were taken on) after expulsion and look at the choices that Moriscos made as they adapted to migration. Gender was one factor that determined the choices available to Moriscos and the risks they faced through exile and immigration. Social status was also important. Spain and North Africa were connected enough that many Moriscos brought their social connections and community status with them to their new homes, while linguistic abilities helped to determine how successful Moriscos were at navigating their new lives. They were from distant regions in Spain, their journeys around the Mediterranean took them to vastly different places, and their fates were distinct. These three individuals, who had little in common other than that they were all Moriscos and they all left Spain, show the range of Morisco experience. Also, by accident of history, these three people's stories are available in some detail to us today.

First I discuss the life of Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusi (Spanish Diego Bejarano). Al-Hajari was an elite Morisco who was literate in both Spanish and Arabic. He left Spain voluntarily and enthusiastically in 1599, a decade before the final expulsion, by successfully passing as an Old Christian and sneaking onto a vessel bound

for Portuguese North Africa. After his migration to Morocco, al-Hajari had a long career as a diplomat and scholar in North Africa and in Europe, and he wrote an account of his diplomatic travels in Arabic. This work is a unique first-hand account of Morisco migration and diaspora, and is my main source for al-Hajari's life.<sup>3</sup>

Zahra (Sp. Catalina Barón) was a free Morisca woman living in Palermo as a Muslim when her cousin reported her to the Inquisition. Though she was eventually reconciled to the Church, she initially insisted that she wanted to continue to live as a Muslim and resisted conversion for several years in prison. Zahra's gender gave her options that were not typically available to Morisco men. By marrying a Muslim man in Sicily, Zahra was able to hide her Morisco identity from the Inquisition for a while. And as a woman it was more possible for her to stay in Spanish Christian lands. "Passing" was a common survival strategy used by Moriscos, especially women, and Zahra successfully employed it for a time by passing as a Muslim North African. On the other hand, Zahra's abduction on the ship that she took from Cartagena to North Africa and her temporary captivity in Sicily shows how vulnerable Morisca women were to abuse and violence.<sup>4</sup>

The third and final example is the story of 'Ali (Sp. Francisco Pérez), a Morisco from La Mancha in central Spain who went to Algeria in 1614 during the expulsion only to be captured by Spanish pirates and brought back to Spain the following year. 'Ali had none of the adaptability of al-Hajari or Zahra. His lowly circumstances gave him nothing

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<sup>3</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*.

<sup>4</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f. 23v-26r.

to leverage. He either could not or did not want to pass as a North African or as an Old Christian.

These examples of three very different paths taken by three Moriscos demonstrate some of the variety of Morisco strategies for dealing with repression in Spain and with the 1609-1614 expulsion. But they also demonstrate the limits of Morisco agency in a world where both travel and religious orthodoxy were tightly controlled by religious and state authorities in Europe and in North Africa. I do not claim that these three individuals were representative of all Moriscos. However, they were typical in their diversity and in the haphazardness of their travels. They were also typical in that for many Moriscos expulsion was not a one-way ticket to North Africa. It was the start of a voyage that would take them around the Mediterranean, looking for a place to stay.<sup>5</sup>

Some Moriscos, like al-Hajari, used their multilingualism to successfully navigate multiple cultures around the Mediterranean and developed successful international careers, but most Moriscos moved around the Mediterranean in desperation. Their motivation was survival in a harsh world, and their journeys were extraordinarily dangerous. Many Moriscos had a remarkable ability to navigate the cultural worlds of Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa. They could try to “pass” either as Old Christians or as native North African Muslims. Their actions in Inquisitorial courts

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<sup>5</sup> The archives are biased in this: Moriscos who went back to Europe or never left in the first place were more likely to be in the written record, which is heavily European. But, as I argued in Chapter 4, many Moriscos never left Spain and many more returned to the peninsula. Many others went to other places in the Spanish Empire (such as the Spanish Americas or Sicily, as Zahra did) or to other places in Europe (as al-Hajari did).

showed that they had legal knowledge about the workings of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition. Moriscos knew what to do with the few choices that they had.<sup>6</sup>

## HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

This chapter uses a variety of sources in Spanish and in Arabic. My discussion of al-Hajari's emigration and his life in North Africa is based primarily on his autobiography and travel account, called *Kitab Nasir al-Din 'alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*).<sup>7</sup> Al-Hajari wrote *Kitab Nasir al-Din* in part to advocate for the acceptance of the Sacromonte Lead Books among Moriscos in North Africa.<sup>8</sup> Discovered at the close of the sixteenth century in the mountains near Granada, the lead books were allegedly lost Christian texts, written partly in Arabic and much influenced by Islam and Morisco culture. The books were later determined to be recent works and their legitimacy was dismissed by the papacy. The enthusiasm of al-Hajari and other Moriscos for the books may have been because they lent legitimacy to the hybrid religious beliefs of many Moriscos.

I reconstruct Zahra's story from Inquisition records of her trial from 1614-1616, housed at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. This is one of the few surviving court cases (procesos) from the Inquisition of Sicily. What remains in greater numbers are summaries (relaciones de causas). For the trial of Zahra we are fortunate to have both

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<sup>6</sup> See chapter 3 for more about Morisco strategies for dealing with the Inquisition and Morisco legal knowledge.

<sup>7</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*. Although *Kitab Nasir al-Din* has been fully translated into English, I rely on the Arabic version here. All translations are my own, and in some cases they differ significantly from the published version.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

the *relacion de causa*<sup>9</sup> and the nearly complete *proceso*.<sup>10</sup> I also rely on Inquisition records to tell their story of ‘Ali. In his case the *proceso* and the *relación de causa* are also extant and in good condition, though the *proceso* is incomplete. His case was concluded in Valencia, which has a high number of extant *procesos*.<sup>11</sup> The words of Zahra and ‘Ali were filtered through the Inquisition. In the case of the *procesos* of Zahra and ‘Ali, a notary recorded their words and actions in court, always in the third person. What they said in court was also determined by the questions the judges asked of them.

Studies of these three Moriscos have so far been merely cursory. Louis Cardaillac briefly discussed Zahra’s case in his 1981 article “El problema morisco en Sicilia (The Morisco Problem in Sicily).”<sup>12</sup> Jeanne Vidal briefly mentioned ‘Ali’s case in her study of Moriscos and the death penalty.<sup>13</sup> Al-Hajari is the only one whose life has been examined in any detail. *Kitab Nasir al-Din* has been edited and fully translated into English with an introduction to the book and al-Hajari’s life.<sup>14</sup> Nabil Matar published parts of the translation in his book, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the*

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<sup>9</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.23v-24r.

<sup>10</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22.

<sup>11</sup> More on this in Chapter 3. The *proceso* is AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 554/24. The *relación de causa* is AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Libro 939, f.403v-404v.

<sup>12</sup> Louis Cardaillac, "El problema morisco en Sicilia," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*. 30, no. 2 (1981): 638-644.

<sup>13</sup> Jeanne Vidal, *Quand on brûlait les Morisques, 1544-1621* (Nîmes: Barnier, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*.

Seventeenth Century.<sup>15</sup> Al-Hajari is also the protagonist of the Moroccan author Hassan Aourid's popular 2011 novel *Le Morisque* (The Morisco).<sup>16</sup>

Despite the recent attention that al-Hajari has received in scholarly and popular circles in recent years, there have not been any new studies of his life and writings since Gerard Wiegers's 1992 book chapter, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusī."<sup>17</sup> The introductory notes to the 1997 translation are nearly identical to Wiegers's 1992 study.<sup>18</sup> Matar includes some biographical information in *In the Lands of the Christians* and refers readers to Wiegers for more detail.<sup>19</sup> L.P. Harvey only briefly discusses al-Hajari's role as a translator of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte in Muslims in Spain: 1500-1614.<sup>20</sup> This is the first detailed treatment of al-Hajari's life and writings in the context of the Morisco expulsion.

### **"Men Between Worlds"**

He was part of the worlds of both Islam and Christendom. Although this may have been unusual we should not conclude that he was some sort of an anomaly. The case of al-Hajari illustrates that the concepts of 'East' and 'West' are abstractions rather than historical realities.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Hassan Aourid, *Le Morisque* (Rabat: Editions et Impressions Bouregreg, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib."

<sup>18</sup> Pieter Sjoerd Van Koningsveld, Qasim Al-Samarrai, and Gerard Wiegers, "General Introduction," In *Kitab Nasir al-Din 'ala al-Qawm al-Kafirin (The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*.

<sup>20</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 277-285.

<sup>21</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 56.

Several works have emerged recently in Mediterranean studies that focus on exceptional individuals who were “between worlds.” These works show how individuals, often Jews or Moriscos, were able to navigate both the Christian and Islamic Mediterranean. They used their multiple language skills and cultural literacies to create successful careers as diplomats, traders, and scholars. No such biography has been written about al-Hajari yet, but his life fits with this pattern. While it is certainly true that such men (and they were always men) existed, but the experiences of Zahra and ‘Ali were much more typical.

In 2003 Mercedes García Arenal and Gerard Wiegers published *A Man Between Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, a biography of Samuel Pallache (c. 1550-1616), a Sephardic Jew from North Africa who traveled around the Mediterranean and Northern Europe as a merchant, diplomat, and spy. Pallache’s language skills and ability to navigate the different cultures allowed him to build an international career. Pallache spoke Spanish (likely his native language)<sup>22</sup> and Arabic fluently and he wrote in Dutch and French. He understood both European and North African culture and customs.

In 2006 Natalie Zemon Davis published a biography of Leo Africanus (Arabic Hasan b. Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi) called *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds*. Al-Wazzan is a well-known figure to historians.<sup>23</sup> In *Trickster Travels* Davis used imagination to fill out the details of al- Wazzan’s life and the

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<sup>22</sup> García-Arenal, Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds*, 14.

