

Verses to Live By: Aljamiado Poetry in Mudejar and Morisco Communities

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese

University of Virginia  
May 2020

### Abstract

This dissertation examines *Aljamiado* poetry through the lens of linguistic anthropology. *Aljamiado* refers to Spanish transliterated with the Arabic script. Centered on premodern manuscripts, “Verses to Live By” shows that Aragonese Muslims engaged with coeval intellectual trends and navigated contested identities through the poetic texts they translated, composed, and copied. In the sixteenth century, *Moriscos*’ (Muslims forcibly converted to Christianity) poetic practices played a central role in preserving a threatened religious identity. *Aljamiado* poetry has been seen as evidence of *Moriscos*’ intellectual and cultural degeneration. “Verses to Live By” challenges this characterization by applying a theoretical framework informed by linguistic anthropology, by returning to the manuscripts themselves, and by analyzing nineteenth-century historiography, art, and literary criticism. Reconsidering *Aljamiado* poetry with metacritical attention demonstrates the ways in which nineteenth-century interpretations of medieval and early modern history continue to influence perceptions of the past today.

### **Acknowledgements**

This dissertation was possible thanks to the generous support of the Jefferson Scholars Foundation and a Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellowship.

I am grateful for the support of my family, friends, and colleagues, whose enthusiasm and patience enabled me to write this dissertation. I express my deepest thanks to my advisor, Michael Gerli, for stimulating my intellectual curiosity with endless energy and encouragement. This dissertation would not have been possible without you. I am thankful for the time and dedication of my committee members. Thank you to Allison Bigelow for being my “Team Early” mentor throughout graduate school; to Ricardo Padrón for challenging me to read and think critically since my first graduate seminar in 2014; and to Nizar Hermes, for puzzling through my countless questions in office hours with energy and much-appreciated expertise. I am deeply grateful to Alison Weber, for sharing your wisdom in seminars and over cups of tea; to Miguel Valladares, for your generosity and your tireless efforts to find what I thought was unfindable; to Nasser Meerkhan, for reading many drafts and being my first Arabic teacher; and to Samuel Sánchez y Sánchez, for piquing my interest in medieval Iberia ten years ago.

To Alan, Amy, Clara, Emily, and Colin: thank you for being with me every step of the way.

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### Transliteration System

With a few exceptions, I have followed the standard criteria for transliteration based on the *Colección de Literatura Española Aljamiado-Morisca* (CLEAM) collection (see Roza 2018, 273-4). The system used in the dissertation has the following correspondences:

Letters	Arabic words	Romance words
ا (alif)	ʾ	--
ب (bāʾ)	b	b/v
بْ	bb	p
ت (tāʾ)	t	t
ث (thāʾ) <sup>1</sup>	th	th
ج (ǧīm)	ǧ/j	ǧ/j
جْ	ǧǧ	ch
ح (hāʾ)	ḥ	ḥ
خ (khāʾ) <sup>2</sup>	kh	kh
د (dāl)	d	d
ذ (ḏāl)	ḏ	ḏ
ر (rāʾ)	r	r
رْ	rr	rr
ز (zāy)	z	z
س (sīn)	s	ç
ش (šīn)	š	s
شْ	šš	x <sup>3</sup>
ص (ṣād)	ṣ	ṣ
ض (ḏād)	ḏ	ḏ
ط (ṭāʾ)	ṭ	ṭ

<sup>1</sup> CLEAM: z

<sup>2</sup> CLEAM: ḥ

<sup>3</sup> In aljamía, when (ش) appears without *tašdīd* and corresponds to the sound (x), it is transcribed as (š).

ظ (ẓā')	ẓ	ẓ
ع (ʿayn)	ʿ	ʿ
غ (ghayn) <sup>4</sup>	gh	g
ف (fā')	f	f
ق (qāf)	q	q
ك (kāf)	k	c/qu
ل (lām)	l	l
لّ	ll	ll
م (mīm)	m	m
ن (nūn)	n	n
نّ	nn	ñ
ه (hā')	h	h
و (wāw)	w	w
ي (yā')	y	y
<b>Vowels</b>		
َ (fatha)	a	a
اَ (fatha + alif)	ā	e
ِ (kasra)	i	i
يَ (yā' + kasra)	ī	ī
ُ (ḍamma)	u	o/u
وُ (wāw + ḍamma)	ū	ū/ō

<sup>4</sup> CLEAM: ġ

## Introduction: From the Sidelines

One Saturday a few summers ago, I happened upon the Holy Grail. I was conducting research in the Biblioteca Nacional and attempting to stay productive despite the enervating heat. When the library's air conditioner stopped working, I booked a trip to Valencia to see a few of the paintings I would analyze in my dissertation. That's how I found myself in Valencia's cathedral, surrounded by throngs of tourists, blinking at the *Santo Cáliz*. The Chapel of the Holy Grail (*Capilla del Santo Cáliz*) displays one of the cathedral's most prized objects.<sup>5</sup> Yet unlike the rest of the visitors that day, I had come for a wall next to the glittering attraction. Without illumination or protective glass, there hangs an enormous painting that depicts the expulsion of the Moriscos, Spanish Muslims forcibly converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century.

Layers of history, myth, and misrepresentation shroud this work's purposeful placement in the cathedral. I address nineteenth-century interpretations of Spain's Islamic past in Chapter 2. In the last chapter, I examine Vicente López y Portaña's painting and other works that depict the expulsion. For now, the anecdote serves to illustrate an orientation. In Valencia, I was a spectator who went to the event but watched the sidelines. My dissertation grows from the same sense of misalignment. It offers a version of Spain's cultural and literary history often obscured by ideological agendas or neglected because of preconceived biases. It foregrounds the unilluminated sidelines.

This study examines a handful of poetic texts previously characterized as "simple," "religious," "utilitarian," and "superfluous." Such adjectives do not exactly whet a reader's curiosity. Due to the perpetuation of nineteenth-century critical tendencies, scholars have mostly

<sup>5</sup> For pictures of the chapel, see: <https://museocatedralvalencia.com/la-visita/recorrido-capillas/capilla-del-santo-caliz/>. Visitors to the cathedral can also pay homage to the left arm of Vincent Mártir and the hand of Luis Bertrán, among many other relics.

overlooked or undervalued Aljamiado poetry, that is, poetry written in a medieval *romance* dialect with the Arabic script. Such attitudes hinge on a few central claims: the insignificant number of poems, their substandard literary quality, or their simple expression. As I attempt to show in Chapter 2, these arguments derive from a conception of Spain's past steeped in the "Reconquest" myth, from misplaced expectations, from binary approaches, and from the inclination to define Aljamiado poetry in terms of what it is not.

A comprehensive study of Aljamiado poetry does not yet exist. Recent critical editions of selected works include those of Kadri (2015), Fuente Cornejo (2000), and Weisiger Johnson (1974). Scholars have highlighted poets of the late-peninsular period and North African exile, such as Muhammad Rabadán and Ibrāhīm Ṭaybilī (Lasarte López 1991; Ángel Vázquez 2007; Bernabé Pons 1988). Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta recently published a collection of Arabic poetry composed and copied by Valencian Moriscos (2016). Building upon this foundational research, I make a case for the significance of Aljamiado poetry by asking new questions and challenging typical characterizations. Notwithstanding the aforementioned studies, poetry has yet to receive its due in analyses of extant Aljamiado texts, the overwhelming majority of which are classified as didactic prose.

As Vincent Barletta demonstrated in his pioneering monograph, linguistic anthropology offers a useful framework for thinking about Aljamiado manuscripts. By underscoring the dynamic connections between language and society, linguistic anthropologists help us to soften rigid preconceptions of "genre" and "orthodoxy" and to bracket off Eurocentric attitudes. Indispensable conceptual tools for examining the contexts within which Mudejars and Moriscos engaged Aljamiado texts include intertextuality, language ideologies, entextualization practices, mediational performance, participation frameworks, and dimensional narrative (Bakhtin 1952;



Kroskrity 2000; Woolard 1998; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Bauman 2004; Goffman 1981; Ochs and Capps 1977).

Linguistic anthropology helps us understand the dynamics of live recitation and active reception. In the premodern period, poetry was diffused orally in communal settings (Frenk 1980; Chartier 1997; Finnegan 1977). Though we consider reading to be a silent and individual endeavor today, premodern contexts do not reflect the same type of engagement with literary texts. In Mudejar and Morisco communities, spiritual leaders often recited texts to small gatherings of people (Miller 2008, 141; Barletta 2005, 139). It is essential to consider the complexities of audience involvement and performer competence when analyzing poetry, despite our limited abilities to perceive such contexts.

In addition to orality, my approach to Aljamiado poetry emphasizes materiality. Whether digitized, on microfilm, or in person, I have consulted the actual codices rather than critical editions (in some cases, no editions exist). Manuscripts provide essential insight into the texts' meaning and usage. As Emily Francomano highlights, quoting Chartier: “‘readers, in fact, never confront abstract, idealized texts detached from any materiality... they hold in their hands or perceive objects and forms whose structures and modalities govern their reading or hearing, and consequently the possible comprehension of the text read or heard’” (12). John Dagenais underlines the importance of examining each manuscript copy as a unique entity, rather than as an authorial version's derivative (130). The approaches of Francomano and Dagenais, among other scholars, inspire my analysis of Aljamiado poetry.

The phrase “Aljamiado poetry” is a shorthand that requires qualification. Since not all poems preserved by Mudejars and Moriscos use the Arabic script, “Aljamiado” can be misleading. This dissertation also analyzes poetic compositions redacted with the Latin script.

Though generally composed in *romance*, whether written with Arabic or Latin characters, many of these poems include Arabic phrases. Furthermore, scribes and authors did not refer to these texts as *poesía*. The word “poetry” is loaded with cultural and, in María Rosa Menocal’s words, “intellectual baggage” that conditions what we expect to find and can ultimately perceive in texts assigned to this category. Poetic texts copied in Aljamiado codices reflect distinct conceptions of verse. Finally, I do not provide a comprehensive account of all poetry composed and copied by Iberian Muslims. For instance, due to space constraints, I do not devote in-depth analyses to poems composed in exile, the well-known Ode of the Mantle (*Qaṣīdat al-Burdah*; Ms. 5377 BNE), or the *Poema en alabanza de Muḥammad* (Ms. 11/9414 *olim* T-18).

The following pages introduce the historical, social, and cultural contexts of late-Mudejar and Morisco Spain. In Chapter One (“Aljamiado Manuscripts”), I explain the origins and central characteristics of Aljamiado manuscripts. Chapter Two (“Reframing Aljamiado Poetics”) analyzes nineteenth-century historiography and the reception history of Aljamiado texts. Examining ideological interpretations and rhetorical uses of the Moriscos’ past illuminates the need for a new approach to Aljamiado poetry. Chapter Three (“Pious Performativity”) highlights connections between poetry and supererogatory prayer, demonstrating the ways in which poetic texts could have facilitated pious participation in Morisco communities. Chapter Four (“Wisdom and Reported Speech”) examines three Aljamiado poems that refashion gnomic traditions. Comparisons between prose and print versions shed light on impulses to versify knowledge. Chapter Five (“Genre and Prophetic Example”) analyzes poetic homages to Joseph and Abraham. Through a theoretical framework informed by Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs, I examine the relationship between transconfessional prophets and generic experimentation. Chapter Six (“Tellable Tales”) explores storytelling strategies manifest in a versified account of

an Aragonese Muslim's pilgrimage in order to show how poetic practices incorporated Moriscos in the experience of *hajj*. Finally, the Conclusion ("Painting the Past") examines three nineteenth-century paintings that represent key moments in the Moriscos' history. Returning to an "etic" perspective spotlights the contemporary vestiges of a past that is never really past.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the dissertation, in conformity with current anthropological methods, I attempt to maintain my position as an informed spectator from the sidelines. Yet I am aware that my own preferences, prejudices, and proclivities inevitably subtend what I have come to believe and write about Aljamiado poetry. Though I am not exactly the intended audience for clandestine sixteenth-century Arabic-*romance* Islamic texts, I have attempted to present, to the best of my abilities, an accurate picture of a complex and sophisticated literature that defies classification. I hope to have conveyed even a fraction of the beauty, resilience, and paradox these texts contain.

### **(Con)Texts: Those Who Remained**

The history of Iberian Muslims is punctuated by "multiple false endings" (Kimmel 2019, 7). It has been told as a series of oppositions: rises and falls, conquests and expulsions, winners and losers, Us and Them, good and evil. It is a history that individuals have attempted to write since its incipience. It is, like many histories, plagued by teleological narratives and ideological blind spots. It has been romanticized, commodified, and distorted by rhetorical posturing. This chapter offers an overview to the conquests, conversions, and expulsions that comprise Islamic Iberia's series of "false endings."

<sup>6</sup> An "etic" method of analysis approaches a topic from the outside, often applying universal criteria. In contrast, an "emic" model of analysis is "culture-specific" and "formalized by the analyst on the basis of distinctive features present in indigenous usage" (Barnard 220-1).

Beginning in the eleventh century, Christian conquests catalyzed Muslim emigration. Those who remained, the *mudéjares*, were subject to Christian rule. Scholars trace the designation *mudéjar* to Arabic *mudajjan* (pl: *mudajjanūn*), or “those who stayed” in *dār al-kufr* (the abode of unbelief), as opposed to *dār al-islām* (the abode of Islam).<sup>7</sup> Isidro de las Cagigas highlights two undertones of the designation *mudajjan*: “el mudéjar era un ‘rezagado’ que se apegaba a su país de origen y que voluntariamente ‘se sometía’ a un poder extraño no islámico” (59). In addition to “a laggard” and “one who submits,” *mudajjan* connotes “el domeñado” and “muestra ya cierto menosprecio por parte de los mismos musulmanes, que empleaban la palabra mucho más que los cristianos” (Ladero Quesada 105).

In some regions and during certain epochs, Mudejars constituted a small minority while in others, they represented a significant majority. Some “stay-behinds” spoke Arabic and others conversed in the local *romance* dialect (Catlos 2018, 318). Aragonese Mudejars “were more integrated socioeconomically and linguistically than their Valencian counterparts” while Valencian Muslims, as scholars have argued, were “los más fieles de la Península a sus tradiciones” (Miller 8; Barceló and Labarta 2009, 56). In Catalonia, Mudejars were a small, urban minority (Harvey 1990, 99). Geographic boundaries directly impacted Mudejars’ lives. As David Nirenberg explains,

<sup>7</sup> Though scholars of Mudejarism often refer to Iberia as *dār al-ḥarb* (the “abode of war”) in contrast to *dār al-islām*, the binary division between *dār al-ḥarb* and *dār al-islām* is misleading. As Nizar Hermes explains, “the picture is much more multifaceted and complex. In fact, contrary to the dominant monolithic views espoused by Muslim jihadists and certain Western experts of the Middle East, the majority of classical Muslim jurists, as well as contemporary ones, have argued that the binary division of the world into *dar al-islam* versus *dar al-harb* is not only an *ijtihād* (legal choice) on the part of a number of Hanafi jurists but also a *ra’y marjuh* (a weak view)” (172). Other jurisprudential concepts include territories of long-term and short-term peace treaties (*dār al-ṣulḥ* and *dār al-muhādana*) as well as territories governed by truces (*dār al-‘ahd*).

Mudejar identity was a contractual identity, entered into through myriad treaties between conquerors and conquered, each different from the other, and each subject to constant renegotiation, reinterpretation, and change depending on circumstance. From a strictly jurisdictional point of view, there were probably as many Mudejar identities as there were Muslim communities (2018, 56).

Surrender treaties guaranteed the maintenance of property, free practice of religion, rule according to Islamic law, the perpetuation of existing pious endowments in the future, and limited taxation. Overtime, all of these stipulations were eroded or annulled (Nirenberg 2018, 56).

The word “tolerance” causes scholars of Mudejars consternation. Mark Meyerson suggests we consider Mudejars’ experiences in terms of integration and exclusion rather than “tolerance” (99). Elena Lourie first proposed “ambivalence” as an alternative to “tolerance” in 1967 (Galán Sánchez 153; Lourie 1).<sup>8</sup> A shift in attention from tolerance to ambivalence allows us to grasp the “precarious balance” of a society in which one social or religious group did not wield complete power (Catlos 2004, 408). Likewise, David Nirenberg draws upon the concept of ambivalence in his description of “a fundamentally ambivalent form of neighborliness” that shaped religious thought and social interactions in medieval Iberia (2014, 4).

The crux of such ambivalence lies in the tension between economic necessity, military potential, and political precarity. Despite the risks Muslims posed, ones evident in the 1276 uprising in Valencia, phrases such as “‘El que tiene moro tiene oro’” and “‘huerta que cava un moro vale un tesoro’” attest to Mudejars’ invaluable agricultural, architectural, and artisanal contributions (Lourie 75; Nirenberg 2018, 58). Peter the Ceremonious referred to his subjects as

<sup>8</sup> A similar problem arises in an early modern context (see Kaplan [2007]; Brown [2006]; Forst [2013]; Schwartz [2008]). Schwartz distinguishes between “toleration,” as political policy, and “tolerance,” which he defines as “attitudes or sentiments” (6). For a critique of Menocal’s characterization of a medieval “culture of tolerance,” see Novikoff (2005).

his “royal treasure” (Boswell 1977). In the Ebro Valley, where Muslims worked as farmers, tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, dyers, soap-makers, physicians, and butchers, economic prosperity depended on Mudejars’ essential involvement (Catlos 2004, 179).

As Catlos points out, the very designation “Mudejar studies” stems from an emphasis on religion that can steamroll ambivalent and multifaceted identities. Mudejars comprised individuals of different genders, economic statuses, family backgrounds, and places of residence (Catlos 2002, 261). Policies towards Mudejars were often driven by “practical concerns” rather than “ideology or doctrine” (Catlos 2018, 332). Many Mudejars depended on the protection of their lords in exchange for labor; they fought with Christians in feuds between lords.

On the other hand, Hussein Fancy is reluctant to separate religious from social, political, or economic motivations. In his research on Muslim cavalry (*jenets*) in the medieval Crown of Aragon, Fancy highlights fluid boundaries and seemingly contradictory behaviors. Inquiring whether individuals acted in accordance with or despite their religious convictions “underdescribes” encounters between Christian kings and Muslim *jenets* (Fancy 68). Positing an oppositional relationship between politics and religion risks the imposition of a secular mindset on the Middle Ages. As Fancy argues, “the scholar who says that when Muslims and Christians interact they demonstrate an ability to act freely and rationally, comes dangerously close to the polemicist, who asserts that religion inhibits freedom and reasons, that religion is inherently violent and intolerant. But why couldn’t religious beliefs have motivated pacific interactions?” (149).

Whether scholars foreground religious or social identities, “Mudejar studies” also confronts the issue of periodization. Mudejarism can be characterized in terms of continuity or rupture with the preceding and subsequent societies. The period’s “in-between” nature leads to a

teleological vision of Mudejars' decline (see Miller 5-19). In sum, the grandeurs of al-Ándalus disintegrated into Mudejars'—and later Moriscos'—debilitated religious knowledge and diminished intellectual capabilities. A gradual “moving away” from Islamic rule is coupled with a “pulling towards” Christian acculturation. This teleological narrative becomes entrenched in Morisco historiography, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Though “*mudéjar*” was a legal category regulated and defined by Christians, Muslims abroad also exerted influence over their Iberian co-religionists. Living in a land of infidels generated theological and practical concerns: how would Muslims perform correct ritual practices despite restrictions and prohibitions? Would they adopt the immoral customs of their non-Muslim neighbors? Would women be subject to unpreventable abuse? As early as the twelfth century, jurists issued legal opinions on the Mudejars' legal status. A *muftī*, expert in Islamic law, handed down *fatāwā* (sing: *fatwā*), legal responses to questions.<sup>9</sup>

The Mālikī *madhhab*, or school of jurisprudence, prevailed among Iberian Muslims and held that Mudejars unencumbered by age, disability, or sickness must emigrate (Miller 21).<sup>10</sup> Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) affirmed that the Mudejars were of “suspect credibility” for their decision to remain in Christian lands (qtd. in Nirenberg 2018, 60). Ibn Miqlāsh described the struggle between the good soul and the baser self or evil soul, *al-nafs*.<sup>11</sup> He admonished the Mudejars for allowing *al-nafs* to deceive them into their acceptance of ““fraternizing with the infidel”” (qtd. in Miller 33).

<sup>9</sup> A *fatwā* is “a response to a question (*istiftā*) about what Islamic law mandates in a particular situation” (Verskin 26).

<sup>10</sup> Founded by Mālik b. 'Anas, the *madhhab* (pl. *madāhib*) was also predominant in Sicily and North Africa. The four Sunni schools of jurisprudence are the Mālikite, Shāfi'ite, Ḥanafite, and Ḥanbalite.

<sup>11</sup> See Miller (note 32, page 191) for biographical information on Ibn Miqlāsh.

The Islamic spiritual leaders, or *alfaquíes* (from Arabic *faqīh*; pl. *fuqahā*'), who remained played a central role in the spiritual lives of their communities. Yet in the fourteenth century, a jurist admonished students and religious leaders alike for remaining in Christian lands.<sup>12</sup> Their presence was not a boon to believers or a means to preserve Islam; rather, ““Mientras que los *ṭalabah*<sup>13</sup> (estudiantes y recitadores del Corán) y almuédanos que han aceptado vivir bajo la protección de los cristianos—que Dios los destruya—son pues *ṭolba* del mal y almuédanos del mal. Su *ṣahāda*<sup>14</sup> y su imanato no son aceptados, y sus faltas son más graves que las de los demás, por ser el modelo que se sigue”” (qtd. in Bouzineb 1988-9, 57). Members of the intellectual elite who emigrated promoted the ideology of self-exile, often drawing parallels with Muḥammad's *hijra* to Yathrib (later, Medina), and encouraging others to join them (Harvey 2005, 64).

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wansharīsī (d. 1508), a North African jurist, criticized the Mudejars' decision to remain in Spain: ““his residence is manifest proof of his vile and base spirit... he who does this is on the border of infidelity”” (qtd. in Nirenberg 2018, 60; see Harvey 1990, 56-9). After conquest in 1485, a Muslim who wished to stay in Marbella believed his absence would cause harm to the Muslim community, though al-Wansharīsī still affirmed the obligation to emigrate: “Dwelling among the unbelievers, other than those who are protected and humbled peoples (*ahl al-dhimma wa'l-ṣaghār*), is not permitted and is not allowed for so much as an hour of a day. This is because of the filth (*adnās*), dirt (*awḍār*), and religious and worldly corruption which is ever-present [among them]” (qtd. in Verskin 16). A Muslim who stays has “abandoned

<sup>12</sup> On the identity of Ibn Bartal, see Verskin (note 83, page 22).

<sup>13</sup> Bouzineb transcribes this word as “*ṭolba*.”

<sup>14</sup> The *ṣahādah* is the Islamic profession of faith: *aṣḥadu an lā 'ilāha 'illā Allāh wa-anna Muḥammadan rasūlu Allāh* (“There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God”).



the religion (*māriq min al-dīn*) and set out on the path of the apostates (*al-mulḥidīn*)”<sup>15</sup> (qtd. in Verskin 17). Though uncompromising *fatwās* encouraged many Mudejars to emigrate, others strove to be faithful believers in Iberia.

### **New Christians and Crypto-Muslims**

The Nasrids of Granada were the last to succumb to Christian rule. After a decade of fighting with Christians and among themselves, in November of 1491, Granadan Muslims accepted a capitulation agreement that allowed them to retain their firearms, to continue practicing Islam, and to pay the same amount of taxes. Ferdinand and Isabel’s triumphant entrance occurred on January 2, 1492, three months before Jews were forced to either leave Spain or convert to Christianity, and become “New Christians” or “Conversos.” The 1491 capitulations were soon nullified; political and economic incentives encouraged Muslims to convert, as did targeted evangelization campaigns.

Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Count of Tendilla, was charged with overseeing the newly acquired territory while Granada’s first archbishop, Hieronymite Hernando de Talavera, took charge of the region’s spiritual landscape. Talavera promoted a lenient and gradual program of conversion and assimilation. Himself a descendant of Conversos, and after his experience working with Jews in Sevilla, Talavera believed sincere baptism required free will and the neophyte’s deliberate preparation (Pereda 261). He advocated teaching Christian doctrine in Arabic and circulating religious iconography (*estampas* and Marian sculptures in particular) among Morisco parishes (Pereda 269-92; 305-8).

<sup>15</sup> *Mulḥid* means “atheist.”

Unsurprisingly, few Muslims converted. Frustrated with lackluster results, in 1497 the “Reyes Católicos”—a sobriquet awarded to Ferdinand and Isabel by Pope Alexander VI in 1494—imposed heavy taxes on Muslims. Two years later, they replaced Talavera with Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Toledo’s Archbishop and later the General Inquisitor. Cisneros employed an aggressive agenda of conversion and assimilation. He burned thousands of Islamic books in the Plaza de Bibarrambla, a loss lamented by an anonymous poet in his *qaṣīda* (ode) dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Bayazid II: “Todos los libros que trataban de asuntos de nuestra religión fueron presa del fuego entre la mofa y la irrisión. No dejaron ni un solo libro que perteneciera a un musulman, ni un solo tomo con quien uno pudiera refugiarse en soledad y leer” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 37; see Monroe 1966).<sup>16</sup>

The repressive measures led to uprisings. In December of 1499, inhabitants of the Albaicín revolted. Between 1500 and 1501, those of Almería, Velefique, and the serranía de Ronda also rebelled (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 19). Cisneros persuaded Ferdinand and Isabel to consider the revolts a breach of the capitulations. As a result, in 1501, Granadan Muslims were presented the following options: remain in Spain and accept baptism, remain and refuse baptism and become a slave, or emigrate (Harvey 2005, 48). In February of 1502, Ferdinand and Isabel required all Castilian Muslims to choose between conversion or exile. Since the latter was unrealistic—and purposely hindered by the monarchs—nearly all opted for the former.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The *cédula* proclaimed: “Que del día del dicho pregón fasta treinta días primeros siguientes traygan ante vos las dichas nuestras justicias todos los libros que en vuestra jurisdicción estuvieren, sin que ninguno quede del Alcorán ni de la seta mahomética e los fagays quemar públicamente” (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 100). A few of the requisitioned books were spared. Those on medicine, for instance, were sent to the library of Alcalá.

<sup>17</sup> An essential disincentive was the requirement that emigrating Muslims leave behind sons under the age of fourteen and daughters under the age of twelve (Hess 1978, 136).

Uprisings also catalyzed Moriscos' forced conversions in Valencia. Here, the revolts were led by members of *germanías* (artisan guilds) in the early 1520s. Resentful of local seigneurs, royal power, and Muslims' economic wellbeing, the *agermanats* raided, kidnapped, and forcibly baptized Muslims. At first circumspect of baptisms carried out "con escobas y ramos mojados en una acequia," ultimately, church officials deemed them valid (Escolano, book X, col. 1581).<sup>18</sup> Following a similar pattern as that of Castile, in 1525 Muslims in the Crown of Aragon were coerced to accept Christianity. Negotiations with envoys sent by the newly christened 'Moriscos,' which lasted until January of 1526, authorized a ten-year "grace period" that, among other securities and concessions, precluded Inquisitorial intervention and permitted the use of Arabic (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 24). Additional uprisings ensued and failed; since Muslims of Navarre had been forced to convert in 1515-6, by the end of 1526, all Iberian Muslims were nominally Christian.

Like *mudéjar*, the term *morisco* requires explanation. Diminutive of "moro," an imprecise designation applied to North Africans as well as Muslims in general, "Morisco" became widespread in Christian sources by the 1560s. At first a religious denomination, *morisco* came to connote a cultural and ultimately an ethnic designation (Vincent 2006, 158-9). Referring to these individuals as Moriscos perpetuates, in Harvey's words, an "insidious ideological bias" (2005, 4). Iberian Muslims referred to themselves not as Moriscos, but as "moros" and "muçlimes." As discussed below, Núñez Muley described the Moriscos of Granada as

<sup>18</sup> Benítez Sánchez-Blanco argues that Escolano's illustration of "escobas" and "acequia" is an historiographical myth perpetuated by Valencian seigneurs who wanted their subjects to remain Muslim (2001, 27-37; 59-69). He cites a report commissioned by Inquisitor Alonso Manrique in 1524 that reiterates the "solemnidad" with which the Moriscos were baptized (qtd. in Benítez Sánchez-Blanco 2001, 46).

“*naturales*” as opposed to the newcomers, “*cristianos viejos*” (Vincent 2006, 168).<sup>19</sup> I will use the terms ‘Morisco’ and ‘Muslim’ interchangeably, though it is important to remember that not all Moriscos practiced Islam in secret.

The term “Morisco” encompasses unique individuals who lived over the course of a century. What it meant to be a Morisco in 1502 and in 1608 differed enormously. Moriscos, like the distinct regions they inhabited, were by no means homogeneous (Vincent 2006, 133; Tueller 56-7; López-Baralt 2009, 15). In Castile, many Moriscos lived side-by-side with Old Christians for centuries; these so-called “*mudéjares antiguos*” had accepted Christianity before the forced conversions and knew little, if any, Islamic doctrine.<sup>20</sup> Since many *alfaquíes* had fled to Muslim countries, Castilian Moriscos’ lives did not always revolve around a central Islamic leader (Harvey 2005, 56). Valencian Moriscos were less assimilated than their Aragonese neighbors. I return to the differences and similarities between Moriscos below.

Forced conversions generated theological, legal, political, and ethical questions. Christian authorities had to redefine sacramental theology and pastoral dissimulation (Kimmel 2015). Widespread conversions of Muslims and Jews in the previous century bred skepticism, doubt, and syncretism (García-Arenal 2016a; Pastore 2016; Schwartz 2008). The Edicts of Conversion brought former Muslims under Inquisitorial scrutiny.<sup>21</sup> Established in Castile in 1478 and extended to Aragon in 1481, the Inquisition was originally concerned with the secret practice of

<sup>19</sup> North African Muslims and Turks often referred to Moriscos as *ahl al-andalus* (the people of Al-Andalus). In at least one manuscript, Moriscos are identified as *al-ghurabā*’ (Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1994, 192). From the root *ghayn-rā’-bā*’, *ghurabā*’ is the plural of *gharīb*, which means stranger or foreigner (Hans Wehr 783). The noun *ghurba* connotes an absence from home, life in exile, or alienation.

<sup>20</sup> The designation “*mudéjar antiguo*” distinguished Castilian Moriscos from newly arrived Granadan Moriscos after 1570 (Bernabé Pons 2009, 18; Vincent 2013, 28).

<sup>21</sup> Pope Sixtus IV granted Ferdinand and Isabel control over the institution. Its operations began in Sevilla in 1480 (Rawlings 2002, 7-13; Kamen 2014). The Inquisition was abolished in 1834.

Judaism, though it later pursued accusations of Lutheranism, crypto-Islam, and other beliefs considered heretical. The “nuevos cristianos convertidos de moros” or “los nuevamente convertidos” required additional supervision to ensure proper fulfillment of Christian practices.

Christian authorities sought to assimilate the newly converted by banning cultural and religious practices such as *halāl* slaughtering, the use of Arabic, public baths, traditional dress, circumcision, Muslim names, and dance (*zambra*). Remembering tenets of the new faith required Moriscos to “forget” Islam. As Talavera affirmed, before any Christian practices would be taught: “lo primero, *que olvidéis toda ceremonia y toda cosa morisca* en oraciones, en ayunos, en pascuas y en fiestas y en nascimientos de criaturas y en bodas y en baños, en mortuorios y en todas las otras cosas” (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 100; my emphasis). Campaigns of evangelization, often directed towards children, were largely unsuccessful. Ten years after the forced conversions, attempts to erase Islamic identity remained futile. Many Moriscos were not bad Christians, they were simply devout Muslims.

In 1511, the Catholic Monarchs imposed additional restrictions on Granadan Muslims, including limitations on the subject matter of Arabic books and the jurisdiction of Islamic law, with the goal that “no ubiesen mas memoria de las cosas de moros” (qtd. in Harvey 2005, 72). In December of 1526, a *Junta* convened in Granada by Charles V established an official list of proscribed practices as well as a new Inquisitorial tribunal. Similar gatherings took place in Toledo (1539), in Guadix (1554), and in Madrid (1566).

The year 1567 precipitated the growing crisis. In 1564, the Valencian Courts had prohibited spoken and written Arabic; in 1567, Philip II followed with a similar decree that applied to the Crown of Castile. The royal ordinance echoed some of the stipulations set out by theologians in 1526. Though previous edicts aimed to quash Muslims’ cultural practices,

Granadan Muslims secured a grace period of forty years in which they could continue to use Arabic while learning Castilian (Bernabé and Rubiera 603). The 1567 *pragmática*, in contrast, gave Moriscos three years to learn Castilian and required they stop using Arabic in written or spoken contexts. It called for additional impingements on privacy, such as the requirement that Moriscos keep the doors of their houses open on Fridays and Sundays. It proscribed public bathhouses and forbade Moriscas from wearing veils (Lee 161).

Increased repression and invasive measures illuminate the relationship between religion and culture. Whether Moriscos identified as Muslim or Christian, engaging in practices associated with Islam raised suspicions (Kimmel 2019, 3). As Deborah Root explains: “The Edicts of Faith, which prohibited Islamic religious practices, and the royal ordinances, which prohibited Morisco customs, thus reinforced each other and supported the equation of social deviance (Morisco customs) with religious deviance (heresy)” (126). Eating couscous, for example, a perfectly acceptable custom among Christians, became one of many “signs of heresy” that “ultimately came to be seen as heretical in themselves” (Root 126). Muslims were portrayed as “hombres de pasas e hego, / pomon, cuzcuz, medra, nocce” (qtd. in Herrero García 580). Since the “Signified” was often impossible to determine, the “Sign” carried additional import. Moriscos’ “indeterminability of faith,” their outward conformity to Christian practices and unseen beliefs, made concrete, observable evidence—whether in the form of an indecipherable Arabic book, a reluctance to consume pork, or a fondness for couscous—coveted confirmation of religious wrongdoing (Root 130).

Linguistic repertoire and religious identification became intertwined. Possessing Arabic texts and speaking Arabic “se convirtió en el equivalente de una condena por herejía” (García-Arenal 2010a, 58). As both a symbolic and an indexical sign, language symbolized and pointed

to a preexisting religious identity. It could also, in very concrete ways, facilitate and hinder belief. Prohibitions of Arabic departed from the belief that language obstructed indoctrination, and thus needed to be banned. As the royal *cédula* from 1566 stated:

uno de los más principales impedimentos era el uso de la lengua arábica de que los dichos nuevamente convertidos así hombres como mujeres y niños usaban hablando e escribiendo y leyendo la dicha lengua y haciendo como hacían sus escripturas, contratos y testamentos y otras negociaciones en ella *por medio de la cual lengua retenían y conservaban la memoria de su antigua y dañada secta y vida* y que por el mismo medio de la dicha lengua trataban entre sí con libertad y secreto de lo que tocaba a la dicha su secta y a los ritos y ceremonias de ella y que los más dellos *especialmente mujeres y niños no entendían nuestra lengua ni podían ser entendidos ni doctrinados en la santa fe católica y religión cristiana* y eran pocos los ministros que supiesen la dicha lengua por cuyo medio pidiesen oír y entender la dicha doctrina cristiana (qtd. in Vincent 2006, 165; my emphasis).

The use of Arabic allowed Moriscos to preserve Islamic beliefs and to maintain cultural practices. Additionally, the inability to understand *romance* made it impossible for women and children, in particular, to learn Christian doctrine. Few ecclesiastics spoke Arabic well enough to explain Catholic precepts. Arabic thus constituted a powerful vehicle for remembering and a severe impediment to learning.

In addition to relying on visible (and aural) evidence, efforts to determine sincere belief linked deviance to genealogy and ethnicity (García-Arenal 2016a, 7-9; Root 130-1). The idea that belief was inherited is evident in statements such as Pedro Zárate's affirmation in 1587: "Como estos christianos nuevos tienen su secta desde la teta, como por naturaleza, no ay confiança que por temor de la pena dexarán sus ceremonias y secta de moros" (qtd. in Benítez Sánchez-Blanco 2013, 107). Moriscos, Conversos, and Old Christians alluded to the phrase "mi padre moro, yo moro" (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz 44; García-Arenal 2016b). In Inquisition trial documents, Moriscos cited their lineage as justification for their Islamic identity. A Morisco from Baza allegedly stated: "moro murió [*sic*] mi abuelo y moro tengo de morir yo" (qtd. in Muchnik 420).

“Purity of blood” provided another means to index orthodoxy. Instituted after the 1449 riots in Toledo, the *limpieza de sangre* statutes excluded New Christians from educational and religious institutions as a means to mark difference (Kaplan 2012).<sup>22</sup> New Christians were not allowed to serve as midwives, pharmacists or physicians (Lee 160). Nonetheless, it should be noted that, in practice, the statutes affected Conversos more than Moriscos (Sicroff 38). In comparison to converted Jews, “few Moriscos attempted to pass for Old Christians” (Lee 160).

Within this complex social and political landscape, the 1567 decree incensed and disheartened Granadan Muslims. It compounded the economic stress brought about by the prohibition of silk exports and tax increases. Members of the elite sought recourse with local authorities. Francisco Núñez Muley, an esteemed scholar among the Moriscos, appealed to the chancery president, Pedro de Deza (Núñez Muley 2007; Fuchs 2001, 14-9).<sup>23</sup> Núñez Muley’s argument hinged on the distinction between culture and religion, between local custom and universal belief. He reasons that the banned clothing “no es de moros” since Christians in Syria and Egypt dress in a similar way (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 49). Moreover, Muslims in Turkey and Africa do not dance the *zambra*; rather, “es costumbre de provincia, y si fuese cerimonia de seta, cierto es que todo había de ser de una mesma manera” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 52). Regarding the ban of Arabic, Núñez Muley protests, “es el mayor inconveniente de todos. ¿Cómo se ha de quitar á las gentes su lengua natural, con que nacieron y se criaron? Los egiptos,

<sup>22</sup> Prominent Conversos, such as Juan de Torquemada and Alonso de Cartagena opposed the statutes (Rawlings 2002, 4). For a sixteenth-century critique of the statutes, see Agustín Salucio, *Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre*.

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Fuchs compares Núñez Muley’s “rhetorical negotiation” to that of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (2001, 15). For a more extensive comparison, see Adorno (1989, 225-45).



sirianos, malteses y otras gentes cristianas, en árábigo hablan, leen y escriben, y son cristianos como nosotros” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 55).<sup>24</sup>

Despite Núñez Muley’s cogent appeal, the decree remained intact and catalyzed the outbreak of the Alpujarras War on December 24, 1568.<sup>25</sup> Driven by millenarian expectations and bolstered by underlying unrest, the war extended throughout the entire territory of Granada. Both sides suffered devastating losses and committed horrifying abuses. Rebels slaughtered priests and destroyed churches. Christian soldiers brutally attacked villagers and ransacked property. In April of 1569, with Juan de Austria in command, what was once an uprising of a few thousand people had become a full-fledged war. By the summer of 1569, the number of rebels rose to roughly 30,000 (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 39). Around four thousand Turks and Berbers came to the Moriscos’ aid. The Galera massacre, in February of 1570, exemplifies the war’s horrific levels of violence. Over 2,000 inhabitants were murdered; the town was razed and sown with salt.

Over the course of the war, roughly 25,000-30,000 Moriscos were sold as slaves, the majority of whom were women (Vincent 1992, 588). After fighting came to an end, in November of 1570, Philip II dispersed 80,000 defeated Moriscos throughout Castile, Andalusia, and Extremadura, including the “Moriscos de paz,” or urban-dwelling Moriscos who had not rebelled.<sup>26</sup> Nearly 30,000 Moriscos died in the freezing trek; some 10,000 remained in Granada,

<sup>24</sup> Later in the sixteenth century, efforts to strip Arabic of its Islamic association surfaced in the Lead Books of Sacromonte, a series of fabricated relics and texts whose discovery and ensuing controversy spanned centuries (Barrios Aguilera & García-Arenal 2006; Wiegers 2011; Fuchs 2001, 19-23).

<sup>25</sup> For contemporary accounts of the war, see: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*; Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelión y castigo del reino de Granada*; Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada*.

<sup>26</sup> Groups of 200 soldiers were meant to accompany contingents of 1,500 Moriscos walking twenty kilometers per day (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, 51).

mainly “destitute and unthreatening Moriscos—widows, seniors, children, slaves, and some indispensable labourers” (Lee 162-3).

The internal diaspora had unintended consequences for the Crown’s contradictory policies towards crypto-Muslims. The dispersion created new Morisco enclaves in Seville and Cordoba (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 67). As indicated by manuscripts discovered in Pastrana and other localities, Granadan Moriscos spread knowledge of Arabic and Islam throughout Castile (Bernabé Pons 2009, 68; García López 1995). Though Castilian Moriscos’ experiences of conversion and assimilation contrasted greatly with those of Granadan and Valencian Moriscos, as one scholar suggests, “the scattering of Granadans did create peninsula-wide crypto-Muslim solidarity” (Harvey 2005, 78).

Whether or not the diaspora led to increased community cohesion, from an Old Christian perspective, the Alpujarras War marked a definitive rupture. In the second half of the sixteenth century, efforts to evangelize and assimilate Moriscos morphed into disillusionment. Juan de Ribera typifies this evolution of attitudes (Ehlers 2006). As archbishop and viceroy of Valencia, Ribera was the expulsion’s chief theological conscience. In a letter sent to priests in 1599, Ribera likened the indoctrination of Moriscos to “el proverbio latino, *Aethiopem lavas*” (qtd. in Escolano, book X, col. 1787). Ensuring true conversion is a Sisyphean task, which Ribera compared to changing skin color or cleansing “el leopardo sus manchas” (qtd. in Escolano, book X, col. 1786). In his *Memorial* from 1606, Nicolás del Río similarly blamed Valencian Moriscos for their obstinacy, rather than preachers for their ineffectiveness: “aunque se les dieron maestros que los doctrinaban y muy bien, se vio muy a la clara que no fue de ningun efecto” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 126).

Moriscos were accused of disdaining the sacraments, of blasphemy, and of murdering priests. Complaints of religious disobedience morphed into ascriptions of willingness to undermine the monarchy. Particularly from the 1580s on, Moriscos were faulted for conspiring with foreign powers, such as North African Muslims, Turks, or the French.<sup>27</sup> Irrespective of their local and individual identities, Moriscos were lumped together as a dangerous “Fifth Column” that threatened to destabilize the monarchy from within by colluding with enemies from without (Hess 1968; Bernabé Pons 2012, 121; Perceval 1997). Moriscos were “tan Moros como los de Argel,” “tan Moros como los de Berbería,” and even “tan moros como Mahoma” (Fonseca 266; Bleda 994; qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 180).

