

Sixteenth Century Morisco Devotional Manuscripts in their
Mediterranean Contexts

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Summary

This thesis examines the religiosities of sixteenth century Morisco communities. By exploring the language, composition and contents of their devotional manuscripts, I demonstrate an alternative perspective from the current historiography. While the predominant narrative tends to focus upon the Moriscos as 'crypto-Muslims' and 'minorities', this was not the case for all Moriscos. The manuscripts examined here demonstrate the presence of communities less interested in dissimulation and far more focused on 'normative' Islamic beliefs and practices. Also, these works reveal religious interests, shared not only by the Moriscos, but also other confessional communities in the wider early modern Mediterranean. I argue that the Moriscos should be understood as complex and dynamic communities and participants in the spaces in which they lived.

The thesis begins with an historical overview of Morisco communities in sixteenth century Spain. I demonstrate that far from being on the peripheries of their world(s), Morisco communities were at the centre of emerging and conflicting notions of 'Spanishness' during this period. Similarly, the language and composition of their written works evidence Morisco participation in broader social and intellectual trends. The thesis next turns to a sample of their extant sixteenth century devotional manuscripts in order to explore what the contents reveal about the textual interests of these communities. Rather than finding dissimulation and hybridity at the forefront of these works we instead see the largest textual emphasis upon Islamic beliefs and practices in their 'normative' conditions. The thesis then explores the way in which these contents are presented and demonstrates that the overarching textual focus of these works concerns the sacralisation of time with a programme of structured devotion. Once again, in exhibiting this textual interest, these Moriscos show themselves to be vibrant contributors to a Mediterranean-wide shared interest in structured devotions and sacred time. While many scholars continue to propose that the Moriscos were a 'tragic minority', these works attest to the presence of other more 'positive' narratives. In the numerous ways in which the manuscripts facilitate the sacralisation of daily life they normalise the 'everyday' rather than the 'crisis'. The thesis concludes by discussing the implications of this more complex understanding of Morisco communities in Mediterranean studies and Islamic studies more generally.

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

This dissertation does not exceed the word limit set by the Degree
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Transliteration and Translation

I. As this study is primarily aimed at engaging those outside of the narrow field of Morisco studies, the translation system adopted here requires representing the content in a way that maintains the 'spirit' of all the linguistic variances, but renders the text in a straightforward way. As such, the translations of Aljamiado passages are done according to the following system:

1. Romance words are rendered into English.
2. Arabic words are transliterated into English.

For example, in an Aljamiado passage that reads: “*Mantiene laşala*” I translate: Maintain the *şala*. The reason for this is two fold. First, I hope to convey the sense of the seamless way in which Arabic words are incorporated into contents presented here. Second, many times it is not clear how a particular Arabic word would have been understood by the Moriscos. What did they apprehend from '*jihād*' for example? Was it the more general meaning of struggle, or a more specific armed struggle, or a war? For this reason also, I leave these more ambiguous words untranslated, and hopefully maintain a 'true to the text' approach.

II. All Arabic transliterations utilise the conventions of the Journal of Islamic Studies.

III. Describing Qur'ānic Text:

For the purposes of clarity and concision with regard to presenting the suras, ayas and their numbers and titles, I adopt to notational style proposed by Shawkat Toorawa, namely to use “notation that encompasses both scholarly and liturgical practices on the model: **Q** / optional subscript of juz' number / **space** / **Arabic sura name in small caps** with optional circumflexes / **space** / optional subscript of revelational number / **sura (compilational) number / colon / aya range...**[and] that a final sura's aya is followed by a superscripted §” in his, Shawkat M. Toorawa, “Referencing the Qur'an: A Proposal, with Illustrative Translations and Discussion,” *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 9, no. 1 (April 1, 2007): 134–48, doi:10.3366/jqs.2007.9.1.134.

For example: Q. FĀTIḤA 1:1-7§

Introduction

“The best believer is the one who loves for his believing brother what he loves for himself”. This is the parting advice of an anonymous writer from sixteenth century Spain in concluding a manuscript focussed on worship and devotions. Without knowing the context, these words may be from a man or a woman, a member of the courtly or learned elite, a prolific scholar or a literate laymen, or the ruminations of a Christian, Jewish or Muslim sage living in the early modern Mediterranean.

As it happens we do know more about this anonymous writer than just these words. He was in fact a Morisco, or among a community of Muslims living in the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century who were also baptised Christians. His advice in this passage is written in Arabic and Aljamiado, or Romance vernacular written in the Arabic script.¹ His manuscript was found in 1884 when a group of brick masons demolishing houses in the Almonacid de la Sierra region, unearthed a collection of books and folios in Arabic carefully placed individually beneath a false floor.² His version of the 'golden rule' is presented here as part of a *ḥadīth*, or a saying of the Prophet Muhammad.³

¹ Madrid: Biblioteca de la Junta Para la Ampliación de Estudios MS. 28 Ff 152. (Abbreviation MS J 28)

² Many of these 'Arabic' books turned out to be, Aljamiado. This cache of codices constitutes the largest single collection of sixteenth century Morisco texts to date and the recovered manuscripts, for indeed many did not survive their 'discovery', are now housed in the Biblioteca del Instituto de Filología del CSIC which is part of the La Junta para Ampliación de Estudios CSIC Madrid (from here, Junta or Junta Collection). According to the Reverend who came upon the builders who discovered the false floor, by the time he had reached the scene the masons and workers had already burnt at least 80 of these 'books' in a bonfire, see the colourful retelling of this episode in Vincent Barletta, *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 68–73. The original catalogue of this collection is published in, Julian Ribera and Miguel Asín Palacios, *Manuscritos Árabes y Aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*, 1912. This collection has recently benefitted from a digitization project which is making these manuscripts widely available for study and download. The present project has benefitted tremendously from this effort. See, “Manuscript@CSIC, Portal de Manuscritos Árabes Y Hebreos de Las Bibliotecas Del CSIC. Inicio - CSIC.es,” accessed September 27, 2014, <http://manuscripta.bibliotecas.csic.es/>.

³ The full text reads: “151v The commandment of God is to love and desire for our / 152r

Appraisal of this Morisco manuscript is critically linked with how its context is understood. When examined only as a 'Morisco' manuscript, apart from the larger contexts of the social and religious landscapes of early modern Spain and the Mediterranean, this manuscript and others like it appear far more unique and singular. When examined in relation to their wider circles of context however, it is possible to see how the textual interests within these manuscripts are in fact at the centres of these larger circles. This echoes a point made by social historian Natalie Zemon Davis who notes that if historians talk about history in terms of the centre and periphery, the outcome is already prejudged.⁴ If on the other hand, she argues, we are open to how 'local stories' can be used in constructing 'global' histories, we may see that the objective of what she terms 'de-centred' history is not to negate or push against histories of the 'centre' but to dialogue with them.⁵ In doing so we challenge and displace assumptions about both centre and periphery.

The present study undertakes just such a dialogue by examining the devotional writings of Morisco communities in relation to their larger contexts. Much of the current explorations of Morisco history tend to focus upon the single aspect of their experiences as

brothers, the Muslims and believers, what you love and wish for ourselves. The Prophet Muḥammad *ṣalā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallim* said, The best believer is the one who loves for his believing brother what he loves for himself. *Arsala* [?] *Allāh ta'ala* [sic] *wa ḥusn ‘awnihi wa ṣalā Allāh ‘alā muḥammad wa ‘alā ālih.* [MS J 28 Ff. 151v-152r] The *ḥadīth* usually appears in the form 'none of you believes until he loves for his brother...' and has been cited by the earliest compilations of *aḥādīth*, both Bukhārī and Muslim, but it is most well known as one of the forty *ḥadīth* cited and commented upon by al-Nawawī (D. 676/1277) in his famous collection, *Yahya b. Sharaf al-Nawawī and Islamic Texts Society, Al-Nawawī's Forty Hadith: An Anthology of the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad*, trans. ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Denys Johnson-Davies (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1997).

⁴ These comments were made as part of a panel discussion for the Holberg Prize awarded in 2010. See specifically 2:18 – 2: 53 for Davis' comment. *Holberg Prize Symposium 2010: Discussion*, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOjG98KNouE&feature=youtube_gdata_player.

⁵ In many ways all of Natalie Zemon Davis' work is representative of this approach, but regarding the point about 'local stories' to tell global histories see, See, Natalie Zemon Davis, "1. Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (May 1, 2011): 192, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2303.2011.00576.x. and regarding the second point about 'dialogue' see *Holberg Prize Symposium 2010*. 2:18-2:38.

forced converts to Christianity. This study explores extant Morisco manuscripts from a different perspective, one which seeks to understand these written works as part of the world(s) of their producers, but also to see their producers as part of their world(s). As such the aim of this study is two fold: first to examine Morisco devotional manuscripts in order learn about the works and the religiosities of the Morisco communities to whom they belonged and second, to explore what this in turn reveals about their relationships to the broader environments in which they lived.

While much of the setting for the present investigation is sixteenth century Spain, one of the larger, underlying purposes of this study is to demonstrate how the Moriscos represent an important 'local story' in their 'global' contexts and encourage the inclusion of extant Morisco manuscripts in wider examinations of the social and religious histories of the Mediterranean. The term 'Mediterranean' has almost as many definitions as people who have historically discussed it.⁶ In the context of the present study it refers to the geographical space of the Mediterranean Sea, the land which surrounds it, the many people who inhabited these lands and the ideas that shaped their world views. As this study examines aspects of Morisco religiosity within their larger contexts, the definition of Mediterranean here, includes both the physical and 'non-physical' social and religious spaces of this region. Rigorous scholarly debate exists concerning the contours of these 'non-physical' spaces within the Mediterranean region. Examining the contrasting views of Henri Pirenne and Fernand Braudel, scholars identify the key question within this debate as the extent to which the Mediterranean should be viewed as a 'unified' space.⁷ In an attempt to move beyond the perspectives of the 'two opposing sides' proposed by Pirenne or the 'space unified by common experiences' proposed by Braudel, the authors of *The*

⁶ Regarding the multiple ways in which the Mediterranean Sea and land surrounding the Sea are discussed see, David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Penguin UK, 2012), Introduction, specifically xxiii–xvii., and also Richard W. Clement, “The Mediterranean: What, Why, and How,” *Mediterranean Studies* 20, no. 1 (May 16, 2012): 114–116, doi:10.5325/mediterraneanstu.20.1.0114. .

⁷ See the excellent summations of the contours of this debate in, Adnan A. Husain and K. E. Fleming, *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700* (Oneworld Publications, 2007), Introduction, 1–4. Eric R. Dursteler, “On Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 5 (January 1, 2011): 413–419, doi:10.1163/157006511X590730.; Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 3–5.

Corrupting Sea suggest an 'ecological' approach to the historiography of the Mediterranean. This entails viewing the Mediterranean region as a complex ecosystem, itself a part of larger ecosystems and also comprised of numerous, smaller ecosystems.⁸ The importance of viewing the Mediterranean in this way allows for an approach to history which is not derived through "...formulating generalizations about everything, but through the analysis of the whole by way of its components, and, consequently, of how those components fit together".⁹ As David Abulafia puts it, we move away from what Braudel highlighted as the 'unity' of developments within Mediterranean history and instead focus upon the variance and fluctuation which characterised this space.¹⁰ The result of this approach yields an understanding of the Mediterranean as a place of diversity.

Viewing the history of the Mediterranean in this way has a critical impact upon discussions of the religiosities of this space and the three faiths which predominantly shaped the history of this region: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. When these faiths are understood as part of a diverse space rather than as monolithic entities, identifying which individuals and groups were at the 'centre' and which were on the 'peripheries' is rendered moot. Instead, what becomes far more important, is how individuals and groups contributed to the diverse spectrums of their confessional communities. This view of religiosity within the early modern Mediterranean shapes the methodology and argument of the present study. Rather than viewing the Moriscos as a single entity shaped by a central narrative, I aim to demonstrate the multiplicity of their historical experiences as evidenced in the language, composition and contents of their extant devotional works.

This differs from the dominant trend within the current literature which tends to

⁸ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Wiley, 2000), 43–49. The authors note that while certainly helpful as a means by which to understand the fluidity of a social space, the analogy has its limitations saying, "Within any humanities study that aims to marry a scientific approach, it must be with caution against too literal an interpretation of ecosystems given that human actors tend often to behave in entirely unpredictable ways, and are not bound by 'rational' or 'instinctive' modes of behaviour." p. 48.

⁹ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 1, 2006): 722, doi:10.1086/ahr.111.3.722.

¹⁰ See the conclusion of his comprehensive study of the human history of the Mediterranean in, Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, 641–648, specifically 641. Abulafia also reiterates this point elsewhere, see for instance David Abulafia, "4. Mediterranean History as Global History," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (May 1, 2011): 220–28, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2303.2011.00579.x.

characterise the Moriscos as outwardly Christian, inwardly Muslim, 'crypto-Muslim' minorities in their wider surroundings.¹¹ As this view is widely shared among most scholars of Hispano-Arabic studies, it significantly impacts upon the way Morisco history is examined by scholars outside of these fields. For instance, in a study which uses the Moriscos as a case study to explore nationalism within Spain one scholar notes:

Even though some Moriscos and Marranos voluntarily upheld Christianity, the literature is mainly written by the majority that was forced to convert and thus secretly adhered to their original religion. Their double life and their coercion found expression in their literature. This literature became their unique way of expressing their own “imagined” nationhood. The literature of these minorities not only mirrors their hybridity but also rewrites their history and

¹¹ The definition of Moriscos as 'crypto Muslims' is widely used by both experts in the field and scholars from other disciplines in both the English and Spanish secondary literature. Only a few examples from scholars writing in English include, L. P Harvey and University of Oxford, “The Literary Culture of the Moriscos, 1492-1609 a Study Based on the Extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía” 1958; L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (University of Chicago Press, 2006); By Mercedes García-Arenal, “Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age,” *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 888–920, doi:10.1086/605489; Consuelo López-Morillas, “The Genealogy of the Spanish Qur’ān,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 17, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 255–94, doi:10.1093/jis/etl024; Luce López-Baralt, “The Secret Literature of the Last Muslims of Spain,” *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 1 (April 1, 1997): 21–38; Barletta, *Covert Gestures*; Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos And The Politics Of Religion In Early Modern Spain* (Princeton University Press, 2005); Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos* (SUNY Press, 1983); O. Hegyi, “Minority and Restricted Uses of the Arabic Alphabet: The Aljamiado Phenomenon,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, no. 2 (April 1, 1979): 262–69, doi:10.2307/602662. Regarding the history of Morisco scholarship, Barletta provides a detailed analysis of the early Spanish scholarship of Morisco-Aljamiado manuscripts beginning with the hopes of the earliest scholars from the nineteenth century such as Serafín Estebanez Calderón and his claim that within Morisco manuscripts was 'a true America waiting to be discovered', (quoted in Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, 56.) to the more measured approaches taken by Pascal Gayangos, Pablo Gil, Francisco Guillén Robles Eduardo Saavedra and Miguel Asín Palacios. See his commentary on this scholarly trajectory in *Ibid.*, 56–68.

thus establishes their identity.¹²

To large extent, the characterisations of the Moriscos by this author are predicated upon several broad assumptions about the extant manuscripts of the Moriscos and their communities as singly informed by their 'double lives, coercion, imagined nationhood and hybridity'. Each of these claims requires significant unpacking yet all are taken as assumptions undoubtedly because of the pervasiveness of such characterisations within the specialist literature.

In recent years, several scholars have attempted to bring nuance to the single understanding of the Moriscos as 'crypto-Muslims' by demonstrating the presence of divergent voices. Scholars like Mercedes García-Arenal and Vincent Barletta for instance draw attention to factors other than 'secret attachment to Islam' which could have stimulated members of their communities to produce written works. These include what they perceive as more cultural or humanist tendencies.¹³ This is further bolstered by those scholars approaching Morisco studies outside of the usual sources of the Moriscos' own extant literature and Inquisition records. For instance, in his study of secular court records from the sixteenth century Cristian Berco advances an important argument:

Moriscos seems, at first glance, an aberration when considering the extreme pressure they faced in a Spain that sought religious and cultural uniformity. However, the problem resides in our tendency to treat cultural discrimination as a totalizing cancerous

¹² Areeg Ibrahim, "Literature of the Converts in Early Modern Spain: Nationalism and Religious Dissimulation of Minorities," *Comparative Literature Studies* 45, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 219–220.

¹³ García-Arenal persuasively makes a case for a 'cultural' interpretation of certain extant Morisco sources in her work on the famous affair of the lead tablets. See Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Mercedes García-Arenal, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (BRILL, 2013), 1–12., also her comment in the Introduction of this work focussed on Samuel Pallache, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (JHU Press, 2007), xxii. . Barletta demonstrates the 'humanist' voice by translating the work of Francisco Nuñez Muley, an advocate on behalf of the Moriscos in Francisco Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).

process that would necessarily affect every aspect of a minority's existence. Much of this tendency stems from the sources most available to historians to study the fate of the Moriscos: proscriptive literature and inquisitorial records, both of which in concentrating wholly on the question of the cultural differences between Moriscos and Old Christians paint a picture of a complete and effective intolerance. Such an assessment nonetheless is hard to verify in records outside the limited sphere of the above-named sources.¹⁴

This emphasis upon a variety of experiences with Morisco history critically informs the framework underpinning the present study of Morisco devotional manuscripts. The aim of highlighting the diversity of Morisco communities is not to suggest that their persecution was less real or dire than is currently understood. Rather, it is to question the assumption within the field, that the suppression of their communities by Royal edicts and the Inquisition necessarily formed the total encompassing sum of their experiences and their writings while in sixteenth century Spain. This view places the Moriscos on the 'fringes' of their communities, which may certainly be true for some Morisco communities, but as is the central argument here, it does not appear to have been the case for all their communities who wished to continue practising Islam despite their forced baptisms.

Moving away from this tendency requires referring to their communities in a way that meaningfully captures their diversity and complexity. What appears to be a straightforward discussion of terminology, is in fact a challenging exercise given the many meanings, connotations and associations that the term Morisco embodies, both within the sources from the period and in scholarly discussions. The word 'Morisco' did not initially relate to the population of '*nuevos Cristianos*' (new Christians) and was instead used generally to refer to something 'Moorish' a usage which continues into the present.¹⁵ In Inquisition records and later sixteenth century documents (particularly during and after the reign of Philip II), the word appears more regularly in reference to baptised Muslims, sub-

¹⁴ Cristian Berco, "Revealing the Other: Moriscos, Crime and Local Politics in Toledo's Hinterland in the Late Sixteenth-Century," *Medieval Encounters* 8, no. 2-3 (2002): 137, doi:10.1163/15700670260497024.

¹⁵ Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, ix.

sequently emerging as the term employed by most early scholars of the period.¹⁶ Inquisition records unsurprisingly demonstrate that most Moriscos who were tried by the Inquisition, almost always referred to themselves as Christians.¹⁷ In their own extant manuscripts from the sixteenth century, the Moriscos most often refer to themselves as *muçlimes* or *musalamanes*.¹⁸ Similarly, after their expulsions in the early seventeenth century, their extant texts from this period continue utilising the term *muçlimes* for self-referencing.¹⁹

The aim of social historians is to attempt as much as possible to refer to individuals and communities as closely as possible in the terms they utilise for themselves. One of the foremost scholars of Morisco studies, L.P. Harvey, whose doctoral dissertation completed in the 1950s still constitutes one of the most important surveys of extent Morisco literature, attempted just a stance in his most recent publication on the Moriscos by referring to them as 'Spanish Muslims'. At first glance this appears to be entirely appropriate given that this

¹⁶ See the extensive discussion of the history of the etymology of the word 'Morisco' and its various uses throughout the sixteenth century in, Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 2–10.

¹⁷ Many Inquisition trial records also report a widely known Morisco practice of keeping dual names, their Christened names as well as a Muslim or Arabic name. This has often been interpreted by scholars as evidence of the kind of syncretic hybridization inherent to the Morisco experience. It may be more indicative of their abilities to negotiate within multiple socio-religious circles as necessary and for their survival, demonstrating yet another layer of complexity in determining how to refer to these communities. For more on these dual Muslim names, see for instance Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (U of Minnesota Press, 1992), specifically the chapter by B. Vincent “The Moriscos and Circumcision,” p. 78-92.

¹⁸ From the sample of manuscripts under study here we find several examples of this. In the sermons of J 25 for instance, the phrase 'Muslim brothers' is encountered frequently. Similarly in J 28 the contents 'address' their audience(s) as 'My Muslim brothers'. To my knowledge, there is no Morisco manuscript in which the terms 'Morisco' or 'convert' are used in reference to themselves or their communities.

¹⁹ In one post expulsion manuscript known as the 'Bologna Manuscript' or B 565 we see a reference to 'Andalusian Spaniards'. One of the authors of this manuscript is the well known Morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. In the section of this manuscript written in his hand we encounter the following statement: “every messenger was sent to the people in their tongue, and most of the Andalusian Spaniards (Andaluzes Españoles) speak Romance better than grammatical Arabic”. [University of Bologna, MS D. 565: Ff. 116v.]

is indeed the term that most Morisco texts themselves utilise, however, as argued by García-Arenal, it still fails to adequately capture the complex situation of these communities.²⁰ If we refer to the Moriscos as 'Spanish Muslims' as Harvey advocates, we risk homogenising a group of people whose diversity this study aims to highlight. As discussed above the responses to their situations as forced converts existed on a wide spectrum and cannot be wholly encompassed by referring to them communally as 'Spanish Muslims'. Furthermore, although the Moriscos most often use the terms 'Spanish' and 'Muslims' to describe themselves, in referring to them as such in scholarly studies, there is a risk of misleading from the fact that unlike most of their other co-religionists, Morisco communities were also baptised Christians.²¹ The term crypto-Muslim, utilised by almost all Morisco historians and scholars appears at first instance, to remedy this problem, yet once again, as discussed above, the diversity of their historical experiences precludes any single, homogenising 'crypto' epithet, given that not all Moriscos who continued practising Islam, did so in secret. By consequence, secrecy and dissimulation, were not necessarily the sole informing features by which to assess their historical record.

The discussion complicates further after their expulsions, when their communities scattered to parts of Europe and the Mediterranean and no longer resided in one region any longer. Referring to them as crypto-Muslims in their new homes similarly risks applying a frame to their written works which was not necessarily a part of their experiences. In their extant manuscripts from North Africa, they occasionally referred to themselves as 'Spanish Muslims', yet the North African residents with whom they lived, often criticised them for being far too Christian in their beliefs and practices. Neither crypto-Muslims nor Spanish Muslims then, appear to adequately describe their communities once in exile in the seventeenth century.

With all of these facets to their experiences to consider, determining how to refer to them is no simple task. In this study I maintain the use of the term Morisco precisely be -

²⁰ See Harvey's commentary on why he chose to employ this phrase and subsequently title his book in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 1–2. In her review of his work Mercedes García-Arenal critiqued Harvey's reasoning here, Mercedes García-Arenal, "Muslims in Spain. 1500 to 1614 by L. P. Harvey," *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 1 (2007): 120–23, doi:10.1111/j.1477-4658.2007.00339.x.

²¹ A point also noted in, Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (BRILL, 2010), 1–2.

cause of the multiple connotations, meanings and allusions, it allows for. It is ironically, the most 'generous' of the terms, in the sense that it includes the widest definition(s) possible. Thus here I use the term Morisco to refer to inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula who were forcibly baptised into Christianity and maintained a wide spectrum of responses to their conversions throughout the sixteenth century, and who were eventually expelled from Spain into other parts of North Africa and Europe, maintaining a distinctive ethnic identity in the sources for a short period, before disappearing from extant sources as a distinguishable group. Rather than using this lengthy caveat throughout this thesis, I utilise the term Morisco, despite its not being native to the Moriscos themselves. Wherever possible, I aim to draw attention to the diversity which underlies their historical experiences, the interpretations of their extant devotional manuscripts and their engagements within the Mediterranean space in which they lived.

Chapter One engages with the extant literature regarding Morisco history in order to provide a historical overview of Morisco communities in sixteenth century Spain. The chapter situates this outline of Morisco history in relation to the broader context of a contested 'Spain'. As such, I demonstrate that contrary to being in the peripheries of their worlds, Morisco communities were at the heart of the many emerging conversations shaping 'Spanishness' during this period. As such, the objective of this chapter is to search beyond the widely held assumption within the literature that dissimulation and 'crypto-Islam' were the two sole concomitants of Morisco history. The varied ways in which Morisco 'conversions' took place in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and the diversity with which their baptisms were enforced enabled multiple responses to their situations as forced converts. The wide range of historical experiences precludes any single way of reading/interpreting their manuscripts.

Chapter Two surveys the language and composition of extant Morisco devotional manuscripts in their broader sixteenth century Spanish and Mediterranean contexts. Viewing them as such demonstrates the numerous ways in which these communities engaged in broader linguistic and textual trends of the early modern Mediterranean. Examining Morisco practices such as the use of Romance vernacular and the myriad ways in which they composed or compiled their works, I demonstrate that the Moriscos were very much participants in a broader Mediterranean wide shift from predominantly oral and aural modes of textual transmission to ones more reliant on writing and print. This is significant in that it allows us to examine their written works as part of an intermediate stage of tex-

tual production rather than one purely the result of a 'faulty' transmission with incomplete and/or 'randomly arranged works as the result.

Chapters Three and Four turn to the contents of sixteenth century Morisco devotional manuscripts. While the language and composition of their written works may be discussed more generally, examining the highly varied and abundant contents requires a more focussed textual study. As such, these two chapters examine a selection of six Morisco manuscripts. Chapter Three introduces the textual selection and provides descriptions of their contents. It then turns to a broad exploration of the contents. Given the Moriscos' circumstances as forced converts and the tendency within the literature to highlight their experiences as crypto-minorities, we would expect to see far more 'dispensations' within the texts which would assist the Moriscos in their practices of crypto-Islam. What we find however, is the exact opposite. Dispensations are indeed present, but the overwhelming focus of the manuscripts is upon imparting information pertaining to Islamic beliefs and practices in their 'normative' conditions. This textual emphases evidence the far more 'assertive' tendencies of these manuscripts than communities on the fringes and margins of their worlds. In the ways in which they articulate the 'normative' these contents would be at home in many wider Islamic contexts.

Chapter Four continues exploring the textual foci of the selection of manuscripts and demonstrates a predominant discernible textual interest in Islamic devotions with 'structure' and in sacred time. The emphasis on 'structure' here is both in the contents themselves and the ways in which they are presented and arranged. The key aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the overarching Morisco devotional interests discernible in the manuscripts here are simultaneously 'Morisco' specific in terms of the language and orientation in Islamic beliefs and practices, and also part of larger devotional interests in the sacralisation of time shared across confessional communities in the early modern Mediterranean.

The Conclusion summarises the key findings established by the present study and examines their implications in Morisco studies, Islamic legal and theological studies and broader narratives of Mediterranean history.

CHAPTER ONE

The Diversity of Morisco Historical Experiences

Until recently, much of the scholarship on sixteenth century Iberian history has focussed on the long accepted thesis that this era marked the emergence of 'Spain' and of a 'Spanish-ness' inextricably linked to Catholicism. This narrative, while descriptive of one historical reality, encompasses the tale of the victors, or the sixteenth century advocates of this view who emerged triumphant with the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the Moriscos in 1609-1614. With alternative voices pushed to the peripheries, historians studying this period often find themselves forced to work backwards, examining the 'inevitability' of this triumph and inadvertently subscribing to the very version of history they seek to nuance. However, if we consider the myriad extant sources beyond those of the victors, giving ear to the dissenting voices therein, a picture of sixteenth century Spain emerges as a place teeming with diversity.

An increasing number of scholars surveying the political landscape of the sixteenth century Iberian Peninsula, unearth an environment lacking in overarching and pervasive policies towards the role of religion and the place of religious minorities within 'Spain'. Regional and local actors maintained numerous and differing attitudes and responses towards 'official' position(s), and thus they, rather than national figures, played more significant roles in the dissemination and enforcement of various policies in this period. Similarly, at local levels, communities and individuals asserted power and agency by both apparent and subversive means, occasionally by armed resistance, but more often in the 'everyday acts' of their lives.²² The Moriscos represent one such community or collection of communities who, as their extant manuscripts indicate, endeavoured to carve out a place in early modern Spain that included themselves.

By their very presence, the Moriscos who continued practising Islam in the sixteenth century came to represent a persistent defiance, real or imagined, to a uniquely Catholic Spain. The many worlds which they inhabited in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of early modern, Renaissance, *siglo de oro* Spain and the wider Mediterranean, greatly impacted upon the historical experiences of Morisco communities and were in turn shaped and affected by the Moriscos themselves. The present chapter presents an

²² See for instance Chapters 2 and 3 in Jerome S. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Harvard University Press, 1990).

historical overview of the Moriscos, with substantial consideration of the complexity and diversity of the environments in which they lived. What emerges is not a 'Morisco history' but rather a collection of histories, with multifarious responses to situations, which varied not only regionally but also within one locality.

An understanding of Morisco history heavily depends on events and developments of the preceding era, knowledge of which is vital to better consider how Muslim and Jewish communities adapted to life under Christian rule before the outlawing of their faiths in the sixteenth century. Thus the first section of this chapter briefly examines the period beginning in the eleventh century when large numbers of Muslims and Jews began living under Christian rule. The following section closely examines the events of the sixteenth century, beginning with the chaotic process of the forced baptisms of the Muslim communities of the Iberian Peninsula and the doctrinal issues that the newly created communities of Moriscos faced as a result. This includes a discussion of several Morisco responses to conversion in the first half of the sixteenth century from 1502-1560 along with the regional and socio-economic differences between multiple Morisco communities.

The final section of this chapter turns to events from the latter of half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The reign of Philip II from 1556-1598, ushered in a reinvigorated Morisco policy which shaped many events from the mid sixteenth century until the expulsion of Spain's Moriscos in 1609-1614. This section discusses the lead-up to, process and aftermath of the expulsions of 1609-1614, including how various expelled Morisco communities and individuals settled into their new lands. Demonstrating the diversity of their historical experiences, this chapter creates a nuanced framework in which to study extant Morisco devotional materials and by consequence, better understand their communities and the world(s) in which they lived.

Jews and Muslims under Christian Rule

While small numbers of Jews and Muslims lived under Christian rule prior to the eleventh century, the territorial gains achieved after the conquest of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI, brought significant populations of both Jews and Muslims under Christian rule. In the territories under Muslim rule, Jewish communities and the Christian population, pejoratively known by their northern coreligionists as Mozarabs (from the Arabic *musta'rab* or 'Arabized'),²³ largely maintained the right to practise their religion within the parameters

²³ Epalza, Mikel (2000), 'Mozarabs: An emblematic Christian minority in Islamic al-Andalus,' in

of the covenant with their rulers known as the *dhimma*. As 'people of the covenant' or *ahl al-dhimma*, Christians and Jews living under Muslim rule were afforded 'statutory protection' in exchange for a poll tax called the *jizya*.²⁴

As increasing numbers of Muslims and Jews came to live under Christian rule, most Christian rulers emulated the contours of this Islamic legal tenet towards their Muslim and Jewish subjects.²⁵ Their status under Christian rule then, afforded both Muslims and Jews some degree of internal self-regulation, allowing them to administer various rites such as marriage; to execute wills and testaments, and to negotiate contractual agreements according to Islamic and Jewish law respectively, and also enabled opportunities for their participation in the intellectual and social developments occurring around them.²⁶ Thus we see in the court of Alfonso X (1221-1284) a number of Jews and Muslims who found employment as translators, rendering a cornucopia of Arabic texts into Castilian vernacular. Additionally, many Muslim artisans, builders and stonemasons envisioned and constructed some of Christian Spain's most well known buildings, resulting in the so-called 'Mudéjar style' of architecture.²⁷

Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 149–179. specifically, 152-156.

²⁴ For a general introduction to the *dhimma* see first, "Cahen, Cl. 'Dhimma.' Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. v," n.d. Also, the excellent introduction given by Hitchcock in Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), ix – xx., specifically xii-xvi.

²⁵ This is discussed in detail in the first chapter of Ana Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (BRILL, 1999).

²⁶ Regarding the Mudéjars see for instance the still seminal work of L.P Harvey, L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (University of Chicago Press, 1990), Chapters 4–9. For the Jewish communities see, Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (BRILL, 1994). The introduction in Meyerson's volume also provides a summation of the contours of Jewish communities under Christian rule, Mark D. Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom: Society, Economy, and Politics in Morvedre, 1248-1391* (BRILL, 2004), Introduction, specifically 1–3.

²⁷ Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom: 1000-1500* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 90. Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (Yale University Press, 2008); also Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture And Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993). Jerrilynn D. Dodds et al., *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200* (Yale

Substantial debate exists among historians over the extent to which we can describe the interactions of various religious communities of the medieval Iberian Peninsula as representative of a flourishing pluralistic society. Within the vicissitudes of medieval Mediterranean and particularly Iberian history, this period, like most others, was marked by oscillations in the degree to which subject communities were allowed to practise their religions freely. Like other regional histories, much of medieval and early modern Spanish history depends on the contemporary contexts of the scholars examining it. Early twentieth century Spanish historians such as Américo Castro put forward the notion of *convivencia*, or living together, to describe the formation of a more inclusive notion of Spanish identity, in sharp contrast to the thesis held by most of Castro's contemporaries.²⁸ In Castro's view, Spain and Spanishness were inextricably rooted in the past histories of the Catholic, Muslim and Jewish peoples who had lived there and all contributed to what he called the 'collective dimension' of the Iberian peninsula.²⁹

Many nineteenth and early twentieth century Jewish historiographers' perceptions of a Spanish 'Golden Age' resulted from this same view, namely that various faith communities flourished in a tolerant and peacefully co-existing society, particularly in medieval Cordoba and Toledo.³⁰ More recent scholarship on the works of these early Jewish historiographers has demonstrated how the anti-Semitism they faced in Europe at that time shaped their narration of the past, leading them to draw attention to certain aspects of the historical experience while often excluding others.³¹ This can also be said of Maria Rosa

University Press, 1993).

²⁸ The most well known of Castro's works in which he articulates this perspective explicitly is Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History* (University of California Press, 1971). His view is well summarised by Baralt in Luce López Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (BRILL, 1992), 26–30.

²⁹ Castro, *The Spaniards*, Preface v–x and 209–212.

³⁰ Robert Bonfil, “How Golden Was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish Historiography?,” *History and Theory* 27, no. 4 (December 1, 1988): 78–102, doi:10.2307/2504998; J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (February 1, 1985): 23–43, doi:10.2307/2504941; Maya Soifer, “Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 19–35, doi:10.1080/17546550802700335.

³¹ See this discussion in S. M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain: 711-1492 A.D. : A Sociological Study* (BRILL, 1981), 20–22.

Menocal's *Ornament of the World*, which various scholars criticise for overemphasising the notion of an ideal type era of *convivencia* as part of a commentary on her post September 11th, New York context.³²

In addition to debating the peaks of religious pluralism in medieval Spain, scholars also differ with regard to the troughs, or periods characterised by more rigour on the part of rulers towards the religious minorities in their midst. Some scholars examining religious minorities under Christian rule take the position of a noticeable decline in relations beginning in the late fourteenth century and culminating with the expulsions of the Jews in 1492 and the Moriscos in 1609.³³ Others start the decline even earlier citing the demands of the Almohads, that all under their rule proclaim the Muslim testimony of faith (*shahada*), as the first large scale destabilisation of relations between religious groups in the Iberian Peninsula.³⁴ This long view of decline preceded by a period of an ideal type pluralism, dominates the fields of Morisco and Converso studies, impacting upon how the extant texts of both the Muslim and Jewish communities of these periods are studied. This remains the case despite ample evidence from seemingly straightforward cases which, when examined in detail, emerge as far more complex than clear cut zeniths or nadirs of religious pluralism.

Incidences of forced-conversion for instance, provide instructive examples of just such cases. Thus, one of the more widely held opinions in the field considers the forced-conversions of the Jews by the Almohads in the twelfth century as a major point of decline

³² As alluded to in her epilogue of this same book in which she equates medieval Spain with New York. This was the subject of a Mellon Teaching Seminar at the Centre for Disciplinary Change at CRASSH, University of Cambridge. James Montgomery and Lousie Haywood engage with and critique Menocal's ideas in their papers for this seminar series. See James Montgomery's essay in James Montgomery et al., "Al-Andalus and España: Translatio and Tolerance - Session 2" (Mellon Seminar at CRASSH, January 26, 2009), <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/uploads/documents/session2.pdf>. 1-11; and Louise Haywood's essay in James Montgomery et al., "Al-Andalus and España: Translatio and Tolerance - Session 1" (Mellon Seminar at CRASSH, January 19, 2009), <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/uploads/documents/session1.pdf>. 4-10.

³³ This is summated by Ingram in his introduction here, Kevin Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond* (BRILL, 2009), 1-21.

³⁴ See for instance the discussion by Roth in Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain*, 117-129.

in medieval religious pluralism and ruler/subject relations.³⁵ Recent studies however, have demonstrated that the 'conversions' of the Almohads, which involved a recitation of the Muslim testimony of faith, were far less a targeting of the Jewish community and far more about ensuring all subject people under their rule, including other Muslims, gave their *bay'a*, or oath of allegiance, to the Almohad rulers.³⁶ Further complicating matters is the fact that the first targets of the Almohads were not Jews or Christians but rather, other Muslim communities, particularly the Almoravids as seen in the *tamyīz* of 1149 in which allegedly over 32,000 alleged Almoravid supporters were purged with remaining Muslims quickly pledging allegiance or 'converting' to the Almohad movement.³⁷

When examined in this wider Maghribī context, what appears to be a clear case of targeting of the Jewish religious minority of the Iberian Peninsula for the purpose of forced-conversion, in fact constitutes part of a much broader impetus by the conquering power, to assert dominance and authority among *all* the religious communities under their rule. Studied in this holistic way, with consideration of the larger geographical and socio-political contexts, we see that the loyalty oaths mandated by the Almohads entailed a range of different ways that their subjects could submit to their rule and it is not clear from the sources how this took place or what 'conversion' required.³⁸ For some, it may have involved a conversion to Islam as well loyalty to the Almohad movement, but as the case and 'conversion' of Maimonides illustrate, it remains a point of historical contention.

³⁵ This is the perspective of Menocal who argues that the Almohads represented the great break in a tradition of pluralism, see *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen* (BRILL, 2014), 178–181.

³⁶ This is discussed in Amira K. Bennison, "Almohad Tawḥīd and Its Implications for Religious Difference," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 2, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 195–216, doi:10.1080/17546559.2010.495292. Also the nuanced discussion of Maimonides's works during this period in Sarah Stroumsa, *Maimonides in His World: Portrait of a Mediterranean Thinker* (Princeton University Press, 2011), Chapter Three 53–83. particularly the discussion of the Almohads 'fundamentalism' in 53-58.

³⁷ A summation of the Almohad conquests in North Africa is in Phillip C. Naylor, *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (University of Texas Press, 2009), 92–94. More detailed discussion of this is in Amira K. Bennison and Maria Angeles Gallego, "Religious Minorities under the Almohads: An Introduction," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 2, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 143–54, doi:10.1080/17546559.2010.495288.

³⁸ Bennison, "Almohad Tawḥīd and Its Implications for Religious Difference."

The Almohad 'conversions' highlight that referring to such incidents as indicative of drastic breaks in the overall pluralism of the Peninsula, risks generating an exaggerated dichotomy between an ideal-type religious tolerance and the tyrannical policies of the various ruling elites that implemented forced conversion. The mandated loyalty oaths of the Almohads appear less representative of the first point of 'decline' in religious tolerance, and more demonstrative of yet another example of the dynamic struggle for power and authority between the rulers of Hispania, al-Andalus and the Maghrib. As such, the term 'conversion', must also be contested and continuously examined as to what it actually involved and required on the part of the 'converted'. Targeted communities interpreted and reacted to the external increases/decreases in pressure to assimilate into various ruling power structures in numerous ways and further complicate any study of forced conversion.

All of this must be borne in mind when considering the experience of Jews and Muslims under Christian rule, understanding that both conversion and forced-conversion were not new phenomena in the history of the Peninsula and just as with the Almohad experience, they entailed a multiplicity of motivations, responses and existed across a wide spectrum. Also, in turning our attention to briefly examine the experience of both Jewish and Muslim communities under Christian rule before the sixteenth century, it is imperative to consider once again the fact that the dominant view(s) expressed in the extant sources, were not necessarily the views of the majority, and therefore cannot be used to justify a historical understanding of decline and deterioration, but rather must signify the complexity and fluctuations that shaped these periods.

As regards Jews under Christian rule, by the end of the fourteenth century attitudes among some ruling Christian elites, particularly in Castile, began changing towards their Jewish subjects who generally assimilated to a much higher degree within Castilian society in terms of social status, than their Muslim counterparts. By the end of the fourteenth century, this took the shape of violence, with Christian mobs attacking numerous Jewish communities in Castile in what are now known as the riots, pogroms or forced-conversions of 1391.³⁹ Conceptions of the 1391 violence in Castile remain vague, both with regard to the

³⁹ Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom*. The whole text is illuminating with regard to Jews under Christian rule in Castile, but for the events of 1391 see specifically 279-283. Kamen generally refers to these events as a riot, see for instance, Henry Kamen, "The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492," *Past & Present*, no. 119 (May 1, 1988): 30-55. Ingram also provides a helpful discussion of the 1391 pogroms and the century following

motivations of the attacking mobs and the responses of those attacked.⁴⁰ In some cases the violence resulted in forced conversions in Castile, yet for many of the newly converted Jews, known as Conversos (converts), they continued on as before, living in the same neighbourhoods and working in the same trades. In time, some new converts were able to use their Christian status to further advance their wealth and consequently their social standing, with many of them achieving the status of nobility during this period.⁴¹

Due to their economic prosperity and increased social standing, many Conversos were perceived as competitors by some among their 'Old Christian' neighbours.⁴² By 1449 the first 'purity of blood' or *limpieza de sangre* measure, known as the Toledo Statute, was issued targeting the wealthier, elite echelons of the Converso community and limiting their participation in noble society.⁴³ This statute and those that followed, remained limited to certain echelons of Castilian society, often fomenting into riotous mobs, yet as they were contested by the Archbishop of Toledo and even the Pope, they never evolved into formal -

in, Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 3.

⁴⁰ Meyerson notes that the motivations of the mobs was entirely unclear, Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom*, 279. Also Wolff proposes an intriguing analysis of the pogroms suggesting that they were part of wider movements in Europe around peasant revolts, see, Philippe Wolff, "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not?," *Past & Present*, no. 50 (February 1, 1971): 4–18.