<sup>23</sup> He is also the subject of a wonderful novel. Amin Maalouf, *Leo Africanus* (New York: New Amsterdam, 1992).

resulting story is riveting. Al-Wazzan was, like Pallache, a North African of Spanish origins. When he was a baby his Muslim family left Granada soon after the 1492 conquest and settled in Fez. A “between worlds” trope is present in the title of both books, and Davis emphasizes Al-Wazzan’s ability to learn languages and navigate the cultures of both sides of the Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup>

These two works show that there was space in the early modern Mediterranean for people who could travel freely, spoke multiple languages and had the ability to learn additional ones, had political and economic connections that reached across religious and political divides, and who were literate scholars who left records of their travels. Spain and Morocco in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced a number of people who were “between worlds” in this way: Jews like Pallache, Andalusians (Spanish Muslims) like al-Wazzan, and Moriscos like al-Hajari.

People like Pallache and al-Wazzan, who traveled between the worlds of Islam and Christianity, were integral to trade and diplomacy in the early modern Mediterranean. And their lives were full of exciting adventure, making their biographies fascinating stories. But far more numerous were people like ‘Ali and Zahra. Their lives were hard and their choices were limited. Their stories are of resistance and survival. The lives of these three Moriscos: al-Hajari, ‘Ali, and Zahra show the possibilities that were present for elite, literate, and fortunate Moriscos like al-Hajari. They also show the limits that were present for so many other Moriscos.

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<sup>24</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

In 2013 Jocelyne Dakhlia and Wolfgang Kaiser presented a critique of the “between worlds” theme of Mediterranean biography. They called for more focus on ordinary, everyday interaction and historical context. They argued that interaction and circulation were universal rather than exceptional, despite violence and conflict. This chapter is, in part, an attempt to do just that—to show how interaction worked for people who were not privileged go-betweens (*passeurs*) such as Pallache and al-Wazzan.<sup>25</sup> Our understanding of what it meant to be “between worlds” must be expanded to include the possibility that for many people it was a terrible calamity rather than an exciting opportunity.

### **Microhistory**

Going into some depth about the personal experiences of individuals is one way of telling the truth about the past. Only through these individual stories can we begin to understand how the expulsion affected the lives of Moriscos. Microhistory and biography have been well-established genres in Mediterranean studies since Carlo Ginzburg first published *The Cheese and the Worms* in 1976.<sup>26</sup> A microhistory is a single story about an individual or a small group. By using three microhistories and putting them in dialogue with one another this chapter is what Stuart Schwartz has termed a “serial microhistory.”<sup>27</sup> However, the classic history of the Mediterranean is a long-durée

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<sup>25</sup> Jocelyne Dakhlia, and Wolfgang Kaiser, "Introduction: Une Méditerranée entre deux mondes, ou des mondes continus," In *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe* vol. 2, (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013), 7-31.

<sup>26</sup> Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*. Among others, Natalie Zemon Davis has been at the forefront of developing Ginzburg's microhistorical approach to the early modern Mediterranean.

<sup>27</sup> Stuart B Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

macrohistory: Fernand Braudel's 1949 *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*.<sup>28</sup> A serial microhistory such as this one bridges helps to bridge the gap between micro and the macro in early modern Mediterranean historiography.

## **AHMAD B. QASIM AL-HAJARI AL-ANDALUSI**

### **Life in Spain**

Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari al-Andalusi (Sp. Diego Bejarano) was born c. 1569-1570 in an unidentified place in Extremadura or Andalusia called al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar.<sup>29</sup> Most likely al-Ḥajar was an Arabic name for Hornachos, a town of about 4,500 Morisco inhabitants in Extremadura.<sup>30</sup> Al-Hajari was a native Arabic speaker and he was literate in Arabic and Spanish. Little is known about al-Hajari's life in Spain before his involvement in the translation of the Lead Books, though we do know that he lived in Madrid for a time, which is where he learned to read Arabic.<sup>31</sup>

In Granada in 1588 workers discovered a lead box in the minaret of the former Great Mosque, called the Torre Turpiana, as it was being torn down to make way for a

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<sup>28</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* vol. 1, (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

<sup>29</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 16.

<sup>30</sup> Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib," 95-96. Part of the confusion stems from the fact that al-Ḥajar appears frequently as a place name in al-Andalus. Wieger's guess that it is Hornachos is based mostly on context— from al-Hajari's writings he figured out that it must have been a place of about 4,000 people, Arabic speaking, and near the Morisco embarkation point of Sevilla. The Moriscos from Hornachos are best known for founding a corsair republic in Salé (Ar. Salā) in Morocco (the famous Sallee Rovers). Al-Hajari did not live in Salé but visited there and apparently had connections with the Salé Hornacheros. For more on the Rabat/ Salé corsair republic see Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *La Republica andaluza de Rabat en el siglo XVII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1974).

<sup>31</sup> Gerard Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings and Travels of Aḥmad b. Qasim al-Hajarī al-Andalusī," In *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), 95.

church. The box contained a number of relics and a parchment with a short work allegedly written by St. John the Evangelist in Spanish and Greek, which prophesied the coming of Muhammad, Martin Luther, and the end of the world. It contained a commentary in Arabic allegedly written by St. Cecilio, Granada's first bishop (about whom very little was known before this discovery) and a Latin commentary that explained that the box had been given to St. Cecilio in Athens and that he had hidden it in the walls of the minaret to make sure that it would not fall into the hands of the "Moors." The content in the commentary dated the box to the first century AD.<sup>32</sup>

This initial discovery was followed by the much larger one in 1595 on the Sacromonte Hill outside of town. A treasure hunter found a lead plaque covered with cryptic ancient Latin script. The plaque was taken to a local Jesuit priest who translated it into Castilian. According to the translation, the plaque claimed that an ancient Christian martyr killed during the reign of Nero was buried nearby. The discovery of this plaque led to frenzied searching on the hillside. Over the next five years, nineteen lead books (Sp. *plomos*) were found buried in the hill. The books were inscribed with a strange-looking Arabic script scrawled in peculiar patterns and cryptic symbols including stars of David and crosses. A number of teeth and bones were found in a cave, seeming to confirm the claim on the plates that scores of Christians had been martyred and buried on the hill.<sup>33</sup> The Pope officially condemned the books as forgeries in 1682, but in the

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<sup>32</sup> Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 190.

<sup>33</sup> Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 271-272 and Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 190-193.

intervening century a cult of enthusiasm about the books developed in Spain and especially in Granada.<sup>34</sup>

A number of Moriscos helped the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Vaca de Castro, with the difficult task of translating the cryptic documents from Arabic and Latin to Spanish. Alonso de Castillo was the primary translator and al-Hajari joined the team in 1597. At the time, he was living in Granada and was used to hiding his ability to read Arabic. He let his knowledge slip when he could not resist jumping in and offering his assistance to a Morisco friend who was helping an Old Christian priest with Arabic lessons. Upon realizing that al-Hajari could read Arabic, the priest told him the archbishop was desperately seeking translators for the Lead Books. That was how he came to be one of the main translators of the Lead Books and a staunch advocate for their authenticity, which may have appealed to him as a way to give credibility to the Morisco hybrid practice of Islam and Christianity and Morisco culture more generally.<sup>35</sup>

### **Escape to Marrakesh**

Though he knew that the archbishop needed his language skills and would not ask too many questions about how he had learned Arabic, al-Hajari was worried about attracting the attention of the Inquisition. Reading and writing in Arabic was evidence of heresy. The other translators were old and had learned Arabic before it was a serious crime, but al-Hajari was a young man of twenty-five and had no such excuse. In addition,

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<sup>34</sup> Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 1-7 and Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 188-189.

<sup>35</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 26.

his assistance in translating the Lead Books gave him some notoriety as a learned Morisco.

Al-Hajari was convinced that it was only a matter of time before he faced the Inquisition: “I said to myself: how will I be saved? The Christians kill and burn anyone who they find with an Arabic book or who they know reads Arabic.”<sup>36</sup> He had helped the Archbishop Castro and won his friendship, and therefore might have been able to count on his protection should the Inquisition decide to arrest him, but al-Hajari was unwilling to count on the archbishop’s protection.<sup>37</sup> Once al-Hajari decided that he wanted to leave Spain, he had to figure out how to escape. Attempting to escape was also a crime punishable by the Inquisition.<sup>38</sup>

First al-Hajari had to figure out how to leave Granada without attracting the suspicion of the archbishop. In order to do that he invented a story about how he had to go visit his father in his hometown. The archbishop gave him leave and he made his way to Seville. From there he went to the port of Santa María near Cádiz where he successfully passed as an Old Christian in order to embark on a ship bound for Portuguese-controlled Mazagan (Ar. Al-Burayja, now al-Jadīda in Morocco). He wrote:

... You should know— may God have mercy upon you— that in the lands that are along the edge of the sea in the lands of al-Andalus and also in the lands they possess in the countries of the Muslims the Christians watch and search everyone carefully who arrives there from the West for fear that someone will pass through to the countries of the Muslims. So I gave a lot of thought as to how I might leave their domain [baythum]. I rode to the coast to the port called Santa Maria. With

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<sup>36</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*, 19 (Arabic).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 30 (Arabic).