All Moriscos, so it went, were culpable: “*todos son unos* en su obstinación y en el bivar como moros, y aun también en dezir que no se han instruydo” (Juan de Ribera qtd. in Benítez Sánchez-Blanco 2013, 107; my emphasis). According to Martín de Salvatierra, the bishop of Segorbe, “es claro y evidente testimonio que *todos ellos son unos* y siguen una mesma secta de mahoma...” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 162; my emphasis). Castilian and Aragonese Moriscos did not don the Moorish “havito,” yet they were still blameworthy: “los moros de Aragon y Castilla que son muy ladinos en lengua castellana y usan vestido de xpianos viejos y viven en lugares muy lejos de los mares y con todo esto son tan moros como los de berberia y los del Reyno de Valencia” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 169-70).

<sup>27</sup> Bernabé Pons reframes hyperbolic “plots” as private “gatherings” and “collusions” as “networks” of contacts that did not necessarily aim to undermine the Crown but rather to foster collective support and assist Moriscos during and after the expulsion (2012, 122-5). Bernard Vincent similarly substitutes “conspiración” with “resistencia” (2006, 136). In contrast, though he acknowledges that some claims were exaggerated, Antonio Feros asserts that “evidence suggests that a group of discontented Moriscos did conspire with some of Spain’s enemies and collaborate with the Algerian pirates as well as celebrating the victories of Spanish enemies” (2000, 201). See also Cabanales (1957).

## The Fifth Column Crumbles

The decision to expel the Moriscos first arose as a serious possibility during the reign of Philip II. From 1581 to 1582, advisors and theologians convened in Lisboa to discuss the “Morisco question.”<sup>28</sup> From 1602 to 1605, additional ministers declared their support for the expulsion, including Juan de Idiáquez and the Count of Miranda (Feros 2000, 202). On January 30, 1608, after securing the support of the duke of Lerma, the State Council approved the expulsion.<sup>29</sup> Given the twenty-year interval between the expulsion’s first proposal and final adoption, the Crown was undoubtedly aware of the issue’s delicacy. Most of the lords were reluctant to expel their industrious subjects; some of them changed heart after obtaining concessions, including the ability to retain Moriscos’ possessions (Wiegers 2010, 143).

In contrast to the tidy narrative spun by apologists, the decision to expel the Moriscos “was not inevitable, nor was it the only solution available to the Spanish authorities” (Feros 2000, 198). Voices of opposition, such as Martín González de Cellorigo and Pedro de Valencia, proposed alternatives (Magnier 2010; Feros 2013, 78). As late as 1607, the Count of Miranda called for renewed evangelizing efforts, bemoaning seigneurial protection and complaining that ““se envían religiosos a la China, Japón y otras partes solo por celo de convertir almas, mucha más razón será que se envíen a Aragón y Valencia, donde los señores son causa de que los moriscos sean tan ruines por lo mucho que les favorecen y disimulan y se aprovechan dellos”” (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 170).

<sup>28</sup> Kimmel suggests “Morisco question” is a better designation than “Morisco problem” because of the “Marxian echo of the ‘Jewish question’” and its ability to serve as “a tool of philosophical inquiry, methodological experimentation, and political engagement” (2019, 4).

<sup>29</sup> On the role of the duke of Lerma and marquis of Denia, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, see Feros (2000).

Prelates worried about banishing sincere converts and baptized children to infidel lands; advisors feared the publication of the decree would incite a rebellion in Valencia. In 1575, Miguel Tomás de Taxaquet (later bishop of Lérida) advocated seizing all Morisco children, instructing them, and distributing them among Old Christian parents (Lea 295). Around 1600, Cardenal Guevara also suggested separating children from their parents, as well as sending working-age Morisco men to the galleys and mines (Boronat 1901, II, 22). Fray Francisco de Ribas proposed the formation of a ghetto and Martín de Salvatierra recommended castration (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 71). Other proposals included mixed marriages, massacre, drowning, and distinguishing Moriscos with noticeable marks on their faces.

Unlike prelates, royal advisors, and *arbitristas*, the majority of the peninsula's inhabitants did not share their thoughts about the expulsion with pen on paper.<sup>30</sup> Since the nineteenth century, scholars have attempted to glean popular opinion from seventeenth-century literary texts. García de Enterría detects hatred towards Moriscos in the *literatura de cordel* published before and after the expulsion. Various *pliegos sueltos* present an overwhelmingly negative image of Moriscos, which leads García de Enterría to conclude: “el pueblo y el vulgo... sí compra y pide pliegos de cordel con que alimentar ese odio y, tal vez, disculparlo de modo subconsciente” (225).

Miguel Herrero García suggests that literary texts published after the expulsion channeled and unleashed pent up hatred towards Moriscos; he detects an “oposición popular” in poetry, plays, and prose (563-4).<sup>31</sup> Herrero's argument hinges on works by Marcos Guadalajara y

<sup>30</sup> On the *arbitristas*, or “projectors,” see Rawlings (2012, 31-49). Christina Lee translates *arbitrista* as “proto-economist” (159).

<sup>31</sup> In some cases, particularly in Valencia, acts of violence did punctuate festering resentment towards Moriscos (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 129-30; 162).

Xavier, Berganza's diatribe in Cervantes' *Coloquio de los perros*, the prophecy scene in *Persiles* (III, 11), compositions by Lope, and ballads published in the wake of the expulsion. His survey provides a valuable overview of common stereotypes ascribed to Moriscos: they are greedy, superstitious, wily, overly frugal, promiscuous, and too industrious.

Despite critical characterizations in literary works, it is difficult to believe that a unanimity of opinion existed among individuals of diverse backgrounds, regions, education levels, and life experiences. An explicit apologetic subtends many of the works Herrero cites. Moreover, literary characters and narrators are not spokespeople for their creators. As Steven Hutchinson (2014) and Michael Gerli (2016a) have shown, Berganza's, Xadraque's, and Rafala's remarks entail more nuance than their critical interpretations have afforded. Moreover, it is difficult to detect any variety of opinion in texts published in the wake of the expulsion because, as Antonio Feros highlights, a state-sponsored campaign quelled voices of dissent:

Lo que antes había sido un vivo debate, generalmente desarrollado dentro de espacios institucionales, a partir de 1609, pasó a convertirse en una opinión casi unívoca que se manifestó en todo tipo de textos impresos, obra de los más variados individuos. El discurso oficial, y la <<opinión pública>> se hicieron una, y esto afectó a todos los géneros literarios durante el siglo XVII (2013, 69).

The apologetic agenda hailed the expulsion as the culmination of Christian victory; it lauded Philip III as a divinely-sent liberator. Though fused with "public opinion" in print, we cannot assume that apologetic discourse represents unanimous opinion. Early modern texts—be they inspired by popular demand or the product of exalted novelists—do not yield transparent insight into what early seventeenth-century individuals thought about Moriscos.

On April 9, 1609, Philip III authorized the expulsion of the Moriscos. On the same day, he signed the Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch.<sup>32</sup> Reconciling with a protestant enemy—such as the agreement reached with England in 1604—projected an image of weakness. Juan de Ribera's objections to “making peace with heretics” had reached the State Council by 1608 (qtd. in Feros 2000, 197). The authorization of the Moriscos' banishment could have counteracted the semblance of Philip III's spiritual capitulation. Moriscos become the king's “scapegoat” that allowed him to reiterate his “Catholic credentials” (Feros 2000, 197-8; 203-4). Indeed, despite his intent to promote a Christian image, Philip III never received Pope Paul V's authorization for the expulsion (Pastore 2013; Pérez Bustamente 1951). Juan de Ribera ultimately provided the expulsion's “theological justification” and “conciencia moral” (Ehlers 129; Márquez Villanueva 1998, 203).<sup>33</sup> In the end, the fundamental justification for the expulsion derived from political, rather than religious, arguments. The *razón de estado* prioritized the need to eliminate the internal threat posed by Moriscos. Philip III's international “reputación” could have catalyzed the decision as well (Ángel de Bunes 2013).

The decree for Valencian Moriscos' expulsion was made public on September 22 of 1609; edicts for Andalusia, Murcia, and Hornachos followed in January of 1610. In May of 1610, the decree was publicized for Aragon and Catalonia; in July of 1610, another edict ruled that all Castilian Moriscos who remained had to leave. Those in the Ricote Valley were not forced out until December 1613 to January 1614. In total, roughly 300,000 Moriscos were

<sup>32</sup> The State Council agreed on the expulsion on April 4 and the Twelve Years' Truce was made public on April 23 (Wiegers 2010, 143).

<sup>33</sup> Apologetic historians invoked thirteenth-century precedent to enshrine the enterprise in papal approval. In 1266, Clement IV had cautioned king Jaume I (d. 1276) of the threat his Muslim subjects posed; the latter, from his deathbed, advised his son to banish the kingdom's Mudejars (Guadalajara y Xavier 44v; Ripol 15r-16v).

ejected from their homeland.<sup>34</sup> Most Valencian Moriscos went to Oran, transported on Italian ships.<sup>35</sup> Many Castilian Moriscos headed north to France, in part because their expulsion decree allowed parents to bring children under the age of seven only if they fled to Christian territories (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 187). Initially, Henry IV offered refuge to the Moriscos who ventured across the Pyrenees, provided they profess Christian beliefs. After his assassination in May of 1610, in June the duke of La Force, governor of Bearne, prohibited Moriscos' entrance into France.<sup>36</sup> Many then fled to Ottoman lands.

Catalan Moriscos embarked from Tortosa towards Oran; some headed towards Marseille and Livorno. Violent reception in Oran rendered Tunis a more enticing option for many Aragonese and Castilian Moriscos (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 178).<sup>37</sup> Others ended up in Algeria and Morocco. Moriscos had emigrated to Algiers throughout the sixteenth century; prior to 1609, a substantial number of Iberian Muslims lived in Tetuan and Fez (Vincent 2013, 39; Wiegers 2010, 147).

Contemporary accounts depict the overwhelming sorrow the expulsion caused Moriscos (Rojas 1613). Other sources, such as the paintings commissioned to document the expulsion,

<sup>34</sup> See Lapeyre (2014). Fearing the worst in anticipation of the expulsion decree, Moriscos had already begun to flee in 1608 (Wiegers 2010, 143). Jaime Bleda recalls encountering Moriscos from Seville in southern France in 1608 (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 177-8).

<sup>35</sup> Ships from Genova, Naples, and Palermo were used to deport Moriscos.

<sup>36</sup> Two weeks prior to Henry IV's death, Philip III had closed the border with France due to tensions with the latter's government and fear of collusion (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 191).

<sup>37</sup> Apologetic authors cast the violent reception as evidence of Muslims' cruelty: "Confiados los Sarracenos Españoles, que las arenas Africanas serían seguras, y que sus parientes en sangre, y conjuntos en la secta les tratarían bien, se embarcaron muy alegres, para sacrificar en los destierros de Africa con sus Alcoranas ceremonias. Pero engañaronles sus vanas esperanças, pues apenas se apearon en el arena, quando infinitos Alarbes a muchos priuaron de mugeres, hijas y dinero, y aun de la vida. Este es el acogimiento y el amor con que los profesores desta secta se tratan: Esta la charidad. Agora conocerán los Apóstatas quan otro es el trato que tienen los Christianos" (Verdú fol. 144r).



show Valencian Moriscos embracing their expulsion as liberation from oppression (Gerli 2017). In his letter to Jerónimo de Loaysa, “Molina,” a Granadan Morisco writing from Algiers, underscores divine involvement in the expulsion. Molina minimizes Philip III’s role in the grand scheme: “Y no piense V. Merced ha sido en mano del Rey de España, el auernos desterrado de su tierra: pues ha sido inspiración divina; porque aquí he visto pronósticos de mas de mil años, en que cuentan, lo que de nosotros ha sucedido, y ha de suceder; y que nos sacaría Dios de essa tierra” (qtd. in Janer 1857a, 351).

The expulsion was neither as efficient nor as effective as its advocates projected and represented. Many Moriscos remained or returned surreptitiously. Thousands of children stayed as indentured servants in Christian homes (Epalza 1992, 127). Moriscos married to Old Christian men could remain. As Trevor Dadson (2007) has shown, the Moriscos of Villarubia de los Ojos flouted the expulsion decree with the assistance of local authorities and townspeople. The Bishop of Tortosa granted scores of licenses that enabled Catalan Moriscos to remain (Domínguez and Vincent 197).

A small contingent of Valencian Moriscos persisted in the Muela de Cortes mountains more than two years after the 1609 decree (Catalá Sanz and Pérez García 30). Seventeenth-century documents reveal a significant presence of Moriscos in Granada, Córdoba, Cádiz, and in various localities in Murcia (Vincent 2006, 75-87). In 1624, Philip IV ordered local authorities to “disimulen” (dissimulate, i.e. pretend not to notice) the presence of Castilian Moriscos (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz 2009, 87). Hundreds of wealthy Granadan Muslims remained, passing unnoticed until 1727 (Soria Mesa 203). Between 1727 and 1730, 226 individuals were charged

and condemned for “mahometismo” (qtd. in Vincent 2006, 77).<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, despite scholarship’s recent emphasis on these “quedados” and “vuelos,” Bernard Vincent reminds us that “no se puede borrar la realidad de un exilio masivo” (2013, 35).

In 1609, Moriscos accounted for roughly 4% of the country’s total population. Moriscos held a variety of professions; they were horticulturists, construction builders, artisans, carpenters, tailors, mule drivers, doctors, students, and metallurgists (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 109-10). In Valencia and Aragon, where Moriscos were responsible for agricultural production and irrigation systems, their sudden absence brought about severe demographic consequences (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 223). The kingdom of Valencia lost a third of its population and fell into an economic and agricultural slump. In 1633, royal confessor Antonio de Sotomayor suggested the Moriscos return to ameliorate the damage: “‘Muy poco tiempo ha que se hizo la expulsión de los moriscos, que causó en estos reinos tales daños que fuera bien tornarlos a recibir, si ellos se allanaran a recibir nuestra Santa Fe’” (qtd. in Greer 2006, 115).

### **From Dissimulation to Intention**

Over a century before the Moriscos’ expulsion, *muftī* Abū l’Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum‘ah al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 1511), issued a *fatwā* that outlined religious obligations for Muslims living in *al-gurabā’* (qtd. in Harvey 2005, 60).<sup>39</sup> His opinion, known as the “Oran fatwa” from

<sup>38</sup> In addition to Morisco descendants, some of the accused may have been of Berber or Turkish origin (Vincent 2006, 78).

<sup>39</sup> For the controversy surrounding the toponymic “al-Maghrāwī,” see Stewart (2006, 272). Harvey explains the term *gurabā’* as evocative of “outsiders” in that Moriscos lived “outside the bounds of *dar al-Islam*, but they had nevertheless been entrusted with a special honorable role in stressful times leading up to Judgment Day” (2005, 63).

1504, later circulated among Moriscos in Aljamiado and in Arabic copies.<sup>40</sup> Al-Maghrāwī likely wrote the *fatwā* in an unofficial capacity in Fez, where al-Wansharīsī served as official *mufī* (Stewart 2006, 297-8). Unlike Al-Wansharīsī and other Mālikī jurists, Al-Maghrāwī does not stress Muslims’ obligation to leave Iberia in order to remain true believers. Rather than weighing the advantages and disadvantages of emigration; he addresses the Moriscos’ diminished ability to carry out prescribed rituals and suggests practical solutions for unfortunate circumstances.

For instance, if a Muslim is unable to perform ritual ablutions before praying, he must wipe himself clean “even if it is just by rubbing your hands clean on a wall” (qtd. in Harvey 2005, 61). If a believer is prevented from performing the five daily prayers, “then you should make up at nighttime what you have had to omit during the day” (qtd. in Harvey 2005, 61). Most famously, al-Maghrāwī sanctions the practice of dissimulation, as a temporary resolution for the Moriscos’ predicament. He distinguishes between outward conformity and inner direction, accounting for eating pork, drinking wine, interfaith marriages, usury, and blasphemy.

Scholars often cite al-Maghrāwī’s *fatwā* as an endorsement of the doctrine of *taqiyya* (Cardaillac 85-98; Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 133-5). *Taqiyya*, or dissimulation, refers to “the action of concealing one’s religious convictions when divulgence would bring danger or death” (Amir-Moezzi 2017). *Taqiyya* is derived from the root *wāw-qāf-yā*, which connotes fear of God, precaution, and guarding oneself from sin. The Qur’ān alludes to *taqiyya* as a means of circumventing danger (Q 3:28; 40:28; 16:106). The concept was often applied to Shi’ite Muslims travelling through Sunni territory. By definition, *taqiyya* is a “temporary exception” (Rosa-Rodríguez 2010, 153). Early modern apologists seem to allude to *taqiyya* in their denunciations

<sup>40</sup> The Oran *fatwā* is extant in four copies: two in *aljamía*, one in Latin characters, and one in Arabic (Stewart 2006; Rosa-Rodríguez 2010; Harvey 2005, 164-5).

of Moriscos: “tienen en doctrina de sus maestros y antepasados que en ello ganan gran mérito delante de Mahoma y que pueden exteriormente negar a Mahoma reteniéndole en sus coraçones” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 161).

Bernabé Pons challenges the centrality scholars have imputed to *taqiyya* in a Morisco context. Despite alluding to dissimulation, al-Maghrāwī’s *fatwā* does not include the term *taqiyya*; nor does the word appear in any extant Mudejar or Morisco manuscript (Bernabé Pons 2013, 500). The textual absence of *taqiyya* leads Bernabé Pons to highlight another concept present in al-Maghrāwī’s *fatwā* and in multiple Aljamiado manuscripts. *Niyya*, or intention, inheres in believers’ hearts, the corporeal space that governs rationality and volition. Fixing intention—a rational and voluntary decision—ensures that God receives acts of devotion (*‘ibādāt*) as designated by the believer (Bernabé Pons 2013, 507-8). The term “intención” surfaces in scores of Aljamiado texts as well as in the poetic appeal to Bayazid II: “bajo la religión del profeta combatimos a los gobernadores de la cruz con *nuestra intención interna*” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 35; my emphasis).

A shift in focus, from *taqiyya* to *niyya*, avoids an overemphasis on the “crypto” nature of Moriscos’ religious practices (Bernabé Pons 2013, 494). We cannot assume, as the Inquisition did, that each and every Morisco practiced Islam in secret (Bernabé Pons 2013, 495). Though ‘Morisco’ is often used as a synonym for ‘crypto-Muslim,’ not all Moriscos identified as Muslim. What it meant to be Muslim varied from place to place and individual to individual, just as early modern practices of Judaism and Christianity toggled between skepticism and relativism (Schwartz 2008).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Barletta acknowledges this reality, though he opts for ‘crypto-Muslim’ rather than ‘Morisco,’ since the Moriscos in charge of producing and diffusing Aljamiado texts dedicated their efforts to maintaining Islam (2005, 163).

Diminishing the significance attributed to dissimulation enables us to perceive other aspects of Moriscos' religiosity. In her comparison of diasporic communities, Natalia Muchnik contends that the clandestine observance of Judaism and Islam engenders "el desarrollo de una forma de religiosidad más individual e íntima, en la que la adhesión personal cuenta más que los ritos exteriores" (419). An illustration of this "individual and intimate religiosity" is found in a *fatwā* issued by al-Muwwāq, chief *qāḍī* (judge) of Granada during the final period of Islamic control. Al-Muwwāq responds to a query regarding appropriate Muslim behavior in Spain. He urges each Mudejar to "be a *faqīh* of himself (*faqīh al-naḥs*)" (qtd. in Nirenberg 2018, 68).<sup>42</sup> Nirenberg explains that, among Mudejars, "the responsibility for recognizing Islam and maintaining its boundaries devolved more heavily upon the individual Muslim" (2014, 31). An enhanced sense of individual as well as collective devotion is manifest in Aljamiado manuscripts, as we will observe throughout the dissertation.

### ***Alfaquíes, Women, and Books***

*Alfaquíes* played an indispensable role in Iberian Muslims' practice and knowledge of Islam. Kathryn Miller shows how Mudejar *fuqahā* in Aragon sought to fulfill their self-pronounced role as 'inheritors of the prophets' and 'guardians' of their flocks (2008, 131; 28).<sup>43</sup> Barletta describes Morisco *alfaquíes* as "a learned or semi-learned Muslim man charged with the ordering of Muslim life in most Morisco communities" (2005, 139). By the Morisco period, "ya

<sup>42</sup> *Faqīh al-naḥs* literally means "a *faqīh* of the self."

<sup>43</sup> Citing Francisco García Marco's research on Mudejars' professions (1993), Asunción Blasco Martínez's survey of Muslim notaries, and numerous Arabic colophons, Miller shows that over one hundred *alfaquíes* worked in the Ebro Valley in the fifteenth century (53). Miller analyzes scores of Arabic and Aljamiado sermons that functioned as "a moral framework for the unlearned" (146).

no eran fuqaha en el sentido clásico del término árabe sino gentes instruidas en la lectura y escritura que tenían acceso a obras de contenido jurídico, religioso, lingüístico o literario y, por lo tanto, podían leer el Corán en voz alta ante un auditorio analfabeto” (Barceló and Labarta 2009, 64). As Muslim leaders in “imperfect” dwelling places, Mudejar and later Morisco *alfaquíes* functioned as “cultural mediators” and “gatekeepers” of knowledge (Miller 43; Barletta 2005, 142).

Networks of Valencian and Aragonese *alfaquíes* instructed Moriscos across regional boundaries (García-Arenal 2015, 128). As late as 1580, Qur’ānic schools existed in Aragon (in Calanda and Almonacid de la Sierra), as well as in Valencia (Vincent 2006, 112). In the mid-1560s, a group of Moriscos in the town of Deza paid an Aragonese *alfaquí* to tutor them in “Moorish writing” (O’Bannon xxxiv). Aragonese *alfaquíes* strove to ensure contact with Muslims in the Maghreb and Valencia (Bernabé Pons 2010, 29).

Focusing on the role of the *alfaquí* attenuates the tendency to overemphasize differences between Moriscos of distinct regions. Though I pointed out the danger of homogenizing Moriscos above, emphasizing their heterogeneity, on the other hand, can obscure salient points of connection. For instance, scholars paint an oppositional picture of the linguistic landscapes of Granadan and Valencian Muslims on the one hand, and Castilian and Aragonese, on the other. Whereas the former contingent spoke, read, and wrote in Arabic, the latter lived in a *romance*-dominated world. In general, Granadan and Valencian Moriscos conserved Arabic up until the expulsion whereas Moriscos in Castile and Aragon lost their knowledge and use of Arabic overtime.<sup>44</sup> Granadan and Valencian Muslims’ knowledge of Arabic—and Castilian and

<sup>44</sup> Relatively few Muslims lived in Catalonia; they spoke Catalan and did not develop Aljamiado literature (Harvey 2005, 80).

Aragonese Moriscos' lack thereof—impels one critic to attribute to the former “un superior nivel cultural entre sus correligionarios de España” (Vilar 170).

Yet local realities disprove totalizing linguistic identities and ascriptions of “superior” cultural practices. Castilian Moriscos spoke *romance* as well as their Old Christian neighbors did, yet in some places, extant manuscripts attest to knowledge of Arabic late into the sixteenth century (Bernabé and Rubiera 606). The influx of Granadan Muslims in 1570 transformed Castilian communities and, as mentioned above, led to a revitalization of Arabic knowledge (García-Arenal 2015, 128).<sup>45</sup> In general, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of Valencian and Granadan Moriscos' knowledge of their *romance* dialect; variation certainly existed among diverse groups of individuals (Vincent 2006, 113). Manuscripts owned by Valencian and Aragonese Moriscos reveal close thematic correspondences (García-Arenal 2010a, 65). As Bernabé Pons summarizes, Aragonese and Valencian Moriscos differed in the extent of their use of Arabic, “en el prestigio de sus alfaquíes,” but not in “la naturaleza de sus conocimientos islámicos” (2010, 28).

In addition to *alfaquíes*, women preserved cultural and religious practices in their communities. They owned books and appeared in Aljamiado literature as admirable protagonists (Barletta 2005, 100; Perry 2007; 2012); they fought in the Alpujarras War, carried amulets, and instructed their children in Islamic precepts (Vincent 1992, 592-3; García-Arenal 2010a, 71;

<sup>45</sup> Indeed, scholars deem Pastrana “una pequeña Granada a partir de la expulsión de 1570” (García-Arenal and Rodríguez 2010, 281). In Albaicín, a neighborhood founded by Moriscos on the outskirts of Pastrana, findings in 1615 and 1622 revealed “libros en lengua arábica encuadernados y con una funda de faxos de damasco azul y colorado y franjas de oro que no se acuerda cuántos serían” (qtd. in García-Arenal and Rodríguez 2010, 284). During an Inquisitorial visit to Pastrana in 1631, witnesses reported having seen Arabic books in houses abandoned by Moriscos. Two of these works could have been the polemics of Juan Alonso and Muhammad Alguazir (Wiegers 2014, 396). Muhammad Alguazir was from Pastrana (García-Arenal and Rodríguez 283).

Ruiz-Bejarano 2017, 366); they washed baptismal oils off of their infants and carried out principal roles in crypto-Muslim homes (Perry 2007, 65; García-Arenal 1978, 25; Surtz 424; Hasenfeld 2001). Since Islamic practices were forbidden in public, the domestic space became a vital hub of instruction and ritual (Melammed 158).<sup>46</sup> Women in Valencia and Granada continued to speak in Arabic and wear traditional dress (Vincent 1992, 589). Some Moriscos, including María de Cuéllar, Isabel Bejarana, and the Mora de Úbeda, were considered Islamic experts, respected for their religious knowledge and referred to as *alfaquíes* or “*alfaquinas*” (Vincent 1992, 593; Melammed 160; Narváez 2003, 52-5; López-Baralt and Narváez 1981).<sup>47</sup>

Books used in instructional and ritual settings provide insight into Mudejars and Moriscos. The most frequent accusation against Valencian Moriscos is the possession of Arabic books (García-Arenal 2010, 58).<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Fournel-Guérin documents a thriving network of book sales (particularly copies of the Qur’ān) among Aragonese Moriscos in the sixteenth century (1979). As García-Arenal summarizes: “se conservan unos 900 procesos de Inquisición de moriscos aragoneses, fechados entre 1568 y 1609: de esos, 409 son acusados de poseer libros escritos en árabe” (2010a, 58). Of the accused, 311 Moriscos carried bound volumes while 98 carried loose papers (Fournel-Guérin 243).

Though many Moriscos carried Arabic books or papers, Bernard Vincent is circumspect of equating book possession with linguistic abilities. Many Moriscos toted texts as talismans.

<sup>46</sup> See Melammad (2010) for a comparative discussion of Conversas’ and Moriscos’ roles in crypto-Jewish and crypto-Muslim communities.

<sup>47</sup> As Fray Nicolás del Río commented in his 1606 *Memorial*, “El mayor y más necesario e importante sería el quitarles los alfaquines [*y*] *alfaquinas que las ay y muchas* y las madrinas porque estos son los que sustentan toda la morisca” (qtd. in García-Arenal 1975, 130; my emphasis).

<sup>48</sup> Vilar (1996) discusses Inquisitorial trials of Valencian and Murcian Moriscos accused of possessing Arabic books.



With respect to Fournel-Guérin's documentation of Qur'ānic schools and textual circulations in Aragon, Vincent asks: “¿Eran esfuerzos desesperados para mantener una llama vacilante o era una bolsa de resistencia en un universo mayoritariamente aculturado? El tema aragonés no está, en manera alguna, cerrado” (2006, 107). Vincent underscores the low literacy rates substantiated by Inquisition documents. In Valencia, only 7.3% of accused Moriscos and 3.3% of Moriscas could read (Vincent 2006, 112). Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent suppose that, given the high levels of illiteracy among Old Christians, among Moriscos the problem must be overwhelming (121).

Despite illiteracy rates, Moriscos' book collections—both real and imagined—vexed inquisitors and apologists. Pedro Aznar Cardona, in his *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles* (1612), captures the seemingly interminable extent of Islamic books as “un mar sin suelo” (qtd. in Cardaillac 68). He disparages Morisco poetry in particular: “En cada casa, en cada rincón avemos hallado dellos, hasta cartillas y abecedarios para los niños, con *los mandamientos de Mahoma puestos en coplillas* con las demás heregías de su ponçoñosa doctrina” (qtd. in Cardaillac 68; my emphasis). If only Aznar Cardona had known how many Aljamiado “coplillas” fit this description. Enough, in fact, to inspire a dissertation.

## Chapter 1: Aljamiado Manuscripts

The term *aljamía* derives from Arabic *‘ağamiyya* (‘*ayn-ğīm-mīm*), which means foreign or non-Arabic as opposed to *‘arabiyya*, Arabic. In a Mudejar context, *aljamía* designated a spoken form of *romance* while its derivation, *aljamiado*, referred to a Muslim conversant in *romance*. Only in the nineteenth century was ‘Aljamiado’ employed to describe a *romance* text written with the Arabic script (Montaner 1993, 31). *Aljamía* does not represent the Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ colloquial language (Ben Jemia 1986, 21; Cervera Fras 2013, 250). It fuses Andalusian Arabic dialect and varieties of *romance* but does not reflect spoken pronunciation (Montaner 1993, 35-8). As Montaner points out, Aljamiado writing conforms not to phonetic transcription but to graphic convention: epenthetic vowels between consonants render “presente” as “peresente,” “profeta” as “porofeta,” and “cristianos” as “cristianos.” In addition to Arabisms, described below, Aragonese lexicon and archaic expressions abound in Aljamiado manuscripts, such as the conservation of the initial *f* in *fazer* and *fasta*, metathesis in words such as *presona* and *crebantar*, and the adverbs *ende* and *do* (Castilla 2019, 114; see Montaner 2004).

Though transliterations of select *romance* words began to appear in documents in the twelfth century, the majority of Aljamiado texts were produced in the sixteenth century (Viguera 25-7; Montaner 1993, 33-4).<sup>49</sup> Yça Gidelli, a *muftī* from Segovia, catalyzed the systematized production of Aljamiado texts in the fifteenth century. In his *Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, known as the *Breviario çunní*, Gidelli translates and adapts various juridical treatises. Bearing a colophon from 1462, the work is extant

<sup>49</sup> The first dated extant Aljamiado text is from 1451 (Wiegers 1994, 63). The first sacred text written in the vernacular in Al-Andalus was written in the Berber language (Wiegers 1994, 40-1).

in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century manuscripts (Wiegers 1994, 115-21).<sup>50</sup> Six years before, in 1456, Juan de Segovia had commissioned Yça to translate the Qur'ān. The trilingual composition that resulted—redacted in Latin, Arabic, and Castilian—is no longer extant.<sup>51</sup>

Yça's undeniable imprint on later authors and texts leads Harvey to ascribe the development of Aljamiado writing as a single channel of emission: from Yça Gidelli (Castile) to the Mancebo de Arévalo (Aragon), a prolific Morisco author active in the first quarter of the sixteenth century (see Viguera 30-1).<sup>52</sup> Though Yça and the Mancebo played instrumental roles in the diffusion of Islamic knowledge in *romance*, various scholars have challenged the monogenetic origins of Aljamiado. Anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemics, including *Ta'yīd al-Milla* and *Kitāb Miftāḥ ad-Dīn*, circulated in Aljamiado adaptations in the fourteenth century (Colominas Aparicio 2018; Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1994). A number of Aljamiado texts copied by Aragonese Mudejars can be dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prior to Yça's and the Mancebo's works (Viguera 29-1; Montaner 1993, 43-4). In sum, despite their fundamental contributions, we cannot affirm that Yça and the Mancebo were the only catalysts for Aljamiado manuscript production.

Aragonese Moriscos produced the vast majority of Aljamiado manuscripts (Montaner 1993, 45).<sup>53</sup> Unexpected discoveries throughout Aragon, and a few in Castile, have unearthed

<sup>50</sup> Extant manuscripts include Ms. BNE 6016 (Latin script); Ms. CSIC 1 (Aljamiado); Ms. CSIC 60 (Latin script); Ms. S-3 (11/9396) BRAH (Latin script). Ms. BNE 2076 (Latin script) was likely intended for Christian use (Wiegers 1994, 155-6). For additional partial copies see Wiegers (1994, 115-121).

<sup>51</sup> Only the prologue written by Juan de Segovia survives. This is the first known European vernacular translation of the Qur'ān (García-Arenal 2015, 133). See López-Morillas (1999) on the relationship between Yça Gidelli's lost translation and the Toledo Qur'ān, discussed below.

<sup>52</sup> On the name "Mancebo," see Harvey (1967).

<sup>53</sup> The only extant Aljamiado texts from Valencia are Christian prayers that Moriscos memorized as part of their religious instruction (Labarta 1977-8).

roughly 200 manuscripts, comprising around 40,000 folios (Montaner 1993, 48). One of the largest findings took place in 1884, when construction workers in Almonacid de la Sierra stumbled upon more than 140 codices stashed behind walls and under baseboards in a dilapidated house. In addition to manuscripts, the presence of writing and binding materials suggests the abode once served as a Morisco scribal workshop. Advanced preservation techniques indicate that the manuscripts were not stored haphazardly. Carefully tucked behind false walls and floorboards, the complex storage system could reflect a deliberate intent to hide codices after the publication of the expulsion decree, rather than a hasty attempt to hide the manuscripts from inquisitorial eyes (Montaner 1993, 54). It appears that the codices' owners had every intention of retrieving their texts in the future.<sup>54</sup>

Given Arabic's significant role in the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān's centrality to Islam, it is unsurprising that Iberian Muslims would go to tremendous lengths in order to preserve the sacred script. The role of the Qur'ān in Islam is often compared to that of Jesus in Christianity (López-Morillas 1995, 199). Islamic belief esteems Arabic as the language in which Allah revealed the Qur'ān (e.g. Q 20:113; 42:7; 46:12). God chose Arabic as the language of revelation so that followers would understand the divine message (Q 12:2; 43:2-3; 26: 194-5). Qur'ānic verses highlight its intelligible and clear Arabic expression (e.g. Q 16:103; 26:195). Works of *ḥadīth* attest to Muḥammad's predilection for Arabic, such as the following statement attributed to the prophet: “‘The Qur'an has been revealed in my language and it is the best language’” (qtd. in Azarnoosh et. al. 2008).

<sup>54</sup> A few years prior to Almonacid, two hundred volumes were discovered in a house in Mesones, though all but one were burned (Montaner 1993, 48). Smaller findings occurred in 1969 in Ocaña (Toledo); in 1957 in Sabinán (Zaragoza); in 1984 in Urrea de Jalón; in 1988 in Calanda (Teruel), among other places (Villaverde 2010).

*Aljamía* enabled *alfaquíes* to preserve the revered language of Islam without foregoing the comprehension of their *romance*-speaking followers. As Hegyi argues, the mere use of the Arabic alphabet to transliterate *romance* constitutes “una manifestación externa de pertenencia a la *umma*, la comunidad islámica. Dada la gran importancia en la religión islámica de actos exteriores como prueba de fe, el uso del alfabeto árabe puede considerarse hasta cierto punto como una especie de <<confesión de la fe>>” (1978b, 162). As a counterpart to “There is No God but God,” we might add, “There is No Script but the Arabic Script.” The writing form allowed Iberian Muslims to link their texts to an Islamic heritage and to claim belonging to an Islamic community.

In addition to its symbolic and indexical significance, Arabic entails powerful protective functions. Many Moriscos carried Arabic writings as talismans (Castilla 2010a, 76; Giles 2017; López-Baralt 2009, 237-91; Labarta 1982-3). The *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (the ‘Mantle Ode’), for instance, provides physical cures and spiritual protection (Stetkevych 2006; 2010). Several Qur’ānic verses hold special curative powers (García-Arenal 2010a, 70-1). As the revealed Word of God, the mere physical presence of the Qur’ān has the power to protect and to cure (Holy 25). Other reasons for using the Arabic script are discussed below.

Aljamiado manuscripts feature Maghrebi script, in which the letter *fā’* is written with one diacritical point below the consonant and the letter *qāf* is indicated with one diacritical point above the letter (Montaner 1988b, 131). Most texts are monochromatic. Occasionally, scribes depart from the typical brown or black ink to vocalize Arabic texts in red. Typical decorations include triangular sets of three dots (∴), which can indicate a pause; “cerezas” or “tréboles,” which represent a longer or more emphatic stop; “rosetas,” which are used to signal Qur’ānic verses and “cenefas,” or embellished headers that mark a textual change, such as the subsequent

*sūrah* (Castilla 2010b, 110; Beneyto Lozano 87-8). Scribes deployed a *misṭara* to imprint horizontal lines on folios and thus ensure regularity (Castilla 2010a, 77). *Quarto* and *octavo* are the most typical codex sizes (Castilla 2010b, 67). Codex covers often display Mudejar-style ornamentation (Montaner 1993, 52). In addition to features typical of Arabic manuscript traditions, Aljamiado texts share characteristics with medieval Latin manuscripts, including the use of the manicule and the division of words between lines. The latter, though prohibited in Arabic texts, is ubiquitous in Aljamiado manuscripts (Montaner 1993, 39).

### **Texts in Translation**

Scholars describe the extant Aljamiado corpus as “una literatura de traducción” since the majority of texts derive from Arabic sources (Hegyi 1978a, 304). Specialists do not agree when the bulk of translations from Arabic to *aljamía* took place. Did Mudejars living in fifteenth-century Aragon initiate the translation wave or did their labor comprise its crest? Did their Morisco descendants copy translated texts or did they render Arabic into *aljamía* themselves?

Some scholars contend Aragonese Moriscos were incapable of carrying out the translations due to their insufficient Arabic skills (Zanón 368). Bernabé Pons admits we do not know with certitude “quién lleva a cabo esas traducciones (¿ni exactamente cuándo!)” though in another publication he implicitly attributes the role of translator to Moriscos (2010, 28; 2009; 71). Gerard Wiegers likewise affirms the difficulty of specifying the time frame of Aljamiado translation (1994, 203-4). Lapesa suggests the apex of translation took place in the fourteenth century (1981, 262-3). Alberto Montaner argues that the bulk of translation activity occurred in the fifteenth century, though some Moriscos could have translated texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1993, 46; Castilla 2010b, 34). Other scholars conclude that Morisco

*alfaquíes* carried out the translations (García-Arenal 2010a, 67; Hegyi 1978a, 319). In Aragon, though Moriscos spoke *romance* in their day-to-day interactions, some could still read and speak Arabic (García-Arenal 2010b, 303).

Whether translation occurred in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, we can reflect on the possible methods through which works came to fruition. Houssein Bouzineb suggests that translators copied works through a process of dictation; an *alfaquí* would recite a text in Arabic and another would copy its translation in *aljamía* (1988, 617). López-Morillas suggests that translations of sacred texts into the vernacular could have begun in a context of “spontaneous, oral translation and commentary” (2006, 257). She points to the *fatwā* handed down by Ibn Rushd (d. 1126) in which a man living in twelfth-century Cordoba was accused of bragging about his ability to recite “*sūrat Yūsuf bi’l-‘adjamiyya*” (“the twelfth chapter of the Qur’ān in *aljamía*”) and for saying derisive comments about Muḥammad (qtd. in Wiegers 1994, 30). Ibn Rushd responds to the latter charge but does not opine on the former (Wiegers 1994, 31). Despite the inconclusive evidence, Wiegers concludes “there must have been people in early 12<sup>th</sup> century Muslim Spain who in fact ‘recited’ religious texts in Romance” (1994, 32).

Along similar lines, García-Arenal cites several Inquisitorial processes that suggest translations of Arabic were enacted *viva voce*. In 1542, Lope de Hinestrosa of Daimiel recalled a clandestine reunion in which ““se leía un libro moriego scripto en lengua aráviga y contenía oraciones de moros... y la persona que lo leía declaraba en romance lo que en el dicho libro estava escripto en arávigo”” (qtd. in García-Arenal 2010a, 67-8).<sup>55</sup> Brianda Suárez, from Guadalajara, recounted similar meetings in which ““se leía un libro o cuaderno escrito en lengua castellana que contenía oraciones y cosas de moros... así mesmo contenía el dicho libro o

<sup>55</sup> Cardaillac also cites this document and surmises the text was translated aloud (70).

cuaderno oraciones de moros escriptas en árábigo y declaradas en lengua castellana, especialmente la oración de alhandu y coluha” (qtd. in García-Arenal 2010a, 68).<sup>56</sup> Though García-Arenal suggests these testimonies attest to the practice of live translation, it is also possible that *alfaquíes* recited texts already redacted in *aljamía*. If a listener glanced at an Aljamiado manuscript, they might have perceived transliterated *romance* to be Arabic.

Due to the careful rigor and attention required, as well as the high degree of consistency and uniformity across texts, it seems likely that most *alfaquíes* elaborated translations, and copies in general, from written templates (Epalza 1986, 41; Montaner 1990, 349-50). Nuria de Castilla shows that texts compiled in Ms. T19 BRAH were copied from written models; evidence includes errors such as *homoioteleuton* (skip from same to same), as well as punctuation signs such as the triangular three-point design (2010b, 25-6).<sup>57</sup> Such features are prevalent in other Aljamiado texts. In most cases, scribes probably copied from written texts, though this tendency does not preclude the possibility that copyists penned texts delivered orally (Montaner 1993, 50-1).

### Contents, Classifications, Misconceptions

Mudejars and Moriscos preserved a variety of texts in their codices. In addition to translations of Qur’ānic verses and *tafsīr* (exegesis), manuscripts include *ḥadīth*, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (Stories of the Prophets), instructional treatises that outline correct ritual practice (*fiqh al-*

<sup>56</sup> Mudejars and Moriscos referred to the first *sūrah* as the “azora de Alhamdu” (Wiegers 1994, 183). “*Colhua*” (which “coluha” approximates), comes from the opening verses of *sūrah* 112 (*al-Ikhlās*, or Sincerity).

<sup>57</sup> Castilla attributes punctuation signs to the fact that “está escrito para ser leído,” though she does not specify oral or silent reading (2010a, 79). Punctuation signs would have facilitated an oral recitation as well.



*‘ibādāt*), juridical works (*fiqh al-mu ‘āmalāt*), sermons (*khuṭba*, pl: *khuṭāb*), glossaries, supplicatory prayers (*du ‘ā*; pl. *ad ‘iya*), talismans and amulets (*hijāb*; *hirz*), recipes, calendars, itineraries, eschatological texts, chronicles, chivalric tales, prophecies (*aljofores*), and compilations of maxims.

Aljamiado adaptations of well-known works include al-Ṭulayṭulī’s 10th-century compendium of Mālikī law, *Mukhtaṣar fī ‘l-fiqh*; Ibn al-Ğallāb (d. 988)’s *Kitāb al-Tafrī*; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 996)’s *Risala*; Abū-l-Layth as-Samarqandī (d. 983-1003)’s *Tanbīh al-gāfilīn*, known to Moriscos as *Alkiteb de Çamarqandī*; Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Quḍā‘ī (d. 1062)’s *Kitāb aš-šihāb*; selections of works by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and Ibn ‘Abbād de Ronda (d. 1390); and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d.1545)’s *Kitāb al-anwār*, known to Aragonese Muslims as the *Libro de las luces*.