⁴¹ Substantial debate exists within the field regarding the extent to which 1391 marks a watershed moment of the decline of the Jews of Castile and the Iberian Peninsula. In Renee Levine Melammed, *Heretics Or Daughters of Israel?: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (Oxford University Press, 2002), the author notes on page 3, that 'while 1492 is ostensibly the most significant date in the history of Spanish Jewry, the demise of this unique community began in 1391'. Similarly, Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Univ of Wisconsin Press, 2002), xii. also presents a long trajectory of decline, but offers a more nuanced explanation of this than a purely antisemitic motivation. By contrast Meyerson argues that for many Jewish communities in the Iberian Peninsula and even in Castile, this period was 'a beginning' rather than end, see, Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom*, 282–283.

⁴² Haliczzer notes that this perceived competition was in itself layered with multiple motivations and complexity, see, Stephen H. Haliczzer, "The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1480–92," *The American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (February 1, 1973): 37–38, doi:10.2307/1853940.

⁴³ Henry Kamen, "Limpieza and the Ghost of Américo Castro: Racism as a Tool of Literary Analysis," *Hispanic Review* 64, no. 1 (January 1, 1996): 20, doi:10.2307/475036.

ised law. Nonetheless they shaped the views of many elite circles and organizations within Castile, limiting Converso activities within those groups. Furthermore, the *limpieza de sangre* statutes created sharp lines of distinction in Castilian society, with the vast majority of scholars and ruling elites opposed to the statutes and those who proposed them, in a minority.⁴⁴ Kamen argues that scholars must distinguish between the statutes, which usually represented social competition and were a Castilian phenomenon, and more widespread disparaging attitudes towards religious difference which were far more pervasive, and affected both Jewish and Muslim communities.⁴⁵

The more paranoid individuals among old Christian elites who often perceived the Conversos as oscillating between Judaism and Christianity, advocated measures that would allow them to bring to account Conversos accused of Judaizing.⁴⁶ By the 1480s, inquisitorial tribunals formed around the peninsula, and by 1492, after the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, the remaining Jewish communities of Iberia were told to either convert to Catholicism, leave Spain or be put to death. Once again this policy was instituted despite protesting voices within the Church, from local authorities and Old Christians who continued their opposition well into the sixteenth century.⁴⁷

Until the 1520s, the primary targets of the Inquisition were the various Converso communities that chose to remain in the Iberian Peninsula after 1492. Ingram describes the numbers of those taken to the stake and imprisoned as being in the thousands.⁴⁸ Although the number of their prosecutions in the *autos de fe* declined after the 1530s, Converso communities remained under scrutiny well into the sixteenth century. For instance in 1554, they were banned from being midwives along with Morisco women, as the Church believed that if they ensured only Old Christians could deliver newborns, they would curb the

⁴⁴ Kamen makes an interesting argument that the *limpieza de sangre* statutes should not be overexaggerated in terms of their legal and overall effect. See Ibid., 20–22.

⁴⁵ See Kamen, “Limpieza and the Ghost of Américo Castro.” Roth also discusses the fact that many Christians came to the defence of the Jewish communities in response to the statutes in Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, 92.

⁴⁶ Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. especially 230–233.

⁴⁷ Kamen includes a substantial list of several dissenting voices and adds that even Philip II protected the rights of Jews in his territories (outside of Spain) and they were expelled from those territories only after his senility close to his death. See Kamen, “Limpieza and the Ghost of Américo Castro,” 25.

⁴⁸ Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 5.

Converso/Morisco rituals of 'anti-baptism' and circumcision.⁴⁹ By contrast, many male Conversos became assimilated and integrated members of the wider Christian society, embracing their status and the privileges it often entailed. This brief survey of Jewish experiences under Christian rule, from the fourteenth century until the end of the sixteenth, once again demonstrates the multiple attitudes and responses to the increasingly Castilian dominated Iberian Peninsula from both the rulers and the ruled. Understanding this wider context is essential in the present study as similar complexities and philosophical anxieties underpin the historical experiences of the Muslim communities under Christian rule during this period.⁵⁰

Muslims who for a variety of reasons continued living in the territories conquered by Christians were referred to as Mudéjars.⁵¹ The word Mudéjar is thought to be derived from the Arabic *mudajjan* found in Arabic sources as '*ahl al-dajn*' meaning 'those who remain.' Particularly in the Arabic sources, the phrase suggests a decidedly negative connotation of submission, and of a community 'domesticated' or 'tamed'.⁵² By the thirteenth century, with most of medieval Iberia under Christian rule, the only remaining Muslim stronghold was the Kingdom of Granada, established c. 1231. From this point, until the early sixteenth

⁴⁹ Renée Levine Melammed, "Judeo-Conversas and Moriscas in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of Parallels," *Jewish History* 24, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 160, doi:10.1007/s10835-010-9106-y.

⁵⁰ Many of these complexities and philosophical questions are dealt with by Yirmiyahu Yovel in his examination of the Jews in Spain as Conversos and Marranos. The many circumstances he highlights (most especially the tension between 'assimilation' and 'rebellion') parallel debates in Morisco studies. See, Yirmiyahu Yovel *The Other Within: The Marranos, Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

⁵¹ Among their reasons for staying included monetary or financial constraints, ties to the land, a sense of religious obligation to instruct others etc, see, Kathryn A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain* (Columbia University Press, 2008).

⁵² Harvey, L.P. (2000), 'The Mudejars,' in Jayyusi, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, 176–187., 177. See Also Ibn Khaldūn's note of the Mudéjars as a servile people: Observing their condition Ibn Khaldūn noted, "The Spaniards [Rosenthal's translation] are found to assimilate themselves to Galician nations in their dress, their emblems, their customs and conditions." in Ibn Khaldūn, N. J. Dawood, and Bruce Lawrence, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History.*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Abridged edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004)., 116.

century, Mudéjars represented a significant portion of the Muslim population in the Iberian Peninsula, with the largest numbers in the Christian kingdom of Valencia.⁵³

In addition to the issue of their ability to practise their religion freely, a critical problem faced by these Muslims and later by the Moriscos was their status within Islamic law. With protection of religion afforded to the Mudéjars by their Christian rulers, although varied according to regional and political contexts, the key issue they faced was whether or not their situation mandated migration or *hijra* from non-Muslim rule.⁵⁴ We see from the extant works of collected legal opinions or *fatāwā*, that this question was indeed posed to jurists in the medieval Iberian peninsula and North Africa who overwhelmingly subscribed to the Mālikī school of law.

Fatāwā collections provide important insight into the ways in which legal scholars interpreted law, yet may only offer a view into part of the story. While often translated as legal rulings, this is only the case when the *fatwā* is administered by a judge (*qāḍī*) in a court. More often than not, a *fatwā* refers to a non binding legal opinion, put forward in response to specific questions. Thus while they can be abstracted, these legal opinions almost always refer to particular situations. Extant *fatwā* literature reveals the questions posed to the jurists and the opinions they gave, but this only when the question is in fact included in extant version. It does little in the way of illuminating how the questioners applied the legal opinions in their lives and in their communities.⁵⁵ Thus, gauging the impact of *fatāwā* on a particular society becomes difficult without primary evidence confirming its application or popularity, or how much value that particular community placed on *fatāwā* in the first place, especially considering that the solicitation of a legal opinion from a jurist most often occurred in specific situations or 'crises' and was not a part of daily life for most Muslims.

⁵³ Harvey, 'The Mudejars,' 176. For a far more detailed study of the Valencian Mudéjars see, Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (University of California Press, 1991).

⁵⁴ Some authors describe this in terms of *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām*, but there were always nuances to these two worlds, which jurists themselves acknowledge with discussions of *dar al-sulḥ* for instance.

⁵⁵ See for instance the excellent discussion of the historiography of *fatwā* literature in Jocelyn N. Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's *Asnā Al-Matājir* Reconsidered" (PhD, Emory University, 2009), 4–7.

Given these historiographical issues inherent to any discussion of *fatāwā* literature, scholarly interest in the *fatwās* pertaining to the Mudéjars and their continued residence in medieval Spain, may be disproportionate to their relevance to the communities under question themselves. Regarding the obligation of Muslims to migrate when under Christian rule, most Mālikī jurists concurred overwhelmingly in their sharp condemnation of the Mudéjars. For instance Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1122) argued that a Muslim choosing to live under non-Muslim law could not, in his view, adequately perform certain religious rites and thereby could not fulfil his/her religious obligations.⁵⁶ While residence was condemned and even forbidden, most Mālikī jurists agreed it did not render the person a non-Muslim. Ibn Rabī (d. 719/1320) was another such scholar who, while acknowledging regional variations between Mudéjar communities, was not prepared to provide legal justifications for their continued stay under Christian rule.⁵⁷

Most scholars of Morisco studies examine the extant *fatāwa* of one North African jurist in particular, the eminent scholar al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508), as demonstrative of the kind of hardline, 'Mālikī orthodoxy' that represents North African views on their northern co-religionists who remained under non-Muslim rule.⁵⁸ One of his positions in particular, articulated in 1491 in the *Asnā al-matājir* and what scholars refer to as the Marbella *fatwā*, is cited by scholars as typical of the harsh condemnation of Mudéjars choosing to remain under Christian rule.

In her recent unpublished dissertation, Jocelyn Hendrickson offers a more nuanced account of al-Wansharīsī's life and works, drawing attention to the fact that the condemnation in the *fatwā* is not directed at Mudéjars generally, but rather at a particular group of Mudéjars who had already migrated to the Maghrib and wished to return back to Christian ruled lands. She notes that the agenda of the questioner (*mustaftī*) is clearly manifest in his descriptions of how this group of Mudéjars harshly criticized and disdained residence in

⁵⁶ 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): 141–87, doi:10.1163/156851994X00011.151.

⁵⁷ Ibn Rabī's *fatwā* about the Mudéjars was first discovered by Van Koningsveld and Wiegers and discussed in P.S. Van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegers, "The Islamic Statue of the Mudéjars in the Light of a New Source" *Al-Qantara* 17, no. 1 (1996) 19–58. This discovery is further contextualised in a broader discussion of the legal opinions expressed about Mudéjar status in Miller, Katherine *Guardians*, 20–43.

⁵⁸ See summary in Abou el Fadl "Islamic Law", 154–156, as well Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 55–60.

the Maghrib and wished to return to their native lands under Christian rule and thus poses his question to al-Wansharīsī in apparent frustration with this group of migrant Mudéjars (consequently no longer Mudéjars).

By discussing the circumstances of the question, Hendrickson argues that the contemporary North African context of the *fatwā* regarding the necessity of *hijra* from non-Muslim lands is critical to understanding who the intended audience of the *fatwā* was.⁵⁹ Understanding the audience, she argues, allows us to view al-Wansharīsī's *fatwā* outside of the usual 'harsh' and 'ultra-orthodox' paradigm and instead see his work within his contemporary context. This is significant in that many scholars argue that the later Oran *fatwā* was written in opposition to al-Wansharīsī's harsh views regarding Spanish Muslims.⁶⁰ In light of Hendrickson's careful study of al-Wansharīsī's life and works, the oppositional frame in which these two *fatwās* are examined in Morisco studies no longer seems tenable. Furthermore, it encourages a move away from an understanding of the Mudéjars' as 'condemned' by orthodox Mālikī jurists.

When we examine the *fatawā* literature more closely, although Muslim residence under Christian rule was strongly condemned by most Mālikī scholars, exceptions to this opinion, and well known ones, always existed. For instance, Kathryn Miller draws attention to the opinion of Al-Māzarī (d. 536/1141) who argued that Muslims remaining under non-Muslim rule were not corrupt as migration might not have been possible due to particular circumstances.⁶¹ Thus, as Abou El Fadl summarises this position, 'if a Muslim mistakenly thinks that his or her residence is justified, then his or her ethical status is preserved. In other words, although residence itself may be wrong, the residing Muslim remains an ethical person'.⁶² This is later echoed in the legal opinions of al-Mawwāq (d. 872/1492) who argued that though the Mudéjars were "far from knowledge...In deciding whether to stay or emigrate, a Mudéjar must weigh the harm that he might encounter and if necessary follow

⁵⁹ Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate."

⁶⁰ This is the view proposed by Devin Stewart in Devin Stewart, "The Identity of 'the Mufti of Oran', Abu L- Abbas Ahmad B. Abi Jum'ah Al-Maghrawi Al-Wahrani (d. 917-1511)," *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 27, no. 2 (2006): 265–301.

⁶¹ Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two *Fatwās* from Fifteenth-Century Granada," *Islamic Law and Society* 7, no. 2 (January 1, 2000): 274.

⁶² Khaled Abou El Fadl, "Islamic Law and Muslim Minorities."152.

the lesser of two evils”.⁶³ These opinions within the Mālikī school alluded to circumstances in which continued residence under non-Muslim rule, while frowned upon, might have been the only viable choice. P.S. Van Koningsveld and G.A. Wieggers point to a similar set of opinions issued in a *fatwā* from four of the chief judges in Cairo at the start of the sixteenth century. In this remarkable document, currently held in a private collection in Tunis, judges from each of the four Islamic schools of law were asked a series of questions about the requirement of the Mudéjars to migrate, with each determining that depending on the circumstances, migration was not always a necessity and in fact, sometimes one could even be obligated to stay.⁶⁴

In the case of the Mudéjars, there is strong evidence to suggest that *fatāwā* were often solicited by the Mudéjars from their co-religionists in the south and that, at least for the Mudéjar jurists or *fuqahā'*, *fatāwā* generally were of some importance, as discussed by Miller for instance, in her recent study of Mudéjar *fuqahā'* and Wieggers and Van Koningsveld.⁶⁵ It seems probable then, that at least some members of Mudéjar communities were aware of the scholarly debates surrounding their continued residence under non-Muslim rule, and for many of them, even those with the choice to move to Islamic lands, they opted to remain under Christian rule. Importantly however, from Miller's study we find that rather than deluging the *fuqahā'* of Granada and the Maghrib with questions about their status under non-Muslim rule, Mudéjar solicitations largely focussed on various matters of worship, 'ibādāt and works/transactions, *mu'āmalāt*.⁶⁶ Contrary to our own interest into their status,

⁶³ Miller, “Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory.” 256-288, 273-274.

⁶⁴ P.S. Van Koningsveld, Gerard Wieggers, “Islam in Spain During the Early Sixteenth Century: The View of the Four Chief Judges in Cairo (Introduction, Translation and Arabic Text)” in Otto Zwartjes, G. J. H. van Gelder, Ed de Moor, *Poetry, Politics and Polemics: Cultural Transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa* (Rodopi, 1996), 133-152.

⁶⁵ While Miller's monograph concerns Mudéjar scholars, she speaks specifically to their interest in legal rulings in her fifth chapter, 'Pretending to be Jurists', in Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, 105-127. See also Van Koningsveld, P.S., Wieggers, G.A., “Islam in Spain”.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapters 4-5, 81-127. The texts preserved here are the answers. Miller cites a few cases of *nikāḥ* contracts and other largely legal documentary sources, dealing with notaries and other civil functions. The concepts of 'ibādāt and *mu'āmalāt* will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. They concern the tradition divisions within Islamic positive law dividing human action into two branches, those pertaining to worship and those pertaining to interactions or

the Mudéjars themselves do not seem wholly preoccupied by the permissibility of their situation under Christian rule, but like most of their fellows under Muslim rule, they seem most interested in the usual questions surrounding Islamic worship and practice.

As with any communities comprising diverse individuals and groups, Mudéjar responses to their situation under non-Muslim rule varied. Many of those possessing the means to migrate to Granada or the Maghrib attempted such journeys, leaving behind predominantly labourers and agricultural vassals. Other Mudéjars considered themselves duty bound to stay and assist their fellows not only financially but with religious instruction as well.⁶⁷ Because the written sources we have from this period tend to emanate from the learned and literate among the Mudéjars, we know far less about the everyday lives and choices of the majority of Mudéjars who remained under Christian rule. Their retention of Islamic religious and cultural traditions must have depended on the opportunities available to them, for access to the more learned individuals and centres in their communities.

As regards their positions in society, Mudéjars occupied a diverse array of roles within the Christian territories. This included positions involving skilled labour, working as farmers upon the lands of Castile and Aragon as well as working as builders and architects.⁶⁸ A unique style of what has come to be known as Mudéjar architecture dominated the architectural tastes of both the Muslim and Christian ruling elites of Spain and North Africa. Both Muslim and Christian patrons utilised Mudéjar and Jewish artisans and craftsmen to construct their respective buildings of worship and royal residences.⁶⁹ Up until the end of the Nasrid period these architectural labourers helped build a range of iconic structures,

transactions.

⁶⁷ Miller discusses the complexities surrounding Mudéjar decisions to migrate as well as the threats involved with migration in 'Muslim,' p. 259-263.

⁶⁸ Recent years have seen an increase in scholarship devoted to aspects of the social history of the Mudéjars. The contributions of Ana Echevarría Arsuaga in particular have been very illuminating in this regard. See for instance Ana Echevarría, "Islamic Confraternities and Funerary Practices: Hallmarks of Mudejar Identity in the Iberian Peninsula?," *Al-Masaq* 25, no. 3 (December 2013): 345-68, doi:10.1080/09503110.2013.845519; Ana Echevarría, *Biografías mudéjares, o, La experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana* (Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press, 2008); Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith*; Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel*.

⁶⁹ Dodds et al., *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500-1200*; Dodds, *Architecture And Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*.

from the Marinid Maghrib to the Christian ruled Iberian peninsula, such as the ceiling of the Romanesque Cathedral of Sta Maria (c. 1257) in Teruel and the white palace of the Marinids in their newly founded city *Dar al Baydā*, also known as 'new Fez' or *fās al-jadīd* c. 1276. The shared styles of these buildings across the shores of the Mediterranean demonstrate how crafts traversed borders, religious, and cultural contexts.⁷⁰

In addition to labour, many Mudéjars were skilled translators, often employed by the Church to translate Arabic texts, sometimes for polemical purposes though certainly not always.⁷¹ They were also experts in paper making and maintained the largest paper making guilds well into the sixteenth century.⁷² Far from a monolithic community, we see that Mudéjars occupied elite positions as well as those which afforded less social or political standing.

As regards their linguistic makeup, it seems highly likely that most Mudéjars were Romance speaking, although levels of Arabic knowledge within their communities are more difficult to determine. This will be discussed in great detail in the following chapter but in general the understanding among scholars is that the gap between Mudéjar communities and the Arabic language and by consequence Islamic texts composed in Arabic, parallels the growing geographical distance from their coreligionists in the south. As such knowledge of Arabic likely depended on regional factors and varied between those able to partake in formal study and those unable to. That variants existed and should be taken as evidence that clearly drawn lines between 'Arabic' and 'Romance' speakers within regions and across the Iberian peninsula are difficult to trace, as noted by Miller in her discussion of Mudéjar

⁷⁰ This corroborates an important point discussed in detail by Miller in Miller, *Guardians of Islam*. regarding how Mudéjars maintained vibrant and dynamic networks between multiple communities both within the Iberian peninsula and beyond and were connected to each other and the wider world around them.

⁷¹ We know for instance that textual interests were varied and included 'secular' works such as more scientific translations. See, E. S. Procter, "The Scientific Works of the Court of Alfonso X of Castille: The King and His Collaborators," *The Modern Language Review* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 1945): 12–29, doi:10.2307/3717746.

⁷² Bloom notes that the Mudéjars were especially adept at paper making in, Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (Yale University Press, 2001). Also, Robert I. Burns, "The Paper Revolution in Europe: Crusader Valencia's Paper Industry: A Technological and Behavioral Breakthrough," *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 1 (February 1, 1981): 18, doi:10.2307/3639336.

fuqahā', a few of whom hailed from Castile, the region most often assumed to be least populated by Arabic literate Mudéjars.

This understanding of the Mudéjars as diverse communities (and communities within communities) challenges the notion held by most historians of this period that the Mudéjars, though better off than the Moriscos, were in a state of continuous decline, struggling desperately to preserve what little knowledge they had. Rather, through their diverse responses to their situations under non-Muslim rule, we see communities, adapting and continuously negotiating with the times and milieus in which they lived. Bearing this in mind enables scholars to see the continued diversity and multiplicity of experiences when examining the experiences of sixteenth century Spanish Muslim communities, following the union of Castile and Aragon and the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom.

Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula After 1492

The Christian conquest of Granada in 1492 dramatically changed the status quo for the Muslim communities of the Iberian peninsula. Though the Mudéjars did not immediately face forced baptism, the mandated conversions and threat of expulsions for the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula signalled an end to the *dhimma*-like status afforded by the Christian rulers to the religious minorities under their rule. Harvey argues that this was because,

The existence of an independent Granada had provided the ultimate guarantee for the rights of Muslims everywhere in the Iberian Peninsula...Granada's existence as a Muslim state meant that Christian rulers—Christians at all levels—had to treat Muslims with respect.⁷³

This may be oversimplifying the matter, in that the repeated history of North African invasions would have also been a deterrent to such behaviour on the part of the Christian monarchs, not just the existence of the Muslim state of Granada. Furthermore, Harvey's argument may hold true earlier in fourteenth century when Christians were still outnumbered on the frontiers, yet by the fifteenth century this demographic situation reversed. Harvey's observation may yet apply, but the Christian change in policy, at first towards the Jews and then the Muslims, signalled the triumph of those voices within the

⁷³ L.P Harvey, 'The Political, Social and Cultural History of the Moriscos,' in Jayyusi, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*.202.

Church and Crown authorities who wished to put an end to 'hospitable' relations between the Christian rulers and their non-Catholic subjects from the preceding centuries.

It is important to note the lack of unity among Church figures with regard to non-Catholics under their rule, with many advocating measures less harsh than expulsion, forced conversion and Inquisitional harassment.⁷⁴ These diverging voices advocated enticement as the primary means to stimulate conversion among Jews and Muslims, offering doctrinal as well as financial motivations. Thus, while most advocated some form of conversion, they differed as to the means and the urgency of such an undertaking.

The initial Granada capitulation agreements in January 1492 guaranteed the continuation of Mudéjar status to the newly conquered Muslims. Some of the points in the agreement include,

That no Christian should enter the house of a Muslim, or insult him in any way... That their mosques, and the religious endowments appertaining to them, should remain as they were in the times of Islam... That no muezzin should be interrupted in the act of calling the people to prayer, and no Muslim molested either in the performance of his daily devotions or in the observance of his fast, or in any other religious ceremony; but that if a Christian should be found laughing at them he should be punished for it.⁷⁵

These terms were short-lived and quickly breached by the increasingly heavy-handed methods of the Inquisition brought on by the arrival of Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros.⁷⁶ The newly conquered Mudéjars of Granada resorted to revolt in 1499. This first 'war of the Alpujarras' was portrayed by Crown officials as a direct breach of the capitulation

⁷⁴ Many of these dissenting voices are highlighted by See Kamen in Henry Kamen, "Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 1 (April 1, 1988): 3–23, doi:10.2307/2540957.

⁷⁵ See the translation of this agreement by Harvey in Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

⁷⁶ Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, 329–335; Heather Rae, *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 76; Elizabeth Nash, *Seville, Cordoba, and Granada: A Cultural History* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 219.

agreements, and so a policy of forced conversion was instituted in Castile, backed by Cisneros and the Catholic Monarchs.⁷⁷

There were, of course, powerful dissenting voices within the Church who argued against such harsh measures. These voices included Queen Isabella's Converso secretary Hernando del Pulgar who had vociferously argued against the Inquisition during its establishment in 1480.⁷⁸ Another dissenting voice was Archbishop Talavera of Granada, himself thought to be of Converso origin, who advocated a less aggressive policy towards the newly conquered Mudéjars.⁷⁹ Although he agreed that ultimately salvation in the Christian Church was required, he was against forced conversion, advocating instruction and enticement to the Catholic Church through other methods.⁸⁰ These voices and those like them eventually lost the battle in Granada and by 1502 the first forced baptisms were decreed. Despite being silenced for the time being, these voices re-emerge at many points throughout the sixteenth century.

The presence of these dissenting individuals highlights the conflicting interests and power struggles between the various influential groups during this period. Noble land owners required the specialised skills of the Muslims to work their lands and wished to keep their labourers satisfied, while Church officials wished to see those same vassals forcibly converted to Christianity. Even those Moriscos who chose exile, were told they could not take their children, putting the Morisco communities who remained behind in impossible choices. This in many ways explains why so many of them maintained an interest in practising Islam after their conversions.

The process of conversion took place over twenty-five years and was by no means a

⁷⁷ John Edwards, *Inquisition* (History Press Limited, 2009), 116. The war of the Alpujaras has been extensively discussed in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Alianza Editorial, 1985). and also Harvey discusses several incidences of rioting including this first war of the Alpujarras in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 30–37.

⁷⁸ Kamen, “Toleration and Dissent,” 7.

⁷⁹ Chiyo Ishikawa, “Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery,” in, Barbara F. Weissberger, *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona* (Tamesis Books, 2008). 71- 82 and footnote on pg. 81.

⁸⁰ Magnier notes that Talavara was more aware of Morisco needs, having spent more time with them, which informed his evangelising efforts. Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*, 14–15 and 139.

straightforward or coherent operation. Faced with the choice of conversion, exile or death, the Muslims of Granada used their networks to initially seek outside aid from the Ottoman Empire and Mamlūk Egypt, demonstrating once again, the extent of Mudéjar networks, yet to no avail.⁸¹ Those who could afford the journey migrated to North Africa and beyond, and the remaining Muslims of Castile and Granada were baptised.

In other regions, recognising that action against the Mudéjars might result in a loss of serfs on their estates, noble landowners and occasionally even Church officials vehemently opposed any ideas of expulsion or forced conversion, and thus Mudéjars in these regions avoided baptism initially with the support of their landlords. In parts of Aragon for instance, Mudéjars were considered a 'seigneurial treasure'⁸² Meyerson notes that economic considerations likely influenced Ferdinand's decisions with regard to the religious minorities in these realms, with the Muslim labourers and vassals therein perceived less as a threat, but rather as an essential component for a thriving economy⁸³. Thus in regions like Aragon and Zaragoza, powerful landowners were able to suppress the activities of the Church on their lands, taking 'ecclesiastic responsibility' for their Mudéjars themselves.⁸⁴ This resulted in a delay of forced baptism in some areas for over twenty-five years. Bearing this in mind in studies of Morisco history is particularly important as it demonstrates the variant experiences of different Mudéjar communities. For some, the conversion decrees entailed instant baptism, while for others, whole communities were able to escape forced conversion for another quarter of a century. It also demonstrates the relationships that Mudéjars often had with their employers and the Spanish Crown, and their dependence on one another for prosperity.

In the 1520s the royal edicts outlawing Islamic beliefs and practices extended the baptism decrees for Mudéjars in the remaining territories resulting in a process of forced conversion mired with far more confusion than in Castile. Rather than emanating from an organised Church effort, conversion impetus in these regions resulted from vigilante mass baptisms, often characterised by terror and violence. The armed groups responsible for these actions, known as '*germanías*,' formed particularly active circles in Valencia where they compelled Muslim labourers to accept baptism under threat of death. Parallels with

⁸¹ Harvey describes these efforts in detail in: Harvey, 'Political,' 203-208.

⁸² Harvey, 'The Mudejars,' 184.

⁸³ Meyerson, Mark *The Muslims of Valencia*.

⁸⁴ Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, xix.

the violence of 1391 aimed at the Jewish communities can be drawn here, as both emanated from similar mobs and were the result of trends in Castile percolating into the rest of Spain.

In this chaos of conversion, the priests to whom the Muslims were brought often remained uncertain of the sacraments performed and their validity given the circumstances.⁸⁵ This was in addition to strong voices of dissent from Church officials, nobles, land owners and powerful Old Christians who vehemently disagreed with these policies. Nonetheless, in 1525, the baptisms were decreed valid and from that point on, Mudéjar Islam officially came to an end in Spain. Thus within ten years of the initial capitulations in 1492, the first Mudéjar baptisms had taken place in Castile and Granada and by 1526 the Muslim populations of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia had also been baptised. These communities of newly converted Mudéjars, not only maintained or inherited their social and economic positions, and various cultural practices, but also the complex questions surrounding their status within Islamic law, now even more tenuous given their situation as forced converts to Christianity.

Many Moriscos wished to continue practising Islam despite their forced conversions, but faced obvious doctrinal and practical dilemmas. In the aftermath of the conversion decrees they undoubtedly faced issues relating to how would they perform ritual prayers, keep fasts, make pilgrimages to Mecca during *hajj* or engage in other ritual practices like bathing on particular days, wearing their traditional clothing and refraining from certain kinds of food, particularly pork and alcohol, both of which featured regularly in sixteenth century Christian life. If, as was the case with the majority of the Moriscos, migration was not possible, how could they practise Islam in an environment where Islamic acts of worship were legally proscribed? This question was sent to a *faqīh* in Oran c. 1503-1504, Abū-l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum‘a Al-Maghrāwī Al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511).⁸⁶

In his response for the Morisco questioners, al-Wahrānī (or Ibn Abī Jum‘a) stipulated various dispensations under the threatening circumstances in which these Spanish Muslims found themselves.⁸⁷ The *fatwā* urges its seeker(s?) to make intentions to worship

⁸⁵ Regarding *germanías* in Valencia see, Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (JHU Press, 2006), 14-15..

⁸⁶ Stewart, “The Identity of ‘the Mufti of Oran’, Abu L- Abbas Ahmad B. Abi Jum’ah Al-Maghrawi Al-Wahrani (d. 917-1511).”

⁸⁷ Large portions of the text have been edited and translated by Harvey in Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 60-63.

one God, Allāh, even while compelled to take Christian sacraments. For our purposes here, the most significant aspect of this *fatwā* for the Moriscos, was a validation of their situation by an established Maghribī jurist. Although, as Devin Stewart notes, al-Wahrānī issued his *fatwā* to the group of Moriscos who solicited his opinion, in his private capacity as a *muftī* and not as an official Wattasid legal opinion in Fez, where he eventually settled.⁸⁸ The central theme of the *fatwā* concerns the interplay between intentions and actions. Phrases such as “For Allah does not look at your face but in your heart”, “[when compelled] bow down to whatever idols they are bowing to but turn your intention towards Allah” and “if they force pork on you, eat it but in your heart reject it” abound throughout the *fatwā*.⁸⁹ Al-Wahrānī suggests that the believer in this situation must still complete obligatory acts of worship (*farāʿid* from sig. *farḍ*) by any means possible, even by stealth if necessary. Thus he remarks that ritual purification may be completed even if by a 'dive into the sea', and ritual prayers with 'slight gestures'.⁹⁰

Much scholarship has been devoted to understanding the positions articulated by this *fatwā* as representative of a dispensation, or a legal avenue by which Morisco communities could continue practising Islam despite their baptisms and participation in the Christian Church. Though the *fatwā* itself does not make use of the word 'dissimulation' or *taqiyya*, Harvey was among the first to propose that this is essentially the *de facto* position articulated in the *fatwā*. This view has penetrated the field widely with most scholars concurring that the Moriscos indeed 'practised/observed' *taqiyya*.⁹¹ The consequence of

⁸⁸ Stewart, “The Identity of ‘the Mufti of Oran’, Abu L- Abbas Ahmad B. Abi Jum’ah Al-Maghrawi Al-Wahrani (d. 917-1511),” 298.

⁸⁹ An interesting comparison could be made here between Maimonides and his use of the concept of dissimulation which we find reference to in his letters written during the Almohad period. See for instance, Abraham Halkin, David Hartman, *Epistles of Maimonides Crisis and Leadership* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985), p 65.

⁹⁰ Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, 61–62.

⁹¹ For instance in speaking about Beatriz de Robles, accused by the Inquisition in Seville, the author notes, “That Beatriz was a Morisca complicated the situation, for perhaps her ideas reflected the influence of Sufism, or possibly she was observing the tradition of *taqiyya* and secretly practising Islam while appearing to be a faithful Christian” in Renée Levine Melammed, “Judeo-Convertas and Moriscos in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of Parallels,” *Jewish History* 24, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 155–168, doi:10.1007/s10835-010-9106-y,163. As mentioned in the Introduction, this is a widespread tendency within the field of Morisco studies.

this perspective, is a broad tendency within the field to view Morisco sources within a framework of 'secrecy' and 'hiding', hence the much used 'cypto-Muslim' epithet to describe their communities. This harkens back to the discussion earlier of the historiographical issues associated with the study of *fatāwā* in order to better understand the social histories of the communities who may have utilised them. It may well be that the recipient and other readers of this *fatwā* gained legal approval for dissimulation whether one calls it *taqiyya* or not, however to extrapolate a communal position based primarily on *taqiyya* from this, is to read beyond what the *fatwā* itself can reveal.

This is further complicated by the extremely wide spectrum of what life entailed for the newly baptised and the fact that it this *fatwā* may not have had relevance for many Morisco communities in Spain. While it certainly does appear to have been circulated among some Moriscos as three Aljamiado manuscripts and one Arabic version of it exist dated from the mid sixteenth century,⁹² the four extant versions of the *fatwā* do not tell us about the overall impact and readership. This is true especially considering that while legal proscription of Islamic practices prohibited open displays of Islamic religiosity by the laws of the land, the degree to which Morisco individuals and communities dissimulated and 'pretended' depended heavily on their regional and social positions, such as with the Moriscos of Aragon and Valencia for instance, many of whom continued openly practising Islam until the mid-sixteenth century, protected by the landowners and nobles by whom they were employed. As Ehlers notes, 'By continuing to collect taxes and allow labour on Sundays and Christian holidays, the nobles fostered a climate in which Muslim practices could flourish.'⁹³

Even if many Moriscos were indeed in a state of dissimulation, it may not necessarily have been a *fatwā* that enabled their responses to persecution as much as a common sense need for survival. If for these communities and those like them, their the *modus operandi* did not require the practice of dissimulation or the heeding of the advice offered in the *fatwā*, it becomes problematic to read sources pertaining to the Moriscos,

⁹² From Stewart: "The fatwa was evidently of great importance to the Morisco community, for the Arabic text, composed in 1504, was translated and copied as late as 1563 and 1609 in different parts of Spain. Four versions of the text, one Arabic copy and three aljamiado translations, are known." Stewart, "The Identity of 'the Mufti of Oran', Abu L- Abbas Ahmad B. Abi Jum'ah Al-Maghrabi Al-Wahrani (d. 917-1511)," 266.

⁹³ Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 18.

both their own writings and also Inquisition accounts of their trials, as always containing dual and coded messages 'between the lines'. While this represents the favoured approach by many many erudite scholars in the field such as López-Baralt and others,⁹⁴ the present study offers a different perspective which considers the differences in historical experiences as imperative to understanding the texts of Moriscos, rather than an overarching notion of *taqiyya* and crypto-Islam, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four.

It remains true throughout the sixteenth century that for Moriscos and other religious minorities such as the Conversos, a lack of coherent policy application consistently decentralised power to local elites whose enforcement of the conversion decrees varied greatly. For the Moriscos and Conversos, their situations also depended the relationships between these local elites and the Inquisition and the degree to which that body influenced religious life in their locales. The multiple and often conflicting interests of the political class, the nobility and various voices within the Catholic Church, both within Spain and outside, meant that the treatment of religious converts (by force or otherwise) differed regionally but also with one area.

For some Moriscos this meant that the forced conversions initially entailed few changes, as in most cases only minimal efforts by the Church were exerted at serious religious instruction of the *nuevos convertidos*. The Moriscos of Valencia for instance came to an agreement with royal authorities in which in exchange for payment, King Charles V granted them a forty year dispensation from the Inquisition in order that they may have an adequate period of religious instruction.⁹⁵ In fact, this fact was later cited by Church authorities themselves, as one of the key reasons why many Moriscos had persisted in their

⁹⁴ See the works of Luce Lopez-Baralt, for instance, "The Moriscos" in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, *The Literature of Al-Andalus* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 472–488., See also Vincent Barletta, "Deixis, Taqiyya, and Textual Mediation in Crypto-Muslim Aragon," *Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse & Communication Studies* 28, no. 5 (September 2008): 561–79, doi:10.1515/TEXT.2008.029. As Henry Kamen rightly asks while critiquing the use of this methodology in Converso studies however, how can one ever know what is 'between the lines' and what is meant? See Kamen, "Limpieza and the Ghost of Américo Castro," 25–27.

⁹⁵ David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Cornell University Press, 2003), 7–8. This agreement also applied remarkably, to Granada; Coleman notes that they paid 90,000 ducats and an annual payment.

Islamic beliefs and practices almost a century after their conversions. Many echelons of Morisco communities then, were largely left to themselves, allowing some of them greater opportunities to continue speaking/writing freely in Arabic and produce written materials without fear of the illegality of those practices, due to a lack of Christian infrastructure.

While we tend to think of rural communities as perhaps having more 'cover' and distance from the urban centres where the Inquisition and low level clergy may have been more active in their proselytising efforts, yet upon examination we find a wide spectrum of experiences for urban Moriscos as well. In her study of urban Moriscos in Seville, Ruth Pike demonstrates how Morisco communities largely maintained their customary religious practices, along with living almost completely separate from their 'old Christian' neighbours. Citing census documents from the late sixteenth century from Seville (c. 1580, 78 years after the Mudéjar population of Seville was baptised), Pike notes, that the vast majority of these urban communities of Moriscos lived in particular areas, thus while they were often targeted by the Inquisition authorities, they were also protected by the privacy of their enclaves.⁹⁶

Granada presents an interesting example of an urban centre where several different Morisco communities lived in a shared space, but most likely encountered quite different situations with the Inquisition and church clergy depending on their social positions. A significant number of settled noble Morisco families in Granada managed to escape persecution from the Inquisition and even acted as guardians to those Moriscos in non-elite positions, advocating on their behalf along with several clergymen. We learn of such individuals through a Morisco known as the Mancebo de Arevalo, who narrates his visits to eminent Morisco families in Granada with whom he took religious instruction.⁹⁷ When, in

⁹⁶ Ruth Pike, "An Urban Minority: The Moriscos of Seville," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 04 (October 1971): 368–77, doi:10.1017/S002074380001318., 371 and 373. More recently see the highly comprehensive study of these communities in Manuel F. Chavez, Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios: Moriscos en Sevilla* (University of Valencia, 2009), especially 47-58 in which the authors discuss the geographical and social contexts of these communities, and the diversity therein. See also, Michel Boeglin, *Entre la cruz y el Corán: Los moriscos en Sevilla (1570-1613)*, (ICAS, 2010).

⁹⁷ Many scholars have written about this enigmatic figure in Morisco history, notably Harvey who was among the first to bring him into the limelight and Narváez who has worked extensively with his extant manuscripts, L. P. Harvey, "Castilian 'Mancebo' as a Calque of Arabic 'Abd, or How El Mancebo de Arévalo Got His Name," *Modern Philology* 65, no. 2 (November 1, 1967): 130–

the mid-sixteenth century, most of the Moriscos of Granada were expelled to other parts of Spain, some of these elite Moriscos such as the Luna family, not only managed to stay in Granada, but were in the service of the church as translators and interpreters in the lead tablets affair.⁹⁸ As argued by Magnier in regards to Valencian Moriscos, from the very first years after their conversions, through the sixteenth century, within Morisco communities we find both those who tended to be both integrated into and separated from the social structures of the cities in which they lived.⁹⁹

Some Moriscos were in fact able to wholly assimilate, and we should not forget that there were many sincere converts to Christianity. Although an 'atypical' case, one such cited by Rosa M. Blasco Martínez, refers to Juan Galindo, a fully assimilated and integrated Morisco convert to Christianity.¹⁰⁰ Galindo and his family cut themselves off completely from other Moriscos, participating fully in the Christian life of their village outside Aragon. He acted as a notary in the town, did not have to pay special taxes levied on the Moriscos, took the eucharist and was not banned from carrying arms. From cases like his, we see that a wide spectrum of experiences existed after the initial conversions included everything from assimilation into Christianity and Old Christian society and on the other side, a

32; L. P. Harvey, "El Mancebo De Arévalo and His Treatises on Islamic Faith and Practice," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 249–76, doi:10.1093/jis/10.3.249; María Teresa Narváez Córdova, "Writing Without Borders: Textual Hybridity in the Works of the Mancebo de Arévalo," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (November 1, 2006): 487–97, doi:10.1163/157006706779166066.

⁹⁸ See Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Médico, traductor, inventor; Miguel de Luna, cristiano árabe de Granada," 2006, <http://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/22719>; García-Arenal Mercedes, "Miguel de Luna Y Los Moriscos de Toledo: 'No Hay En España Mejor Moro,'" *Chronica Nova: Revista de Historia Moderna de La Universidad de Granada*, no. 36 (2010): 253–62; Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56, no. 6 (November 1, 2009): 495–528, doi:10.1163/057053909X12544602282277. Also, the numerous works by Wiegers on the subject of these noble Granadan families, Gerard A. Wiegers, "The Persistence of Mudejar Islam? Alonso de Luna (Muhammad Abu 'L- Asi), the Lead Books, and the Gospel of Barnabas," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006): 498–518, doi:10.1163/157006706779166048.

⁹⁹ Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*.

¹⁰⁰ Rosa María Blasco Martínez, "Precisiones Sobre La Aculturación de Los Moriscos a Partir de Un Caso Aragonés," *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, no. 6 (1988): 503–6.

sustained adherence to Islamic religious and cultural practices, and the innumerable degrees in between.

Thus the first half of the sixteenth century under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, followed by Charles V, witnessed the conversion decrees, the firm establishment of the Spanish Inquisition and other edicts banning the outward performance of many religious practices associated with any faith other than Catholicism. The Moriscos' relationship with the Inquisition during this period remained ever dependent on factors such as location, patronage, as highlighted by Monter in his expansive and detailed survey of the subject.¹⁰¹ Thus in some areas persecution was acute while in others Moriscos were often released for minor infractions.¹⁰² Many Moriscos avoided being charged all together, such as those under the protection of a wealthy patron or noble for instance, who minimised restrictions upon their Moriscos' religious practices in their daily lives. This period of relatively low persecution ended during the reign of Philip II (1556-1598), who, in contrast to his father Charles V who largely avoided the Morisco issue, actively engaged with what became known as the 'Morisco Problem.'

Northern landowners continued to push for ease in restrictions on their Moriscos, as seen in the notes of Hernando de Pulgar, once more citing the complaints in 1533 by the nobility of Aragon. In his view: "... little or no teaching or instruction in our Holy Catholic Faith which has been given to them [The Morisco communities] and the lack of churches in the places where they live; yet despite this lack of teaching they are being prosecuted like heretics".¹⁰³ Rather than curb the persecution of the Moriscos, these protestations spurred a more robust form of enforcement against the Moriscos with Philip II passing a series of edicts targeted at the Muslim population designed to destroy their religious and cultural attachments to Islam.¹⁰⁴ Genuinely believing that his father, Charles V had instituted an ineffective policy towards the Moriscos, Philip II issued a series of decrees which sought to remedy the lack of cohesive central policies and took advantage of the end of the forty year grace period issued by his father. His edicts reiterated many of the provisos from the baptismal decrees including forced disarming of the Moriscos as 'new Christians' were not

¹⁰¹ E. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁰² Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*.