<sup>38</sup> I talk extensively about Morisco migration before the expulsion in Chapter 4, “Between Escape and Expulsion: Morisco Migration in the Mediterranean, 1568-1659.”

me was a friend from my town. He was from a good and pious family and he went with me to emigrate to the land of God and the lands of Islam and he dedicated himself [completely to the mission]. The people on the boat did not suspect that we were not one of them. We crossed the sea in two days and we arrived at a place called al-Burayja which belonged to the Christians. Between it and Marrakesh was but three days average journey on foot.<sup>39</sup>

If al-Hajari felt any sadness at leaving Spain behind, he did not reveal it in *Kitab Nasir al-Din*, saying rather that, “God created in my heart a longing to emigrate from the country of al-Andalus to immigrate to God Almighty and his prophet and to come to the lands of the Muslims.”<sup>40</sup>

Before he could get to his final destination of Morocco he had to get out of Mazagan. A first attempt to sneak out of the gates with his friend from al-Ḥajar was unsuccessful. Finally al-Hajari devised a plan whereby he told city officials that he wanted to get on a ship and go home. Embarking required being outside of the city gates after nightfall, and while officials were distracted, they ran away, headed north along the coast to Azemmour. The journey was treacherous. The city guards of Mazagan pursued them for a while before finally giving up. Then they ran out of water.

Finally the pair arrived in Azemmour, where they received a hostile welcome. They announced “[w]e are Muslims!” to the advancing guard, but the governor of the town refused them entry until they could prove that they were Muslims by writing in Arabic and answering a number of theological questions. When he went to the market in

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 30 (Arabic).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 9 (Arabic).

Azemmour people surrounded him asking him to pronounce the shahāda. He said it, and al-Hajari boasted that the people said ““By God, he said it better than us!”<sup>41</sup>

Despite al-Hajari’s fluency and literacy in Arabic, he must have been quite Hispanicized. He raised no suspicion when posing as an Old Christian in Andalusia or in Mazagan, but in Azemmour his status as a Muslim was constantly suspect. However, al-Hajari did not express any resentment at the suspicion with which the Muslims treated him, saying: “I compared the fears that befell us with the Christians and the fatigue we experienced on the road to the terrors of the Day of Judgment and our arrival among the Muslims to entering paradise.”<sup>42</sup>

Al-Hajari’s escape from Spain was made possible by his relative assimilation into Old Christian society. He had to pass as an Old Christian in Spain, on the journey, and in Mazagan. His Spanish skills needed to be flawless. He also needed to acquire Old Christian dress and a story about why he was going to North Africa. The risks of attempting escape were very serious. If al-Hajari had been caught trying to leave the country the case against him as a heretic would have been strong and he would have been severely punished. Even if he confessed and cooperated with the Holy Office, he would likely have faced a galley sentence, which was tantamount to a death sentence.

There is no way of knowing how common it was for Moriscos to “pass” as Old Christians because Moriscos who did this successfully were not identified in any archival records as Moriscos. Only if they got caught, or, like al-Hajari, if they admitted that they

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 42 (Arabic).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 43 (Arabic).

had passed as Old Christians, would their true identity be revealed. It is likely that it was common, however. Many Moriscos were even more assimilated than al-Hajari. And despite popular notions to the contrary, Moriscos, for the most part, did not look different from Old Christians.<sup>43</sup> The primary way of distinguishing visually between Old Christians and Moriscos was dress—hardly an insurmountable obstacle to someone who wanted to pretend to be an Old Christian. The possible advantages to successfully passing were significant. A Morisco passing as an Old Christian could avoid the Inquisition, marry into Old Christian families more easily, attain permission to travel to the New World or around the Mediterranean, and avoid expulsion.<sup>44</sup> However, passing was not a possibility for all Moriscos. Moriscos from some areas, especially Valencia, did not speak Spanish well enough or have enough experience with Old Christian customs to attempt to pass.

### **Al-Hajari in Europe**

Al-Hajari arrived in Marrakesh, the capital of the Sa‘adian dynasty, on July 4, 1599. His assimilation into Muslim life in Marrakesh came fairly easily. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Karim Ibn Tuda, a former governor of Asilah who al-Hajari had met in Spain, provided him with an introduction at court and eventually helped him acquire a position as a translator and secretary to Sa‘adian Sultan Mawlay Zidan al-Nasir b. Ahmad (r.

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<sup>43</sup> Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 63. See also for more on Moriscos, Conversos, and Indians falsifying legal *limpieza de sangre* in Spain and in Colonial Mexico.

<sup>44</sup> On Moriscos passing and going to the Americas, see José F Buscaglia-Salgado, *Undoing Empire: Race and Nation in the Mulatto Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 55-56 and Cook, "Forbidden Crossings," 73.

1603-1628).<sup>45</sup> In 1611 Mawlay Zidan sent him on a diplomatic mission to France to help get justice for Moriscos who had been robbed aboard French ships during the expulsion from Spain. In France, al-Hajari made contacts with French and Dutch orientalists and spent some time in Saint Jean de Luz near the Spanish border advocating for the Moriscos passing through or settling in southwestern France.<sup>46</sup> Then he went to the Netherlands, perhaps to visit the Dutch Arabist Thomas Van Erpe (Latin Erpenius), whom he had met in Paris and with whom he spent a lot of time in Leiden.<sup>47</sup>

As a translator in Granada, al-Hajari's scholarly language skills had made him valuable enough to church officials that he was able to avoid questions about his religion for a time. These same skills gave him a similar advantage as a diplomat in Europe. His Islamic religion became an advantage because European scholars desperately needed his knowledge and skills for their own scholarly pursuits. He turned those skills into connections with European orientalists, Van Erpe in particular, which became another advantage that al-Hajari had in his travels through and between Mediterranean worlds.

Once in North Africa, Moriscos found that many North Africans considered them to be outsiders. By the end of the sixteenth century Moriscos had been practicing Islam only in secret for several generations and had also been practicing Christianity. The resulting mix of Islam and Christianity set them apart from Muslims in North Africa. The skepticism with which the people of Azemmour received al-Hajari indicated that they

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<sup>45</sup> Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib," 97 and 100 and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Brill, 2013), 140.

<sup>46</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 32.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Hajari's travels in Europe were translated and edited in Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, 5-44.

considered al-Hajari an outsider whose religious status was suspect. However, al-Hajari overcame this, first by correctly pronouncing the shahāda in Azzemour and then through his connections in Marrakesh. Al-Hajari may have had other connections to important Moroccans through other Hornacheros.<sup>48</sup>

Al-Hajari went to Salé on the Atlantic coast of Morocco sometime around the year 1634. He then left Morocco to go on the hajj to Mecca. He was in Cairo and then in Tunis in 1637, where he may have stayed until he died. In Tunis al-Hajari translated Spanish texts he had acquired during his travels into Arabic (such as the astronomical treatise *Almanach Perpetuum* by Abraham Zacuto<sup>49</sup> and a treatise on military technology written in Spanish by a Morisco).<sup>50</sup> He also translated Arabic texts, especially religious ones, into Spanish for the Moriscos in North Africa, many of whom did not speak much Arabic.<sup>51</sup> Moriscos commissioned some of these for translation.<sup>52</sup> It was during this time that he wrote in the margin of a manuscript, “Today [c. 1640] Tunis is the best place for those of our nation [Moriscos].”<sup>53</sup> Al-Hajari appeared to have eventually found a satisfactory new home in Tunis.

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<sup>48</sup> Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib," 96.

<sup>49</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 44.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 50-51. This work has been edited and published, Ibrahim b. Ahmad Ghanim Ribash, *Hadha Kitab al-'Izz wa al-Rif'a wa al-Manafi' lil-Mujahidin fi Sabil Allah bi al-Madafi'* (Damascus: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-'Askariyah, 1995).

<sup>51</sup> His most important contribution was a translation of the book of miracles of the Prophet written by the Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (c.1445-1505). See Éric Geoffroy, "Al-Suyūṭī," In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden: Brill); see also Férid Khiari, "La chute de Grenade et la fin du monde d'après un texte millénariste d'As-Suyuti," In *Le Ve Centenaire de la Chute de Grenade: 1492-1992* vol. 1, (Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1993).

<sup>52</sup> Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, Wiegers, "General Introduction," 48.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 55.

Al-Hajari was one of the lucky ones. He arrived in North Africa safely and managed to create a life for himself there. Like many Moriscos, al-Hajari went back to Christian Europe. However, al-Hajari was a diplomat and did not face the same dangers that other Moriscos did when they traveled. For example, al-Hajari's host in Paris granted his request for halal food without comment.<sup>54</sup> Throughout his travels, al-Hajari spoke openly about his religion and freely offered his critiques of Christianity and Judaism. Kitab Nasir al-Din recounts dozens of theological conversations he had in Europe where both he and his acquaintances were respectful and curious about the other's beliefs.<sup>55</sup> He returned freely to Morocco after his travels and lived to be an old man in Tunis.

## **ZAHRA**

Zahra (Sp. Catalina Barón) was a poor, illiterate woman from rural Valencia with no connections to the elite in Spain or North Africa. Like al-Hajari, she was multilingual and spoke Arabic, Spanish, and Italian. She was born in Valencia and ended up in Palermo, Sicily far from her family in North Africa and her birthplace in Spain, longing for a reunification that would never come.

## **Sicily**

The King of Aragon had ruled Sicily since 1282, though its governors effectively ruled an independent kingdom until 1409, when a succession crisis led to more direct rule by Aragon. Crown-appointed viceroys governed the province--the same system that

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<sup>54</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*, 29 (Arabic). Accommodations for dietary restrictions were normally made for Muslim diplomats in Europe. See Lucette Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers. Musulmans en Europe, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Payot Éditions, 2012), 203-204.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*.

would be used in the Spanish Americas and other overseas colonies. King Ferdinand established the Sicily tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition in Palermo in 1513. The Sicily tribunal answered to the Council of the Supreme Inquisition in Madrid just as the other tribunals in Spain and in the Americas did. Islamic practice was a primary concern of the Sicily tribunal.<sup>56</sup>

Though from 827 until 1091 Sicily had been ruled by Muslims and had a significant Muslim population, by 1614 its people were mostly Christians. For about a century after the Norman Conquest (1060-91) had ended Arab rule on the island, Arabic continued to be the primary language of administration in the Norman court.<sup>57</sup> However, an outbreak of popular violence against Muslims in 1289 led to the migration of much of the remaining Arabic speaking and Muslim population to North Africa.<sup>58</sup> More episodes of violence, together with conversion, emigration, and the immigration of Christian peasants eventually decimated the Muslim population of Sicily.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the disappearance or conversion of the native Arabo-Sicilians, there continued to be many Muslims in Sicily because of the island's proximity to North Africa (only 96 miles from Tunisia). In addition, Palermo and Messina were port cities that attracted people from all over the Mediterranean. Between 1547 and 1639 the Sicilian

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<sup>56</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 170-171.