Though the majority of Aljamiado texts are translations of Islamic works, Mudejars and Moriscos did not only recuperate religious knowledge; they also adapted coeval Iberian literature and composed original texts. From the *mester de clerecía* to popular humanistic works and Golden Age poetry, intertextual exchanges display Aragonese Muslims’ integration in contemporaneous intellectual trends. Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes (1970; 1991) has edited Aljamiado versions of the widely read chivalric romance *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana* and Hernán López de Yanguas’s *Dichos de los siete sabios*. Works composed in exile incorporate verses of Garcilaso, Lope de Vega, and Góngora. Many Aljamiado poems are original compositions.

Despite the widespread anonymity of translators and scribes, a few authors are known to us by name (Wiegers 1994, 223-29). The Mancebo de Arévalo composed at least three texts during his lifetime: the *Tafçira* (Ms. J-62 CSIC), the *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna*

(Ms. Dd. 949 Cambridge), and the *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual* (Ms. Res. 245 BNE; Micro 4823) (Harvey 1978, 26-41). The Mancebo presents an expansive discursive and geographic landscape.<sup>58</sup> In each of his extant compositions, the peripatetic author intersperses records of his conversations with New and Old Christians, personal musings, theological disquisitions, and pious exhortations. His eclectic writing style leads one scholar to call him a “‘periodista’ *avant la lettre*” (Narváez 2003, 67). The Mancebo ascribes material from Thomas à Kempis’ *De Imitatione Christi* and the prologue of *La Celestina* to figures such as Ka‘b al-Aḥbār and al-Ghazālī (Fonseca Antuña 2002; Harvey 2005, 175-6; Narváez 1995). He is known for his “horriblemente difícil” language (Harvey 1978, 36). I examine excerpts from his works in Chapter 6.

Moriscos continued to compose and copy works after the expulsion—though as far as the extant manuscripts reveal, they did so with the Latin rather than Arabic script. Known authors include Juan Alonso Aragonés, who displays his theological erudition in *Paralelo y concordancia entre las religiones cristiana, judía y mahometana* (Ms. 9655 BNE). Muhammad Alguazir’s anti-Christian polemic, commissioned by the Moroccan sultan Muley Zaydān, refutes the fourteen articles of Christianity (Ms. 9074 BNM; Wadham College Ms. A 18:15). Ibrāhīm al-Ṭaybilī versifies Alguazir’s polemic in *Contradición de los catorce artículos de la fe cristiana, missa y sacrificios, con otras pruebas y argumentos contra la falsa trinidad* (1627) (Ms. 1976, Biblioteca Casanetense de Roma; Bernabé Pons 1988). Scholars attribute an anonymous commentary on a poem by Ibrāhīm de Bolfad (Ms. 9653 BNE) to Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (c.

<sup>58</sup> The Mancebo likely worked as a digger (*asadonero*) whose travels were financed by wealthy Muslims (Wiegiers 1994, 165). He visited Almagro, Andalucía, Arévalo, Ávila, Córdoba, Astorga, Extremadura, Gandía, Granada, Jaén, Málaga, Ocaña, Requena, Ronda, Segovia, Toledo, Valencia, and Zaragoza (Harvey 1978, 31-2).

1569-70 – c. 1648).<sup>59</sup> Al-Ḥajārī, known for his *Kitāb nāṣir ad-dīn ‘alā ‘l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (‘The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels’), fled from Spain in 1599, served under Muley Zaydān, and eventually settled in Tunis.

As their titles suggest, many of the works that circulated in exile display a polemical thrust. Anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemics also circulated among Mudejars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1994; Colominas Aparicio 2018). Refutations of Christian beliefs resurfaced in seventeenth-century exile, sometimes at the behest of powerful patrons (Wiegers 2013, 395). The number of extant polemics that can be dated to the sixteenth century is relatively small; most are copies of texts that circulated previously (Wiegers 1994, 185; Wiegers 2014, 390).

In contrast to the polemical emphasis of Latin-script works produced in exile, roughly 70% of extant Aljamiado texts can be categorized as derivative of *fiqh al-‘ibādāt*, that is, “la doctrina legal en la que se detalla cómo deben realizarse los actos de adoración a Dios obligatorios para el creyente de forma que le resulten válidos” (Bernabé Pons 2013, 509). Harvey describes these assorted devotional and instructional texts as “pious miscellanies” (2005, 151). Often untitled or acephalous, such compilations are deemed “Misceláneas” or “Devotionarios” in catalogues. They resemble “una pequeña biblioteca de los temas más diversos, sin aparente trabazón interna” (López-Baralt 2009, 23).

Although these “little libraries” consolidate diverse groups of texts, many scholars are hesitant to embrace the catch-all adjective “miscellaneous” (Galmés 1984, 314-7; Cervera Fras 2013, 253; Hawkins 200). Often thematic and functional connections link texts. Nuria de Castilla

<sup>59</sup> Along with Ms. 9654 BNE and Ms. S-2 BRAH, Ms. 9653 BNE is also attributed to Ṭaybilī (Bernabé Pons 1988, 65-6).

points out that a codex becomes its own entity once a set of texts is compiled, copied, and organized (2010b, 35). As far as we know, Castilla explains, no two Aljamiado codices contain exactly the same materials. Thus, deeming a manuscript a miscellany is unproductive, “porque siendo el original de la misma, carecería de sentido cotejarlo con otros manuscritos, ya que un original solo aspira a parecerse a sí mismo” (Castilla 2010b, 36).

Moreover, as Heather Bamford explains, deeming a manuscript a “miscellany,” an “anthology,” or a “compilation,” hinges on “the success by which we can convince ourselves that we have identified the intentions of the scribes, compilers, and owners of a given manuscript, most particularly with regard to their management or lack of management of fragments” (2018, 10). In contrast to a “miscellany,” Bamford defines a compilation, following Isidoro de Sevilla (d. 636), as “a new work generated through the selecting, excerpting, and arranging of texts already valued in the cultural tradition” (2018, 10). Finally, an anthology differs from a compilation in that “it is a collection of fragments of separate texts related in theme” (Bamford 2018, 11).

Aljamiado codices display unity despite their heterogeneity. In most cases, they reflect Bamford’s classification of compilations and anthologies, rather than miscellanies. Compilations recall Arabic *adab* or *belles lettres*, widespread in Andalusian Arabic manuscripts and throughout the Islamic world (Viguera 1990, 50; Tottoli 2016, 272-3). Thematic correspondences between Arabic *adab* collections and Aljamiado codices could reflect the “conservative attitude” of Mudejars and Moriscos intent upon adhering to the themes and arrangements prevalent in Arabic codices (Tottoli 2016, 273). Moreover, Harvey notes similarities between Aljamiado codices and the anthologies compiled by Berti Muslims in Sudan (2005, 151). Codices preserved by Iberian Muslims share features of the “*umbatri*” books, or

“‘that which mentions everything’” (Holy 25). Berti *fugarā* (*alfaquíes*) assemble texts from print and handwritten works, including amulets, Qur’ānic verses, and supplicatory prayers (Holy 25-6).

Irrespective of thematic or codicological reminiscences, Aljamiado codices reflect particular interests and potential uses specific to Aragonese Muslims. Binding heterogeneous texts enabled them “to preserve Islamic doctrine in a way that was both convenient and all-encompassing” (Tottoli 2016, 272). Convenient, inclusive, and “práctico,” these manuscripts capture Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ resourcefulness and creativity (Viguera 38). In a Morisco context, smaller compilations could be stashed quickly and hidden with ease. Given their all-encompassing thematic nature, portability did not preclude access to a wide range of texts.

Aljamiado codices defy classification. Categorizing texts based on genre or thematic grounds proves difficult (López-Baralt 2009, 104; Bernabé Pons 2010, 43; Montaner 1998a).<sup>60</sup> Rather than relying on thematic criteria to classify Aljamiado manuscripts, Montaner proposes a model based on formalist categories (1988a, 315-6).<sup>61</sup> Barletta expands upon Montaner’s analysis, remarking “we know very little about the categories (textual, discursive, and pragmatic) to which most of these texts might have corresponded from the perspective of the communities that copied and made use of them” (2006, 513-8). Barletta does not dismiss theme as a means of orientation; he affirms that we should approach thematic categories as part of “contextualized activity frameworks that give shape to language use” (2006, 530). I attend to the issue of genre in Chapter 5.

<sup>60</sup> Bouzineb’s tripartite division of the corpus comprises “littérature doctrinale,” “littérature polémique,” and “littérature de divertissement” (1987). The latter can be understood as “de distracción,” “de evasión,” or “de entrenamiento” (Viguera 32, 39; Montaner 1993, 53).

<sup>61</sup> For instance, itineraries—labeled a “subgénero” of didactic works—entail “apófansis,” “apelación,” “diégesis,” and “futurición” (1988a, 321).

How, exactly, were Aljamiado manuscripts used? To whom did they belong? Who engaged with them? Most Aljamiado manuscripts were produced in scribal workshops “cuyo integrantes (al margen de otras posibles actividades profesionales paralelas) se dedicaban intensamente a la producción escrita, sin menoscabo de la probable labor esporádica de otros individuos” (Montaner 1993, 49; López-Morillas 1984; 1986; Montaner 1988b, 141-3). In general, codices belonged to *alfaquíes* and were used in instructional settings (Cervera Fras 2013, 260). As one inquisitorial document reveals, fifteen-year-old Juan de Aranda, from Almonacid de la Sierra, was detained “porque se encontraba con otros alumnos una noche en casa de Luis Barbaza ‘para deprender a leer moriego y escribirlo’” (Ruiz-Bejarano 367). In order to prevent children from disclosing sensitive information and thus jeopardizing the family’s safety, religious instruction likely began during teenage years (Ruiz-Bejarano 366).

*Alfaquíes* often recited works aloud, whether by memory or with a written aid (Montaner 2010, 50; Cardaillac 70-2). Discussing Aljamiado narratives in particular, Barletta underscores the “socially embedded activities such as literacy and religious instruction, ritual practice, and storytelling performances in the micro-level, face-to-face settings in which they were engaged” (2005, 6). Islam places special importance on the recited word. Among Moriscos in particular, clandestine efforts to instruct without leaving any material traces could have led to an increased emphasis on the recitation of texts (Perry 2012, 168).

Perhaps due to the covert nature of their diffusion, scholars have posited that Aljamiado texts function as a “secret code” designed to occlude Islamic teachings from Christian authorities. This theory is untenable for various reasons. *Aljamía* developed gradually throughout centuries prior to Inquisitorial persecution. During the sixteenth century, a text written with the Arabic alphabet would have incited suspicion regardless its content (Barletta 2005, 133). Indeed,

we do not have evidence that Inquisitors distinguished between Aljamiado and Arabic manuscripts (García-Arenal 2010a, 59).<sup>62</sup> Arabic-language experts who served as state and church officials would have been capable of divulging the contents of Aljamiado texts (Hegyí 1978b, 147-8). Furthermore, several works exist in both Arabic and Latin script copies; this duality contradicts the idea that *aljamía* was used to hide information.

Underpinning the “secret code” theory is the conception of Aljamiado texts as a centrifugal response to hegemonic pressure (Barletta 2005, 134). Aljamiado manuscripts constitute “an instrument of self-defense against the Christian threat” meant to assert difference and sustain a cultural identity (Chejne 1983, 47). As Luce López-Baralt contends, the corpus represents “las antípodas de la literatura española tradicional” in that “los códigos piensan a España al revés: desde un punto de vista islámico... Los textos están escritos ‘al revés de los cristianos’ y nos obligan a entrar en contacto con una España que resulta difícil de reconocer, porque sus valores culturales, religiosos, políticos y sociales más fundamentales han quedado ‘invertidos’” (2009, 41). By “inverted,” López-Baralt explains that Moriscos refashioned vocabulary with Christian connotations, such as *libertad*, *opresor*, *hereje*, *salvación*, *paraíso*, and *santidad* (2009, 46-9).

The manuscripts produced by Aragonese Muslims consist largely of Islamic teachings. Yet translators, authors, and copiers did not merely invert Christian values; they created, shaped, and explored their own. Approaching Aljamiado manuscripts solely in terms of their centrifugal valences undermines the texts’ complexities. Barletta cautions against pigeonholing heterogeneous motivations, individuals, and texts into an “in-group device” (2005, 133). Bernard

<sup>62</sup> In Inquisitorial processes, a book “escrito en aljamía” refers to a work written in Spanish (García-Arenal 2010a, 59).

Vincent suggests we refer to “moriscos españoles” and “cristianos españoles” rather than distinguishing between “moriscos” and “la sociedad española,” as Galmés does (2006, 142).

Instead of oppositional or inverted, some scholars describe the corpus’ relation to Christian texts in terms of “hybridity,” a term applied to Aljamiado poetry in particular (López-Baralt 2009, 26; 41; Ángel Vázquez 2007, 239). Aljamiado texts are difficult to classify because of their hybridity: “debido a su flagrante hibridez, resultan muy difíciles de clasificar. Son, como adelanté, orientales y occidentales a la vez, y, sin embargo, no encajan del todo en ninguno de estos dos mundos culturales” (López-Baralt 2009, 104). Aljamiado manuscripts are “un producto híbrido” and the Mancebo is “most hybrid of all Aljamiado writers” (Cervera Fras 2013, 253; Narváez 2006, 494). They constitute an “extraña literatura híbrida” (Hegyi 1978a, 303). *Aljamía* is a “lenguaje híbrido” (Liman 2002). Moriscos themselves are “seres híbridos y escindidos cuya identidad—nunca del todo resuelta—sintieron amenazada” (Narváez 2003, 13).

In addition to “hybrid,” critics detect dialogical and “in-between” relationships with Christian literature and society. When Moriscos wrote in *romance*, they engaged in a “diálogo tácito” with “la cultura que rechazaba o de la que al menos se defendía” (García-Arenal 2010a, 67). Galmés carves out an “in-between” place for Aljamiado literature and its producers: “se desarrolla a caballo *entre las dos culturas*, la islámica y la occidental de España” (1990, 145; my emphasis). In literary and linguistic ways, “los moriscos cabalgan *entre las dos culturas*” (Galmés 1990, 146; my emphasis). In works such as the *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana* and *Dichos de los sabios de Grecia*, Galmés detects “un claro deseo, por parte de los moriscos, de ser partícipes de las dos culturas en que se hallaban inmersos” (1990, 147). Moriscos’ tragic reality “fue sentirse suspendidos *entre dos culturas*, atraído por ambas y no aceptado plenamente por ninguna” (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 164; my emphasis). Drawing upon Homi Bhabha,



López-Baralt concludes that “La literatura aljamiada es, insisto, las dos cosas a la vez, escritura española y escritura islámica, y aún más: es el tercer espacio del encuentro—y del choque—entre ambas” (2009, 28).

Since the majority of Aljamiado texts were produced in the second half of the sixteenth century—a conflictive and oppressive atmosphere—the desire to resist evangelization and acculturation undoubtedly stimulated the production of Aljamiado manuscripts (Montaner 1993, 47-8). Yet overemphasis on the resistant, reactive, binary, and dialogical nature of Aljamiado manuscripts obscures salient intertextual exchanges with works authored by Jews and *conversos*, as well as with Muslims in other parts of the world. As Bernard Vincent qualifies, “La relación morisco-cristiano es fundamental o, más exactamente, la relación musulmán mediterráneo-morisco-cristiano” (2006, 142). Aljamiado texts encompass a broad communicative landscape. The extant corpus is not only reactive to Christian hegemony but generative, reflective, and comparable to texts from distinct settings. Although these manuscripts are unique, they are not anomalous.

Sephardic Jews composed and copied *romance* works with the Hebrew script, both in the peninsula and in diaspora (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 2006). Hebrew Aljamiado texts appeared in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and flourished after 1492 in diasporic communities (García-Arenal 2015, 127; 144). *Ladino* cleaves closely to Hebrew, as *aljamía* does to Arabic (Bunis 2011; López-Morillas 1990, 111).<sup>63</sup> Hamilton (2014) underscores important differences between Arabic and Hebrew Aljamiado.<sup>64</sup> Brown and Gómez Aranda (2009) edit

<sup>63</sup> López-Morillas describes Ladino as “an artificial calque language, restricted to the school and the synagogue” in contrast to the spoken vernacular *Judezmo* as well as written Judeo-Spanish “which records the standard spoken language in Hebrew characters for literary or journalistic purposes” (1990, 111-2).

<sup>64</sup> See Kaplan (2002) and Wacks (2015) on Jewish and *converso* textual production.

Hebrew Aljamiado poems inspired by Santa Teresa, the Marqués de Santillana, and Grisóstomo's lament (*Don Quijote* I, xiv). Laura Minervini (1997) presents a Hebrew-script adaptation of Jeronimo de Urrea's Spanish translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The Aljamiado work circulated among Iberian Jews living in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Muslims throughout the world distinguished between vernacular languages and Arabic; they used the latter to redact the former (Monroe 1970, 94; Hegyi 1978b, 152-3).<sup>65</sup> Beginning in the sixteenth century, Bosnian Muslims wrote in Serbo-Croatian with the Arabic script. A similar phenomenon occurred in Albania (Hegyi 1979, 263-4). In the Philippines, Muslims composed Malay texts with the Arabic script, a linguistic combination called *jāwī* (Donoso 260-1).<sup>66</sup> At least seventeen African vernacular languages have been written with the Arabic script, including Hausa and Swahili (Hegyi 1979, 265).

### Useless Signs and Moving Texts

Though the use of Arabic script to express vernacular languages is not unique to Iberian Muslims, *aljamía*'s nuances raise specific questions. Using *romance* to communicate Islamic doctrine generated controversy among Muslim scholars yet persisted for centuries in Iberian lands. Proscribed by religious leaders abroad and authorities at home, *aljamía* nevertheless

<sup>65</sup> Hegyi cites a manuscript in which Chinese is transliterated with the Arabic script (known as *xiao'erjing*) but does not provide a catalogue number or date (1978b, 153-4). He refers to a Portuguese Aljamiado letter sent to the king of Portugal in the early sixteenth century, though Harvey points out that this document has little in common with other forms of Aljamiado (Hegyi 1979, 263; Harvey 1986, 12-3; Lopes de Melo 1940).

<sup>66</sup> In particular, scribes used the Arabic alphabet to write Tausug in the Sulu archipelago and Maguindanao in Mindanao (Donoso 260). By the nineteenth century, administrative and diplomatic documents redacted in Spanish and *jāwī* included snippets of Spanish *aljamía* (Donoso 261).

endured thanks to the fastidious work of Mudejars and Moriscos. Why did Aragonese Muslims continue to copy Aljamiado texts despite existential and eternal risks? Manuscripts' layouts and linguistic features, as well as the explicit statements copied in them, reveal a range of attitudes regarding the use of *aljamía* and translation.

Privileging Arabic both externally and internally, *aljamía* reflects an uneven fusion of vernacular and sacred languages. Linguistic features common to texts spanning over a century display a highly regimented practice (Bernabé and Rubiera 609).<sup>67</sup> Internal linguistic properties approximate—and often reproduce—Arabic syntax, lexicon, and semantics.<sup>68</sup> Scholars describe *aljamía* as an idiolect replete with semantic and syntactic calques that reflect “la fidelidad y el apego” to an Arabic model (Cervera Fras 2013, 250). Ben Jemia distinguishes between “*aljamía calco*” and “*aljamía vernácula*” (1986, 20). The former applies to Qur’ānic or liturgical translations and is characterized by close adherence to Arabic.<sup>69</sup>

On a visual plain, the higher position of Arabic is manifest in manuscripts' physical layouts, what Dagenais deems the “production” or “design” register (144).<sup>70</sup> The revered status of Arabic is particularly notable in interlinear translations, in which efforts to convey a well-redacted Arabic text consign *aljamía*'s presentation to secondary aesthetic importance. A copyist might distinguish Arabic with a bolder brushstroke, with a different color ink, or with carefully measured folio space. In many manuscripts, *aljamía* is not meant to match, but to buttress the

<sup>67</sup> The few Aljamiado texts from Valencia display more arbitrary linguistic expression (Labarta 1977-8).

<sup>68</sup> See Galmés (1980, 145); Cervera Fras (2013, 248-9); Sánchez Álvarez (1981).

<sup>69</sup> López-Morillas identifies the “sacred calques” of Jews and Muslims as Ladino and “Islam-Spanish,” respectively (1990). The latter corresponds to Ben Jemia’s notion of an “*aljamía calco*.” Islamo-Spanish differs from Aljamiado, described as “the normal written language of the Moriscos” in that it is only representative of sacred translations (López-Morillas 1990, 111).

<sup>70</sup> Dagenais describes this register as “the factors that come into play in placing the text physically on the manuscript page” (144).

presence of Arabic. Shared aesthetic tendencies among multiple extant manuscripts suggests that something besides individual proclivities drive a manuscript's *mise en page*.

Mudejars and Moriscos expressed various attitudes towards the use of *romance* to convey Islamic teachings (see Chapter 4). Scribes and translators expound upon their linguistic and alphabetic choices with tones that range from defensive to didactic, pessimistic, and even celebratory. At times these explanations are mystifying and suggestive but ultimately elusive. In some cases, translators do not parse words; their justifications are straightforward and unapologetic.

For instance, Yça Gidelli begins the *Breviario Sunni* (1462) with an allusion to his recent translation of the Qur'ān. After mentioning the “cardenales” who commissioned the work, he justifies his effort to refute unfounded “infamias” brought against the sacred text (Ms. J-1 CSIC, fol. 2v).<sup>71</sup> In addition to his desire to counter polemicists, Gidelli offers another reason behind the translation: “no sin mucha ocasión me puse a sacarlo de lengua // castellana acopilando aquella alta acturida<sup>d</sup> que toda criatura que cosa alguna supiere de la ley lo debe demostrar a todas las criaturas del mundo en lengua que lo entiendan si es posible” (Ms. J-1 CSIC, fols. 2r-v). Yça underscores the obligation to extend Qur'ānic knowledge to “todas las criaturas del mundo” in a comprehensible way. He describes the task in terms of “demostrar,” or showing the authoritative book to all peoples.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Ms. CSIC 1 is the only extant copy of Içe Gidelli's work in *aljamía*. Based on watermarks, Wiegers dates the manuscript between 1580 and 1590 (1994, 119). In addition to Juan de Segovia, “cardenales” could refer to Juan de Torquemada or Juan de Cervantes (Wiegers 1994, 105). The comment about “infamias” could reflect Yça's desire to defend the Qur'ān as a retort to Vincent Ferrer or Alonso de Espina, among other evangelists engaged in polemical preaching to Jews and Muslims in fifteenth-century Castile (Wiegers 1994, 105).

<sup>72</sup> Ms. 2076 BNE uses the synonym “mostrar,” which connotes both teaching and showing (Wiegers 1994, 105). The *Glosario* lists “mostrar, señalar, indicar” as synonyms for “demostrar” (196).

Wiegers suggests the clause “si es posible” refers to the possibility of understanding the Qur’ān in *romance* or to the opportunity to teach the Qur’ān to all individuals (1994, 208). In addition to listeners’ comprehension, I would add that “si es posible” could refer to the act of translation, in acknowledgment of the difficulty of the task of interpretation. Alternatively, “si es posible,” could concern the feasibility of widespread diffusion (“demostrar a todas las criaturas del mundo”) or the theological impossibility of rendering Allāh’s words in anything but Arabic.

Despite the doubt expressed towards his mission of interpreting the Qur’ān in *romance*—whether the task’s viability, his individual capabilities, or others’ ability to understand—the Segovian *mufīī* offers concrete reasons for composing the *Breviario Sunni*:

i porque los muçlimes de-Spaña con gran sujeçión i grandes trebutos i grandes fatīgas i trabachos [*trabajos*] an acaeçido de sus rriquezzas i-an perçido las escuelas i-el garabía i sobre su creçimiento [Ms. 2076: *caresçimiento*] muy muchos amīgos mīos de mī trobaron<sup>73</sup> espeçialmente me rrogaron los onrrados partidores los cuales con tanta clemençia me rrogaron que en rromançe lo quisiese acopilar una ta[n] señaçada letra de nuesa ley i çunna de aquello que toda buen muçlim debía saber i usar sobre (Ms. J-1, fol. 3r).

Gidelli ascribes the use of *romance* to the adverse circumstances caused by Mudejars’ subjugation—specifically of Castilian Muslims, as affirmed in another copy of the text.<sup>74</sup> He agrees to explain Islamic precepts in *romance* after friends and respected *partidores* begged him to do so.<sup>75</sup> Yça does not apologize for describing the “ley i çunna” in a non-Arabic language; he deliberately explains the conditions that led to its necessity. The *Breviario Sunni*’s intended outcome is twofold: Muslims’ knowledge and practice (“saber i usar sobre”).

<sup>73</sup> “Trobar” denotes “hallar” or “encontrar” (*Glosario* 580).

<sup>74</sup> Another manuscript copy reads “moros de Castilla” rather than “muçlimes de España” (Ms. 2076 BNM, fol. 2v; qtd. in Wiegers 1994, 237). Perhaps the scribe of Ms. CSIC 1 extended “moros de Castilla” to encompass all Spanish Muslims; we do not know if another copy of Gidelli’s text, no longer extant, included “muçlimes de-Spaña.”

<sup>75</sup> This is a reference to “repartidores,” or Mudejar leaders responsible for distributing the ‘servicio’ and ‘medio servicio’ taxes among the *aljamas* (Wiegers 1994, 88).

A similar explanation appears in Ms. 5252 BNE, an extensive treatise on Islamic practice titled *Tratado y declaración y guía para mantener el ad-dīn del-aliḡlām* (*Tratado*) that Wiegers deems “one of the most outstanding pieces of Islamic Spanish learning” (1994, 153).<sup>76</sup> Attributed to both Yça Gidelli and the Mancebo de Arévalo, the *Tratado* resurfaces in multiple textual afterlives, including Mohanmad de Vera’s *Compendio islámico* (Suárez García 2016, 193-4).<sup>77</sup> Close correspondences between Gidelli’s work and the *Tratado* suggest the author of the latter was inspired by the former, or perhaps was one and the same (Wiegers 1994, 159).<sup>78</sup> The authorial voice in Ms. 5252 elaborates various objectives before justifying his use of *romance*:

I-ansí como çelosos de mantener el-addīn del-aliḡlām rreconoçiendo estar esta isla [estar] tan escura a causa [a causa] de perdimiento de los sabyos...para encaminar a los que oy son i por tienpo serán al-addīn del-aliḡlām ∴ este es un tratado ∴ de todo lo que conviene para encaminar a los ynorantes al buen camino i-el-addīn verdadero ansí de lo que el muḡlim tiene neçeçidad para conoçer i servir a su Señor i saber que cosa es ḡalāl i ḡarām i-a que está obligado i tanbién declarar las erençias para que cada uno lleve // su derecho i siga la-ççuuna i regla de nuestro mesajero [mensajero] Muḡammad ṣ ‘m<sup>79</sup> (Ms. 5252 BNE, fols. 3r-v).

The loss of wise men, perhaps due to their emigration or persecution, has darkened the skies for Iberian Muslims. In order to maintain Islamic practice, this treatise will guide Muslims and the “ignorant” to the true faith. The verb “encaminar” evokes Arabic *ihṡadā*, to be rightly guided, while “buen camino” conjures the concept of *sabīl*, the way or path (of God) or of

<sup>76</sup> I consulted the microfilm reproduction (Micro Ms. 2038 BNE) due to the manuscript’s deteriorated condition. Based on watermarks, Wiegers dates the manuscript to the second half of the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century (1994, 154).

<sup>77</sup> Wiegers (1994, 152-61) posits Yça Gidelli’s authorship of the treatise and refutes Harvey’s (1958, 311) argument that the Mancebo could have composed the work. Based on watermarks, Wiegers dates Ms. 5252 to the second half of the sixteenth or the early seventeenth century. It contains several sections of the *Breviario Sunni* and refers to Mudejars’ circumstances (Wiegers 1994, 159). The text is incomplete and likely underwent many changes overtime.

<sup>78</sup> Wiegers points out the similarities between the introductions (1994, 146).

<sup>79</sup> “Ṣ ‘m” is shorthand for *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallām*.

understanding.<sup>80</sup> The work will enable Muslims to familiarize themselves with and to serve God, to distinguish between what is permissible and what is forbidden, to be aware of laws of inheritance, and to follow the *sunna*.<sup>81</sup>

Ms. 5252's enumerated intentions surpass those of the *Breviario Sunni* in both quantity and specificity:

i pues por la misma rraçon los que oy viven i por tienpos vevirán por graçia de Allāh *ta 'ālā* an perdido las luzes y-escuelas y-el 'arabi i por esta mesma rraçon muchos amigos míos de mi trabaron<sup>82</sup> [*enjoined, compelled*] i-espeçialmente ∴ me rrogaron que de 'arabi sacase en-aljemi ∴ del dīcho Alqur'ān i teštos de *šar'a* ∴ lo que fuese a mí posible para que con lo dicho se sigiese nuestra muy tanta [*santa*] ley i çunna ∴ porque de aquello todo buen muçlim ∴ debe usar sobre que yo no me pude escusar de hazer su mandamiento confiando en-el rrey soberano aquel que ayuda a los buenos ∴ al cual rruego por su infenita bondad me encamine ∴ // i me ayude a sacar una tal copilaçión trayendo a la memoria los artículos i mandamientos no olvidando el presente i breve fin d-este presente siglo acordándonos de el último día del judiçio (Ms. 5252 BNE, fols. 4r-v).

In contrast to the *Breviario Sunni*, the author of Ms. 5252 elides any mention of Muslims' impecunious state. In the former work's introduction, Gidelli emphasizes not only subjugation, but also the costly tributes ("grandes trebutos") imposed upon Mudejars. Before noting their inability to speak Arabic, he laments that Castilian Muslims "an acaeçido de sus rriquezzas" (Ms. J-1 CSIC, fol. 2v). The author of Ms. 5252, on the other hand, neglects to mention economic strife. Whereas the *Breviario Sunni* only informs us "i-an perdiço las escuelas i-el garabía," Ms. 5252 emphasizes the theme of light versus dark, contrasting knowledge and ignorance ("an perdido las luzes y-escuelas y-el 'arabi").

<sup>80</sup> The noun *sabīl* occurs 176 times in the Qur'ān, often in *idāfa* with "Allāh," which renders the expression "the way of Allāh" or in a context of *jihād*, "Allāh's cause" (Lane 1302; e.g. Q 47:1; 58:16). "Buen camino" could also allude to *širāṭ mustaqīm*, i.e. "the straight path" (Q 1:6).

<sup>81</sup> Regarding the idea of "knowing" God, see López-Morillas (1981) for an analysis of passages in Ms. 5252 in which the author seems to stage a dialogue between God and the supplicant.

<sup>82</sup> "Trabar" means "prender" or "agarrar." Perhaps the scribe meant to copy "trobar."

Like Yça, the author of Ms. 5252 refers to “amigos míos” who have enjoined him to translate sections of the Qur’ān and *šar’īa* to the extent that it is possible for him (“lo que fuese a mí posible”). In contrast to Gidelli’s ambiguous usage of “si es posible,” here the question of possibility clearly refers to the task of the translator/compiler. The author could not excuse himself of fulfilling the obligation to his entreating companions. The verb *excusar*, which shares a Latin root with *acusar*, frames the author’s justification for composing the work in *romance*. Expressed in negative terms (“yo no me pude excusar”) seems to respond to an implicit, unidentified accusation. The next sentence appeals to divine guidance in order to accomplish the daunting task; when the end of times is imminent, *aljamía* provides a solution to desperate challenges. Despite parallels with the *Breviario Sunni*’s introduction, overall Ms. 5252 paints a gloomier picture of Iberian Muslims. They are beset not by economic but spiritual strife—what could soon become an eternal ailment if left unremedied.

Like the author of Ms. 5252, the Mancebo de Arévalo also alludes to the inability to excuse oneself from the obligation to diffuse Islamic knowledge. In the beginning of his *Breve compendio* (Ms. Dd 9.49, Cambridge University Library), the Mancebo ascribes this injunction to the Qur’ān:

Por otra parte nos manda nuestro onrrado Alqur’ān que todo *naḥwe*<sup>83</sup> o buen ‘arabiado ∴ o sikiera leedor cada uno declare lo que más al caso pueda enseñando a todo muçlim la salvación de su alma. Pues no diga demasías contra su entendimiento *sino que declare con alqalam o con lenwa o çeñas por inútiles que sean todo lo que sepa de nuestra santa ley i-ççunna* ∴ i si lo denegamos Allāh nos dará trabajos en-esta vida y-en la otra penalidades<sup>84</sup> i

<sup>83</sup> From Arabic *naḥwī*, which means “gramático, por extensión se dice del versado en la ciencia coránica” (*Glosario* 434).

<sup>84</sup> A mark above the letter *bā*’ seems to be a *shedda*, rendering “penalidades” instead of “venalidades.” Wiegiers transcribes “benalidades” (1994, 167). In the context of the sentence, “penalidad” makes more sense.



no abrá escusa para el que no lo enseñare a todo creyente verdadero ∴ ∴ (Ms. Dd 9.49, fol. 3v; my emphasis).<sup>85</sup>

Whether with a pen, tongue, or (useless) signs, educated Muslims must instruct all true believers in “nuestra santa ley i-ççunna” for the sake of “la salvación de su alma.” Eternal stakes preclude compromise: anyone with Islamic knowledge must share it or risk God’s punishment now and misery and in the hereafter (“trabajos” connotes “penalidad, sufrimiento, miseria” [*Glosario* 580]). Whereas the author of Ms. 5252 affirms his personal commitment to fulfill his friends’ petition (“yo no me pude excusar de hazer su mandamiento”), the Mancebo asserts without prevarication “i no abrá escusa para el que no lo enseñare.” In contrast to Ms. 5252’s apologetic tone (“I couldn’t excuse myself”), the future tense and third-person subject in the *Breve compendio* elicits an ominous tone: nobody (including a potential reader) will be excused from Allāh’s wrath if they fail to teach other believers.

These excerpts exemplify the primordial connection between language and religion. As Aben Daud advised Morisco rebels at the outbreak of the Alpujarras war, “quien pierde la lengua árábica pierde su ley” (qtd. in Vincent 2006, 105). Just as Christians identified practical and symbolic ways in which Arabic allowed Moriscos to continue practicing Islam: “No parece descabellado afirmar que, para buena parte de mudéjares y moriscos, el problema de su lengua fue también el problema de su religión: parece que allí donde se mantuvo vivo el árabe, también hubo mayor oportunidad para el mantenimiento del Islam” (Bernabé and Rubiera 619).

<sup>85</sup> A digital copy of the manuscript is available through *Fihrist* (Union Catalogue of Manuscripts from the Islamicate World): [https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_9415](https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_9415). The *Breve Compendio* incorporates passages from the *Breviario Sunni* (Wiegiers 1994, 168). Wiegiers points out that in the *Sumario* the same obligation is attributed to Mālik b. ‘Anas (fols. 112v-113r) and in the *Breviario Sunni* it is attributed to “aquella auctoridad,” i.e. Allāh (1994, 169).

Though declining knowledge of Arabic and Islam stimulated the transmission of Islamic teachings into *romance*, some scribes highlight positive reasons for using *aljamía*. Ms. Esc. 1880 includes descriptive transitions between the compiled texts.<sup>86</sup> After redacting a rhymed sermon (*khuṭba*), the copyist introduces a praise poem (*almadḥa de alabandça*) with the following words: “Acábase l’alḥuṭba y prencipia una almadḥa de alabandça al annabí Muḥammad *ṣalla Allahu ‘alayhi wa-ṣallam* que fue sacada de ‘arabī en ‘ajamī, porque fuese más plaziente de la leír y escuitar en aquesta tierra” (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 15v; qtd. in Kadri II, 47). The poem was “taken out” of Arabic and put into *aljamía* so that it would be more pleasant to read, recite, and listen to in the present location, i.e. Spain. The scribe does not present the translated *almadḥa* with reluctance nor does he express dismay at the use of *aljamía*. Posited as a more apt linguistic expression, *romance* captures listeners’ attention and provides an enjoyable experience.<sup>87</sup>

The transition foregrounds the explicit objective of “la obtención del placer de los lectores u oyentes, quedando en un plano meramente implícito la posible misión de adoctrinamiento ligada a su obvia temática religiosa” (Montaner 2010a, 49). In another example, the scribe highlights the instructive mission specifically. Before penning a second praise poem, the copyist explains: “Y púselo en ‘ajamī según la tierra porque mexor lo entiendan los mayores y los menores de Allah. Por su gracia e bendición, buen walardón al que la leirá y la mostrará y la publicará sobre los muçlimes” (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 37r; qtd. in Kadri II, 75).<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Copied by a single scribe, the Aljamiado manuscript preserved at El Escorial (E. 1880) comprises a rhymed sermon, praise poems, prayers, sayings attributed to Muḥammad, and Qur’ānic verses. Based on codicological evidence and a detailed evaluation of the colophon (fol. 46v), Kadri dates the manuscript to 1470-1480 (I, 161). Its provenance is Ágreda (Soria).

<sup>87</sup> The poem is a bilingual text. As discussed in Chapter 3, only the verses are translated into *romance* while the refrain remains in Arabic.

<sup>88</sup> Kadri points out that the translator (or, I would add, the voice that assumes the role of translator) does not disclose listeners’ knowledge of Arabic: “le traducteur explique utiliser l’espagnol car il est mieux compris que l’arabe en ces terres, ce qui signifie que le public est

In contrast to Yça Gidelli, this translator does not seem to regret the use of Aljamiado writing. He justifies his decision without deploying a defensive tone. The use of *aljamía* will benefit Mudejars of all ages and intellects, not only the *ulamā*. The verb “publicar” emphasizes the public diffusion of knowledge, rather than its private or restricted confinement. The individual who recites, presents, and diffuses this text will receive Allah’s “gualardón,” a word that connotes prize and recompense; *gualardón* approximates Arabic *ajr*, a reward or recompense from God (*Glosario* 312).<sup>89</sup> The text celebrates the expansion of Islamic knowledge rather than mourning the decline of a language or a religion.

The first poem was translated with the intent of increasing listeners’ enjoyment; the second, of facilitating their comprehension. In a curious parallel, the introduction to the codex’s initial text does not only cite translation as a means to pleasure or understanding, but also verse. The rhymed sermon begins: “*Biçmi Illahi ir-raḥmāni ir-raḥīmi*. Esto es de l’alḥuṭba de Pascua de Ramaḍān, sacada de ‘arabī en ‘ajamī. E yarrímase en copla porque seya más amorosa a los oyentes e ayan plazer de escuitarla e obrar por ella, porque alcancen por ella el walardón que Allah prometió en ella a todo sirviente” (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 1r; qtd. in Kadri II, 27).<sup>90</sup> In the manuscript, the phrase “sacada de ‘arabī en ‘ajamī” appears directly underneath “esto es de l’alḥuṭba de Pascua de Ramaḍān.” After another line break, the scribe pens the next sentence. Thus, the comments regarding listeners’ delight and their subsequent actions seem to refer to the sermon’s rhymed nature.

hispanophone natif, mais ne renseigne pas vraiment sur le niveau d’arabe des auditeurs (langue seconde? ou langue étrangère non maîtrisée?)” (II, 75).

<sup>89</sup> “Publicar” signifies “revelar públicamente, anunciar públicamente, difundir” (*Glosario* 488).

<sup>90</sup> Cervera Fras points out that the Arabic original has yet to be identified: “Por ahora, y mientras esa identificación no se produzca, podemos pensar que las ideas expresadas en el poema eran conocidas por el poeta a partir de la literatura jurídica y religiosa árabe, pero que no está traduciendo un texto concreto” (2004, 185).

Unlike the previous examples, this passage specifies listeners' ability to enact the instruction conveyed in the text. The sermon, because of its poetic expression, induces audience members' enjoyment and pushes them to "obrar" in such a way that they receive God's reward promised to all faithful servants. If the quotes above emphasized translation as a conduit to diversion and comprehension, the sermon's introduction casts poetic features in a similar role. Versification and translation share comparable functions.

Whether citing impoverished knowledge, demanding friends, or spiritual benefits, Mudejars and Moriscos justified non-Arabic expression. Over 200 extant Aljamiado manuscripts—likely only a sliver of a more widespread textual phenomenon—embody these justifications. In fact, aesthetic displays and the foregoing quotes seem to validate a prevailing practice, not the other way around. *Aljamía* is construed to preserve unadulterated Arabic; it bolsters Mudejars' and Moriscos' identification with the *ummah* while strengthening the religious practices of Muslims in Iberia.

As the following chapter will make clear, scholars often approach Aljamiado texts, and Aljamiado poetry in particular, as evidence of Moriscos' cultural and intellectual degeneration. Yet as David Nirenberg proposes, rather than approach Aljamiado manuscripts in terms of an inevitable decline, we could consider this phenomenon to be:

an example of the expansion of Islamic learning among Mudejars as of its contraction. The fact that the peculiar conditions of Christian domination on the Iberian Peninsula made it possible for Muslims to justify an extensive practice of glossing and translation may have meant that knowledge which was increasingly restricted to the 'learned class,' the ulama, in more central Islamic lands penetrated further into the 'popular' or 'ignorant' classes in the peninsula (2014, 31).

Through several techniques and with various gestures, Aljamiado poetry makes fundamental Islamic beliefs accessible to a broader audience. Approaching Mudejars' and Moriscos' poetry as

an expansion of knowledge sheds light on previously overlooked aspects of the poems. Before analyzing the texts themselves, I turn to their nineteenth-century reception.

## Chapter 2: Reframing Aljamiado Poetics

*“Se trata de una literatura islámica, hecha—traducida, escrita, copiada—por musulmanes y para musulmanes.”<sup>91</sup>*

If, as Bernabé Pons contends, Aljamiado texts were made “by Muslims and for Muslims” in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, how might a non-Muslim approach them in the year 2020? If, as numerous scholars have shown, translations of Arabic works reached the ears of Mudejars and Moriscos—not only the hands of *alfaquíes*—how might a contemporary reader account for the disparities between her silent individual practice and an oral communal tradition? Critics have interpreted Aljamiado literature to gain insight into the Mudejars and Moriscos who translated, composed, copied, and listened to these works. Past and present readings of Aljamiado texts inevitably reconstruct early modern Aragonese Muslims. Too often, these analyses become rhetorical tools that confirm stereotypes or endorse narratives.

In order to move forward as more sensitive readers of Aljamiado literature, this chapter looks back to nineteenth-century historiography and literary criticism. As Spaniards struggled to define a national identity more than two hundred years after the expulsion, they interpreted the Moriscos’ past vis-à-vis present preoccupations. At the same time, critics endeavored to make sense of unprecedented manuscripts uncovered in Aragonese houses. The confluence of Aljamiado reception and history writing generated sharp controversies that played out in Spanish press, foreign policy, and intellectual circles. Attending to the ideological underpinnings of nineteenth-century scholarship will provide a fruitful point of departure to reconsider Aljamiado poetry.

<sup>91</sup> Bernabé Pons (2010, 27).