¹⁰³ Cited in Kamen, 'Toleration,' p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Ehlers, 21.

allowed to hold arms, as well as the following:

All of their children of course had to be baptized and instructed in the rudiments of Christian faith. They were forbidden their traditional dress (including veils for women), festivals, music and dances; their butchers could not turn an animal's head eastward, toward Mecca, before slaughtering it; the doors of their houses had to be left open on Fridays to ensure that no clandestine prayers were being conducted within...And the Arabic language, in either spoken or written form, was likewise proscribed.¹⁰⁵

Most of these edicts had been in place before; what changed was the degree of their enforcement. The changes were also accompanied by increased efforts to evangelise within Morisco communities, particularly in those areas where Moriscos were perceived to be continuing their Islamic practices unabated, such as in Valencia.¹⁰⁶ These increased pressures were particularly fierce in Granada, as they were also accompanied by increases in certain taxes, and resulted in the Moriscos of that city revolting in 1568.¹⁰⁷ Once again the Alpujarras region constituted the site of the revolt and once again it was quelled within a few years. The consequences of this revolt included deepening the already growing mistrust of the Moriscos as a potential Ottoman fifth column. Some prominent Moriscos did in fact communicate with Ottoman emissaries, as evidenced by the recorded responses to the presumed Morisco requests for aid, in which some Moriscos were even promised Ottoman reinforcements and support from Algeria during the revolt.¹⁰⁸ This aid did not in the end transpire and the Moriscos who sought this help, were left to fend for themselves.

Without drawing fixed lines between these groups, we see that in addition to those Moriscos who wished to assimilate, and those who wished to continue practising Islam,

¹⁰⁵ Summarised in Consuelo López-Morillas, "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam," *Hispanic Review* 63, no. 2 (April 1, 1995): 196, doi:10.2307/474555.

¹⁰⁶ For details of these efforts in Valencia and the role of Archbishop Juan de Ribera in their orchestration see, Ehlers, Harvey, 'Political.'

¹⁰⁷ Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (October 1, 1968): 1-25, doi:10.2307/1857627. 14-15.

there were also those advocating subversive resistance and appealing to outside Muslim powers in their efforts. This reveals a great deal about the degree to which assimilation efforts, if they were made, had failed with these communities, particularly in Granada. It also one again reinforces the disconnection between law, in theory and practice, as the Granadan Moriscos had been banned from possessing arms since 1502, and yet even fifty years later, they managed to institute an armed rebellion. Trade networks and a ubiquitous black markets appear to have functioned to provide arms to the Moriscos to furnish the two year revolt, despite the presumed difficulty in buying and selling such outlawed goods. Another, more immediate consequence of the revolt occurred after its suppression in 1570. Starting in 1569, Phillip II ordered the expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada and their relocation and dispersion to other regions in Castile. This caused upheaval and outcry from many echelons of Morisco society and their Old Christian neighbours. Despite their protests, the Granadan Moriscos were forcibly moved to other cities with many of them even dying in the process of relocation.¹⁰⁹ One of the unintended consequences of the Granadan expulsion, was the dispersal of more Arabic-literate Moriscos to other parts of the Iberian Peninsula.

How these exiled Granadan Moriscos fared varied greatly. In some areas there is evidence to suggest they were heavily targeted by the Inquisition. For instance in his research on Inquisition trials and the Moriscos in Murcia between 1560-1615, Rafael Carrasco demonstrated that of the 30-35% of Moriscos brought before the Inquisition, the majority of those convicted were the newly relocated Granadans, Valencian migrants and some slaves.¹¹⁰ Thus in Murcia, with its strategic location between Valencia and Granada, the Inquisition was more repressive towards the newly arrived Granadans. By contrast, the Granadans that settled in and around Castile may have encountered a different fate. In his innovative study on secular trial records, Cristian Berco recounts a court case concerning three Moriscos of Granadan origin on trial for the murder of a young child in the Toledan village of Yebenes in 1575.¹¹¹ Although, as Berco notes, all the features of counter-

¹⁰⁹ Már Jónsson, "The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609–1614: The Destruction of an Islamic Periphery," *Journal of Global History* 2, no. 02 (July 2007): 195–212, doi:10.1017/S1740022807002252, 199.

¹¹⁰ Rafael Carrasco, "La Inquisición de Murcia Y Los Moriscos: (1560-1615)," *Areas: Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales*, no. 14 (1992): 107–14.109.

¹¹¹ Berco, "Revealing the Other."

Reformation Spain would indicate that these mistrusted 'outsiders' from Granada would be found guilty, in this case the three accused Moriscos were acquitted. He argues that rather than focussing solely on Inquisition trials, we should also examine secular trials, as they shed light upon biases against the Moriscos and reflect wider held attitudes in Castilian society.

As mentioned above, not all Granadan Moriscos were relocated, including some labourers whose crafts were deemed too important to the local economy and several elite families, all of whom managed to escape the relocation decrees and remain in their homes.¹¹² A number of these Moriscos held prominent positions as state and Church translators or pages, a few were even employed by the Inquisition. These Moriscos, who constituted a kind of assimilated elite, and who were able to escape expulsion, are also believed to be involved in a series of forgeries which were the source of much controversy during this period. In the 1570s-1590s a series of discoveries were made in the Valparaiso hills near the Albaicin in Granada which sought to enhance the Christian associations of Arabic. These discoveries included several parchments attributed to the Patron Saint of Granada, San Cecilio, and relics (a veil attributed to Mary and some bones.). Later in 1595, twenty two lead books (thinly bound lead tablets) using archaic Arabic and other scripts were found. These discoveries were deemed to be sacred relics by the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro, who zealously welcomed the discovery as a sign of Granada's role in Spain's authentic Christian past. For the forgers it seems also to have been an attempt to include Arab participation within that Christian past.¹¹³ The incident was the source of both pride and controversy for over a century and the lead books were not anathematized by the Vatican until the late date of 1682, and the relics remained in question until almost a century later. In Granada they were perceived by the Christian community as confirmation of a Christian identity far pre-dating the Islamic past.

This event in the context of Morisco history adds further layers of complexity to our understanding of their responses to their situations. It demonstrates yet another way in which Moriscos from all different regions and social backgrounds constructed and formed their niches in sixteenth century Spain and the categories of 'subversion' or 'assimilation'

¹¹² Regarding these craftsmen, see Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 7–9.

¹¹³ See for instance García-Arenal, “The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada.” See also, Elizabeth Drayson, *The Lead Books of Granada* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

do not adequately represent the plethora of responses of these communities to their situation as forced converts. Once again, the notion of 'conversion' in the Iberian peninsula proves itself difficult to determine or categorise.

The second revolt of the Alpujarras and its aftermath precipitated discussions in the court of Philip II regarding the expulsion of the Moriscos. This debate brought a multitude of contradictory voices to the fore in political and religious circles and even popular drama and other literary arts.¹¹⁴ Vocal opponents of expulsion to solve the 'Morisco problem' at this stage, included Philip II, who seems to have taken a genuine interest throughout his rule in confronting the Moriscos' lack of indoctrination in Christianity, as well as the landed nobility, who argued that the loss of their labourers would result in economic devastation. The Mendoza family represent an example of nobility who consistently advocated against the expulsion of the Moriscos based on economic and social considerations.¹¹⁵ Along with economic considerations, members of the clergy also expressed concerns for the welfare of so many 'lost souls', who upon expulsion would 'return' to Muslim lands where they would no doubt abandon Christianity. On such example was the confessor of Philip II, who argued in 1582 (ten years after the revolt) that regardless of their Muslim (Moorish) or Jewish background, believers were neighbours.¹¹⁶

Morisco Expulsions

From 1570 onward, efforts to evangelise greatly increased, particularly within regions like Valencia, and comprised more aggressive tactics, in order to delay or avoid the issue of expulsion entirely.¹¹⁷ It is difficult then, to determine at exactly what point the impetus for expulsion reached a tipping point, given the persistence of debate among the Church leaders, nobility and Royal Court. The increase in momentum towards expulsion may have been affected by a rising tide of oppressive measures against Protestantism, which included Islamising, as returning to Islam after baptism was doctrinally considered a

¹¹⁴ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 88-.

¹¹⁵ See the essay by Dadson in, Trevor Dadson "Official Rhetoric versus Local Reality: Propoganda and the Expulsion of the Moriscos," in Richard Pym, *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain* (Tamesis Books, 2006), 12-14.

¹¹⁶ Citation in Kamen, 'Toleration,' p. 20.

¹¹⁷ Ehlers p. 20-22.

heresy alongside Protestantism. This was marked by a sharp increase in Inquisitorial prosecution of those accused of clinging to or propagating such beliefs and practices.¹¹⁸

The debate over the fate of the Moriscos continued in the court of Philip II's son, Philip III. As with the conversion debate almost a century previous, all sides of the expulsion debate maintained the central premise that the Moriscos were too Muslim to be proper Christians, but they differed as to the means of ridding Spain of Islam once and for all. For some, the only proper solution to the 'obstinacy' of the Moriscos was their expulsion, and for others, the Moriscos' persistent adherence to Islamic beliefs and practices represented a failure in Church policies which could still be rectified, especially given the example of sincere converts to Christianity.

It is important to note that the debate about expulsion did not occur in isolation and was in many respects, a response to several 'threats' perceived by some echelons of Spanish society. The fall of Constantinople in May of 1453 followed by the increasing strength of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, precipitated feelings among many in Christian Europe, and certainly within Spain, that western Christendom was under siege. By the late sixteenth century, following the Battle of Lepanto (1571), supporters of expulsion, such as Archbishop Ribera and others, viewed the expulsion of the Moriscos as part of a necessary event in millenarian prophecies that would ultimately unite Europe in Christianity.¹¹⁹ The arguments in favour of expulsion fundamentally relied upon the portrayal of the Moriscos as 'distinct' from Spanish Christians, while those opposed to expulsion maintained a hope that if educated in the Christian faith properly, the Moriscos would become believing Christians. Perhaps this latter group missed the key aspect of their opposition's argument, namely that they were as equally concerned with cultural attachments to what they perceived as Islamic practices as they were with religious preferences, possibly even more so.

The dominant voices advocating expulsion relied upon this cultural element and included the Duke of Lerma and Archbishop Juan de Ribera of Valencia, who argued that it was particularly important to expel the Moriscos in order to secure the religious well-being

¹¹⁸ See, Kamen, 'Toleration,' p. 18. The doctrinal equation of Islam as heresy is explained in Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations*, no. 23 (July 1, 1988): 118-34, doi:10.2307/2928569. Root also demonstrates the links between heresy and genealogy in the lead up to expulsion, see specifically, p 130-132.

¹¹⁹ Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 31-32.

of Old Christians, similar to the 1492 discussions regarding the Jews.¹²⁰ These arguments included fears that Moriscos, being ‘quick to breed’, would overrun the ‘natives,’ with some suggesting that, should expulsion not take place, the reasonable alternative would be mass castration of the Moriscos to prevent an increase in their population.¹²¹ Additionally, depictions of the Moriscos as secretly wealthy and covetous served to portray them as economic rivals. Echoed in *Don Quixote* where the Morisco Ricote is seeking his hidden treasure, these perceptions existed at a local level within communities, as well as the highest levels of ecclesiastic authority, as seen in the correspondence of the Archbishop Ribera.¹²² This is significant in that once again the Moriscos were characterised in opposition to the ‘natives’ and as culturally ‘distinct’ and thus, unwanted competitors.

It was far from the case that these voices dominated the debate, as there were many powerful people both from the Church and nobility who opposed expulsion and adamantly put forward their arguments. Among this camp's most noteworthy voices was Father Pedro de Valencia who argued that the Moriscos were “Spaniards, like the rest of the inhabitants of Spain, for they have been born and raised here for nearly nine hundred years”.¹²³ Most likely himself of Converso background, Pedro de Valencia worked as a royal chronicler and biblical scholar and was one of the most outspoken opponents of the expulsion from the court of Philip III.¹²⁴ In her study of Pedro de Valencia's life and works, Grace Magnier recounts several other examples of those who opposed the expulsion of the Moriscos, among them the famous Jesuit priest of Morisco origin, Ignacio de las Casas. Throughout

¹²⁰ For more on Archbishop Ribera see Ehlers as well as Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 3-9.

¹²¹ See for instance, Kathryn A. Woolard, “Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 03 (July 2002): 458, doi:10.1017/S0010417502000221, Root, “Speaking Christian,” 131.

¹²² On widely held perceptions of ‘wealthy Moriscos’ see, Pike, p. 372. Regarding their portrayal as non-native see, Carla Rahn Phillips, “The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614,” *The Journal of Modern History* 50, no. 2 (June 1, 1978): D1067-95, 1083. Archbishop Ribera cited many of the same concerns in his letters to Philip III, see Ehlers, p. 130-133.

¹²³ Cited in Woolard, “Bernardo,” p. 458.

¹²⁴ Magnier, 17-18. Also see another example cited by Magnier: 11-12 of the case of Martín Gonzáles de Cellorigo, the Inquisition lawyer from Valladolid who argued that the Moriscos' adherence to Islamic beliefs and practices resulted from their neglect by the Clergy particularly in the earlier sixteenth century, and that the Moriscos would have undoubtedly embraced Christianity willingly under a different approach.

his life, Las Casas devoted himself to the study of Arabic to better cater to the Morisco communities he worked with, making the case for teaching and preaching in Arabic, particularly in Valencia where Archbishop Ribera's methods grew more repressive as he moved away from emphasizing religious instruction, opting instead for the harsher methods of the Inquisition.¹²⁵

Not all members of the clergy who opposed expulsion were in favour of Las Casas' willingness to engage with the Moriscos culturally in order to help them assimilate better into Christianity. For example, the Bishop of Segorbe argued that in addition to the banning of Arabic and Moorish dress, learned Moriscos or *alfaquíes* should be separated from the wider community in order to increase assimilation among their fellows.¹²⁶ Despite their differences in strategy, all of which were underpinned by the assumption that most Moriscos maintained Islamic beliefs and practices despite being baptised Christians, these three noteworthy examples all strongly opposed expulsion as a solution to the 'Morisco problem'.

Amidst this cacophony of opposing and contradictory voices, Philip III made the final decision to expel the Moriscos of Valencia, arguing that it was a result of their persistence in adhering to Islam and of the threat they posed as an Ottoman fifth column to Spanish interests from within.¹²⁷ The accusation of a 'fifth column' was routinely used against those accused of Protestantism within Spain during this period. Even until the last years before expulsion, some members of the clergy and nobility such as the Mendoza family, continued to argue for leniency towards the Moriscos, however the persistence of Archbishop Ribera and the Duke of Lerma successfully persuaded Philip III to decree expulsion in Valencia in April 1609. The decision to expel the Moriscos, first in Valencia and the surrounding coastal towns, and then elsewhere was made despite protests from Cardinals, members of the Inquisition, various members of the nobility and even the

¹²⁵ Magnier, 14-16 as well as Kamen, "Toleration".

¹²⁶ Cited in Magnier, 12.

¹²⁷ A thorough and comprehensive study of the expulsion has been carried out recently by Manuel Lomas Cortés who discusses both the build up and process of expulsion, breaking it down regionally in Manuel Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España (1609-1614)*, (Universitat de València, 2012). Lomas Cortés' study highlights the extreme complexities involved with the expulsion process and the lack of coherent strategic or even practical application of the expulsion decrees in various communities and regions.

Pope.¹²⁸ The day of the expulsion announcement coincided with the signing of a treaty between the Netherlands and Spain, not only making troops available for the expulsion operations, but also perhaps deflecting attention away from the 'humiliating defeat' which the signing of this treaty represented.¹²⁹

The process of expulsion has been described at length by various scholars and thus only a brief description is presented here.¹³⁰ Between 1609-1614, a series of decrees were issued arguing that the Moriscos had repeatedly violated their agreements with the Crown and were to be expelled accordingly. Recent scholarship has suggested that contrary to previous perceptions in the literature, the process of expulsion involved covert tactics, including postponement in certain regions under false pretences.¹³¹ This resulted in delayed expulsions in Aragon, Catalonia and Castile, with Murcian Moriscos escaping expulsion until 1613. These delays were at times the result of advocacy on behalf of the Moriscos by local authorities or noble families who often went to great lengths to ensure their Moriscos would be safe from expulsion, or at least be able to leave with their property rather than suffer destitution. In some cases this included refusing entry at village gates to troops designated to carry out expulsion, causing enough delay for Moriscos to arrange their affairs before embarking on their journeys out of Spain.¹³²

Although officials presented the expulsion process as a straightforward success, generally the expulsion took place with as much chaos as the forced conversions a century earlier. The sense of confusion surrounding the entire process resulted from the lack of a coherent policy and varying degrees of enforcement despite the official narrative to the

¹²⁸ Magnier, 2-3.

¹²⁹ Dadson, Trevor 'Official Rhetoric', 1.

¹³⁰ See the works of Jónsson, Már "The Expulsion"; Henry Charles, 1825-1909. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (London: B. Quaritch, 1901); Harvey, 'Political,' 226-232; See the recent contribution of Gerard Wiegers and his proposal that a number of networks facilitated the settlement of the Moriscos in their new homes: Gerard Wiegers, "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos During the Process of the Expulsion From the Iberian Peninsula Around 1609," *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 36, no. 2 (2010): 141-68, doi:10.1353/mrc.2010.0002.

¹³¹ Jónsson, Már, 'The Expulsion,' p. 200-206.

¹³² In T. Dadson's excellent essay "Official Rhetoric", he outlines some of these measures in detail and also demonstrates the close links many Morisco communities must have had with their Old Christian neighbours. See pages 9-10 specifically.

contrary. In areas where the expulsion was enforced more aggressively, Morisco communities were forced to leave with only what they could carry, they were often robbed and pillaged on the way and they were even occasionally forced to pay for their own passage.¹³³ Similarly, in neighbourhoods of Seville where Morisco communities did not receive local protection, they were given only twenty days in which to sell their belongings before being deported. In many instances, children were kept behind by the authorities, because the Church opposed their migration to territories under Muslim rule.¹³⁴ Some Moriscos particularly those exiled to North Africa, were expelled never to return, while others such as those who ended up in France returned within months, making the return journey on foot. A tiny minority escaped expulsion altogether even in Valencia, the stronghold of Archbishop Ribera, where six out of every 100 families were allowed to remain and continue cultivation.¹³⁵ In even rarer instances, whole Morisco communities evaded expulsion entirely, such as the Catalan-speaking Moriscos near Tortosa.¹³⁶ Much of their circumstances depended upon their relationships with the authorities of the local lords who were responsible for the expulsion of the Moriscos in their midst.

Morisco reactions to expulsion varied. Many boarded the ships to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire resigned to their situation, while others rebelled and still others petitioned local authorities to allow them to remain. In many instances their letters to friends and neighbours in Spain reveal their tragic expulsion stories as well as their nostalgia for their native land along with their respect and gratitude for the friendship of their neighbours who were often Old Christians.¹³⁷ Their reception in Muslim lands also varied, ranging from acceptance and assistance to outright rejection. Some exiled Moriscos continued writing in Castilian vernacular, and in their writings we find examples of their divergent experiences, as that of Ibrahim Taybili, who expressed his joy at settling in Tunis in a poem written in Castilian.¹³⁸

¹³³ Wieggers, G.A., "Managing Disaster" 141-168.

¹³⁴ Pike, R., "Moriscos of Seville", 376-377.

¹³⁵ Magnier, G., *Pedro de Valencia*, 2. See also the a broader discussion of the economic impact of the expulsion upon Valenica in James Casey, "Moriscos and the depopulation of Valencia" *Past and Present*, No. 50, (1971) 19-40. Casey highlights that while the expulsion certainly had an impact, the roots of economic decline in Valencia began even earlier.

¹³⁶ Harvey, L.P., *Muslims in Spain*, 317-319.

¹³⁷ Dadson, T. *Tolerance*, 15.

¹³⁸ Jónsson, Már, 'The Expulsion,' p. 206.

While we tend to think of most expelled Moriscos settling in North Africa, several members of their communities ended up in Northern Europe, in cities like Amsterdam (where Wiegers demonstrates they were even granted a 'place of assembly' or a mosque), Istanbul, other parts of the Levant. Wiegers' ample and thorough scholarship in this realm of Morisco experiences has enabled a much wider picture of how these communities journeyed to their new lands and utilised their surprisingly extensive networks to facilitate their settlement.¹³⁹ For instance, the Morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, who had emigrated from Spain earlier, narrates several of his experiences in his capacity as a guide and protector for the expelled communities, both in Europe and North Africa and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁰ As an employee in the service Mawlay Zaydan, al-Ḥajarī also represents an example of how some Moriscos were able to enter into the 'elite' circles of their new homes, although his experience certainly does not appear to have been the norm.

While their communities are traceable to a certain degree in the years following expulsion, it becomes more and more difficult to speak of 'Moriscos' as time passes. As they gradually assimilated into their new homes culturally, religiously, linguistically and socially, they are no longer identifiable as Moriscos or expelled Spaniards in the historical record. Whether or not they became Christians or Muslims in their new lands depended, unsurprisingly, on where they eventually settled, but as with their time in Spain, we should remain cautious of drawing neat lines around their religiosity as Karoline Cook highlights with her case study of 'Moriscos' in the new world.¹⁴¹ Wiegers also raises this point in his discussion of the fascinating case of Muhammad Abū 'l- Āsī/Alonso de Luna, grandson of Alonso del Castillo and son of Miguel de Lunda, two of the Moriscos known to be involved with the lead tablets affair. His travels, education and puzzling association with texts such as the Gospel of Barnabas suggest yet again, the multi-layered complexity of religious identity and intriguing networks of association between exiled Moriscos and their

¹³⁹ See for instance, Wiegers, G.A., "Managing Disaster", 141-168.

¹⁴⁰ See the introduction by P.S. Van Koningsveld, G.A. Wiegers and Q. Al-Sammari eds. of Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari, *Kitab Nasir Al-Din 'alā' l-Qawm Al-Kafirin*.

¹⁴¹ Karoline P. Cook, "Navigating Identities: The Case of a Morisco Slave in Seventeenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 65, no. 1 (July 1, 2008): 63–79. and in Molly Greene, "Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century," *Past & Present* 174, no. 1 (February 1, 2002): 42–71, doi:10.1093/past/174.1.42.

descendants and their wider environments.¹⁴² Molly Greene's study of the history of Mediterranean trade relationships in the seventeenth century demonstrates that in this regard, exiled Morisco communities were rather 'typical' to this milieu: complex, difficult to categorise or generalise, and demonstrative of the many ways in which people and ideas traversed spaces both geographical and social.¹⁴³

The numerous perspectives presented here, offer an historical outline of the Moriscos which, in addition to providing context, demonstrates the multiple ways that the history of Morisco communities both shaped and was shaped by the wider environments in which they lived. Highlighting the diversity and wide spectrum of ideas, motivations, actions and experiences of the many peoples who comprised the worlds of medieval and early modern Spain and the Mediterranean, enables an understanding of Morisco communities that moves away from singular frames in which to analyse their experiences and extant writings.

This is particularly relevant in how it impacts upon our current understandings of the Moriscos as 'crypto-Muslims'. Speaking of them in such terms inherently assumes that with few exceptions, these communities experienced the need to hide their faith in public and that this dissimulation, constitutes the defining feature of their historical experiences. The discussion here has demonstrated that for some Moriscos, practising Islam may have required a pretence of Christianity, yet for *many* others, their experiences do not appear to reflect *taqiyya*, but more open practising of their faith, some for several decades, and others, throughout their time in Spain. These Moriscos are in addition to those who became sincere converts to Christianity, and those who did not perhaps consider religion to be a serious part of their life and practice, and a range of experiences between these; and others that we have not yet conceived.

The danger of 'downplaying' *taqiyya* in any historical narrative about the Moriscos is that it appears to diminish their struggles or claim that Morisco communities did not indeed face hardship and great injustice. There is no doubt that many Moriscos and others deemed heretics in early modern Spain suffered the tragic consequences of persisting in outlawed faiths or practices. Yet in emphasising *only* that facet of their experience we risk

¹⁴² Wiegers, "The Persistence of Mudejar Islam?"

¹⁴³ Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

viewing Morisco history through a single perspective of 'oppressor' versus 'oppressed' and continuously read agendas which may not have existed for all Morisco individuals and communities, into their extant sources.

What we find from the historical overview presented here, is the need to distinguish between moments of crisis and daily life. The numerous crises described above such as the baptisms, increased enforcement of numerous anti-heresy policies under Philip II, the revolts of the Alpujarras and countless other local incidences, punctuated what for most inhabitants of early modern Spain, would have been their routinized, daily life. While numerous contemporary Spanish sources provide views into the 'crises', it is the Moriscos' own extant manuscripts that offer more intimate glimpses into what their interests were with regard to their daily lives. Not only do these aspects of their 'everyday', captured and preserved in Morisco extant manuscripts, reveal something of their spiritual and devotional interests, but when contextualised, they offer insight into social and religious world(s) in which they lived.

CHAPTER TWO

Morisco Writings from the Sixteenth Century: A Stage In Between

As not all Moriscos lived under a constant shadow of threat, numerous members of their communities managed to keep a knowledge of Islamic beliefs and practices alive. While historians may never be able to adequately determine the undoubtedly innumerable incarnations of Morisco religiosity, what we have ample evidence of, is how it manifested in their writings. Their time in Spain during the sixteenth century coincided with a remarkable age in Mediterranean history, marked by a shift towards an increased circulation of written works. What had before been the provenance of monastic or scholarly life, or of wealthy patrons and elites capable of purchasing books for libraries and private collections, was now growing in availability, to an ever widening circle. In the written works of the Moriscos, we not only obtain a sense of how these communities preserved and shared a knowledge of Islamic beliefs and practices, but also, discover the rich and vibrant ways in which they encountered and engaged with literacy.

The present chapter turns to their corpus of extant devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth century. Here, in their textual world(s) of prayers, supplications, explicated rituals and countless other subjects pertaining to an active spiritual life, we see the myriad ways in which Morisco communities developed both linguistic and contextual mechanisms by which to facilitate an expansive array of devotional requirements. Before analysing the textual contents in detail, this chapter examines the language and composition of sixteenth century Morisco manuscripts, within their wider contexts. The first half of the chapter focusses on the language(s) of their devotional manuscripts, contextualising the development and use of Aljamiado within the broader Mediterranean/European-wide move towards a written vernacular. The second half of the chapter examines the manuscripts in terms of their compilation, assessing what their physical construction and composition reveals about how these manuscripts may be studied by historians in a way that considers the larger oral, written and aural environment in which they were compiled. While for some scholars, detailed textual analysis of Morisco manuscripts has led them to conclude that there were clear cut dichotomies between Morisco practices from the Christian/Romance and Islamic/Arabic traditions,¹⁴⁴ the aim here is to nuance this

¹⁴⁴ See for instance the introductory remarks by L.P. Harvey in *Muslims in Spain*, 2-6, where he discusses his title choice and his terminology, specifically p. 6, “Moriscos is what they were

understanding of Moriscos as reconciling 'opposing' interests.

Both the language and composition of the manuscripts demonstrate the variant ways in which Morisco communities both participated in and distinguished themselves from the wider milieu in which they lived. As such, their sixteenth century manuscripts capture a stage in the story of literary history, somewhere between oral and print, and Romance vernacular and the eventually triumphant Castilian Spanish. Thus, more than a window into their devotional interests, these manuscripts also represent a fascinating case study into the literacy of those inhabitants of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean who were traditionally excluded from participating in a written textual culture. As such, a concurrent aim of the present chapter is to provide a rare glimpse into the burgeoning literacy of such communities.

Language

Morisco devotional works dating from the sixteenth century use Arabic, various Romance dialects, Aljamiado or a combination of all three. The majority of their extant manuscripts contain Aljamiado, or Romance written in the Arabic script. The word Aljamiado is thought to be derived from the Arabic, *al-'ajamī*, meaning foreign or non-Arabic.¹⁴⁵ In early Islamic history, the term was used to refer to non-Arabs particularly the Persians, who had learnt Arabic and sometimes not fully mastered the written or classical form. Thus, it often refers to register, with the '*ajam*' referring to those who spoke vernacular Arabic but could not write or express themselves in literary, high Arabic (*fuṣḥa*).

The Mudéjars and Moriscos who used Aljamiado developed numerous ways of rendering Romance using the Arabic script and diacritical marks. Thus what we find in most sixteenth century Morisco codices in terms of script, are systems of transliteration from Romance into Arabic letters usually in the Maghribī hand.¹⁴⁶ Similarly with regards to

forced to *become*, Muslims is what they *were* underneath”.

¹⁴⁵ See the discussions of this in L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (University of Chicago Press, 1992) p. 129 onwards, Gerard Albert Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors* (BRILL, 1994). and Hegyi, “Minority and Restricted Uses of the Arabic Alphabet.”

¹⁴⁶ For more on this system see for instance, Alois Richard Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature* (Protat, 1929), Consuelo López-Morillas, “Aljamiado and the Moriscos' Islamisation of Spanish” in Mushira Eid, Vicente Cantarino, and Keith Walters, *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics*

the language itself, these codices do not just contain combinations of Romance vernaculars in Arabic script, but also an assimilation of numerous linguistic calques and glosses from Arabic into Romance and vice versa, making it difficult to categorise. Even within one manuscript, one finds a diverse usage of Aljamiado both in terms of script and language, as will be demonstrated in detail in the following chapters.

Rather than containing only Romance written in the Arabic script, a typical sixteenth century devotional manuscript often contains Arabic words in the Arabic script including numerous invocations such as the phrase 'In the name of God, The Merciful, The Compassionate' known as the *basmala*,¹⁴⁷ or phrases such as 'Oh 'Alī' (*yā 'Alī*), or Romance versions of Arabic words written in the Arabic script such as *asadaqas* (charitable alms, Ar. *al-sadaqa*), *asala'es* (ritual prayer, Ar. *al-ṣalāt*), or *aluma* (religious community, Ar. *al-umma*), and *almalyika* (angels, Ar. *al-malā'ika*). The definition of Aljamiado for the purposes of the present study then, refers in most instances to Romance written in the Arabic script although, as noted here, the Moriscos' version of Romance and their dialect forms often included Arabic words in addition to the Arabic script.

Although the vast majority of texts using Aljamiado date from the sixteenth century, the origins of the language/script combination are much earlier and are interlinked with wider linguistic trends in the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean. While rendering vernacular in Arabic script was not a 'new' or unique phenomenon for instance with Persian, certain African languages, Ottoman Turkish, Urdu and various Balkan languages, its appearance in 'contact zones' often coincides with the existence of rival written scripts.¹⁴⁸ In the Iberian peninsula, the use of Arabic as a prestige language was not a new occurrence considering both Christians and Jews under Muslim rule had adopted it in their own written cultures.¹⁴⁹

VI: *Papers from the Sixth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics* (John Benjamins Publishing, 1994).

¹⁴⁷ Arabic: *B'ism-illāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. This is also known as the *tasmiya* or naming/uttering God's names.

¹⁴⁸ Hegyi, "Minority and Restricted Uses of the Arabic Alphabet.", 262. See also, Ottmar Hegyi and Biblioteca Nacional (Spain), *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos* (Gredos, 1981), 16.

¹⁴⁹ Utilising a prestige script alongside Romance had also developed in the earlier history of Islamic Spain as shown by Samuel Stern and his discoveries of Mozarabic poetry in Romance written in Hebrew or Arabic script. See, Samuel Stern, *Les Chansons Mozarabes* (Oxford, 1964). See also, Robert Felkel, "The Theme of Love in the "Mozarabic Jarchas" and in the "Cante Flamenco", *Confluencia* 4, No. 1 (1988) 23-40.

Particularly in the case of Judaeo-Arabic we see a striking parallel with Aljamiado in that Arabic, the language of the majoritarian culture was used while Hebrew script was retained for prestige in composition.¹⁵⁰ The variations and particularities in language and script found in linguistic combinations like Judaeo-Arabic and Aljamiado offer unique insights into how the communities that used them participated in the wider world(s) in which they lived. From their written texts we obtain a sense of how these communities appropriated combinations of scripts and languages to suit their own linguistic and social needs.

The gradually preferred use of Aljamiado among the Moriscos did not occur in isolation and was deeply connected with the rise of vernaculars all over Europe and North Africa in the medieval period. Religious and linguistic plurality, among audiences in both medieval al-Andalus and the Maghrib and Christian Spain fostered the sharing of many literary forms, styles and the interplay between oral and written in the 'texts' produced during the medieval period.¹⁵¹ This aural literary environment associated particularly with storytelling and religious texts, was shared across religious communities. David Wacks notes that the genre of epic tales popularized during the medieval period depended heavily upon a 'storyteller' and 'audience' with most medieval audiences experiencing literature and more importantly, reading, in predominantly oral forms.¹⁵² Thus, before they appeared more regularly in written form, vernaculars were widely in use in performed genres, indicating their usage in a largely oral literary space.

This was true among both medieval European communities and the literary milieus of medieval and pre-colonial Islamic societies, from the far east to the far west. In the Iberian and North African contexts, aural traditions flourished with memorisations of the Qur'ān, the teaching and learning of sacred texts, and popular devotions such as the celebrations of the Prophet's birth, many of which included the vernacular.¹⁵³ In the

¹⁵⁰ Judaeo-Arabic refers to any form of Arabic written in Hebrew script and also often refers to the dialect of Arabic spoken by Jews under Muslim rule or in predominantly Muslim environments. In the present instance I refer to it in its first meaning, as a combination of Hebrew script and Arabic language. For more refer to Joshua A. Fishman, *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages* (Brill Archive, 1985).

¹⁵¹ See Wacks, David Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqāmāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (BRILL, 2007).

¹⁵² Ibid. 44, 50.

¹⁵³ N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and*

eleventh century for instance, the founder of the Almohad movement, Ibn Ṭumart used the Berber vernacular not only to compose his *Tawḥīd*, but also to deliver sermons (*khutba*).¹⁵⁴ Thus rendering religious texts into vernacular had significant precedent in the Islamic west. In the Iberian Peninsula, both Christians and Jews under Muslim rule developed their own usage of Arabic vernacular, spoken and written, to suit their respective needs, and similarly with regard to Romance, the rendering of various texts from Arabic into Romance appears to have already begun during the Almoravid period.¹⁵⁵

In Europe, a rise in written vernaculars was spurred in part by a need to make religious literature more widely accessible as well as by the great popularity of performance literature, such as epic tales and poetry which were predominantly composed in the vernacular. In the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula the move from a Latin *lingua franca* towards written Romance vernaculars arguably gained its main impetus with the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284). Although the notion of a ‘school of translation’ may be questionable, Alfonso's role in the validation of the written Castilian vernacular is less contentious. One of the first contributions he made during his reign was to publish his ‘legal code’ or the *siete partidas* in the vernacular (1256-63). His *Histories of Spain* were also written in vernacular making them accessible to non-Latin reading audiences. An interesting aspect of his *History* is that his scholars posit the Christian kings of Spain as a

Development in the Muslim West Until the 10th/16th Century (BRILL, 1993).

¹⁵⁴ According to the anonymous *Kitāb al ḥulal al-mawshīyya fi dhikr al-akhbar al-marakushiyya* (*Book of embroidered vestments mentioning the tales of Marrakesh*) Ed. Bashīr al Fawratī (al-Taquddum al-Islāmiyya: 1329); “Ibn Ṭūmart also began teaching the Berbers. The first thing he did was compose a book called the *Tawḥīd* in Berber. It had seven sections (*aḥzāb*), one to be read each day of the week after morning prayer when they had finished a *ḥizb* of the Qur’ān. The book contained knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of God most High; knowledge (*'ilm*) of the truth of predestination (*al-qadr wa'l-qada'*), faith in what is necessary for God most High and what cannot be imposed upon Him, and what is incumbent upon a Muslim in commanding good and forbidding evil. He also composed the *Qawā'id* and *Imāna* in Arabic and Berber. He was eloquent in both languages and gave sermons and told proverbs which attracted them and made learning from him easy.” [I am grateful to Dr. Amira Bennison for sourcing and translating this reference for me.] Romance versions of Ibn Ṭumart’s *murshidas* are also known as two extant versions with the Arabic script and interlinear Aljamiado translation (from the sixteenth century). See Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado.*, p. 40-41. p. 43).

¹⁵⁵ Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado.*, 44.

continuation of a Visigothic lineage and chain of kingship. This narrative of Spanish history certainly gained popularity during this period as much of the Iberian Peninsula had come under Christian rule. This notion continues to furnish the idea held by many Spaniards regarding their own history and the 'brief' interlude under Islamic rule.¹⁵⁶

Alfonso's emphasis on the vernacular may in part have been augmented by and also have furthered the rise in 'tale literature'. This genre had gained popularity by the early thirteenth century with the anonymously authored epic poem, '*el mio cid*' (from the Ar. *sayyid* or *sīdī*) about Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, celebrated in the poem as the hero of the *reconquista* though in reality he was a mercenary who fought for both Christian and Muslim masters.¹⁵⁷ That the *Cid* and other poems like it were composed in vernacular and were in circulation not only as written manuscripts but more often as performances undoubtedly had an impact on the Muslims and Jews living under Christian rule and their own experiments with written vernacular.

In many instances, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Muslims and Jews were translators, rendering texts from Arabic into Romance. Their renderings of Andalusī Arabic *maqāmāt* and frame-tale literature played a significant role in the development of texts written in similar frame-tale style in Romance vernaculars from Christian ruled territories, including Juan Ruiz's *Libro de Buen Amor*, and Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*.¹⁵⁸ Mudéjars also

¹⁵⁶ This demonstrates continuing relevance of the debates between Castro and Albornoz discussed in Chapter One.

¹⁵⁷ Duggan presents an interesting relational reading of this epic poem, in his discussion of 'audience(s)' in Joseph J. Duggan, *The Cantar de Mio Cid: Poetic Creation in Its Economic and Social Contexts* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁵⁸ Wacks, David, *Framing Iberia*, p. 41-43. Also 44 for specific influence on Castilian literature. Louise M. Haywood and Louise Olga Vasvári, *A Companion To The Libro De Buen Amor* (Boydell & Brewer, 2004), and also, Elizabeth Drayson 'Chaotics, Complexity and the Libro de Buen Amor' in the same volume which proposes an intriguing theory on the 'chaotic' nature of this book. Without taking this methodology fully on board, it is indeed a helpful contribution by Drayson to the present study, in that it further demonstrates the 'randomness' was not at all necessarily random to readers – it of course depended on how the audience 'used' the text. Also interesting, by Drayson, is the study of how stories cross and intersect 'boundaries' in Elizabeth Drayson, "Ways of Seeing: The First Medieval Islamic and Christian Depictions of Roderick, Last Visigothic King of Spain," *Al-Masaq* 18, no. 2 (2006): 115–128, doi:10.1080/09503110600863443, and her examination of the literary persona of Count Julian's daughter and its impact on

played a significant role in the development of a written culture in Christian Iberia with their paper making skills; as mentioned above, the primary guilds of paper making were run by Mudéjars. To think of the Muslim and Jewish communities of the Iberian Peninsula as isolated from the Mediterranean wide shift towards writing in the vernacular, is to ignore the historical realities of the period. Muslim communities under both Muslim and Christian rule would have not only been familiar with Romance but were undoubtedly participants in its rise as a written language.

A closer examination of the Iberian Peninsula reveals how both Jewish and Muslim communities employed Romance first in spoken form and subsequently in their texts. Evidence of spoken Romance among Muslims and Jews under Christian and Muslim rule predates its appearance in written form. Late tenth century sources demonstrate that Andalusī Muslims, both elite and non-elite, could speak Romance vernacular (Wiegers notes that it was referred to as *‘ajamī* or *laṭīniyya* in the sources).¹⁵⁹ This is not surprising given that a large number of converts to Islam would have been Romance speakers and continued speaking in their native languages in some contexts long after their conversions. Thus, as far as a spoken Romance vernacular among Muslims is concerned, a complex picture emerges of various levels of familiarity with regard to spoken and heard Romance from the earliest moments of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁶⁰ A culture of written Latin script among the Muslims of the Iberian peninsula is more difficult to trace. Most of the written works that survive from communities under Muslim rule are written in some form of Arabic, either script and language or just language, or in another script such as Hebrew script but not Latin.¹⁶¹

literary developments, Elizabeth Drayson, *The King and the Whore: King Roderick and La Cava* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹⁵⁹ Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁰ For more on the intersection of languages and religions of medieval Iberia see, María Angeles Gallego, “The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension,” *Medieval Encounters* 9, no. 1 (2003): 107–39, doi:10.1163/157006703322576556. and also, the interesting observations regarding gender, language and religion in María Angeles Gallego García, “Approaches to the Study of Muslim and Jewish Women in Medieval Iberian Peninsula: The Poetess Qasmuna Bat Isma`il,” Artículo, (April 1, 2009), <http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/12039>.

¹⁶¹ See Stern, S. *Le Chansons*, and his discoveries of Romance poetry written by Mozarabic authors in Semitic scripts.

Closely linked with the complex Islamic legal questions surrounding their continued residence under non-Muslim rule, was the issue of whether or not the Mudéjars could use Romance vernacular as a written and spoken medium for religious texts. One of the main reasons certain scholars argued that Mudéjars should leave Christian rule was precisely to prevent what they foresaw as an increasing tendency towards assimilation into a Christian/Romance world. Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) makes just an observation about the Mudéjars in his *Muqaddima*, noting that, '...the vanquished can always be observed to assimilate themselves to the victor in the use and style of dress, mounts, and weapons, indeed in everything...In this light one should understand the secret of the saying, 'The common people follow the religion of the ruler'.¹⁶² While the jurisprudential and legal literature, as garnered through *fatwās* for instance, can illuminate the scholarly debates surrounding these issues, the Mudéjars' own extant writings indicate a steady move towards Romance, regardless of what was being discussed among Mediterranean Mālikī jurists.

Given the scanty source materials in this area it is difficult to say at what stage Romance vernacular, either in Latin or Arabic script, became a regular feature of Mudéjar religious texts. Wiegers notes that Romance texts written by Mudéjars in both Latin script and Aljamiado, appear as early as the fourteenth century and that the kinds of texts copied included legal works, polemics and devotional materials.¹⁶³ In her recent study of Mudéjar writings, Kathryn Miller presents examples of Mudéjar usage of the vernacular alongside various Arabic texts from fifteenth century manuscripts, such as in the notary documents of these communities which were primarily composed in formulaic Arabic and occasionally accompanied by colophons or marginal notes written in Aljamiado.¹⁶⁴ These colophons and notes were not necessarily religious in nature and often included shorthand notes made by the author of the document. Thus we see that by the mid-fifteenth century, Mudéjars in certain regions began utilising Romance, both language and script, with increased frequency in their extant writings, both religious and otherwise.