<sup>57</sup> Mack Smith, Denis, *Medieval Sicily, 800-1713* (New York: Dorset Press, 1988), 12.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 46. It was at this time that the remaining Muslim elite—wealthy landowners, scholars, and artisans—fled the island. Most of the Muslims who remained after 1289 were peasants living in the interior and southwest of the island.

<sup>59</sup> Historians have uncovered few details about the very end of the Muslim communities in Sicily. It seems that their numbers declined gradually until eventually they were no longer mentioned in the sources. It is also possible that any remaining Sicilian Muslims were killed by the plague, which devastated the population of Sicily in 1347.

Inquisition prosecuted almost 800 people for practicing Islam. The majority of these were renegades (European Christian converts to Islam, approximately 550), followed by Christian converts from the Islamic world (mostly slaves, 150 people), and then Moriscos from Spain (63 people).<sup>60</sup> These numbers reflect only Christians accused of practicing Islam, not Muslims who never converted (who were outside the jurisdiction of the Inquisition). However, the high number suggests a significant population of Muslims and people from the Islamic Mediterranean in Sicily.

### **Arrest and Trial**

The Holy Office of the Kingdom of Sicily arrested Zahra and her stepsister Maryam in Palermo on April 28, 1614.<sup>61</sup> Five years after the expulsion from Valencia, Zahra and Maryam were living as Muslims in the capital city of the island kingdom, which was controlled by Spain. The significant Muslim population in Sicily, made up mostly of slaves from North Africa, may have helped the women escape Inquisitorial attention for a while. Both women were married to Muslim slaves, and their neighbors had assumed that they too were Turks or North Africans.<sup>62</sup> It was Zahra's cousin who first brought Zahra to the attention of the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>63</sup>

Though witnesses referred to Zahra and Maryam as sisters, they were stepsisters and there was a significant age difference between the two women. Zahra was twenty

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<sup>60</sup> Cardaillac, "El problema morisco en Sicilia," 632.

<sup>61</sup> For more on Moriscos in Sicily after the expulsion see Ibid. For a discussion of the different types of heresies pursued by the Sicilian tribunal see Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 164-185.

<sup>62</sup> It is not clear whether the women intentionally hid their Morisco origins or not.

<sup>63</sup> He claimed that he had decided a week prior to convert to Christianity and when he told his cousin she became angry and tried to convince him to remain a Muslim. Apparently unswayed, he reported her to the Holy Office. AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.1r-1v.

years old at the time of their arrest and Maryam was forty. However, the two women were close. They had managed to stay together through the expulsion when they were separated from the rest of their families. The initial evidence presented against them was nearly identical, they had some of their audiences on the same days, and they responded to accusation and trial in similar ways. The court may have considered their cases together and it seems that they had contact outside of the courtroom-- perhaps they shared a cell. However, though their cases proceeded in apparently similar ways, we have both *proceso*<sup>64</sup> and *relación de causa*<sup>65</sup> for Zahra's case and only a very brief *relación* for Maryam's trial.<sup>66</sup>

The court held its first audience with Zahra two days after her arrest, on April 30. Zahra testified that she was from Bellús, a village near Xàtiva in Valencia in eastern Spain. Zahra told the court that she did not know any Christian prayers, and she had never been to church for confession or mass because her father was rich and was able to pay a bribe (*pagava la pena*) to the local priest so that their family would be exempt from most forms of Christian practice.<sup>67</sup> She had not entered a church since she left Spain.<sup>68</sup> She had been married to a Morisco in Valencia, but her kidnapping during the 1609 expulsion separated them.

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<sup>64</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22.

<sup>65</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.23v-24v.

<sup>66</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.25r-26r.

<sup>67</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.24r; AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.16v.

<sup>68</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.16v.

When Zahra and her family left Spain in 1609, they embarked on a ship in Cartagena that was bound for Oran in Algeria, but during the voyage a ship official kidnapped Zahra and Maryam and gave them to the galley captain, named Jorge, who brought them to Palermo.<sup>69</sup> In Palermo, Zahra was with Jorge for a few months and he apparently intended to keep her as his slave,<sup>70</sup> but Zahra petitioned Don Pedro Tellez-Girón y Velasco, the Duke of Osuna and the Viceroy of Sicily, for her freedom. Her petition was successful and she received a document guaranteeing her freedom in 1612.<sup>71</sup>

This remarkable document is included in the proceso because Zahra had it with her at the time of her arrest, suggesting that she carried it with her at all times to protect herself. The circumstances of Zahra's petition to the viceroy are intriguing but the document gives few details. Zahra's possession of such a document suggests that she had enough legal knowledge to know who to ask for her freedom and how to convince the viceroy of the illegality of her captivity. But what proof did she have of her freedom? And why was her request granted, especially given that kidnapping potential slaves was normal business in the seventeenth century Mediterranean? Did Maryam get a similar document? The written record is frustratingly silent about these matters.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.17r.

<sup>70</sup> The ship captain's kidnapping of Zahra and his holding her as a slave for a time suggests sexual violence, or at the very least sexual vulnerability, but that is never explicitly referred to in the documents.

<sup>71</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.17r. A copy of the document is included in the *proceso*, AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f. 14r-14v.

<sup>72</sup> For more on slave petitions for freedom in Valencia (*demandes de libertat*), see Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 210-217.

Soon after she obtained her freedom Zahra married a Muslim<sup>73</sup> slave of the Marques de Mota named ‘Abd ‘Ali. ‘Abd ‘Ali and Zahra had a Muslim ceremony, “*a la usanza de los moros*,”<sup>74</sup> which according to Zahra meant that ‘Abd ‘Ali gave her a dowry and they had a feast to celebrate with other Muslims in Sicily. Then they slept together and began living together as man and wife. This second marriage was one of the Inquisition's charges against her, though the court did not accuse her of bigamy. They were far more concerned with the Islamic rituals conducted at the ceremony and with the fact that her husband was a Muslim. The couple had been living openly as Muslims for two years at the time of Zahra's arrest.<sup>75</sup> After giving her life story and her genealogy to the court, Zahra answered the charges of heresy. She told the court that she had always been a Muslim. Unless God gave her a sign that she should convert or inspired her husband to become a Christian and he wanted her to convert as well she would remain a Muslim.<sup>76</sup> Zahra’s words to the court were either naive or stubbornly defiant.

### **First Conversion**

The following week Zahra told the court that she wanted to be a Christian. She said that the previous day her Sicilian cellmate, Betta Amanti, convinced her that she should become a Christian in order to save her soul. Zahra asked the court for forgiveness

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<sup>73</sup> The documents say he was a “*turco*,” which could have meant that he was actually a Turk or it could have meant that he was a Muslim. He spoke Arabic and was most likely North African. On “Turk” meaning Muslim see Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers. Musulmans en Europe, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, 11 and al-Hajari, who said “[t]he French do not call Muslims anything but ‘Turk.’” Al-Hajari al-Andalusi, *Kitab Nasir al-Din*, 69 (Arabic).

<sup>74</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.21r.

<sup>75</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.15v

<sup>76</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.18v

and requested further instruction in Christianity.<sup>77</sup> She assured the court that if her husband did not want to become a Christian with her she was prepared to leave him so that she could live as a good Christian.<sup>78</sup>

After several more audiences and intense questioning, the Inquisitors decided that Zahra was sincere and scheduled her to appear for reconciliation and punishment at a public auto-da-fé, a formal public ritual of penance, on July 19, 1614.<sup>79</sup> However, before the ceremony could take place, the court moved her from the Inquisition's secret jail to an ecclesiastical jail because of overcrowding. In the relative freedom of the new cells, Zahra's husband 'Abd 'Ali and Maryam's husband Ibrahim began to visit the sisters twice a day, bringing them food and talking to the women in Arabic.

When a fellow prisoner brought this to the attention of the Inquisition, the court called the men in intending to tell them to leave the women alone or face a public whipping and a three-year galley sentence. In court, 'Abd 'Ali and Ibrahim told the judges that they refused to stop visiting the women in jail because they were their wives and they were good Muslims, "even if they put them in the galleys or hung them or burned them. If they knew for certain that they were Christians they would leave them but they are even better Muslims than the Turks, especially Zahra."<sup>80</sup>

### **“Moriscos and Moriscas Never Convert”**

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<sup>77</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.24r and AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f. 22v.

<sup>78</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.23v.

<sup>79</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.24v

<sup>80</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f. 28r.