## The History of a History

In the nineteenth century, foreign rule, civil wars, political uncertainty, and a growing sense of decline vis-à-vis the rest of Europe led intellectuals to construct a collective identity for Spain.<sup>92</sup> The Napoleonic invasion of 1808 ignited Spanish nationalism (Álvarez Junco 2011, 110; Carr 105). As France and Britain whetted their imperial appetites, rebellions and independence movements muted Spain's colonial presence. Already in 1810, Spaniards were cognizant of "an 'America in flames' and of the need to intervene quickly to avert its permanent loss" (Feros 2017, 241). By 1824, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were all that remained of Spain's overseas empire (Carr 79). Aspirations for colonial involvement in Morocco climaxed with the "Guerra de África" (1859-60), a conflict that produced meager gains but considerable patriotic zeal. Renewed interest in the country's colonial enterprises continued into subsequent decades, though the ignominious losses of 1898 quelled ambitions (Carr 387). Waning international relevance aggravated the centuries' old stereotype of a backwards and intolerant country. Though not labeled until the twentieth century, the so-called Black Legend "constructed an image of the Spanish as violent and close to barbarians" based on Spain's history of religious intolerance and violent conquests (Greer et. al. 14).<sup>93</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Álvarez Junco (2011, 194) proposes "construction" as a preferable alternative to "invention," the concept adduced by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983). As Álvarez Junco explains, the process of building a national consciousness is predicated on "symbols comprehensible to its followers, on established local power and communications networks, on older identities that may be regional or local, racial and religious" (2011, 194). In other words, those attempting to forge national identities "do not work in total freedom; they cannot 'invent' identities within contexts where there are no cultural elements that favour their actions" (Álvarez Junco 2011, 194).

<sup>93</sup> Spanish journalist Julián Juderías coined the expression "Black Legend" in 1912 (Greer et. al. 1). Kamen deems the term Black Legend "misleading" due to Juderías's "nationalist ideology" that "assumed that any criticism of Spain's past was malicious and false" (2008, xiii-xiv). Some historians posit William of Orange's *Apologie* (1580) as the earliest manifestation of the Black Legend (Hillgarth 312). Dutch works, translated into English, French, Latin and German, proved

Amidst denunciations from abroad and political instability within, nineteenth-century intellectuals attempted to unify their fellow Spaniards.<sup>94</sup> The Constitution of Cádiz (1812) endeavored to concretize Spain as a “national state” rather than an “imperial one” (Feros 2017, 233-4). As Antonio Feros shows, the constitutional process involved both “collective memory and selective oblivion” in that the Constitution of Cádiz strove to “retain all that had brought Spaniards together and to forget or to remember selectively all that had divided them” (2017, 233). Throughout the century, processes of remembrance and forgetting cultivated a “mythified ideal past” that contributed to the construction of a national identity (Álvarez Junco 2011, 123).

Forging a coherent “we” depends on a comprehensible “we in the past.” As Labanyi suggests: “The construction of a ‘we in the past’ is essential to nation-formation, for it produces those emotional identifications that determine who we include and who we exclude from national citizenship” (232). Efforts to articulate a national history preoccupied historians, playwrights, and state-sponsored painters across Europe (Álvarez Junco 2001, 191-2). In Spain, medieval and early modern periods in particular became a “fertile ground for the construction of myths” in that premodernity represented “the age when Spain had achieved everything: riches, pride, influence, empire, cultural hegemony. That established an immovable peak, which contrasted with subsequent epochs” (Kamen 2008, xi-xii).

crucial in creating anti-Spanish discourse. Propaganda emphasized the Inquisition’s violence, Philip II’s crimes, and conquerors’ cruelty (Hillgarth 324).

<sup>94</sup> The term “Spaniard” encompasses only a subset of nineteenth-century inhabitants of Spain: educated men. As Álvarez Junco points out, irrespective of political leaning, Spanish elites were the ones who spearheaded these discussions; the popular classes had little interest in esoteric debates. By 1898, the “élites nacionalizadores,” felt that the “masas populares” were indifferent to the country’s strife (Álvarez Junco 2001, 587). It is hardly necessary to clarify that these erudite cohorts did not include women (Feros 2017, 255-6).



In addition to its mythical appeal, medieval and early modern Spain became attractive due to Europe's orientalist fever. The vogue for "oriental" and "exotic" themes rendered Spain's multiconfessional past both enticing and problematic. Some embraced the architectural, literary, and cultural legacies of Al-Ándalus as an exceptional facet of Spanish identity. Others firmly rejected any non-Christian influence on Spain's purportedly Catholic national character (García-Sanjuán 2018, 128-9). Some invoked Spain's Islamic past in order to advocate for expansion in Africa, at a time when the country lagged behind Britain and France's imperial ventures (Martin-Márquez 51-2).

Jo Labanyi and Susan Martin-Márquez analyze the complexity of these nineteenth-century responses. As Labanyi elucidates:

‘Oriental Spain’ was a topos in European and indeed North American Romanticism, but its inflection in the Spanish case is especially complex since the ‘Moors’ and *Moriscos* are not simply picturesque ‘others’ but raise the central question of the extent to which they are part of the ‘we in the past’ that constitutes national history (232).

Moreover, Martin-Márquez elaborates: “Spain is a nation that is at once Orientalized and Orientalizing. The dynamic resembles a Möbius strip, calling into question the possibility of any location ‘outside’ Orientalist discourse. For Spaniards, this positioning on both ‘sides’ of Orientalism—as simultaneously ‘self’ and ‘other’—may bring about a profound sense of ‘disorientation’” (9).

The “disorienting” process of defining a “we in the past” vis-à-vis Islam did not begin in the nineteenth century. Barbara Fuchs similarly contends that in the sixteenth century “Moorishness becomes an essential component in the construction of national identity” in that cultural practices such as dress, diversion, and domestic traditions were shared among New and Old Christians (2007, 97; Fuchs 2009). In the eighteenth century, when enlightened thinkers contemplated Spain's role in the modern world, some authors highlighted the role of Muslims in

medieval Iberia in order to prove that the country played a role in the origins of Enlightened thinking (Torrecilla 2006, 113).<sup>95</sup> Throughout the Enlightenment, Spanish intellectuals challenged the Black Legend by highlighting medieval Arabic and Jewish cultural feats (Labanyi 236).<sup>96</sup>

Though eighteenth-century intellectuals displayed more interest in medieval Iberian Muslims than in early modern Moriscos, by the nineteenth century, whether through the lens of literature, Arabist intrigue, or historiography, scholars of various ideological bents cultivated a sense of “we in the past” based on Moriscos in particular. In theater and novels, the figure of the Morisco rebel became “uno de los tipos dramáticos más característicos del romanticismo” (Carrasco Urgoiti 320). Playwrights such as Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Manuel Fernández y González, and Francisco Sánchez del Arco cast Morisco leaders of the 1568 Alpujarras rebellion as romantic heroes.<sup>97</sup> Others reconstructed the expulsion with scenes of impossible love affairs, melodramatic conversions, and miraculous redemptions.<sup>98</sup>

Nineteenth-century histories of the Moriscos are often divided along conservative and liberal lines. Put simply, exiled liberals, who identified with the Moriscos, criticized despotic monarchs while conservatives proclaimed the expulsion as the crystallization of a uniformly

<sup>95</sup> Authors such as José Antonio Conde “abrazan lo ‘árabe’ como parte de una estrategia discursiva que les permitía efectuar una defensa apasionada de lo español” (Torrecilla 2016, 162). Conde’s *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* was published posthumously in 1820-1.

<sup>96</sup> See Giménez López (2013) and Fernández (1991).

<sup>97</sup> *Aben Humeya ou la Révolte des Maures sous Philippe II* (premiered in Paris in 1830, Valencia in 1835, and Madrid in 1836); *Traición con traición se paga* (1847, Manuel Fernández y González); *Abenabó* (1847, Francisco Sánchez del Arco); *La penitente de Nuestra Señora* (1861, Hipólito Sánchez de la Plaza).

<sup>98</sup> For example, *La morisca de Alajuár* (1841, Duque de Rivas); *La expulsión de los moriscos* (1873, José de Velilla y Rodríguez); *La expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Valencia* (1838, anonymous).

Catholic Spain—a country “won” back from Islamic “invaders” (Torrecilla 2006, 111; García-Sanjuán 2013).<sup>99</sup> According to García Cárcel, liberal ideologies dominated the first half of the century whereas towards the second half, the conservative-apologetic strain flourished (García Cárcel 73). Though he acknowledges the limitations of drawing a firm line between “conservative” and “liberal,” Ángel de Bunes similarly surveys the nineteenth-century historiographical landscape through each author’s “corriente ideológica” (1983, 58-9).<sup>100</sup> Depending on their liberal or conservative bent, nineteenth-century historians either vindicate or censure Philip III (Ángel de Bunes 1983, 73).

Unlike García Cárcel and Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Francisco Márquez Villanueva ([1992] 1998) underscores the monolithic character of nineteenth-century works; he emphasizes the close relationship between seventeenth- and nineteenth-century histories, described in terms of an “eco” (107; 109), a “descendencia” (110), and an “herencia,” to argue that only the “punto de vista oficial” predominates in historiography (1998, 117; 163; 166). An official, state-sponsored discourse dominated early seventeenth-century historiography. Despite notable voices of resistance to the Crown’s treatment of New Christians, once Philip III ordered the decree of expulsion, what had been a measured debate became “una opinión casi unívoca” (Feros 2013, 69). Manifest in publications between 1610 and 1618, the slew of apologetic works diffused a version of the Moriscos’ history that would be reclaimed two centuries later. Márquez Villanueva identifies three predominant “myths” in these apologetic histories: the “mito de la

<sup>99</sup> Championed in nineteenth-century historiography, the notion of an Islamic “invasion,” rather than “conquista,” connotes “una ocupación anormal o irregular” as well as “en términos biológicos, <<invasión>> sirve para expresar la actuación de agentes patógenos en un organismo” (García-Sanjuán 2013, 145).

<sup>100</sup> Cánovas del Castillo, Danvila, Boronat, and Menéndez y Pelayo constitute the group of “conservadores”; Muñoz y Gaviña, Janer, Amador de los Ríos, and Modesto Lafuente are deemed “liberales” (Ángel de Bunes 1983, 59).

unanimidad” (the idea that public opinion was homogeneous), the “mito conspiratorio” (the Moriscos as a “Fifth Column”), and the “mito del morisco inasimilable” (1998, 117; 141; 129). The latter, most apposite to our discussion below, construes Moriscos as incapable of assimilation and true conversion.

In addition to their past, the Moriscos’ literary productions ignited nineteenth-century interest. Efforts to recuperate the Moriscos’ history coincided with dramatic discoveries of Aljamiado manuscripts. A plethora of editions, catalogues, articles, and speeches concerning “literatura aljamiada” manifest awareness of the expanding corpus. Findings across Aragon inspired Arabists to edit, analyze, and diffuse manuscripts for wider readerships. Historians with access to these editions brought Aljamiado texts to bear on contemporary concerns in unexpected ways. Whether conceived as indices of apostasy, emblems of coexistence, or manifestations of a Spanish character, Aljamiado manuscripts played a salient role in the construction of national past and the exploration of present identities.

A few scholars have examined the early reception of Aljamiado texts. Villaverde documents manuscript discoveries and early catalogues; he relays salient correspondence among Arabists regarding Aljamiado texts (91-128). His essay on the origins of Aljamiado criticism spans the eighteenth through the twentieth century. Barletta discusses the underlying motivations and ideologies that stimulated nineteenth-century recuperations of Aljamiado literature; he traces this critical stimulus to the controversy between Castro and Sánchez-Albornoz in the twentieth century (Barletta 2005, 56-68).

Despite these valuable contributions, salient connections between nineteenth-century press, historiography, national identity, and interest in the Moriscos’ literature remain overlooked. I will attempt to show how “historical” arguments incorporated “literary” analyses

in order to make sense of—and often challenge—growing enthusiasm for the corpus. “Political” justifications for “literary” investigations brought Aljamiado texts directly to bear on contemporary concerns. Whether intellectuals, in the words of Hayden White (1978), “emplotted” the Moriscos’ history as a religious victory or a human tragedy, the nuanced strategies they employ compel a reconsideration of their works. Rather than looking to these works for what they “say” about the Moriscos’ past, we can seek to detect what they attempt to “do” in the nineteenth-century present.

### **Spanish Moriscos, Moroccan Muslims, and 1898**

Feelings of imperial inferiority abated in Spain during the “Guerra de África” (1859-60), a modest incursion into Morocco led by Leopoldo O’Donnell that yielded underwhelming results. The enterprise inspired Spaniards to revive the “Reconquest” myth of entrenched animosity between Christian crusaders and Muslim infidels (Álvarez Junco 2011, 304-5; Carr 260-1). The Reconquest became “uno de los mitos identitarios sobre los cuales se construyó el discurso nacionalista del siglo XIX” (Ríos Saloma 2011, 31). As an “ideological tool,” the Reconquest derived from a belief in Spain’s primordial Catholic identity (García Sanjuán 2018, 129). According to this view, eight centuries of Muslim rule were nothing but an aberrant chapter in the country’s history; skirmishes were valiant struggles to liberate and reunify Spain. The expulsion of the Moriscos constituted a Christian triumph, as Manuel Danvila y Collado, one of the most strident nineteenth-century apologists, proclaimed: “la cuestión estaba verdaderamente reducida á una guerra religiosa... la esencia de esta guerra de religión que comenzó con la Reconquista, se completó con la toma de Granada y vino á terminarse realizando definitivamente la unidad religiosa en 1609” (1889, 344).

Given this prevailing ideological lens, it is perhaps unsurprising that José Muñoz y Gaviria publishes the *Historia del alzamiento de los moriscos* in 1861.<sup>101</sup> In the dedication to Leopoldo O'Donnell, commander of the Spanish army during the Spanish-Moroccan War, Muñoz y Gaviria derives present glories from previous mistakes:

En el momento en que la Europa contempla asombrada el triunfo de las armas españolas en África, y en que tremola vencedora sobre los muros de la ciudad santa del islamismo, sobre Tetuan, esa ciudad, fundada por los moriscos, antes espulsados de España... no será fuera de propósito dar á conocer la dramática historia de un pueblo que, vencido por Isabel I la Católica, después de siete siglos de costosas lides, vivió largo tiempo aún entre nosotros, hasta que un gran error político le hizo espulsar de nuestro suelo marchando al África á aumentar el número de nuestros enemigos (v-vi).

Muñoz y Gaviria exaggerates the current enterprise in Morocco as a veritable “triunfo” that inspires shockwaves of awe throughout Europe. The momentous turning point invites a retrospective look to the city’s founders, who were expelled from their country due to a “political error” that engendered severe repercussions. Though he is somewhat sympathetic to the Moriscos’ cause, Muñoz y Gaviria appears more concerned with Spain’s current reputation. The Moriscos’ past provides a convenient means to patriotic ends: glorifying O'Donnell’s campaign and lauding Spanish prowess vis-à-vis the rest of Europe. Muñoz y Gaviria criticizes the policies of Philip II and his son, instead electing to lionize Philip V and Charles III. O'Donnell’s “gloriosa campaña” in Tetuán “ha demostrado al mundo en el año de 1860, que aún tenían los españoles la energía y el valor que en aquella mismas regiones habían mostrado sus padres, en los brillantes tiempos de la monarquía de Felipe V y de Carlos III” (Muñoz y Gaviria 193).

<sup>101</sup> The work’s full title reads: *Historia del alzamiento de los moriscos, su espulsion de España y sus consecuencias en todas las provincias del reino*. Ángel de Bunes (1983, 60) mentions the connection between histories about the Moriscos and the Moroccan conflict, pointing out the dedication to O'Donnell in Sangrador y Vitores’s *Memoria histórica sobre la expulsión de los moriscos de España* (1858), though this work is dedicated to Lorenzo Arrazola.

Muñoz y Gaviria boosts his country's enfeebled self-esteem by applauding contemporary efforts and scrutinizing past errors. The latter discussion both facilitates and enriches the former.

Muñoz y Gaviria is not the only author to link the history of the Moriscos to events in the Moroccan protectorate. Susan Martin-Márquez highlights the involvement of liberal Arabists in Spain's African endeavors (55). As will be discussed below, Francisco Guillén Robles, the editor of several editions of Aljamiado texts, connects the Moriscos' literature to contemporary policies in Morocco. Eduardo Saavedra, whose pioneering contributions to Aljamiado criticism are analyzed below, encouraged colonial efforts as did another scholar who dabbled in Aljamiado criticism, Emilio Lafuente Alcántara. Pascual de Gayangos, another scholar of the Moriscos' literature, translated correspondence with Morocco for the Ministry of State (Labanyi 237).

Likewise, in a two-part essay published in 1871, Francisco Fernández y González reinforces the connections forged by Muñoz y Gaviria.<sup>102</sup> Attempting to refute Spain's legacy of religious intolerance and unenlightened cruelty, he turns to Moriscos' literary productions. He seeks to demonstrate that Moriscos did not suffer from persecution as severely as other historians contended by citing pardons, Inquisitorial lenience, and royal exceptions. In particular, he discusses the licenses granted to Moriscos that stipulated their ability to remain in Spain. Fernández y González surveys several manuscripts, now known to have been written by Moriscos in Tunisia, "para dejar comprobadas mis afirmaciones acerca del considerable número de moriscos que pertenecieron en la Península después de los decretos de la expulsión, á mediados y fines del siglo XVII" (370).

<sup>102</sup> *Revista de España* 20-1 (1871): 103-14; 363-76. Fernández y González published his oft-cited *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* (1866) the previous decade. Amador de los Ríos alludes to Fernández y González's forthcoming *Estudios críticos y literarios sobre los árabes de España* though it appears the work never came to fruition (I, ci).

Fernández y González concludes by promoting the idea of Spain's increasing tolerance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Muñoz y Gaviria had also championed, he attributes to Carlos III policies rooted in "tolerancia" (374). Highlighting the 1767 treaty between Spain and Morocco, he affirms that, along with that of 1860, Spain has achieved "una victoria exenta de toda crueldad" and inaugurated an era of "armonía, destinada á aumentar los intereses de la civilización entre pueblos vencidos, unidos frecuentemente por la historia, usos, tradiciones y raza" (Fernández y González 376).

Fernández y González's remarks pivot from seventeenth-century literature to eighteenth-century international relations in order to demonstrate Spain's ostensive compassion for and comprehension of Muslims—at home and abroad. Keen to promote the image of a tolerant country in present-day Europe, Fernández y González crafts a vision of the Moriscos' past concordant with present ideals. Other historians would do the same, though with distinct concerns in mind.

Nineteenth-century publications reveal underlying anxiety about Spain's colonial presence not only in Africa but also in America.<sup>103</sup> The dispiriting effects of 1898 surface in Pascual Boronat y Barrachina (1866-1908)'s account of the Moriscos' history, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (1901). Boronat slips from past to present in an impassioned aside:

¡Hay que acabar con el enemigo! ¡Hay que barrer la escoria! ¡Hay que destruir lo que amenaza de muerte nuestra libertad! Así exclamaban los españoles de antaño sin pensar en la degeneración de su raza, de sus sentimientos, de sus ideales; sin soñar que en el siglo XX habían de trocarse aquellos sentimientos en corrientes ultraliberales que amenazan con la destrucción...que tras de los cambios en el orden progresivo del bien suceden espantosas transformaciones y tremendas sacudidas que conducen al retroceso (II, 152-3).

<sup>103</sup> Curiously, authors neglect to mention ongoing strife with Muslims in the Philippines. See W.E. Retana (1895-1905).



Early modern Spaniards vowed to destroy the “amenaza” to “nuestra libertad” (i.e. the Moriscos), yet their cries echo in vain in the early twentieth century. Writing at the turn of the century, Boronat ascribes a destructive force to the “corrientes ultraliberales” that threaten to unhinge Spain. Liberal policies have engendered “espantosas transformaciones” and “tremendas sacudidas” that portend the worst.

Before returning to the sixteenth century, Boronat lambasts “españoles indignos de tal nombre” then promises to subdue “la explosión de nuestro sentimiento patrio” (II, 153). Recalling past “victories”—in this case, the expulsion—will revive Spaniards’ morale. The bitterness that seeps from Boronat’s pen bespeaks the disillusionment that gripped many. The Moriscos’ history inspires a reflection on present woes; or, perhaps, present woes inspired Boronat to rewrite the Moriscos’ past.

In his edition of the *Coplas del alhijante*, an Aljamiado poem that recollects a Mudejar’s pilgrimage to Mecca, Mariano Pano y Ruata (1847-1948) recalls Spain’s former imperial prestige with similar tinges of nostalgia. The analysis, published in 1897, leads him to meditate on the “tesoro hermosísimo” granted to Spain in 1492: “un continente virgen de toda mancha musulímica” (Pano 296). The “plan divino regenerador,” bequeathed the “Nuevo Mundo á la raza antimusulímica por excelencia, á la raza española fortificada en una lucha de siete siglos, vencedora del poder musulmán en mil combates” (Pano 296). Pano attributes events of 1492 to divine recompense (298). His edition of an Aljamiado text, discussed below, inflates religious zeal and cultivates a sense of national pride during an acute crisis in Spain.

Whereas Boronat laments loss and Pano champions gain, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912) invokes the American colonies in order to explain Spain’s decline. Attempting to diminish the negative effects of the Moriscos’ expulsion, he ascribes Spain’s current degeneration

to “El descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo, las riquezas que de allí vinieron á encender la codicia y despertar ambiciones fácilmente satisfechas” (Menéndez y Pelayo 1880, II, 634). Published in the early 1880s, Menéndez y Pelayo’s work diminishes the importance of Spain’s overseas territories at a time when their imminent loss loomed large. Illusions of colonial grandeur did not help but harm Spain; the expulsion of the Moriscos did not generate disaster but national unity.

Bringing the past to bear on present concerns transformed the Moriscos’ history into one of national strife. As Muñoz y Gaviria states: “Ochocientos años no bastaron para fundir en una la nacionalidad española y la nacionalidad musulmana” (11). Danvila asserts the expulsion was “un acto *nacional*” while Menéndez y Pelayo remarks: “La raza inferior sucumbe siempre, y acaba por triunfar el principio de *nacionalidad* más fuerte y vigoroso” (329; II, 633; my emphasis). The Moriscos became an essential figure to define Spanish identity. Their past and their texts could justify intervention in Morocco, refute the Black Legend, inspire national sentiment, bolster Christian identity, and ameliorate Spain’s contentious colonial legend.

### **Impossible Fusion**

Scholars have long debated the Moriscos’ “Spanishness” and “Islamicness.”<sup>104</sup> Whereas Márquez Villanueva (1998) maintains the Moriscos’ ongoing and successful assimilation, Galmés de Fuentes (1993) and Mikel de Epalza (1992) emphasize the Moriscos’ fundamental Islamic identity, and Cardaillac (1979) highlights the polemical relationship between Old and

<sup>104</sup> Given the diversity and plurality of “comunidades moriscas,” rather than a homogeneous “comunidad morisca,” Bernabé Pons offers an alternative point of departure with the following questions: “¿la asimilación a la sociedad mayoritaria conlleva automáticamente la pérdida de identidad religiosa? ¿Es posible en el siglo XVI, querer ser castellano, aragonés o español y al mismo tiempo musulmán?” (2017, 251).

New Christians (see Bernabé Pons 2017, 250-1).<sup>105</sup> In the nineteenth century, the characterization of Moriscos as Muslims isolated from the rest of society served apologetic agendas. Though many Moriscos lived peaceably alongside their Old Christian neighbors, with whom they shared religious practices, dress, and language, semblances of cooperation and peaceful interaction between New and Old Christians posed problems for the expulsion's apologists. As Trevor Dadson has shown, irrespective of "local realities," an "official propaganda" campaign created the stereotype of mutual hostility between Christians and irreducible Muslims (2006, 3). Similarly, Márquez Villanueva identifies the "mito del morisco inasimilable" (1998, 129-30).<sup>106</sup> Along these lines, in nineteenth-century accounts I have detected a related myth, which I will call the myth of "impossible fusion."

A series of lectures delivered by Manuel Danvila y Collado (1830-1906) in 1889 exemplifies one manifestation of the "impossible fusion" myth. Between February and April, Danvila discussed "La expulsión de los moriscos españoles" in Madrid's *Ateneo* before publishing the compiled talks in written form. He reiterates the incompatibility of Moriscos and Old Christians with the words "fundir" and "fusión": "*La imposibilidad de fundir las razas*

<sup>105</sup> Galmés published *Los moriscos (desde su misma orilla)* (1993) in response to Márquez Villanueva's *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (1991). The latter identifies the portrayal of Moriscos' incapable of assimilation as a predominate historiographical myth whereas the former argues the Moriscos did not assimilate in the least but remained resolutely Muslim, and apart, from the rest of society. See García-Arenal (2009, 895-6).

<sup>106</sup> Márquez qualifies that "la política que se aplicó a los moriscos no fue asimiladora, sino de persecución religiosa y genocidio cultural" (1998, 129-30). The word "assimilation"—charged with contemporary resonances—merits qualification. Though so-called conservative authors denied the possibility of assimilation, sympathizers of the Moriscos' cause vouched for it in ways that do not seem very "liberal" or "tolerant" today. As Modesto Lafuente suggests, a better alternative to banishment would have been "atraer á los descreídos y obstinados por la doctrina, por la convicción, por la prudencia, por la dulzura, por la superioridad de la civilización" (1888, 146). Claims of "superior civilization" attributed to Christianity would influence appraisals of Aljamiado poetry, as explained below.

cristiana y sarracena”; “*la fusión era imposible...* ellos [los moriscos] persistían siempre en sus creencias religiosas, ellos no querían *fundirse* ...”; “eran tan moros como antes, que no querían *fundirse* en la sociedad cristiana” (Danvila 39; 135; 272; my emphasis).

Danvila alternates between declaring the impossibility of fusion as an objective fact and ascribing blame to uncooperative Moriscos. He invokes a homogeneous group of New Christians to affirm the expulsion’s necessity. Boronat, who incorporates multiple quotes from Danvila, reiterates the impossible fusion myth based on insoluble religious differences (I, 13). As he explains, “Un pueblo que jura el exterminio del nombre cristiano... no puede llegar á *la fusión*, ni siquiera asimilarse al vencido, mientras no abjure aquél de su lasciva y fanática religión” (Boronat I, 15; my emphasis).

Florencio Janer, whose analyses of Aljamiado texts will be discussed below, averred along similar lines that there was no plan to “absorb” (*absorber*) the Morisco population (1857a, 53). Failed attempts to achieve “*fusión religiosa*” rendered “*fusión política*” impossible (Janer 1857a, 53). In sum, “Momento hubo en que la *fusión de ambas razas* pareció fácil y posible; pero, una vez malogrado, jamás pudo lograrse” (Janer 1857a, 119; my emphasis). At times, Janer seems to blame these failed policies on specific actors, including Ribera and Cisneros. In some cases, he cites an inherent opposition between Islam and Christianity, just as Danvila and Boronat would decades later: “entre el cristianismo de los españoles y el mahometismo de los moriscos *era imposible todo avenimiento...* ¿Cómo podían, pues, hermanarse religiones tan distintas y contrarias como la del Hijo de Dios y la del falso profeta?” (Janer 1857a, 112; my emphasis).<sup>107</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Other historians attributed distinct causes to the supposedly impossible “*fusión*.” Matías Sangrador y Vitores blames the lack of “*la fusión de los dos pueblos*” on poor political practices (32; 36; my emphasis). With similar complaints, Modesto Lafuente bemoans the fact with

In addition to emphasizing religious difference in hierarchical terms, apologists sought to diminish any evidence of the Moriscos' intellectual achievements or advancement. This characterization served to reiterate the oppositional relationship between New and Old Christians as well as to downplay negative effects of the Moriscos' expulsion. The absence of an uncivilized, uneducated Other would amount to little. Thus, Danvila affirms his inability to "condecorar á los moriscos con ningún signo de cultura" while Boronat reiterates Aznar de Cardona's claim that the Moriscos were "una gente vilísima, descuidada, enemiga de las letras y ciencias ilustres... ajena de todo trato urbano, cortés y político" (322; qtd. in Boronat I, 196).<sup>108</sup>

The impossible fusion argument—whether based on religious or intellectual grounds—purported an essential opposition. After the expulsion, the phrase "unidad religiosa" supplants "fusión imposible" as an antagonistic environment between diametrically opposed entities becomes a unified, homogeneous one. Danvila resolves the impossible fusion myth as follows:

Luchó la humanidad y la religión y salió esta vencedora. España perdió sus hijos más laboriosos; los hijos fueron separados del regazo de las madres y del cariño paterno; para ningún morisco hubo piedad ni misericordia; pero la *unidad religiosa* apareció radiante y esplendorosa en el cielo de España, y dichoso el país que es uno en todos sus grandes sentimientos (320; my emphasis).

In less triumphal terms, Muñoz y Gaviria acknowledges economic and political detriment occasioned by the Moriscos' expulsion, affirming that "solo bajo el aspecto religioso produjo un

slightly different vocabulary: "no se acertó á *asimilarlos* en costumbres y creencias, á *refundir* los restos del pueblo vencido en la gran masa del pueblo vencedor, que no se acertó ni á hacerlos cristianos ni á hacerlos españoles" (146-7; my emphasis). The Crown did not manage to "assimilate" or "blend" Moriscos into Christians or Spaniards.

<sup>108</sup> Dadson argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "fear of the educated *morisco*" stemmed from economic anxieties (2006, 17). If Moriscos exercised important professions, they could "control the local economy" (Dadson 2006, 16). Irrespective of the reasons behind this anxiety, Dadson notes that contemporary historians perpetuate the stereotype of an uneducated Morisco, evident in statements such as the following: "[Con la expulsión de los moriscos] no hubo efectos culturales, a diferencia de lo que sucediera con la expulsión de los judíos. El nivel educativo de los moriscos era bajo" (Luis Suárez Fernández qtd. in Dadson 2006, 17).

bien. El de la *unidad religiosa*, la identidad de creencias en todos sus habitantes” (194; my emphasis). Boronat extends “unidad religiosa” to encompass Spain’s national and political unity, arguing that the expulsion caused “la consolidación de nuestra unidad nacional” and “unidad política” (I, 197; 363). Janer links “unidad religiosa” to national identity in the present: “aún hoy la unidad religiosa es la más preciada joya que posee el pueblo español” (1857a, 113). The Moriscos’ history thus progressed from impossible fusion to religious unity, from social strife to national consensus, from past violence to present peace.

Though Catholicism served as an effective rallying cry for some Spaniards, others remained circumspect. Interest in the recently unearthed Aljamiado manuscripts posed rhetorical problems for those who subscribed to the myth of impossible fusion. Not only do Aljamiado texts display the Moriscos’ intellectual achievements, they foreground linguistic, literary and cultural mixture between Old and New Christians. Aljamiado texts attest to close literary contact across confessional boundaries. Aljamiado poetry, in particular, complicated denials of *fusión*. If no cultural interchange between New and Old Christians occurred, why did Mudejars and Moriscos sing praises to Muḥammad in octosyllabic *romances*? How could Muslims compose literary homages to Joseph in *versos alejandrinos* if they were unassimilated and uneducated?

Appreciations of Aljamiado literature engendered newfound sympathy for Moriscos. Arabists such as Gayangos and Saavedra embraced Aljamiado texts as esteemed emblems of Spain’s cultural heritage. Interest in the codices often—but not always—generated compassionate representations of Moriscos. Both celebrated and denigrated, Aljamiado texts elicited contradictory attitudes. As nineteenth-century individuals attempted to curate the “movedizo terreno” of collective identities, a literary earthquake threatened their plans (Álvarez Junco 2001, 191).

## A New (Textual) World

When first stumbled upon in libraries and dilapidated houses, Aljamiado manuscripts constituted a repository of exotic potential. Pascual de Gayangos (1809-97), who catalyzed Spanish Arabism in the early nineteenth century, published his groundbreaking “Language and Literature of the Moriscos” in 1839.<sup>109</sup> Gayangos surveys the Moriscos’ history and summarizes the content of several extant Aljamiado texts, including the “Historia de Yusuf y Zaliya,” which the author deems “among the oldest poems in the Spanish language” (1839, 84). He orients readers to the extant corpus by praising its merits and acknowledging its shortcomings: “the Morisco literature, although the production of a degraded and oppressed nation, and laying claim only to an ephemeral existence, is highly deserving of the scholar’s investigation, since it is embellished with all the wild flowers of their country, and sparkles with true Arab genius” (Gayangos 1839, 68). Replete with shimmering embellishments, Aljamiado manuscripts deserve scholarly attention despite their unassuming origins and curtailed existence.

A decade later, Serafín Estébanez Calderón “El Solitario” (1799-1867) delivered a speech to members of the Ateneo in Madrid in which he appealed to intellectuals who wished to:

entrar por regiones desconocidas sin dejar de ser españoles, hallando fuentes inagotables de ideas nuevas, de pensamientos peregrinos, de sentimientos y de maravillas y portentos semejantes a las *Mil y una noches*, no tiene más trabajo que el abrir, por medio de las nociones del Arabe, las ricas puertas de la literatura Aljamiada. Ella es, por decirlo así, las

<sup>109</sup> The celebrated professor and translator studied with Silvestre de Sacy at the *École des Langues Orientales* (Monroe 1970, 67). Gayangos’s most famous publication, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (1840; 1843), was a loose translation of al-Maqqarī’s monumental composition. Gayangos advocated translating Arabic works before editing them for comparative purposes; when juxtaposed with Spanish chronicles, “a more balanced picture of medieval Spanish history would emerge” (Monroe 1970, 73). Gayangos compiled his robust collection of Arabic manuscripts in Spain, London, and on a visit to Morocco in 1848 (Marín 72).

Indias de la literatura española, que están casi por descubrir y que ofrecen grandes riquezas a los Colones [*sic*] primeros que las visiten (307).<sup>110</sup>

Replete with “marvels,” Aljamiado literature awaits “discovery” and offers “great riches” to those who enter its sumptuous gates. By claiming this body of texts as “eminente española,” Estébanez makes a case for its relevance vis-à-vis current political and literary trends: we cannot understand “nuestras leyes y costumbres” or “nuestra historia” without a rigorous interrogation of the country’s Islamic past (311; 304-5). Taking possession of the “Indies of Spanish literature” constitutes a “patriótico intento” that will engender “la independencia de nuestra literatura y lengua, prestándoles originalidad y pureza” (Estébanez 311). Given the debt of “nuestro idioma” to Arabic, Estébanez posits Aljamiado as an expedient “in-between” register to examine linguistic evolution and cultural shifts (306).

In addition to its past and present relevance, Aljamiado texts provide a source of entertainment for readers as well as literary inspiration for writers ensnared in the throngs of French imitation: “pueden dar entretenimiento al curioso, y materia de gran novedad para los noveladores y escritores de costumbres, pudiendo separarse del camino trillado de la imitación francesa” (Estébanez 309). Seeking to distinguish Spain from European rivals, Estébanez celebrates the burgeoning Aljamiado corpus as a “New World” of literary possibilities. Despite his efforts, Estébanez’s enthusiasm did not achieve concrete manifestations; the prospected *Flores de la literatura aljamiada*, a project Estébanez hoped to complete with Gayangos, never came to fruition.

<sup>110</sup> The speech circulated in the *Seminario Pintoresco Español* (1848). A correspondent of Gayangos and uncle of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, Estébanez Calderón was born in Málaga. Manzanera describes him as “un literato” who “carecía de la paciencia necesaria para ser investigador” (1962, 414). After publishing *Poesías del Solitario* (1831), he cultivated the historical novel, notably his *Cristianos y moriscos, novela lastimosa* (1838), based on Pérez de Hita’s *Guerras civiles de Granada*.



Three decades later, additional discoveries of manuscripts and the proliferation of editions created ample resources for curious readers' consultation of Aljamiado texts. Eduardo Saavedra (1829-1912), one of Gayangos's disciples, circulated edited excerpts of manuscripts in literary journals (1876; 1881; 1882) before publishing an expanded version of his *Índice general de la literatura aljamiada* in 1889.<sup>111</sup> Márquez Villanueva deems Saavedra's 1878 address in Madrid's Ateneo "la única ruptura de importancia" to the "visión oficial" that prevailed in nineteenth-century histories of the expulsion (115-6). Saavedra's 1878 speech sparked unease among advocates of the expulsion. He presented Aljamiado literature as evidence of the Moriscos' integration into the social, linguistic, religious, and literary currents of sixteenth-century Spain. Though the Moriscos constituted "una nación distinta en medio de la sociedad española," nevertheless, "en su mayoría pertenecieran á la raza de los dominadores y vistieran sus trajes, y vivieran con sus costumbres, y hablaran en su mismo romance" (Saavedra 1878, 6-7). According to Saavedra, Aljamiado manuscripts belong to "el gran catálogo de la literatura patria" (1878, 6).

Saavedra foregrounds similarities between Aljamiado literature and other texts redacted in *romance*. He highlights intertextuality between "la historia de la doncella Arcayona" and the *Libro de Apolonio* as well as *La Vida de Santa Genoveva* (1878, 28). In the Mancebo de Arévalo's writings, Saavedra detects not only the influence of literature written by Christian mystics but also the "tendencia, sea casual ó algo intencionada, del mahometismo hácia el cristianismo" (1878, 16). Moreover, the Aljamiado version of the *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana*, a popular fifteenth-century novel demonstrates shared literary tastes with Old

<sup>111</sup> In addition to being a member of the Royal Academy of History and the Royal Spanish Academy, Saavedra trained as an engineer, architect, and archeologist.

Christians. These examples lead Saavedra to ask: “¿Y cómo no se habia de aficionar á ellas una gente que, al modo de sus antecesores mudéjares, *se iba ya fundiendo y amalgamando con la masa general de los españoles*, tomando sus hábitos y participando de sus ideas?” (1878, 28-9; my emphasis).

For Saavedra, the Moriscos’ literature attests to their “fusion” and “amalgamation” with Old Christians. The Lead Tablets, for example, provide evidence of the Moriscos’ eagerness to “*fundir las dos religiones y suavizar sus diferencias*” (Saavedra 1878, 18; my emphasis). Muslims also delighted in chivalric romances, read coeval poetic compositions, analyzed Lope’s plays, and debated points of theology. In sum, Moriscos “no distaban mucho de *amalgamarse y fundirse* con el medio social que las rodeaba” (Saavedra 1878, 55; my emphasis). By underscoring the evident similarities between Aljamiado texts and early modern literary works, Saavedra verifies the Moriscos’ intimate integration into and noteworthy contributions to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century life in Spain. His analysis of Aljamiado manuscripts leads him to question the expulsion’s necessity. Saavedra avers that Philip III’s decision was the lamentable result of fanaticism in the absence of which the Moriscos “hubieran concluido por incorporarse del todo con la masa de los demás españoles” (1878, 55).

The Moriscos’ literature allows Saavedra to posit the Moriscos’ belonging to Spain. His remarks did not resonate with Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, the government minister charged with delivering a “Contestación” to Saavedra’s speech in 1878.<sup>112</sup> Cánovas begins his response with an homage to his uncle, Serafín Estébanez Calderón. After briefly lauding Saavedra’s

<sup>112</sup> A key figure in Restoration politics and nephew of Serafín Estébanez, Cánovas edited the *Historia General de España*, written by members of Spain’s Royal Academy of History (Álvarez Junco 2011, 132). His penchant for early modern history and literature is manifest in numerous publications, such as his work on Philip IV published in 1889 (Carr 348).

scholarly rigor, the diplomatic façade crumbles. Cánovas reproaches Saavedra for his depictions of Aljamiado literature: “Y en medio de la fría imparcialidad que sus hábitos de investigador y crítico le imponen, ¿no es verdad, señores, que mucho de compasión, ó algo, y aún algo de simpatía hacia aquella gente, se trasluce en sus frases?” (qtd. in Saavedra 1878, 66). Vowing his support for “nuestros antepasados” rather than “los expulsos moros,” Cánovas declares that no orientalist fantasy can persuade him otherwise: “Ni el amor á sus alcázares, alcazabas y castillos roqueros, ni el de los sabrosos versos y prosas de la literatura aljamiada, pueden conducirme á error tamaño” (qtd. in Saavedra 1878, 74).

Rather than contest the value of Aljamiado texts or deny their allure, Cánovas turns to early modern works in order to reiterate the Moriscos’ antagonism. For instance, an extensive quote culled from Gaspar Aguilar’s *Expulsión de los moros de España* (1610) depicts the Morisco uprising in the Laguar valley. Aguilar illustrates an episode in which a soldier slaughters a pregnant Morisca and, upon discovering the twin fetuses inside of her, baptizes them on the cusp of their expiration. The disturbing scene leads Cánovas to ask, “¿No es cierto, señores, que este imparcial y horrible relato por sí solo bastaría á probar cuán difícil era que gentes tales pudieran siempre vivir en un mismo suelo?” (qtd. in Saavedra 1878, 74). The Moriscos’ past is one of entrenched conflict and insurmountable differences.

Given the Moriscos political threat and religious intractability, Cánovas concludes that “á pesar de su literatura aljamiada y de sus costumbres en parte castellanas,” Moriscos would have never truly converted to Christianity (qtd. in Saavedra 1878, 98). Once again, Cánovas neglects to engage with the substance of Saavedra’s speech directly. Instead, he strives to minimize the overall importance of the Moriscos’ “Castilianized” customs and literary practices vis-à-vis preoccupations of state security and religious homogeneity.

Saavedra's speech and Cánovas's rebuttal caused a splash in the nineteenth-century press. Some accused Cánovas's defense of the expulsion as "reaccionario y ultramontano" (*Revista contemporánea* 380). His response gave rise to "los comentarios más apasionados y contradictorios" (*Revista contemporánea* 380).<sup>113</sup> Cánovas's contemporaries faulted him for deviating from the prescribed topic: "La Academia Española es una corporación puramente literaria, y en ella no deben tener cabida los debates políticos... El Sr. Cánovas contestaba á un discurso sobre literatura aljamiada, y de éste nada más debió ocuparse" (*Revista contemporánea* 380). Another critic similarly charged Cánovas: "equivocó los papeles, y en vez de escribir para la Academia de la Lengua trabajó para la de la Historia" (*La Ilustración Católica* 200).<sup>114</sup> This author agreed with Cánovas's contention that Spain's national unity would have collapsed in 1640 had Philip III not expelled the Moriscos. Yet the orator should have developed this point. Instead, Cánovas "se contenta con apuntarla y pasa de largo como quien no ha dicho nada" (*La Ilustración Católica* 200).

As for Saavedra, one reviewer seems to have missed the point: "siendo tan pobre el asunto, debiera haberlo relacionado con la historia general de nuestra literatura, para que á vista de ojos pudiera apreciarse la conexión que guarda la literatura de los moriscos con la de los españoles" (*La Ilustración Católica* 200). Despite this critique, the author still concludes that "el catálogo de obras aljamiadas que le acompaña no tiene precio" (*La Ilustración Católica* 200). Another journalist praises Saavedra for his "estudio utilísimo" and Cánovas for his ideas "tan castiza y correcta" regarding the expulsion (*La raza latina* 6).<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> *Revista contemporánea*. Madrid. 15/2/1879.