This trend among the Mudéjars received a significant push forward in the mid-fourteenth century with the works of Segovian muftī, Içe de Gebir. His views regarding the rendering of religious texts into vernacular, are clearly shown by the religious works written by him in Romance vernacular. His two most significant works include the first rendering

¹⁶² Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, translation, Franz Rosenthal. ed. 2005, 116

¹⁶³ Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, 47-63.

¹⁶⁴ Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, 80-104.

of the Qur'ān into Romance (c. 1456-1462) as well as a treatise on Islamic beliefs and practices called the *Breviario Sunni*. This latter text was composed in Romance, and rendered into Arabic script in extant sixteenth century copies of this text produced in Aljamiado.¹⁶⁵ Wieger's detailed study of Içe's life and works, shows that his Qur'ān was commissioned by Catholic theologian Juan de Segovia who, disgruntled by what he saw as the inadequate translation of the Qur'ān by Robert of Ketton into Latin and motivated by a firm belief that Muslims would convert to Christianity if they only understood its dogmas properly, enlisted Içe de Gebir to compose a more accurate translation of the Qur'ān.

Already a Muftī in Castile and well known among the Mudéjars of the region, Içe de Gebir made two copies of a Romance translation of the Qur'ān, giving one to Juan de Segovia and allegedly taking the other back to Seville. Although Latin translations of the Qur'ān were extant and appear to have been widely read by European Christians, this Qur'ān translation was unique in that it was undertaken by a Muslim and translated into Romance, before being translated into Latin by Segovia.¹⁶⁶ Despite the fact that this Romance version of the Qur'ān has unfortunately been lost, with a few glimpses of it existing in Latin quotations in the margins of a letter by Segovia, scholars have still been able to postulate how Içe effectively went about his translation, consulting classical works of *tafsīr* (explanation or commentary), as did Ketton, in the process of translating.¹⁶⁷

In rendering Islam's most holy text into Romance, Içe participated in the Iberian and Mediterranean wide phenomenon of a move towards a written vernacular. The prolific copying of his *Breviario* in the extant manuscript evidence indicates that Içe's efforts played a significant role in the rendering of other religious texts in the vernacular and in her study of Morisco Qur'ānic passages, López-Morillas illustrates that many Morisco Qur'ānic texts

¹⁶⁵ See p. 308 in G.A Wiegiers, "Language and Identity, Pluralism and the Use of Non-Arabic Languages in the Muslim West," in Jan G. Platvoet and Karel Van Der Toorn, *Pluralism and Identity: Studies in Ritual Behaviour* (BRILL, 1995), 303-326.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas E. Burman, "Tafsīr and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'ān Exegesis and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum* 73, no. 3 (July 1, 1998): 703-32, doi:10.2307/2887495; Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," *Science in Context* 14, no. 1-2 (2001): 249-88, doi:10.1017/S0269889701000096.

¹⁶⁷ Ulli Roth has worked on the manuscripts of Juan de Segovia and the notes pertaining to the Qur'ān translation therein. See most recently for instance, Ulli Roth, "Juan de Segovia's Translation of the Qur'ān" *Al-Qantara* 35, No. 2 (2014) 555-578.

contain the kind of *tafsīr*-translations thought to be associated with the Qur'ān of the Segovian Muftī.¹⁶⁸ As Wieggers points out, it does not appear that the circumstances of Içe's translation, i.e. that it was undertaken for a Christian patron, negatively biased his own community's reception of his Romance translation of the Qur'ān.¹⁶⁹ By their very existence, Içe's works represent the plurivocality of Islamic legal opinions during this period, but also a watershed for the Muslims of medieval Iberia in their move towards utilising Romance in their sacred and devotional texts.

While Içe's translations from the mid-fifteenth century may have helped further the use of Romance vernacular for religious texts, combining that vernacular with the Arabic script had begun earlier. Extant manuscripts dating from as early as the 1420s, contain various forms of Aljamiado.¹⁷⁰ Most of these extant manuscripts contain Aljamiado in marginal notes or colophons and exist today largely as fragments and corpora. It is indeed interesting that at least some members of the Jewish communities and several members of the Muslim communities of Iberia began regularly combining Romance with a prestige script before the 1450s and Içe's translation work.

For the Jewish communities, a less well-known aspect of their wide ranging Converso literature is the evidence of their use of Judaeo-Spanish or Ladino in a kind of Hebraic Aljamiado. A recently discovered manuscript dating between 1457-1477 uses Romance words and Hebrew script and contains mostly religious and didactic information for Jewish beliefs and practices.¹⁷¹ Composed as a kind of *aide memoir* to religious instruction, the text resembles the vast majority of extant Morisco devotional texts. While it is possible that many different communities simultaneously engaged in similar textual practices without any knowledge of each other's actions, given what we know of interactions during this

¹⁶⁸ Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79* (Tamesis, 1982).

¹⁶⁹ This is especially so considering that Mudéjars participated in cross-confessional dialogue through the mid-fifteenth century, see Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, 61-65.

¹⁷⁰ In Wieggers, *Islamic Literature*, 62, he notes that 1424 is perhaps the earliest dated manuscript with Aljamiado writing, although there may be evidence of undated manuscripts elsewhere, and also on p. 63 he draws attention to the fact that Aljamiado was also present in Aragon by the mid-fifteenth century (c. 1451).

¹⁷¹ Michelle Hamilton, "Text and Context: A Judeo-Spanish Version of the Danza de la muerte", in Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan, *Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain* (BRILL, 2012).

period, it is far more likely that these kinds of shared practices were the result of various communities engaging with each other and their surroundings.¹⁷² Once again, rendering sacred texts into vernacular, both language and script, appears to have been a regional phenomenon, in which Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities in Spain all participated in to varying degrees. Additionally, it is significant in the context of the present study to note that Muslims under Christian rule were experimenting with different languages and prestige scripts over half a century before 'script secrecy' became an issue with the conversion/expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the forced conversions of the Muslims beginning 1502.¹⁷³

If indeed, as I argue, the Muslims' use of Aljamiado represents a participation in the wider trend of increasing written Romance vernacular, why retain the Arabic script? Most scholars concur that given its fifteenth century origins, the use of Arabic script in Aljamiado coincided with a desire to connect with a wider Islamic world outside of Iberia despite a growing distance both geographically and linguistically from their co-religionists under Muslim rule.¹⁷⁴ The use of Aljamiado then, rose in inverse proportion to the decline of Arabic as a spoken language among the Mudéjars. For the Moriscos who were even further removed from Arabic both spoken and written than their Mudéjar predecessors, the use of the Arabic script allowed them to connect with an Islamic heritage and their Muslim co-religionists outside sixteenth century Spain despite our belief that they did not understand the Arabic language well.

I do not wish to contend this assessment but rather to offer an additional view taking into consideration the Muslim participation in the wider trends toward Romance vernacular discussed thus far. The term Aljamiado, (or *aljamía*) appears to have been used by the Moriscos in its classical Arabic meaning of 'non-Arab' referring to Romance vernacular, rather than as a descriptive term for their written script.¹⁷⁵ For example colophons in Aljamiado texts often include a reference to translating from Arabic into '*ajamī*, in these in-

¹⁷² Chapter One demonstrates how Muslims and Jews often aided each other and even occasionally worshipped together. Also see the interesting discussion of a shared space in Platvoet and Toorn, *Pluralism and Identity*.

¹⁷³ For more on this, Hegyi, *Cinco Leyendas*. He is among the foremost in the field to illustrate that a prestige script reflects more about cultural context than what at first is apparent.

¹⁷⁴ See for instance, López-Morillas, "Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam."

¹⁷⁵ Harvey, "The Political" in Jayyusi, *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. 213-216

stances referring to the language rather than the script.¹⁷⁶ The use of Arabic script in these instances seems to be automatic or not worth noting by the scribe, regardless of the language.

Indeed, a few sixteenth century Morisco scribes only appear to draw attention to the script when writing Romance in Latin script, offering explanations for writing 'en letra de Cristianos'.¹⁷⁷ This suggests that for most of their writings, Arabic script was the default. More often than not, they easily flow between Arabic and Romance transliterated into the Arabic script often switching between them in the same paragraph, in some cases even in the same word (for instance after a line break occurs).¹⁷⁸ Thus the emphasis in most extant Morisco devotional works appears to focus more regularly on the language of composition rather than the script, which appears instead to be a matter of form, not warranting significant comment in their extant texts. The Inquisition did not distinguish between texts in Arabic, both language and script, and Aljamiado, citing only the use of 'Arabic' as the punishable offence.¹⁷⁹ Interestingly, commentary on the language of the text appears far more regularly in Inquisition sources than in the Moriscos' own texts.

With use of Arabic language and script both punishable crimes in the sixteenth century and the often greater risks involved for Moriscos writing in Aljamiado, we would expect to see more of their devotional texts composed in Romance script and language. Rather than seeing the demise of Aljamiado in these sixteenth century circumstances, we instead find its efflorescence. This is surprising for several reasons. Firstly, as mentioned above, regardless of content which Christian Inquisitors may have been less familiar with, the Arabic script was itself incriminating. That severe punishments for using or possessing texts in the Arabic script were often enforced within Morisco communities, would presumably deter the use of Arabic script not increase it.

¹⁷⁶ Consuelo López-Morillas, "Trilingual' Marginal Notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 3 (July 1, 1983): 500, doi:10.2307/602031.

¹⁷⁷ Folio 81v-82r of manuscript T 235 cited in Lopez-Morillas, Consuelo (1983), 'Trilingual Marginal Notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo.' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, (Vol. 103, No. 3) 495-503, 499.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 499. From the manuscripts here, this seamless switching between language is visible especially in J 32.

¹⁷⁹ Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, 72.

Additionally, given the labour, expense and time it must have required to compose the kinds of texts we find in extant manuscript collections we would expect to see fewer of such carefully produced manuscripts. At a purely visual level, and without yet examining the content, the prestige of the script alluded to by Hegyi and others is apparent.¹⁸⁰ In addition to the main body of the manuscripts which contain a range of writing styles, from neatly composed Arabic calligraphy with illuminated pages to more rushed and scribbled writing, we also regularly find numerous 'practice sheets' and pen exercises accompanying the manuscript which include various doodles and practice of the Arabic alphabet, vegetal motifs, and other words or phrases in the Arabic script. The laborious personal dedication that the composition of this kind of manuscript often entailed, coupled with the risk involved with producing such writings, would surely deter the use of Arabic script in the sixteenth century, yet this is precisely the era in which we find persistent adherence and attachment to the Arabic script in extant Morisco devotional manuscripts.

This points to a highly significant implication of its use, as a more *active choice* on the Moriscos' part, rather than solely the consequence of their linguistic 'decline' and distance from the Arabic language. This notion of decline so often associated with the Moriscos' use of Arabic is rendered increasingly inadequate when we examine the linguistic make-up of various Mudéjar and then Morisco communities. While in regions like Castile, there does seem to be a gradual move away from Arabic towards Romance, Granadan and Valencian Moriscos are thought to have retained Arabic the longest. Most scholars argue that for this reason, in regions like Castile and Aragon we tend to find more Aljamiado manuscripts because of a dearth of Arabic speakers. This is problematic however, given our knowledge of individuals within Mudéjar and Converso communities who maintained literacy in Arabic in Hebrew respectively, even in regions of the Iberian Peninsula where Romance speaking Muslims and Jews were more common by the fifteenth century.¹⁸¹

This continued in the sixteenth century with several individual Moriscos also claiming Arabic literacy. For example, the Mancebo de Arevalo claims fluency in multiple languages including Arabic, and while he may not be entirely believable in this regard as Harvey points out, in his writings we learn of other more Arabic literate Moriscos, such as those he encounters in Granada for instance.¹⁸² Another equally intriguing example is the

¹⁸⁰ See for instance the Qur'ānic passages from J 25 and J 28 here.

¹⁸¹ As demonstrated by Miller in *Guardians*.

¹⁸² L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

potential mother tongue speakers of Arabic even towards the end of the sixteenth century, such as Aḥmad b. Qasim al-Ḥajarī who claimed he did not learn Romance until the age of ten, speaking only Arabic instead.¹⁸³ We know from his writings that he was indeed highly literate in Arabic and authored several works in that language. These Arabic literate Moriscos were undoubtedly fewer in number than the wider Romance speaking Morisco communities and thus were exceptions rather than norms, but they demonstrate that where there were individuals, there were certainly possibilities for the exposure of others, and that 'overarching decline' does not fully encompass the Morisco linguistic situation with regard to distance from Arabic.

If we further distinguish between speakers, readers and writers of Arabic, we find that some Moriscos, including those from communities outside Granada and Valencia, were at the least able to read Arabic script in addition to the others, such as those mentioned above, who could speak and write in Arabic, into the seventeenth century. This raises an intriguing possibility as to why many Morisco communities retained the Arabic script in their writings and predominantly wrote in Aljamiado. The Moriscos did not need to have spoken or even written literacy in Arabic in order to *listen* to an Aljamiado text. It was only necessary that one person in a group was familiar with the Arabic script and the way Moriscos adapted it to suit Romance, in order for many others to participate as listeners. The notion that texts may only represent 'a minority within the minority' assumes that literacy was a necessary pre-requisite to interact with these texts: but this was not so, if we view Aljamiado as an ideal language for communities living in a largely 'aural' textual world.

Both from their own texts and Inquisition records, we have ample evidence to suggest the Moriscos and Conversos did gather together to read religious texts. As noted above, the aurality of texts was very much a part of the medieval and early modern textual environment of the Iberian Peninsula and wider Mediterranean, and these communities were participating in practices common to most sixteenth century residents of this space. As one author notes,

Although some of the people on trial declared that they could neither read nor write, *this did not prevent their being read aloud to* , a custom that

¹⁸³ Harvey's work was seminal in this regard. See for instance, L. P. Harvey, "Yuse Banegas: Un Moro Noble En Granada Bajo Los Reyes Católicos," *Al-Andalus: Revista de Las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid Y Granada* 21, no. 2 (1956): 297–302.

played a key role at the time in the different forms of social interaction, be they within the family culture, mundane or public. *The typical reader in the Spanish Golden Age either read aloud to others or was read to (i.e. a listener)* . [My emphasis].¹⁸⁴

This Spanish context was itself part of a broader Mediterranean milieu in which Muslims from this region (and of course, in most Muslim societies), regularly gathered to read a plethora of religious texts, such as Shādhilī formulaic prayers (*awrād* or *ahzāb*), Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and other texts associated with the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad of the *mawlid/milād* for instance.¹⁸⁵

Inquisition records indicate that of the Moriscos charged by the Inquisition, a substantial number of them, almost half in some regions, were in possession of texts composed in the Arabic script indicating their prevalence among their communities.¹⁸⁶ These texts do not appear to have been the works used by an elite group of Moriscos only, but rather a more significant proportion of their communities. Even if people could not read them, they certainly owned them, including in all likelihood, those Moriscos who had minimal ability to read the Arabic script.

Here we find that the use of Aljamiado would have allowed these Moriscos to engage with their texts and 'read' them as listeners. This would have greatly lessened the need within the community for fluency in reading Arabic script as only a few people within a family or particular locale would need to be in possession of those skills. In addition to those Moriscos who read texts individually and as part of their private collections, a larger number could engage with the texts in gatherings regardless of their literacy in Arabic or Romance. In this regard Aljamiado would have fulfilled both, a visual purpose with the Arabic script generating a sense that the text was of Islamic heritage and a religious/sacred book, and an aural one, for once vocalised, the script would be irrelevant to the listener. Thus more than just a simple case of 'decline', Aljamiado achieved a two fold purpose in a

¹⁸⁴ See Vincent Parello “Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism” in Ingram, *The Conversos*, 198.

¹⁸⁵ See for instance both James A.O.C Brown “Azafid Ceuta, *Mawlid al-Nabī* and the Development of Marīnid Strategies of Legitimation”, and Cynthia Robinson and Amalia Zomeño “On Muḥammad V, Ibn al-Khatīb and Sufism, in Amira K. Bennison, *The Articulation of Power in Medieval Iberia and the Maghrib* (OUP/British Academy, 2014).

¹⁸⁶ See this reference in Barletta, *Covert Gestures*. 76.

way that Romance Arabic alone did not and became a convenient means by which Moriscos could signal an attachment to Islam, the Arabic-Islamic world, as well Romance and their Spanish homeland.

In the Iberian Peninsula the use of Arabic-Romance Aljamiado was distinctly a feature of Muslim communities under Christian rule. We do not find extant Aljamiado texts emerging alongside their other documents prior to the fifteenth century. This is despite the fact that throughout the medieval period Romance Vernaculars often functioned as intermediary languages between Arabic and Latin during translation.¹⁸⁷ Nor do we find any Aljamiado texts emerging from Nasrid Granada, despite clear evidence of Romance speakers.¹⁸⁸ From the Cordoban Umayyad period onwards, communities under Muslim rule tended to adopt oral and written forms of Arabic rather than Romance, while their counterparts under Christian rule tended towards Romance. Yet as the case of Mozarabic *kharja* poetry demonstrates, Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities of the Iberian peninsula adopted different languages or language/script combinations depending on the social and political utility of the language or script in fostering their communities to flourish.

In the case of Jews and Christians under Muslim rule we tend to assess their adoption and adaptations of Arabic as a mark of their integration into the general intellectual effluorescence of the period, yet with Muslims and Jews under Christian rule we see their use of Romance vernacular as part of a gradual decline. In this regard we inadvertently share the sentiments of Cordoban Christian Paul Alvarus when he chides the Mozarabs for participating too much in the Arabic vernacular pejoratively noting 'they [Mozarabs] have forgotten their own language'.¹⁸⁹ What he saw as decline, we tend to interpret as flourishing pluralism. This notion of 'decline' which pervades so much of Morisco scholarship, has overshadowed the fact that while decreasing fluency in Arabic certainly played a role in the rise of Aljamiado, it may not have been the sole impetus towards the use of a Romance vernacular.

¹⁸⁷ Wieggers, *Islamic Literature*, p. 60-65.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ they have forgotten their own language. For every one who can write a letter to a friend in Latin, there are a thousand who can express themselves in Arabic with elegance and write better poems in this language than the Arabs themselves" Cited in Rosa-Menocal, Rosa, *Ornament*, p. 66.

I propose that rather than viewing the Mudéjars' and Moriscos' use of Aljamiado as demonstrating of their 'decline' we should instead attempt to contextualise the development of their written works within the wider milieus in which they lived. Although Muslims would remain numerical minorities throughout their time under Christian rule, in appropriating the vernacular to suit their own needs, the Mudéjars and subsequently the Moriscos were distinctly part of mainstream society in the medieval and early modern Iberian Peninsula. Moreover in the Iberian milieu just as 'Spain' was in its formative stages so too was Spanish as a language with each linguistic group laying its own claim on it, or rather participating in its development. For the Morisco communities then, Aljamiado was Morisco Spanish rather than debased Arabic.

In emphasising the Arabic script and its implications for Morisco Muslim identity we often ironically brush aside the fact that the texts were *also* in Romance. Communities of Mudéjars living under Christian rule were in all likelihood as interested in being a part of their Spanish milieu as their Islamic one, especially considering that for the previous eight hundred years, being Spanish and Muslim had been a norm of the peninsula. As the use of Aljamiado became more prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was taking shape as the Romance vernacular itself was taking shape. The Castilian of the medieval period and early modern sixteenth century was certainly in its formative stages and was not the codified Spanish of the modern period. In using Aljamiado in these early stages, the Muslims under Christian rule were not only participating in the move towards vernacular but they were laying a claim on its development as well.¹⁹⁰

The case of Hindi and Urdu is a surprising parallel to the development of medieval Castilian and Aljamiado.¹⁹¹ Both languages are rendered distinct by their use of different

¹⁹⁰ An important parallel can be drawn here between these developments and the Ladino or Ferrara Bible. The production of this work in the early sixteenth century, further demonstrates how multiple religious communities under Christian rule navigated the complex linguistic landscape in which they lived. See for instance, Paul Wexler, *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators of "Jewish" Languages: With Special Attention to Judaized Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Persian, Portuguese, Slavic (Modern Hebrew/Yiddish), Spanish, and Karaite, and Semitic Hebrew/Ladino*, (Harrossowitz Verlag, 2006), 489-491.

¹⁹¹ Jonathan Owens argues that in the formative stages of a language, the script and the use of loan words allows one to make the language 'distinct'. Thus he argues, the case of Hindi and Urdu demonstrates an example of such a case. Jonathan Owens, *Arabic as a Minority Language* (Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 16.

scripts and in the type and origins of certain loan words integrated into the language, with Urdu using more loan words from Arabic and Persian and Hindi, from Sanskrit. The Christian communities of the medieval Iberian Peninsula and into the sixteenth century used Romance vernacular in the Latin script and more Latin loan words while the Muslim and Jewish communities used their prestige scripts, Arabic and Hebrew, and more Arabic and Hebrew loan words respectively. Although its origins were earlier, Aljamiado was predominantly a phenomenon of the sixteenth century the same century in which Castilian witnessed its first triumphs as 'Spanish'. In writing Romance vernaculars in the Arabic script, the Moriscos were doing more than connecting with the religious community outside of Spain; they were constructing a vision of 'Spanishness' and/or 'Castilian-ness' that included themselves.

Rather than solely reflecting a steady decline in the understanding of Arabic, Aljamiado represents communities engaging with the linguistic and social context around them. By the sixteenth century, Aljamiado emerged as the written language of choice, as much as necessity among many Morisco communities particularly in Aragon and Castile with hundreds of their extant manuscripts composed in their vernacular. It represented a simultaneous participation in and distinguishing from the wider world around them. I argue that this participation and engagement was a hallmark of their written works from the sixteenth century. This is true for both their extant works in Aljamiado, Arabic and Romance. Purely at the level of linguistics, their written texts are at once a part of the Castilian/Aragonese Romance vernacular milieu but also distinct from it due to the use of Arabic script. In other words, in their written works, they engage with the wider world around them, but on their own terms.

This understanding allows historians to move away from fixed categories such as 'Christian or Muslim', or 'Romance or Arabic', when attempting to assess Morisco texts and by extension, their multifarious experiences. Those among their communities who wished to continue practising Islam, left behind a textual corpus that reflects an engaged community rather than isolated one. If Aljamiado enabled them to preserve and share their written works about Islamic beliefs and practices and 'be Spanish', then the familiar distinction between the 'internal' and 'external' world(s) of the Moriscos, the Muslim/Mudéjar-Andalusi 'inside', and the Christian/Spanish 'outside', conflates the more we critically examine the social and intellectual engagements within their texts at all levels.

Composition

The broader spread of written vernaculars and an increase in the number of people reading and writing during the late medieval and early modern period, comprised part of a larger gradual, Mediterranean-wide process of greater engagement with literacy and book/textual ownership. As a majority of the sources for this phenomenon rely upon the more literate inhabitants of the early modern Mediterranean, questions abound with regard to those individuals and communities just gaining a footing in this reading/writing culture. Here again, we find a remarkable source in the extant devotional writings of the Moriscos.

Manuscripts containing Morisco devotional materials do not appear to conform to any one notion of a book. Carefully preserved in the Almoncid de la Sierra cache of manuscripts, the Junta Collection manuscripts comprise a generous sample by which to examine the numerous textual incarnations or 'formats' used by the Moriscos in composing their written works. In this collection historians typically encounter three types of codices:

- Type A Several quires bound together, sometimes as books with covers (or with evidence of a once existent cover) that are grouped together into small *cuadernos* or notebooks
- Type B Quires stitched together without evidence of a cover
- Type C Unbound fragments, folios and quires that do not resemble books in any shape.

The most commonly occurring manuscripts are those pertaining to devotions, which appear in all three variants.

The Type C loose devotional manuscripts generally exist as fragments, most likely the result of damage and/or other external factors, however it may also be the case that some of these loose pages and folios were maintained that way on purpose by the Moriscos to whom they belonged, to carry more easily for instance. Given this ambiguity with the study of Type C manuscripts, determining the circumstances of their composition becomes a difficult task. In their bound works however such as the Type A and B manuscripts, where we know that the pages present were physically bound together in a particular order and most likely for a particular purpose, much more may be learned about the ways in which the communities who wrote these texts, compiled and composed them.

Studying the composition of these extant Morisco devotional manuscripts, including the codicology, paleography, issues of authorship and arrangement of contents, allows us to better envision how their works reflect the flux of the wider literary and textual contexts in which they lived and wrote their extant writings. The recent re-cataloguing of the Junta Collection has allowed scholars a much more intimate glimpse at the codicological features of its sixteenth century Morisco devotional manuscripts. Much has been said about the codicology of these works and the objective here is to draw attention to particular aspects of the physical features of these codices in order to better understand how their contents may be studied.¹⁹² The most apparent observation from even a cursory examination of the Type A and B bound devotional manuscripts of the Junta is the high degree of variance between the manuscripts, from their physical features to their contents. In manuscripts like J 56 and J 25 for instance, the codices are each composed of largely uniform sized paper and written in a single, consistent hand respectively. In other instances, such as J 32, J 41 and J 43 for example, the manuscripts appear more collected or collated, each is bound with different sized fragments of paper and other materials, and each is the work of numerous hands. As regards their contents, some of the manuscripts have a determinable order, with chapters or clear indications from the writing parties as to the purpose of the work, while in other instances the manuscripts appear, at least to the non-Morisco reader, to be made up of randomly arranged materials lacking consistency.

¹⁹² Regarding numerous issues pertaining to the codicology, paleography and other aspects of manuscript studies (filigranology etc.) the contributions of the Martínez-de-Castilla have been invaluable. See, Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla Muñoz, “Qur’anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de La Sierra,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 16, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 89–138, doi:10.3366/jqs.2014.0149. Also, Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla Muñoz, “Edición, Estudio Y Glosario Del Manuscrito Aljamiado T19 de La Real Academia de La Historia” (info:eu-repo/semantics/doctoralThesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2005), <http://eprints.ucm.es/tesis/fil/ucm-t27811.pdf>. The works of P.S. Van Koningsveld and G.A. Wieggers also offer highly detailed and carefully researched insight, see for instance, P. S. Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach” *Israel Oriental Studies*, accessed February 4, 2014; P. S. Van Koningsveld and G. A. Wieggers, “An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and Its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court: Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background,” *Al-Qantara* 20, no. 1 (n.d.): 161–89, accessed July 14, 2012; Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*.

The same observations may be said of their binding and the way the manuscripts appear to have been compiled. Even after the development of the printing press in the late fifteenth century, most 'books' of this period were compiled on loose paper or parchment first and subsequently taken to a book binder where they were bound in a cover of two flaps, either of stiffened paper, leather or another type of animal skin.¹⁹³ The advance of the printing press had rendered owning and producing books much more affordable and fostered an environment where a greater number of individuals could own books in their private collections. Prior to the sixteenth century, two schools of binding predominated in Europe, the European style of binding and the Near Eastern style which involved a stiffer spine, a cover flap, and slightly different techniques of gluing and sewing.¹⁹⁴ In the Maghrib, we also find examples predominantly of Near Eastern binding, however of both styles with and without the characteristic cover flap.¹⁹⁵

In sixteenth century Spain, the vast majority of books in Romance would have been bound in the traditional European way, reading from left to right and opening flat on their spine. Within the extant collections of Morisco texts, we find the fascinating interface of numerous binding traditions. This is true both in terms of the kinds of materials used in the production of their manuscripts, from the paper and parchment to the covers and sewing, as well the overall binding techniques. For instance, J 32 is composed of various sized fragments of paper and bound without a coverflap, while J 56 is composed of similar sized paper fragments, and bound with a leather coverflap. While the binding style of J 32 is more common in the Junta collection, the presence of J 56 demonstrates that despite a familiarity with numerous methods of binding, the preference within their manuscripts seems to favour those without a cover flap, resembling more the European style. This is interesting also considering that most of their devotional works were written in Aljamiado and thus presented to read from right to left, and suited to the binding with a coverflap.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ See for instance, Edith Diehl, *Bookbinding: Its Background and Technique* (Courier Dover Publications, 2013), 28–34.

¹⁹⁴ Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (BRILL, 2009). See Gacek's discussion of the coverflap. Also, Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*.

¹⁹⁵ Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla, "El Libro Manuscrito Entre Los Moriscos" (Memoria de los Moriscos: Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural, 2010); Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*.

¹⁹⁶ In most instances, the binding does not appear to affect the direction of reading, which instead depends on the language of composition. Thus Morisco manuscripts that contain Romance flow

Rather than viewing their binding as an example of the Moriscos' desire to conceal their books within larger collections by often binding them like their Romance counterparts, we may achieve a more fruitful study of their codicology and composition by once again locating Morisco texts within the wider contexts. As with language discussed above, the composition of these texts may not necessarily have been the sole result of the Moriscos' desire to hold on to an Islamic past or to blend and assimilate within the Christian majority, but also reflective of practices which were widespread across communities and regions. From Van Koningsveld we learn of shared textual practices and book cultures, particularly among Jews and Muslims under Christian rule.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, manuscript experts such as Gacek and others, draw attention to the numerous styles of textual composition present across the Mediterranean (and of course the wider the Islamic world beyond the Mediterranean Sea) with certain styles dominating, but others always present.¹⁹⁸ In their binding then, as with their use of the vernacular in religious texts, Morisco communities engaged with a broader, 'Spanish way' of compiling and binding written works, which included their own idioms and nuances.

A similar confluence of styles is also observable in the palaeography of the extant Morisco devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth century. Again, a cursory glance through the Junta collection enables a sense of the numerous calligraphic and illuminative styles and differences in handwriting and skill present within this one collection alone.¹⁹⁹

from left to right, while those written in Arabic or Aljamiado flow from right to left. However, as Romance and Arabic script occasionally occur within one folio of an Aljamiado manuscript, it is important to note that both reading directions can be present within a single codex and even a single page, depending on if Romance script is also present.

¹⁹⁷ Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach" in Joel L. Kraemer, *Israel Oriental Studies XII* (BRILL, 1992).

¹⁹⁸ Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*. Also, Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography - Supplement* (BRILL, 2008).

¹⁹⁹ The implications of these practices will be discussed in Chapter Three in detail and some pictorial examples of the numerous "hands" present in the manuscripts are given in Supplementary Data Section I. The scribal practices of the Moriscos have been discussed in detail in, Consuelo López-Morillas, "Copistas y escribanos moriscos", en Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.), *Actes du II Symposium International du C.I.E.M.: Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous*, (Túnez, Institut Supérieur de Documentation, 1984) vol. II, pp. 71-78. Also more recently, see, Nuria Martínez-De-Castilla, "The Copyists and their Texts. The Morisco

Two of the manuscripts selected for comparison in the present study, J 25 and J 32, demonstrate this wide paleographic range encountered in extant collections of sixteenth century Morisco manuscripts. J 25 appears to be the work of one or possibly at most two hands and consists of carefully and neatly written text and artistically produced pages with attention to the handwriting, calligraphy and illumination.

By contrast, J 32 contains the work of several distinct contributing hands. Between folios 117r-121r alone, the hand changes at least three times, each scribe picking up where the previous one stops, continuing the text pertaining to the call to prayer and other similar supplications to be recited during the prayer time. While some of its pages contain more carefully produced calligraphic script, the majority of the manuscript appears to the historian outsider, to have been written by a much 'messier' hand without attention to detail, frequently running out of space and jamming text within the margins. Although one may generally describe the script of this particular hand as 'maghribi', it does not appear to be a 'trained' hand, as seen elsewhere in the same codex and manuscripts like J 25.

The amalgam of scripts and ways of writing that exist in extant Morisco manuscript collections evidenced here by J 25 and J 32, once again mirror the wider contexts in which they were written and the multitudinous ways of writing within the Iberian, Maghribi and Mediterranean milieu in which the Moriscos lived. The confluence of compositional styles present in their devotional manuscripts, preclude any single understanding of how these sixteenth century Morisco devotional manuscripts were compiled and how many individuals contributed to their compilation. This highlights a critical issue within Morisco studies regarding what approach should be taken in the textual analysis of their manuscripts.

Moving outward from the binding and script of the manuscripts and examining the arrangement of the pages and contents itself, scholars face a difficult task in ascertaining the most appropriate way in which to actually study the contents of the manuscripts. This is rendered even more complex given that while these devotional manuscripts demonstrate significant overlap in terms of thematic content, they also exhibit a high degree of variance with regard to how the information is presented. Morisco codices from the Junta Collection range in content from treatises on faith and worship written by Morisco scribes or copied from earlier Mudéjar texts, to dictionaries and summaries of Arabic grammar, to books dealing with magical formulae, amulets and talismans, medicinal treatments and remedies

Translations of the Qur'ān in the Tomás Navarro Tomás Library (CSIC, Madrid)", *Al-Qantara* 35, no. 2 (2014), 493-525.

as well as detailed expositions of eschatology, legends and stories, about such figures as the Prophets Muhammad, Jesus, Moses and Joseph and others such as Dhū-l-Qarnayn and Khidr.

The overwhelming majority of recovered Morisco manuscripts both from the Junta and other collections, comprise what Gayangos, Saavedra and, later, Ribera and Asín, often entitled, 'bundle of miscellaneous religious materials'.²⁰⁰ These groups of manuscripts usually include parts of the Qur'ān, various *ḥadīth* and Prophetic and/or other pious legends and stories, excerpts from jurisprudential (*fiqh*) compendia, for instance, the correct performance of ritual ablutions (*wuḍū'*), ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), and inheritance (*wirātha*), prayers for water or other similar supplications (*du'ā'*), texts highlighting the most significant holy days in the Islamic Calendar as well as eschatological works and other miscellaneous formulaic prayers, often associated with particular Ṣūfī orders (*awrād*) and more general advice or guidance texts (*naṣiḥa* or *wasīla* as it often appears in Morisco writings).

The composition of most Morisco devotional manuscripts will include some/all of the general themes listed above but differ in terms of the length afforded to a particular subject, and the language and style of how the content is actually physically presented. The lack of any archetypal devotional work is precisely what renders a comprehensive study of these kinds of Morisco manuscripts so difficult. It seems the most simple approach to understanding the composition of these devotional manuscripts is to assess them as a collection of discernible parts, yet upon examination, attempting to 'group' the contents of these manuscripts is far from straightforward.

This highlights the perennial issue of genre eloquently outlined by Barletta in his discussion of the Aljamiado versions of the Sacrifice of Ishmael.²⁰¹ It is tempting for both student and scholar alike to classify Morisco devotional texts by theme but as Barletta rightly asks, how can categories of classification be imposed with so much overlap and continuity between so called thematic genres?²⁰² How should one classify the appearance of the supplication recited while seated in prayer, or the *tashahud*, in the image above from J 32; as jurisprudence as the subject matter before pertains the performance of various

²⁰⁰ See for instance the description of MS J 43 as a '*legajo de miscelanea. materia religiosa*' in Ribera and Asín Palacios, *Manuscritos Árabes y Aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*.

²⁰¹ Vincent Barletta, "The Aljamiado 'Sacrifice of Ishmael': Genre, Power and Narrative Performance," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 40, no. 3 (2006): 513–36.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 1-7.

rituals, or should we instead catalogue it as a supplication, or as part of ritual prayers generally, and how if at all do these categories help us understand what role they played for the Moriscos themselves? The difficulty of genre and Morisco devotional texts lies in the interplay between the apparently random composition and seemingly haphazard order of the documents and the artificiality of any order or taxonomy imposed by scholars.

In addition to the theoretical issues of genre discussed by Barletta and others, there are also more pragmatic questions regarding how we should refer to certain Morisco devotional texts. For instance, the two following chapters discuss the inherent issues that arise when trying to group 'categories' of 'texts' together within Morisco manuscripts, such as *fiqh* (Islamic positive law) or Qur'ān. As we know so little about the categories which they themselves used (did they speak of *fiqh* for instance?) applying our own taxonomy becomes that much more difficult.²⁰³ The random, haphazard, overlapping and amalgamated composition of Morisco devotional texts seems to suggest the antithesis of communities interested in neat genres within their devotional works. While the use of externally imposed genres may be helpful as a discursive tool for literary analysis, it illuminates little about why these texts were composed in the manner they were and what that in turn reflects about the communities who wrote and used them.

These features of composition, from the physical aspects of their binding and script, to the issues of arrangement and genre, complicate attempts to study Morisco devotional manuscripts 'on their own terms'. I propose a model for understanding Morisco textual composition drawn from the works of Gregor Schoeler. With his highly nuanced and detailed studies into the oral and written in early Islamic history, Gregor Schoeler's work has much to offer the field of Morisco studies.²⁰⁴ Schoeler's argument operates on several levels. First he undertakes to reconcile two generally opposing views within the field that the literary world in early Islamic history was either an oral culture or a written one. His detailed analysis of the sources reveals that the texts were both part of an oral and written milieu. He compares the scholastic transmission of knowledge during this period with later university teaching, demonstrating that teaching and transmitting texts by means of a lec-

²⁰³ See the comments of Richard Bauman "Genre" in Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 1992), specifically 53-57.

²⁰⁴ Gregor Schoeler, Uwe Vagelpohl, and James E. Montgomery, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam* (Routledge, 2006).

ture or recitation orally was often accompanied by a written *aide memoir* or mnemonic aid.²⁰⁵ These aids were not always edited books but rather supplementary notes to the oral lecture, which we may refer to as a stage two, between oral and written. Those present in these gatherings would then compile their information into the edited books which appeared later, which we may refer to as the third stage, or the production of a holistic written work.

Schoeler also demonstrates that what was significant during this period was not the speaking or writing of a 'text' but rather *hearing* it that made its transmission authentic, whether by listening (*sama'*), or by reading back (*'ard*).²⁰⁶ This 'aural' dimension enabled the listeners present to receive an authenticated narration of the text as opposed to a written version which was considered a less authentic and even mistrusted form of 'textual' transmission because one could read without the aid of a teacher.²⁰⁷ Once again Schoeler tells us that the term 'text' must be taken in its broadest sense. In terms of transmission then, this meant that various students would hear and make notes from the teacher's lecture and those would later be compiled into books occasionally with the teacher's editorial stamp but more often posthumously. This notion of compilation enables a more clear understanding of the occurrence of multiple recensions and variations we see in extant works of *hadith* and other classical Islamic sciences.

When applied to the sixteenth century Iberian Peninsula and to Morisco devotional texts, we find several parallels within the oral/written and aural world of the classical Islamic period studied extensively by Schoeler, and that of late medieval and early modern Spain. The extant manuscripts that Schoeler analyses from the first few centuries of Is-

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 33, 79.

²⁰⁶ Scholars believe there were two dominant ways of transmitting information pertaining to religious doctrine or belief, during this period. The first, *sam'* or listening involved a teacher or scholar dictating and the students listening and taking notes. These notes did not necessarily require reading back to the teacher, but were considered learned by hearing. The second method was by *'ard* or *qirā'a* (reading back) and involved a student reading aloud to a teacher (either from notes or from memory) a particular piece of information and having the teacher or scholar confirm that it had been received correctly. For more see Schoeler, *The Oral*, and also, Christopher Melchert, "Ibn Mujāhid and the Establishment of Seven Qur'anic Readings," *Studia Islamica*, no. 91 (January 1, 2000): 5–22. especially p. 11-13 for a clarifying discussion on these concepts with references to sources from the early centuries of Islam.

²⁰⁷ Schoeler, *Oral and Written*, p 83.

lamic history, and the kinds of written materials familiar to scholars of Morisco history, share similar methodological issues at the forefront of which are questions of composition. What Schoeler's approach offers is a model of textual understanding which caters to the diversity, variance, inconsistency and seemingly random and 'incomplete' nature of a particular corpus. Rather than forcing the texts into a particular category, we are instead able to understand the texts on their own terms, taking into consideration, the historical and literary contexts in which the manuscripts were composed.

For Schoeler, this results in an understanding of how the oral/written/aural environment of the period shaped the diverse ways in which texts from the first few centuries of Islam were written and preserved. In other words, the environment is critical to understanding the manuscripts. For scholars of Morisco history, it encourages an exploration of extant devotional manuscripts that takes into consideration the complexity and diversity of the intellectual and social landscape of the early modern Mediterranean, and how these manuscripts may fit into an environment of increasing engagement with writing, literacy and book ownership.

Approaching the manuscripts this way, we are better poised to see Morisco devotional works as part a stage of literary production *between* oral and written and part of an aural linguistic and literary milieu. One of the main applications of Schoeler's study in the present context then, is an explanation for the seemingly random or haphazard composition found in their extant devotional manuscripts and the proposal that we see these kinds of texts less as stage three 'books' and adopt a more fluid idea of 'compilations' written by one or more scribes, possibly over a period of many years and with a confluence of 'sources' in an oral, written and aural environment.

First and foremost this contextualisation of their writings helps us understand the presence of multiple textual and literary traditions present in the extant corpora of Morisco devotional manuscripts. The compositional variance becomes less a consequence of their unique situation as forced converts, and more indicative of how the Moriscos engaged with 'ways of writing' in the early modern Iberian and Mediterranean context. Locating their manuscripts within a stage between has significant implications in the present study. First, Morisco manuscripts need not be compared with the textual output of other highly literate cultures contemporary to the Moriscos, as this comparison predetermines the fate of Morisco manuscripts as 'degraded' copies of more sophisticated works elsewhere. Second, aspects of their composition such as the numerous binding styles, multiple scripts,

difficult to categorise genres and seemingly 'haphazard' organisation need not be interpreted solely as evidence of 'dissimulation' within their worlds, or of their 'uniqueness'. These features may also be seen as evidence of how Morisco communities, like most early modern inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula and wider Mediterranean, were part of a steady shift away from a predominantly oral textual culture towards a largely written one. In their extant manuscripts we are privy to the ways in which a 'book culture' developed for communities such as the Moriscos, largely uneducated in classical Latin or Arabic, but well versed in Romance. As writing and owning written texts became more accessible to a larger number, individuals and communities were able to participate in the literary spaces of the early modern Mediterranean in ways hitherto generally available to a privileged elite. In this regard, we see that Morisco communities, rather than being isolated cases, represent more typical early modern Mediterranean communities, exploring increased literacy and participating in a culture moving towards ownership of written texts.