The men's brazen rejection of the court's request was disastrous for Zahra and Maryam. The Inquisition reopened their trials and brought in several more witnesses from the ecclesiastical jail to confirm what 'Abd 'Ali and Ibrahim had said. The testimony of the other women in jail was damning. Five witnesses testified against Zahra, accusing her of living openly as a Muslim in jail. They accused her of saying that even though the Holy Office wanted to make her a Christian she did not want to be one because she had always been a Muslim and she wanted to continue to keep the law of the Muslims and eventually go to North Africa. She also said "everyone is saved in their own law."<sup>81</sup> The witnesses testified to seeing her eat meat on Fridays and Saturdays. Three of the five witnesses testified to seeing her wash her entire body a few times and making fun of the Christians because they did not wash. One of the witnesses added that she saw her pray as a Muslim. Another testified that she heard her say that she would become a Christian to keep them from hanging her.<sup>82</sup>

When confronted with this new evidence, Zahra admitted that it was true that she had always been a Muslim and that she wanted to go to Tunis where her father was. They returned her to the secret jail of the Inquisition and voted to give her the death penalty. In her defense Zahra had repeated that she did not know whether she had been baptized, so the Inquisition sent a request to the Valencia Inquisition to give evidence of her baptism. This was a typical defense strategy used by Moriscos and Conversos that rarely worked because the Inquisition could almost always recover original baptism records from

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<sup>81</sup> "*Que cada uno se salvava en su ley.*" This was a common statement in the early modern Spanish world. Moriscos often made similar statements in Inquisition cases, as did many Old Christians tried for blasphemy. See Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*.

<sup>82</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.24v

parishes. It did not work in Zahra's case, and the Valencia Inquisition send proof of her baptism to Sicily.<sup>83</sup>

Zahra spent the next year trying to convince the court that they had no jurisdiction over her because she was not baptized. She repeatedly told the court that there was no point in trying to persuade her to convert. She was a lost cause and she would die before becoming a Christian. Moriscos never became Christians, Zahra said, because "even though a Muslim from North Africa could convert, the Moriscos and Moriscas never converted because they were the best Muslims and she had never known one who [sincerely] converted."<sup>84</sup> She told the court that she would not lie to the court again, not even to save her life, because

in her heart she is a Muslim and she does not want to say that she is a Christian or become a Christian because she does not want to lie to anyone [even though] she could say that she will convert just to get out of this suffering, and then escape (because even though she is a woman she could escape). She asked them to stop calling her Catalina and to call her Zahra, and to send her to her father.<sup>85</sup>

More than a year later, on November 16, 1615, Zahra requested an audience with the judge to tell them to let her go.<sup>86</sup> A few days later she told the court that she wanted to find her father so she could die in the same place as him and if he was going to hell she

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<sup>83</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22 f.13v. The proof of baptism is in the file, though it is not clear when it was received.

<sup>84</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.33r.

<sup>85</sup> "*en su corazon hera mora y que no quiere dezir que es cristiana por que no quiere engañar a ninguno y podria dezir que se convierte y que es cristiana por salir deste travaxo y despues huirse que aunque es muger se puede huir, y que no quiere que la llamen Catalina sino Zara, y que la embien donde esta su padre.*" AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.35v.

<sup>86</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.37r.

wanted to go with him; it was at this time that Zahra stopped talking about her husband, ‘Abd ‘Ali. She threatened suicide.<sup>87</sup>

The King expelled her from Spain for being a Muslim and it is as a Muslim that she wants to die. Her parents taught her Islam and not Christianity, and she wants to go to North Africa to be with them, or to hell if that is where they are.<sup>88</sup>

The court continued to try and convince her to convert, and after more than two years in jail Zahra gave up. On June 17, 1616 Zahra requested an audience to tell the judge that she had prayed to God that he show her the path and help her figure out whether to be a Christian or a Muslim. God had inspired her to convert to Catholicism and leave Islam. She had a dream that the Virgin Mary appeared to her with Jesus in her arms and placed a rosary around her neck. Then a group of Muslims from North Africa arrived in the land of the Christians with their wives and children to convert to Christianity, and she realized that she had even more reason to convert than they because she had been born in the land of the Christians.<sup>89</sup> After bringing her in for several more audiences to test her sincerity, the Church reconciled Zahra at a public auto-da-fé on September 9, 1616. As punishment all of her belongings were confiscated, she was required to wear penitential garments, and she was sentenced to life in prison.<sup>90</sup>

As a woman, Zahra was particularly vulnerable to violence and abduction. Her insistence that she be reunited with either her husband or her father suggested that she

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<sup>87</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.37v.

<sup>88</sup> “*El Rey la hecho de España por Mora, y Mora quiere morir, y la setta de Mahoma le enseñaron sus padres, y no la ley de los cristianos y que quiere yr donde ellos estan a Berberia y al infierno si alla estan.*” AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, f.39v.

<sup>89</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Legajo 1747/22, no foliation.

<sup>90</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily), Libro 900, f.25r.

was conscious of that vulnerability. Though travel was especially risky for women, Zahra's words suggest that women had additional opportunities for mobility. She told the court that she could escape Sicily for North Africa, "because she is a woman," though she did not explain what she meant by this. It is possible that women were less likely to be stopped and questioned. It was easier for women to pass as Old Christians, which made it easier for Morisca women to stay in Spain after 1609 if they wished to. Men were suspect as corsairs, traitors, and rebels. Less attention was paid to women, especially if they were alone or in the company of Old Christians.<sup>91</sup>

### **‘ALI**

The final story is about a Morisco named ‘Ali (Sp. Francisco Pérez).<sup>92</sup> ‘Ali uprooted his life twice to comply with official orders that Moriscos relocate—first from Granada to La Mancha and then from La Mancha to Algeria. He had been in Algeria for about a year when Spanish pirates kidnapped him while he was out fishing and took him back to Spain. ‘Ali was born a Christian, but he died a Muslim. Like his physical journeys, his spiritual transformation was coerced. These traumatic experiences were ones that he shared with his family and with most other Moriscos. His life, at least until his capture by pirates in 1615, was in many ways quite typical.

‘Ali was not a martyr. No one, until now, has told his story. He did not inspire his fellow Moriscos because they knew nothing of him. His descendants could not

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<sup>91</sup> "Passing" to avoid deportation is discussed more in Chapter 4.

<sup>92</sup> AHN Inquisición (Valencia), Legajo 553/24. Like many Inquisition files, this one seems to be incomplete. For example, there is no paperwork regarding his transfer to Valencia from Mallorca.

commemorate his death; they had no way of knowing what became of him after his kidnapping. ‘Ali did not use the language of other Morisco, Converso, and Protestant martyrs whom the Inquisition burned at the stake. He never spoke of salvation, or of dying in the true faith. His refusal to cooperate was out of spite, anger, and resistance. Unable to control his destiny during his life, ‘Ali finally took back his free will when he chose death.

### **Discurso de la vida**

‘Ali was born c. 1555 in the town of Baza in the Kingdom of Granada to a Morisco family. Baza was a prosperous, silk-producing town near the border between Granada and Murcia. When Ferdinand and Isabella conquered the town from the Muslim Nasrid Dynasty in 1489 a few years before the conquest of Granada it was a major victory for the Catholic Monarchs. In 1569, when ‘Ali was fourteen years old, the Second Morisco Revolt of the Alpujarras began. The revolt was extraordinarily violent, and ‘Ali’s father was killed in action. His mother’s brothers were also killed. After two years of vicious fighting the Spanish had thoroughly defeated the Morisco rebels. In order to keep such a rebellion from happening again, Spanish authorities deported the Moriscos in the Kingdom to other parts of Castile.<sup>93</sup>

‘Ali went with his mother and other Morisco women from Baza to the town of Villanueva de los Infantes in La Mancha. ‘Ali stayed there leaving only for annual trips to Murcia with other Moriscos for the silk harvest. In La Mancha he met and married his

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<sup>93</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

wife María and had three children, Luis, Diego, and Luisa.<sup>94</sup> ‘Ali’s life was torn apart again in 1614 when King Philip III decreed the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. Now an elderly man with grown children, ‘Ali went with his family and many other Moriscos to the port of Cartagena to await deportation. ‘Ali and his family boarded French ships, hoping to make their way to France to try and build new lives.

They sailed up the eastern Mediterranean coast of Spain, stopping first in Dénia and then in Barcelona before arriving in Marseilles and then Toulon in France. They stayed in Toulon for eight days, but local officials would not let them settle there longer.<sup>95</sup> Disappointed, ‘Ali and his family boarded a ship for Annaba in Algeria. Their rude welcome in Toulon had been friendly compared to the hostility ‘Ali and his family faced in Annaba. They were baptized Christians and according to local officials that made them apostates. Moriscos who refused to convert to Islam upon landing in Annaba were threatened with death by burning.<sup>96</sup>

‘Ali’s conversion to Islam was simple. He learned to pray as a Muslim, “raising his head two times looking at the heavens with his arms raised, and then he lowered his head and kissed the ground and said ‘ley ley lala’ which meant thanks to God.” ‘Ali’s inaccurate translation of the Islamic declaration of faith, *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, or “there is no

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<sup>94</sup> According to Carla Rahn Phillips, the Granadan Moriscos who ended up in La Mancha were largely welcomed there and many assimilated more than Moriscos in other regions. She suggests that this was because La Mancha, a relatively poor region, was experiencing a serious labor shortage and benefited greatly from the influx of refugees. Phillips, "The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614," D1067-D1095.

<sup>95</sup> Initially, Henry IV agreed to offer the Moriscos refuge in France. However, he was assassinated in 1610, and the new queen regent, Marie de Médicis was not as open to the idea and although some Moriscos were still allowed into France, their numbers were restricted. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 318.

<sup>96</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

god but God,” revealed his limited knowledge of Arabic and of Islam.<sup>97</sup> He washed his hands, face, and “secret parts” before entering the mosque. He was deemed too old to have to undergo circumcision like the other converts.