<sup>114</sup> *La Ilustración Católica*. 7/1/1879. No. 25.

<sup>115</sup> *La raza latina*. 15/1/1879. No. 116. The author provides a snapshot of the audience's reaction: "Los aplausos de la concurrencia, no escaseados por cierto á los dos oradores, eran la confirmacion de su justa fama; pero no todos de la doctrina sustentada por el Sr. Cánovas" (6).

Although Cánovas avoided discussing Aljamiado texts in any depth, popular memory of the 1878 speeches married him to the very topic he was loathe to examine. Over the next few years, the *Contestación* served as grist for a satirical mill that harvested criticism of the government minister. “Literatura aljamiada” became shorthand for an elite dilettante’s frivolous studies—emblematic of Cánovas’s out-of-touch intellectualism. One critic lumps Aljamiado texts with the minister’s other academic pursuits: “no hay quienes le entiendan cuando habla de *literatura aljamiada*, del favoritismo y corrupción de la casa de Austria ó de la libertad en el arte” (*El Demócrata* 1; my emphasis).<sup>116</sup> An article from 1880 recalls the scandal in which a crowd heckled two friars in Barcelona. The group’s minimal punishment leads to historical comparisons and a surprising explanation:

Lo mismo cuentan San Eulogio, Alvaro de Córdoba y el Abad Sanson que les pasaba á los Religiosos muzárabes en los tiempos de la persecución sarracénica. Y vean nuestros lectores por dónde vienen á parecerse la política de los conservadores y la política de los moros que tiranizaron a España. Por algo tiene el Sr. Cánovas tanta afición á *la literatura aljamiada*” (*El Siglo Futuro* 1; my emphasis).<sup>117</sup>

Likening the medieval Cordoban martyrs to contemporary Catalan friars, the author connects the politics of “conservatives” and “Moors” by citing Cánovas’s predilection for Aljamiado literature. Critics attributed to Cánovas the sympathetic attitude he strove to distance himself from two years prior. Along these lines, some journalists invoke the *Contestación* as expedient comic relief. For instance, in an essay on bullfighting, writers lament the unimpressive performances they endured in the bitter cold. Such corporal discomfort, they declare, “es casi tan cruel como si nos obligase á oír un curso de *la literatura aljamiada* del señor Cánovas” (*El Globo* 2; my

<sup>116</sup> *El Demócrata. Diario político*. Madrid. 3/1/1880. Núm. 39.

<sup>117</sup> *El Siglo Futuro*. 12/3/1880.

emphasis).<sup>118</sup> The following joke appeared in *La Filoxera*, a satirical newspaper published weekly in Madrid:

“—¿Qué hay de teatros?  
—Estrenos que valen muy poco, ó nada.  
—¿Y de política?  
—Méenos: literatura aljamiada” (4).<sup>119</sup>

In addition to editions, studies, and speeches, the Moriscos’ “literatura aljamiada” served as material for political jest. Cánovas’s supposed fondness for Aljamiado texts outlived his impassioned defense of the expulsion. The foregoing examples reveal nineteenth-century consciousness of Aljamiado texts in a distinct dimension. A few years later, another wave of interest would arrive on nineteenth-century shores.

### **The First Colonists**

In 1884, an unexpected discovery surprised construction workers in Almonacid de la Sierra. Tucked away underneath the floorboards in a dilapidated house near Zaragoza, a trove of almost one hundred and fifty Aljamiado manuscripts lay intact. As Francisco Codera reported: “Dichos manuscritos estaban escondidos en el espacio que mediaba entre un piso ordinario y un falso piso de madera, hábilmente sobrepuesto, de modo que los libros, muy bien acondicionados en el espacio intermedio, han estado ocultos cerca de tres siglos, sin que nadie se haya apercebido de su existencia” (269). Despite remaining hidden for centuries, many of the codices met a tragic fate:

<sup>118</sup> *El Globo*. 29/9/1879.

<sup>119</sup> *La Filoxera*. 2/1/1881. Published between 1878 and 1881, and again in 1884, the newspaper is one of many satirical publications distributed in the wake of the 1868 Revolution. Its subtitle, “parásito político semanal” referred to the destructive forces that leached off Spaniards’ progress (see BNE, *Hemeroteca*: <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?q=id:0029684156&lang=en>).

Por desgracia, al aparecer los manuscritos fueron creídos de ningún valor por los albañiles y peones, de modo que arrojados entre los escombros ó dejados á disposicion del primero que llegaba, los muchachos se entretuvieron en romper las hojas y en hacer hogueras con ellas, destrozando más de 80 volúmenes y quemando quizá por completo no pocos (Codera 269-70).

The next day, a priest from the *Escuelas Pías* of Zaragoza happened to pass by and purchase a few volumes: “esto fué causa de que ya se tuviera algún cuidado en no destrozár lo que iba apareciendo” (Codera 270). The presence of binding materials (“como prensa, cuchilla, alisadores y los hierros para las molduras de la pasta”) suggested that the house once served as a Morisco scribal workshop (Codera 271). In his account, Codera also laments the lack of investigators capable of deciphering the codices’ contents. The University of Zaragoza did not offer Arabic courses consistently, and although Spaniards in other regions might be adept in Arabic, the copious amount of Aragonisms would present challenges (Codera 276).

After the cache’s unearthing, scholars actively enfolded Aljamiado manuscripts into anthologies and editions for nonspecialists’ consumption; they highlighted Aljamiado texts’ importance to nineteenth-century Spaniards in terms of national relevance. Consider, for example, Mariano Pano’s edition of the *Coplas del alhijante*. Dedicated to the late Pascual de Gayangos (heralded as the “restaurador de los estudios arábigos en España”), the edition is introduced by Saavedra, who begins boldly: “En ninguna nación cristiana ofrecen tanto interés como en la nuestra las cosas concernientes á los musulmanes” (qtd. in Pano ix). Although other European countries have also cultivated an interest in “letras orientales,” only in Spain should such questions “contarse como nacionales,” seeing as “no se puede entender nuestra historia ni analizar nuestra lengua, sin penetrar á fondo en el modo de ser de los hijos de la Arabia y de los secuaces del Alcorán” (Saavedra qtd. in Pano x). Saavedra assures readers that cultural relevance does not substantiate the “grosera bufonada de que el Africa empieza en los Pirineos” or that one

should trace national origins to Islamic influence exclusively (qtd. in Pano x). Rather, the country's extraordinary past allows Spanish scholars to assume intellectual proprietorship over Arabo-Islamic heritage. I will return to Pano's edition below.

Francisco Guillén Robles (1846-1926) expresses similar goals in his editions, including *Leyendas moriscas: Sacadas de varios manuscritos existentes en las Bibliotecas Nacional, Real y de d. P. de Gayangos* (1885-6), three volumes published in Mariano Catalina's *Colección de escritores castellanos*.<sup>120</sup> Two years later, he featured Aljamiado manuscripts in *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob, y de Alejandro Magno. Sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (1888). His catalogue of Arabic manuscripts appeared the following year.<sup>121</sup>

Guillén declares his "patriótico objeto" to publish Aljamiado texts, which provide a means to remember "las costumbres, los usos, el lenguaje, las inclinaciones, los ideales de muchos españoles; que españoles puede considerarse á los vencidos, por el nacimiento y por el entrañable amor que mostraron al pátrio suelo" (1888, v). Casting Moriscos as "españoles," Guillén embraces Aljamiado texts as a unique component of "las letras patrias" and as material for insight into "la historia íntima de Zaragoza" in particular (1886, III, 62; 1888, lvii). With these editions, he intends to reach "al público en general, y no sólo á los eruditos"; his audience necessitates an act of textual transformation, given the originals' difficulty (1888, lvi). Therefore, Guillén modernizes the texts' linguistic register by translating "palabras y expresiones ininteligibles ú oscuras" (1888, lvi-lvii).

<sup>120</sup> From Málaga, Guillén studied with Francisco Simonet in Granada before his appointment to the National Library in Madrid in 1884.

<sup>121</sup> The three volumes were reprinted in the early 1990s by Editorial Sufi (Barletta 2005, 64). See the *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (1889).



Through a process of translation, Guillén endeavors to make the incommensurable legible for nineteenth-century readers. He likens the unknown to the known, the past to the present. For instance, the story of Job resembles “un cuadro digno de la pluma de cualquiera de nuestros modernos naturalistas” (Guillén 1885, I, 81). The account of Moses’ life, meanwhile, recalls a biblical parable: “su relación, sencilla y animada, parece el reflejo de alguno de los más bellos cuadros de la Biblia” (Guillén 1885, I, 104). Guillén even detects religious syncretism in descriptions of Jesus and the Virgin. Morisco authors display such reverence for the latter “cual si su autor fuera cristiano” (Guillén 1885, I, 20). Guillén also enjoins the reader to notice “cómo se expresa un poeta oriental, refiriéndose á Jesús, con la misma fervorosa veneración que cualquiera de nuestros místicos” (1885, I, 41). Literary and biblical reminiscences approximate Aljamiado texts to a general audience.

Such examples evince Guillén’s desire to incorporate Aljamiado texts into his country’s cultural heritage. Several analyses reveal Guillén’s orientalist thrill; he describes one text as “llena de color, bien movida, poética, impregnada con el perfume de nobilísimos sentimientos, con pormenores interesantes que el autor ha detallado con esmero” (1885, I, 79-80). Despite his enthusiasm, Guillén vacillates between undercutting and praising Aljamiado texts. Literary expression is characterized by a “torpeza ruda,” replete with “hipérboles exageradísimas, á veces monstruosas” and of such “sencillez” that the “reiteración enfadosa de metáforas, y frecuentemente monotonía en los medios y exposición y en los accidentes del relato” reflects the authors’ “puerilidad” (1885, I, 13).

The word “leyenda” sheds light on the beguiling vacillations between Guillén’s critical and laudatory appraisals. In his introductory remarks to the first volume of *Leyendas moriscas*, Guillén highlights the “fantastical” and “supernatural” content of Aljamiado texts in order to

stimulate readers' interest: "encontrará creaciones fantásticas, tipos interesantes, delicados pormenores... Sobre todo domina en ellas una credulidad excesiva; lo maravilloso llevado á exagerados extremos, lo sobrenatural dominándolo todo" (1885, I, 12). Given the lack of "mérito literario," the editor exaggerates the marvels that stem from "la credulidad inagotable de los moriscos, tan enamorados de lo imposible" (Guillén 1885, I, 12-3). Such "credulidad" transcends the literary realm to become an inherent characteristic of all Muslims. In another volume, the miracles witnessed by Abraham "pone de manifiesto la inclinación á lo extraordinario y sobrenatural que en todo tiempo han tenido los musulmanes y que les ha hecho infinitas veces llegar á los extremos límites de lo absurdo" (Guillén 1886, III, 55).

Guillén refers to "leyenda" as an antonym to "historia" (1886, III, 19). For instance, "Nuestra *leyenda*, al relatar esta batalla, concuerda mejor con la *historia* que todas las que he publicado; sin embargo, discrepa bastante en los pormenores, con los que la *fantasía* del autor árabe adornó estos sucesos" (Guillén 1886, III, 24-5; my emphasis). "Fantasy" transforms historical material into legendary account. Regarding Ali's legacy, Guillén contends: "Y como la *fantasía oriental*, viva y apasionada, transforma pronto la *historia en leyenda*, ciñéndole las guirnaldas de flores de la poesía" (1886, III, 42-3; my emphasis). In the Introduction to the "legends" of Joseph and Alexander the Great, Guillén deems "orientales" to be "eternos mezcladores de lo legendario á lo real, y perpétuos narradores de los sucesos históricos á través del prisma de su lozana fantasía" (1888, xxxii).<sup>122</sup> Whether invoked as the fictional (Muslim) counterpoint to an objective (Christian) history or as an appeal to capture the attention of readers,

<sup>122</sup> Pano would similarly refer to the Qur'ānic story of Abraham as a "*leyenda mahometana*" and as "unas de las *leyendas* más conocidas entre los árabes" (172; 135; my emphasis). Akin to "la mitología de los griegos," Pano suggests, these "tradiciones arábicas" demonstrate the ways in which history becomes, overtime, "mitos y *leyendas*" (137-8; my emphasis). A "crédulo," "soñador y fanático" poet sets these legends to verse (Pano 152; 159).

the term “leyenda,” when applied to Aljamiado texts, reduces Moriscos’ texts to orientalized curiosities and Muslims to misled and credulous heretics. In the following decades, historians extracted snapshots of criticism from Guillén’s commentary in order to draw conclusions about the Moriscos.<sup>123</sup>

Guillén is keen to diffuse Aljamiado manuscripts. He persuades his readers to do the same by making the texts accessible for a general audience and also by fashioning connections with contemporary politics. In 1885, delusions of imperial grandeur continued to hold sway as Spain pursued interests in Morocco. Guillén taps into such aspirations in order to convince readers of Aljamiado texts’ importance. He maintains that the value of editing Aljamiado texts resides not only in “scientific” gains but also “practical” ones:

[E]stos trabajos no tienen solamente interés científico, sino práctico; si en tiempos, más ó menos remotos, España consigue obtener, bien pacíficamente, bien de otra manera, la influencia á que aspiran muchos corazones patriotas en Marruecos, dos clases de datos entre otros muchos ha de tener muy presentes: \*1\* ante todo las conquistas y establecimientos modernos de los franceses en Berbería; \*2\* después la historia de nuestros moriscos (Guillén 1885, I, 11).

The corpus offers insight into Moriscos’ beliefs, practices, and mentalities; in turn, this information would provide useful understanding of contemporary Muslims. Throughout his

<sup>123</sup> Contemporary critics also deem Aljamiado texts “leyendas.” “Leyenda” often serves as an editorial shorthand for material culled from *ḥadīth* and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, genres that derive from Qur’ānic material and authoritative textual traditions (see Chapter 5). In contrast, “legend” connotes a myth, fantasy, or fictional content. Though the texts themselves often bear the heading “*rrekontamiento*” or “*alḥadiṣ*” (see *Glosario* 512-3; 61-2), contemporary editions are titled: *La leyenda de Yusuf, ein Aljamiadotext* (Klenk 1972); *Leyendas aljamiadas y moriscas sobre personajes bíblicos* (Vespertino Rodríguez 1983), “Las leyendas aljamiadas de carácter maravilloso: un aspecto de la cultura morisca” (Bouzineb 1986), *El Libro de las Luces: Leyenda aljamiada sobre la genealogía de Mahoma* (Lugo Acevedo 2008), and *Aljamiado Legends: The Literature and Life of Crypto-Muslims in Imperial Spain* (Rosa-Rodríguez 2018). Perhaps Aragonese Muslims considered some of these narratives to be “legendary” or fictional. Yet reducing material derived from *ḥadīth* and the Qur’ān to “legends” propagates the reductive nineteenth-century applications of the term, employed to denigrate Islamic beliefs (see Epalza 1986, 40).

editions, Guillén strives to connect past and present practices of Islam. An account of “Iça” in one manuscript spotlights Muslims’ belief in Jesus’ prophethood, which motivates additional commentary: “Todavía los marroquíes contestan á cualquiera que les pide cosas extraordinariamente difíciles: *¿acaso soy yo Sidna Aisa—Nuestro Señor Jesús—para conseguir lo que deseas?*” (Guillén 1885, I, 40). Another passage leads Guillén to comment on Moriscos’ veneration of parents. Remarkably, Muslims in Morocco also esteem the elderly: “la veneración de los padres... mezclada al amor más tierno, al respeto más profundo, tal cual hoy se observa generalmente en Marruecos” (Guillén 1885, I, 99). With an orientalist thrust, Guillén stiches together literary and anthropological commentary in order to broaden the appeal of Aljamiado texts. Constructing a thematic bridge between current phenomena and Moriscos’ literature allows him to capture a wider readership.

Nine years after Robles’s publication, historian, politician, and prolific author Mariano Pano y Ruata presented the *Coplas del alhiḡante* as *Las coplas del peregrino*.<sup>124</sup> Whereas other authors ascribe to Aljamiado literature a “Spanish” character, Pano imbues the text with regional specificity. Despite references to “moros españoles” and “moriscos españoles,” the poem’s author, “por su cualidad de *aragonés*, aporta con su trabajo preciosos datos para la historia y para la literatura *aragonesas*” (202; 288; 12; my emphasis). Pano embraces the pilgrim as “nuestro insigne aragonés,” reminds us that Juan Alfonso and Muhammad Rabadán were “ambos

<sup>124</sup> Henri Bigot translated Pano’s work into French in 1916, “Les Strophes du Pèlerin de Puey Monçón.” *Revue Tunisienne* 23 (1916): 87-124. Pano shares a birthplace with the poetic *alhiḡante* (pilgrim). Named an academic correspondent by the *Real Academia de la Historia* in 1879, Pano garnered many accolades throughout his century-long life (Rincón García xx). During an extended stay in Zaragoza (1888-1936), Pano conducted investigations in the Royal Monastery of Sijena in collaboration with the *Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico* as well as the *Real Academia de Nobles y Bellas Artes de San Luis*. Pano’s active involvement in Aragonese politics and intellectual currents likely impelled the 1897 publication.

aragoneses,” and reiterates the poem’s relevance to “la historia aragonesa” in the conclusion (285; 28; 286). Pano’s most frequent shorthand for the poem’s title reads not “Las coplas del peregrino” but rather “Las coplas de Puey Monçón” (12; 30; 101; 263; 285; 289). As an idiosyncratic source of local history, the edition inflects Aragonese relevance into an emergent national identity.<sup>125</sup>

Smatterings of footnotes and extensive explanations allow the editor to foreground his erudition and adhere to the “scientific” rigor expected of nineteenth-century historical publications. Expatiating on pre-Islamic history, geographical features, architectural wonders, ancient cenotaphs, and religious minutiae, the glosses often span more pages than the *alhigante*’s account, such as one chapter in which a single stanza spurs fourteen pages of explanation (Pano 171-85). Though many critical editions include lengthy contextual apparatuses, Pano’s publication stands out for its disjointed edifice. Parceling the poem into chapters—divided by extraneous accounts and editorial commentary—suppresses the pilgrim’s testament under layers of, in Bakhtinian terms, “others’ words,” that explicitly contradict and override the poem.

Since access to Mecca is “prohibido á los cristianos,” Pano bemoans that “siempre ha sido en extremo difícil el relato verídico y exacto de un viaje á la Meca” (8). The intent to relate a “truthful” and “exact” account leads Pano to interleave quotes from contemporary sources into the edition (e.g. 115-120). In particular, Domingo Badía’s report is treated as an objective, impartial corroboration of an antiquated, or “fanático” counterpart (Pano 204). As Pano remarks: “es sumamente curioso ver cómo las pinturas que nos hacen viajeros tan fidedignos como Mr.

<sup>125</sup> Antonio Feros contends that identification with one’s *patria chica* coexisted with the burgeoning sense of “national” *patria* in the eighteenth century (167; 174). Raymond Carr alludes to Catalan scholars who attempted to challenge Castilian centralism through their research in the Crown of Aragon’s archives in the nineteenth century, though unfortunately he does not mention any comparable efforts by the Aragonese (541).

Maltzam y Alí Bey, reciben plena confirmación en las antiguas Coplas de Puey Monçón” (101; see also 179-85; 250-7).

Verifying the *alḥiḡante*’s account with that of contemporary sources counterpoises—and often supplants—the unfamiliar with the familiar. In addition to written testimonies, Pano inserts a photograph of the Ka’ba and holy mosque (90). Though the image is left unattributed, it corresponds with one of the earliest snapshots of Mecca, taken in 1880 by Muhammad Sadiq Bey (d. 1902), an Egyptian army engineer (Irwin 208; Kennedy 84-5).<sup>126</sup> In the Introduction, Pano alludes not to Sadiq Bey but to a Dutch photographer, Christian Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), who captured his 1884-5 trip to Mecca in vivid detail. Thanks to him, “podemos conocer hoy la <<Tierra Santa del Islam>> hasta en sus más insignificantes pormenores, y sin dejar las comodidades de nuestra casa” (10).<sup>127</sup> Integrating written and photographic *novedades* allows Pano to construct himself as collector, purveyor, and curator of “exotic” knowledge culled from sixteenth-century and contemporary sources.

In the same decade in which Pano and Guillén exhibited their editorial endeavors, Pablo Gil, Julián Ribera, and Mariano Sánchez reproduced several Aljamiado texts in their *Colección de textos aljamiados* (1888). Lamenting the haphazard treatment of recently discovered codices, the editors wish to avoid future losses by diffusing knowledge of Aljamiado manuscripts (Gil et. al. vi-vii). Similar to Estébanez’s petition, Aljamiado texts function as an “oportuno ejercicio” for students of Arabic (Gil et. al. v). Gil, Ribera, and Sánchez present the manuscripts “as a kind

<sup>126</sup> The photo can be seen here: [http://www.artnet.com/artists/muhammad-sadiq-bey/arabie-saoudite-1880-15-works-o0JhhFPGRWJbNj\\_ZBz629Q2](http://www.artnet.com/artists/muhammad-sadiq-bey/arabie-saoudite-1880-15-works-o0JhhFPGRWJbNj_ZBz629Q2). See also: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/hajj/narratives/photography\\_and\\_the\\_hajj.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/hajj/narratives/photography_and_the_hajj.aspx).

<sup>127</sup> Hurgronje converted to Islam and took the name Abd al-Ghaffar; he trained a Meccan doctor of the same name whose photos were published in 1889 (Irwin 194). Though Pano never mentions Sadiq Bey, he notes the contributions of posterior photographers in Mecca: “Gervais-Courtellement y el Doctor Saleh Soubhy, musulmán este último” (11).

of pedagogical means-to-a-greater-end,” as a linguistic bridge to more challenging Arabic compositions (Barletta 2005, 63).<sup>128</sup>

While editions, catalogues, and analyses of Aljamiado texts circulated among specialists and the general public alike, historians continued to approach the Moriscos’ history from an apologetic standpoint. The earliest scholarship on Aljamiado served as rhetorical fodder for historians seeking to celebrate the expulsion as a Christian victory. Their arguments relied on a teleological narrative of Islamic decline and on the impossibility of coexistence between New and Old Christians. Denying the value of Aljamiado literature served as metonymic evidence for pro-expulsion goals.

### **From Colonial Riches to Apologetic Rags: Aljamiado Literature in Nineteenth-Century Historiography**

Before Saavedra and Guillén Robles reignited interest in Aljamiado literature in the 1870s and 1880s, Janer endeavored to resolve Gayangos’s and Estébanez’s appraisals in his history of the Moriscos, titled *Condición social de los moriscos de España* (1857).<sup>129</sup> The same year in which he published *Condición social*, several newspapers featured Janer’s essay on “Literatura morisca.”<sup>130</sup> Key passages from both works illuminate the possible motivations behind Janer’s foray into Aljamiado literature.

<sup>128</sup> Arabists continued to catalogue and classify Aljamiado manuscripts in the early twentieth century. In 1912, Miguel Asín Palacios and Julián Ribera directed the publication of *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta*. They assigned Cándido González (i.e. Ángel González Palencia) to peruse the Aljamiado manuscripts (Villaverde 104).

<sup>129</sup> One critic celebrates *Condición social* as “el mejor fruto de la historiografía morisca del siglo XIX” for its imprint on posterior publications and its robust appendices (Ángel de Bunes 1983, 61).

<sup>130</sup> In addition to *La Mallorquin* (*Diario de Palma*), the article appeared in *El Isleño: Periódico científico, industrial, comercial, y literario* (12/12/1857) as well as the *Diario de Córdoba* (28/11/1857).

Though Janer expresses sympathy for the Moriscos' plight, he views the expulsion as a "medida necesaria para la paz de la iglesia y de la república española" (1857a, 111). As explained above, he reiterates the myth of impossible fusion in his work, alternatively imputing culpability to theological disparities, authorities, or converts. To accuse the latter, Janer invokes Aljamiado texts as evidence of the Moriscos' religious obstinacy:

Los moriscos eran verdaderos sarracenos en su vida interior... El afán con que el pueblo converso procuraba eludir *toda fusión y amalgama* con los cristianos viejos, desoyendo las predicaciones y burlando cuantas restricciones se le imponían; el exorbitante número de libros árabes y aljamiados que con secreto divulgaban entre sus familias doctrinas sarracenas, eran motivos hartos poderosos para acreditar la existencia de la fé muzlímica (Janer 1857a, 46; my emphasis).

Janer incorporates Aljamiado texts into a coherent narrative of Moriscos' as malicious crypto-Muslims. Moriscos actively eluded "fusion" with Old Christians. Their unwillingness to mingle with their neighbors is manifest in Aljamiado and Arabic texts.

Janer explores the extant corpus in more detail in his essay, "Literatura morisca. Las ciencias y las letras españolas ¿se resintieron de la espulsion de los moriscos?" As a point of departure, Janer derides "las naciones que pretenden ocupar ahora la primacia en el mundo" that did not contribute to literary and scientific feats in earlier epochs. Such laurels belong to Spain alone, seeing as "el engrandecimiento y la gloria de un Estado caminan al par del desarrollo y prosperidad de su literatura" (Janer 1857b, 1). After establishing his country's cultural preeminence, Janer stimulates readers' curiosity with another query: did Spanish Muslims contribute to their country's intellectual prowess? (1857b, 1).

After mentioning a few examples, he concludes that Mudejars and Moriscos did produce "literatura que les fue peculiar" including a few "riquezas" yet overall their literary feats were "nunca suficientes para ponerse en parangón con el estado de las ciencias y las letras españolas de aquellos tiempos, y que en este último sentido ni las letras ni las ciencias de nuestra patria



pudieron resentirse de la expulsión de los moriscos” (Janer 1857b, 1-2). Just as other historians would minimize the economic consequences brought about in the second decade of the seventeenth century, Janer seeks to diminish the intellectual losses incurred by the Moriscos’ banishment. Dismissing the scientific and literary value of Aljamiado texts allows Janer to defend the expulsion’s validity from a new vantage point.

Janer positions Aljamiado literature in terms of cultural and political decline. Since literature flourishes in conjunction with “el engrandecimiento y la gloria de un Estado,” depleted social or political standing engenders meager cultural output (Janer 1857b, 1). How could a “raza subyugada” and “un pueblo abatido, perseguido y subyugado” produce texts of value? (Janer 1857b, 1). Doing otherwise would challenge Christian hegemony, since “los vencedores quisieron solo que la raza subyugada cultivara las tierras y mantuviera los puertos del Mediterráneo atestados de frutos y cereales” whereas “el laurel de las conquistas, de las ciencias y de las letras quedaba reservado para los descendientes de los que supieron vencer en las Navas de Tolosa y en el Salado” (Janer 1857b, 1). The Conquerors allowed the Conquered to cultivate grains, not brains. According to this assessment, the Moriscos’ literary aptitude corresponds to their status as a defeated people.

To sketch this characterization, Janer sets up a comparison: “el pueblo morisco...no cultivó, en cambio, como sus ascendientes, las ciencias ni las letras, que habían colocado el imperio de los Abderramanes en elevado punto de esplendor” (1857a, 49). The remnants of medieval intellectual achievements were confined to the “silent studies” of a few elderly Moriscos. Janer conjectures that Aljamiado texts were not widely diffused: “la Filosofía, la Medicina, la Astronomía y la Jurisprudencia solo fueron patrimonio de algunos moriscos ancianos que no quisieron despojarse del recuerdo de sus antiguas glorias, transfiriéndose de unos

en otros los conocimientos humanos en el silencio de sus estudios, por medio de manuscritos aljamiados que todavía se conservan” (1857a, 49). Viewing the expulsion as the coalescence of a Catholic Spain relies on a counter-narrative of Islamic degeneration. Such decline permeated not only political realms, but also intellectual ones.

Janer was not the only one to contrast the Moriscos’ literature with that of “los Abderramanes.” Approaching Aljamiado texts through a narrative of decline often generated comparisons with Andalusian Muslims. As Danvila contends: “Los esplendores de la civilización arábica no los heredaron los moriscos” (qtd. in Boronat I, lii). Menéndez y Pelayo prefaces his discussion of Aljamiado literature by contrasting the Cordoban legacy of “los Al-haken y Abderrahmanes” and the Sevillian advances “bajo el cetro de Al-Motamid” with “los desdichados restos de la morisma española” (II, 635). Lafuente y Alcántara also explains the Moriscos’ literature in terms of an inferior derivation: “No es pues extraño que un pueblo ignorante y fanático, que había perdido de todo punto las huellas de su antigua ilustración y sus tradiciones literarias, abúndase en fábulas y creencias de esta naturaleza” (286).

Just as Janer’s appraisal of Aljamiado texts developed on par with his defense of the expulsion, Boronat includes a chapter on Aljamiado literature in his *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (1901).<sup>131</sup> The Valencian historian’s rancorous rebuttal to “*moriscófilos*” subtends the entire work (I, 197). He laments “la filantropía invocada con patético entusiasmo, por recientes historiadores” who sympathize with the Moriscos; he rails against “escritores modernos que, convertidos en apologistas de aquella raza, truenan con rabia insólita contra el supuesto

<sup>131</sup> Three years later, Boronat reiterated many of his points in *El Beato Juan de Ribera y el R. Colegio de Corpus Christi* (1904).

fanatismo de los que aconsejaron la prohibición de ceremonias, usos y costumbres de los moriscos” (Boronat I, 195; 228).

Boronat mocks the critics who lamented the expulsion as loss of poetic inspiration (II, 383-4). He dismisses such arguments as unpatriotic and feminine (“nunca el acento mujeril sentó bien en labios españoles”), and as a consequence of orientalist yearnings (“impulsado por un deseo exótico de ensalzar glorias que nunca podrán pertenecernos”) (II, 384).<sup>132</sup> After describing the Moriscos as an unsound source of literary inspiration, Boronat dismisses the literature produced and copied by Moriscos themselves. Lest any reader assume otherwise: “No se crea que tratamos de vindicar con el nombre de glorias lo que los doctores conocen con el nombre de literatura morisca ó aljamiada, no” (II, 384).

Boronat had sown this discussion’s rhetorical seeds previously when he imputes an uncivilized nature to the Moriscos. In the second volume, he builds upon Aznar Cardona’s characterization with new source material. Like Janer, he alludes to Aljamiado literature in order to confirm the Moriscos’ isolated existence and thereby justify the expulsion. Islamic content and low literary value verify the Moriscos’ maladaptation and demonstrate the insignificant intellectual loss incurred by their expulsion. Vowing an impartial intent, Boronat recounts his perusal of Guillén’s *Leyendas moriscas* (1885-6) and asks drily: “qué frutos sazonados produjo la literatura aljamiada?” (II, 387). His predictable answer rests on two central charges against Aljamiado texts: their Islamic content and unoriginality. Flawed portrayals of Jesus, Mary, and Archangel Gabriel spawn confusions incompatible with Christianity (II, 386). Even worse, some

<sup>132</sup> Álvarez Junco notes the resurgence of national characterizations in gendered terms: “The Spanish Romantics paid true homage to men. From the political angle, which interests us here, it is astonishing how insistently the national essence was described as *virile*, brute, strong or healthy as compared to the European *effeminacy* of the time, reflected in the taste for refinement, luxury and sophisticated entertainment” (2011, 172-3; emphasis in original).

of the poems insult Christian beliefs. With reference to the polemical poetry composed by exiled Moriscos, Boronat goads the reader: “dígasenos si la historia literaria de España perdió mucho con haber desterrado á los autores de aquellas coplas y romances” (II, 388).

The historian seeks to delegitimize the merits of Aljamiado literature on not only religious, but also on literary grounds. The “unoriginal” argument requires a bit more rhetorical maneuvering. Boronat derides the works published in Guillén’s edition: “¿Originalidad? El absurdo nunca fué original y en los moriscos menos, puesto que las leyes y creencias alcoránicas eran la fuente abundosa de la literatura aljamiada” (II, 386). Boronat incorporates Guillén’s analysis from the second volume of his *Leyendas moriscas* (1886) in which the Arabist describes Aljamiado texts about Muḥammad as “impregnados unos de poética belleza, groseros y ridículos otros, muchos obscenos, todos absurdos, justificando el decir castellano, *más falso que los milagros de Mahoma*, transformado en adagio por nuestros mayores” (qtd. in Boronat II, 387; emphasis in original). Boronat quickly falls back on a dismissal of the Moriscos’ texts for religious reasons, deeming Aljamiado manuscripts unoriginal due to their absurd (i.e. Islamic) content.

Boronat’s second accusation of unoriginality relies on an abbreviated quote from Menéndez y Pelayo’s *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880-1). According to Menéndez y Pelayo, Muhammad Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz* “no tiene originalidad alguna, como traducida que está de otra árabe de Abul-Hasán Albecrí” (qtd. in Boronat II, 387-8). Yet Boronat neglects to include the rest of the sentence, which reads: “pero las diversas historias de Ibrahim, Hexim, Abdulmatalic [*sic*], etc., son divertidas y agradables de leer, y el autor las cuenta con gracia y desenfado, recordando á veces el tono de los mejores romances castellanos, como quien estaba empapado en la lectura de ellos” (Menéndez y Pelayo II, 638). In fact, Menéndez y Pelayo

continues: “En algunos pasajes de la *Historia del día del Juicio* [Rabadán] alcanza verdadera plenitud y grandeza de dicción” (II, 638).

The selective citation of this “opinión autorizada” illuminates Boronat’s reductive argument and also the slippage in that of Menéndez y Pelayo (Boronat II, 384). Don Marcelino, who previously claimed that “la avenencia y la *fusión* de las dos razas era ya imposible,” attempts to reconcile the existence of Aljamiado literature with his depiction of an antagonistic Morisco (II, 625). He strives to corroborate the myth of impossible fusion with his analysis. Attributing the Moriscos’ supposedly meager cultural production to their “estado de abyección y servidumbre,” “oficios mecánicos,” “falta de tradición y escuelas,” and “olvido de la lengua propia,” Menéndez y Pelayo nonetheless qualifies: “pues escribieron mucho, y no siempre mal” (II, 635-6). Yet just as Boronat sought to dismiss the Moriscos’ literary legacy as “unoriginal,” so Menéndez y Pelayo asserts a few pages later: “En su fondo la literatura aljamiada no tiene interés estético, sino de historia y de costumbres” (II, 640).

Reducing Aljamiado texts to nothing but Islamic superstitions enables Menéndez y Pelayo to resolve the “impossible fusion” trope. A summary of the manuscripts documented in Saavedra’s catalogue leads to the following refutation:

Pues así como á él [Saavedra] le parece que la fusión de los moriscos con la población española hubiera llegado á verificarse, y descubre indicios de ello en el uso de la lengua y de los metros castellanos, en alguna que otra idea religiosa, y en las rarísimas citas de nuestros escritores... para nosotros, por el contrario, es no pequeño indicio de que la asimilación era imposible (Menéndez y Pelayo II, 640).

For Menéndez y Pelayo, Aljamiado manuscripts are a significant indicator of impossible fusion, “puesto que en sus libros es árabe y musulmíco todo, excepto la lengua...no reduciéndose en puridad á otra cosa toda la literatura aljamiada, bastante á probar por sí sola que los moriscos jamás hubieran llegado á ser cristianos ni españoles de veras, y que la expulsión era inevitable”

(II, 640-1). Menéndez y Pelayo defends the expulsion by underscoring the Islamic content of Aljamiado manuscripts. A shift in emphasis, or perhaps ideological lens, enables him to argue a fundamental opposition between New and Old Christians.

Janer, Boronat, and Menéndez y Pelayo incorporate Aljamiado literature into their historical accounts in order to justify the expulsion. Whether evidence of the Moriscos' impossible fusion, of their negligible cultural contributions, or of their subjugation, these appraisals support apologetic ends. Denials of literary value and homogenization of content perpetuate the Reconquest myth and defend the expulsion's necessity.

Despite the ideologies that inform these arguments, many of the conclusions offered by Janer, Boronat, and Menéndez y Pelayo surface in contemporary. Critics continue to approach Aljamiado literature vis-à-vis comparisons with medieval Arabic texts and narratives of intellectual decline. For instance, seventy years after Menéndez y Pelayo's publication, L.P. Harvey resurrects his analysis. Harvey notes a passage from *Orígenes de la novela* (1905) in which Menéndez y Pelayo cites Estébanez's well-known description of Aljamiado manuscripts as 'las Indias de la literatura española' before he adds wryly: "El éxito no ha correspondido del todo a tan risueñas esperanzas" (qtd. in Harvey 1978, 22).<sup>133</sup> Harvey then affirms:

Don Marcelino tuvo razón, y sigue teniéndola. He dedicado personalmente muchas horas al estudio de este fenómeno híbrido que es la literatura aljamiada. No creo haber perdido mi tiempo, pero no ha sido la ilusión de encontrar ningún Potosí novelístico ni de desenterrar a ningún Cervantes islámico el impulso que me llevó a descifrar aquellos cuadernos apolillados. El interés de estos escritos estriba no en su valor literario, sino en su importancia como documentos lingüísticos y, sobre todo, como documentos históricos (1978, 22).

The value of Aljamiado manuscripts derives from their linguistic and historical—not literary—riches. Harvey corroborates Menéndez y Pelayo's conclusions without acknowledging the

<sup>133</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo reproduces verbatim a large portion of his discussion from *Historia de los heterodoxos* in *Orígenes de la novela* (1905-15).

ideological stances that subtend his argument. Another esteemed scholar similarly reiterates:

“The ‘*aljamiado*’ literature raised hopes that an entirely new, secret, culture was about to be unearthed. As it turned out, the manuscripts represented nothing more than the decay of Muslim culture, for they were written in poor Arab grammar and poor Castilian, considerations that did not of course detract from their enormous historical value” (Kamen 2007, 81).

Though he substitutes “cultural” and “human” for “historical,” A.R. Nykl’s deductions also echo nineteenth-century analyses. In the introduction to his edition of an *Aljamiado* text about Alexander the Great, Nykl declares:

The *aljamiado* texts...are more interesting as human documents reflecting the cultural and mental status of a foreign race speaking the language of a nation whom they had conquered at first, and who conquered them in turn: the tenacious struggle between two elements diametrically opposed in religion, customs and views concerning questions of social and political life. Most of the texts belong to the period when the Moriscos in Spain were intellectually on the decline, irrevocably headed for their final ruin, yet still hoping for some miracle that might bring back the old glory. The literature produced under such circumstances naturally can only reflect the resignation of a subject people... Hence the *aljamiado* texts, especially those of the XVIth century, are chiefly interesting from the cultural and the linguistic, rather than the literary point of view (14).

Tethered to the thesis of “low literary value,” another nineteenth-century tendency is manifest in Nykl’s remarks: an appraisal of Moriscos’ literature in terms of the Reconquest. Just as Janer had portrayed *Aljamiado* literature by positing the Moriscos’ manuscripts in terms of Christian conquest and dominance, Nykl surmises that the Moriscos “were intellectually on the decline” and that their texts, unable to transcend degenerate circumstances, reflect only superstitious longings and shabby literary execution. Moriscos could barely preserve their own religion, let alone any literature of value.

Though Mudejars and Moriscos undoubtedly suffered from religious persecution, restricted emphasis on their status as “a subject people,” as Nykl puts it, envisages a misleading corollary in the cultural realm. One critic ascribes the “practical” nature of *Aljamiado* texts to the

Moriscos' difficult circumstances: "A los moriscos no les interesaba redactar comentarios religiosos exhaustivos y profundos, de verdadera solidez intelectual. Su propósito era fundamentalmente práctico: preservar del olvido su religión y sus tradiciones culturales, en pocas palabras, conservar la identidad de su pueblo" (Narváez 1981, 150-1). Another scholar comes to more sympathetic conclusions, yet nonetheless posits Aljamiado texts in terms of what they are not: "Aunque en general pedestre desde un punto de vista estrictamente estético—y más si la comparamos con las producciones literarias españolas del Siglo de Oro—la literatura aljamiada ofrece a veces ejemplos literarios de indudable y legítima belleza" (López-Baralt 1980, 23).

Whether posited as a consequence of the Moriscos' inevitable decline or cultural incompatibility, the "unliterary" characterization of Aljamiado texts endures. Scholars tend to overlook or disregard the underlying stances that informed reductive appraisals of Aljamiado literature.<sup>134</sup> "Literary" or "unliterary" characterizations ultimately derive from subjective perceptions of what literature is, how it should look, and who is capable of producing it. Ascribing to the corpus a low literary caliber (through comparisons with Andalusian Arabic compositions or *Siglo de Oro* masterpieces) tacitly perpetuates anti-Morisco rhetoric by reifying the narrative of cultural and intellectual degeneration. In doing so, we risk immortalizing the apologists who sought to dismiss the Moriscos' literature as evidence of their rightful banishment.

<sup>134</sup> Galmés de Fuentes explains that Aljamiado texts "eran valorados nada más desde el punto de vista puramente lingüístico o como base para divagaciones exóticas," but neglects to mention the role of apologetic historians or political agendas (1978, 190). Manzanares de Cirre laments the inadequate critical attention given to Aljamiado texts, attributing the lack of enthusiasm to the "idea muy difundida de que se trata de una literatura sin originalidad, una literatura de traducción y refundiciones" yet she does not explain why (1973, 600).



### Aljamiado Poetry: Cultural Conquest and Simple Specimens

In the nineteenth century, scholars focused on culture and history in their attempts to define the nation (Kamen 2007, 222). Álvarez Junco deems the symbolic elements that delineate a national group “borders of inclusion” (2011, 123). As he explains, “drawing up borders of exclusion and identifying enemies is never enough. A group also needs *symbols of identification*, or borders of *inclusion*, such as language, distinctive clothing, emblems, flags, hymns, and monuments or places that represent the national tradition” (Álvarez Junco 2011, 123; emphasis in original).

Across Europe, the *Volksgeist* of nations was debated at the level of art and literature. The impulse to articulate national identities often relied on popular forms of expression; folklore, ballads, and other regional cultural productions were considered legitimate and authentic insight into a nation’s character. In Spain, *costumbrista* novels and painting in particular embody this movement.<sup>135</sup> A widespread propensity for literary histories suggests that literature became a potent “symbol of identification.”<sup>136</sup> In a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, George Ticknor explained the impetus behind his *History of Spanish Literature*: “I have been persuaded that literary history... should be made, like civil history, to give a knowledge of the character of the people to which it relates” (qtd. in Hart 106). As recently as 1970, one critic echoed Menéndez Pidal’s foundational work (1918), stating that a country’s literature manifests “*caracteres específicos*” that, once determined, reveal national traits: “en el fondo no es sino parte del intento de precisar

<sup>135</sup> Estébanez Calderón made prominent contributions to the former genre, with *Cristianos y moriscos* (1838) and *Cuentos del Generalife* (1831). On *costumbrista* painting, see Venegas (2018).