Like those codices examined by Schoeler, the inherent diversity and existence of multiple textual and literary currents within Morisco manuscripts, preclude any single understanding of composition and consequently, use. As such, mechanisms of textual analysis which examine texts for identifiable sources and authors becomes a particularly thorny issue in the analysis of sixteenth century Morisco devotional manuscripts, especially when considering the oral/aural and literary environments in which they were compiled. Contrary to the textual production of highly literate societies, in the written works of the Moriscos, we find some manuscripts that resemble more conventional notions of authored books, with a structure of chapters and editorial notes, while others do not seem to conform to any coherent structure at all, but rather are collections of various works bound together, most often, with no mention of an 'author' and with no editorial notes as to why the text is compiled in the manner it is.²⁰⁸

Similarly, with regard to 'sources', while some Morisco devotional texts reference an amalgam of authors and sources from within the Islamic tradition, others opt instead for a collection of information pertaining to Islamic beliefs and practices with no mention of external works or authors cited. More often than not, it is difficult, sometimes impossible to detect a 'chain of transmission' with regard to sources in their devotional works. The wider oral, written and aural environment in which these manuscripts were composed forces us

²⁰⁸ In the sample of manuscripts here, MS J 25, MS J 28 represents an example of the first kind and J 32 and J 41 represent examples of the second kind.

to consider whether it is at all helpful when examining these kinds of manuscripts, to think about authorship and sources in a traditional, linear manner.²⁰⁹

It is certainly the case that Morisco devotional manuscripts maintain close links with various textual traditions, including Christian/Romance and Muslim/Arabic sources. However, the varied composition indicates that while some devotional manuscripts may have been direct or slightly altered copies of other known works, the vast majority of Morisco devotional manuscripts contain such ubiquitous content, presented in so many ways, that tracing 'original' source materials seems to require examining the entirety of literature pertaining to Islamic beliefs and practices. A methodology which relies upon tracing 'originals' appears to be predicated upon an understanding of Morisco communities as the passive conveyors of information, copied from elsewhere. When we examine the issue of sources and authorship in detail, we find that this may indeed be the case for some manuscripts, but certainly not for all.

As regards authorship, while some devotional manuscripts claim a particular author or group of authors, the majority are anonymous, undated and often composed by one or more unknown scribes. This is surprising given that there certainly were notions of authored books and authorship among Morisco communities, first with some Morisco scribes themselves claiming authorship of a text and second, in 'citations' within their texts, where particular passages or texts are attributed to various individuals from within the Islamic tradition.

A small number of extant sixteenth century Morisco manuscripts do in fact contain information about authorship either as part of a colophon or in the main body of the text.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ For instance this is the approach employed by López-Morillas in her studies of Morisco Qur'ānic texts Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79..* Her methodology relies on 'tracing' sources within the *tafsīr* of several Morisco Qur'ānic passages which she argues can relate back to an original source. However, after broadening the scope of her inquiry in *The Genealogy*, she concludes that while some Qur'ānic passages have relationships, over half appear to be completely unrelated. The intriguing features of these Qur'ānic texts are not in the fact that they have coherency but in their lack of consistency and in their diversity, all of which indicate the gradual development of a corpus as opposed to a fixed chain of transmission.

²¹⁰ The notion of 'authorship' has been much discussed and debated and I do not wish to focus on whether or not the Moriscos were 'authors' or not, but rather to discuss what a lack of a single notion of authorship reveals about the way these works were possibly compiled. This is instead

An example of an author in one of these texts is the well known Morisco scribe, El Mancebo de Arevalo, or 'the young man from Arevalo' (ca. 1500-1545). The Mancebo de Arevalo represents an instance of a Morisco scribe whom we know comparatively more about. Although his name is unknown, through his works we learn many details of his life, education, travels and personal contacts, in addition to what his own religious texts reveal.²¹¹ As his name suggests, he most likely lived in Arevalo. He was brought up by his Christian mother and as a child he learned to read Latin and Romance. From a contemporary of his we learn that he was a highly capable linguist, proficient in several Mediterranean languages including Arabic. We know from his own writings that he travelled extensively to meet a wide network of scholars and other learned Moriscos from whom he took teaching licenses for various subjects. He is the author of three extant works, *Breve Compendio de Nuestra Santa Ley y Suna*, *Sumario de la Relación y Ejercicio Espiritual* and *Tafçira*, with some scholars postulating that other works may be his as well.²¹²

The Mancebo's works show that Morisco scribes like himself had an awareness and a sense of authorship. Firstly, in his own works he identifies himself as the author demonstrating that among the Moriscos a notion of claiming authorship of a work pertaining to devotions was indeed present. Secondly, within the content of the texts themselves, the Mancebo, like the vast majority of Morisco scribes composing devotional texts, repeatedly makes references and citations to other authors within the Islamic tradition. This inclusion of Islamic 'references' seems to have been of great importance to many Morisco scribes. In the case of the Mancebo, it has even been demonstrated by Gregorio Fonseca Antuña that

of adopting the approach of Foucault's conclusion that an author is a historical construct and we have to use it because its relevant. See: Michel Foucault, "What is an author," in Michel Foucault and Donald F. Bouchard, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (Cornell University Press, 1980), 115.

²¹¹ Harvey provides a highly comprehensive analysis of this 'young man' with reference to his context, biography, scholarly controversies and a highly useful compilation of the most interesting of his selected passages. See Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. 170-193, and specifically his biographical information begins 178.

²¹² Córdova, "Writing Without Borders"; María Teresa Narváez, "Como 'Nueva Israel': El Capítulo 'Kaída Del Andaluzziyya' Del Manuscrito Aljamiado La Tafçira Del Mancebo de Arévalo," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* T. 30, No. 1 (1981): 143-67; Gregorio Fonseca Antuña, *Sumario de La Relación Y Ejercicio Espiritual Sacado Y Declarado Por El Mancebo de Arévalo En Nuestra Lengua Castellana* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2002).

the Mancebo included passages from Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* while falsely attributing them to known Islamic scholars and writers such as Al-Ghazālī, Ibn 'Arabī and others.²¹³

The Mancebo's texts show that several notions of authorship were indeed present within the literary corpus of Morisco communities. It is of great interest then, that most extant Morisco devotional texts are undated, anonymous and are often composed by more than one unnamed scribe. Indeed this anonymity seems to be a consistent feature among their extant devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.²¹⁴ One explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the obvious question of identification. Surely it would have made practical sense for Moriscos to avoid putting their names on texts composed in Arabic script, especially those pertaining to Islamic beliefs and practices, both of which were criminal acts in the sixteenth century. In Inquisition cases where Moriscos were caught with the aforementioned texts in their possession, they often denied ownership claiming the texts were left by others. A name on a particular text would lessen deniability considerably in such cases or certainly incriminate the scribe responsible for producing the text.

While plausible, this explanation falls short in solely explaining the overwhelming lack of claimed authorship in their extant devotional texts. For instance, it has been demonstrated that many Moriscos, including the *alfaques* (scholars, learned individuals, 'jurists') had dual names; their Christian names and other Arabic/Islamic names. These latter names were used within Morisco communities and were often bestowed during a birth ceremony practiced by Jews and Muslims in the sixteenth century.²¹⁵ In the few instances where various Moriscos do identify themselves as copyists or authors of various texts they tend to do so using these Islamic names such as Muhammad Rabadan, Muhemed Rubio, or other nicknames such as the 'Young Man from Arevalo'. There is no reason to think other

²¹³ Fonseca, Gregorio.

²¹⁴ The exceptions have been well studied by Harvey and others and include prominent Morisco *alfaques* known in both Muslim and Christian circles. See Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614.*, also Consuelo López-Morillas, "El Corán romanceado: la traducción contenida en el manuscrito T 235," 2003, <http://rua.ua.es/dspace/handle/10045/17412>.

²¹⁵ Perry's work often makes reference to the use of dual names see, Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Between Muslim and Christian Worlds: Moriscos and Identity in Early Modern Spain," *The Muslim World* 95, no. 2 (April 1, 2005): 177–98, 181-185. Regarding birth ceremonies, See Bernard Vincent, in Cruz and Perry, *Culture and Control* 80-81.

Morisco scribes could not have used similar methods to put names or pen names to their writings without risking incrimination.

The anonymity of their devotional manuscripts may also concern the content itself. Given that the content of the manuscripts under discussion primarily focussed on devotions, claiming 'authorship' of a text containing multiple prophetic allusions, supplications as well as Qur'ānic passages and various matters relating to positive law (*fiqh*) would have been difficult given the nature of that content. In these kinds of manuscripts, the emphasis appears less on *who* compiled the texts, but rather on *what* is being conveyed. If we understand these kinds of manuscripts as compilations, often composed by multiple scribes over a period of time, their lack of authorship and confusion of 'sources' can be better understood.

This is a significant departure from the dominant framework in the field, allowing us to envision the texts on their own terms, and see a much richer and more complex process of sharing and transmission, with multiple areas of interface between the oral, written and aural environments, rather than as part of a linear process of information transfer between original source, intermediary or Morisco author and the resulting sixteenth century devotional manuscript. Many scholars have adopted an approach entirely predicated on a linear process of transmission positing the Moriscos as unique authors and editors of their texts. This approach is both methodologically problematic and self limiting. In his study of the 'Hadit de baño de Zaryeb', Z. David Zuwiyya writes “Morisco authors translated, abridged and glossed Arabic source material”.²¹⁶ Similarly Luce López-Baralt writes “The underground Moriscos tried to preserve their cultural heritage from oblivion and in rewriting their classical literature 'del arabí en ajamí – from Arabic to Spanish in the Arabic script – they ended up reinventing themselves as authors and readers’”.²¹⁷ These arguments and those like them assert that if we can trace the 'originals', we may compare with Morisco manuscripts in order to view the 'editorial decisions' within their works, thus allowing scholars a unique window into how they altered texts to suit their unique situations as forced converts. This view is deeply problematic given the ubiquity of the content. Moreover, even in cases where tenuous links with other written works may be proposed, we

²¹⁶ David Zuwiyya, “Arab Culture and Morisco Heritage in an Aljamiado Legend: ‘Al-Hadit Del Baño de Zaryeb,’” *Romance Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2001): 32–46. p. 35

²¹⁷ See Lopez-Baralt “The Moriscos” in Menocal, Scheindlin, and Sells, *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, 473.

cannot know at what point in time so called 'alterations' took place. In Zuwiyya's case, on what basis does he assert that the Moriscos translated, abridged and glossed Arabic source material, or rather how does he know it was the Moriscos and not the Mudéjars who engaged in these editorial decisions? In some cases, clear textual parallels with both Christian and Islamic works, have in fact been demonstrated by various scholars, as shown above in the works of the Mancebo. Similarly and not surprisingly, much of the scholarly assessment of Morisco devotional texts also attempts to draw a trajectory between Morisco manuscripts in Aljamiado, and earlier sources from within the Islamic tradition such as compilations of *hadīth*, works of exegesis and books of jurisprudence, in attempts to shed light on what possible Arabic sources were available to Mudéjars and subsequently the Moriscos.²¹⁸

While these studies have been invaluable in describing the kinds of materials which may have been available or of interest to Mudéjar and then Morisco scribes under Christian rule, they once again rely too heavily upon a linear view of textual transmission and are also problematic on a practical level with regard to the language skills of the Moriscos. Considering we understand Aljamiado to predominantly emanate from Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos among whom knowledge of Arabic was far less than their counterparts in Granada or Valencia, how do we explain their suddenly found capabilities as 'translators and glossers' of Arabic into Romance? Because we know so little about which 'sources' were actually available to Morisco scribes, it becomes difficult to determine which textual features are uniquely representative of the sixteenth century and which are in fact remnants from texts composed by Mudéjars, or earlier.

In an environment in which 'texts' were transmitted orally, aurally and in their written forms, tracing sources and authors often imposes too rigid a structure on the process which may have existed in far more fluid form. If the composition of these manuscripts was uniform, it would make perfect sense to study them as 'copies' with clearer chains of transmission and more easily identifiable sources and authors. Yet the variance of their devotional manuscripts described here reveals the 'unique' character of the vast majority of the codices, which in manuscript studies is associated with private phenomenon, and thus open to numerous and more diverse modes of transmission and composition.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ See López-Morillas, "The Genealogy of the Spanish Qur'ān."

²¹⁹ I am grateful to Professor Geoffrey Khan for his illuminating discussion on the nature of unique and private and copies and public, within the realm of Islamic manuscripts.

For instance many Morisco devotional manuscripts contain sections pertaining to Mālikī positive law (*fiqh*). Most often these are not exact translations or renderings from the known recensions of Mālikī works of positive law circulating in medieval Iberia and North Africa, but rather general information, which would be at home in the wider Mālikī positive law literature, but untraceable to a *single* source.²²⁰

When compared with a complete work of Mālikī positive law, a passage from a Morisco devotional manuscript will of course seem 'incomplete' 'abridged' and 'glossed' – all adjectives which numerous scholars utilise when assessing these kinds of passages. Yet from the documentary evidence, aside from a few known examples, in a majority of cases it does not appear that the devotional manuscripts of the Moriscos indicate an interest in producing official copies of texts, and thus such comparisons may not only impose external structures, but also be unhelpful. What is required then, is a view of the manuscripts on their own terms, which, I argue, considers the texts and their compilers within their wider contexts of the social and intellectual trends of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean.

If we cannot always rely on linear notions of source transmission, how then can we better understand the intellectual engagement of the Moriscos? In her recent study of the legend of Morisco eschatology texts, L.M. Alvarez examined the legend of ‘Tamīm al-Dārī’ by comparing versions of extant Morisco manuscripts with contemporary versions of the tale from an Algerian manuscript. Her comparison reveals several places where the Morisco writer adds literary flourishes to the story with greater literary effect. She argues that

These differences in storytelling technique suggest that contemporary refinements in Spanish narrative and perhaps especially the play of perspectives increasingly developed in the popular theater of the time may have influenced the Morisco retelling of the tale. This is just another reminder that even as the Moriscos endeavored to preserve their Islamic cultural heritage, they were marked by the artistic and aesthetic environment in Spain.²²¹

²²⁰ This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

²²¹ L.M. Alvarez, “Prophecies and Apocalypse in Sixteenth Century Morisco Writings and the Wondrous Tale of Tamīm Al-Dārī,” *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007) 566-601. p. 584.

Through her careful and detailed analysis, Alvarez is able to demonstrate that the scribe of this tale, while writing a distinctly Islamic eschatological narrative complete with appearances by the Prophet Muhammad, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Khidr, Ilyās, good and evil *jinn* and the *dajjāl* (imposter, anti-Christ)²²², adds sophisticated literary embellishments in his version which are absent in contemporary versions from North Africa. Alvarez also demonstrates how certain key passages may reveal allusions to contemporary Iberian developments such as Tamīm al-Dārī’s captors forbidding his ritual prayers and reading of the Qur’ān, features absent from the N.African version.²²³

Alvarez’s study deftly avoids the issue of ‘sources’ by not seeking origins but rather focussing on how this text reflects the contemporary style of storytelling that was prevalent in the sixteenth century. This does not appear to be an isolated case or singular moment in Morisco engagement with wider literary developments in Spanish, as even their post expulsion manuscripts include allusions and references, even analysis of prominent Spanish authors. One such instance is in the case of a manuscript in Tunisia in which the author combines the works of Lope de Vega and the fifteenth century North African mystic, Aḥmad Zarrūq.²²⁴

Without explicitly stating it as her aim, Alvarez utilises a methodology similar to Schoeler, approaching the manuscripts in her study as part of wider, shared intellectual spaces. This allows her and others like her to move beyond a frame of 'originals' and 'copies' but instead sees the Moriscos and their writings as part of a dynamic textual world, which shaped the ways in which they wrote and composed their manuscripts and to which they in turn contributed. The composition of their manuscripts demonstrates a textual stage between predominantly oral or written, and this view allows us to not only understand the manuscripts themselves, but also enables a more fruitful approach to the study of their contents.

²²² The *dajjāl* is a figure of Islamic eschatology who opposes Jesus (ʿĪsā), developed in *ḥadīth* literature.

²²³ As in many Morisco tales however, Tamīm is delivered from his trials through his steadfast belief and adherence to the Qur’ān.

²²⁴ Jaime Oliver Asín, “Morisco de Túnez, Admirador de Lope,” *Al-Andalus: Revista de Las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid Y Granada* 1, no. 2 (1933): 409–50. 409–450.

This chapter highlights the interface between the linguistic and literary milieus in which the Moriscos lived and the language and composition of their devotional manuscripts. In the languages of their extant manuscripts, we see how the use of Aljamiado not only reflected a distinction from the Romance speaking Christian Spain in which the Morisco lived, but also a simultaneous participation in its development. The aural neutrality of the script was a means for Morisco communities to at once engage with the Islamic contents of their manuscripts in Spanish idioms. This critically highlights the importance of considering the wider contexts when examining Morisco devotional manuscripts, evidenced once again by the compositional diversity present within their extant devotional manuscripts. The variance exhibited at levels of composition, including the physical features of the codices as well as the arrangement of the contents, speak to the ways Moriscos incorporated an array of styles and literary traditions from the wider milieu in which they lived. Applying Schoeler's notions of textual transmission in the sixteenth century Iberian milieu, allows us to view Morisco manuscripts outside a framework of linear textual transmission with regard to authorship and sources, and instead contextualise their composition in the oral, written and aural world in which they were compiled. While the possibility of referring to them as scribes, authors, copyists, compilers or writers are all present within their texts, scribe and/or writer seems to allow for the most general notion of authorship, catering to copying, as well as compiling, composing and also glossing.²²⁵ By considering these factors when approaching a detailed study of their devotional manuscripts, we are able to move beyond a simplistic understanding of the Moriscos as mere passive copyists and conveyers of information. Instead, we see them as active participants in a dramatic but gradual shift in the reading/writing/book owning practices of the inhabitants of the early modern Mediterranean.

²²⁵ Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 238.

CHAPTER THREE

Content I: Beyond 'Crypto-Muslims'

We tend to attribute the Moriscos' interests in producing their devotional manuscripts as part of a last effort to hold on to Islam in spite of their supposed intellectual and linguistic isolation from both the dominant Catholic Spain in which they lived and their Muslim co-religionists, rather than as part of burgeoning process of increased engagement with using the vernacular, writing and textual production. Building from the findings of the previous chapters, the remaining two chapters turn to the contents of Morisco devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth century, examining what they reveal about the communities who wrote and owned them. By means of a sample of six manuscripts from the Junta Collection, J 24, J 25, J 28, J 32, J 41 and J 56,²²⁶ I demonstrate that like the language and composition, the contents of their writings evidence that the Moriscos who wrote and owned these manuscripts were active participants in the literary and religious dynamism of the early modern Mediterranean.

While it is essential to broadly survey extant Morisco manuscripts from the sixteenth century to highlight aspects of their linguistic make-up and compositional variance, a detailed examination of the contents, requires a more focussed selection of manuscripts. The sheer scale of materials included within extant Morisco manuscripts necessitates choosing a group of codices which not only evidence the myriad devotional interests preserved in their works, but also allow us to investigate what these documents reveal about Morisco communities and the world(s) in which they lived. A lack of any one 'archetypical' Morisco devotional codex, renders this task far more complex than a simple exercise in choosing 'representative' manuscripts.

This chapter begins investigating the contents of sixteenth century Moriscos manuscripts by examining the ways the contents here exhort their audiences towards Islamic beliefs and practices and what this in turn reveals about Morisco religiosity. In order to introduce the manuscripts, the chapter begins with a discussion of the methodological approach involved in the selection of the six codices followed by brief

²²⁶ The full catalogue references are: M-CCHS RES Junta 24, M-CCHS RES Junta 25, M-CCHS RES Junta 28, M-CCHS RES Junta 32, M-CCHS RES Junta 41, M-CCHS RES Junta 56. For the purposes of brevity I refer to them as "J #" throughout. For descriptions see, Ribera and Asín Palacios, *Manuscritos Árabes y Aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*.

descriptions of their contents and the textual evidence pertaining to who these works may in fact represent. More detailed indices of the contents are provided in the Appendix. The chapter then turns to an analysis of their contents examining both the kinds of information that we find repeatedly prioritised within the texts as well as the ways in which that information is presented. Beginning at the level of exhortation and buttressed by a plethora of information regarding Sunni positive law, I demonstrate how the manuscripts emphasise the undertaking of Islamic devotions in their normative conditions rather than those stipulated for duress. I argue, that rather than finding evidence of a 'confused' religiosity we instead repeatedly encounter the multiple ways in which the texts both instruct in Islamic monotheism and encourage adherence to it. As such the Moriscos and their extant writings may be understood beyond a narrative that predominantly characterises them as crypto-Muslims.

Methodology and Introduction to the Selection: A Study of Six

As with language and composition, the contents of Morisco manuscripts do not easily lend themselves to categorisation. As discussed in the last chapter, the first question faced by a researcher concerns an examination of what manuscript experts typically categorise as 'uniform' versus 'unique', which often intersect within Morisco codices. Some of the uniform manuscripts from the Junta collection, for instance, date from earlier centuries and appear to have been carefully preserved by the Moriscos, but only as an inheritance and not as transcription projects of their own.²²⁷ Others, date from the sixteenth century, are in the hands of the Moriscos and are often interlaced with Aljamiado translations of all or various passages.²²⁸ Such copies of certain literary texts such as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, and the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭulaytulī to name only a few, regularly appear within Morisco manuscript collections.²²⁹ Similarly copies of *Içe de Gebir*

²²⁷ See for example MS J 21 which is an Arabic copy of a summary of al-Ghazālī's 'Revival of the Religious Sciences' and is dated from 1486. MS J 2 is an Arabic work of Mālikī positive law dated from 1457. See these described in the re-catalogued online digital manuscript@csic portal.

²²⁸ Castilla, "El Libro Manuscrito Entre Los Moriscos."

²²⁹ Even a glance through the catalogues gives this sense. See for instance some of these works described in Real Academia de la Historia (Spain), *Los Manuscritos Aljamiado-Moriscos de La Biblioteca de La Real Academia de La Historia: (legado Pascual de Gayangos)*, ed. Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Fuentes Catalográficas de Los Fondos Manuscritos de La Real Academia de La Historia (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998).

or the Mancebo de Arevalo's manuals on Islamic devotions also exist within extant Morisco collections, most often dated from the sixteenth century, and are written in both Romance language and script, and Aljamiado.²³⁰

Interestingly, despite the presence of these largely uniform literary texts and the apparent Morisco involvement in their production and copying, the more pervasive types of manuscripts present in extant collections are the varied documents, typical of private use within codicological studies. It seems unlikely then that Morisco communities utilised the more uniform texts as 'templates' for their own textual production of devotional manuscripts. Rather, what we find most often in their devotional manuscripts are contents that share many common features and subjects, but differ greatly with regard to how those contents are presented. Thus, as discussed in the previous chapter with regard to their composition, rather than seeing them as uniform or conversely unique, it is more helpful to view them on a wide spectrum of ways of presenting materials.

While a high degree of overlap exists with regard to themes, topoi and often even identical selections of text within the sixteenth century devotional manuscripts of the Moriscos, the lack of uniformity within the devotional manuscripts renders choosing any one codex as 'representative', an impossible task. Rather, what is required in a sample, are codices which highlight the opposite, the palpable absence of any 'typical' Morisco devotional manuscript. This key aspect of extant Morisco devotional manuscripts must drive any textual selection for study, and yet it is precisely this feature that makes choosing a sample so difficult. Any selection must at once represent overall trends as well as individual cases and highlight the appearance of regularly repeating topoi and subjects while also demonstrating the variances in presentation and detail. The selected manuscripts must be similar enough to yield fruitful comparison yet this risks the exclusion of certain kinds of content, as some manuscripts simply do not share enough common features with others. Furthermore as one of the chief aims of the present study includes generating a more clear picture of the social contexts of the manuscripts, the sample must also enable a view into the kinds of intellectual engagements that, I argue, were apparent in the language, composition and contents of their devotional manuscripts.

The bound manuscripts of the Junta Collection numbering over sixty items

²³⁰ MS J 2 is the *Tafçira* of the Mancebo Arevalo, MS J 60 is a Romance copy of the *Breviario Sunni* of Içe de Gebir (although it is not original to the Almonacid collection and was added later) and MS J 1 is an Aljamiado version of the same text.

constitute an ideal subset of texts in which to concentrate such a comparative study. As mentioned in the Introduction, these manuscripts were all discovered as a single cache, buried beneath a false floor in the Almonacid de la Sierra in Zaragoza and they overwhelmingly consist of devotional materials. Furthermore, as the largest collection of extant Morisco manuscripts, the range and breadth of materials is both broad and varied. While it is possible to argue that choosing a collection from one location has the potential to limit the findings to only a particular community, I propose the opposite. If even in one collection the texts are so varied, this reveals much about the diversity of even one community. Furthermore, as we often encounter similar kinds of textual phenomena across collections, the implications for the wider corpus of extant Morisco manuscripts from other regions and communities are profound.²³¹

The textual selection presented here must extend beyond an exhaustive list of specific subject or themes within the devotional manuscript of the Junta Collection. As the primary aim of the present study concerns generating a better understanding of the Moriscos in their wider contexts, the selection must convey a sense of the individual cases as *part of* overall trends, thereby representing the devotional manuscripts beyond an inventory of interesting or 'quirky' phenomena. This necessitates choosing manuscripts which contain largely overlapping contents by which to compare the both subtle and more overt differences in presentation, in order to determine how even in remarkably similar content, the variances point to many possibilities for their roles in the lives of these communities of early modern Mediterranean writers.

The six manuscripts selected here reflect all of these criteria. At first glance, the selected six manuscripts appear to be overwhelmingly similar with minor exceptions, yet the descriptions and analysis in this chapter demonstrate the multiple variations within the selection. These six manuscripts do not by any means represent the only manuscripts that could satisfy the criteria for the present study, yet in surveying the different manuscripts of the Junta collection, they share enough overlapping material as to make a comparison between them viable and fruitful. Furthermore they also contain several different kinds of commonly appearing materials such as passages of the Qur'ān, numerous

²³¹ While there is not sufficient space at present to go into a detailed comparison, one need only examine the manuscript descriptions from the various catalogues of Morisco collections, in order to notice the overwhelmingly similar kinds of content that repeat throughout the collections.

narrations and Prophetic sayings (*aḥādīth*), an example of a text of sermons (*khuṭba*), prayers, supplications, invocations and multiple incarnations of devotional praise formulae and calendrical material, to name a few. Finally, these six manuscripts also present fruitful examples of how Morisco devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth century criss-cross 'genres', sources, issues of authorship, and most of all, raise numerous possibilities for their use and role within the communities to whom they belonged. Any sample selection must necessarily be undertaken at the exclusion of others, and thus these six manuscripts do not represent a complete cross section of devotional materials, but rather cases by which to begin to understand overall trends and an entry point for further study.

Having chosen a selection of manuscripts for detailed analysis, the next challenge facing a researcher involves describing their contents. The language, composition and multiple ways of presenting contents preclude any single way of describing them. The challenge begins at the level of merely identifying a work within Morisco manuscripts. For instance certain passages within the six manuscripts selected here are clearly titled and can be referred to as such in a catalogue description. However, in other cases without clearly noticeable titles, it falls to the researcher to identify whether a title can be applied, such as a particular chapter of the Qur'ān for instance, or to simply catalogue the text with a description of the contents such as '*aḥādīth*', as often occurs in the Junta Collection catalogue at present. This poses a problem in that often the title or category we apply to such a work may generate assumptions about its role. If narrations or *aḥādīth* passages that we find in the present selection, for instance, occur as part of instructions for the performance of ritual prayer or the giving of alms, is it not more accurate to title these texts as such and not merely, 'narrations'? The issue here involves adequately describing the contents of such materials without applying external categories.

In order to describe the contents of the present textual selection in a way that captures a sense of the material included within a particular manuscript, but also stays as true as possible to the titles and categories of the Moriscos themselves, I adopt a slightly more cumbersome approach to the index descriptions of each manuscript, than those offered by the current catalogue. Building from the current catalogue, I include more information about the summary of the contents as well. I also include the presence of marginal headings of the scribe or Morisco reader within a manuscript with indications as to the particular subject or category that they themselves appeared to have used. Textual breaks and blank pages are also included as part of the contents as often they assist in

determining the start and finish of particular sections of text. In this way, I aim to describe the contents of each of the six manuscripts selected here, J 24, J 25, J 28, J 32, J 41 and J 56 by limiting artificial categorisation wherever possible. The following tables, provides a brief comparative introduction to the manuscripts in the current selection.

<p>J 24</p>	<p>This manuscript is composed of eighty eight folios bound together in smaller bundles and held together between heavily deteriorated parchment. While the majority of content in J 24 is written in either Arabic, both language and script, or Aljamiado, the manuscript also contains a single folio of Romance language and script. This codex represents an example from Morisco manuscript collections of a work which combines multi-subject devotional content along with personal documents, in this case, the accounts of one Juan Meçod. It is also an example of a manuscript which contains the works of multiple hands. Its contents include, the aforementioned accounts of this merchant, supplications, passages of Qur’ān, the performance of ritual prayer (ṣalāt), and calendrical material regarding praiseworthy acts to be performed on each day of the week.</p>
<p>J 25</p>	<p>This manuscript contains 184 folios arranged in quires, as is usually the case, with the original hard binding preserved which includes two fabric ribbons to tie the two ends together. In contrast with manuscript J 24, this codex appears to be more carefully arranged and is in the hand of a single scribe. It contains both Arabic and Aljamiado, with the Arabic mostly limited to the verses of the Qur’ān and scattered formulaic phrases throughout, while the majority of the manuscript is composed in Aljamiado. The content of J 25 consists of three discernible focal points, ayas and suras from the Qur’ān, sermons for various occasions such as Friday prayers and the two 'Īd prayers and the manner and performance of ritual worship. As part of the sample of Morisco writings presented here, this manuscript represents the single ‘handed’ Morisco manuscripts of the sixteenth century which, like J 24, represent a multi subject work of devotion, but in a neatly presented and carefully arranged manner.</p>
<p>J 28</p>	<p>This manuscript consists of 152 folios arranged in quires within a preserved hard binding without cover flap. The codex contains both Arabic and Aljamiado. Like J 25, this manuscript is written in the hand of a single, unknown scribe. The manuscript is carefully written (neat hand), produced (care with vocalisations</p>

	<p>etc.) and preserved (not many signs of damage or deterioration). Its contents include Qur'ānic chapters and verses, precepts and prayers for the performance of ritual washing and ritual prayer, calendrical material on the order and benefits of each month in the Islamic calendar and a final section on the benefits of the Friday prayer. This manuscript is another example of a multi-subject devotional work, written in a single hand, and carefully produced, with special attention to providing its audience with dispensations in times of hardship.</p>
J 32	<p>This manuscript contains 150 folios in what the cataloguers have identified as eight smaller notebooks made up of different materials and of varying sizes, bound together in a largely preserved although deteriorated binding. The majority of the manuscript consists of Aljamiado, although Arabic is interspersed regularly within the Aljamiado and several texts, such as the supplications and Qur'ānic passages, containing large whole sections of Arabic. The manuscript also contains one half of a folio of Romance. Within the present selection, J 32 represents the kinds of manuscripts found within Morisco collections which are written by several, anonymous hands, and contain a staggering array of devotional materials. It is a particularly illustrative example of texts lacking titles, categories and immediately discernible structures, and raises important questions as to how researchers may approach such codices. Its wide ranging contents include 'chapters' on various devotional topics such as the merits of certain parts of the Qur'ān, what to say in the days, weeks and months of the Islamic calendar, praiseworthy acts of worship and an array of sundry entries related to what would in Arabic legal works, be treated as matters of worship (‘ <i>ibadāt</i>) and transactional relations (<i>mu'amalāt</i>). Within the present selection J 32 perhaps best highlights questions related to genre, authorship, and discoverable utility.</p>
J 41	<p>Within a heavily deteriorated binding, this manuscript contains 200 folios across three unequal length fragments. It consists of both Aljamiado and Arabic, although Arabic is the more prevalent language of the two. Several different hands are responsible for the texts within the manuscript, and while the first two fragments appear to be the works of two different scribes, the second fragment in the middle of the manuscript, contains the contributions of two or three different hands, with the third fragment also in the hand of a different scribe. The largest fragment of over 100 folios is the second one written predominantly in Arabic. It</p>

	<p>consists of supplications, invocations, praise formulae, and numerous narrations and passages from the Qur'ān . The third fragment consists of over fifty folios of only Qur'ānic verses in Arabic. The shortest fragment is the first one which contains a supplication in Aljamiado for water. Within the present selection, J 41 represents another example of a work written by many hands, which consists of an array of both careful and more 'hurried' presentations of the contents.</p>
J 56	<p>This manuscript consists of seventy-five folios of various devotional materials written by at least two unknown scribes. This manuscript is striking for several reasons. Firstly, its size is much smaller than most of the other manuscripts in the collection measuring only 7.5x5.5cm.²³² It is also an interesting example of a well preserved 'near Eastern binding', with a coverflap intact. It contains both Aljamiado and Arabic, both as the main text and as headings. The contents of this manuscript predominantly focus on prayers, supplications, invocations, formulae, and contain a few verses of the Qur'ān as part of larger texts and not as stand alone texts. Within the present selection, J 56 represents the kind of more carefully produced Morisco devotional manuscripts, written by one or more scribes, and utilising primarily Aljamiado for supplications as opposed to the Arabic ones found in J 41, for instance. Its lack of Qur'ānic verses as stand alone texts also indicates interesting possibilities for the role and function of these kinds of manuscripts within Morisco communities.</p>

Obtaining a Sense of Who Engaged with these Manuscripts

In order to make a claim about communities based on their writings, it is first incumbent to establish the levels of interface within a particular codex. The six manuscripts here aptly demonstrate how within the extant devotional works of the Moriscos, we encounter numerous layers of engagement. First and foremost and most plainly visible in the manuscripts, are the primary writers of the main contents. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Morisco works typically exhibit one or more handwriting contributions. In the manuscripts here, J 25, J 28 and J 56 are composed by a single hand respectively while J 24, J 32 and J 41 are composed by multiple hands.²³³ As all of the

²³² See description of the MS provided in manuscripts@cscic.

²³³ See the Appendix for where the hands change and how many hands have been identified within

manuscripts here are anonymous, the information we have about their writers remains limited despite the noteworthy efforts of experts in Morisco codicology and palaeography who have identified links between the writers of certain manuscripts.²³⁴ While illuminating the potential for further study into the scribal practices of these communities, we cannot at this point clearly discern the mechanisms by which many of these works were compiled, especially those composed by more than one writer.

Despite this dearth of information, what is significant here, is first, the very presence of numerous writers, and second, the fact that they do not adhere to a uniform style of writing and presenting information. Section I of the supplementary data following the Appendix includes several examples of the different hands we find in the manuscripts here, demonstrating how this lack of standardisation is apparent at a visual level before even turning to the variance in the contents. As the predominant layer of interface we find in the contents, the writers are in and of themselves the first indication of diversity within the manuscripts, evidencing the wide range of ways in which those who wrote these works engaged with the very process of writing and compiling devotional works.

In addition to the primary writers of the main contents we regularly find notes or pieces of writing which accompany or appear alongside the main text, which suggest yet another level of interface within the manuscripts. To researchers of Morisco manuscripts these notes are a familiar sight, appearing sometimes in the hand of the scribe of the main text and in other instances, as the contributions of other hands. Section II of the supplementary data contains examples of some of the ways these 'meta'-textual interactions appear in the six manuscripts here, including translations and glosses, notes, headings, flagging of particular material and pen exercises to name only a few. These kinds of notes raise many possibilities not only about who may have used these works but also about the contexts in which they may have been used.

The examples shown in the supplement for instance, clearly depict the ambiguity involved in determining at what stage, under what circumstances and by whom these kinds of notes may have been included in these manuscripts. For example in the sections from J

each of the works respectively.

²³⁴ For an example of such careful scholarship, see the recent contributions of N. Castilla. As a key figure in the recataloguing of the Junta Collection, Castilla's research in this area has produced many fruitful results, see for instance, Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, "Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain," June 1, 2014.

32, the notes may be the result of the scribe of this section merely changing his pen in order to flag a particular point, or perhaps the contribution of one of the other scribes of the manuscript. If the notes are indeed the labour of one of the scribes, even if we knew which scribe added the notes, we still cannot determine whether they were included at the time of writing the main text, or at some later instance, as part of a rereading or editing process, or perhaps for study or teaching purposes. Another possibility altogether may be that a reader of the manuscript, separate to those responsible for the compilation, added the notes as part of his/her personal use or as part of a didactic setting in which the works were taught or studied.²³⁵ The demonstrable ambiguity in a single note alone, raises numerous possibilities as to the kinds of circumstances and settings in which these manuscripts may have been used and by whom.

These possibilities only increase as we encounter notes which are more clearly written in the hands of those other than the scribes of the manuscript like those pictured from J 41. In these cases, the 'meta'-textual evidence indicates that persons other than the writers of the main texts engaged with the codex in some context(s). Thus, while in some instances the writer(s) and 'user(s)' were likely one in the same, in other instances, such as the example from J 41, they appear to be distinct. The very fact that at least some manuscripts actively evidence the collective engagements of the writers of the works and those who received them indicates that different people were able to interact with the codices at numerous levels, and importantly, that the contents of these manuscripts are not just representative of their writers and compilers.

The Call to Worship and The Tools to Do So

Most of the material within these devotional manuscripts overwhelmingly concerns Islamic beliefs and practices. Most scholars examine this as a kind of 'survival tool-kit' in

²³⁵ Some Morisco scholars such as Barletta for instance, argue that the presence of these kinds of notes in and around the main text of the manuscript he examines, represent a kind of plurality of voices in which we may see the *alfaquiues*, the learned, the non-learned and even the children who were most likely the users of the particular codex studied by Barletta. Barletta puts forward a case that the manuscript he examines and others like it were most likely used for didactic purposes, hence the markings of the Aragonese children who, he argues, 'studied' the manuscript. See: Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, 87–89.

their life as crypto Muslims. What I aim to demonstrate here, is that the contents of these works indicate far less of a demonstrable interest in their 'situation' and instead reflect a more pervasive focus on 'normative' Islamic beliefs and practices. This in turn corroborates the diversity already noted in Chapter One with regard to their historical experiences; Here in these works which overwhelmingly prioritise discussion of Islamic beliefs and practices with an emphasis on the 'normative' situation, we see that the 'crisis' was not the only preoccupation of their communities. Beginning at the discernment of textual foci, what we see repeatedly prioritised within Morisco devotional writings from the sixteenth century, is an emphasis on exhortations towards an active devotional life firmly rooted in Islamic beliefs and practices, explanations of what that devotional life entails and the providing of the tools necessary for its undertaking.²³⁶

One of the clearest examples of how this takes place within the manuscripts is in the sermon passages of J 25.²³⁷ The reader/hearer of this particular manuscript is presented with eighty-two folios divided into four sections of sermons for the occasions of *īd al-aḍḥā* (festival of the sacrifice), *jum'ā* (Friday prayer), *īd al-fitr* (festival of breaking the fast) and *laylat'l-qadr* (the night of power). While the sermons for Friday and the 'night of power' appear to be single tracts respectively, the sermons of the two *īds* are 'separated' or punctuated in several places by an honorific recited during the days of *īd* consisting of the phrase *Allāhu Akbar* (sig. *takbīr*, pl. *takbīrāt*).²³⁸ Given the presence of these *takbīrāt*, it is not

²³⁶ This point is underscored by Casassas Canales' work examining Morisco religious life. He outlines some of the key devotional materials we regularly encounter in Morisco writings as well as providing useful translations of certain Aljamiado supplications, into Spanish. See, Xaiver Casassas Canales *Los Siete Alhaicales y otras plegarias aljamiadas de mudéjars y moriscos* (Almuzara, 2007).

²³⁷ The language particularities here are worth noting with the Friday sermons and those for the *īds* titled '*khuṭbas*', whereas the 'night of power' text is referred to as '*predicación*'. MS J 25, Ff. 100v, 149r, 154v and 174v. Similarly worth mentioning are the Aljamiado renderings of the Arabic phrases, *jumu'ā* for the Ar. *jum'ā* for instance, or *aḍḥāes* for the Arabic *aḍḥā*.

²³⁸ This is known as the *takbīr al-tashrīk*. The Qur'ānic imperative is claimed by Q. BAQARA 2: 203 Difference of opinion exists between the Sunni schools of law regarding its number, time of recitation and upon the other minute details, but in general it is recited on the eve of the two *īds* and up to three days after. For more see, from the Hanafi school: "SeekersGuidance - The Fiqh of Eid Al-Fitr & Eid Al-Adha – Answers," accessed April 23, 2014, <http://seekersguidance.org/ans-blog/2010/09/04/the-fiqh-of-eid-al-fitr-eid-al-adha/>. Also see the chapter on the two *īds* from

immediately clear whether these are a series of shorter sermons or one lengthy sermon each. The sermons generally follow similar patterns beginning with doxology and then moving on to specific exhortations and instructions to the audience on matters of piety, interspersed with invocations, supplications and quotations from the Qur'ān or Prophetic narrations (*aḥādīth*), and/or other more general narrations or scriptural allusions.²³⁹

As the performative aspect *par excellence* of Islamic liturgy, sermons often enable views into agendas that in other contexts may be more difficult to discern. That sermons were included in this manuscript is itself interesting, given the climate of legal proscription of undertaking public acts of devotion such as gathering for a prayer let alone 'īd prayer. What is even more intriguing is that these sermons articulate the fundamental precepts of Islam as well as its most integral ritual and devotional obligations, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

EXAMPLE DOXOLOGY FROM SERMONS OF ĪD AL-ADḤĀ

101v: "...All praise be to *Allāh* who sent down, to his servant, His book and did not put in it any crookedness [in understanding]. [It is] straight, to warn them... / 102r And to warn those who say *Allāh* has taken a son, they do not have knowledge, nor do their forbearers (*padres*), Eternal is He, it was a word that has come from their mouths, they do not say it but that they lie, praises be to *Allāh*, in the Heavens and the earth..."²⁴⁰

102v *Allāhu Akbar* (God is Greater)... *Akbaru kabīran*, Grand is His Sublimity and how blessed is God, mornings and evenings, how blessed is He the Lord of Dominion (*eldelsrreyismo*) and power, how blessed is He the one of honour and the proud, how blessed is / 103r The Eternal, how blessed is The Living, The Enduring, He who does not die. Then how blessed is Allah at dusk and at dawn. And to Him be all praises in the heavens and the earth, and at night and at mid day. He draws life from death and draws death from life,

the *Muwatta* in -795. Mālik ibn Anas, *Al-Muwatta*, trans. 'A'isha 'Abdarahman at-Tarjumana and Ya'qub Johnson (Norwich: Diwan, 1982).

²³⁹ While overwhelmingly these are direct quotations are from the Qur'ān, there is one instance in the *pedricacion de laylatu'l-qadr* in which the Biblical parable of the prodigal son is narrated, along with references within the texts to the '*injīl*' (lit. Gospel) and the '*tawra*' or Torah.

²⁴⁰ This is actually an Aljamiado rendering here of Q. KAHF 18:1-5.

and revives the earth after it was dead, and like so He will revive you from it,²⁴¹ how blessed is your Lord, the Lord of Honour...