After seven months in Annaba, ‘Ali and his family moved on to Algiers. He had been living there with his family—which now included a few grandchildren born in Algeria—until one day he was fishing on the coast of Algiers with his son when a Spanish sea captain named Domingo Estelrrich captured him. His son managed to get away. Estelrrich planned to get a ransom from ‘Ali’s family, but he also tried to persuade his prisoner to live as a Christian in Spain: “If you come to the land of the Christians the Inquisition will have mercy on you.” ‘Ali said nothing and Estelrrich took him to Ibiza. Once in Spain, Estelrrich and some other men tried to convince ‘Ali to stay in Spain and live as a Christian, but he kept insisting that his family would ransom him and he wanted to go back to Algiers to his children and grandchildren. Estelrrich took him to the Holy Office of the Inquisition.<sup>98</sup>

## **Trial**

On the morning of September 18, 1615, ‘Ali found himself in the courtroom of the Inquisition of Mallorca for his first audience with the judge, Antonio Ereus de Santo Domingo. The first thing all suspected heretics were asked to do in the courtrooms of the Inquisition was to swear on the holy cross that they would tell the truth. This was usually a routine part of court procedure, but ‘Ali bewildered Santo Domingo by refusing to

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<sup>97</sup> “*Ley ley lala*” is probably *lā ilāha illā Allah*—there is no god but God, and not “thanks to God.”

<sup>98</sup> Estelrrich claimed to be in Algiers on a mission to rescue Christian captives, but he must have been there to acquire a few captives of his own or he would not have picked up ‘Ali.

place his hand on the holy object. He told the court that “he was a Muslim and did not want to swear on the cross.”<sup>99</sup> Unsure of how to proceed without swearing him in, Santo Domingo told him that he could swear as the Muslims did if he liked. So ‘Ali swore to Allah that he would tell the truth in this audience and any others that followed until the conclusion of his case.<sup>100</sup>

After ‘Ali’s unconventional swearing in, the judge continued questioning him. The Inquisition’s practices were highly standardized, and Santo Domingo asked ‘Ali the same questions that he asked every prisoner. First ‘Ali gave his genealogy. He named his parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, spouse, children and grandchildren. The Inquisitor tested ‘Ali’s knowledge of basic Christianity. He asked him to recite the Ave Maria, the Paternoster, the tenets of Christian doctrine, and to make the sign of the cross. ‘Ali’s tenuous knowledge of Christianity did not impress the judge.<sup>101</sup> ‘Ali remembered nothing about his baptism, but he did remember his confirmation. Then Santo Domingo asked him if he knew how to read or if he possessed any books or knew of anyone who did. ‘Ali said he did not.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

<sup>100</sup> There was a medieval precedent in Spain for allowing Muslims and Jews to swear oaths in their own way in Christian courts.

<sup>101</sup> His weak knowledge of Christianity was not necessarily worse than that of any Spanish peasant in the seventeenth century.

<sup>102</sup> *Discurso de la vida*. Part of the point of this question is to figure out if people have left Spain, especially for North Africa, a concern that was explicitly related to Spanish concerns about Morisco associations with foreign conspirators. Moriscos were not allowed to leave Spain. The Inquisition considered even trying to leave to be evidence of heresy, so time spent across the Mediterranean was evidence used against Moriscos in Inquisition trials (though it was rare for anyone to have traveled much). Shockingly, one of the charges that the Inquisition officially filed in this case was that he lived illegally in Islamic lands.

The Inquisitor asked ‘Ali if he knew why he had been brought before the tribunal. Initially ‘Ali said he did not know, but finally, using words that echoed Zahra’s uttered a year before in Sicily, he confessed that “he knows that he is imprisoned for being a Muslim, and since the law of Spain expelled him from the peninsula for considering him to be a Muslim that is what he is and what he wants to be.”<sup>103</sup>

‘Ali claimed that he had been a good Christian until he arrived in North Africa with his family. By the time of his trial he had forgotten the Latin prayers, but he claimed that he had once known them all. He was confirmed in the Church of San Andrés in Villanueva de los Infantes by a bishop from Toledo. He went to mass every Sunday and on holidays and confessed regularly. He told the court that “in Spain he had always lived as a Christian Morisco, and until he arrived in Barbary and decided to become a Muslim he had never performed any ceremony of the sect of the Moors because he had not known any.”<sup>104</sup>

Santo Domingo asked ‘Ali whether he understood that practicing Islam was heresy and against the law of the Christians—he could be burned at the stake. ‘Ali said he understood. Then the Inquisitor asked him whether he believed that by practicing Islam he could attain salvation. ‘Ali did not answer the judge’s question, leaving us to wonder what he actually believed. He simply said that “dios lo sabe,” only God knows who will be saved.<sup>105</sup> When pressed, he said that

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<sup>103</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

<sup>104</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

<sup>105</sup> “Only God knows,” “*Allāhu ā ‘alim*,” is also a common saying in Arabic.

the Muslims believe that with those things and ceremonies they will be saved and he knows that it is all against the law of the Christians. [But] since they expelled him from Spain and took his belongings he wants to be a Muslim and that is the truth by the oath that he has taken . . . <sup>106</sup>

‘Ali’s experience with religion had always been a matter of coercion. He submitted to it as a child in Spain, learning the Christian prayers with the help of the local parish priest and attending mass as required of him and his Morisco family and neighbors. He said that he was a “Christian Morisco,” suggesting that for him this was no contradiction at all.

His conversion to Islam in Algeria was similarly coerced. His knowledge of both faiths was limited—he remembered very little of any prayers in Latin or in Arabic and did not understand the meanings of prayers in either language. During the course of his entire trial, he never mentioned the Prophet Muhammad. He did not bring up Mary’s perpetual virginity—a theological point that concerned many other Moriscos.<sup>107</sup> He refused to answer the judge’s questions about how salvation could be achieved. It is possible that, like the blasphemers studied by Stuart Schwartz, ‘Ali believed that both Islam and Christianity were potential paths to salvation, but he never said so.<sup>108</sup>

Rather, ‘Ali seemed entirely unconcerned with salvation, perhaps doubtful that salvation was even possible. If ‘Ali had been imprisoned by Ottoman authorities in Algeria and forced again to choose between renouncing Christianity or death, he might have responded just as he did in Mallorca. He did not cling to Islam because he believed

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<sup>106</sup> “*Dixo que los moros lo piensan que con aquallos cossas y cerimonias se salvan y que ya savia el que aquello era todo contra la ley de los christianos y que como le hecharon de españa por moro y le tomaron sus bienes el quiere ser moro y esta es la verdad por el juramento que tiene hecho.*” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>108</sup> Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*.

it was the truth, or because it was the religion of his ancestors. He did not say that dying a Muslim would earn him a reward in the afterlife. He refused to be a Christian out of anger at the Spanish.<sup>109</sup>

‘Ali’s first audience was followed by several more in which the judge repeatedly asked ‘Ali to search his memory and try to remember more. ‘Ali had nothing more to say, however, and he began to repeat himself:

He said that he has told the truth and he has nothing more to say. He is a Muslim and he wants to be a Muslim and he already said that and he performed ablutions and Muslim prayers in Algiers and Annaba as he has said during his first audience and he has nothing more to say and they shall do to him what they want.<sup>110</sup>

However, ‘Ali had one thing left to try. Like Zahra, he knew that the Inquisition only held jurisdiction over Christians, defined by whether someone had been baptized—whether it was against their will did not matter. ‘Ali claimed that he did not remember his baptism. Perhaps, he said in court, he had never been baptized at all. If that were true, ‘Ali’s practice of Islam would not have been heresy and apostasy and he would have been free to go.

‘Ali tried valiantly to convince the court: “He said that he did not know whether he was baptized or not because he was born before the War of Granada [the 1569 Morisco Revolt of the Alpujarras]” and his parents were Muslims. The Inquisitor knew ‘Ali must have been baptized, and told him to “desist with his delusions.” It is impossible

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<sup>109</sup> This makes him very different from the martyrs studied by Miriam Bodian, though in other ways the language he uses is remarkably similar to that found in the trial records of the Jewish *Converso* men and women who resisted the Inquisition by refusing abjuration. Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses*.

<sup>110</sup> “*Dixo que el ha dicho la verdad y no tiene mas que dezir y que el es moro y quiere ser moro y ya lo ha dicho y que ha hecho el guadoch y çala en Argel y en Bona de la manera que tiene declarado en su primera audiencia y no tiene mas que desir y hagan del lo que quisieren.*” AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

to know whether ‘Ali knew it or not. All Moriscos in Spain were baptized. In Granada forced mass baptisms took place beginning in 1500-- well before ‘Ali was born.

On May 25, 1616 the Holy Office voted to sentence ‘Ali to death. But ‘Ali’s trial went on for another five years. Both parties had an interest in postponing ‘Ali’s sentence for as long as possible. The Tribunal hoped that with time they could convince ‘Ali to abjure, and ‘Ali was still hoping that his baptism defense would work. In the meantime, the Inquisition heard witness testimony from one of ‘Ali’s Old Christian neighbors in Villanueva de los Infantes. This man was not sure he remembered who Francisco Pérez/ ‘Ali was, but he was confident that he must have been a good Christian, because all the Moriscos in his town were.<sup>111</sup> As always, the Inquisition took his claim that he may never have been baptized seriously, sending a letter to the Inquisition of Granada for proof of the baptism. Finally, as during Zahra’s trial, the Inquisition found the record of ‘Ali’s baptism in the church in Baza and sent it back to Valencia. ‘Ali’s last hope was gone.

‘Ali understood perfectly what many of King Phillip III’s critics had also understood at the time of the 1614 expulsion—that expelling baptized Christians from Christendom meant that the Church lost their souls forever. It amounted to preventing the Moriscos from ever becoming good Christians—an act that was unjustifiable in canon law, especially given that the Moriscos technically were already Christians. In the seventeenth century the Spanish were traveling all over the world preaching the gospel, driven by their duty to bring more and more of humanity into the fold of the Catholic Church. And Phillip III wanted to give up on a baptized population that was within the

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<sup>111</sup> AHN Inquisition (Valencia), Legajo 553/24.