<sup>136</sup> Though Vicenç Beltran ascribes the consolidation of the Spanish canon to Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal, the following pages focus on lesser-known precedents (9). As Perkins states, “For approximately the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century, literary history enjoyed popularity and unquestioned prestige” (1).

los rasgos o peculiaridades nacionales, de las que la lengua y la literatura quizá constituyan los componentes de mayor intensidad” (Alborg 14). Literature entails indexical and symbolic functions: it both points to and represents a collective character. Establishing Spain’s literary canon would reveal salient dimensions of the Spanish identity.

Within the literary domain, poetry offered special insight into a national character. Whether cast as native, foreign, ours, or theirs, poetic forms intersect with questions of identity and belonging. Eight-syllable lines, common to the *romance* and *arte menor*, came to represent Spain’s quintessential lyric expression. The celebrated dramaturge Francisco Martínez de la Rosa deemed the “romance asonantado” Spain’s national poetic form in his annotated *Poética* (1843): “La poesía mas común en España, la que merecería más bien el nombre de nacional” (198). As he elaborates:

El *Romance* es en realidad la poesía nacional de España: asuntos, pensamientos, imágenes, versificación, todo es original, todo propio, nada tomado de antiguos ni de modernos... Así es que el *romance* es propiamente la poesía lírica de los Españoles, y la que ha servido para conservar por medio de la tradición vocal la memoria de hechos ilustres (Martínez de la Rosa 282).

On thematic and linguistic grounds, Martínez de la Rosa posits the *romance* as his country’s national lyric. Ballads enshrine the “illustrious feats” of Spanish heroes. Along these lines, Ticknor, in his *History of Spanish Literature* (1849), boldly stated: “the form of the Spanish ballad is as purely national in its origin as the *asonante*, which is its prominent characteristic” (I, 114). Spanish poetry, and particularly the *romance*, is intimately tied to the country’s “national character,” one grounded in the desire to expel “hated invaders” (Ticknor I, 104). Ticknor alludes to the Christian victories in Toledo (1085) and Zaragoza (1118), detecting “the first notes of [Spain’s] wild, national poetry, which come to us mingled with their war-shouts, and breathing the very spirit of their victories” (I, 10).

In the Introduction to Francisque Michel's edition of Baena's *Cancionero* (1860), Pedro José Pidal comes to comparable conclusions. Pidal considers *romances* to be "uno de los ramos más importantes de nuestra poesía nacional" in part due to their precedence: "el romance octosílabo fué la primera forma métrica castellana" (xvi; xxiv). Octosyllabic ballads are eminently national due to their thematic scope: "en sus cantos y romances celebran los combates y victorias contra los infieles...La historia nacional vive y palpita todavía en esta poesía; y todas nuestras glorias, todas nuestras tradiciones, toda nuestra nacionalidad, en fin, se halla consignada en aquellos vigorosos y sencillos poemas" (Pidal 1860, lviii-lix). Similarly, Eugenio de Ochoa characterizes *arte menor* as the preferable "national" precedent to sixteenth-century poetry's predilection for Italianate styles. When *arte menor* flourished, "la poesía española fue verdaderamente nacional, y no un remedo, si bien a veces muy feliz, de los antiguos latinos y de los modernos italianos" (241).

Implicating poetic form in national identity posed problems for those who excluded Muslims from Spain's national character. Aragonese Muslims composed, copied, and recited *romances*, stanzas of *arte menor*, and verses of *cuaderna vía*.<sup>137</sup> Given the purported "Spanishness" of these metric expressions, it became imperative to explain Aragonese Muslims' predilection for them. If Moriscos and Old Christians were "diametrically opposed," how does one explain the intertextuality evident in Aljamiado verses (Nykl 14)? If poetry served as a border of inclusion, how could apologists continue to exclude those who participated in its practice?

<sup>137</sup> Rabadán's copious oeuvre piqued the interest of critics early on (see Morgan 1723; Ticknor 1849; Stanley 1867). Samuel Armistead documents various indicators that popular *romances* circulated in Morisco communities before and after the expulsion: "como otro reflejo más de su cultura y su carácter plenamente hispánicos" (218). In Chapter 4, I corroborate Armistead's hypothesis with additional evidence.

Aljamiado poetry blurred Spain's symbolic "borders of inclusion." The small number of extant works engendered ardent justifications. For instance, Pedro José Pidal notes the "influencia recíproca" and "continua comunicación" between Christians' and Muslims' literary productions (1860, lxxvi). Turning to Aljamiado texts, among which the "poema castellano y narrativo de *José*" receives special mention, Pidal couches intertextuality in terms of conquest and defeat (Pidal 1860, lxxv). Possessive pronouns reveal a sense of cultural proprietorship: "Respecto de los árabes españoles, bien conocido es hasta qué punto se doblegaron al influjo de *nuestras* ideas, de *nuestro* espíritu y de *nuestras* costumbres; basta decir que en los últimos tiempos llegaron á escribir, no solo sus poemas y canciones, sino hasta sus leyes particulares, en el lenguaje del pueblo vencedor" (1860, lxxvii-lxxviii; my emphasis).<sup>138</sup>

Though some mutual influence may have occurred, Pidal ultimately asserts the triumph of "our" ideas, spirit, and customs. An "espíritu castellano" assimilated and appropriated foreign influences which led to "aquella nacionalidad fuerte y robusta que dominó más adelante, con su influencia, su cultura y sus armas, una gran parte del mundo" (1860, lxxviii). Aljamiado texts become evidence of a cultural conquest—one that culminates in a national victory. The "strong and robust nationality" that subsumes "foreign civilizations and literatures" relies on a *Castilian*, rather than Spanish, spirit.

José Amador de los Ríos also employs "Castilian" synecdochally in his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (1861-5). He includes "el *Poema de Yusuf*" (i.e. the *Ḥadīth de Yūçuf*, see Chapter 5) in his chapter on the "Primeros monumentos eruditos de la poesía castellana" (III, 369). Dissenting from Estébanez and Ticknor, Amador argues for the poem's Castilian, rather

<sup>138</sup> In a footnote, Pidal explains that the "leyes particulares" refer to Manuel Abella's copy of the *Leyes de Moros* (lxxviii).

than Aragonese, origins (III, 371). Praising the “poeta mudéjar” for his “notable originalidad,” Amador de los Ríos accounts for such literary skill in terms of, once again, cultural dominance: “dominado este del espíritu de la *nacionalidad castellana*... vemos palpable la influencia de *nuestra antigua cultura* sobre la raza sometida” (III, 380; 382-3; my emphasis). Later, Amador de los Ríos employs “el pueblo cristiano” as a synonym for “Castilian nationality” to the same effect (III, 387). He concludes with the triumphalist declaration that medieval Castile was capable of “ahogando toda otra idea religiosa que no sea cristiana, y avasallando toda otra nacionalidad que no sea la española” (Amador de los Ríos III, 391).

In addition to Pedro José Pidal and Amador de los Ríos, Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara describes Aljamiado texts as products of literary infiltration. Citing a poem composed in Tunisian exile in “carácteres europeos,” Lafuente surmises: “Este curiosísimo manuscrito nos suministra la prueba de la influencia que no ya el idioma (pues tenían prohibido el suyo), sino la civilización de los cristianos iba ejerciendo en los moriscos, y cómo se iba infiltrando en ellos *nuestra literatura*” (1862, 289; 290; my emphasis). Aljamiado poetry reflects not their authors’ skill but their neighbors’ strength; poems do not showcase Aragonese Muslims’ intellect but Castilian Christians’ hegemony; they do not dissolve but reify the divide between “us” and “them.” Pedro José Pidal, Amador de los Ríos, and Lafuente y Alcántara include Moriscos’ literature in Spain’s national canon only as evidence of Castilian or Christian dominion. Aljamiado poetry sharpens, rather than mutes, borders of inclusion.

Rather than explain Aljamiado poetry in terms of cultural conquest, other critics reconcile their cognitive dissonance by severing “Islamic content” from “Christian forms.” Ascribing to the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf* a “directness and simplicity” as well as “a tenderness rarely found in ages so violent,” Ticknor struggles to resolve the poem’s seemingly conflicting elements: “in its spirit,

and occasionally in its moral tone, it shows the confusion of the two religions which then prevailed in Spain, and that mixture of the Eastern and Western forms of civilization which afterwards gives somewhat of its coloring to Spanish poetry” (1849, I, 95; 99). Though he detects a “mixture” of “Eastern and Western” qualities, Ticknor subsequently clarifies in a footnote: “But the general tone is Oriental” (1849, I, 99).

Other critics detach Islamic from Christian features with emphasis on the latter. As Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly contends: “apenas si se descubre un matiz árabe en el *Poema de José*” (38). Instead, the author merely seeks to “reproducir la *cuaderna vía* puesta en boga por los poetas castellanos; narrador lánguido y sin originalidad, logra éxito, no obstante, en su modesta labor de imitación” (Fitzmaurice-Kelly 38). Unoriginal and imitative, the composition conforms to the general characterization of Aljamiado literature discussed above, though here it cannot measure up to Castilian—rather than Arabic—models.

Gayangos provides a striking contrast to the foregoing examples. He embraces Morisco poetry as representative of an essential Spanish character without detecting a cultural conquest and without divorcing content from form. Highlighting several poems’ exceptionality, he rues the negligible number of extant texts: “The beauty and singular style of these compositions, and especially of the last [Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz*], make us regret that no more specimens are to be found of a school of poetry” (1839, 39). Gayangos links the lamentably meager corpus to the sixteenth-century predilection for Italianate forms, as did Eugenio de Ochoa. Had Morisco poetry “been more extensively cultivated,” it “would without any doubt have materially affected Spanish literature, by leading poets of that nation to adopt the strong and vivid colouring of oriental fancy, instead of the hackneyed sentiments and verses introduced by Boscan and his imitators after the Italian fashion” (Gayangos 1839, 83).

Gayangos equates extant poetic “specimens” to the Moriscos’ limited cultivation of poetry: if only more Morisco poetry had imbued early modern ears, Spanish authors would not have imitated Italians. Rather than take into account the poetry composed and disseminated by Moriscos in Tunisian exile, which include sonnets and other Italianate forms, Gayangos accentuates the unadorned nature of octosyllabic Aljamiado poetry, singling out Rabadán’s poetry for its “charming simplicity” in particular: “Let any one compare a sonnet of Garcilaso, the Petrarch of Spain, with the true Morisco romances, and he will soon perceive the immense advantage which, in point of simplicity and feeling, these small compositions possess over the best contrivances of the Castilian poets” (1839, 92; 83).

Eliding a more comprehensive survey enables Gayangos to romanticize the Moriscos’ poetic production: “lines full of pathetic sentiment, breathing the tones of sorrow and affliction, and imbued with the sad reminiscences of past glory,” these verses evoke “the melancholy effusion of a miserable nation groaning under the yoke of oppression” (1839, 83-4). In sum, Gayangos compels readers to appreciate the Moriscos’ literature for its Spanish character, oriental color, and pathetic appeal. Authentic and unassuming, Aljamiado poetry outshines imitative sixteenth-century compositions and exhibits the tireless struggle of an oppressed minority.

Just as Gayangos praises Rabadán’s poetry for its “simplicity,” he similarly characterizes the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf* by “the simplicity of its action” (1839, 85). Other scholars would appraise Aljamiado poems with similar terms for distinct ends. For Menéndez y Pelayo, “simple” poetic compositions reflect their authors’ simple-mindedness: “La prosa de los moriscos vale siempre más que sus versos.... Gente, al fin, de poca letras, no curtida en áulas ni en palacios, que decía sencilla y llanamente lo que pensaba, claro es que había de mostrar, á falta de otro mérito, el de

la ingenuidad y sencillez” (Menéndez y Pelayo II, 640).<sup>139</sup> If applying the adjective “simple” to poetry captured Gayangos’s orientalist fervor, here it reveals Menéndez y Pelayo’s apologetic agenda. Unsophisticated poetry becomes yet another confirmation of Moriscos inferior status.

Turning to the three Aljamiado poems published by Müller, Menéndez y Pelayo describes Moriscos’ recourse to *cuaderna vía* in terms of their intractability: “pues los moriscos se distinguieron siempre por lo arcaico de sus giros, frases y metros, que conservaron tenazmente aún después de abandonados por los cristianos” (II, 639). Alexandrine verses demonstrate not intertextuality or mutual influence, but rather “la terquedad con que conservaron los mudéjares la antigua forma del *mestér de clerezía*” (Menéndez y Pelayo II, 639). Menéndez y Pelayo thus casts Moriscos’ use of *cuaderna vía* as emblematic of their backwardness. Juan Alfonso and Ibrāhīm de Bolfad are dismissed as “vulgares copleros” for expressing disparaging views of Christianity (Menéndez y Pelayo II, 639). In sum, for Menéndez y Pelayo, Aljamiado poetry serves as the literary manifestation of a social stereotype. Poems reveal the Moriscos uneducated nature, intransigence, and misguided religious beliefs.

Asín and Ribera all but omit poetry from their survey of Aljamiado manuscripts: “En materia de poesía hay poco y malo: unas *moaxahas* en árabe y algunas canciones religiosas en castellano. Estas últimas, aunque de escaso mérito todas ellas, por lo menos demuestran que aún se mantenían las formas poéticas de la tradición lírica genuinamente española” (Asín and Ribera xx-xxi). These “genuinely Spanish” forms include *coplas de arte menor*. Curiously, the editors include a poem set to *arte menor* within the “poesías en que los moriscos se apartan de la tradición musulmana, para seguir la corriente literaria cristiana” despite the poem’s content:

<sup>139</sup> Janer also highlights the “*Poema de José*” for its “lenguaje poético y sencillo” and its “episodios bellísimos y naturales” (1857b, 2). He does not neglect Rabadán’s verses, in which “hallamos no poca facilidad en la rima, y naturalidad y soltura en las imágenes” (1857b, 2).



stanzas praise Muḥammad, petition Allah, and ask for divine forgiveness (Ms. J-37 CSIC; see Chapter 3) (Asín and Ribera xxi).

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century appraisals of Moriscos' poetry—whether praised or criticized for its supposed simplicity, its hybrid nature, or an insignificant number of extant manuscripts—continue to surface in contemporary analyses. Aljamiado poetry is still characterized by its low literary merit, its simplicity, and its limited scope. As one critic summarizes: “En general, no se trata de poesía de alto valor poético, pero sí demuestran que sus autores poseían cierto nivel de conocimientos literarios” (Cervera Fras 2004, 182). Another scholar explains the Moriscos' penchant for *arte menor* in terms of impoverished religiosity and unsophisticated taste. In their estimation, Aljamiado poems that employ octosyllabic lines reveal: “la expresión de una fé simple y llena de sabor ingenuo... el morisco, al tener que servirse del romance para sus prácticas religiosas, se vió en la necesidad de elegir formas del metro castellano que fueran fáciles y populares, para agradar el gusto poco cultivado de la gente a quien se dirigía” (Manzanares de Cirre 1970, 312).

Harvey distinguishes Aljamiado poetry for its apparent dearth and limited subject matter: “Most striking is the relative (although not complete) absence of verse and poetry... The only poems that we can say did circulate freely were of a religious nature” (2005, 163). Similarly, Chejne prefaces his survey of Morisco poetry with a comparison to Andalusian Arabic poetry. The latter was varied, eloquent, and profuse, whereas “poetry constitutes a relatively small fraction of extant Morisco literature. That poetry is simple, and content is limited to religious matters or laments of the Morisco plight” (Chejne 1983, 151). Chejne appraises the corpus vis-à-vis Christian hegemony, concluding that as subjugated and persecuted subjects, Moriscos only possessed rudimentary literary skills. Their poetry concerns “religious and doctrinal matters”

alone, which renders it “outside the realm of spontaneity making it utilitarian, aimed at a single purpose of responding to Morisco plight and future aspirations.” In sum, Aljamiado poetry “appears to be concerned more with conveying a message in a clear and simple manner than with aesthetics and poetical niceties” (Chejne 1983, 165).

Simple, limited, religious, and utilitarian versus complex, abundant, and varied: these characterizations are all rooted in comparative terms and misplaced assumptions. Contrasting Aljamiado poetry with medieval Arabic texts does not enrich our understanding of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muslims. A comparative approach might reveal what Aljamiado poetry is *not*, but it does not help us imagine the texts’ dynamic possibilities or purposes.

Another critical tendency continues to parse Aljamiado poems into “Islamic” and “Christian” (or “Castilian”) features. For instance, Manzanares de Cirre states: “son islámicas en el fondo – siendo en su mayoría traducciones o adaptaciones de poemas árabes, pero son cristianas en la forma y en la expresión” (1970, 311). Regarding the *Sermón de los diez mandamientos*, a composition that utilizes *cuaderna vía*, another scholar concludes similarly: “En el Poema de los diez mandamientos observamos el carácter mixto peculiar de la literatura aljamiada: en el fondo es un poema islámico, pero en la forma sigue el estilo de la poesía cristiana contemporánea” (Cervera Fras 2004, 183-4). An Islamic “essence” or “base” complements a Christian “form” or “expression” in both of these appraisals. Rather than complementarity, in the latter composition, form overpowers content: “lo que el traductor toma del original árabe es el contenido, las ideas que pretende transmitir, pero lo adapta con tal pericia a las formas métricas castellanas que podemos considerarla poesía castellana” (Cervera Fras 2004, 182).

The binary approach generates a related trend in which scholars highlight the intriguing strangeness or notable hybridity of Aljamiado poetry. In 2000, a renowned scholar explained the Moriscos' use of *arte menor* as follows: "Even when they stuck to their pro-Islamic proselytism, the Moriscos expressed themselves not only in Spanish but in its most characteristic poetic meters. It is odd indeed to hear Muhammad praised in the octosyllabic rhythm of the old peninsular ballads or *romances*" (López-Baralt 2000, 483). Seven years later, another critic adduced: "el corpus poético morisco representa el ejemplo más dramático del entrecruzamiento cultural que se dio en la Península Ibérica por más de ocho siglos entre musulmanes y cristianos" (Ángel Vázquez 225). Ángel Vázquez analyzes poetry written by Moriscos in exile, ultimately concluding that the "hibridez" evident in Morisco poetry affirms that "no se puede definir 'musulmán' en oposición a 'español', y por lo mismo, 'cristiano' no es el elemento definidor de 'español'" (239).

Building from this scholarship, I attempt to hone our appreciation of Mudejars' and Moriscos' verses. By acknowledging the nineteenth-century critical vocabulary that served apologetic ends, I do not intend to ascribe the same ideologies to posterior critics who applied similar terms to Aljamiado poetry. Rather, I highlight points of continuity in order to question the utility of such appraisals today. The following discussion suggests various points of departure to move beyond "religious," "limited," and "simple" conceptions of Aljamiado poetry.

The all-encompassing adjective "religious" does not educe poetry's performative and interactive components. Aljamiado poems entail instructive, supplicatory, admonitory, and persuasive functions; works facilitate vital communal practices including praise, prayer, commemoration, and recollection. Thinking in terms of communicative interaction rather than ostensive content will sharpen the hazy edges of the term "religious." I recur to the concepts of

participation framework, mediational performance, and dimensional narrative, among others, to imagine the ways in which Mudejars and Moriscos engaged with poetry (Goffman 1981; Bauman 2004; Ochs and Capps 2001).

Rather than equate the number of extant *written* texts to the diffusion of a largely *oral* genre, we can approach the existing manifestations of Aljamiado poetry as vestiges of a vibrant environment that remains only partially intact. In the premodern period, “todo eso que hoy llamamos literatura entraba, pues, mucho más por el oído que por la vista y constituía un entretenimiento más colectivo que individual” (Frenk 144). Poetic texts in particular were often memorized and recited aloud. As Frenk submits, “La escasez de ediciones de textos poéticos... podría explicarse porque, en términos generales, la poesía no se escribía para ser leída en silencio y a solas” (112). Frenk’s comments highlight one possible explanation for Aljamiado poetry’s scarce remains. Texts that circulated in *voz alta* enjoyed wider diffusion than written documentation may suggest (Chartier 317). Pen and paper could preserve poetry—so could mouths, ears, and minds.

Ruth Finnegan underscores a similar methodological problem for premodern European literature, which was often recited aloud to edify “larely illiterate audiences” (166). As Finnegan elucidates, “since written texts are among our main continuing sources for the period it is tempting to overestimate their importance as a medium” (166). Finnegan extends this analysis to other regions of the premodern world in which a small educated elite instructed a mostly illiterate community (167).<sup>140</sup>

<sup>140</sup> In particular, Finnegan alludes to East Africa *tenzi*, long narrative poems based on earlier Arabic models and designed for public performance (167). As Harries (1962, 24) explains: “this public recital ensures that these poems are widely transmitted and ‘would reach the ears of the ordinary man’” (qtd. in Finnegan 167).

In part, contemporary classifications determine the “limited” scope attributed to Aljamiado poetry. Based on extant manuscript evidence, Mudejars and Moriscos did not refer to these compositions as “poems.” Distinct categories that head compositions include “canción,” “coplas,” “sermón,” and “*ḥadīth*.” Classifying a text as a “poem” generates contemporary expectations distinct from the conceptual categories used by Mudejars and Moriscos (see Chapter 5). Moreover, some Aljamiado texts, though excluded from the standard list of poems, exhibit rhyme and structural parallelism. Many Arabic works preserved by the Moriscos employ *sajʿ*, or rhymed prose, a technique that facilitated the text’s oral diffusion and aural comprehension. *Sajʿ* aids memorization (Jones 2012, 188). In addition to its mnemonic function, the sonority produced by *sajʿ* is akin to what a contemporary reader might expect to hear in poetry.

Thinking in terms of orality challenges the “limited” description applied to Aljamiado poetry, as well as the “simple” characterization. As Bruce Rosenberg demonstrates in his analysis of sermons delivered in the U.S. in the late twentieth century, uncomplicated register and straightforward syntax form the crux of effective preaching (102). The capability to engage, move, and transform audiences through the spoken word necessitates parallel structures, memorable rhyme, and recognizable vocabulary. Like sermons, in poetry what appears to be simple is in fact strategic: poems capture interest and facilitate aural comprehension. Texts that evince rhythmic and musical effects inspire listeners in unique ways. Sermons that utilized *sajʿ*, for example, were known to move audiences emotionally (Jones 2012, 97). Dismissing Aljamiado poems for low literary caliber overlooks listeners’ affective involvement in interactive settings. The centrality of audience and performance to meaning-making will be explored throughout the dissertation.

Contemporary critics experience Aljamiado poetry in ways infinitely distinct from the heterogenous ways in which Mudejars and Moriscos engaged with texts. To conclude this discussion, I will turn to Rita Felski's remarks on readerly intercession and Heather Bamford's reflections on tangible heritage. As Felski points out, we often forget that "Texts, however, are unable to act directly on the world, but only via the intercession of those who read them" (19). Given the centrality of "intercession" in the process of literary analyses, Felski encourages us to recognize our phenomenological limitations. As readers, we can observe the ways in which our reactions are shaped by cultural norms and personal experiences, but "we cannot vault outside our own vantage point, as the inescapable and insuperable condition for our being in the world" (Felski 199).

Bamford's (2013) review of the 2010 exhibition *Memoria de los Moriscos* illuminates the impact of readerly intercession on Aljamiado manuscripts. Bamford applies the concept of "intangible" and "tangible" cultural heritage to Aljamiado manuscripts. The former comprises "all movable objects that are the expression and testimony of human creation or of the evolution of nature" (qtd. in Bamford 2013, 208). While tangible heritage includes codices and manuscripts, intangible or "living cultural" heritage encompasses "the practices, representations, and expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces) that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (qtd. in Bamford 2013, 208). According to these definitions, as Bamford explains, Aljamiado codices are both tangible and intangible:

The physical Morisco manuscript makes an intelligible heritage object, but its text is readable as text only when removed from its physical support...Like intangible heritage, however, the text requires a contemporary human vehicle in order to be intelligible as a coherent text to contemporary audiences and to serve as evidence to scholars and as reading material, or at least, readable text for a general public (2013, 217).

The process of rendering a “tangible” text “intangible” happens within and by way of, in Felski’s terms, “our own vantage point.” As critical readers of Aljamiado poetry, we do not reveal or uncover tangible truths; we, just as our nineteenth-century forerunners are bound to our own readerly intercession, to present lenses and prejudices. Acknowledging our own limitations, rather than those of the texts we seek to comprehend, will pave the way for productive analyses. Setting aside contemporary classifications of “poetry” and ways of interacting with literature, as well as recognizing the expectations conditioned by previous appraisals of Aljamiado poetry, will enable us to appreciate the texts on new terms.

### Chapter 3: Pious Performativity

In the late fifteenth century, an Aragonese Mudejar quoted Muḥammad with the following translation: “La rrogaría es arma del creyente i pilar del-*addīn* [*religion*] i claredad de los çielos i la tierra” (Ms. J-52 CSIC, fol. 255v). Originally expressed in Arabic by the renowned *ḥadīth* transmitter Ibn al-Ğazarī al-Dimašqī (d. 1429), the quote comes from a prayer manual that enjoyed wide diffusion among Iberian Muslims.<sup>141</sup> “Rogaría” is the *romance* translation of Arabic *du ‘ā’* (pl: *ad ‘iya*), which denotes an invocation or supplication. A *du ‘ā’*, according to Muḥammad, is a weapon for believers, a pillar of religion, and light of all creation. *Ad ‘iya* constituted a central component of Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ spiritual lives. Dozens of manuscripts preserve *ad ‘iya* in both Arabic and *aljamía*.

This chapter explores the parallel imports of Aljamiado poetry and *ad ‘iya* through various points of departure, beginning with a paean to Muḥammad extant in three manuscripts (Ms. J-9 CSIC; Ms. J-13 CSIC; Ms. Esc. 1880).<sup>142</sup> A better understanding of *ad ‘iya* sheds light on the poem’s beguiling layout within and across folios, quires (gathering of folios), and codices. The second half of the chapter examines the *Coplas de alabança* (Ms. J-52 and J-37 CSIC) vis-à-vis *ad ‘iya* in order to glean a more emic perception of Aljamiado poetry. Examining the connections between poetry and *ad ‘iya* reveals the ways in which poetic practices facilitated pious participation in Aragonese Muslim communities.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn al-Ğazarī compiled various supplications that would serve Muslims as “una sencilla guía...hecha para aplicarla” (Abboud-Haggar 8). Written in Syria at the end of the fourteenth century, *Al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyidi al-mursalīn* (1386) (“The Impenetrable Fortress of the Words of the Lord of the Messengers”) was translated into *aljamía* between 1400 and 1474 (Abboud-Haggar 8-10). A copy of the work, incomplete and badly damaged by humidity, is extant in Ms. J-52 CSIC (fols. 248-344).

<sup>142</sup> The version copied in Ms. Esc.1880 is edited by Müller (1860), Fuente Cornejo (2000), and Kadri (2015); the version in Ms. J-13 by Khedr (2004) and Fuente Cornejo (2000) and that of Ms. J-9 by Fuente Cornejo (2000).



Jerome McGann's understanding of textuality underlies my analysis of prayer and poetry.

As McGann explains:

texts are produced and reproduced under specific social and institutional conditions, and hence ... every text, including those that may appear to be purely private, is a social text. This view entails a corollary understanding that a 'text' is not a 'material thing' but a material event or set of events, a point in time (or a moment in space) where certain communicative interchanges are being practiced (21).

The human involvement manifest in Aljamiado manuscripts exemplifies a "material event" that hosts "communicative interchanges." Scribes, readers, reciters, translators, and listeners engaged with Aljamiado manuscripts, producing meaning across various "points in time" and "moments in space." If, as McGann suggests, textuality is "a social condition of various times, places, and persons," this chapter constitutes another material event in the social practice of Aljamiado texts from a twenty-first century "point in time" (16). Approaching manuscripts as "material events" expands the prevailing conception of Aljamiado poetry's thematic breadth and quantitative extent. In addition to McGann, I draw upon the work of Goffman (1981), DuBois (1986), Keane (1997), Searle (1969), and Gumperz (1982). The concepts of participation framework, footing, ritual speech, language acts, and linguistic borrowing highlight the intersections of *ad'īya* and Aljamiado poetry.

### Junta 13: Context and Controversies

The poem copied in Ms. J-13 CSIC (fols. 188r-192r, 244v-249r) begins with a straightforward title: "coblas de anabbī Muḥammad."<sup>143</sup> The text's most extensive surviving copy is titled "*Almadḥa* de alabandça al annabī Muḥammad" (Ms. Escorial 1880, fols. 15v-28v,

<sup>143</sup> *Coblas* is the Aragonese form of *coplas*. Del Casino defines *cobla* as "provenzalismo, catalanismo; en el español antiguo designaba la poesía en estos lenguajes" (318).

94r).<sup>144</sup> It comprises eighty-one stanzas and was copied in the late fifteenth century. Bound in a large compilation of texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, another fifteenth-century copy of the poem is acephalous and extends only two folios (Ms. J-9 CSIC, fols. 15v-16r). I will refer to the Escorial copy as *Almadha* and that of Ms. J-13 as *Coplas*.

Critical editions tend to construct a semblance of poetic uniformity, eliding the significant “variance” that exists between the three copies of the poem (Dagenais 130). Following Zumthor’s notion of *mouvance*, Dagenais defines “variance” as “the peculiar way in which handwritten texts ‘move’ about each other and about a presumed originary center” (130). As Dagenais emphasizes, distinct manuscript copies are not deviations from an original norm. Unique “iterations of textuality” constitute and reflect discursive practices, spiritual functions, and social interactions (Silverstein and Urban 3). Reconsidering Ms. J-13 in terms of “variance” rather than fixity, I discuss the poem’s codicological peculiarities after a brief overview of its genre.

The poem is a *zajal* associated with *mawlid* (pl: *mawālīd*), or the celebration of Muḥammad’s birth. Tomás Navarro Tomás summarizes the key features of a *zajal*: “Forma métrica de origen mozárabe, regularmente octosílaba, cuyos rasgos esenciales son: estribillo de uno o dos versos, cuerpo o mudanza de tres versos monorrimos y verso de vuelta al estribillo, aa:bbba” (541).<sup>145</sup> Manzanares de Cirre highlights the form’s amenability to oral performance. She proposes the *zajal*’s repetitive structure “forma una especie de letanía. Es poesía de base coral, tradicional en las mezquitas, con el estribillo introducido por el nombre de Mahoma al

<sup>144</sup> Ms. Esc. 1880 is an ornate compilation of texts, including a rhymed sermon, praise poems, prayers, sayings attributed to Muḥammad, and Qur’ānic verses. Based on codicological evidence and a detailed evaluation of the colophon (fol. 46v), Kadri dates the manuscript to 1470-80 (I, 161).

<sup>145</sup> See also (Quilis 130-2) and Fuente Cornejo (86-90) for succinct overviews of the *zējel*.

final de cada estrofa para llamar la atención del público que entonces se une al coro” (1970, 315). Similarly, in his seminal *Poesía árabe y poesía europea* (1941), Menéndez Pidal underscores the importance of “la vuelta unisonante” (19). The *zajal*’s (contested) eleventh- to twelfth-century origins intertwine with those of its poetic relative, the *muwashshaha*, though the former was typically composed in colloquial Hispano-Arabic whereas the latter amalgamated classical Arabic or Hebrew with the final *kharja* in *romance* (Armistead 1992, 247).<sup>146</sup>

Ms. Esc. 1880’s title (“*Almadḥa* de alabandça al annabí Muḥammad”) reiterates one of the poem’s central functions: praising the prophet. The root (*mīm-dāl-ḥā*) signifies to extol, to eulogize, or to celebrate in poetry (Wehr 1054). As Kadri explains, “Le *madḥ* ou *madīḥ* était un poème panégyrique qui exaltait les personnalités des souverains ou des gens fortunés qui agissaient en mécènes, mais pouvait également célébrer un pays, une ville, un groupe ou un événement heureux” (I, 218). In this case, the praise poem is closely associated with the celebration of Muḥammad’s birth, or *mawlid an-nabī*, a holiday that takes place in conjunction with the twelfth day of the month *Rabī‘ al-awwal*. Whether commemorated at court or mystic centers, *mawlid* festivities typically included the recitation of poetry (Barceló and Labarta 2016, 50). *Mawlidiyyāt*, extensive poems of the *qaṣīdat madḥ* (panegyric) genre, praised Muḥammad and the ruling sultan; *mawlidiyyāt* often followed the delivery of a canonical sermon (Kaptein 138; Kadri II, 219-20).

Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula began to celebrate *mawlid* in the thirteenth or early-fourteenth century and likely continued with clandestine observance throughout the sixteenth century (Barceló and Labarta 2016, 50; Kaptein 129-31, 139). Though some Muslim scholars regarded the *mawlid* as an “undesirable innovation,” Harvey affirms that Moriscos preserved the

<sup>146</sup> See Liu and Monroe (1989).

practice (2005, 149). Harvey (1986) documents evidence of the celebration's observance in various Morisco texts, in which the holiday is referred to as “pascua de loar aḍ<sup>147</sup> Allāh y hazer aṣṣala sobre annabí Muḥammad” (Ms. Or. 6640 British Library, fol. 97v). Barceló and Labarta (2016) include two *mawlidiyyāt* in their anthology of Valencian Morisco poetry in addition to various poems that were likely associated with the festival (see nos. 5 and 25; nos. 2, 4, 7, 47, 50, 54, 56, 126, 144, 148). A plethora of sermons, poems, and texts related to *mawlid* in Aljamiado codices suggest that Aragonese Moriscos continued to observe the prophet's birth (Kadri I, 220-1).

As the Escorial manuscript suggests, the *Almadḥa* was tied to the public commemoration of *mawlid* among Mudejars in Ágreda. Though it is possible that Aragonese Moriscos likewise recited the *Coplas* to celebrate Muḥammad's birth, we must consider the poem copied in Ms. J-13 on its own terms. Scholars classify Ms. J-13 as a *Miscelánea* from the Almonacid de la Sierra cache (*Relación* 42). Alberto Montaner Frutos's (1988b) exhaustive codicological description illuminates the gnarly arrangement of quires, folio sizes, watermarks, and paginations that comprise the volume.<sup>148</sup> Montaner contends that the original codex comprised roughly half of the final product. Scribes subsequently inserted independent folios and quires into the volume, yielding a total of 265 folios. Paleographic evidence suggests the original nucleus dates from 1579-81 to 1588.

The massive codex is the result of a collective enterprise; frequent alternations between scribes suggest a method of copying from other manuscripts, rather than by dictation or from memory (Montaner 1988b, 134). Montaner describes the three primary scribal hands that divided

<sup>147</sup> Common Aragonese preposition meaning “a” (*Glosario* 21-2).

<sup>148</sup> The binding consists of two wooden plaques (25 x 17 cm) lined with embossed leather (1988b, 123-9).

the labor of copying. Marginal notes in the covers allow him to identify Hand “B” with Luis Escribano and Hand “C” as Luis’s relative, Muhammad Escribano. Hand “A” is probably another member of the Escribano family (Montaner 1988b, 132; 134).<sup>149</sup> The latter, responsible for copying the *Coplas*, “posee una letra mucho más regular, de mayor pesantez, pero sin apenas contraste entre gruesos y perfiles, ligeramente inclinada hacia la izquierda” (1988b, 131).<sup>150</sup> Prepared by the Escribanos as a reference volume, Ms. J-13 provides a set of materials apt for future copies (Montaner 2010b, 176-7).

Unlike the copy preserved in Ms. Esc.1880, the word “*almadhā*” does not appear in the opening invocation of the *Coplas*. The scribe moves between Arabic and *aljamía*, introducing the text within an Islamic purview: “*Biḡmi Illāhi ir-raḥmāni ir-raḥīmi wa ṣallā Allāhu ‘alā Muḥammad al-karīmi wa ‘alā Allāhi*”<sup>151</sup> [In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Blessings on the noble Muḥammad and on Allāh]. Estas son las coblas de annabī Muḥammad, *ṣalā [ṣallā] Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallām* [May God bless and protect Muḥammad]” (Ms. J-13, fol. 188r). The second set of stanzas (fols. 244v-249r) concludes with another Arabic phrase: “*Alḥamdu l-Ilāhi rabbi al-‘alamina* [Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds]” (fol. 249r).<sup>152</sup>

The scribe does not articulate the poem’s relationship to adjacent texts, nor does he posit the existence of an Arabic original as does the copyist of the *Almadha*, who consciously marks the textual transition from Arabic to *aljamía*. The latter’s copyist informs us that the *Almadha*

<sup>149</sup> For a description of the Escribano family’s scribal activities and their connection to Almonacid de la Sierra, see Montaner (1988b, 139-41). On the Escribano family, see also Wiegers (1994, 201) and López-Morillas (1984).

<sup>150</sup> This scribe also redacted a copy of the Mancebo de Arévalo’s *Tafsīra* (Cambridge, Ms. Dd.9.49), portions of BNE Ms. 5337, BRAH Ms. 11/9410 *olim* T-13, BNE 5303, BNE 5377, and BNE 4871 (Montaner 1988b, 140).

<sup>151</sup> It seems as if the scribe wrote “Allāh” instead of the more common phrase: “his family” (*alihi*).

<sup>152</sup> “Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds” is the second verse of the first chapter of the Qur’ān.

“fue sacada de ‘arabī en ‘ajamī, porque fuese más plaziente de la leír y escuitar en aquesta tierra” (qtd. in Kadri II, 47). In Ms. J-13, on the other hand, prose, poetry, Arabic, and *aljamía* seamlessly slide into one another. The scribe of the *Coplas* redacts the poem in continuous lines, as prose, unlike the pronounced poetic nature of the versions copied in Ms. Esc.1880 and Ms. J-9. The copyist employs a three-dot notation to divide each stanza and refrain.<sup>153</sup> The economical use of space in Ms. J-13 could reflect the desire to conserve costly materials as well as the manuscript’s function as a memory device for performers.

The understated *mise en page* is nevertheless coupled with features that index the poem’s value. One of Ms. J-13’s most skilled scribe copies the *Coplas*. The copyist change between “B” and “A” on either side of folios 244 and 249—an alternation that occurs throughout the codex—suggests the more experienced scribe took charge of the *Coplas*. Moreover, the introduction of red diacritics on fol. 245r distinguishes the poem from contiguous texts, which are copied in black ink only.<sup>154</sup> Sometimes used to differentiate Arabic from *aljamía*, red vocalization calls attention to a text. Though only utilized on nine out of the nineteen folios, this distinction indexes the exceptionality of the *Coplas*.

Due to the poem’s dispersion throughout folios 188r-192r and 244v-249r, scholars dispute the work’s unitary nature. The first grouping of *Coplas* includes 31 stanzas (nine folios); the second encompasses 37 stanzas (ten folios). Cándido González observes a tripartite division: one set of *Coplas* begins on fol. 188r, another on fol. 244v, and a third on fol. 246v (Asín and

<sup>153</sup> The copy in Ms. J-9 also repeats the refrain throughout the poem (Laureano García 130). In the *Almadha*, the Arabic chorus appears only at the beginning. Fuente Cornejo suggests that it was omitted in Ms. Esc. 1880 due to its redundancy; the collective listeners would have been familiar with the refrain. Fuente Cornejo also suggests its elision could have been “porque la *Almadha* estuviese destinada al canto de un solista sin coro, a la recitación personal, a la lectura individual o a la lectura dirigida a un grupo reducido de oyentes” (88-9).

<sup>154</sup> The scribe begins applying red ink on the *yā*’ of the refrain on the last line of fol. 244v.

Ribera 74-6). Reinhold Kontzi's edition seamlessly combines the two sections into one poem; an inattentive reader might neglect to notice that more than forty folios of distinct content (quires 17-21) separate stanzas 31 and 32 (II, 687). Indeed, the separated verses appear consecutively in the *Almadħa* (Ms. Esc. 1880, fols. 27r-27v). Even without external corroboration, the divided sections display thematic coherence in the *Coplas*. An enumeration of divine rewards suggests the stanzas belong together. Polysyndeton underscores the generous volume of God's blessings bestowed for Muḥammad's sake:

[192r] *Ḍiôle la tierra por almaçjīd [mosque] i ṭṭahur*<sup>155</sup>  
*i de las alumas*<sup>156</sup> la suya la mejor  
*ḍiôle la rogaría por gran onnor*  
*i churó [juró]*<sup>157</sup> pora [por] la vida de Muḥammad //

[244v] ; *Yā ḥabībī! ; Yā Muḥammad!*  
*Wa aṣṣalatu 'alā Muḥammad*  
 I las llaves del-ayuda i del fablar  
 y-el trasoro [tesoro] de la tierra i de la mar  
 y-el preçiado río *Alkawthar*<sup>158</sup>  
 el doblar de la tierra a Muḥammad.

Acknowledging the thematic continuity between the quoted stanzas, Toribio Fuente Cornejo nonetheless affirms the existence of two poems “independientes y autónomos,” likely separated upon the codex's binding (26). His hypothesis posits the following division: “Almadħa 2” occupies folios 188r-192r and 244v-246r, until line 3. “Almadħa 1” immediately commences with the opening stanza common to the copies of Ms. Esc.1880 and Ms. J-9: “Señor, fazed *aṣṣala* sobr-él / i fījinos amor con-él / sácanos en su tropel / jus la seña de Muḥammad” (Ms. J-

<sup>155</sup> From Arabic *ṭā' -hā' -rā'*, to purify or cleanse.

<sup>156</sup> Arabic *al-ummah* refers to the Islamic community of believers.

<sup>157</sup> Ms. Esc.1880: “juró” (qtd. in Kadri II, 59). The copyist of Ms. J-13 includes the *tashdīd* over the letter *jīm* (*ġīm*) which becomes “ch” in *aljamía*.

<sup>158</sup> Meaning “the abundant,” this is the river that flows in Paradise (*Glosario* 638). It is known as the fount of abundance (Q 108:1) and of peace (Q 14:23).

13, fol. 246r). “Almadħa 1” ends on fol. 249r after the poetic voice asks God to have mercy on Muḥammad’s earliest companions (“*aṣ-ṣaḥāba onraḍa*”). Fuente Cornejo concludes his explanation of “Almadħa 1” and “Almadħa 2” by affirming: “Por tanto parece obvio pensar que el encuadernador intercaló los cuadernillos 17 a 21, folios 197 a 241, seccionando uno de los poemas, el que llamamos *Almadħa 2*” (28).

Though copies in Ms. Esc. 1880 and Ms. J-9 begin with the “Señor, fazed aṣṣala sobr-él” stanza, the codicological arrangement of the *Coplas* in J-13 does not suggest that the copyist conceived of his text as two distinct compositions, at least not two divided at the “Señor, fazed...” verse (fol. 246r, line 4). The scribe does not introduce a change in pen, break, or title before he copies this verse. Moreover, we cannot affirm that the insertion of quires 17-21 haphazardly divides “Almadħa 2.” First of all, the *Coplas* do not end on the last folio of quire 16 (fol. 196).<sup>159</sup> Rather, the scribe stops copying the poem on fol. 192r, and immediately begins another text, an Arabic *du‘ā*, on fol. 192v. After the intervention of another scribe and the redaction of two additional texts, quire 16 finally ends on fol. 196v. Additionally, the second set of *Coplas* begins in the middle of quire 22, on fol. 244v. Quire 22 begins on folio 242. Thus, we cannot affirm that quires 17-21 intersect the text.