‘IBĀDĀT: RELIGIOUS OBLIGATIONS: ṢALĀT, ZAKĀT/SADAQA (CHARITY), ḤAJJ, JIHĀD

107r Servants of *Allāh*, *Allāh* show mercy upon you. *Allāh tabāraka wa ta‘ālā* has mandated obligations and commands, He does not receive [you] without them and He is not satisfied with His servants without them. The first of them is the oneness of *Allāh tabāraka wa ta‘ālā* and to believe as certain (*atorgar*) His Lordship (*señorio*) and belief in His *almalakes* (angels), and His scriptures and His messengers and that you confirm this as true ²⁴² in what is apparent / 107v and what is internal²⁴³...

107v The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings upon him said, be guardians of your *aṣala'es* (ritual prayers) and *laṣala* is half / 108r _?_ the pillar of our *dīn* and the way/path of our law, and the first that is seen of our deeds. *Allāh ‘azza wa jalla* has said, maintain the prayer for the prayer, upon believers, is a firm obligation. The Prophet *‘alayhi al-salām* said that the likeness of the *ṣala* of the five *aṣala'es* is like a sweet-seller that passes by one of your windows every day, five times... like so is the completion of the five *aṣala'es*, with your *wūḍu'es* (ritual ablution) and with the completion of your *arrak‘amientos* (cycles of prayer) and your *asajdaminetos* (prostration), performed with humility and maintained. *Allāh tabāraka wa ta‘ālā*, says they are the fortunate, the believers who in their *aṣala'es* are humble (*umillados*) in awe (*temorança*)²⁴⁴

109v: Narrated by the messenger of Allah..[benediction]..those who cease to

²⁴¹ Similarly, this is from Q. RŪM 30:19.

²⁴² *Averdadeçer*: in *Aljamiado Morisco dictionary*, is translated without a doubt as a calque for the Arabic, *ṣaddaqa*, or confirm as truth.

²⁴³ Similarly this looks to be a calque for *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*.

²⁴⁴ I think this is more like a calque for *khashya'*, to do with the notion of *khusū'* or the state of reverence desired in acts of worship expounded by Muslim authors. See for instance a recent commentary on this subject in Samir Mahmoud, “The Paradigmatic Nature of the Ritual Prayer (Ṣalāt) in Ibn ‘Arabī” (University of Cambridge. Faculty of Divinity, n.d.).

love (desadores) the prayer, no faith is theirs, nor charity to them, nor *alasalām* for them, and they do not reap the benefits of the words *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, nor the testimony that there is no god except Allāh, and Allāh curses them in this world and the other, and the *almalakas* (angels)²⁴⁵ curse them in every hour of the prayer, a hundred curses...

111r From the messenger of Allah [benediction] the *ṣadaqa* (charitable alms) given in secret, /111v is better than the *sadaqa* which is public

111v And perform the *ḥaj* [sic] to the sacred (*reverente*) house of Allah whoever has the ability to go there in this path.

112r the Prophet *‘alayhi issalām* [sic] whoever dies at the end of battle or in the end of the month of Ramaḍān or in the end of the *ḥaj*, dies a *shāhid* [sic] (martyr). And perform *jihād* in the service of Allāh...go to battle in *fi sabīli illāh* [sic] and kill and kill them and His promise about this is true in the *tawrā* and the *linjīl* and in the *alqur’ān*, and who keeps a promise more than Allāh?

163: Know [oh] servants of Allāh that to Allāh there are obligations upon us that He has mandated, and teachings (*señales*) upon us that are obligatory, thus the first of them is belief in Allāh and his angels...[continues as before] and in the day of judgement and all that has been narrated (*rrazono*) by our / 163v Prophet Muḥammad *ṣalā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*. And *Allāhu ta’alā* has said it is an obligation to follow our Prophet and what has been brought by our Messenger so take of it, and what we have obligated upon him, be obligated by it...164r And *ṣala* has been obligated upon us by God...and of its *shar‘a/sharḥ?* [either rules or explanation] is to complete to complete [sic] *elṭahor* externally and internally (*pareçiente iyentirinsiko*) to perform *laṣala* and to guard it with a present heart and be humble in it...and *elazakā* is together in the Qur’ān with *laṣala* and it is the pardoner (*amaḥador*) of our sins... / 164v...Among the obligations of *lazakā* is the one of *lazakā delalfiṭra*, that is at the completion of the fast of *ramaḍan*, and Allāh has obligated it upon all believers of Islām.

²⁴⁵ This word is usually written as *almalakes* in Aljamiado, however here it is written *almalakas*.

112v-113: And obey Allah in what He has commanded you by obedience to your father and mother. [commence several folios on this theme with prophetic narrations, followed by the rights of neighbours(114r-v) and strangers (115r)]...115v and guard against false pledges... it is of the mortal sins.

118r Men are the maintainers of women...treat them gently and with quietude.../119v the best of what is given in the *rizq* of a believer is a good woman, she who when he looks at her, rejoices, and when she is asked, she obeys, and when he is absent from her she guards his honour.../ 119v and the best among you all is the one is best to his women, and the best of companions is a good women, and Allāh has put nothing more loathed by me than the *ṭalaqar* (divorcing), and God loathes all who divorce (*ṭalaqadorades*) without cause...

[In a later khutba, the same theme is repeated]

166r: And sisters / 166v and daughters, in them is great, redoubled reward and good (*alḥasanas*), like our Prophet Muḥammad [benediction] has said, there is no one that does well by our three daughters, that will not enter *aljenna*, and do good to your women and be companions to them with intention (*rrazon*) because they are mediators/middle-brokers between us and loyalty to Allāh.

122r-v:...It is *ḥaram* [sic] upon you to slander the chaste/blameless by advancing false accusations (*debantar(adelantar-present) falsiyas*) and it is *haram* to marry [your] mothers and sisters and daughters, and those who are forbidden and those who have been forbidden. It is *ḥaram* to mock or belittle.../123r [narration]: God has forbidden of seven enormities? (*desturuyentes*) They said, and what are they oh messenger of Allāh, he said, to put a partner(*aparcerero*) with Allāh, and killing one that God has forbidden the killing of without right (*derecho*), and consuming interest, and consuming anything of the orphans without reason, and defaming the blameless and ignorant (*norantes*) and drinking wine, and *zina* (fornication), and guard carefully...against consuming interest, for it is the practice of the disbelievers...

162r: and [wine] is *ḥaram* upon those of *Islām* and it is the key to many bad things and disobedience. And whoever drinks it in this world and does not repent it, he will not drink of it in the other world...

171r: The messenger of Allah [benediction] has said, proclaim the greetings of peace (publicad la salam) and give food/sustenance to the poor and draw near/help parents, and perform the night prayer while the people are asleep and you will enter *aljenna* with peace.

Immediately noticeable within the sample passages presented here, is the absence of the dissimulative tendency so regularly ascribed to the Moriscos and their writings. The main tenets of the Islamic faith and devotional obligations not only lie at the forefront of each of the sermons, but are continuously reiterated, reinforcing the particular take-away message in different ways. Without any attempt to diminish or 'water-down' this message, the key ideas are presented within a series of quotations from scripture and *aḥādīth* which repeatedly underscore the unity or one-ness of God (*tawḥīd*), as well as outlining several of the most significant religious obligations incumbent upon Muslims, referring to them as 'pillars'.

In this view, the contents of the sermons of J 25 would be at home in many Islamic contexts.²⁴⁶ A particularly striking example of this is noticeable in the 'Preaching for the Night of Power', in which several narrations attributed to Jesus are incorporated, including

²⁴⁶ While much can be said on the huge array of oratory in Muslim history in the form of preaching, exhorting, storytelling and advice giving long present in the Islamic west, see by way of example: Linda Jones, "Ibn 'Abbad of Ronda's Sermon on the Prophet's Birthday Celebration: Preaching the Sufi and Sunni Paths of Islam," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50, no. 1 (October 1, 2006): 31–49; Linda G. Jones, "Charisma and Religious Authority," in *Europa Sacra*, 2010, 19–47; Linda G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). Also, Noria Attou, "Los Sermones de Ibn Nubata, Según El Manuscrito Hallado En Almonacid de La Sierra," Thesis, (June 25, 2004), <http://eprints.ucm.es/9094/>. Regarding sermons and preaching in Islamic contexts more generally see, Jonathan Porter Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East (Publications on the Near East)* (University of Washington Press, 2001). Similar texts exist in much the Muslim world today, containing collections of *khutbas* either by well known scholars (such as Mawdūdī in Pakistan) or more generic books or websites with *khutbas* on a wide variety of topics.

what turns out to be a telling of the Biblical story of the parable of the prodigal son.²⁴⁷ At no point in these narrations or in the telling of the parable do we encounter any detour from Islamic notions of monotheism and the exhortations to uphold Islamic beliefs and practices. Rather than evidencing a kind of syncretism then, these allusions, particularly the Biblical parable, serve to buttress and further the specific theme under discussion in this sermon, namely, repentance to one God and the seeking of His grace during one of the most sacred nights in the Islamic calendar. Perhaps linguistic and/or codicology studies be able to determine whether the Moriscos incorporated this allusion into their sermon, or if it was already present in the oral/aural or written 'texts' they may have used to produce this manuscript. At this stage, it seems hasty to attribute this allusion to a desire on the Moriscos' part to 'disguise' or 'conceal' their message of Islamic monotheism (as we see no evidence of that in the sermon), or to a kind of syncretic religiosity. If anything, the narrations of Jesus and the telling of the parable in this Morisco manuscript, seem instead to speak to a long established textual tradition of incorporating the sayings of Jesus within Muslim theological texts.²⁴⁸

Even in this narration of a biblical parable, the sermons here have a clear imperative: to call their audience(s) to the precepts and obligations of Islam. The claim made by scholars then, that “the particularities of religion and co-habitation in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain produced hybrid religiosities that are neither entirely Muslim nor entirely Catholic...[and] Aljamiado and Morisco texts also highlight the issue of an undefined religiosity”²⁴⁹ seem to fall drastically short when describing these kinds of

²⁴⁷ The cataloguers of the Junta Collection were the first to point out the inclusion of this parable with the sermon of J 25 manuscript J25, 176v. The Aljamiado reads “...he stood up and he turned to his father, being separated from him. And his father saw him and seeing him afterwards he threw himself [into him] and hugged him and the son said to the father, Oh Father I have repented before Allah and before you. I do not deserve to be called your son.

²⁴⁸ Many of the earliest written Islamic sources make reference to sayings attributed to Jesus, including those narrated as parts of dialogue within the *ḥadīth* literature. In later sources, such as in Al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* for instance, allusions to these sayings often occur. A very useful summation of these sayings and their context within Islamic sources is provided in Tarif Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Harvard University Press, 2001).

²⁴⁹ The article while providing a highly useful transliteration and translation of the Muftī of Oran's fatwā contains a lengthy context section which focusses on the themes on Morisco religious hybridity as a result of their 'constant interplay between dissimulation and simulation'. The

contents. Contrary to espousing a murky or blurred religiosity, these exhortations spend the largest part of their pages reiterating a belief in one God without associates and describing the fundamentals of Islamic worship, both the ritual obligations, *‘ibadāt* and the transactional obligations, *mu‘āmalāt*. In other words, they offer a resoundingly clear articulation of Islamic monotheism and its associated practices.²⁵⁰

Establishing Normativity

Taken on their own, these exhortations may do little else than convey that at least among those with the ability to engage with the written word, there was an emphasis on teaching and disseminating knowledge of Islamic beliefs and practices, with a particular focus on the Islamic ceremonies. However, when examined holistically within the manuscripts they are a part of, we find that these kinds of exhortations are not made as hollow pleas in a vacuum, but as part of broader, more comprehensive collections of information which expand and clarify the specific instructions presented in the sermons. If the only ritual worship texts we found in Morisco collections were these sermons and other 'calls' to worship it would be difficult to make a claim about any overarching trend within their devotional manuscripts. When we further examine the codices we find that not only do we encounter more of these more general calls to maintain Islamic beliefs and develop a pattern of devotions but also, the tools necessary for their undertaking.

Texts which explicate Islamic devotions and aspects of *‘ibadāt* and *mu‘āmalāt* within classical Islamic literature generally come under the umbrella of 'positive law' or *fiqh* (lit. understanding).²⁵¹ Within extant Morisco literature, identifying these texts as works of *fiqh*

quotes above are two examples from the whole, Maria del Mar Rosa-Rodriguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa," *Medieval Encounters* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 146, 153, doi:10.1163/138078510X12535199002758.

²⁵⁰ In Islamic jurisprudence, acts of worship are often distinguished into these two categories.

Defining these terms has been the subject of active debate among classical Islamic theologians, as well as modern scholars. Within classical jurisprudence there is an understanding that *‘ibadāt* refer to *huqūq Allah* or 'the rights of God' and *mu‘āmalāt* refer to *huqūq al-‘ibād* 'the rights of worshipers'. Thus *‘ibādāt* refers to all matters of worship not dealing with transactions and human relations.

²⁵¹ Specifically this literature is referred to as the branches of positive law or *furū’ al-fiqh*, with the two 'branches' of ritual and transactional obligations leading to other more intricate and technically specific branches. A second body of literature dealing with the derivation of these

is a more complex task, as the Moriscos do not appear to have used such terms to describe these kinds of contents. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, this is significant considering that whole works of *fiqh* certainly appear in the Morisco collections. The presence of such works at the very least attests that an awareness of the genre of *fiqh*, must have existed among some of the Moriscos to whom these manuscripts belonged, especially considering the frequent appearance of the term most commonly used to refer to one of the four Sunni schools of positive law or '*madhhab*' (and its Aljamiado derivatives) within Morisco writings.

This is rendered even more complex when turning to the manuscripts here as we discover that the kinds of positive law that we do come across in Morisco devotional manuscripts, tend to prioritise information pertaining to practice, rather than maintenance of the formal aspects of the genre of *fiqh* or its more theoretical side dealing with derivation or *usūl*. Thus while we do not regularly encounter whole, chaptered volumes of *fiqh* on their own written by a Morisco scribe, we do encounter within their manuscripts, the topics that would regularly come under its auspices. That the Moriscos were interested in the minutiae of Islamic positive law is in and of itself interesting given what we understand to be the difficulties many must have faced in its collection and writing down, let alone its implementation. This complexity only increases as we explore the contents in detail and discover that the overwhelming focus within the manuscripts concerns the explication of Islamic devotions with reference to positive law under 'normative' conditions and proportionally far less emphasis on the dispensation or *rukḥṣa* (pl. *rukḥṣ*) for specific conditionally dependent circumstances. This is entirely surprising as the historical situations of Morisco communities would seemingly facilitate the reverse, with the emphasis on the conditionally authorised dispensation rather than the legal ruling in its 'original force' (*ʿazīma*).²⁵²

rulings, or jurisprudence, is known as *usūl al-fiqh* or sources of positive law (lit. roots of understanding). A simplified way of understanding the internationality of this can be seen as: *usūl al-fiqh* → *fiqh* → *furūʿ*. For more on these categories and how they are discussed in the wider literature see the comprehensive introduction to Islamic legal theory in Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni Usul Al-Fiqh* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁵² Felicitas Meta Maria Opwis, *Maṣlaḥah and the Purpose of the Law: Islamic Discourse on Legal Change from the 4th/10th to 8th/14th Century* (BRILL, 2010), 145.

Of the six manuscripts under study here, all place the largest focus upon normative devotional observance in their passages pertaining to the performance of rites and rituals, with limited interest in occasional, more general dispensations, and only two manuscripts, J 28 and J 32 including particular legal dispensations unarguably specific to the Moriscos. We examine these in more detail beginning with J 24 in the following passage:

J24 62v The *ṣalā* of the *ṣubḥi* (morning), its hour is the breaking of dawn and its closing is the coming out of the sun, slightly before. And it is two *arrak'ash* / 63r and [what is] to be read in each *arrak'a* [is] *alḥamdulillahi* and a *sūra*, the longest that is possible and before performing the *ṣala de ṣubḥī*, do the two *arraka'ash* of the dawn, in its hour read in each *arrak'ā*, *alḥamdu* and a *sūra*...²⁵³

This section of J 24 on ritual prayers contains instructions on the performance of the five prayers, only discussing the manner of their performance under 'normative' conditions with no mention of any dispensation(s) if one is not able to perform the prayers in their assigned hours or in the manner prescribed. This is also the case with many of the passages in J 32 where the dominant focus of the sections of ritual worship in this manuscript concentrate on the performance of 'act x' under normative conditions, for example:

J32 60v The obligatory *ṣala'es* are the five *aṣala'es*, the *ṣala de aṣubḥi* is two *arrak'as* with *alḥamdu* and a *sūra*, each one is read publicly (aloud) and clearly, and its hour is before the emerging of the sun, the second is the *ṣala de adhuhar*...

The section continues describing the number of cycles of prayer required for each of the five daily prayers and their time in the day, with no discussion of any dispensation if conditions are not suitable. It is followed by another section in a different hand with instructions on how to perform ritual ablutions. Once again, only the performance of ritual purification under 'normative' conditions is described without reference to what one may do in times of difficulty. It is only in other parts of the manuscript, apart from these sections, that we occasionally encounter a dispensation such as noted here in the following

²⁵³ The passage continues in like manner for each of the five prayers.

passage, found within a longer discussion of extra ritual prayers and prayers for each day of the week, with a small hand in the margin pointing to it:

J 32 56r: This is a *ṣala* that the Prophet Muhammad *ṣ'amo* demonstrated to an Arab [i.e. Bedouin] who could not to come to the city to perform the *ṣala* of the day of *jumu'a* with an *imām* in congregation to a mosque (*meskida*) and it is of great value especially for now for those who are remote/exiled (*destierro*). The Prophet Muhammad *ṣ'amo* said, when it is the day of *jumu'a* do two *arrak'ash* of the *ṣala* with *alḥamdu lillāhi* and *qul huwa Allāhu aḥad* and *qul a'udhu bi rabi ilfalaq*, one time...²⁵⁴ [my emphasis]

Though technically a dispensation, the description here can hardly be considered an 'alleviation' of the *'azīma*, as the text continues to explicate how this prayer should be followed by eight more cycles of prayer with the recitation of ayas from the Qur'ān that should be read up to twenty-five times each and so on. While the reference to 'especially for now for the remote or exiled' within the passage may indicate a more specific reference to the audience, it is not explicit enough that we may conclude a particularly 'Morisco' element to this note. The same can be said for explications within the manuscripts of the performance of ritual ablution in the absence of water or *tayammum*. While the 'normative' performance of ritual purification requires water, in conditions when water is not available, the 'normative' method of ritual purification becomes *tayammum*. It is not considered a *rukḥṣa* in that case, but the normative obligation under those particular conditions.²⁵⁵ J 32 contains the following general note about its permissibility:

J 32 58v It has been recounted by all of the greatest among sages (*grandes de los sabios*)²⁵⁶ that the *tayamun* (*tayammum*) is an obligation

²⁵⁴ The passage continues with explanation of how to complete the prayer. This same story is also recounted in J 28 142r only slightly longer.

²⁵⁵ The Andalusian Mālikī scholar Imam al-Shātībī (d. 790/1388) has a particularly interesting discussion of this and its implications in the *sharī'a*, see Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā Shātībī, *Muwāfaqāt Fī Uṣūl Al-Sharī'ah* (Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 219–230.

²⁵⁶ By the way this phrase is used in this manuscript, I believe this may be a way of referring to

and is licit (*pasadero*) in order to make *guwadu* (*wuḍū'*) in the absence of water / 59r or other legitimate reasons, like a journey (*camino*) or in illness, and when there is fear of enemies and fear of death from the cold with the water and for great pain and other legitimate reasons. And if a person will be [wanting] for ritual purity (*estara por ṭaharar*) and takes the *tayamum* [*sic*] in order to perform the *aṣala*, he is purified and clean with that *tayamum*...²⁵⁷

We see that the explanation for *tayammum* here is dependent on the satisfaction of certain conditions, rather than the preferred or recommended practice. In this sense its legal status within this manuscript mirrors its legal status in wider Mālikī fiqh, as conditionally dependent and appropriate. Only J 28 and to lesser extent J 32 are unique in this regard among the manuscripts in the current selection, in that in addition to the ample and detailed explications of the normative performance of rituals and rites, they also include dispensations which unambiguously speak to the situation of the Moriscos, albeit still proportionally far less than the explication of the acts under 'normative' conditions. The following passages represent examples of both the general and specific dispensations present in the manuscripts:

GENERAL DISPENSATIONS

J 28 101v If you don't know how to say this *du'ā* that comes in the *ettaḥiyetu*, say three times, *Allāhumma ṣali 'alā siyyidinā muḥammadin ilkarīm wa 'alā alihi* [*sic*] / 102r and this will suffice as if to say the other *du'ā*, and when you supplicate (*ruwegaras*) to Allāh *ta'āla* for your necessities, then pray also for all Muslim men and Muslim women and believing men and believing women of the Prophet Muḥammad *ṣala Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam*...

142r The prophet Muḥammad [benediction] said to an Arab who

something 'agreed upon' by all the major school of law, rather than a more vague allusion to 'scholars' more generally. It is used in examples like this one to refer to some overwhelmingly agreed upon consensus.

²⁵⁷ Continues with what ritual prayers may be offered with this *tayammum*.

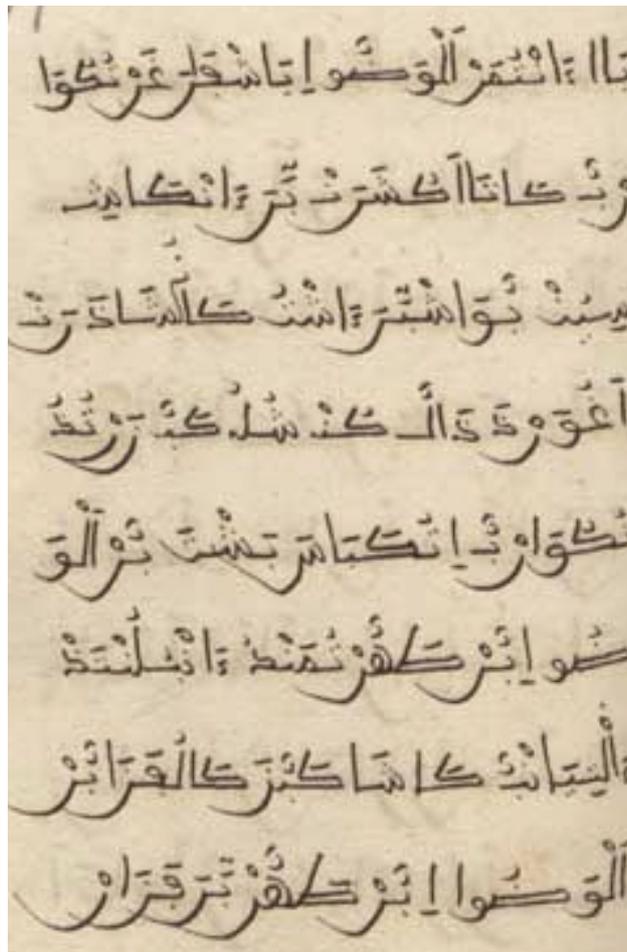
lived apart from the place where they made the *ṣala delaljumu'a* with a *khuṭba* and an *imām* and this man was not able to go...[continues with explanation of how to pray the specified extra prayers, similar to J 32 but not exactly the same]... / 147r and whoever performs this *ṣala*, Allāh offers him such reward as if he had done the *ṣala* of Friday with an *imām*.../ 148r do this *ṣala* that we have spoken that fulfils (*cumpele*) much in this hour, for us who are in a time and land in which we are not able to go to the place where the *ṣalā delaljumu'a* is done with an *imām*, and you will receive from (*alcansareis departes*) your Lord of His reward, performing [the prayer] with good intention. [my emphasis]

DISPENSATIONS HIGHLIGHTING THE SPECIFIC MORISCO SITUATION

J 28 109v and this *attayammum* / 109r is authorised (licensed) out of necessity for three reasons, the first is the absence of water, that one would be unable to obtain it and in despair (*desfeuzada*) of it, the second for illness, in which there would be a fear that the water would do harm, the third, having a fear of enemies that they would kill one or take one captive if one went to where there was water. And the same can / 110r be for he who is paralysed (*pereço*) and there is water but it cannot be used for fear that the damage would continue for him. And in the absence of water or earth, one can wipe (*mashar*) on the wall or upon a stone with a good intention so that there is no excuse for [not] being able to do / 110v five *aṣala'es* for the healthy and the sick. And we do that which has been mandated from us by our Lord, we advance towards Him what He has mandated from us, and this *attayammum* is to be made for every *aṣala* and for the time that we now have, [when] you have washed yourself in the river and have fear of enemies from the disbelievers that / if [indeed] they see you / 111r making the *wadu* and scrubbing (*esferagar*) your body, that they would pursue you by the Inquisition, then for this, in order to be protected from it, just sink your whole body and up to your head for the *wadū* and for *tahor*, making

intention at the time of dunking oneself that it is done for wadu and for tahor in order to make / your sala, and this is with the condition to make wadu and do the washing later upon your wadu or tahor ending.

Image from MS J 28 F. 111r highlighting Morisco specific dispensation



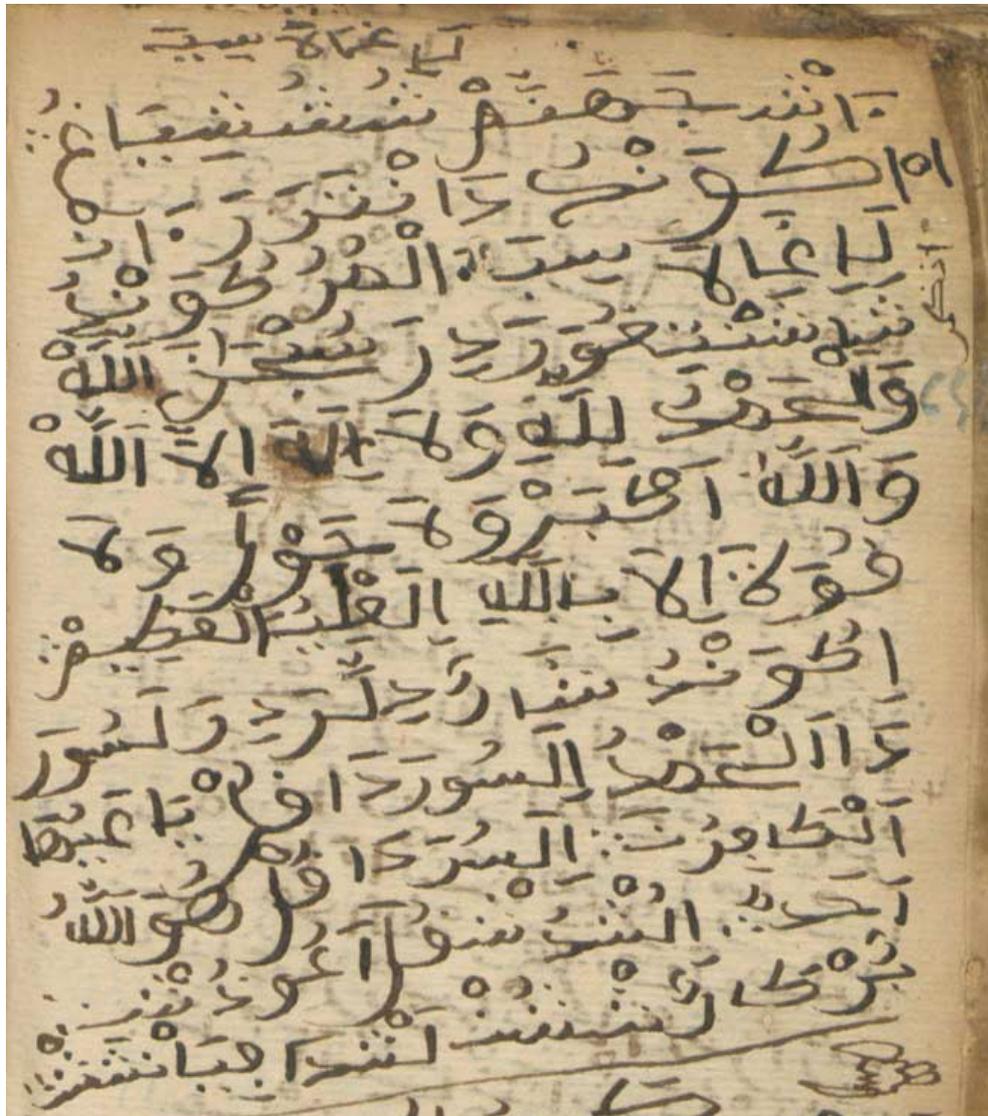
From J 32: [Under the heading 'Church' (*la iglesia*)]

65v: When the *moro*²⁵⁸ enters the Church: When you cross yourself (*asantigar*) say *subhānAllāh wa'lhamdulillah wa lā ilāha illā Allāh wa Allāhu akbar wa la hawla wa la quwatta illā billahi'l-'aliyyi'l-'adhīm* and when you kneel (*rodarilla*) say the *sura* of *alhamdu* and the *sura qul yā*

²⁵⁸ From the sense, it is apparent that *moro* in this instance, refers to a Muslim person, yet how the word would have been understood by the audience is not entirely clear, i.e. baptised Muslim (a Morisco), a person of Muslim ancestry, a Muslim from Spain or Muslim person generally.

ayuhā al-kāfirūn and the sura *qul huwa Allāhu aḥad* and the two *qul a'ūdhus* because they are the defences.

Image From MS J 32 F. 65v highlighting Morisco specific dispensation



As these kinds of dispensations would presumably be not only useful but vital for those Moriscos who wished to continue practicing Islam despite its outlawing and in the face of persecution and harassment by the Inquisition, they are precisely the kind of textual passages we would expect to encounter with redoubling frequency. That we do not, is particularly noteworthy considering the extensive and highly detailed discussions within the four Sunni schools of Islamic law, with regard to legal responsibility (*taklīf*) as predicated upon the satisfaction of certain conditions (*sharṭ*/pl. *shurūṭ*), first and foremost

of which are the preservation of religion, life, lineage, intellect and property or the five purposes of the law (*maqāsid al-sharī'a*).²⁵⁹ In fact, it is precisely because the mechanisms for alleviation of the 'azīma are intrinsically part of the *sharī'a*, with the legal ruling ever dependent on various conditions being met, that *taqiyya* never developed extensively as a 'legal status' within the Sunni legal schools. As all of the 'purposes of law' could have faced varying threats in the Moriscos' situations, they would undoubtedly have just cause to place the dispensations first and foremost among their written manuals of how to perform Islamic devotions.

In addition to this more general paradigm which inform Sunni legal frameworks, the Moriscos were also given a *particular* authorisation by the Muftī of Oran in his *fatwā* which encouraged the Muslim denizens of Spain, *ghurabā'* as he called them, to make devotions easy on themselves. Given that we know this document circulated, even if only in a limited way, among their communities,²⁶⁰ it seems all the more astonishing that we do not see this 'ease' assuming the dominant position in the contents of their devotional manuscripts. Even in the case of the specific and relevant dispensations of J 28 there is no question that the exhortation of the scribe is for his audience to undertake Islamic devotions by whatever capacity in one's power, without any 'excuse', in his own words, to

²⁵⁹ As regards the extensive discussion of the *maqāsid* see, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr, *Ibn Ashur, Treatise on Maqasid Al-Shariah* (IIIT, 2006). The term *sharī'a* connotes many different meanings in the primary sources as well as secondary literature. Hallaq has pointed out the problems with translating the term, particularly as 'Islamic Law' as does this not capture the term in all of its dimensions. Khaled Abou El Fadl notes that the term *sharī'a* should be taken to mean the total of the legal opinions from each legal school as well as the principles and methodologies they employ in their reasoning. In order to capture the possibilities of the term, I leave it untranslated here. See Wael B. Hallaq, *Sharī'a: Theory, Practice, Transformations* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), Introduction as a whole and specifically 10- 11; and Khaled M. Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft* (Harper Collins, 2009), 32.

²⁶⁰ Stewart outlines the extant sixteenth century copies of this *fatwā* in, Stewart, "The Identity of 'the Mufti of Oran', Abu L- Abbas Ahmad B. Abi Jum'ah Al-Maghrawi Al-Wahrani (d. 917-1511)." Newer findings are also mentioned in Rosa-Rodriguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation." Regarding the point about the Moriscos' familiarity with such concepts, Stewart also clarifies that legal justifications for adapting practices regarding to circumstances (especially about dissimulation) existed among scholars of the Islamic West and were likely widely known. See Devin Stewart, "Dissimulation in Sunni Islam and Morisco Taqiyya" *Al-Qantara* 34, no. 2 (2013) 439-490.

leave them, as seen once again here in the following passage:

148r, oh my brothers, much do I entrust you and commission you to guard and maintain the five *aṣala'es*, observe (*kata*) that in them is the foundation (*fundamento*) and stability (*firmeza*) of the *dīn delalislām*. Allāh ta'ālā says, maintain the prayer for remembrance of me, He says what a great fortune for those believers, those who are in their *aṣala'es* humble, in awe and maintainers [of them]. The Prophet Muḥammad [benediction] said, There is nothing between belief and unbelief save the *ṣala*, and whoever does the *ṣala* speaks with Allāh and the one who ceases in the *ṣala* is removed from Allāh (*quito de Allāh*) and His messenger, then do not be negligent of them, and if you cannot do them in the day in their times, do them in the night and it is as if you had done them in the day during their time...²⁶¹

While the dispensation is offered, the emphasis on the legal responsibility of fulfilling the act remains in its full force. Even if one must perform the ritual prayers outside of their prescribed time, its time of course being one its pre-conditions, the emphasis within the passage is that under no circumstances must it be abandoned.²⁶² It is most intriguing that given the Moriscos' justification in claiming the dispensation, if it is present at all, it is in such a way that it highlights the *'azīma*. Contrary to conveying any sense of a 'muddled' or confused religiosity then, the presence of both the general and specific dispensations in these manuscripts show a kind of implicit understanding of the inbuilt mechanisms within Sunni Islamic law that the dispensation facilitates adherence to the *sharī'a*, as opposed to its circumvention. Either consciously or unconsciously then, these writings indicate an awareness that the Sunni Islamic legal frameworks themselves allow for flexibility, rendering extensive discussions of dispensations, a non-issue. This may explain why we do not see an emphasis on theory, but rather upon practice, and thus it

²⁶¹ Passage continues with enumeration of rewards if one completes them and torment if of one does not.

²⁶² The conditions of the prayer here being the, time, facing the qibla, being in a state of ritual purity etc.

is not a manual of *taqiyya* that we find foregrounded in these manuscripts, but rather an overwhelming focus on conveying normative information about Islamic beliefs and practices in the 'normative' manner.

In considering the historical realities that many Morisco communities faced as a result of the legal proscription of Islam, that we find any of these kinds of devotional writings at all is in and of itself surprising, given the risk that owning such works would have often entailed. This is further augmented when we explore the contents and discover repeated exhortations to maintain and uphold Islamic beliefs and practices. Rather than finding the *rukḥṣ* offered by al-Waharānī as the dominant feature of the positive law within these works, we instead find it overshadowed by a largely unyielding commitment to fulfilling religious obligations in their 'normative' circumstances. Even when instructions on how to undertake a particular act in way that allows the practitioner to 'disguise' or 'hide' their action are issued, they are done with an emphasis on the act in its normative circumstances, and the reference to particular conditions, as part of a laying out of the established principles of Islamic positive law, and not a programme of dissimulation.

Rather than encountering instructions for dissimulation and/or a 'confused' sense of religiosity as the norm, it instead appears to be the aberration. It is this feature in particular which reveals the overwhelming absence of 'the crisis' within their extant devotional manuscripts. This is highly significant in that it allows us to imagine these Morisco devotional manuscripts, and by extension the religiosities of the people to whom they belonged, beyond a framework that primarily sees them as 'crypto-Muslims'. The discussion here has shown that in fact, much the content foci we find in their devotional manuscripts would be at home in many wider Islamic contexts. This is true not only in terms of the minutiae but also in the sense of the overall implicit understandings of the *sharī'a* that are discernible in their devotional works. Here in the contents of such works, we obtain a glimpse into the 'positive' approach of their producers, who appear to have prioritised what *should* be done rather than articulating the mechanisms for dissimulation or the 'negative' approach regarding what cannot be done. When we continue exploring the contents in more detail, we discover that this 'positivity' extends well beyond the bare minimum of religious obligations further corroborating that the dispensation was among the least of the devotional interests of these communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

Content II: Sacralising Time in Early Modern Spain

By demonstrating an overarching focus upon 'normativity' instead of the dispensation, the discussion of the contents of Morisco manuscripts from the sixteenth century in the previous chapter allows us to imagine the Moriscos and their extant devotional writings beyond the 'doom and gloom' narrative we often ascribe to them. This chapter continues exploring the contents of the six manuscripts here illustrating that the textual emphasis upon 'normative' Islamic beliefs extends far beyond simple instructions pertaining to religious obligations. The key question it aims to answer is if the dominant textual interests of these communities were not in 'coping' with the legal proscription of their faith in sixteenth century Spain, what do emerge as the dominant textual foci?

In order to explore this question, the chapter begins with a discussion of how an emphasis upon the normative actually manifests within the works. What we find within the manuscripts is a wide and diverse array of texts which augment and edify the more general 'calls' to worship with practical details pertaining to the 'why' 'how' and 'what' and 'when' of their devotions. This indicates the presence of what I argue is a demonstrable emphasis upon devotions with structure discernible in their works. This becomes even more apparent in organisation and presentation of the abundant passages of the Qur'ān we encounter in these works. By examining this interest in relation to the many other passages within the manuscripts pertaining to notions of a sacred calendar more generally, we see that in fact the overarching interest that emerges within these works is in sacred time.

The final part of the chapter turns to examine whether this interest in the sacralisation of time is a uniquely Morisco phenomenon or part of broader trends. Examined in isolation it is easy to come to the conclusion that the contents of Morisco devotional manuscripts, like their 'Qur'āns' for instance, are 'unique'. When we contextualise the dominant textual interests of the Morisco manuscripts here within the wider late medieval and early Modern Spanish and Mediterranean milieu, we find that in fact, these interests were congruous with far more pervasive interests in structured devotions and time organised by sacred calendar. Thus, when contextualised, we see that the Moriscos were in fact part of and contributors to the wider religious environment(s) of their world(s). In this way, I propose that Moriscos communities were not as 'isolated' as often characterise them and their devotional works evidence something more complex

than a 'minority resistance' against a dominant majority.

A Spectrum of Communities and Interests

While the more instructive sections pertaining to positive law within the manuscripts tend to emphasise the elements of practice and performance, it would be erroneous to suggest they are simple in their contours. The following examples demonstrate only a few key aspects of the sheer range of ways in which this kind of content is presented within the works:

J 24: 65v-66r: the prayer of the *witr* is after the prayer of *'itā* (*'ishā'*), in its hour and until dawn. And it is three *arraka'as* with two *asalēmas* and read in the two first *arraka'as* *alḥamdu* and a *sura*, publicly (aloud)...and do not perform any prayers of *nefilas* after the prayer of the *witr*.²⁶³

J 28: 95r-95v: This is the proclamation for when you perform the prayer. In its time proclaim [it] because it is a *sunā* (*sunna*) to proclaim and this is said like so...[*adhān* formula in Arabic] / 96r The *iqāma* for when you perform the prayer is obligatory, stand and make the *iqāma* in every prayer although it is not at its hour because it is *sunā* to do *iqāma* in every prayer and this is the *iqāma* [formula in Arabic, followed by a non-obligatory prayer known as the *qunūt*] / 98r And if it is forgot or if it is not known, there is no harm for him because it is not a *sunā* or an obligation, and we have to call that a *sunna* that the Prophet Muhammad did or maintained and guarded, that which he mandated and obligated.

J 32 129r: These are the two *asala'es* for the these two festivals of Ramadan and of the sheep (carneros), perform two *arrak'ash*...and say in the first *arraka* seven times, *Allāhu akbar*, while standing, before you say *elatakkabira delaliḥaram* which is the *Allāhu akbar* of

²⁶³ This is an established practice across the four Sunni schools that, when read in congregation, certain parts of the ritual prayer must be read aloud in the dawn, sunset and night prayers.

the prayer which is mandatory, and in the second *arrak'a* say it five times...

J 41 [preamble to supplication for water] 12r ...and when you are where you will perform the supplication (*rogaria*), the *faki* (from Ar. *faqīh*) says a *khutba*, first and then after, perform two *arrak'ash* of the *ṣala* and the *faki* says the supplication and the others say *āmīn*.

J28 Ff. 88R (One explanation for washing the mouth during ritual ablution)

Wash/rinse your mouth three times and rub your teeth with the fingers of your right hand and say, “My Lord I beseech you to favour me and assist me, and give me strength to read the words of your honoured *alqur'ān* and much remembering of Your honoured remembrance, oh Lord of all things.” And wash your nostrils three times and empty them very well with your left hand and do it so that the water goes inside them [the nostrils] and say...” [Another supplication in Aljamiado]

J 32 Ff. 71R (A contrasting explanation for washing the mouth during ritual ablution)

Wash your mouth three times and say “ *Allahumma a'inī 'alā tilāwati kitābika* / 71v *wa kithratu* [sic] *al-dhikru laka*” And wash your nostrils and say...²⁶⁴

J24 63v (One method of calculating prayer times)

The *ṣala* of 'aṣar [sic], it is four *arrak'ash* and in the first two, you read *alḥamdu* and a *sura* in each *arrak'a*, then you sit and say *ataḥayetu*, then you rise and perform another two *arrak'ash* with *alḥamdu* / 64r only, without a *sura*, and then sit and say the *ataḥayetu*, say the *salām*. [For] the *ṣala* of 'aṣar [sic], its hour is at the end of the *ṣala* of *ḍuḥar*, and it is four *arrak'ash* and is performed like the *ṣala* of *ḍuḥar*.

²⁶⁴ “Oh Allāh, increase me in the reading of your book, and plenty of remembrance of You.”

In order to know when it is, look for when your shadow is much larger than you and its ending time is when / 64v the sun becomes yellow.

J32 60v (A second method for calculating prayer times)

The second [prayer] is *ṣala de azuḥar*. And it is four *arrak'ash*, the first two with *alḥamdu* and a *sura*, then sitting and saying the *atahayetu* without giving the *salām*. Then stand and do another two *arrak'āsh* with *alḥamdu* only / and quietly, then sit and recite the *atehayetu* another time and give the *salām*, and that *ṣala* is completed. Its hour is midday. And the *ṣala de alaṣar* is the same more or less. And its hour is when passing into the third third of the day, of the four thirds [or parts perhaps?] of the day.