Iberian Peninsula itself and turn them over to infidels. Many within the church were horrified by the possibility of sending even a few good Christians among the heretics to North Africa.

‘Ali’s testimony provided a brief glimpse of what expulsion was like for ‘Ali and his family. The Spanish rejected them after they had tried to assimilate and sent them from their homes. They sailed around the Mediterranean, looking for a port that would take them in, before finally arriving in Algeria. To King Phillip III they were hopeless heretics and potential traitors. To the Algerians they were foreigners and apostates. Both the Inquisition and the Muslim authorities in Annaba threatened them with burning. Given these circumstances, ‘Ali’s anger and resignation seem inevitable.

‘Ali was burned at the stake in an auto-da-fé in Valencia on July 4, 1621. He had been in jail for six years. All he had to do to save his life was to tell the Inquisition that he was sorry he had been a Muslim; that he wanted to save his soul and be a good Christian and be instructed in the true faith. If he had said that, he still would have had to suffer through a public auto-da-fé and he would have served a prison sentence, but he would have lived.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps he could have eventually found his way back to Algeria and to his family. Thousands of Moriscos before him had chosen this route, saving their lives by agreeing, with sincerity or not, to re-enter the church community.

But ‘Ali refused every day for nearly six years. His refusal to repent was extraordinary, and it likely astonished the Inquisition as well. They kept hoping he would change his mind, but he never did. As an act of suicide, ‘Ali’s was a dramatic one that

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<sup>112</sup> He was too old for a galley slave sentence.

first required suffering six years in prison. After spending his whole life playing by the rules of the Spanish without resisting, 'Ali had had enough. He would not do it again. His last stand cost him his life.

## **CONCLUSION**

These three individuals represent the enormous variety of experiences that Moriscos faced in the early seventeenth century as they left Spain and wandered the Mediterranean, looking for a place to call home. There were Moriscos, who like al-Hajari, managed to take advantage of being “between worlds” to create successful careers and, in effect, turn the entire Mediterranean into their homes. Comfortable in Europe and in the Islamic world, al-Hajari’s story shows the possibilities that existed for someone with skills, money, and connections.

But for Zahra and 'Ali, being “between worlds” meant something else entirely. Instead of skillfully navigating different cultures and languages, Zahra and 'Ali were left with nowhere to go. After a ship captain kidnapped her on the voyage to North Africa, showing just how vulnerable Morisca women were to kidnap and sexual violence during the dangerous journey, Zahra briefly found a new life in Sicily. She even petitioned the viceroy to ensure her freedom. She married again and lived as she wanted for a few brief years. But eventually she was forced to face her Christian past in the Inquisition’s courts, and after a valiant but ultimately failed attempt at fighting back and living her life as she wanted, Zahra converted to Christianity in 1616 and spent the rest of her life in prison in Palermo. For years in prison, Zahra held onto the hope that the Inquisition would give up

and let her go to Tunis. In contrast ‘Ali gave up all hope soon after his arrest by the Inquisition of Mallorca in 1615.

All three of these accounts show that religion and conversion had multiple meanings for Moriscos. Faith was at the center of each story, and they all insisted on holding tight to their Islamic faith no matter what others said. However, they all were (at least outwardly) Christians at some time or another. Conversion, whether sincere or not, was a strategy that Moriscos used to ensure their survival. Resisting conversion or converting to Islam was a strategy of resistance. Religious faith was a matter of belief (as Zahra said, “in her heart she is a Muslim”).<sup>113</sup> But it was also a way of staying true to Morisco identity or of rejecting it and a way of keeping families and communities together.

But above all, these three stories show that being a Morisco was extraordinarily dangerous in the early modern Mediterranean. While some elite Moriscos such as al-Hajari figured out how to adapt to life in North Africa and even used their Morisco identities to build successful careers, his was a rare success story at a time when being between worlds more often meant that Moriscos were stuck with nowhere to go rather than freedom of choice. We are very fortunate to have the words of Zahra and ‘Ali preserved in their trial records. The striking similarities of their words and actions suggest that their anger towards Philip III, the centrality of their identities as Muslims (whether it was a matter of belief or something else) and their struggles for survival were shared by untold numbers of Moriscos in the Mediterranean diaspora.

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<sup>113</sup> AHN Inquisition (Sicily) Legajo 1747/22, f.35v.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

As historian William Monter said, “[t]he rules of this game were intricate, and false steps had dangerous consequences, but many Morisco men and women played it brilliantly.”<sup>1</sup> Monter was referring specifically to Moriscos facing the Inquisition, but the sentiment is applicable to the ways in which Moriscos responded to the many challenges they faced in their struggle for survival. Moriscos used every tool in their arsenal to make the best out of very difficult situations, providing a powerful example for the ways that people adapt during periods of enormous change.

Moriscos adapted to extraordinarily diverse circumstances in savvy and creative ways. In Granada, Morisco families used the value of their labor to survive as the Kingdom’s economy gradually fell from their control. Moriscos successfully used silk production to survive conquest and administrative changes for nearly a century. Though this worked for a while, it turned out to not be a lasting solution and the economic value of Morisco labor and skills was not enough to prevent expulsion from the Kingdom in 1570.

What happened in Granada foreshadowed what would happen in Valencia during the final decades of the sixteenth century. The Inquisition brought the Spanish state into rural Morisco homes and Moriscos responded in flexible ways that went beyond isolation and religious martyrdom. But the zeal of the Inquisition and its familiars and mounting

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<sup>1</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 191.

fear of corsair raids, Ottoman or Protestant invasions, and Morisco rebellion created a deep divide between Moriscos and Old Christians that finally led to expulsion in 1609.

The Spanish state sought to control Morisco mobility, and Moriscos used escape and migration to regain some control over their fortunes. Moriscos continued to use mobility as a tool for survival after 1609, but they were living in a world that was becoming more dangerous for them. Moriscos in Spain after expulsion were subject to Inquisitorial punishment and galley slavery; Moriscos in North Africa were subject to forced conversions and dire economic circumstances. Morisco men and women responded to these challenges in increasingly desperate ways—taking great risks to survive in a harsh world.

The individual experiences of al-Hajari, Zahra, and ‘Ali reveal how much individual experiences of migration and mobility could vary depending on gender, class, age, and local circumstances. Al-Hajari found success as a diplomat, relying on his language skills and knowledge of Christian Europe to make himself useful to the Sa’adian sultan. Al-Hajari’s access to upper class networks allowed him to survive. Zahra and ‘Ali found themselves in the hands of the Inquisition after following orders and leaving Spain. As a woman, Zahra was particularly vulnerable during the journey and became even more vulnerable separated from her family in Sicily. She resisted for a while before changing her mind and converting to Christianity. ‘Ali resisted until the very end, demonstrating a remarkable awareness of what his refusal to convert to Christianity meant. His age kept him from the galleys; perhaps it also left him with nothing to lose.

Their stories hint at the complexities and possibilities of the lives of other Moriscos that are lost to us forever.

Morisco experiences varied so significantly because their circumstances and choices depended on a wide range of socio-economic factors, including gender, class, and local contexts. Moriscos did not adopt survival strategies as a unified group—they improvised as individuals, families, and local communities based on particular circumstances. Religion was one part of a complex set of survival strategies that Moriscos used as their options became increasingly limited.

The archival and published sources, which reveal the Morisco perspective only through the filters of courts and elites, demonstrate the increasingly dire situation of the Moriscos in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Moriscos in Granada had some power because the economy depended on their labor and the threat of collective rebellion was real. Moriscos in Valencia, mostly poor peasants, were often at the mercy of the Inquisition, but they still found ways to protect their families and communities and to maximize their own chances at returning home from prison. Morisco mobility was severely restricted from the beginning of the sixteenth century, but Moriscos carefully planned escapes when they thought leaving Spain might help them to survive. They hid from authorities during the expulsion and returned to Spain on corsair ships. After expulsion, however, survival in the most basic sense became increasingly unlikely for many Moriscos.

In the decades after expulsion, “Morisco” as a category disappeared in Spain and in the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> It reappeared in late colonial New Spain to mean the offspring of a *mulato* or *mulata* and a European, but it was never used much outside of the specific genre of *casta* paintings.<sup>3</sup> Morisco was a label that no one wanted—its fluidity, in the end, was a liability more than an advantage. A generation after the expulsion, there were no more Moriscos. The word no longer appeared in archival sources in Spain by the end of the century. The people who had been Moriscos—who had been baptized in Spain and expelled in 1609—left behind descendants who were Muslims, Christians, Andalusians, Moroccans, Ottoman subjects, Spanish subjects—but they were not Moriscos. The only way for Moriscos to survive was by no longer being Moriscos.<sup>4</sup>

If in the end Moriscos had to become Muslims or Christians and settle in either the Christian world or the Islamic world, the final dissolution of “Morisco” into other categories came after a century and a half of struggle to survive. After several generations of being between worlds, the Moriscos were forced to join one or the other in a final act of adaptation. Survival had its limits in the early modern Mediterranean. Countless Moriscos did not survive, in the most basic sense of staying alive. But many thousands of Moriscos found ways to survive by becoming something else, by moving somewhere else.

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<sup>2</sup> On the meaning of *morisco* in the New World, see Chapter 1 and Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 165-167. Though it continued to be used in the Atlantic, it was no longer used in the Mediterranean.

<sup>3</sup> Iлона Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) and Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> This is in contrast to *Andalusī*, which has a continuous history in Arabic.