The convoluted manuscript organization poses numerous questions. Why does the scribe stop copying the *Coplas* on fol. 192r in order to pen another text mid-quire? Is the decision intentional or a result of codicological contingencies? Does this perplexing organization yield underlying or overarching thematic coherence? Instead of casting the poem as a sixteenth-century approximation of Mudejar copies, the following discussion asks what the poem *divides*,

<sup>159</sup> Montaner identifies quire 16 as “un sexternión carente de tres hojas” (1988b, 127).



rather than contemplating how the poem is *divided*. I will examine the intricate web of texts that frame the *Coplas* as contextual insight into the poem's significance.

Despite an ostensibly miscellaneous organization, as Cervera Fras indicates, in Aljamiado codices one can often identify “un hilo conductor entre los diversos capítulos, bien sea la temática o referencias internas que los enlazan o el *objetivo común*” (2013, 253; my emphasis). It is indeed possible—and fruitful—to identify a shared purpose that permeates the juxtaposed texts in Ms. J-13. The *Coplas* appear in quires 16 and 22. As Montaner shows, quires 3, 9, 10, 12-16, 22-23 belong to the original codex (1988b, 136). Of this nucleus, quires 12-16 and 22 appear to be the only group in which there is a homogenous redaction and paper size. In addition, Montaner observes a thematic continuity between texts copied in quires 12-15, as well as quires 16 and 22 (1988b, 136). Given the connections between these quires, we can consider the texts copied before and after the *Coplas* as part and parcel of the poem's comprehensive analysis.

Quire 15 (fols. 165-187) ends with an Arabic *du 'ā'* that requests divine forgiveness (fols. 186v-187v). This prayer is followed by the first set of *Coplas*, at the beginning of quire 16 (fols. 188r-192r). On fol. 192v, the same scribe (“A”) redacts another Arabic *du 'ā'*. He finishes the prayer on line 5 of fol. 194r and immediately redacts the following text: “lo que dezía *annabī* asprés [después] de cada *aşşala*” (fol. 194r). Muḥammad's speech remains in Arabic, those his words are accompanied by an explanation and translation in *aljamía* (e.g. “que quiere dezir tn [tan] loado es Allāh Señor” [fol. 194r]). Another copyist, identified as “Hand C” by Montaner, finishes the translation: “i con tu loaçión demandote perđón i rebientome [*me repiento*] a tú, [p]erđóname, que tú es el que rreçibes la rrepentençia i tú es mi Señor piadoso” (194r).<sup>160</sup> Scribe

<sup>160</sup> The grammatically mismatched “tú es” could be a syntactic calque of “*innaka al-lāḏī*.” Arabic does not use a “to be” verb in this construction.

“C” begins copying the next text on the bottom of fol. 194r. After the *basmala*, he writes:

“Aqueste es del *al-faḍīla*<sup>161</sup> del día de ‘Ašūrā i la graçia que puso // Allāh ‘*aza wa jala* [‘*azza wa jalla*] a quien lo ḍayunara” (fols. 194r-v). The text cites a *ḥadīth* in which Muḥammad espouses the benefits of fasting and performing works of charity on the day of ‘Ašūrā’, a voluntary day of fast that occurs during the month of *Muḥarram* (see Chapter 4). The same scribe completes his copy of the *ḥadīth* on the last folio of the quire (fol. 196v), whereupon he concludes with six lines of calligraphy exercises.

The second set of *Coplas*, in quire 22 (fols. 242r-244r), intersects a series of instructional “Capítulos” redacted by Hand “B.” The explanation passage begins on fol. 241v, a leaf inserted into the end of quire 21, and continues onto quire 22. After the chapter regarding ritual ablution, Hand “A” resumes the *Coplas* copy on fols. 244v-249r. Hand “B” copies a final “Caso” on the last folio of quire 22 (fol. 249v), in a paragraph that describes Muḥammad’s death.<sup>162</sup> Though Montaner believes quire 23 (fols. 250-265) was inserted after the binding of the initial nucleus, its placement following quire 22 nonetheless invites reflection. Hand “A” copies a conversation between Muḥammad and Gabriel regarding the merits of reciting a particular *du‘ā*’ (fols. 250r-257v). Al-Haṣan, son of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and grandson of Muḥammad, recounts how his father passed him this *du‘ā*’ in his final testament (*waṣīyya*). Finally, Hand “A” copies a text that narrates the death of Muḥammad, the “*ḥadīṣ* [*ḥadīth*] ḍ[e] la muerte ḍel-annabī Muḥammad” (fols. 258r-265v).<sup>163</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Arabic *al-faḍīla* means religious virtue or merit (*Glosario* 56).

<sup>162</sup> The word “capítulo” renders Arabic *bāb* (Montaner 1988a, 320). Montaner elucidates the close correspondences between “capítulos” and “casos” in Aljamiado texts: “En general, ambos términos parecen intercambiables en la literatura aljamiada, si bien se observa cierta tendencia a que los ‘casos’ traten cuestiones muy concretas en breve espacio y a que los ‘capítulos’ abarquen exposiciones más amplias sobre temas más generales” (1988a, 320).

<sup>163</sup> See López-Morillas (1994, 30-1) for a list of Aljamiado copies of this *ḥadīth*.

## ***Du‘ā’*: Definitions and Examples**

This intricate arrangement of texts hinges upon the propitiatory function of poetry and Muḥammad’s example. Two Arabic *ad‘iya* scaffold the first set of *Coplas*. Of the same meaning as Hebrew *tefilla*, *du‘ā’* means a ‘cry’ or ‘call’ (Padwick 12), as well as an:

appeal, invocation (addressed to God) either on behalf of another or for oneself (*li...*), or else against someone (*‘alā...*); hence: prayer of invocation, calling either for blessing, or for imprecation and cursing... *Du‘ā’* therefore will have the general sense of personal prayer addressed to God, and can often be translated as ‘prayer of request’ (Gardet 2012).<sup>164</sup>

Some *ad‘iya* follow fixed forms, such as those asking God to bring rain (*al-istisqā’*), for forgiveness (*al-istigfār*), or for help making a difficult decision (*al-istijāra*).

The Qur’ān mentions *ad‘iya* in relation to Zachariah and Abraham (Q 3:38; 14:39). Believers must invoke the Lord humbly and secretly (Q 7:55). God is the “hearer of the invocation” (Q 3:38) who assures supplicants: “Call upon Me and I shall respond to you” (Q 40:60).<sup>165</sup> Because the Qur’ān ensures Allah’s response, theologians and exegetes strive to rationalize why some *ad‘iya* go unfulfilled. Possible explanations include the suppliant’s improper physical or mental state as well as their impious behavior. Others reassure believers that the request will be granted in the afterlife (Khalil 103). Some Sufi authorities stress the benefit of the *du‘ā’* itself. Since the petition facilitates personal communication with the divine, “the response to the petition can be seen as the prayer of petition itself, through which the human being is brought into an intimate relationship with God” (Khalil 104).

*Ad‘iya* abound in Shi‘a works of piety, many of which circulated in the Maghreb and among Iberian Muslims. *Ad‘iya* have yet to be concretely identified in Aljamiado manuscripts, in

<sup>164</sup> Gardet also notes that a *du‘ā’* is distinct from *ṣalāh*, or ritual prayer, though one should not cast the former as “mental prayer or orison” in contrast to the latter as “vocal fixed prayer.”

<sup>165</sup> All quotes from the Qur’ān come from *The Study Quran* (2015) unless otherwise indicated.

which they are normally referred to as “rogarías” (Casassas 2007, 33; *Glosario* 525; Hegyi 1978a, 309). Aragonese Muslims preserved hundreds of *ad‘iya*—both in Arabic and *aljamía*—along with attendant explanations of the prayers’ merits and instructions for proper realization (Cervera Fras 1999). Manuscripts demonstrate Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ awareness of God as the “hearer” of supplications who promises a response to those who petition. For example, the scribe of Ms. J-52 (CSIC) prefaces a *du‘ā*: “es rrogarya muy buena i respondiḍa si querrá Allāh ta‘ālā” (fol. 552r). Another devotional compilation (Ms. 5313 BNE) reveals an acute anxiety to realize efficacious communication with God: “Y tú dices en tu Alcorán: Yo soy cerca que respondo la rogaría del que me ruega, cuando me ruega. Pues responde nuesa rogaría... y respondenos así como nos has prometido que no defaltes la promesa” (qtd. in Casassas 2007, 50).

The efficacy of a *du‘ā* depends on a supplicant’s suitable attitude and physical state. As Ibn al-Ğazarī expounds in his meticulous guide to *ad‘iya*, the fervent desire for God to *hear* and *respond to* prayers conditions the manner in which a believer should offer their petition. Muslims must perform the proper preparations and remain patient after praying in order to ensure that God responds to their *du‘ā*. Ibn al-Ğazarī admonishes impatient petitioners: “i no se apresure ni dīga: ‘é rruegado i no á sido oída mi rrogaría i no á sido rrespondiḍa a mī mi rrogaría,’ guárdese de dezirlo tal .:” (Ms. J-52, fol. 258v). Introductory remarks to another Aljamiado *du‘ā* specify the appropriate spiritual mindset to adopt when requesting divine protection from storms: “quien rogará con-este *addu‘ā* con buena devoçión i atinçión no ab [*hay*] dubda sino que Allāh ta‘ālā le oirá i le responderá” (Ms. J-13, fol. 225v; qtd. in Khedr 2004, 397). Conscientious devotion and attention warrant a response from God.

The petitioner must display their humble submission, avoid luxurious clothing, and precede their *du‘ā’* with the requisite ritual prayers, fasts, and alms (Cervera Frás 1999, 295). Suppliants must be in a state of ritual purity: “i-es de condiçión que el que ruegue con este *addu‘ā* que sea *ṭaharaḍo*<sup>166</sup> i linpio de la suzyedad... i guardadvos de rogar en-él estando suzyos, porque vos podría venir mucho mal por él” (Ms. J-13, fol. 225r, qtd. in Khedr 2004, 396). In short, petitioners do not engender the functional potential of *ad‘iya* through words alone. Mental, corporeal, and spiritual preparations must occur before uttering pleas; humble attitudes must ensue. Instructions for *ad‘iya* reflect an acute consciousness of Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ need for effective interaction with God.

Returning to the first set of *Coplas* (Ms. J-13, fols. 188r-194v), since the same scribe redacts the contiguous *ad‘iya* and the poem is copied *renglón seguido*, the transition between texts is subtle if not imperceptible.<sup>167</sup> The linguistically hybrid title “*du‘ā’ perfecta*” heads the first Arabic prayer; it is a *du‘ā’ al-istigfār* that praises God and asks for forgiveness (fols. 186v-187v). The majority of the *du‘ā’* reiterates the Islamic doctrine of *tawhīd*, affirming God’s omnipotence and singularity. Perhaps coincidental, the *Coplas* then begin with the stanza, “*depués de la loor a mi Señor ensalçado / farré aṣṣala sobre annabī onrrado*” (fol. 188r). The last stanza of the first set of *Coplas*—copied before the second *du‘ā’*—enumerates the blessings Allah bestowed on Muḥammad. The folio concludes: “*dióle la rogaría por gran onnor / i juró por*

<sup>166</sup> From Arabic *ṭā’-hā’-rā’*, the neologism *ṭahararse* denotes “hacer la ablución ritual, purificarse, limpiarse” (*Glosario* 566).

<sup>167</sup> The scribe redacts the first *du‘ā’* with sixteen (fols. 186v-187r) and thirteen (187v) lines per folio. In contrast, the first set of *Coplas* occupy fourteen lines per folio with the exception of fol. 188v (thirteen) and fol. 190r (fourteen and a half, due to a skipped verse copied below). The next *du‘ā’* appears to be more cramped in nineteen (fols. 192v-193r) and eighteen (193v) lines per folio.

la vida de Muḥammad” (fol. 192r). After mentioning God’s bestowal of a “rogaría” on Muḥammad, the scribe copies the second *du‘ā’*.

Khedr identifies this prayer as “una plegaria en árabe para convocar la lluvia,” though he does not offer a transcription or a translation (2004, 39). In fact, the text of fols. 192v-194r corresponds to a widely diffused *du‘ā’ al-istigfār*, not a *du‘ā’ al-istisqā’*. Its content corresponds to that of *Du‘ā’ al-qadah*, or Prayer of the Cup, a *du‘ā’* said to be written on a goblet seen by Muḥammad during his ascent to the heavens (*mi‘rāğ*). The prayer is also found in a collection ascribed to the thirteenth-century Andalusian Sufi philosopher Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240), with the title *Wird du‘ā’ ḥifẓ wa ‘iṣma min ġamia’ al-‘afāt* (Devotion for Guarding and Protecting against all Afflictions). Some Morisco manuscripts feature the title *Du‘ā’ aṣṣaḥīfa*, or Prayer of the Sheet, in reference to the paper on which the *du‘ā’* is to be inscribed (see Gruendler 2001).<sup>168</sup> The root *ṣād-ḥā’-fā’* can refer to a flat dish or similar object, such as a platter or the side of a scroll (Badawi and Haleem 513). “*Aṣṣaḥīfa*” shares a root with the Arabic word *muṣḥaf*, which refers to a complete copy of the Qur’ān.

I have located this *du‘ā’* in six sixteenth-century Aljamiado codices.<sup>169</sup> In addition to Ms. J-13, the prayer is copied in Ms. 5223 BNE (fols. 58r-62r), Ms. J-4 CSIC (fols. 89r-95v), Ms. J-44 CSIC (*Cuaderno 6*, fols. 1-10), Ms. 4953 BNE (fols. 154v-161r), and Ms. Cataluña 1420

<sup>168</sup> In the prayer’s copy in Ms. J-13, after the *basmala*, the scribe writes: “*du‘ā’ aṣ-ṣiḥaba*.” The root *ṣād-ḥā’-bā’* denotes the act of keeping company with someone, being a companion, associating with, and also to defend or to guard (Badawi and Haleem 511). A *ṣāḥib* (pl: *aṣḥāb*), or friend, can refer more broadly to a group of people or associates; *aṣ-ṣaḥāba* are Muḥammad’s earliest companions. Perhaps the scribe of Ms. J-13 (Hand “A”) copied from a text in which the prayer’s title meant to evoke some relationship between the *du‘ā’* and *ṣād-ḥā’-bā’*. Yet due to Maghrebi script’s redaction of *fā’* with a dot below, rather than above the letter, I believe the copyist mistook *fā’* for *bā’* in his redaction. Alternatively, perhaps he intended to write *fā’* but did not complete the circle, leaving *bā’*.

<sup>169</sup> Since the majority of *ad‘iya* in Aljamiado codices have yet to be identified and catalogued correctly, I suspect the prayer is extant in other codices.

(fols. 39v-48v). In Ms. BNE 4953 and Ms. Cataluña 1420, the *du 'ā'* is copied in Arabic with interlinear Aljamiado translation; in Ms. 5223 BNE and Ms. J-4 CSIC, the untranslated Arabic prayer is accompanied by an explanation in *aljamía*.<sup>170</sup> Spaces left between the lines of the Arabic prayer in the copy preserved in Ms. J-44 suggest it was destined for interlinear translation, yet the scribe does not complete the Aljamiado translation.

Multiple copies and translations of this particular *du 'ā'* attest to its popularity among Aragonese Mudejars and Moriscos. The prayer asks for divine forgiveness and protection by invoking God's Most Beautiful Names, or *asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*.<sup>171</sup> Mudejars and Moriscos preserved knowledge not only of *Du 'ā' aṣṣahīfa*'s content, but also of its extratextual significance. An introductory explanation in Ms. J-4 (CSIC) describes the prayer's incomparable merits. In lieu of a shorter title, the scribe refers to the *du 'ā'* with its initial phrases:

Este es el-*alfaḍila* *ḍel-adu 'ā' ḍe biḥmi Illāhi wa bi iḥmihi il-mubtadā wa lā gāyata lahu wa lā muntahā'*. *Dīšo* el me[n]sajero *ḍe* Allāh faga bendición Allāh sobr-él i salvelo<sup>172</sup> i *dīšo*: 'Yā Jibrīl, ¿qué gualardón alcança quien rruega con-este *addu 'ā'*?' *Dīšo* [Gabriel]: 'Yā Muḥammad, as me *ḍemandado* por walar<sup>173</sup> que no lo senblançaría<sup>173</sup> sino Allāh. Yā Muḥammad, si se tornasen las mares tinta i los árboles *alkalames* i los *almelaques*<sup>174</sup> *ḍe* los çielos escribanos que-scribiesen *ḍel* mundo mil vegadas afinarsían la tinta i querebarsían [*quebrarían*] los *alqalames*<sup>175</sup> // i no menguaría *ḍe* su gualardón cosa (Ms. J-4, fols. 89r-v).

<sup>170</sup> There are minor variations between the bilingual versions (Ms. 1420 and Ms. 4953) and the Ms. J-13 copy. The copy in BNE 5223 diverges on fol. 58v (line 6) before it coincides again on fol. 59r (line 13). Chejne transcribes the version copied in Ms. Cataluña 1420 in "Plegaria bilingüe árabe-aljamiada de un morisco" (1987) though he does not identify the text's provenance nor link the content to Hegyi's (1981) edition of Ms. 4953, which includes a nearly identical bilingual version of the prayer.

<sup>171</sup> Based on a widely reported *ḥadīth*, Allāh is said to have ninety-nine names. The names do not compromise God's oneness, but rather represent divine attributes or qualities (Dakake, *The Study Quran* 472).

<sup>172</sup> "Faga bendición Allāh sobre él y [que] lo salve" is a common *romance* translation of *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam* in Aljamiado manuscripts.

<sup>173</sup> "Describir, ejemplificar, asemejar" (*Glosario* 542).

<sup>174</sup> From Arabic *al-malak* (pl. *malā'ika*) which means angel or heavenly messenger (*Glosario* 80-1).

<sup>175</sup> The scribe alternates between "alkalames" (non-emphatic *kāf*) and "alqalames" (emphatic *qāf*) to indicate "pen." The standard spelling is *qalam*.

Only Allāh can describe the inconceivable benefits of this *du‘ā’*. Angel Gabriel nonetheless attempts to do so by employing an analogy with divine creation: if the oceans were ink, trees were pens, and heavenly angels were scribes, still they could not capture the prayer’s value in words. The imagery recalls Q 31:27: “And if all the trees on earth were pens, and if the sea and seven more added to it [were ink], the Words of God would not be exhausted. Truly God is Mighty, Wise.”

Gabriel continues to enumerate the merits of the *du‘ā’*, citing Muḥammad’s ascension to the seven heavens. Upon arriving, the prophet and God discuss the benefits incurred to one who recites the *du‘ā’*: “i dīrā Allāh onrrado es i noble: ‘No tienen ellos enta<sup>176</sup> mi gualardón sino el-*aljanna* [*paradise*] i no ay sobr-ellos conto<sup>177</sup> ni trabajo ni ay nozimiento [*harm*] a ellos’” (Ms. J-4, fol. 90v). Any man or woman who prays with this *du‘ā’* “no lo tormentará Allāh después de la muerte jamás aunque sean sus pecados senblante de la-espuma de la mar i gotas de la lluvia i de las estrellas... ni del conto de las arenas en los desiertos ni el conto de la bellota ni lanas ni el conto del-*aljanna* ni del fuego perdonaría Allāh a él aquello todo” (Ms. J-4, fol. 91v). Natural metaphors for infinitude describe the immensity of a believer’s sins: the amount of foam in the sea, drops of rain, stars in the sky, sand in the deserts, individual acorns, or strands of wool. Even if one’s sins are equivalent to all of these things, when they recite *Du‘ā’ aṣṣaḥīfa* all will be forgiven. One who prays with this supplication is akin to “quien á fecho mil *alhiḡes*,” that is,

<sup>176</sup> “A, hacia, cerca de” (*Glosario* 252); derived from Arabic *‘inda*.

<sup>177</sup> “Cómputo cuanta, número” (*Glosario* 371). A common Aljamiado expression for Judgement Day is “Día de conto” which reflects the Arabic expression *Yawm al-ḥisāb*, literally Day of Calculation, i.e. Reckoning (Q 14:41). Divine Judgement consists of weighing each person’s good and bad deeds (Q 7:8-9).



someone who has undertaken a thousand pilgrimages to Mecca (Ms. J-4, fol. 91v). The prayer countermands sin, cures illnesses, and even mends broken hearts.<sup>178</sup>

Though previous scholars have examined the *Coplas* vis-à-vis their relation to the *mawlid* celebration, I suggest we consider their embedded placement within *ad'īya*—and beside *Du'ā' aṣṣahīfa* in particular—from both a thematic and a functional standpoint. First, the poem participates in a textual cycle that intertwines collective ritual with Muḥammad's practice. *Du'ā' aṣṣahīfa* was said to be revealed to Muḥammad during his *mi'rāğ*. It is not unfathomable to posit a relationship between this prayer and the *Coplas*, given the supplication's relationship to prophetic example. Significantly, the sudden break in the *Coplas* occurs after the verse in which the lyric voice informs us that God “*dióle la rogaría por gran onnor*” (Ms. J-13, fol. 192r). The reference to “*la rogaría*” alludes to Muḥammad's awaited intercession (*ṣafā'ah*) on Judgement Day, when the Prophet appeals to God on behalf of his followers. After the *Du'ā' aṣṣahīfa*, scribes attribute another *du'ā'* to Muḥammad, followed by the virtues of ritual practice on 'Aṣūrā' according to the Prophet. Folios 188r-196v thus revolve around praise of Muḥammad (the *Coplas*), *ad'īya* associated with Muḥammad, and *sunna*—established practices based on the prophet's example.<sup>179</sup> The second set of *Coplas* culminates with a short account of Muḥammad's death, which concludes the poetic recounting of the prophet's miracles, life, and legacy.

In addition to these ostensive thematic links, we can detect a functional “common objective” between *ad'īya* and the *Coplas* by examining the poem's features that are enacted upon its recitation (i.e. what the text *does* rather than *says*). The organization reflects the interconnected relationship between acts of praise (*madh*) and acts of supplication (*du'ā'*). As

<sup>178</sup> The Aljamiado explanation in Ms. BNE 5223 attributes identical merits to the prayer (fols. 61r-62r).

<sup>179</sup> On *sunna*, see Badawi and Haleem (461) as well as Rahman (1979, 57).

Montaner notes, *ad‘iya* often encompass a propitiatory function, “puesto que en ellas se tiende a exaltar a la divinidad para conseguir su favor” (1988a, 317). Montaner compares the use of apostrophe in Aljamiado supplications, magical spells, and praise poetry. He concludes that “la apelación permite agrupar a rogarías, loores y conjuros bajo el común objetivo de actuar sobre el exterior y de relacionarse con él, es decir, por su valor ‘operativo’” (1998a, 325). Functional value depends on an acceptable address to divine interlocutors.

The *Coplas*’ refrain appeals to Muḥammad directly (*¡Yā ḥabībī! ¡Yā Muḥammad!*) and asks God to bless Muḥammad (*wa aṣṣalatu ‘alā Muḥammad*). The phrase *aṣṣalātu ‘alā Muḥammad* illuminates a key connection between the poem and surrounding *ad‘iya*. *Ṣalātu ‘alā* connotes the action of “calling down blessing upon”; believers call upon God to “call down” blessings on Muḥammad (Padwick 157).<sup>180</sup> The request implicates Allah, who takes part in bestowing blessings on Muḥammad. As Dagli explains, the word *ṣalāh* refers to what Muslims offer to God (prayer), as well as “the invocation of blessing,” in that believers are told to invoke blessings upon Muḥammad (e.g. Q 33:56; *The Study Quran* 15). Following Annemarie Schimmel, Stetkevych affirms that the blessing of Muḥammad, most commonly in the *taṣliya* formula (*ṣalla Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*) is a ritually required element of supplication. As Stetkevych explains: “The blessing has also been regarded as a necessary condition for the granting of a prayer of petition: The personal supplication (*du‘ā*) remains outside the heavens

<sup>180</sup> ‘Alī al-Makkī (d. c. 1872) offers insight into the purpose of this qualification in his devotional manual: “If you say, what is the explanation of the fact that although God commands us to call down blessing on the Prophet, we yet say, ‘O God call down blessing on Muhammad,’ asking God to call down blessing instead of doing so ourselves, I reply that this is because the Prophet is pure, without blemish or failing, while we have both blemishes and failings. How shall one full of blemishes and failings call down blessing on the pure and perfect Prophet? Therewith we ask God to call down blessing on him, that the blessing may be called down by a pure God on a pure Prophet” (qtd. in Padwick 157).

until the praying person utters the blessing upon the Prophet” (2006, 146). Thus, the refrain’s repetition of “*aṣṣalātu ‘alā Muḥammad*” could ensure the continuous *ad‘iya*’s divine reception.

Ibn al-Ğazarī’s chapter on correct *du‘ā*’ etiquette substantiates the operative link between *ad‘iya* and the *Coplas*. Before calling upon God, one must separate themselves from anything forbidden, state their intention,<sup>181</sup> perform good works and purify, praise God (“*dar las lores aḏa Allāh ta‘ālā*”), and invoke blessings on Muḥammad (“*hazer aṣala sobre el annabī en preñçipio y-en fin*”)—all “con mucha devoçión i contriçión” (Ms. J-52, fol. 258r). Instruction to praise God and ask blessings on Muḥammad before and after supplication reflects the organization of the *Coplas*. The poem’s praise of God and request for blessings on Muḥammad interlaces with surrounding pleas for forgiveness and protection.

Despite these conceivable links between the *Coplas* and neighboring *ad‘iya*, as Francisco Rico once cautioned, “cuando en un libro medieval conviven la unidad y la variedad, el crítico, fatalmente, se inclinará siempre por realzar la primera” (qtd. in Castilla 2010b, 35). I do not intend to discount the incoherence posed by Ms. J-13’s layout. Nonetheless, regardless of a compiler’s or scribe’s intentions, the resulting organization influences future interactions with the codex. We can turn to Catherine Bell, whose reflections on ritual elucidate the ways in which texts both derive from and shape contexts. As Bell explains, when ritual is textualized, the resulting text not only *reflects* a practice but also *constitutes* its possible manifestations. She poses the evocative question: “Ultimately, how are the media of communication creating a situation rather than simply reflecting it; how are they restructuring social interactions rather than merely expressing them?” (Bell 369).

<sup>181</sup> *Niyya* (pl. *nawāyā*, of the root *nūn-wā‘-yā*), as explained in the Introduction, denotes “intention,” or “will” (Wehr 1188). It is used in a religious context to mean one’s inner volition or purpose.

Texts transcend mere “expressions,” they themselves are “agents of change” (Bell 369). Likewise, manuscript organization does not only reflect the proclivities of a particular copyist or *alfaquí*, it also impacts a text’s potential usages. Ms. J-13’s peculiar layout requires renewed attention not only for the poem’s reflective capabilities (i.e., what practices the manuscript reveals), but also for its constitutive potential (i.e. what practices extratextual organization might have occasioned). As a “material event,” the organization of Ms. J-13 both reflects and “restructures” social interactions. To unpack this idea, I turn to sociologist Erving Goffman.

### **Participation Framework and Ritual Speech**

Goffman’s notion of a “participation framework” is instrumental for understanding the dynamics of poetic recitation in Mudejar and Morisco communities (1979; 1981). In *Forms of Talk* (1981), Goffman acknowledges that in order to appreciate the diverse range of stances or “footings” adopted by participants in ordinary conversation, one must examine diverse situations in which utterances are made and heard—such as lectures, poetry readings, court trials, and sermons (1981, 144). He expands Hymes’s ([1962] 1971) concept of “speech events” to include these “stage events” and thereby enriches our understanding of all contexts in which words are spoken.

Following Hymes’s warning that, “‘The common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants,’” Goffman dissects the oversimplified terms *speaker* and *hearer* (qtd. in Goffman 1979, 16). These one-dimensional roles do not capture the variety of discreet positions participants adopt in a communicative event. To rectify the insufficiency, Goffman refers to a “participation framework” in which actors adopt—consciously and unconsciously—a malleable “participation

status” depending on their function in the speech event (1981, 137). For instance, among types of “hearers,” Goffman highlights the distinction between the intended, or “ratified” listeners, and the “adventitious” participants who either intentionally eavesdrop or unintentionally overhear a speaker. We tend to ascribe a passive role to the “hearer,” though audience members are rarely inactive, a point Finnegan underscores with respect to oral poetry (214). Listeners engage in “collusive byplay,” covert interaction among themselves and “collusive crossplay,” communication with bystanders (Goffman 1979, 9). Listeners’ receptions inevitably alter speakers’ perceptions; such awareness transforms the latter’s delivery. “Hearers” are thus implicitly or explicitly “coparticipants” in speech events (Goffman 1981, 138).

Similar nuance arises in Goffman’s analysis of the role of the “speaker.” Goffman expands John DuBois’s bipartite division of the performer of ritual speech, the *proximate* and the *prime* speaker, into three possible alignments. For DuBois, the *prime* speaker is the author or the entity originally responsible for the words, while the *proximate* speaker is the individual who actually utters or delivers the words (323). When a *proximate* speaker expresses his own thoughts, he is both the proximate and *prime*, or the “ego prime speaker” (DuBois 324). If the *proximate* repeats the words of another, he is an “alter prime speaker” (DuBois 324). For instance, an *alfaquí* who recites Qur’ānic verses would be a *proximate* “alter prime speaker,” because he utters the words of God, not his own.

From DuBois’s *prime* and *proximate* speakers, Goffman extrapolates three “footings” a speaker may adopt: animator, author, and principal (1979, 4). Together, they form the “‘production format’ of an utterance” (1981, 145). The *animator* is the individual who utters the words, whereas the *author* is the one “who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded” (1981, 144). Finally, in a legalistic sense the *principal*

is “someone whose position is established by the words spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say” (1981, 144). The *principal* occupies a social role and tends to use the collective “we” pronoun rather than an individual “I.” It is often assumed that a speaker simultaneously occupies these three stances. Yet, as Goffman reminds us, an individual does not always express her own words or endorse the words she utters. Reciting a text, speaking “on behalf” of someone, and providing a simultaneous translation of another’s utterances exemplify various alignments a speaker might adopt.

Goffman’s understanding of footing and participation frameworks illuminates two critical aspects of the *Coplas*: appeals to God and the collective refrain. We can identify an *alfaquí* as the *animator* who recites the poem. Yet when he animates the first-person poetic <<yo>> throughout the performance, his identity seems to fuse with that of *principal*. When the lyric voice expresses personal fear, grief, or contrition, the *animator* appears to establish a stake in the poem’s message. For instance, towards the end of the *Coplas*, the poetic voice describes Judgment Day when the dead will express their faith in Muḥammad. The lyric persona interjects in the narration to ask Muḥammad to be his own intercessor: “que mi persona es muy dura / no reḡibe castigaḡura / i yo miedo de vergonḡaḡura sey mi apagado [*abogado*], yā Muḥammad” (Ms. J-13, fol. 249r).<sup>182</sup> The lyric voice also appeals to God on behalf of the community. Collective expression enhances the *alfaquíes*’ identification as *principal*: “Señor, fazed aṣṣala sobr-él / i fíjinos amor con-él / sácanos en su tropel jus la seña de Muḥammad” (fol. 246r).

These passages position the *alfaquí* as *principal* whose attentive devotion buttresses his authenticity. When recited aloud (especially from memory), the first-person poetic voice’s

<sup>182</sup> The version in Ms. Esc. 1880 reads “abogado,” which alludes to Muḥammad’s awaited intercession before God.

supplications conflate with the *animator*'s own opinions and desires. As Montaner explains, “el yo-enunciador se asimila, a través del uso continuado de la primera persona, al yo-actor, lo que implica la identidad, al menos teórica, del emisor en el plano de la enunciación y del emisor en el plano del enunciado” (1988a, 316). The *alfaquí* is not the *author* of the *Coplas*, yet because of his role in the poem's auditory diffusion, he comes across as the entity both responsible for and committed to the words spoken. *Alfaquíes* embody the lyric voice's sincerity; this transfer of emotion from a “yo-actor” to a “yo-enunciador” bolsters the spiritual leaders' authority (see Chapter 4).

The *Coplas* position listeners to engage in their own meaningful participation as *animators* and *principals*. Listening Moriscos become protagonists of the recitation at the end of each stanza when prompted to proclaim the choral response (¡Yā ḥabībī! ¡Yā Muḥammad! Wa aṣṣalatu 'alā Muḥammad). A shift in the poem's participation framework allows audience members to communicate with God and Muḥammad. The refrain, as Johnathan Culler points out in his description of lyric poetry, “disrupts narrative and brings it back to a present of discourse” (24). In the *Coplas*, calls for collective response shift listeners' attention from an authoritative past (Muḥammad's exemplary life) to present ritual (the celebration of *mawlid*). Choral interjections offer exclamations of praise and collective invocations of a supreme interlocutor. Participants address Muḥammad directly (¡Yā ḥabībī! ¡Yā Muḥammad!) and ask for divine blessings on the prophet (“wa aṣṣalatu 'alā Muḥammad”).

The poem's refrain allows audience members to invoke blessings on Muḥammad, as explained above; their collective participation ensures that *ad'iyā*'s ritual requirements are met. Though the *Coplas* hinge on the voice of an individual spiritual leader, the Arabic refrain positions all Moriscos to engage with the divine “hearer.” The role of *principal* extends to the—

now “animating”—listeners; the Moriscos share in the responsibility of praising Muḥammad and calling upon God. The refrain does not only “disrupt narrative,” it enables listeners’ pious participation and the ritual efficacy of prayer.

In the *Coplas*, the refrain’s power is compounded by the register change from *aljamía* to Arabic, which marks the shift into “ritual speech” (DuBois 314). Elements of ritual speech include the use of formal register, archaisms, borrowed lexicon, and semantic parallelism (DuBois 317-20).<sup>183</sup> The responsorial invocation employs Islam’s sacred language—the register of God’s revealed words.<sup>184</sup> As Sam Gill suggests, ritual speech can illuminate participants’ beliefs about “what is required to communicate effectively across... the semiotic and ontological gap between human beings and invisible interlocutors” (Gill [1987] as paraphrased in Keane 55). Likewise, Joel Robbins situates ritual speech vis-à-vis ideologies of language: “Indeed, it would perhaps be profitable to adopt some term of art such as ‘ideologies of communication’ to refer to a culture’s whole set of ideas about how information flows between people and between people and the natural and supernatural worlds” (2001a, 599).<sup>185</sup>

Gill’s and Robbins’s assessments of ritual speech provide an auspicious point of departure to consider the poem’s distribution of Arabic and *aljamía*. The *Coplas* point to an “ideology of communication” in which believers traverse the “semiotic and ontological gap” with both *romance* (verses) and Arabic (refrain). Let us recall the Mudejar scribe’s affirmation that the *Almadha* was “taken out” of Arabic and put into *aljamía* (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 15v). If the

<sup>183</sup> Tambiah reiterates some of these elements in his description of ritual, which “is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterized in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotypy (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition)” (119).

<sup>184</sup> We could compare the shift to the use of *kyrie eleison*, Greek for “Lord have mercy,” a collective refrain in the Old Catholic Latin liturgy.

<sup>185</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of language ideologies.



poem was indeed translated at some point, the refrain was not. The invocation of blessings on Muḥammad, a prerequisite for *ad‘iyya*, occurs in Arabic.<sup>186</sup> Listeners appeal to God in Islam’s sacred language, becoming “coparticipants” in the enactment of ritual speech. When listeners say the refrain, their request for blessings on Muḥammad intersects with the *animator*’s praise of God. By compelling audience members to address Allah in Arabic, the *Coplas* facilitate believers’ contact with “invisible interlocutors” and pave the way for supplication.

### Ms. J-52 and Ms. 37 (CSIC)

The following pages probe the “common objective” between poetry and *ad‘iyya* through a close examination of poems preserved in Ms. J-52 and J-37 (CSIC). Ms. J-52 is an enormous volume that comprises over 600 folios.<sup>187</sup> Though the sexternions are unbound, uniform paper quality and size (29 x 20.5 cm), consistent scribal hand, the use of catchwords between quires, and pressed *miṣṭara* lines suggest the copy was conceived as a unit. The massive work includes Qur’ānic commentaries, an interlinear translation of Ibn al-Ğazarī’s devotional manual mentioned above, *ad‘iyya* (in particular *ad‘iyyat al-istisqā’*), sermons, and admonitions. The poetic texts appear in the fourth unit of sexternions (fols. 575v-578v of 483r-581v), after a series of Qur’ānic verses and *ad‘iyya* that culminate with a “preicación bendita para monestar a las gentes.”<sup>188</sup> After the exhortatory sermon, the scribe provides a colophon and benediction before copying the poetic verses:

<sup>186</sup> Unlike Qur’ānic verses and even canonical sermons, Islamic authorities sanctioned the uttering of *ad‘iyya* in non-Arabic languages (Wiegers 1995, 303).

<sup>187</sup> Pablo Gil acquired the manuscript after the Almonacid discovery (Villaverde 105).

<sup>188</sup> Cándido González identifies the content of fols. 483-581 with that of Ms. J-30 (CSIC), though the latter manuscript does not include poetry after the “preicación” (Asín and Ribera 192). See also Calvo Coca (1999).

Acabóse de escrebir i de sacar de *arabiya* en rromanze el-alkiteb de la[s] rrogarías del rrogar por-agua con las lores aḍa Allāh ∴ // i la buena de su ayuḍa el-año de noventa i ocho del mes de otubre ∴ y-a venti i tres de la luna de *rrabi' al-āwal* ∴ Perdone Allāh o su escribidor *emīn* y-a su leidor *emīn* y-a su escujaḍor [*escuchador*] *emīn* y-a toḍos los muḥlimes i muḥlimas y-a toḍos los creyentes i creyentas *emīn*. *Yā rabi il-'alamīna* que Allāh es el perḍonaḍor piadoso ∴ *wa ṣalā Allāh 'alā sayyidinā wa mawlānā Muḥammad il-karīmi wa alihi wa saḥbihi wa sallama taslīman Allāhu akbar ∴ lā ilaha illā Allāh ∴* (Ms. J-52, fols. 575r-v).<sup>189</sup>

It is possible that the scribe copied the colophon's initial statement (“acabóse de escribir *i de sacar de arabiya en rromanze*”) from another manuscript, since most translations from Arabic to *romance* took place in the fifteenth century. The rest of the colophon, however, seems to be the sixteenth-century copyist's own testament. October of 1598 coincides with *Rabi' al-awwal*, the month in which Muslims celebrate *mawlid*.<sup>190</sup>

The seamless integration of the *anno domini* (“el año de noventa i ocho del mes de octubre”) and Islamic temporality (“venti i tres de la luna de *rrabi' al-āwal*”) exemplifies the mixture of Christian and Islamic features that pervades the entire manuscript. The scribe of Ms. J-52 displays familiarity with both Arabic and Latin-script manuscript traditions. Decorative *cenefas* divide the text into clearly defined sections. Texts are replete with typical Arabic punctuation. At the same time, a plethora of manicules guide the reader through the work, pointing to the passages from the right-hand and even the left-hand side of the text. At times, in addition to the manicule, the scribe writes Arabic letters *mīm* and *rā'* or *nūn* and *ṭā'*—which

<sup>189</sup> *Mawlā* means “Master” as well as “Protector” and “Helper” (Q 47:11). The entire Arabic invocation reads: “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Blessings and Peace of God on our Lord and our Prophet and Our Protector Muḥammad the Generous, and His Family and His Companions.”

<sup>190</sup> Paleographic evidence suggests that the same scribe copied Ms. Cataluña 680, a manuscript Villaverde describes as: “De procedencia aragonesa, tal vez salido del taller de Almonacid, es de la misma mano que el ms. Junta VIII” (2010, 114). Ms. 680 is dated from late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth century while Ms. J-8 (CSIC) is dated to the early-seventeenth century. If we accept that the same scribe copied the three manuscripts, we can presume that Ms. J-52 was copied in a similar range of time, as the 1598 colophon affirms.

produce “mira” and “nota” with *kasra-fatha* and *damma-fatha* vowels, respectively (Ms. J-52, fols. 115v; 116v; 156r; 482v). Appeals for attention occasionally occur in Arabic; marginal commands such as “*unẓor*” (from the root *nūn-ẓā’-rā’*), point out salient passages (fol. 281r). Though such features suggest that the manuscript was destined for reading, and perhaps for readers with knowledge of Arabic, this does not exclude the possibility that portions of the compilation were recited aloud, as the copyist himself notes in the colophon when he entreats Allah to bestow divine forgiveness on the text’s declaimer and listeners (fol. 575v).

Indeed, an *alfaquí* likely recited the sermon, “preicación bendita para monestar a las gentes” and the subsequent poetic verses (fols. 568r-575r). The sermon displays features associated with the exhortatory genre of *maw’iza*, (pl. *mawā’iz*). From the root *wāw-‘ayn-ẓā’*, pious exhortation, *mawā’iz* are texts that “both warned the listener-reader of the eschatological punishments for sins committed, and enticed them with the heavenly rewards for piety and rectitude” (Jones 2007, 74; 76). An introduction to the “preicación” clarifies its intended outcome: “por tal que [las gentes] se arrepientan i vuelvan aḍa Allāh con buenas obras” (Ms. J-52, fol. 568r). The sermon illustrates the proper way to plea for water, as well as the dire consequences that befall those who do not supplicate correctly, by narrating a story that reiterates the codex’s thematic trend. The sexternion transitions from compiled *ad’iya*, to a *maw’iza* about *ad’iyat al-istisqā’*, to poetry. Supplication provides overarching cohesion; the final text functions as a poetic coda.

Perhaps the scribe, taking advantage of the quire’s extra space, decided to include a poetic text he had at his disposal. Alternatively, we can consider the codex’s thematic uniformity vis-à-vis ritual *ad’iyat al-istisqā’*. After initial rites, prayers, and two sermons, “el imán, puesto de pie, pronuncia una plegaria o súplica a Dios (*du‘ā’*) a modo de colofón solicitando la lluvia e

implorando el perdón divino; la gente hace la misma rogativa repitiendo sus palabras, pero permanecen sentados” (Cervera Fras 1999, 294; my emphasis). The organization of the sexternion follows the description sketched above: various *ad‘iyya* and sermons culminate in the second “preicación.” Within this framework, the poem is redacted in place of the collective *du‘ā*. The substitution is not too unexpected. Ending a *maw‘iẓa* with poetry was not uncommon among Islamic preachers in earlier decades.<sup>191</sup> Irrespective of the scribe’s intentions, as we will see below, the poem undoubtedly reinforces Ms. J-52’s thematic thread and “common objective.”