The above passages immediately convey a sense of how even in the 'same' kinds of instructions, the contents are far from identical, drawing upon a wide array of information, utilising a range of terminologies and foregrounding different concepts. The many ways of talking about this kind of material within the manuscripts include simple, straightforward instructions of how and when to undertake the ritual prayer, such as those provided in J 24, or the more specific details of J 28 and J 32 which include specialised details, the result of which is more comprehensive descriptions of ritual purification (*wuḍū'*) as well as added supplications to be recited. In two of the above passages from J 28 and J 32, both offer instructions with regard to the performance of ritual ablutions and both provide accompanying supplications yet J 28 includes more consistent details, offering not only the instruction 'wash your nose' but carefully explaining how this should be done three times, using the left hand to expel the water. By contrast, J 32 offers the same instructions but in more simplified form. Furthermore, the accompanying supplications in J 28 are written only in Aljamiado and are more lengthy and detailed than the similar Arabic only supplications included in J 32.

Similarly, while the details of how to perform the prayer and much of the lexicon are shared in the above two passages from J28 and J32, each one includes different aspects of discerning the prayer time, with J 24 including the distinction of shadows and colour of the sun, and the passage of J 32 emphasising distinctions of the day divided into parts of equal

measure and time allotted accordingly. Both of these ways of informing about the prayer times can easily be traced within the literature of the Malikī school of Sunni positive law, with these being only two among ubiquitous such examples with analogous differences.²⁶⁵ These subtle nuances which at first appear trivial are, like the wider literature of Sunni positive law, precisely those features of the works which enable a view into the dynamic textual world(s) of the communities to whom they belonged. They are far from insignificant then, in highlighting the numerous ways in which the manuscripts articulate information which extends well beyond 'the basics'.

As such when examined both individually and comparatively, the manuscripts here demonstrate the myriad ways in which these works encompass a broad range of information, levels of detail and an array of linguistic registers, scripts, ways of writing, organising and annotating material. The variance demonstrates how the Morisco owners and/or users of these manuscripts could have comprised learned and lay, elites and non-elites, a range of linguistic registers and levels of specialised learning. The full spectrum of simple and complex within the contents mirrors the diversity of their historical experiences outlined in Chapter One. Their communities most likely comprised those under duress who could probably only undertake the bare minimum of devotional practices if even those, and others who, as these passages clearly show, at least had an interest in more extensive information.

These degrees of nuance are visible not only in terms of the devotional acts mentioned but also in the way these passages demonstrate levels of awareness with terminologies and categories of Islamic positive law. Within the four Sunni schools of positive law, all legal acts fall into five categories, obligatory (*wājib*), the recommended (*mandūb*), permissible (*mubāḥ*), prohibited (*harām*) and disliked or reprehensible (*makrūh*).²⁶⁶ In literature pertaining to Islamic legal theory (*uṣūl*), these further subdivide into more specialised and technical terminologies but for the purposes of the discussion here, a critical distinction within the law concerns what is necessary for the fulfilment of religious

²⁶⁵ The chapters pertaining to ritual ablution and ritual prayer in the *Muwaṭṭa* can be a starting point, See, Mālik ibn Anas, *Al-Muwatta*.

²⁶⁶ For a sufficient summary of these terms and categories see, Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 40–42. Also, N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (AldineTransaction, 2011), 83–84, generally 75–102.. Also the extensive discussions in Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsá Shāṭibī, *The Reconciliation of the Fundamentals of Islamic Law* (Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 77–129..

obligations and what is voluntary or supererogatory.²⁶⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Morisco manuscripts here generally leave out the more theoretical and/or technical features of the wider *uṣūl* and *furūʿ al-fiqh* literature. These categories are different however, in that they critically impact upon an individual's religious life and thus, upon their salvation. Given what is perceived to be at stake, W. Hallaq rightly notes that few topics have been as controversial in Islamic legal theory as deciding upon what is commanded or obligated by God.²⁶⁸ Thus, as the sermons of J 25 admonished in the previous chapter, the incumbent task upon anyone wishing to avoid being cursed by God and His angels is to be aware of and fulfil these religious obligations and refrain from what is prohibited.²⁶⁹

Given the centrality of these categories within the practical, everyday aspects of Islamic worship, we would expect Morisco manuscripts to regularly highlight or foreground the 'obligatory' components of the law, thereby enabling those Moriscos under duress to obtain an understanding of the bare minimum of requirements without being burdened and called upon to extra acts of devotion. It is most intriguing then, that within the manuscripts here, we see both the flagging and ignoring of these kinds of categories. Sometimes the categories are referred to as second nature, such as in the section from J 24 above, in which the supererogatory category, *nāfila* (*nawāfil*) is mentioned. In other instances the reference is more direct such as in the use of the category in Islamic law referring to established, recommended practices from the Prophetic traditions or *sunna*, or in the distinction between the *takbīr* of ʿīd and the *takbīr al-ihrām*, with the latter specified as an obligation of the ritual prayer and one of the conditions for its validity. In another instance within a passage entitled 'doctrine' included in the supplementary data in manuscript J 32, we find an articulation of the categories of law regarding the ritual prayer, independent of any specific instructions regarding its actual performance.

²⁶⁷ The supererogatory comprises the key focus of much of the wider corpus of Islamic devotional literature. This is perfectly highlighted by the kinds of materials studied by Constance Padwick in her appraisal of Muslim written works to aid in devotion. See Constance Evelyn Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oneworld, 1961); Also, William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (SUNY Press, 2010), 325–331.

²⁶⁸ Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories*, 48.

²⁶⁹ MS J 25 Ff. 109v, cited in previous chapter.

The differences in how categories are dealt with are not just between the manuscripts but also within a single codex in its different sections, both by those written in the same hand such as J 28 and those written by distinct hands like J 32. For instance, we see that in some of the above passages such as the ritual prayer sections from these two manuscripts categories like '*sunna*' and '*nāfila*' are utilised while in the same manuscripts in the sections pertaining to ritual ablution we see the inclusion of instructions only, with less mention of the particular categories associated with each component involved with the rinsing of the mouth for instance. Furthermore what is interesting about the latter instances is that not alluding to the categories essentially conflates them. This is particularly intriguing in J 28, which as may be recalled is the manuscript in the present selection which contains the most dispensations for its audience(s). Here, the manner of making *wudū'* presented within the codex is not made 'easy' by only listing or distinguishing the bare minimum of obligations, but presented with added supplications which are not usually included in works of Mālikī positive law as part of the obligations.

In a sense the ways in which the categories are present or absent within the manuscripts maintain the dialogic aspect of Islamic legal texts regarding the lines between obligatory and voluntary. This is not to imply conscious effort but to note a kind of implicit presence within the manuscripts. Whether Moriscos were the 'originators' of such contents is immaterial, for in writing and producing them in the sixteenth century in their own hands, they demonstrate a relevance within their communities. The variance we see here then, reflects both the complex make up of Morisco communities and their diverse interests manifested within their writings. The examples presented here clearly show that the established categories of Sunni positive law were certainly among these interests, but not, it appears, as a means of foregrounding religious obligations only.

Indeed, when we further examine these kinds of passages in the larger contexts of the manuscripts they are a part of, we see that while fulfilling components of Islamic worship is ever the dominant focus of the contents as a whole, obligations are regularly accompanied and even overshadowed or conflated with a vast array of extra, recommended and supererogatory devotions. This is true not only with regards to the more instructive materials pertaining to positive law but with the array of other kinds of devotional materials included, such as the general or more aphoristic narrations and exhortations towards undertaking Islamic devotions, numerous supplications, invocations and formulaic litanies as well as Qur'ānic passages. The indices of the manuscripts in the Appendix

demonstrate the wide range of information we encounter as well as the number of ways in which these contents are presented with differing languages, lengths, styles and levels of included detail. As such the largest space in the manuscripts does not concern how to undertake fewer devotions or 'how to hide' but rather, multiple and different levels of 'how and what to do'.

The Moriscos and Sacred Time

Considering what we imagine to have been their difficulties in undertaking obligatory acts of devotion let alone extra and often more demanding ones, that we encounter both the why and how of Islamic worship as well as several types of content that can supply the 'what' to recite, invoke, say or supplicate as part of these manuscripts, is indeed remarkable in and of itself. This dominant content focus upon 'how and what to do' within the contents here, is rendered even more layered and complex when we turn to the manner in which information regarding both obligations and recommended practices is conveyed, with what I argue is a profound emphasis upon notions of sacred time and structured devotions

This is immediately observable from the descriptions in the appendices and seeing that in addition to placing their content focus on the 'what' and the 'how' of Islamic worship, the manuscripts here also contain varied ways articulating the 'when' of Islamic devotions.

Beginning once again with the sermons of J 25 discussed in the last chapter, in addition to the numerous ways in which the contents exhort their audiences towards Islamic beliefs and practices, a second important feature of these sermons is the way they are presented, by occasion, thereby drawing attention to sacred moments in the Islamic Calendar. The contents of the sermons thus focus on their respective occasions with the Friday sermons being more general, those presented under the heading of *īd al-fiṭr* containing more references to particular traditions associated with that *īd*, and those in the section of *īd al-adḥā* containing a lengthy narration of the story of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son Ismā'īl. Similarly, as discussed in the last chapter, the *pedricacion* of the 'night of power' or *laylatu'l-qadr* overwhelmingly focusses on the theme of repentance. Given the historical circumstances in which many Morisco communities lived, we would once again expect to see far less emphasis on these Islamic 'occasions', yet rather than exhorting their communities to edge away from ceremonies, festivals and sacred days and nights associated

with the Islamic calendar, the sermons draw even more attention to them.

When we examine the contents holistically, we see that the sermons are not singular in this regard by any means. The manuscripts exhibit a full range of ways in which the contents locate and situate Islamic beliefs and practices within occasions and/or information regarding the Islamic lunar months, or measurements of time more generally. Even the headings that we find in the manuscripts included below give some indication of the diverse collection of information regarding this sense of a 'sacred calendar' present within these writings.²⁷⁰

J 24

70v Chapter on the seven days of the week

J 28

114: This is the pattern (rrejimiyo) of the lunar months and their value (*kuwento*) for the Muslims

J 32

26r: Chapter on what one says in the day;

42v These are the prayers for the seven days of the week [proceeds to chapter on each day];

74v: The names of the lunar months [each month also has certain days highlighted for their devotional significance];

94v: Chapter on what one says in the day and in the night;

128v: This is the prayer for the night of Ramaḍān;

145v: These are the days of the month in which to see which of them is good and which is bad.

Of great significance here is the overarching emphases within the manuscripts on

²⁷⁰ This concept is also raised in Barletta who notes that Morisco manuscripts 'reckon' with time, although he argues that this largely because of the uncertainty of their own. See Barletta, *Covert*, 137-138. The notion of a sacred calendar within Morisco works is examined via the works of the Mancebo de Arevalo in Bernabé Pons and Luis Fernando, "El calendario musulmán del Mancebo de Arévalo," *Sharq al-Andalus* 16, no. 17 (2002 1999): 239-61.

linking devotional practices with particular moments, from smaller measures of time such as hours, days and nights and more lengthy ones such as particular weeks and months. The passages below demonstrate several examples of this takes place in the present selection of manuscripts, underscoring the dual emphasis both on providing specific information with regard to the performance of a full array of obligatory and voluntary devotions (which are often conflated together) as well as providing context for what may be recited and when they should be undertaken:

J 24 75r 'The advantage of the Thursdays: The Prophet Muḥammad ṣ'āma²⁷¹ said whosoever performs *laṣala* (ritual prayer) on the Thursday (*dia de'l-khāmis*²⁷²) between the prayers of *dhuhar* and 'aṣar, two *arrak'āsh* reading in each *arrak'a*, *alḥamdu lillāhi* once and *qul huwa Allāhu aḥadun* one hundred times, and when finishing the *ṣalā*, begs pardon from Allāh one hundred times, he does not get up from his place but that God forgives his sins. And God grants him a reward like /75v fasting *rrajab* and *sha'bān*...[lacuna]...for every *arrak'a*, 50,000 prayers (*cinquenta mil aṣala'es*).

J 28 [In a section on the ' *faḍila* and value of of the day of Friday']
141v....The day of *aljumu'a* is a day highly honoured and advantageous in the power / 142r of Allāh *ta'ālā* to serve him with all the good works from *laṣala'es* and fasting and *ṣadaqas* and for remembering Allāh and for reading the Qur'ān. The Prophet Muḥammad ṣalā Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam said that the day of *aljumu'a* is the best of days (*señor de los dias*) and the best in the power of / 142v Allāhu *ta'ālā* for serving Him, and it is a festival for Muslims...

114v The first is the lunar month of Muḥarram, and it is the first of the lunar months and calendar of value to the *muslīmes* from the *hijra* of the Prophet Muḥammad, [benediction] .../ 116v and the tenth day of this lunar month is the day of ' *ashūra*. In this day, God

²⁷¹ Shorthand for: صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ (may God send peace and blessings upon him).

²⁷² Khamīs is the word from Thursday in Arabic, written here in its Aljamiado-Romance variant.

most High, confers (*fizo Allāh*) many miracles (*milagros*), marvels (*maravillos*), graces (*gracias*) and favours (*mercedes*) upon the believers from the *laluma* of Muḥammad ²⁷³ ... 117v the third [month] is that of *rabīu lawal*. The twelfth of the day of *rabīu lawal* is a festival (*pascua*)²⁷⁴ for the Muslims because our messenger Muḥammad [benediction] was born in it / 118r he who was and is our salvation, for those who believe that there is no god but Allāh *ta'ālā* only and no partner with Him and that Muḥammad *ṣalā Allāhu 'alahi wa sallim* is His servant and Messenger. ²⁷⁵ And this belief accompanies the performing and maintaining of the /118v *aṣala'es* and fasting (*dayunar*) in the month of Ramaḍān, and the payment of the obligatory charity (*la zakā* from Ar. *zakāt*) or at least give voluntary alms (*fazer aṣaddaqa*) to the poor as much as is possible for you and with other good works . Thus, observe (*guardad*) this day as an occasion (*pascua*) and serve your Lord as much as is possible for you... / 119r and send as many prayers as you can, upon our messenger Muḥammad, by saying like so: *Allāhumma ṣali 'alā sayyidunā Muḥammad wa 'alā 'ālih* .²⁷⁶ Send this blessing for part of the night, later into the early [morning] of the other day, for ten hours as much as you can, in the mosques (*las meskidas*) and in our homes ²⁷⁷

J 32 62v And the value of the very advantageous *anefilas* are the two *arrak'ash* of the dawn...and the two *arrak'ash* after *maghrib* and after the sun has emerged three lanças? (lances, distance of throwing?) in this time, perform the *ṣala de aduḥa*, two *arrak'ash* up to twelve but at

²⁷³ *aluma* is from the Arabic *al-umma*, or community. Thus the sentence reads: believers from the community (or followers) of Muhammad.

²⁷⁴ The word *pascua* is often used in Morisco manuscripts to describe 'festival'. This coincides with its earlier use in Romance as a festival generally, before it came to specifically refer to Easter.

²⁷⁵ Testimony of faith in Aljamiado.

²⁷⁶ (God send your blessings upon our noble one Muḥammad and upon his family)

²⁷⁷ First part before ellipses: MS J 28 F. 114r-116v. Following ellipses, passage continues from 117-120r.

the least two, and two *arrak'ash* before *aḍhuhar* and two / 63r after. And two before *lašala delašar*, and all are of great value in the power of Allāh.../ 63v And whoever performs two *arrak'ash* in the middle of the night when the people are sleeping, it is of great value.

76r It has been recounted by the Prophet Muhammad *ṣ'āmu* that he said the best days of all the year are the ten days of the month of *du'elḥija*. The ninth is one of the seven days of the year in which to fast, it is of much reward... / 76v and whoever fasts the fifteenth of the month of *dulqiyada* is of much reward, and whoever fasts the seventh day of the ten days of *dulḥijja* is of much reward.

These are only a few examples from the manuscripts here which are replete with similar passages encouraging their audience(s) to perform extra devotions with the promise of much reward in this life and the hereafter, while anchoring those devotions to specific moments in time. The larger passage from J 28 above is particularly interesting considering that this manuscript offers the most dispensations to its audience(s) as discussed in the previous chapter. In the passages here however, the focus is overwhelmingly upon the many extra and praiseworthy devotions that an individual may undertake to augment his/her practice rather than easing in their observance. Taken together, these kinds of contents reveal a great interest within the manuscripts of 'locating' devotional practices both, on a scale of merit or relational value, and within a pattern of time. The examples here also demonstrate the numerous ways in which the contents focus on quality but also the quantity of devotions, adding a sense of structure to the more general exhortations to undertake a particular practice we see elsewhere. Thus the plethora of information regarding the obligatory and supererogatory of Islamic devotions are not made in an adhoc or random manner, but are imbued with specific information on how to perform devotions, with a full range of basic to more complex instructions, and with attention to the quantity, quality, space and time in which these devotions should be undertaken.

How the Qur'ānic passages further this sense of Structured Devotions

The sense of structure identified here is augmented when we once again examine

the manuscripts as whole compilations of constituent parts. While much of the contents from J 41 and J 56 are less obviously focussed on aspects of a sacred calendar, they still contain devotional content organised around 'occasions' such as prayers ascribed to particular prophets and meant to be recited at certain moments and other supplications for rain, Islamic funerals and to be said upon sleeping to name only a few.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, as their indices in the Appendix demonstrate the contents of these two manuscripts in particular, comprise many of the sorts of texts that add a palatable structure to the acts of Islamic worship encouraged in the other manuscripts by supplying 'the tools' which may be used to undertake devotional acts such as supplications, invocations, litanies and doxology. Examined all together then, we see that collectively the manuscripts here offer their audiences the why, how, what and when of Islamic devotions, and indicate a distinguishable preference to prioritise and organise information pertaining to devotions with structure and contours.

Identifying these foci within the works helps us to understand that the seemingly 'random' compilation of Morisco devotional manuscripts like the ones under study here, are not, I argue, merely a sign of their inability to produce single subject volumes on particular subjects due to isolation or lack of access to more 'whole' works elsewhere. While their compiled character makes it appear at first glance that these writings represent a kind of ambiguous assortment, when examined holistically, both as individual manuscripts and collectively in relation to each other, we find that contrary to being haphazard, these manuscripts are far more programmatic and comprehensive than we tend to think of them. This becomes even more apparent when we examine the abundant passages of Qur'ānic text within the manuscripts.

The Qur'ān is considered by orthodox Sunni Muslims as the uncreated (and thus, eternal) word of God and constitutes Islam's most sacred text.²⁷⁹ Of all the extant Morisco

²⁷⁸ See the appendix, but specifically, rain: J 41 11-15r, for Funeral, J 41: 92v. Interestingly, the heading here is in Aljamiado (a change from most of the other headings in this manuscript which are largely in Arabic), but the supplication itself is in vocalised Arabic. For what to say upon sleeping, J 56, 29r.

²⁷⁹ Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'an* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tim Winter, *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). Ingrid Mattson, *The Story of the Qur'an: Its History and Place in Muslim Life* (Blackwell Pub., 2008); Michael Anthony Sells, *Approaching the Qur'an: The Early Revelations* (White Cloud Press, 2007);

manuscripts containing Qur'ānic materials, only two are complete versions with neither belonging to the Junta collection. One is in Arabic and dated from 1597 and the other, called T-235 is particularly interesting in that it is dated 1604, only a few years before expulsion, and is composed entirely in Romance (both language and script).²⁸⁰ In addition to these two, Martínez de Castilla points to several Arabic versions in the Junta collection, which have survived and were once complete but are now fragments. This, she notes, comprises approximately one third of the kind of Qur'ānic materials we encounter within this collection.²⁸¹ The remainder of the Qur'ānic materials within Morisco manuscripts appear as selected passages, on their own or accompanying other content. In the six manuscripts under study here, all appear as these kinds of selected passages, along side other kinds of content and not as works on their own. While it is possible to imagine why the Moriscos may have had less interest in complete works of positive law (*fiqh*) or well-known works attributed to particular scholars, sages or sufi masters, given the centrality of the Qur'ān in Islamic devotions, it is indeed a matter of great interest that we find such a spectrum within extant Morisco manuscript collections rather than the complete Qur'anic *maṣāḥif* with more frequency.

To some degree this may be attributed to the expense, time and labour that the production of a complete Qur'ān would have entailed during this period.²⁸² Before the advent of popular printing, aside from the wealthy and well patronised religious scholars, 'non-elite' Muslims likely tended not to own complete *maṣāḥif*. Still, given what we understand of the Junta collection and the hypotheses regarding it as a repository or 'library',²⁸³ as well as the collective and communal aspect of Morisco writings, surely a copy

²⁸⁰ See for instance the remarks in, Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, “Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de La Sierra,” *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16, no. 2 (June 1, 2014): 92, doi:10.3366/jqs.2014.0149. and regarding T 235, see López-Morillas, Consuelo (1983), “Trilingual” 495-503. See also Wieger's additions to López-Morillas' findings in *Islamic*, p. 109-114.

²⁸¹ See, Castilla-Muñoz “Qur'anic Manuscripts”

²⁸² We obtain this sentiment from the scribe of T235 who claims that he can only copy the Qur'ān in Romance due to a lack of time as seen in López-Morillas, “Trilingual”. Additionally the recently re-photographed Junta collection images allow scholars to see first hand the labour involved in constantly changing ink pens, to add the red diacritical marks atop the words in black ink. see for instance manuscript J 42 via manuscript@csic.

²⁸³ Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla, “The Manuscript Book.”

of the whole Qur'ān could have been produced by the same scribes who wrote the selected suras and ayas in the six manuscripts here, and stored, preserved or hidden them (depending on the context) in similar fashion. If threats from the Inquisition were not enough to prevent the cumbersome and laborious process of writing these manuscripts, surely the whole Qur'ānic text could also have been undertaken.

Assuming the production of an Arabic Qur'ānic *muṣḥaf* required too much labour, expenditure or presented too great a risk for the Moriscos to undertake, the absence of more Aljamiado or Romance complete renderings of the Qur'ān is equally perplexing. This is especially so considering that the sixteenth century was bracketed by two complete Romance renderings of the Qur'ān, the now lost fourteenth century translation of Içe de Gebir discussed in the previous chapter, and the Toledo manuscript T 235 from the early seventeenth century described above. Despite the centrality of the Qur'ān to Islamic devotions as well as the opportunities which Morisco scribes must have had to produce the complete text, the documentary evidence left by the Moriscos does not indicate a pervasive interest in the whole Qur'ān, either as an Arabic *muṣḥaf* or a Romance translation.

Close examination of the passages of Qur'an within the selection of manuscripts here raises a number of possibilities as to why this may be the case. I propose that this phenomenon of 'textual selection' is far less another confirmation of a steady process of linguistic, intellectual and religious stagnation or assimilation of the Moriscos, but rather evidence of their apparent textual focus on structured devotions. The individual texts within the manuscripts facilitate this interest both in terms of their actual contents, and the ways in which they are presented. Once again this requires looking at the manuscripts holistically, as collections of materials which may indeed serve broader aims, one of which I argue, was the sacralising of time by facilitating structured devotions. In this regard, the passages of Qur'ān we find within Morisco manuscripts also facilitate this end.

What we encounter in the manuscripts under study here, are selected suras and ayas, compiled together either as continuous sections or more spread throughout the manuscript. The highly detailed cataloguing efforts of both Castilla de Muñoz and López-Morillas have enabled a view into the suras and ayas of Qur'ānic passages within the manuscripts of the Junta collection.²⁸⁴ At first glance, it appears that the manuscripts share

²⁸⁴ The recent article by Castilla de Muñoz in particular with its highly detailed appendices is especially demonstrative of the kinds of repeating materials that are encountered within these Qur'ānic passages, in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, "Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim

their contents to a high degree. Not only are similar suras and ayas repeatedly included across each of the four manuscripts that have identifiable sections of Qur'ānic passages here, but they also even share certain proclivities, such as the tendency to combine certain verses from Q. ĀLI 'IMRĀN 2 in the same way. The similarities between the manuscripts are only part of the picture however, in that while the suras and ayas included in the manuscripts may be shared, how they are presented within the codices make them far from identical.

To begin with, the first noticeable difference between the six manuscripts here is that whole sections of the manuscripts devoted to Qur'ānic passages do not appear to have been essential components of these kinds of Morisco devotional writings.²⁸⁵ Four of the six here, J 24, J 25, J 28 and J 41, contain lengthy and clearly discernible sections of Qur'ānic suras and/or ayas while the other two, J 32 and J 56, contain only occasional suras and ayas but as parts of other texts, more often as quotations, rather than identifiable sections on their own. This alone gives a sense of a lack of emphasis within the works upon the Qur'ān as a 'tome', for had it been so, even in its partial form it would certainly be an integral component of every Morisco devotional manuscript.

When we turn to the four manuscripts that include larger independent selections of Qur'ānic suras and ayas, the spectrum of how Qur'ānic materials are presented steadily complicates. Firstly, in terms of placement, the more lengthy, standalone passages of Qur'ān in J 24, 25 and 28 are all bound in the front of their respective manuscripts, comprising either the opening text or the one just after an opening supplication. By contrast, the two sections of Qur'ānic passages in J 41 occur in the middle and end of the manuscript respectively.

Secondly, within the actual contents themselves we encounter a huge range of ways of writing, including and presenting Qur'ānic material. This is true not only between the codices but also within a single manuscript. For instance in J 24, the first section of Qur'ānic passages contains no sura titles and only includes the *basmala* between suras and ayas, while the third discernible section regularly includes them. Similarly, as regards

Spain,” June 1, 2014, Beginning on 104.

²⁸⁵ Interestingly López-Morillas identifies 26 'Qur'ans' within all extant collections of Morisco manuscripts. By 'Qur'āns' we see that she refers to whole sections of Qur'ānic text and not as smaller quotations within other texts. See, López-Morillas, “The Genealogy of the Spanish Qur'ān.”

vocalisations, the first section of Qur'ān in this manuscript consists of regularly vocalised Arabic while the second part, from 48r-59r, is almost entirely unvocalised, although it may be that the vocalisations were meant to be added at some later stage. The use of pause markers and indications of punctuation between ayas fluctuate with an almost indiscernible pattern, as earlier in the manuscript demarcations tend to be between verses from different suras, while later they are also noted between verses from the same sura, but not always consistently.

The differences we encounter in the six manuscripts here include but are certainly not limited to language, notations, headings and location within the manuscript. For instance, the careful and detailed ways of depicting suras and ayas in J 25 add a sense of the punctuation, structure and form of the Qur'ān as a written word, to this manuscript.²⁸⁶ Its way of presenting Qur'ānic content seems particularly suited to inform those who engaged with it, about aya notation, headings, titles and forms of ornamentation often associated with sacred scripture. In addition to these details of form, the interlinear Aljamiado translation included in J 25, further expand what can be apprehended from that text allowing its writer or audience of one or many, to receive a line by line explanation, in their own vernacular, of every neatly written Arabic aya. By contrast, the passages of Qur'ān in J 24, J 28 and J 41 are written in Arabic only and with fewer or more inconsistent cues to pause between suras and ayas and variations in the way they denote the start of a new sura or aya, and particularities of script which impact recitation/reading. Just the differences in language alone indicate something about the wide range of individuals who could have engaged with these works as potentially consisting of those fluent in Arabic, those able to read but not understand Arabic, those unable to read or understand Arabic but able to hear it recited, and in the case of J 25 those able to read Aljamiado and those unable to read Aljamiado but able to hear it. All of these of course, in addition to the full spectrum in between these groups, many of whom most likely overlapped.

While entire codicology studies may be devoted to these fascinating differences and the minutiae therein, of importance in the present discussion is how the overall variance between the manuscripts here, aids in our understanding of the works and the people who

²⁸⁶ The Qur'ānic passages in particular of this manuscript have been edited or looked at by several scholars. See for instance, Consuelo López-Morillas, *The Qur'ān in 16th Century Spain*, and her comparison of the passages of this manuscript with five other Morisco manuscripts containing similar passages of Qur'ān.

used them. The first point to note is that in the privileging of different kinds of information within the Qur'ānic passages included in these manuscripts we once again see a wide spectrum of individuals who could potentially engage with these kinds of contents and their range of devotional interests and proclivities. In this way the Qur'ānic materials corroborate the points made earlier regarding an inability to apply generalisations to the people who engaged with these works regarding their levels of learning, abilities to engage with various linguistic registers and overall devotional requirements.

The second point to note here is that despite the high degree of variance within these materials, one feature they all share is the presence of what I argue are discernible 'sections', native to each of the manuscripts themselves. This sectioning is achieved in numerous ways, such as by an ornamental and/or design motif, a space or gap, a prayer, or formulas of 'attestation' commonly associated with the completion of reading the Qur'ān such as *tasdīqāt*, *tahlīlāt*, *tasbīḥāt*, *takbīrāt* etc. Section III of the supplementary data following the Appendix includes several examples of how the manuscripts indicate the completion or transition of a section in their Qur'ānic passages. The kinds of *ayas* and formulas in the examples shown in the supplement are commonly recited in Muslim gatherings and act as cues for the reader/reciter or audience that one 'section' of the particular devotional reading/recitation being undertaken, in this case a Qur'ānic recitation, is now completed or transitioning into a different section of Qur'ān or subject, or a different devotional act entirely. These interludes do not constitute particularly rigid sections, but rather, cues which those familiar with them would recognise, such as the last two *ayas* of Q. ṢĀFFĀT 37:180-182 for instance, which in Muslim devotional gatherings are often recited orally to indicate the completion of a particular devotional 'section'.

The presence of this sectioning fosters a consideration that these passages are purposely compiled in the manner they are, to suit particular devotional uses. This makes further sense when one considers that the kinds of *suras* we see repeated in the texts selected here are often commonly associated with special benefits in the various devotional literature associated with supererogatory worship within the Islamic tradition and which are also most used for more regularly occurring devotional practices. In the earliest compilations of Prophetic traditions, such as the *Muwatṭa*, the *Saḥīḥayn* of Bukhārī and Muslim and the other known collections, we find Prophetic exhortations to recite certain passages, *ayas* and *suras* from the Qur'ān at particular moments.²⁸⁷ Some *suras* were

²⁸⁷ What is important here is that these early references were quickly followed by the development

designated with honorific titles by the Prophet Muḥammad due to their particular ascribed spiritual power such as Q. IKHLĀṢ 112 referred to as '1/3 of the Qur'ān' and Q. YĀ-SĪN 36 known as 'the heart of the Qur'ān', both of which appear or are referred to in the six manuscripts here, and often with these titles.²⁸⁸ As the tradition of learned scholars and saints proliferated, individuals such as the leader of a sufi order for instance, also prescribed various combinations and permutations of suras and ayas to be read at specific times.

An example of such a text from the Maghribī context, and perhaps among the best known of such devotional works, are the 'sections' or *aḥzāb* of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258) which appear in books and collections of litanies that stretch far beyond the Shādhilī sufi order.²⁸⁹ His *aḥzāb* and regularly practiced litanies or *awrād*, are compilations of various Qur'ānic verses and other supplications and general praise formulae arranged by him into specific compositions. While specific *aḥzāb*, books of *aḥzāb* and *awrād* are commonly associated with sufi orders, they are not necessarily indicative of a sufi character of a particular text, given how pervasive these kinds of practices were across the Muslim world and how difficult it is to trace variations within the basic formulae. What we find in the Morisco manuscripts here, is a sampling of what this process may have looked like as these kinds of devotions percolated into popular worship.

The four manuscripts in this study that contain stand alone sections of Qur'ānic passages, while differing in the specifics outlined above, by nature of the way their respective Qur'ānic materials are presented closely resemble books of regularly practiced litanies or *awrād* and 'sections' or *aḥzāb*. Upon examination, this terminology is in fact native to the Morisco manuscripts as well, for in J 32 we see the scribe exhorting his audience to read a '*ḥizb* of Sūra Yā-sīn(36), sūras al-Qadar (97), al-Ikhlās (110) and the 'two *qul a'ūdhus*' (Sūrat'l-Falaq [111] and Sūrat'l-Nāṣ [112]) three times each.²⁹⁰ The use of *ḥizb* of structured devotional practice around their use. Padwick summarises many of these in Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*.

²⁸⁸ For instance, MS J 32 Ff 1v, “..like he read one fourth of the Qur’ān”; Ff. 5r, “the heart of the Qur’ān is sura Yā-sīn.”

²⁸⁹ For an introduction to the Shadhiliyya and their practices see, Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life* (Columbia University Press, 2007), especially p. 96-112; also Richard J. A. McGregor, “A Sufi Legacy in Tunis: Prayer and the Shadhiliyya,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 02 (1997): 255–77.

²⁹⁰ Manuscript J 32 Fol. 112v.

here clearly refers to a specific selection of Qurʾān to be read at a particular moment, and not merely a more general 'section' or part. It should be noted here that J 32 itself does not contain passages of the Qurʾān as a constituent text in its own makeup. As such, the implicit assumption within these exhortations is that the intended audience(s) would indeed be familiar with these kinds of allusions to the *suras* as well as the concept of a *ḥizb* in general, indicating that these were indeed words and concepts that would be familiar in Morisco devotional parlance.

The point here, is not to propose that all Morisco devotional works with selections of Qurʾān were books of *aḥzāb*, but rather to demonstrate how, like more well known works of collected *suras*, *ayas* and supplications, they appear to be presented in the manner in which they are, on purpose. This is significant in that it allows us to better envision what role these texts may have had in Morisco communities. The Moriscos do not appear to have produced Qurʾānic texts like these because they were impoverished Muslims whose patchy and scanty ability to know the sources rendered a complete Qurʾān out of their reach, but rather because of their discernible textual focus upon more structured spiritual practice, as is the case with books of *aḥzāb*, *awrād*, *adʿīya* and works pertaining to devotional remembrance or *dhikr* more generally, all of which appear regularly in Islamic sources.²⁹¹

This differs greatly from the conclusion of scholars, such as López-Morillas for instance, who argues that the 'abridgement' of Qurʾāns in Morisco manuscripts “does not seem to appear regularly in the rest of the Islamic world, even in the Maghreb” and thus constitutes a uniquely Morisco phenomenon.²⁹² Without noting it as such this view sees these passages of Qurʾānic text and the comparative lack of *maṣāḥif* as a kind of *rukḥṣa* to suit the particular circumstances of their communities. There is ample evidence to suggest however, that the kinds of Qurʾānic selections and passages we find in Morisco manuscripts, also appear regularly in other Muslim contexts including the Islamic west.²⁹³ While it may

²⁹¹ See Constance E. Padwick, “The Language of Muslim Devotion: I,” *The Muslim World* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 1957): 5–21, doi:10.1111/j.1478-1913.1957.tb02943.x; Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*.

²⁹² López-Morillas, “Genealogy”, 262.

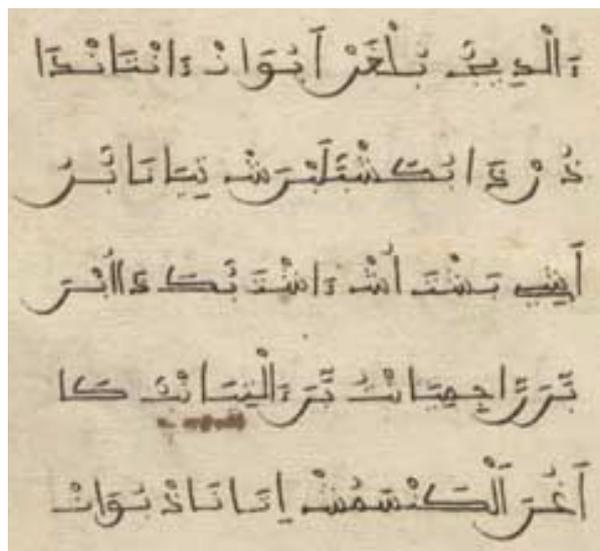
²⁹³ In her most recent survey, Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz also points to a forthcoming article on this very subject in which she examines some of these other kinds of very similar ways of organising Qurʾānic material into smaller books with devotional utility. See her note in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, “Qurʾānic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain,” June 1, 2014, 98–102 See her specific note regarding the forthcoming article on p. 101.

seem appropriate to refer to these Qur'ānic passages within Morisco manuscripts as 'abridged' or 'curtailed', this terminology only applies when they are assessed in isolation. Comparing them with a complete *mushaf* assumes that the Moriscos were in fact interested in the 'whole' but unable to produce it given their perceived linguistic and literary barriers to rendering such a text. Yet, as the analysis of the manuscripts here testifies, there seems to be less indication that the communities who wrote and owned these works were preoccupied with the production of either 'complete' or 'uniform' versions of their sacred texts, but rather, writings which compiled a range of devotional contents in a way that facilitated their utility as part of a larger interest in structured devotions.

This aim is made explicitly by 'the speaker' in J 28 at the conclusion of the section on sacred days and nights in the Islamic calendar and the manuscript volume as a whole:

150v Oh my brothers, much do I entrust you and much do I
 commission you to what we have said up to now (*arriba*), a great deal
 more could I tell you on the value of the months and days and nights
 / 151r from his sayings, but for the clever ones (*diskeretos*) this
 ordinary saying suffices: to a good listener he profits from a few
 words. And so, this little work suffices us for an order/structure
(*rijimiento*) in the time, that now we reach.

Image from MS J 28 150v showing underlined passage.



While I have argued here that most of the manuscripts in the present selection imply it with their contents and the way they are arranged, here, in this passage, we obtain a rare categorical statement of the 'purposefulness' of the contents and their arrangement. While the other manuscripts here do not make such a direct claim, we see this same priority nonetheless, be it in the exhortations to undertake Islamic devotions, their manner of instruction with regard to how and when, and also in terms of what may be recited, with the selected passages of Qur'ān and numerous supplications and litanies organised around repetition, structure and various times of the day, night, week or month. In this way and examining the contents of the manuscripts holistically, the works represent devotional compilations which are significantly comprehensive in their scope of instruction, practice and the overall establishment of a programme of devotions firmly rooted in the intersections between Islamic worship and a sacred calendar.

Morisco interests in sacred time as part of larger environment

The understanding of the contents of Morisco devotional manuscripts from the sixteenth century as less random and more purposeful, enables yet another layer of insight into their varied materials. When examined holistically, we see it was not a particular genre or the 'text as a tome' that is foregrounded in their extant manuscripts, but rather those materials which could facilitate a range of structured devotional uses to a wide spectrum of users. The ways of presenting material and the regular criss-crossing of topics reflects a flexibility of categories which by extension allows us to envision many concurrent functions for these kinds of manuscripts in Morisco religious life. In the sample of the manuscripts here, we can imagine a wide range of potential utilities with concurrent didactic, communal and personal dimensions which include handbooks, compendiums, instruction manuals, prayer books comprising litanies and supplications, collections of Prophetic and aphoristic sayings, and liturgical aids or tools to name only a few.

It would be simple if we could say that manuscripts like J 24, 25, 28 and 32 appear better suited as either personal or communal instructional works, while the collections of prayers in J 41 and J 56 appear to be more like devotional *aides memoir*, yet each of the six manuscripts maintains any or all of these possibilities. This is apparent both in the array of contents within the manuscripts and the range of ways of presenting those contents, both of which are subsumed by the fact that use would ever depend upon the intent of the

Morisco user(s) engaging with a given work.²⁹⁴ Regardless of the particular intentionality, the varied contents reflect the overall interest and emphasis within Morisco manuscripts from the sixteenth century upon sacralising their time, be they from the selected passages of the Qurʾān grouped into sections, or the spectrum of supplications, or the instructions with regard to how to undertake devotional acts and organise them within one's life for numerous occasions and as part of a devotional calendar.

While this emphasis is sometimes explicitly stated, such as in J28 discussed above, it is more often the case that the content is presented without preamble, introduction or explication of context. Thus the more predominant way this overall interest in structure and time manifests in their manuscripts is with a kind of implicit assumption of their function and intent. It is as if the communities who wrote and owned these manuscripts needed no justifications or explanations regarding the contents included, or the purpose(s) and role(s) of the works. Put another way, the textual emphases upon devotions informed by notions of sacred time that we find in the extant sixteenth century manuscripts here, were perhaps so ordinary within the 'world view(s)' of the communities to whom these manuscripts belonged, that it needed little flagging as a 'purpose' for producing these manuscripts.

The question that arises at this stage is to what extent these interests in structure and sacred time discussed here, were uniquely Morisco. As shown above, examining the manuscripts on their own may certainly lead to the conclusion that these codices bear particularly Morisco features.²⁹⁵ However, when we widen our lens of inquiry and contextualise the dominant textual foci discernible within their manuscripts, in the broader environments in which the Moriscos lived, we find that the Moriscos' demonstrable interests in sacralising time via programmatic structured devotions are by no means unique to their communities. While many aspects of Morisco manuscripts are indeed particular in the sense that their overarching textual foci tailor to the specific

²⁹⁴ See particularly the discussion of a lack of 'complete' works such as the Qurʾān discussed in section just previous and the comments by López-Morillas and others that these are uniquely Morisco. Also, the extensive discussion in Chapter Two regarding the ways in which many scholars examine Morisco writings with an implicit assumption that the texts are unique and therefor back-read in a crypto or secrecy agenda into the contents.

²⁹⁵ Many scholars argue this based on two assumptions, firstly that the Moriscos had no choice in the matter of their texts, and second, that

linguistic and confessional requirements of their communities, in so far as the dominant interests themselves are concerned, the Moriscos were once again very much participants in the wider world(s) in which they lived and the 'normative' devotional milieu of the early modern Mediterranean.

Within Islamic worship, emphasis upon structure and notions of sacred time are imbued into the very heart of Islamic devotions from its earliest history. With the reliance upon the movements of earth, moon and sun, the Islamic calendar, like most other pre-modern calendars, maintains an inextricable link between time and religious worship.²⁹⁶ This is particularly resonant in the daily life of a Muslim with the obligatory five daily ritual prayers (*ṣalāt*), the timings of which are determined by the movement and light of the sun. With the day punctuated by intervals of obligatory offered prayers, and the prayer itself a formalised ritual, structured worship is a fundamental trait of Islamic devotions. This is part of the reason why extant Islamic sources, far beyond the Morisco context, also demonstrate the popularity of these kinds of compilations, manuals and handbooks both in Arabic as well as a multitudinous number of vernaculars.²⁹⁷

By the sixteenth century, common texts pertaining to Muslim devotions included books of litanies as mentioned above (*awrād* and *aḥzāb* collections), various summations of key jurists and their jurisprudential positions and more dense philosophical and theological works (*mukhtaṣar*) and other miscellaneous guidance texts such as the *Iḥya Ulūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī or the *Shifā'* of Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, both of which the Moriscos were familiar with, based on the presence of passages of such works present within Morisco manuscripts.²⁹⁸ The genre of the 'aphorism' and 'compendium' also flourished among Muslim authors since the earliest moments of a prolific Islamic written culture. Many scholars attribute this to way in which the religion developed with the Qur'ān itself revealed over two decades as shorter

²⁹⁶ Stephen P. Blake, *Time in Early Modern Islam: Calendar, Ceremony, and Chronology in the Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman Empires* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²⁹⁷ Perhaps the reason that very few scholars attempt to consider these kinds of manuscripts as akin with others is the very practical reason that they are often referred to in such different ways depending on these vernaculars. This is true even in one region, such as the subcontinent for instance where these kinds of works are referred to *wazifa* (pl. *wazā'if*), *panjsuras*, *fazole-amal*, *talimul-Qur'ān*, to name only a few.