The lived experiences of Moriscos reveal the inadequacy of the binary categories of assimilation or resistance and cooperation or persecution which fail to tell the far more complex story of how Morisco individuals and communities used a wide range of strategies to survive in a world where their fates were, most often, determined by others. Time and again, resistance proved disastrous for Moriscos—in Granada, in Valencia, and then in North Africa, Moriscos who asserted their own agency were often the least likely to survive.

## EPILOGUE

In recent years, “Morisco” as an identity has been re-adopted by a group of people in North Africa—primarily in Morocco and Tunisia. “Morisco,” for the first time, has been translated into Arabic, *mūrīksiyūn*, and adopted by North Africans who trace their ancestry to Iberia. For these contemporary Moriscos, their historical connection to al-Andalus and to Spain is a point of pride. In contrast, Andalusī has a long history of desirability—it is a term that carries none of the implications of poverty, religious unorthodoxy, and of utter defeat that Morisco implied. That Andalusī and Morisco have become synonyms is not merely a byproduct of the adoption of Euro-centric terminology. It is the world of the Moriscos, not just the golden age of al-Andalus, that has become an object for nostalgia.

In the Arab world, as in the West, al-Andalus is a symbol of an Islamic golden age and of coexistence between Islam and Christianity.<sup>5</sup> It is with this vision in mind that

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<sup>5</sup> See Justin Stearns, "Representing and Remembering al-Andalus: Some Historical Considerations Regarding the End of Time and the Making of Nostalgia," *Medieval Encounters*. 15 (2009): 355-374.

Morisco has become an extension of Andalusī that carries with it the suggestion of people who could move “between worlds” in a way that even the Andalusīs could not.<sup>6</sup> Four centuries after the expulsion, new meanings given to the memory of al-Andalus—what Dominick LaCapra called “misplaced nostalgia”<sup>7</sup>—has created a Morisco collective identity. “Morisco” now provides an alternative identity that celebrates Mediterranean multiculturalism and emphasizes desirable connections with Europe.

In Spain, the expulsion of the Moriscos continues to carry political and social meaning. On February 11, 2014 the Spanish government expanded a law that would allow Sephardic Jews, descendants of the Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492, to return to Spain with easy access to dual citizenship. According to the language of the bill, the measure would “correct a historical wrong.”<sup>8</sup> People who are interested in applying for citizenship can prove their descent from the expelled Jews through language, a surname, or by getting a certificate from the Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For example, a vibrant internet community has developed around a site built and updated by the scholar Housseem Eddine Chechia, who is affiliated with the Université de Tunis. Chechia’s site, and the corresponding Facebook community, is a gathering place for information about al-Andalus and Morisco history in Iberia and North Africa. The multilingual site (posts are frequently in Arabic, Spanish, French, and English) has attracted a significant international community—with nearly 4,000 members as of May 2014 in the Facebook group. Chechia and others have rebranded *Morisco/Mūrīskū* as a cross-cultural ideal “*Los Moriscos de Túnez/al-Mūrīskiyūn fī Tūnis*,” [moriscostunez.blogspot.com](http://moriscostunez.blogspot.com), and [facebook.com/moriscostunez](http://facebook.com/moriscostunez). See also the novel: Aourid, *Le Morisque*.

<sup>7</sup> Dominick LaCapra, “Trauma, Absence, Loss,” *Critical Inquiry*. 25 (1995): 696-727.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Ashifa Kassam, “If Spain welcomes back its Jews, will its Muslims be next?” *The Guardian*. (2014).

<sup>9</sup> David Alandete, “La oferta de nacionalidad a sefardíes satura los consulados españoles en Israel” *El País*. (2014); Fiona Govan, and Robert Tait, “Spain invites descendants of Sephardic Jews expelled 500 years ago to return” *The Telegraph*. (2014). Similar measures that ease access to citizenship are in place for other groups with historical connections to Spain including Latin Americans, Portuguese, and Filipinos.

The new law, which was announced in February 2014, caused a commotion among Andalusians in North Africa. In a letter to King Juan Carlos, Najib Loubaris, president of L'Association pour la Memoire des Andalous, requested similar measures for the descendants of the Moriscos. Loubaris said that Spain "should grant the same rights to all those who were expelled. Otherwise the decision is selective, not to mention racist."<sup>10</sup>

The subsequent debate in the press (not in the legislature) about whether or not the Moriscos deserve the same privileges has focused on whether the expulsion of the Moriscos was as bad as the expulsion of the Jews and whether the Moriscos and Sephardic Jews have maintained the same kinds of cultural connections with Spain. One analyst claimed that the two groups were expelled under very different circumstances—the Jews because of religious persecution and the Moriscos as an act of war against an enemy group—implying that Spain should apologize for the former but was justified in the latter.<sup>11</sup> The government's rationale is that the Jews have continued to be connected to Spain through language—some communities still speak Ladino—while the Moriscos speak Arabic.<sup>12</sup> The Moriscos are outsiders, conquerors, and invaders who are, effectively, still expelled in 2014 for the same reasons they were in 1609.

The reemergence of a Morisco identity and the debate that has emerged about access to citizenship in recent months are but two examples of how the Moriscos

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<sup>10</sup> EFE Report, "Descendientes de moriscos reclaman un gesto a España" *El País*. (2014). For more on the Andalusian response see Kassam, "If Spain welcomes back its Jews, will its Muslims be next?" and Khaled Diad, "Rights of Return: Spain, Jews, and the Palestinians" *Haaretz*. (2014).

<sup>11</sup> Kassam, "If Spain welcomes back its Jews, will its Muslims be next?"

<sup>12</sup> EFE Report, "Descendientes de moriscos reclaman un gesto a España."

continue to be relevant in Spain and in the Islamic world, where their story serves as a critical precedent for the potential inclusion or exclusion of Muslims from Spanish society. Current debates in Spain about whether Muslims can assimilate to European culture, whether Islam is compatible with modern Western values, and whether Muslims can be trusted to be loyal are astoundingly similar to the debates about the Moriscos held in the courts of King Phillip II and King Phillip III.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile the Moriscos are lauded as symbols of resistance and a reminder of the potential to move again between worlds.

This is a vital question as the number of Muslims in Spain (and throughout Europe) continues to rise, though the increase has been slowed by the economic crisis. In 2009 there were about 800,000 Muslims living in Spain, mostly recent immigrants. The single largest group of immigrants in Spain is Moroccans.<sup>14</sup> Tension increased dramatically after the March 11, 2004 train bombings in Madrid, eventually tied to a local terrorist group with ties to Morocco. Former Prime Minister José María Aznar explicitly linked the bombings to Spain's Islamic past in a speech given at Georgetown University in 2004:

Spain's problem with Al-Qaeda and Islamic terrorism . . . begins more than 1,300 years ago, in the eighth century, when Spain, invaded by the Moors, refuses to become one more piece of the Islamic world, and begins a long battle to recover its identity.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Flesler, *The Return of the Moor*.

<sup>14</sup> Marta Dominguez Diaz, "The Islam of 'Our' Ancestors: An 'Imagined' Morisco Past Evoked in Today's Andalusian Conversion Narratives," *Journal of Muslims in Europe*. 2 (2013): 137-164.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Flesler, *The Return of the Moor*, 56. See also Stearns, "Representing and Remembering al-Andalus," 368-369.

The scholar Daniela Flesler has shown that anti-immigrant and Islamophobic rhetoric in twenty-first century Spain often calls on the specter of the “returning Moor”—the Muslim who comes back from North Africa to reclaim Spain as al-Andalus.<sup>16</sup>

The memory of al-Andalus serves another function in Spanish and Islamic societies where it is also remembered as a golden age of tolerance and *convivencia*. Though this image of al-Andalus is rarely invoked in Spanish history textbooks, where the official history of Islamic Spain continues to emphasize conflict and Muslims as outside invaders, it has become increasingly popular in Spain as an alternative vision of Spain’s past that honors rather than elides the role of Islam.<sup>17</sup>

One group that has embraced the alternative view of al-Andalus is Spanish converts to Islam. There are about 20,000-50,000 converts living in Spain, many of whom live in religious communities in southern Spain.<sup>18</sup> In a 2013 article, anthropologist Marta Domínguez Díaz showed that many of these converts understood their conversion to Islam as a return to the religion of their ancestors. A highly politicized and very vocal (particularly on the internet) subset of Spanish converts to Islam call for a return to the *convivencia* of the Middle Ages and critique the degree of control the Catholic Church continues to have in contemporary Spain. For these Muslims, the memory of al-Andalus

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<sup>16</sup> Flesler, *The Return of the Moor*.

<sup>17</sup> See Josep María Navarro’s study of Islam in textbooks and school curricula in Spain: *El Islam en las aulas* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> Domínguez Díaz, "The Islam of 'Our' Ancestors," 138.

and an imagined genealogical continuity with the exiled Moriscos provide context for resisting Catholic hegemony.<sup>19</sup>

The story of Morisco survival is one that is evoked constantly in the contemporary Mediterranean, both consciously and unconsciously. It is a history that has taken on urgent meaning in the twenty-first century as Spain adapts to becoming a multicultural society and the relationship between Muslim and Christian in the Mediterranean is once again evolving. The story of the Moriscos serves as a cautionary tale of the limits of survival in the face of overwhelming intolerance, even as it serves as a symbol of hope for future tolerance.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid. For the internet presence of these groups, see Webislam.com and the Facebook groups “Al-Andalus- Historia de la Humanidad,” <https://www.facebook.com/groups/173772892635047/> and “El Alandalus,” <https://www.facebook.com/groups/230335333690845/>.

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- AHA- Archivo General de la Alhambra (Granada, Spain)
- AHN- Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid, Spain)
- BNRM- Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc (Rabat, Morocco)
- BFRAAS- Bibliothèque Fondation Roi Abdul Aziz al-Saoud (Casablanca, Morocco)
- CNG- Colegio Notarial de Granada (Granada, Spain)

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