²⁹⁸ Devin Stewart also highlights the way such sources are alluded to by Morisco writers citing an instance when Al-Ḥajarī justifies lying about his beliefs by referring to a principle from the *iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* by Al-Ghazālī. See, Stewart, D. "Dissimulation in Sunni Islam", 480-481.

'aphoristic' verses and only later compiled into a single text.²⁹⁹ As organised Sufi orders also became more numerous across the two shores of the Mediterranean, so too did their literature, particularly the devotional litanies and texts on regimented worship, which proliferated among the Muslims, and also the Christians and Jews under their rule.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the aim of referring to this broader context of Islamic devotional works is not to determine their linear relationship (or lack thereof) to the contents of Morisco manuscripts, but rather to demonstrate how their contents contain the amalgamation of many streams from this wider literature. In the case of the many sections pertaining to positive law for instance, these streams include aspects of works from the classical and medieval Islamic textual traditions of the Mediterranean and beyond, pertaining to jurisprudence, theology, beliefs and creed, and ritual practice. While it may very well be the case that some Morisco manuscripts do in fact represent clear cut copies of earlier works rendered into Aljamiado, the majority of the kinds of manuscripts under scrutiny here, contain information that is so 'universal' in wider Islamic contexts, that discovering its 'source' may result only in an atomistic understanding of how these communities engaged with a much larger oral and written tradition. This is not to negate the importance of such studies but rather to highlight that, in their Islamic contexts, the majority of the contents of these manuscripts are so 'standard', that seeking their 'Morisco' features becomes even more difficult.

This is also visible, and perhaps more surprisingly so, when we contextualise these works within the sixteenth century milieu of a predominantly Catholic Spain. To a large extent this milieu consisted of a broader culture of writing in both Christian and Islamic sources, which often presented religious material (and of course other kinds of topics as well) by combining shorter summaries and excerpts of scripture and other religious works

²⁹⁹ See the discussion of this topic by Franz Rosenthal and Dimitri Gutas, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (BRILL, 2007). also the introduction to Abdal Hakim Murad, *Commentary on the Eleventh Contentions* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Quilliam Press Ltd, 2012). Examples abound from the Islamic west, these texts which contained exhortations towards a moral life flourished. In the works of fifteenth century North African mystic Aḥmad Zarrūq for instance we see find not only his only aphoristic or more general imparting of advice but also in the popularity of his commentary of the great aphorist and fourteenth century mystic Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 16 Jumādā II 709/21 November 1309), specifically his prolifically copied and much commented upon *Ḥikam*. See also, Egyptian jurist Ibn Ḥajar al-Askalānī (d. 852/1449) whose works such as *Fatḥ al-Bārī* were well known throughout Islamic West.

and also providing religious instruction and moral guidance. We saw an early example of this from the late Mudéjar period in the works of Içe de Gebir's discussed in Chapter Two. His works in Romance, particularly his rendering of a Romance Qur'ān which we believe to have largely been an amalgamation of translation and commentary (*tafsīr*), and his *Breviario Sunni*, represent similar styles of bringing together various kinds of information and material into a single work.³⁰⁰ Içe de Gebir was in no way singular in this regard as summary compendiums were abundant in both Christian and Islamic sources from this period and earlier. In part this was a manifestation of the shared literary and textual space of the Mediterranean from the earliest moments of Islam in Europe, with overlapping styles, content, themes and languages appearing regularly in texts from both religious traditions.³⁰¹ It also reflects how in spite of differing theologies, religious traditions often include common devotional practices and ways of articulating, sharing, informing and transmitting knowledge of their beliefs and practices in similar ways.³⁰²

Whether as general compendiums or more specific prayer manuals, it is important to note here, that these kinds of texts were often reflective of both, the established outpourings of the learned scholars, as well as more local elements of religious praxis during this period. This is argued by William Christian for instance when he hypothesises that much of literature pertaining to devotions synthesised 'canon' with local custom, practice and particularities.³⁰³ In the works here, we see a similar phenomenon with content typically associated with established positions within the Mālikī school of law, such

³⁰⁰ See Wieggers, *Islamic Literature*, and he discusses the point I reference here, explicitly his discussion of the impact of the Segovian Muftī upon subsequent authors, 115-183.

³⁰¹ This is the very theme of discussion for much of Menocal's work, see Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); María Rosa Menocal, *The Literature of Al-Andalus* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

³⁰² See for instance, Robert Norman Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe: C.1215-1515* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially p. 278-300. Scholarship on *devotio moderna* also raises interesting questions in this regard, see Elena Carrera, *Teresa of Avila's Autobiography: Authority, Power and the Self in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Spain* (MHRA, 2005), 19-41. Although a contemporary example, this study of overlapping shrine worship in Syria has much to offer the field of Mediterranean studies as well regarding shared practices and traditions, Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

³⁰³ See, William A. Christian, *Local Religion in 16th-Century Spain* (Princeton University Press, 1989). This is essentially his thesis in the book but point explicitly made on p. 174-175.

as the ritual prayer and mandatory alms giving, presented alongside those beliefs and practices that were often condemned by Mālikī 'ulamā', such as the placing of objects within a grave, as seen in J 24 and J 32 with the 'letter for a deceased'.³⁰⁴ This way of bringing together a spectrum of available materials as it were, is another manifestation of what I argue was a cross-confessionally shared devotional interest in producing written or printed materials to facilitate the sacralisation of time. While evidence of this is so numerous that an exhaustive list of such works requires a study to itself, a few key examples provide the necessary context, underscoring once again, that the Moriscos' ways of producing devotional works seems less a feature of their isolation and much more evidence of their contributions to the wider religious environment(s) in which they lived.³⁰⁵

From the Christian context, earlier texts like *The Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (1229-1298) which laid out a systematic calendar of worship and was immensely popular in the medieval period and translated into several vernaculars, helped spur the popularity of the vernacular prayerbook organised according to a devotional calendar.³⁰⁶ Historians of Christian religious praxis in sixteenth century also demonstrate that at a 'non-elite' level, local calendars based around patron saints and other locally significant events were common throughout early modern Spain.³⁰⁷ The more popular of such works among Christian audiences from the sixteenth century have been outlined by Allison Weber in her cogent summation of the subject, which demonstrates how pervasive a literary culture of handbooks, guidebooks and prayer books was during this period for both learned

³⁰⁴ See manuscripts, J 24. also J 32, 138v-142v. Also for a more extensive discussion of the placing of the letters with the deceased, see, Echevarria, "Islamic Confraternities and Funerary Practices," 358,366.

³⁰⁵ For an excellent introduction to this corpus of literature see, David T. Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). particularly, Chapter 8 by Allison P. Weber, 'Religious literature in early modern Spain'.

³⁰⁶ See the introduction to the new translation of the *Legenda Aurea* for an excellent discussion of the context and history of this text in, Jacobus De Voragine and William Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton University Press, 2012). While there is not space to discuss this at present, we also come across ample examples from the Genizah collection which contains manuscript fragments which regularly highlight the spiritually significant days in the Jewish and Islamic calendars.

³⁰⁷ William A. Christian, *Local Religion*. He demonstrates that villages also had their own particular calendars based on local reported miracles and sacred moments, 174.

and laymen, noting that “In fact, after books of hours, and hagiographies, guidebooks to prayer constituted one of the most popular genres of religious literature during the sixteenth century. Between 1500-1559 more than 22 different guidebooks to prayer were published in Castilian, many of these in multiple editions”.³⁰⁸ Thus made even more accessible by the invention of the printing press and the widely available printed book, the sixteenth century saw a further increase in these kinds of texts. Devotional works like the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis and the numerous *Breviary* texts that organised ritual worship into specific times of the day and calendar year, provided handbooks of moral and religious guidance and made this kind of content widely accessible to audiences in numerous vernaculars.³⁰⁹ A particularly illustrative set of examples here, is in the many devotional works we find printed in sixteenth century France with manuals containing instructions such as, “Here begins a little instructional manual and way of life for a [Catholic] laywoman: how she ought to conduct herself in thought, in word, and in deed the length of the day, and for all the days of her life, in order to please Our Lord Jesus Christ and to amass celestial riches for the profit and salvation of her soul.”³¹⁰

As the analysis of the manuscripts here and the many examples in the supplementary data demonstrate, the parallels in Morisco manuscripts with the kind of excerpt from this manual for the Catholic laywoman, are many. We know from their

³⁰⁸ Allison Weber, “Religious Literature in Early Modern Spain” in Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, 149-158. She contextualises the popularity of these kinds of books in the context of particular methods of Catholic devotions that were raising concerns among the learned churchmen.

³⁰⁹ Carrera discusses the popularity of the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas Kempis as an example. His work, which focussed on methodical, structured devotions was as much a huge influence of 16th century Spain as Franciscan from Italy. (p. 28) She also notes that Cardinal Cisneros actively disseminated these works in Spanish vernacular through his printing house in Alcalá and wanted them to be an active part of the instruction manuals. (p 34), See Carrera, *Teresa of Avila’s Autobiography*.

³¹⁰ This particular reference is from, Thomas Head, “A Sixteenth Century Devotional Manual for Catholic Laywomen,” *Vox Benedictina: A Journal of Translations from Monastic Sources* 4, no. 1 (1987): 40–59, p. 1. Also, regarding the phenomenon of large scale printing of such works from French printing houses see the fascinating research conducted in, Robert M. Kingdon, “The Plantin Breviaries: A Case Study in the Sixteenth-Century Business Operations of a Publishing House,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 22, no. 1 (January 1, 1960): 133–50, doi:10.2307/20674169.

contents that Morisco manuscripts often contain elements from these Christian texts, such as the Mancebo de Arevalo's 'rendering' of the *Imitation of Christ*, and the inclusion of the parable of the prodigal son in J 25 in a sermon on 'Īd'l-Adhā. As we cannot know at what stage these particular references from these Christian devotional works entered into the Muslim devotional texts, inferring a particular subtext into their so called 'appropriation' may be reading more into the manuscripts than is actually there. What we can surmise from the appearance of such overt references is the ways in which different confessional communities appear to have been able to draw upon multiple traditions, in their own articulations of their shared interests in structuring one's time around the worship of God.

The critical point to be drawn from all of this is that the Moriscos interest' in structure and time appears to be less an interest in 'passing' or 'getting through' time due to their particular circumstances and more a reflection that these interests were the concerns of the 'everyman' in this period. What we see here then, is more complex than purely 'lamentation' or 'resistance' literature.³¹¹ In the multiple ways in which the Morisco works here demonstrate engagement with the broader environment on their own terms, we see something more complex than purely a minority resistance *against* a dominant and overbearing majority. We also see participation, engagement, cultivation and even confidence that the communities who wrote and owned these devotional manuscripts believed that works which articulated the why, how, what and when of Islamic worship in a largely Catholic sixteenth century Spain were not only possible, but natural.

³¹¹ As viewed by Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature*.

Conclusion

This thesis explored Morisco religiosity through a selection of their extant sixteenth century devotional manuscripts. By contextualising the manuscripts and their producers in the broader environments of sixteenth century Spain and the Mediterranean, I argued that the Moriscos are neither as 'crypto' nor as 'isolated' as we often perceive them. While the 'crypto-Muslim minority' epithet may certainly apply to some sections of their communities, it falls drastically short in describing what we see in the manuscripts examined here. In these works which focus upon normative Islamic worship rather than conditional dispensations, we obtain a view into what I demonstrate is an overarching interest in structured devotions and sacred time. When we contextualise the manuscripts in the wider milieu in which they were produced, we see Morisco participation in broader literary and textual trends as well as cross-confessional interests in establishing devotions in accordance with a sacred calendar. This 'de-particularising' of their communities is significant in that it allows us to include the Moriscos and their writings in studies of social, cultural and religious histories beyond Iberian contexts. As such, extant Morisco devotional writings emerge as an important component in the study of the people and ideas of the early modern Mediterranean.

One of the central aims of the present study has been to encourage a move beyond single overarching narratives towards understandings of Morisco communities as complex and dynamic. In Chapter One I demonstrated that for some Morisco communities, forced conversion most likely resulted in a need to practise Islam in secret, while for others, it appears to have entailed little or no change in their daily life, while for others still, it involved sincere attachment to their newly embraced Catholic faith, and many other responses to their situations within and beyond this spectrum. The objective of the historical overview in this chapter was not to diminish or undermine the very real struggles that many in their communities faced, but to redraw the balance and propose that likewise, not every Morisco who wished to maintain Islamic beliefs and practices despite their conversions, faced the same challenges and/or degrees of persecution. As such, while terms like 'crypto' and 'isolated/minority' may apply to some Moriscos, they certainly do not do justice to the wide range of their experiences.

This more complex approach to Morisco history has significant methodological implications for how we understand their extant devotional manuscripts. If crypto-Islam is

not the sole concomitant of Morisco historical experiences, then surely their written devotional works may also be examined in frames outside of 'secret literature'.³¹² The challenge here involves analysing and interpreting what we find in their manuscripts, without imposing external frames which may limit our investigations. What is required then, is an approach which considers Morisco written works as part of a diverse space. As such, Chapter Two examined how their uses of the Aljamiado and the varied ways of composing their written works signify Morisco participation in broader trends such as an increase in the use of written vernaculars and a move from a largely oral/aural 'textual' world to a predominantly written and printed one. Regarding their uses of language, the chapter demonstrated the possibilities of seeing the use of Aljamiado not just as a function of Morisco distance from Arabic, but also as an assertion of their claim upon Spanish vernacular. In this regard, Morisco communities were participants in a part of the 'majority' of early modern Mediterranean and European inhabitants moving toward a written vernacular in the production of their religious texts.

Their participation in the wider textual movements of their age is also represented in the composition of their texts. To an external reader, Morisco devotional manuscripts pose a significant challenge to scholarly attempts at categorising them. When viewed as part of a larger context however, we see that the wide amalgam of materials and varied composition we find in Morisco devotional manuscripts can be understood as evidence of communities moving from largely oral/aural modes of 'textual' transmission to increasingly written ones. This allows us to better assess the confluence of compositional styles and 'sources' within their works less as a confirmation of their intellectual and literary 'decline' and more as an important indication that the Moriscos who wrote these works were part of emerging communities of early modern writers.

Poised with an understanding of the Moriscos as more dynamic and engaged, Chapters 3 and 4 turned to a detailed scrutiny of a selection of their sixteenth century devotional writings. The aim of these chapters was to examine the contents of the manuscripts both individually and comparatively in order to determine what, if any, content foci emerge, and what this in turn reveals about the devotional interests of the people to whom these works belonged. Chapter Three demonstrated that the overwhelming content focus of the manuscripts appears to be on Islamic worship under 'normative' circumstances, as opposed to the conditional dispensation or *rukḥṣa*. This is

³¹² López-Baralt, "The Secret Literature of the Last Muslims of Spain."

entirely surprising when we consider the manuscripts as the products of 'crypto-muslims', but less so when we understand them as the devotional works of those Moriscos for whom 'crypto' may not have been the sole *modus operandi*.

One of the most significant conclusions we can draw from the findings in Chapter Three is that the Moriscos engaged with the Islamic positive law in their extant devotional manuscripts. If we found no dispensations within their works, or even non-Morisco specific dispensations, we would have to conclude that the positive law within these works appears more like an inheritance, as there would be nothing contemporary to link it to the Moriscos. Similarly, if only Morisco-specific dispensations were the dominant focus of their works, we could propose that dissimulation (*taqiyya*) was the key preoccupation of these communities and that al-Wahrānī's (The Muftī of Oran) *fatwā* articulating the core precepts of these dispensations, had played a key role in the collation of the information pertaining to positive law within their works. As this chapter demonstrated however, what we find within the Morisco manuscripts here, is something far more complex, in that Morisco-specific dispensations are indeed present but *not* prioritised. This is indicative that Moriscos to whom these works belonged had an awareness of the applicability of the dispensation to their situation(s), both conceptually and as practical tools for evading Inquisitional persecution. This in and of itself is noteworthy in providing evidence in their own words, of some of the tactics which many Moriscos may have used in their religious practices to 'outwit' their Inquisitors, should such a need arise.

That the Moriscos did not foreground dispensations specific to their situations in their manuscripts then, is indicative of their engagement with Sunni positive law beyond a passive reception. This engagement may not be the result of a particularly 'conscious' effort but may simply indicate once again that the 'need' for these dispensations was not equally present to the same degree in all Morisco communities. I propose that is also indicative of an implicit awareness of certain paradigmatic concepts associated with the Sharī'a. We have no textual evidence in these manuscripts to demonstrate that the Moriscos discussed the legal maxims (*qawā'id*) underpinning Sunni *uṣūl al-fiqh* upon which the mechanisms to alleviate difficulty within the positive law, are based.³¹³ Yet, in the ways in which these Morisco-specific dispensations are present but not *focused* upon, it is almost as if the Moriscos to whom these works belonged did not prioritise the dispensation

³¹³ Mohammad Hashim Kamali, "Legal Maxims and Other Genres of Literature in Islamic Jurisprudence," *Arab Law Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (January 1, 2006): 77–101.

because an understanding of the conditionality of the law is taken as a given within the contents. This explains why we do not encounter manuals of *taqiyya* in the manuscripts examined here, but rather, contents which assume the conditionally dependent adaptability of Sunni positive law.

This has significant implications in Morisco studies as well as wider Islamic legal studies. In her cogent examination of al-Wansharīsī and others' legal opinions, Hendrickson notes that al-Wahrānī's *fatwā* must have been of great importance to its intended audience, i.e. the Moriscos. She cites Harvey here who proposes that al-Wahrānī's *fatwā* is the key theological document for the study of Spanish Islam during the Morisco period.³¹⁴ While I do not wish to entirely contest this view, the evidence in these manuscripts suggests that the impact of al-Wahrānī's *fatwā* upon the Moriscos' own engagements with Mālikī positive law has been overestimated. In these works, we see little of al-Wahrānī's dispensations and far more of the kinds of information that would be at home in most works of *furū' al-fiqh*. While it may be the case that members of Morisco communities circulated al-Wahrānī's *fatwā*, there is enough evidence in even the selection of manuscripts here to justify a reassessment of Harvey's claim that it is the 'key theological document' that should inform our study of the Moriscos' religiosity. Hendrickson demonstrates that al-Wahrānī's position does not appear to have been used by later jurists in the articulation of their judgements with regard to dissimulating in times of duress, but rather that these jurists focussed on the well established interpretations of certain Qur'ānic verses.³¹⁵ Similarly, perhaps it is time in the field of Morisco studies to also explore the Moriscos' use of dispensations as part of implicit understandings of the purposes of law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'a*) rather than as purely a function of a single *fatwā*.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate," 329.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 270.

³¹⁶ In his most recent contribution to the field, Dadson notes "In many ways, the accepted history of the Moriscos to date is like a house built the wrong way round, with the roof put on before the foundations have even been dug and the walls erected. Most histories talk about the Moriscos as if they were a single, homogenous group, all acting as one regardless of where they lived in the Peninsula and not taking into account any local or regional variations. In short...a roof formed on too many overarching studies lacking the walls and foundations of detailed local studies." Trevor J. Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2014).3-4

This recognition would essentially 'de-particularise' the kinds of Morisco manuscripts we find here and in turn open many possibilities to examine their manuscripts in wider studies of Islamic law. One of the areas of Islamic history where a significant gap remains regards the extent to which the debates of medieval Islamic theologians and jurists about deeply philosophical concepts related to the purposes of the Sharī'a, inform audiences beyond their more 'academic' circles. Aspects of this answer may lay in the many varied ways of presenting positive law that we find in the manuscripts here, which demonstrate the plethora of ways in which theological concepts and legal opinions were synthesised within Morisco manuscripts. Thus, some manuscripts such as J28 present the information pertaining to positive law in a more systematic way reminiscent of a work of *fiqh*, others like J 32, present aspects of positive law in a way that is far more akin to the earlier *ḥadīth* compilations which collect Prophetic/pious narrations and organise them by aspects of worship. In this regard, the manuscripts examined here present an interesting case study in illuminating the kind of epistemologies which inform the devotional materials therein. As mentioned above, while the maxims of positive law (*qawā'id*) are not mentioned by name in the works they are certainly being negotiated, and are thus 'present' in an informing sense. Thus, including the works of 'laymen' such as the Morisco manuscripts examined here, along side those of jurists widens the discourse and thereby enables more complex understandings about Sharī'a and its interpretations through various manifestations of positive law.

One of the most interesting and under-studied aspects of the Morisco manuscripts in this regard, is what I propose they evidence about their 'optimism'. Most medieval theologians and jurists would concur that one of the primary goals of Sharī'ā is to facilitate the best life for the individual.³¹⁷ Within an Islamic context, that 'best life' is obedience to God and thus the goal of positive law and task before the jurists is to facilitate this obedience, in any condition. In this sense, derivation of positive law is an exercise in possibilities. By all reasonable accounts, the positive law within Morisco manuscripts should reflect the curtailments to their possibilities in undertaking Islamic worship which the illegality of their faith in sixteenth century Spain would have required. That we find the opposite, is an indication of how the people in their communities responsible for the production of these kinds of manuscripts, included their positive law with an

³¹⁷ This view is widely accepted after al-Ghazālī's conceptualisation of the *maqāsid* as the foundation of life. See 'Āshūr, *Ibn Ashur, Treatise on Maqasid Al-Shariah*.

understanding of it as a means for facilitating possibilities, no matter what the conditions.³¹⁸

What is particularly striking in this regard is that the 'possibilities' within the contents here are not limited to responses to 'crisis'. Indeed, crisis is virtually absent in the vast majority of their devotional contents which instead largely consist of a staggering range of obligatory as well as supererogatory devotions. Chapter Four turned to an examination of these contents and demonstrated that the manuscripts here provide significantly comprehensive repositories of information pertaining to the 'how, what and when' of an expansive array of acts of Islamic worship. If only religious obligations were foregrounded in the manuscripts, a claim about the 'optimism' of the contents would be more difficult to make. For indeed, this would imply that these communities were largely focussed on the bare minimum of Islamic worship which could be undertaken. As this Chapter demonstrated however, religious obligations are regularly accompanied and overshadowed by an emphasis upon supererogatory devotions. In these contents which exhort their audience(s) to undertake a full spectrum of Islamic devotions, it is not the 'crisis' that is foregrounded, but the 'everyday'.

This Chapter demonstrated that the seemingly disparate materials found in the contents here are in fact indicative of an overarching content focus upon the 'everyday' sacralisation of time. Identifying this content focus allows us to better understand the composition of Morisco devotional manuscripts as well as gain important insights into aspects of their religiosity. For instance, the discussion of the Qur'ānic passages within the manuscripts demonstrated that the discernible interest in more structured devotions, explains the preference for sections of the Qur'ānic text within these manuscripts. Thus it was not the Qur'ānic *muṣḥaf* as a sacred tome that appears to have been of interest to these communities, but rather selections and passages which could facilitate their 'everyday' devotions. Contrary to confirming their isolation or 'unique-ness in this regard, the passages of Qur'ānic text within the manuscripts here share many similarities to those found in the books of *aḥzab* or *awrād*. Thus, not only are these manuscripts more organised and comprehensive than often considered, they are also more 'typical' when examined alongside other devotional manuscripts which share their interest in sacred time. In fact,

³¹⁸ Louis Bernabé Pons echoes this sentiment in a recent article, noting that the all encompassing notion of *taqiyya* and 'lamentation' within the field must be thoroughly examined. Luis F. Bernabé-Pons, "Taqiyya, Niyya Y El Islam de Los Moriscos," *Al-Qanṭara* 34, no. 2 (2013): 491–527.

as this Chapter demonstrated, when examined in relation to the broader milieu of the early modern Mediterranean, the content focus of these manuscripts is overwhelmingly congruous with wider cross-confessional interests in more structured devotions and sacred calendars.

Examining the manuscripts in context demonstrates that rather than confirming their place on the 'fringes' of the world(s) in which they lived, Morisco devotional interests were those of quintessential residents of the early modern Mediterranean. In this sense, the Moriscos emerge as part of a space and contributors to its dynamism rather than purely 'reactors'. For instance, the use of Christian material in their devotional manuscripts may be less representative of syncretism on account of their being baptised Christians, and more an indication of a sense of their 'claims' or entitlement to materials within a shared intellectual/religious space. This is even more so considering that the notion of a 'shared space', with Christianity and Judaism in particular, is hardly unique to the Moriscos but an integral component of Islamic theological discourses which see these three faiths as part of the continuous unfolding of Abrahamic monotheism.³¹⁹ To a large degree then, Morisco religiosity is inextricably intertwined with the wider environments of the medieval and early modern Mediterranean, but not necessarily in terms only defined by 'appropriation' or 'resistance'.

The implications for understanding Morisco communities as such are profound. First, it demonstrates that Morisco experiences in sixteenth century Spain were not purely defined by oppositional struggles between 'dominant' and 'subjugated' but evidence of something far more complex than these terms allow. As predominantly Romance speaking communities writing in their variants of vernacular and keenly interested in a rhythm of worship informed by a sacred calendar, the Morisco communities represented in the manuscripts here cannot be adequately described as 'subjugated' let alone as 'minorities'. Similar issues arise in describing their communities as 'Mediterranean'. While the Moriscos may have been participants in a broader religious interest in the sacralisation of time, culturally, they were often rather distinct from their North African neighbours. This becomes especially clear after their expulsions to North Africa where they were often perceived as too 'Spanish'. They may be referred to as Mediterranean communities then, in as much as 'Mediterranean' is a signifier for a hugely diverse space. Given that the

³¹⁹ See this discussion in Tim Winter, "The Last Trump Card," *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue* 9, no. 2 (September 1, 1999): 133–55, doi:10.2143/SID.9.2.2003988.

manuscripts here only represent one substratum within Morisco communities, when these narratives are added to those already generated, we may begin to see how the Moriscos are indeed a microcosm of this larger diverse space.

In the present study of Morisco devotional manuscripts, we are privy to members of their communities who focussed on possibilities rather than limitations. What these communities were actually able to do in terms of their Islamic worship is a story the manuscripts alone cannot tell. This requires examining these kinds of Morisco manuscripts along side other records and more emerging voices. This would enable the undertaking of the kinds of studies proposed by García-Arenal, which call for more comprehensive understandings of Morisco religiosity.³²⁰ While Baralt and others examine the 'lamentations' within Morisco history, the manuscripts examined here represent a more 'optimistic' narrative also present within their communities. The aim of the present project is not to propose a radical re-imagining of the Moriscos as we know them, but rather to begin the process of 'de-centering' and include more narratives in our overall understandings of their communities and the spaces in which they lived.

³²⁰ By Mercedes García-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age," *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 1, 2009).

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Appendix I: Manuscript Contents

Part of the difficulty in any attempt to 'index' the contents is that by their very nature, the contents are often 'un-indexible'. Rather than attempt to force them into a one-size fit, the approach adopted here is more fluid, balancing certain conventions with what the manuscripts themselves contain. Not all sections are described equally, as not all merit equal description. The attempt has been to capture wherever possible, the simultaneous chaos and order that these manuscripts exhibit.

JUNTA 24

Catalogue Description

1r-7v.	[Cuentas de Juan Meçod]
9r.	[Oración.]
10r-13r.	[Adua.]
21v-46v-60r.	[Azoras.]
61r-v	[Attahiatu]
62v-66r.	“La orden de los cinco açalaes y cómo se an de fazer”.
68r-70v.	[Carta para la fuesa]
70v-76r.	[Hadiz sobre las ventajas de los días de la semana para la oración]
82r-v.	[Cuentas.]

Detailed Description

1r-7v	[Accounts and Pen exercises]
8r-v	Blank Pages
9r	“This is the supplication of the page/text and it is of much benefit”
10r-13r	“This is the supplication of the page and it is of much benefit” Both prayers are written in Arabic with no Aljamiado translations and consist of multiple formulaic prayers exalting God with praise, seeking forgiveness and extolling some of the ninety-nine names of God.
13v-21r	Blank Pages
21v-45r	[Qur’ānic suras and ayas]
35r	[<i>Tasdiq</i> and <i>shahāda</i>] “God, the Exalted has spoken true and His generous Messenger has spoken true, I testify that there is not god but The God, I testify that Muḥammad is His messenger.”
35v-45v	[Last half of juz ‘amma]

- 46r-v “The five supplications which Gabriel, upon whom be peace, came with.”
An enumeration of five permutations of declarations of the oneness of God (*tahlīlāt*) and the declaration of faith (*shahāda*).
- 47r Pen exercises [*tasmiya* and *taṣliya*]
- 48r-59r [Qur’ānic suras and ayas]
When combined with previous selection of verses, these Qur’ānic chapters complete the thirtieth section (*juz’*) of the Qur’ān.
- 59v-60r [Untitled]
Invocation composed of formulas of *tahlīlat* and *taḥmīdāt* and *taṣliyāt*, in non grammatical Arabic.
- 61r-v [Untitled]
The *tashāhud*, or a supplication recited during the performance of ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) while in the seated position.
- 62v-66v “The manner of the five daily prayers and how one performs them”
Explication of the *ṣalāt*, or ritual prayer. The scribe enumerates each prayer, its timing in the day, describes the manner of its performance with regard to what should be recited in each.
- 68r-v “This is the letter for the coffin/deceased...”
- 69r-70r “This is the letter for the coffin/deceased...”
Explication of the *ṣalāt*, or ritual prayer. The scribe enumerates each prayer, its timing in the day, describes the manner of its performance with regard to what should be recited in each.
- 70v-76r: “Chapter on the advantages of the seven days of the week”
The text begins with a Prophetic narration on the benefits of performing supererogatory prayers on Sundays, and continues in like manner, enumerating narrations and the various supererogatory deeds, prayers, devotional formulas and general acts of goodness that may be recited or performed on each days of the week to gain particular spiritual benefit or advantages in the life to come.
- 76v-78r [Blank Pages]
- 78v- 80v [Blank pages, partial supplications and pen exercises]
- 81r [Personal documents in Romance]
- 82r-88v [Accounts and Pen Exercises]

Junta 25

Catalogue Description

1. 1v-100r. Traducción interlineada del Corán: 1-3, 36, 67, 78-114.
2. 100v-110v. “Esta es l-aljutba de la Pascua / de las adaheas, in šā’a Allāh”
3. 110v-130v. [Tradiciones del Profeta]
4. 130v-149r. [Tradición de Ibnu Abbas sobre el sacrificio del hijo de Abraham].
5. 149r-154v. “Aljutba para l-aljumu’a que se nonbra en ella la muerte i-el día del juicio”.
6. 154v-173v. “Aljutba de la Pascua de Ramadán”
7. 174r-182r. “Pedricación de la noche del laylatu el qadri, in šā’a Allah tacalà”.
8. 182v-183v. “Este es el atahiatu para el açalá”. [Árabe con su traducción aljamiada.]
9. 183v-184r. “Este es el alqanut de ačubhi”. [Árabe con su traducción aljamiada.]

Detailed Description

- No Foliation [Untitled]
Arabic grammar rules pertaining to nouns, verbs and prepositions (*hurūf al-jarr*).
- No Foliation [Untitled]
Instructions on what should be done after the birth of a child, if the child lives or dies, such as being in a state of ritual purity, offering extra ritual prayer, giving the child a Muslim name, etc.
- 1v-93r “*Fātiḥatu’l-kitāb*” Opening of the book
Qur’ānic chapters and verses with interlinear Aljamiado translation. The Arabic verses are written with care and attention to details such as the breaks between *ayās*, and title headings before new chapters.
- 93r-100r “These are the verses from the Qur’ān of great benefit and they are the following”
ta’āwudh
[2] Al-Baqara (152-157)
otro eleya in shā’ Allāh, followed by *ta’āwudh*
[18] Al-Kahf 107-110
otro eleya in shā’ Allāh, followed by *ta’āwudh*
[56] Al-Wāqi’a 75-96
otro eleya in shā’ Allāh, followed by *ta’āwudh*
[59] Al-Ḥashr 18-24
[37] Al-Šāffāt 180-182

- 100v-149r *Khuṭba ‘id’l-‘adhā(t?)* “Sermon for the Festival of The Sacrifice”
- 149r-154v “The *khuṭba* for *laljumu‘a* in which is recounted death and the day of judgement.”
- 154v-174r “The *khuṭba* for the festival of *aramadan*.”
- 174v-182r “Sermon for the night of *laylatu elqadri*, in *shā’ Allāhu ta’āl*”
- 182v-183r “This is the *ataḥiyetu* for the *ṣala*”
This section includes two recitations performed in the ritual prayer. The first, titled by its first word here, is known as the *tashāhud* is recited when seated in the ritual prayer. It is presented in Arabic and then followed by an Aljamiado translation (*sharḥe* from the Ar. *sharḥ*)
- 183r “And this is its *sharḥe*”
- 183v “This is the *alqunūd* of *aṣubḥ*”
Prayer known as the *qunūt* (standing), named as such given its recitation while in the standing position of the final cycle of the morning ritual prayer. It is first presented in Arabic (183v) and then followed by an Aljamiado translation (184r) and followed by small note: *tamtu* (tammat?)
- 184r “And this is its *sharḥe*”
- 184v Pen exercises [*basmala* and Romance]

Junta 28

Catalogue Description

- 1.- Ff. 1r-84v. Azoras coránicas.
- 2.- F. 84v. Oración. [En árabe.]
- 3.- Ff. 86r-97v. “Los aduaes del-alwadú”.
- 4.- Ff. 114v-141v. “Regimiento de las lunas”.
- 5.- Ff. 141v-152r. “El afadila y gualardón del día del algumua”.

Detailed Description

Flyleaf-1r	[Pen Exercises; Ornament and design] <i>basmla</i> , partial <i>sūra</i> 114 from the Qur'ān (al-Nās, 'Mankind')
1r-37v-84v	<i>Fātiḥatu'l-kitāb</i> /Opening of the book [Two sections of Qur'ānic passages]
1r-37v	[Chapters and verses from the Qur'ān] Chapters and verses from the Qur'ān beginning with a the first chapter (<i>sūrat'l-Fātiḥa</i>) and concluding with ornamental calligraphy, a <i>tasdiq</i> or <i>tahmīd</i> (<i>al mulku lillāhi wāḥidu'l-qahhār</i>) and verses 180-182 from <i>sūra</i> al-Ṣāffāt [37], typically associated with the conclusion of a recitation, gathering or supplication.
38r-84v	[The complete thirtieth section of the Qur'ān] The complete thirtieth section of the Qur'ān from Chapters [78] Al-Nab' (The Great Tiding) - [114] Al-Nās (Mankind). This section also concludes with verses 180-182 from <i>sūra</i> al-Ṣāffāt [37], once again those verses associated with the conclusion of a recitation, gathering or supplication.
85r-114r	“The <i>adu'ā'es</i> for <i>waḍū</i> ” More than a collection of supplications, this passage pertains entirely to the manner and performance of ritual worship, beginning with the steps of ritual washing and the supplications to recite during each step, the call to prayer, (both the initial call (<i>adhān</i>) and the standing call (<i>iqāma</i>), followed by the <i>qunūt</i> and <i>tashāhud</i> supplications recited during the ritual prayer, and then a detailed section beginning on 103r with the title: <i>la orden/iras de los cinco azaleas y como san de fazer</i> , on the manner of performing the ritual prayer. This is followed by a section on the conditions for what kind of water can be used in ritual purification as well as the manner of making ritual ablutions in the absence of water (<i>tayammum</i>), and the various invocations to be recited after the completion of the ritual prayer. This section concludes with an ornamental design.
114v-141v	“This is the schedule of the lunar months and their value for the Muslims.”
141v-148r	“The benefit of the day of <i>jumu'a</i> [sic.]”
148r-152r	“Oh my brothers...” [Concluding remarks of the work]
152v	Arabic Pen Exercises

Junta 32

Catalogue Description

[Fragmento A]: 1v-68v. [Capítulos y narraciones de índole religiosa.]

[Fragmento B]: 69r-75v. [Oraciones.]

[Fragmento C]: 76r-108v. [Capítulos y narraciones de índole religiosa.] Ápodo.

[Fragmento D]: 109-117v. [Capítulos y narraciones de índole religiosa.] Acéfalo y ápodo.

[Fragmento E]: 118r-122v. [Oraciones e invocaciones.] Acéfalo y ápodo.

[Fragmento F]: 123r-130v. [Oraciones e invocaciones.] Acéfalo y ápodo.

[Fragmento G]: 131r-134v. [Oraciones y narraciones.]

[Fragmento H]: 135r-150v. [Oraciones y narraciones.]

Detailed Description

- 1v [Untitled] “The best two *surash* to read in the two *arrak^hash* of the dawn before the *ṣala* of the *ṣubḥi...*”
Roughly composed as a series of chapters or narrations, this section of the manuscript contains a staggering variety of information pertaining to Islamic devotions, beliefs and religious practices. It includes what suras and ayas should be read at particular times, multiple prophetic narrations regarding the undertaking of an array of obligatory and supererogatory devotions and multitudinous supplications, invocations and formulaic litanies.
- 69r [Hand change] [untitled; middle of the *tashāhud* in vocalised Arabic]
- 69v “*al-qunūt al-Subḥ*”
Supplication in vocalised Arabic
- 70v “The manner of *alwaḍu*”
Instructions for making ritual ablutions with accompanying supplications
- 74v “The names of the lunar months”
Lists the months followed by important days for worship therein.
- 76r-108v [Return to first hand] “On Fasting”
As before, chapters and narrations on a huge array of devotions.
- 109r-134v [untitled] heading: *fadas*
This section is composed of multiple different hands and covers a range of topics including a ceremony upon the birth of a baby, the call to prayer and other

supplications, invocations and more formulaic litanies

- 135r-138r [unvocalised Arabic, possibly pen exercise?]
This section is a larger fragment and marked by another hand change. The content is more ambiguous consisting of a supplication that looks to be translated, with the repeated refrain “In the Name of the One who has created all things” and like so.
- 138v-140v “Letter for the Deceased”
Preamble in Aljamiado followed by a supplication in Arabic
- 140v- “This is the prayer for the dead”
- 143v “These are words of great value” [note on top reads: *atasbiḥar*]
Consists of numerous invocations in Arabic and Aljamiado with explanations in Aljamiado. Continues for several folios like so.
- 145v-150r “These are the days of the lunar months to see which of them is good and which of them is ill fated.”
Follows with several descriptions of the days that are beneficial for certain kinds of activities. Ends with a small note reading 'tamtu' (possibly *tammat?*)
- 150v [Untitled]
List of Beneficial devotional acts

Junta 41

Catalogue Description

[Fragmento 1]: 11v-15r. “Esta es rogaria de agua para cuando abrá necesidad”.

[Fragmento 2]: 1.- Ff. 21r-31r. Los siete alhaicales: desde el final del tercero (acéfalo) hasta el séptimo. 2.- Ff. 31r-92v. Taḥihs y rogarias (aduas). 3.- Ff. 92v-93v. “Las aduas que dirás cuando farás azalá al muerto”: [texto árabe]. 4.- Ff. 94r-114r. Fragmentos del Corán. 5.-113r-114r. [Dicho del profeta.] 114v-127v. [Texto religioso árabe-aljamiado interlineado.]

[Fragmento 3]: 137r-187v. Azoras coránicas. 187v-188v. [Oraciones.]

Detailed Description

- 9r-11r Blank
- 11v-15r “This is the prayer for water, for when one has a necessity for praying for water”
Smaller fragment and different paper and hand than the rest of text.
Mostly Aljamiado with a few Arabic phrases scattered throughout the prayer.

15v-20v	Blank
21r-31r	[Untitled] Part of a supplication common in Morisco manuscripts called The seven <i>alhaycales</i> . The last section of the third ' <i>al-haykal</i> ' until the seventh in vocalised Arabic.
31r-92v	“ <i>Rasbīh al-malayikati'l-adhīna yaḥmalūna'l-arsh</i> ” [sic.] A collection of supplications and ' <i>tasbihes</i> ' in the same hand and style of previous text, in vocalised Arabic. Some of the supplications here are also constructed like litanies with a repeating refrain (usually written in red ink). Ff. 80V contains a 'magic square'
92v- 93v	[Hand Change] “the <i>adu'ā'es</i> that you say when you perform the <i>ṣala</i> for the deceased.” The title is in Aljamiado and the main supplication is in vocalised Arabic. Foliation also askew from this point on.
94r-113r	[Untitled] Qur'ānic suras and ayas
113r – 114r	<i>Qāla...</i> [Prophetic narration] <i>Hadith</i> and supplication for the morning upon rising
114v-127v	[Untitled] A text pertaining to creed. On 114v for instance the text reads (in Arabic): “It is incumbent upon every <i>mukallif</i> (person upon whom following the <i>sharī'a</i> is incumbent) to know that God, Grand and Exalted is He, is alone in His dominion...” The text is written Arabic with Aljamiado translations
137r-187v	[untitled] Qur'ānic suras and ayas in a new hand
187v-188v	“A selection of ayas by which to 'complete' the recitation”.
188v	“ <i>Al-tashāhud</i> ” Partial <i>tashāhud</i> .

Junta 56

Catalogue Description

Devocionario que contiene jaculatorias, oraciones en árabe, los siete alhaicales y alabanzas a los profetas.

Detailed Description

1-5v	“ <i>Tahlīl al-Qur’ān al-‘adhīm</i> ” A prescriptive text, in Aljamiado outlining benefits (faḍilas, Ar. <i>faḍīla</i>) and blessings of reading the Qur’ān.
5v-8v	“And read” Ayas from the Qur’ān and other litanies
9r-10v	[Untitled] Text begins in the middle of the ninety-names of God and forms part of a supplication in vocalised Arabic.
11r-15v	“This is the value of the seven <i>al-haicales</i> ” Explanation of this supplication with interspersed narrations
16v-28v	[Untitled] Arabic du’ā with Aljamiado translation
29r-31r	“This is what the Prophet [benediction] said when he wished to sleep” Supplication in Aljamiado
31v	Blank
32r- 39v	“These are the <i>tasbihs</i> of the Prophets” Supplications attributed to various Prophets, Adam, Nūh, Yūnus, Ayūb, Zakariyya, Idrīs, Yūsuf, Ṣaliḥ, Shu‘ayb, Dawūd, Sulaymān, Mūsa, ‘Īsa, Muḥammad, al-Yas‘.
40r-41v	Blank
42r-73r	“ <i>Du‘ā Mubāraka wa lahu fadl kabīr</i> ” A supplication in vocalised Arabic with the repeating refrain “I ask” (<i>asaluka</i>).
73r-75r	[Untitled] Short supplication in vocalised Arabic.
75v	Pen exercises