After redacting the colophon, the copyist draws a beautiful *cenefa* and begins writing a poem on the same folio (Ms. J-52, fol. 575v). The text includes a *zajal* of 23 verses with refrain, in addition to 144 verses of *coplas de arte menor*.<sup>192</sup> An imperceptible switch between strophic settings gives the poem a unitary impression; the *coplas de arte menor* begin immediately after the conclusion of the *zajal*, on line 10 of fol. 576r. Despite the use of two forms, a single title and invocation precedes the text: “*Biḥmi Illāhi irrahmāni irrahīmi ∴ Estas son unas coblas en-alabança de la dīn del-aliḡlām ∴ i del-annabī Muḥammad ṣ ‘m*” (fol. 575v). The use of a thicker pen for the first verse (or partial first verse) of each new *copla* subtly designates the text’s poetic nature. Copied as continuous prose, the scribe maintains the measured regularity provided by the *miṣṭara* in the rest of the text.

The fastidious incorporation of subdivisions and subtitles throughout the volume makes the lack of transition between *zajal* and *arte menor* even more enigmatic. The mystery deepens when the poem concludes mid-quire, mid-folio, mid-stanza, and mid-word. A somewhat

<sup>191</sup> See Homerin (1991) and Swartz (1999). Jones notes that the extant Mudejar *mawā‘iẓ* do not contain poetry, though circumstantial evidence suggests that the practice did exist (2012, 181).

<sup>192</sup> The refrain is in Arabic while the verses are composed in (or translated into) *romance*.

ominous injunction, “*defiéndenos de enemigos / tantos como estoy çercado / tú, Señor, nos khaleqaste / e...*”, leaves the reader to conjure images of encroaching enemies—a scene that recalls the clandestine scribal workshops where this very manuscript was likely produced (Ms. J-52, fol. 578v). Yet, before our vision of the lyric voice’s plight snowballs into a blizzard, we should turn our attention to another version of the poem found in Ms. J-37 (fols. 272-6), a sixteenth-century manuscript preserved in a quaternion unbound to other texts.<sup>193</sup> This copy likewise aborts with “*tú, Señor, nos khaleqaste / e...*” (fol. 276r).

Based on the corresponding endpoint as well as linguistic evidence, Fuente Cornejo (32) concludes that Ms. J-37 is a copy of Ms J-52. Yet numerous lexical differences (e.g. “*pues eres el-onrado*” instead of “*pues tú eres perdonador*” [Ms. J-37, fol. 275v; Ms. J-52, fol. 578r]) seem to suggest Ms. J-37’s scribe copied from a distinct exemplar. Unlike Ms. J-52’s version, the poem in Ms. J-37 does not attach a *zajal* to verses of *arte menor*. Untitled, it commences with the first eight-verse stanza included in Ms. J-52. The “production registers” of the poems are distinct as well: the former is integrated into a series of devotional texts while the latter appears in an independent, transportable quaternion (Dagenais 144). Ms. J-37’s scribe experiments with the poem’s aesthetic display. He distinguishes each *copla* with a *cenefa*; alternatively, he inserts an unadorned line between stanzas (fol. 273r).<sup>194</sup> After seven stanzas, the scribe distinguishes the eighth stanza not only with a decorative horizontal design but also the Arabic letters *qāf-bā’-lām*, or “qobla” in *aljamía* (fol. 273v). The word “qobla” (i.e. *copla*) merges with the illustration that divides the stanzas. The scribe discontinues this strategy and returns to the use of a decorative division. Finally, on fol. 275r, he introduces a new design in the thirteenth stanza. Centered in an

<sup>193</sup> The manuscript measures 21 x 14 cm.

<sup>194</sup> The foliation “272” is repeated; this is the second folio labeled “272.”

artistic line (comprised of dashes and perpendicular slashes), the letters *kāf-bā'-lām*, redacted in red ink, indicate “kopla” (*copla*) with the non-emphatic consonant.<sup>195</sup> The innovation—which continues for the remaining six stanzas (fols. 275v-276r)—strongly evokes the text’s poetic nature.

Spontaneity and adaptation supersede consistency in Ms. J-37. The copyist’s creative flourishes clearly distinguish the text from prose. Indeed, the variance between Ms. J-52 and Ms. J-37 illuminates the different ways in which Morisco scribes reconciled an oral text’s written manifestations. Ms. J-52’s design register maintains the measured regularity cultivated throughout the manuscript, whereas that of Ms. J-37 underscores the text’s poetic form by highlighting each *copla de arte menor* in somewhat unconventional ways, deploying both calligraphic and decorative resources to indicate the beginning of stanzas. Shifts from *qāf-bā'-lām* to *kāf-bā'-lām* and from black to red ink display the scribe’s creative license. Regardless of the poem’s written manifestations, we can consider its dynamic impact when enlivened by an *alfaquí*’s recitation.<sup>196</sup>

### Propitiatory Gestures and Speech Acts

The poem’s trajectory from praise to thanksgiving to supplication—a pattern underscored by the title and introductory *zajal* included in Ms. J-52—reflects the *Coplas de alabanza*’s propitiatory function. In the second stanza of *arte menor*, the lyric voice proclaims: “O Señor glorificado / i ¿con qué te pagaremos / tantas merçedes que vemos / que del çielo as enviado?” (Ms. J-52, fol. 576r). Subsequent verses continue praising God and recalling God’s blessings, yet

<sup>195</sup> (e.g. —//—//—//—//—//—//—)

<sup>196</sup> I will refer to the text as *Coplas en alabanza*. Quotes come from Ms. J-52 unless otherwise indicated.

beginning in the eighth stanza the *Coplas de alabanza* transcend their title's purview and become a versified *du 'ā'* in lexical and functional scope (fol. 577r). Of the *Coplas de alabanza*'s eighteen complete stanzas of *arte menor*, seventeen include apostrophe to God. The poem incorporates audience members with first-person plural verbs and pronouns; each petition to God is made vis-à-vis the community. For example, “açnos, Señor, benefício / aunque no lo merezqamos” (fol. 577r); “danos graçias pues que puedes / danos contento i plazer / desvíanos, Allāh encunbrado, / de tantos lazos e erreðos / que tenemos a los laðos” (fol. 578r). Repeated injunctions intensify the text's message; the accumulation of commands hastens the poem's rhythm and conveys a sense of urgency:

Y-échanos tu bendición  
i fesnos graçias cunplidas  
quen-esta presente vida  
te demandemos perdón  
i danos tu salvación  
como salvaste aq-aquel  
perfetísimo Içma'ael  
de tanta tribulación.

Danos graçia que pidamos  
perdón ∴ de nuestros pecados  
pues tú eres perdonador  
i-en ti sólo confiamos ∴  
a tí nos-encomendamos  
oye, Allāh, nuestros šemidos [*gemidos*]  
i que seamos de tí oídos  
que-esto es lo que demandamos ∴

Demandámoste, Señor,  
que graçias nos quieras dar  
que sepamos // demandar  
tu merçed y tu favor  
i que por tu gran valor  
quieras oír las clamores  
de tus siervos pecadores  
y-apiada nuestro error (Ms. J-52, fols. 578r-v).

The invocation of Ishmael in the first stanza recalls *ad'iyat al-istigfār* that appeal to prophetic example in order to request divine forgiveness (Kadri I, 236). For instance, a versified *du'ā'* copied in Ms. Esc. 1880 recalls Ishmael's destiny in order to request God's mercy: "Señor, por Içmā'īl, el degollado, / fue derremido con carnero onrado, / con tu bendiciōn fue mucho ensalçado, / apiada y perdona nuestro pecado" (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 39r; qtd. in Kadri II, 79). The *du'ā'* implores God to have mercy and forgive the community's sin, much like the selection of *Coplas de alabança* quoted here. I return to this prayer's versified expression below.

Lexical correspondences echo *ad'iyat al-istigfār* as well as *ad'iyat al-istisqā'*. In the *Coplas de alabança*, comprehensive mandates to "echarnos bendición," "hacernos gracias," "darnos salvación," "darnos gracias," "oír nuestros gemidos," "oír las clamores," and "apiadar nuestro error" simulate the latter sort of prayer's collective refrains. For example, the "rogaría para rogar por agua" copied in Ms. J-23 CSIC (fols. 1v-3v) exhorts God to forgive, to bestow mercy, and to hear the community's prayer through repetitions of "perdónanos i-apiádanos i oye nuestra rrogaría y danos awa [*agua*]" (fol. 3r). Another supplication for water refers to believers as "siervos pecadores," just as the *Coplas de alabança* does. The prayer appeals to God: "Yā Allāh, perdona los pecados de los siervos pecadores que ya se an arrepentido" (Ms. J-52, fol. 558v). In both poetry and prayer, collective appeals for an "invisible interlocutor" to forgive supplicants, have mercy, and "hear" their petitions, reveal an anxiety for efficacious communication with God, who is both the "hearer of the invocation" and of the poem.

In addition to "perdonar," "apiadar," and "oír," the verb *demandar*—employed four times in the brief selection of the *Coplas de alabança* quoted above—is reminiscent of *du'ā'* lexicon. A "demanda" signifies a "petición, ruego, pregunta" (*Glosario* 194). Though most translations of *du'ā'* use the term "rogaría," the prayers themselves often include the word "demandar." At



times the verb *demandar* corresponds to Arabic *sa'ala*, which means to ask, entreat, or request. In interlinear copies of *ad'iya*, “*as'aluka*” (I ask/entreat you) becomes “demandote” (i.e. *te demando*) (Ms. Cataluña 1420, fol. 46v).

The collection of *ad'iya* in Ms. J-52 reiterates the verb “demandar,” such as the following appeal: “*demando perdón ada Allāh ∴ de mis pecados aunque sean grandes*” (fol. 521r). Ibn al-Ġazarī instructs supplicants to both “demandar” and “rogar” with parallel constructions that highlight the verbs’ similar meanings: “quien no *demanda* ada Allāh, ensaña-se Allāh sobr-él ∴ i quien no *rruega* ada Allāh, ayrá-se Allāh sobr-él” (Ms. J-52, fol. 255v). Al-Ġazarī echoes his injunction when he assures readers, “aquel que cuando es *rruegado* con-él es respondido ∴ ∴ ∴ i cuando es *demandado* con-él es *dao*,” as well as in the command to readers “pues *rruega* i *demandad* ada Allāh la perdonança en-esta vida y-en la otra” (Ms. J-52, fol. 262r; 300r).

As lexical similarities with *ad'iya* attest, the poem’s purview encompasses more than praise. When performed for groups of Muslims, the *Coplas de alabança* would function as a versified *du‘ā*. The poem’s placement after a collection of *ad'iya* and the “preicación” corroborates this function. Animated by an *alfaquí*, the lyric voice’s direct appeals to God simulate public prayer (e.g. “Y-échanos tu bendición / i fesnos graçias cunplidas / quen-esta presente vida / te *demandemos perdón*” [fol. 578r]).

Reconsidering poetry in terms of prayer requires a brief return to Goffman’s “participation framework.” Poetic supplications engender a shift in the participation framework as listeners are no longer the lyric voice’s imagined addressees. Johnathan Culler refers to such indirection—characteristic of lyric poetry—as “‘triangulated address’: addressing the audience of readers by addressing or pretending to address someone or something else, a lover, a god, natural forces, or personified abstractions” (8). No longer the direct recipient of the utterance, listeners become

observers of the *alfaquí*'s communication with revered interlocutors. This participation framework transforms the audience into "intended overhearers" (Goffman 1981, 137).

In Goffman's classification system, "intended overhearers" are distinct from "ratified addressees." Foregrounding individual communication with God in a collective setting resembles a phenomenon Goffman labels "self-directed remarks" and "response cries" (1979, 11). After a moment of clumsiness or an unintentional blunder, we say "Rats!" presumably to ourselves, but also to convince those within earshot that "our observable plight is not something that should be taken to define us" (Goffman 1979, 11). Though we do not direct interjections such as "oops!" or "eek!" to any person in particular, we seek concrete listeners whose proximity renders them participants in the larger frame of social interaction (Goffman 1979, 11). As Goffman elucidates, "What is sought is not hearers but overhearers, albeit intended ones" (1981, 137).

Though the parallel with the poem has limitations—the poetic voice of the *Coplas de alabança* inscribes a particular addressee (God) and advances distinct motivations (collective supplication)—the concept of "intended overhearers" nevertheless captures the poem's shift in participation framework. Poetry and prayer both appeal to "intended overhearers." When in a synagogue, mosque, or church, religious leaders pray to God on behalf of assembled believers. Poetry inscribes "intended overhearers" by incorporating lyric voices that address invisible interlocutors. As Northrop Frye once averred, echoing John Stuart Mill, "lyric is...preeminently the utterance that is overheard. The lyric poet normally pretends to be talking to himself or to someone else" (qtd. in Heiple 30). A supplicatory "utterance overheard," the recited *Coplas de alabança* feature an *alfaquí* who synthesizes the lyric voice, collective petitioners, and religious authorities in the ritual present of performance.

Given the poem's correspondences with *ad'iya*, when *alfaques* recite the *Coplas de alabança*, "overhearers" witness a poetic enactment of prayer. The triangular configuration allows the *animators* to perform a supplication for listeners, whom they include in the prayer's efficacy through collective "speech acts," as defined below. Such expressions of piety are predicated on imitation. In this mimetic pattern, listeners observe the example established by the *alfaques*, much like the description of public supplications for rain quoted above, in which believers follow the *imām*'s leadership before joining in prayer (Cervera Fras 1999, 294). As "intended overhearers" of communication with God, listeners learn by example.

The *Coplas de alabança* encompass powerful "speech acts," another concept fundamental to understanding the functional correspondences between the poem and *ad'iya*. In the *Coplas de alabança*, subjunctive verbs complement direct commands with indirect ones and thus increase the overall volume of supplications (e.g. "i que a tí solo *tengamos* / con fé pura i linpio amor / por encunbrado Señor" [fol. 577r]). The subjunctive mode's anticipatory effect contrasts with indicative verbs that express concrete actions in the present tense (e.g. "demandamos," "confiamos," and "nos encomendamos.") Such assertions recall John Searle's (1969) explanation of "speech acts" or "language acts," that is, illocutionary acts such as stating, questioning, commanding, questioning, requesting, and promising that transcend mere reference, expression, or description (16). Searle's concept of speech acts is indebted to J.L. Austin's lectures (1955) and subsequent publication entitled *How To Do Things With Words* (1962) in which he elaborates the notion of a "performative" ([1962] 1975, 6). Austin describes cases "in which to *say* something is to *do* something; or in which *by* saying or *in* saying something we are

doing something” (12).<sup>197</sup> Examples of Austin’s “performatives” include declaring a couple to be married (“I hereby pronounce you husband and wife”) or the naming of a ship (“I christen this ship the *U.S.S. Language*”) (Mihalicek and Wilson 288).

Likewise, when *alfaquíes* exhort God for forgiveness their commands surpass language’s referential or expressive potential. Commands to Allah in *ad’iya* include “Señor Allāh ∴ *apiádate* de nos” (Ms. J-52, fol. 549v); “Señor Allāh ∴ *deballa* [*baja*] sobre nosotros de las nubes agua abundante” (Ms. J-52, fol. 544v); “Señor Allāh ∴ nos te *demandamos* perdón, *perdónanos* nuestros pecados” (Ms. J-52, fol. 541v). The *Coplas de alabanza* feature similar speech acts, including asking for forgiveness (“te *demandemos* perdón”; “y-*apiada* nuestro error”), declaring loyalty (“i-en tí solo *confiamos*, / a tí nos *encomendamos*”), and commanding God to hear supplications (“oye, Allāh, nuestros gemidos”).

Mere performance of these words does not constitute them as speech acts. In addition to an *alfaquí*’s actualization, speech acts depend on the presence of an audience that, in Alessandro Duranti’s words, “socially constitutes and ratifies the nature of a speech event (e.g. a sermon, a play, a class lectures, a story telling). An unsympathetic or uncooperative audience can deeply affect the performance of any speech act” (1986, 243-4). Direct commands and collective first-person declarations represent concrete language acts insofar as they presuppose believers’ authentic commitment to the transformations occasioned by the words. As such, within a religious context, “words are acts” that depend on an audience for their actualization (Malinowski 55). “Intended overhearers” of *ad’iya* play an active role in making “words” become “acts.” The

<sup>197</sup> See Mihalicek and Wilson for a list of everyday speech acts (286-7). For Bourdieu’s critique of Austin’s theory see Thompson’s “Introduction” in *Language and Symbolic Power* (Bourdieu 8-10).

audience's sympathy and cooperation renders prayer efficacious; their lack of commitment could compromise a prayer's efficacy.

### A Poetics of Prayer

In the interconnected discursive world of prayer and poetry, the *Coplas de alabança* are but one example. Numerous texts substantiate the connections between Aljamiado poetry and *ad'iya*. For instance, the *Alabança ada Allāh*, quoted above in reference to Ishmael, comprises irregular verses of *cuaderna vía* (Ms. Esc.1880, fols. 36v-38v). Similar to the arrangement of the *Coplas* within *ad'iya* in Ms. J-13 and the progression from praise to supplication in the *Coplas de alabança* (Ms. J-52; Ms. J-37), in the *Alabança ada Allāh* praise of God proceeds a *du'ā*. The initial verses establish the lyric voice's connection to God: "Ada Allah, mi Señor, anoblecendo e alabando, / fago muchas loaciones e santeficaciones" (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 37v; qtd. in Kadri II, 76). Yet the transition from divine praise to supplication begins before the poem ends and the *du'ā* commences on the following folio (fol. 39r).

The final verses of the poem pave the way for God to hear the ensuing text: "Por su merced *alegre* nuestros coraçones, / E su gracia e señorío e *oiga* nuestras peticiõnes" (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 38v; qtd. in Kadri II, 77; my emphasis).<sup>198</sup> Curiously, a fragment of the same poem, copied in Ms. 11/9404 *olim* T-7 BRAH (fols. 1v-3v), does not precede a *du'ā*; nonetheless, in his catalogue of Aljamiado manuscripts, Galmés de Fuentes classifies the text in terms of its prayer-like language and intimate lyric tone. Though titled *Alabança de Allāh* in the Mudejar

<sup>198</sup> Kadri suggests we understand these verses as follows: "Por su merced, que alegre nuestros corazones; y por su gracia y señorío, que oiga nuestras peticiones" (II, 77). The indirect commands recall invocations in the *Coplas de alabança*.

manuscript, Galmés deems the Morisco copy “Una *súplica* a Al-lah en verso” (1998, 71; my emphasis).<sup>199</sup>

Perhaps “versified prayer” captures the nature of certain Aljamiado poetic compositions better than “poem.” Many Arabic *ad’iya* utilize *saj’* (rhymed prose), in which a common rhyme structures concise rhythmic units, normally between four and ten syllables.<sup>200</sup> *Saj’* creates a “verbal sonority” akin to poetic expression (Beeston 143). We can hear the cadence established by *saj’* in the first line of the *Du‘ā’ aṣṣahīfa*: “*Bismi Illāhi wa bi ismihi il-mubtadā’, rabb al-akhira wa al-uwlā // lā ghāya lahu wa lā muntahā*” (Ms. Cataluña 1420, fols. 39v-40r). Mudejars and Moriscos preserved rhymed and versified *ad’iya*, both in Arabic and *aljamía*. In fact, the *du‘ā’ al-istigfār* following the *Alabança ada Allāh* in Ms. Esc. 1880 displays quatrains of monorhymed verses that oscillate between ten and fourteen syllables. Similar to the structure of the *Coplas* (Ms. J-13), Aljamiado verses alternate with the Arabic refrain, “*Yā arḥama arrāḥmīna*” (Oh the Most Merciful of the Merciful).

Likewise, a Morisco manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Méjanes (Ms. 1367 *olim* 1223, Aix-en-Provence) includes several versified Arabic and Aljamiado *ad’iya* that display parallelism and rhythmic patterns, as we see in the following example: “Señor Allah, a Tú nos quexamos de nuestras errores, / pues apiádate de nós i danos agua, yā Allah / Señor, a Tú

<sup>199</sup> Galmés de Fuentes dates the codex to the sixteenth century. It measures 12.3 x 7 cm and is bound with “pergamino de la época con botón” (Galmés 1998, 71). A *ḥadīth* that includes instructions for how to pray during Ramaḍān follows the poem. The codex concludes with a *du‘ā’* (fol. 8r).

<sup>200</sup> Orators employed *saj’* for various recited genres, including sermons (*khuṭba*, pl. *khuṭāb*) edifying tales (*qiṣṣa*, pl. *qiṣaṣ*), and *maqāmāt* (see Stewart 2001). *Saj’* was regarded with circumspection if not condemnation by jurists and theologians, such as Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d.1111), who admonished those who “poetically embellish” their *du‘ā’* (Khalil 99). In addition to *ad’iya*, Mudejars and Moriscos preserved rhymed sermons in both Arabic and *aljamía* (e.g. Ms. Esc.1880, fols. 1r-15v; Ms. J-20 CSIC, fols. 1-34; Ms. Calanda 3, fols. 115-29).

venimos a contar nuestras rencores, / pues apiádate de nós i danos agua, yā Allah” (qtd. in Fidalgo 74).<sup>201</sup> Such, in Finnegan’s terms, “structural repetitiveness” abounds in *ad‘iyat al-istisqā’* (25). The supplication for rain in Ms. J-23 (CSIC) displays rhythmic regularity through the repetition of the prayer’s core message:

Yā Allāh Señor, por el-*albaraka* [*blessing*] que ponīste en tu santo nonbre el mayor,  
perdónanos i apiádanos i oye nuestra rrogaría i danos awa.  
Yā Allāh Señor, por l-*albaraqa* [*albaraka*] de tus noventa i nueve nonbres los // hermosos,  
perdónanos i apiádanos i oye nuestra rrogaría i danos awa.  
Yā Allāh Señor, por l-*albaraka* que pusiste en tu al-*arš* [*throne*] el-alto granado  
perdónenos i apiádanos i oye nuestra rrogaría i danos awa ∴ (fols. 3r-v).

In her analysis of *ad‘iya* copied in Ms. J-30 (CSIC), Cervera Fras compares the repetitive pattern to litanies: “Se trata de letanías en las que, de forma bastante redundante, se alaba el poder y la misericordia de Dios invocando sus atributos y solicitando su favor ante la situación de necesidad que atraviesan sus fieles” (1999, 299).

Though it may seem redundant to twenty-first-century non-Muslim readers, the parallelism in *ad‘iya* is essential to their efficacy as speech acts.<sup>202</sup> Supplications for rain invoke collective involvement and repetition to accomplish the prayer’s “operative” value. We must remember that collective *ad‘iya* were often recited aloud. Finnegan underscores the importance of repetition in oral texts in her analysis of “antiphonal forms”:

Patterns of repetition can provide *structure and coherence* to an oral poem – a necessary aspect in a medium as ephemeral as the spoken or sung word –but need not lead to monotony.

<sup>201</sup> The manuscript, dated to 1609, comprises of 296 folios and measures 13 x 8.5 cm. The same scribe copied Ms. 5380 BNE, BRAH 11/9415 *olim* T-19, and a fragment of Ms. 4908 BNE (Villaverde 120). Colleagues at the University of Oviedo facilitated my access to a digitized copy of the text. I am grateful to Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva for calling my attention to Monica Fidalgo Blanco’s unpublished thesis, *Rogativas para pedir agua en el Ms. 1223 de la Biblioteca Méjanes de Aix-en-Provence* (2006), in which she discusses and transcribes selected *ad‘iya*.

<sup>202</sup> Longás’s selection of Aljamiado *ad‘iya* derives from a similar attitude: “Entre las varias rogativas que solían recitarse, hemos seleccionado las más típicas y menos monótonas, si bien la prolijidad es característica común a todas ellas” (152).

Repetition in itself can lead to variation both in the intervening non-repeated units, and – very effectively – in strategic variation within the repeated element itself (103, my emphasis).

Paradoxically, repetition enables variation. The “structure” and “coherence” created by repetition counteract orality’s ephemerality. Parallelism, or ““foregrounded regularity,”” facilitates a performer’s execution of the recitation (Leech [1969] qtd. in Bauman 1977, 18). As Bauman explains, “the parallel constructions may serve as mnemonic aids to the performer of a fixed traditional text or enhance the fluency of the improvisational or spontaneous performance” (1977, 18-19). In other words, as Walter Ong puts it, “Redundancy, repetition of the just-said, keeps both speaker and hearer surely on the track” (40).

In addition to providing performers with a mnemonic touchstone, repetition and parallelism provide for listeners’ profound “involvement,” as elucidated by Deborah Tannen (1989). Following A.L. Becker’s (1982) explanation that an emotional response is predicated on textual coherence, Tannen argues that in literary texts and in daily conversation, “Perceiving meaning through the coherence of discourse constraints... as well as perceiving oneself as coherent in interaction constituted by the discourse, creates an emotional experience of insight (understanding the text) and connectedness (to other participants, to the language, to the world)” (13). Just as the refrain in the *Coplas* (Ms. J-13) enabled Moriscos to participate in ritual language, parallel antiphonal structures in *ad‘iya* create discursive coherence. This coherence is indispensable to audience members’ involvement and performer’s fluency.

The poetics of *ad‘iya* illuminate the prayer-like features of Aljamiado poetry. Notable similarities in lexicon, function, and structure require us to reevaluate these “genres” in terms of Islamic tradition rather than our own preconceptions (see Chapter 5). Analysis of the *Coplas* (Ms. J-13) and the *Coplas de alabança* (Ms. J-52 and Ms. J-37) sheds light on the power of



prayer encoded in Aljamiado poetry. Participation frameworks facilitate praise of God and requests for forgiveness. Poetic language constructs the *alfaquíes* as models of communication with the divine. Aljamiado poems are not mere words. When recited with the intent that God hears them as prayer, they become illocutionary acts. Such speech acts depend on listeners to effect change in the world; audience members are involved in the text's unfolding through repetition and parallelism. The following section approaches the *Coplas de alabanza* as a touchstone of identification for Aragonese Muslims and concludes with a discussion of the poem's (second) strophic form.

### **Identity Poetics: Language and *Coplas de arte menor***

The *Coplas de alabanza* bestow a privileged position on listeners. The collective first-person poetic voice includes audience members in the text's expression. The poem preaches Islamic distinction and God's special consideration of Muslims:

O Señor del firmamento ∴  
 y de todo lo criado  
 que tú los-as khaleqado [*created*]  
 i les das mantenimiento  
 i-en los muçlimes siento,  
 mi Señor, te as rremirado  
 pues que graçia nos-as dado //  
 de ti aber conoçimiento ∴ (Ms. J-52, fol. 576v-577r).

God's exceptional care for "muçlimes" grants believers intimate access to the Creator. In the stanza's penultimate verse, third-person "los muçlimes" subtly becomes collective "nos." God invites Muslims to familiarize themselves with their Lord. Listeners become Allāh's selected faithful as the message of exemplarity intensifies:

Gran rrey de los escoşidos,  
 Señor, cuá // ntas bendiçiones  
 pusiste en los coraçones

de tu[s] siervos tan quešidos  
 pues que son esclareçidos<sup>203</sup>  
 de tu *addīn* [*religion*] tan encunbraço  
 del-aliçlām preçiado  
 y de tí favoreçidos ∴ (Ms. J-52, fol. 577r-v).

Those who submit are “chosen,” “blessed,” “loved,” “enlightened,” and “favored” servants of God. Finally, the poem features a direct comparison to other peoples:

Porque los buenos creyentes  
 y-en todo tu serviçio umillaços  
 son muy çierto aventaçados  
 de las naçiones i jentes  
 y-ansí los más obidientes  
 los del-*alumma* serán  
 por graçias que de tí abrán  
 que son muy resplandeçientes ∴ (Ms. J-52, 577v).

Of all people, God prefers those of the *ummah*. They are “aventajados”—a term that denotes both distinction and advantage. These stanzas construct Muslim solidarity and a sense of superiority, exemplifying the proselytizing impulses behind the *Coplas de alabança*. The message would have galvanized Moriscos living in an atmosphere of forced conversion by offering a compelling alternative to Christianity: Moriscos must solidify their Islamic beliefs because Muslims are God’s chosen, beloved, favored, and most obedient people. Indeed, since not all Moriscos were crypto-Muslims, the *Coplas de alabança* would have persuaded the unconvinced and animated the resolute.

The poetic voice asserts an Islamic identity through specific lexical choices that reinforce its emphasis on Muslim exemplarity, such as referring to an imagined audience of “muçlimes” and “creyentes” who belong to the *ummah*. Such terms displace the denominations ascribed to Moriscos in coeval Christian documents, such as “cristianos nuevos de moros” and later

<sup>203</sup> The scribe partially crosses out the word ‘esclareçido’ and writes “esclare” in the right-hand margin (fol. 577v).

“Moriscos” (López-Morillas 1995, 196). Though expressed in *romance*, the poem indexes an Islamic identity through an Arabic-inflected lexicon. The semantic landscape maintains the Islamicness of religious terms.

For example, the poetic voice references Allāh’s religion as “tu *addīn* tan encunbraço” (fol. 577v). I glossed this word as “religion” above, though *ad-dīn* encompasses much more. The prolific Qur’ānic term connotes law, custom, judgment, worship, and conviction (Badawi and Haleem 320). *Dīn* is often used as a synonym for Islam—it doesn’t mean “religion” per say, but rather defines Islam as *the* true religion. *Dīn* derives from the verb *dāna* which means both “to owe a debt” and “to be obedient.” *Dīn* thus conjures the image of believers in debt to God who submit to God’s power (*The Study Quran* 1605). It is closely related to the word *Islām* itself, which means “submission,” and *muslim*, which means “one who submits.” Verses such as “pues que de tu *addīn* preçiado” and “tu *addīn* tan encunbraço” (Ms. J-52, fols. 577r-v) adamantly assert an Islamic identity.

Just as *addīn* cannot be faithfully translated as “religión,” *khaleqar* is a common Aljamiado substitution for “crear,” in which Spanish morphology fuses with the Arabic root *khā’-lām-qāf*. *Khalaqa* refers to the divine act of creation; the term occurs over two hundred times in the Qur’ān in reference to Allāh as the Creator (*khāliq*), and to all of Creation (*khalq*) (Badawi and Haleem 282). In Aljamiado manuscripts, Arabic *khalaqa* becomes the neologism “khaleqar.” The *Coplas de alabança*’s lyric voice addresses God with second-person preterite form of the verb khaleqar: “*khaleqaste*, Allāh potente ∴ / el-agua y-el fuego i viento”; “çielo i tierra *khaleqaste*”; “*khaleqaste* mucha jente” (Ms. J-52, fol. 576v).

The previous examples exhibit Ottmar Hegyi’s assertion that *aljamía* is “una variante islámica del español” (1985). The high quantity of Arabisms leads Hegyi to posit the Moriscos’

“intento consciente de crear un lenguaje religioso, en oposición al profano” (1978a, 319). As explained in the Introduction, *aljamía* is a devotional language—it is *romance* repurposed to serve Mudejar and Morisco communities’ spiritual needs. *Alfaquíes* fashioned listeners as members of an enviable “in-group” whose linguistic code set them apart (Gumperz 66).

Though he discusses conversational code switching in contemporary bilingual environments, John Gumperz’s (1982) explanation of minority groups’ “we code” versus an authoritative “they code” sheds light on the lexical nuance present in the *Coplas de alabanza* in particular and Aljamiado texts more broadly (66). Gumperz distinguishes between linguistic features “associated with in-group and informal activities” in contrast to a code “associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations” (66). The integration of Arabic words in Aljamiado texts conjures Gumperz’s depiction of bilingual language users: “What distinguishes bilinguals from their monolingual neighbors is the juxtaposition of cultural forms: the awareness that their own mode of behavior is only one of several possible modes” (65).

This “awareness” leads to what I call *purposeful borrowing*, following Gumperz’s distinction between “borrowing” and code switching. Gumperz identifies a “meaningful” impulse behind code switching, but does not ascribe such importance to “borrowing.” In contrast, he defines “borrowing,” as “the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures” (Gumperz 66).

Purposeful borrowing in Aljamiado texts claims Arabic vocabulary as a fundamental component of the Moriscos’ written “we code.” It adorns a shared vernacular with sacredness and uniqueness. To be clear, I do not identify Arabic as a “we code” and *romance* as a “they

code.” Most Aragonese Moriscos spoke *romance* as their primary language and understood meager amounts of Arabic. Aragonese Moriscos’ “we code” comprises a “linguistic repertoire” inextricable from their Christian neighbors.<sup>204</sup> Rather, the purposeful incorporation of syntactic, semantic, and lexical Arabisms in Aljamiado texts cultivate a written “we code.”

Disseminating a “we code” enabled *alfaquíes* to construct an “in-group.” *Aljamía* allowed Aragonese Muslims to distinguish themselves from their Christian and Jewish neighbors. In the *Coplas de alabança*, purposeful borrowing of Arabic serves as linguistic reinforcement for the poem’s distinguishing of Muslims. The *Coplas de alabança* educe an “in-group” status by explicitly praising those who follow Islam and articulating this praise in Arabicized *romance*. Though one might expect such purposeful borrowing in a translation, how do we approach the intentional incorporation of this specialized vocabulary in poetry set to *coplas de arte menor*?

This strophic form comprises of two groups of four octosyllabic verses with varying rhyme (*abrazado* or *cruzado*), usually *abba:acca* or *abab:baab*.<sup>205</sup> *Arte menor* is considered the popular or traditional counterpart to the more erudite *arte mayor* (Clarke 490). Despite their ubiquitous presence in the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled ca. 1445 for Juan II), *coplas de arte menor* declined in popularity by the mid-fifteenth century and “apenas se le había recordado durante el siglo XVI” (Navarro Tomás 128; 266). The form’s purported sixteenth-century decline does not account for Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ literary predilections.<sup>206</sup> Four of the five extant anonymous poems redacted before the expulsion employ *coplas de arte menor*: the

<sup>204</sup> Gumperz (1964) first presented the idea of a “linguistic repertoire” (see Duranti [1997, 71-2]).

<sup>205</sup> The pattern may alternate with seven-verse stanzas (*abba:aca*). *Coplas de arte menor* differ from the *copla castellana* in quantity of rhymes: *arte menor* has two or three while the *copla castellana* uses four. Both forms are ascribed Galician-Portuguese provenance (Navarro Tomás 128).

<sup>206</sup> Since *Cancioneros* circulated in the sixteenth century, *arte menor* was still prevalent in print.

*Coplas de alabança* (Ms. J-52 and Ms. J-37), *Coplas del alhiçante* (Ms. J-13), *La degüella de Ibrahim* (Ms. Cataluña 1574), and *Sermón puesto en metro castellano* (Ms. Cataluña 1574).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the prevalence of *coplas de arte menor* in Aljamiado poetry causes critics consternation. In part, the aporia stems from the tendency to cast eight-syllable lines as Spain's quintessential lyric expression. The octosyllable, as Antonio Quilis suggests, "se adecua perfectamente a nuestra lengua y constituye una constante métrica en la historia de nuestra lírica; es injusto, por ello, buscar su origen en los metros latinos o en la tradición galaica o provenzal. Es el verso por excelencia de nuestra poesía popular" (65). In the nineteenth century, critics such as Eugenio de Ochoa characterized *arte menor* as the preferable "national" precedent to sixteenth-century poets' predilection for Italianate styles.

Despite using a prototypical Spanish verse form, one perfectly tailored to the sounds of Spanish, Aragonese Muslims infuse *arte menor* with Arabicized lexicon. Moriscos were not the only early modern individuals to combine a popular form with an erudite register. In the second half of the sixteenth century, poets began revitalizing the traditional *Romancero* with "by incorporating a more sophisticated poetic idiom" (Quintero 22). As María Cristina Quintero contends, this combination "transformed the genre" of the traditional ballad (22). Similarly, Moriscos transformed the scope of *arte menor* by applying *aljamía*'s idiosyncratic expression to a poetic form characterized "por su agilidad" and destined "para composiciones poéticas ligeras" (Quilis 55). What better way to diffuse semantically dense Islamic words than by combining them with the "lightness" of *arte menor*? Similar to Antonio Quilis, Dorothy Clarke contends the use of the octosyllable "was more appropriate for *lighter subjects* than was the long, weighty *verso de arte mayor*" (490; my emphasis). When merged with a devotional register, *coplas de arte menor* convey Islamic concepts without obscure syntax or complicated verbosity.

Perhaps the straightforward verse form provided Moriscos a convenient means to appeal to God. Engaging lyric voices simulated prayer and enabled listeners to internalize Arabisms such as *khaleqar* and *addīn*. Stanzas of *arte menor* were destined for recitation and conducive to memorization. Accessible eight-syllable rhyming verses would have been easy to transmit and remember. Repurposing *coplas de arte menor* enabled *alfaquíes* to expand knowledge of Islamic concepts to a broader audience. Such poems articulated a collective identity—one that was resolutely “Islamic” and distinctively “Iberian” at the same time.

Jonathan Smith’s definition of ritual offers another perspective on Moriscos’ use of *arte menor*. As Smith explains, “Ritual is, first and foremost, a mode of paying attention. It is a process for marking interest” (103). *Coplas de arte menor* function as a strategic “mode” whereby *alfaquíes* capture interest and direct attention through comprehensible verses and memorable rhymes. *Arte menor* reinforces the *alfaquíes*’ instructional goals, allowing them to role model supplications to God, to involve listeners in communal speech acts, and to convince the circumspect.

The presence of *arte menor* in Aljamiado codices demonstrates varying attitudes towards the poetic form, expressed through distinct production registers and adapted to various ends. If octosyllabic verses constitute Spain’s prototypical lyric expression, Morisco scribes etched this poetic form within their compilations in ways that both underscored and moderated its distinctiveness. As didactic tools that facilitate propitiatory gestures and collective prayer, the Aljamiado poems analyzed in this chapter surpass their ostensive classification as “praise poems.” The next chapter will likewise challenge assumptions regarding Aljamiado poems as well as their Mudejar and Morisco authors, animators, readers, overhearers, scribes, and twentieth-century critics.

## Chapter 4: Wisdom and Reported Speech

*El saber no tiene ningún provecho si no es patente en las obras.*<sup>207</sup>

*If a poem is only what its individual readers make it in their activity of constructing meaning from it, then a good poem will be one which most compels its own destruction in the service of its readers' new constructions.*<sup>208</sup>

In 1567, Rodrigo el Rubio appeared before Inquisitors in Zaragoza. Charged with the possession of Arabic papers and scribal materials, the Morisco faced life-threatening consequences.<sup>209</sup> Since its official ban that year, Arabic in written and spoken forms had become synonymous with heresy. Inquisitors equated Arabic manuscripts with evidence of Moriscos' clandestine observance of Islam (Root 126). Rodrigo was denounced by "un moro convertido" who had seen the codex and writing tools (Cardaillac 68).<sup>210</sup> Centuries later, Rodrigo's manuscript found itself in the hands of Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823), a priest who served as an official of the Inquisition.<sup>211</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century Llorente sold the

<sup>207</sup> Quoted in Bouras 147; adapted from Ms. Ocaña (Toledo).

<sup>208</sup> McKenzie 26.

<sup>209</sup> See Lea for examples of Moriscos punished for possessing Arabic writings (131).

<sup>210</sup> Ms. Esp. 93 BNF includes a copy of Rodrigo's trial proceedings. "Felipe de Lope," an elderly man with knowledge of Arabic affirmed "que parece que ha poco tiempo que sea scripto y es letra scripta en Aragón, o escripta por aragonés" (qtd. in Villaverde 118). In addition to his duties as a scribe, Rodrigo el Rubio was also a weaver (Wiegers 1994, 202).

<sup>211</sup> Roza (2016, 293) and Villaverde (119) refer to the priest as "José" Antonio Llorente, though Henry Kamen and James Amelang allude to a "Juan" Antonio Llorente with the same dates. A priest from Rincón de Soto, Llorente became an official in Logroño in 1785 after being forced to prove his blood purity (Kamen 2007, 180; Amelang 106). From 1805 he resided in Madrid, where he examined Inquisitorial archives. His perusal of documents led to the dual publications in 1812 of *Anales de la Inquisición de España* and *Memoria histórica sobre cuál ha sido la opinión nacional de España acerca del tribunal de la Inquisición*. Upon the withdrawal of French forces, Llorente fled to France in 1813, absconding with a substantial number of manuscripts. These contributed to his *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (Paris, 1817-8). Published in Spain as *Historia crítica de la Inquisición de España* in 1822, the book incensed Catholic officials and thrilled Protestants (Kamen 2007, 181). Llorente eventually returned to Spain, where he died in 1823. He was suspended from the priesthood for writing about the Inquisition and remains a polemical figure: "even today, those who wish to downgrade the exiled



codex to France's national library, where it remains today, preserved as Ms. Arabe 1163 (Roza 2016, 293).

In many ways, Rodrigo's codex represents a typical Morisco volume. It includes a broad assortment of texts compiled in the 1560s. Yet interspersed among Qur'ānic verses and religious instruction, forty folios feature unexpected content: an Aljamiado version of Hernán López de Yanguas's poem, *Dichos o sentencias de los siete sabios de Grecia*.<sup>212</sup> First published in Medina del Campo (1542, *octavo*) the *Dichos o sentencias* underwent subsequent reprintings in Medina del Campo (1543, *octavo*), 1549 (Zaragoza, *octavo*), 1579 (Lisboa, *trigesimo-segundo*), 1587 (Salamanca, *octavo*), c. 1600 (Burgos, *quarto*), and c. 1600 (Madrid).<sup>213</sup> López de Yanguas's versification derives from a Latin translation of ethical maxims attributed to Bias, Periander, Pittacus, Cleobulus, Chilon, Solon, and Thales (Taylor 399).

Given Arabic's imperiling consequences, the Aljamiado adaptation of López de Yanguas's text poses a few obvious yet unanswered questions: why run the risk of persecution for a vernacular text that circulated in print? Why insert a secular poem into a compilation of Islamic texts? Scholars have highlighted the poem's didactic and derivative qualities. González Ollé surmises that López de Yanguas's *Dichos o sentencias* "están insertos, sin aportar ninguna novedad, en la larga tradición del género gnómico" (qtd. in López de Yanguas xiv). He groups

Llorente insist above all on his 'treason' to his native country in removing from it valuable archival documents which he then 'sold' to a foreign power" (Kamen 2007, 183).

<sup>212</sup> I will refer to the printed text as *Dichos o sentencias* and the Aljamiado adaptation as *Dichos*. A productive humanist of his day, López de Yanguas authored over a dozen dramatic works (see Wilkinson, nos. 11652-11673). González Ollé suspects "Yanguas" is the locality of Soria in which the author was born in 1487, though his permanent place(s) of residence, as well as his date of death, are unknown (López de Yanguas xi; xiii).

<sup>213</sup> Extant editions were not necessarily the only copies available to early modern readers. Eighteenth-century editions include those of Sevilla (undated, Diego López de Haro; 1726, Francisco de Leefdael) and Córdoba (undated, Juan Ruiz de la Torre).

the poem with other works, concluding: “la producción no dramática de Fernán López de Yanguas encierra un escaso valor e interés literario. En toda ella, el pedagogo predomina sobre el literato” (qtd. in López de Yanguas xv). Pablo Roza (2016) situates the Aljamiado version vis-à-vis Moriscos’ textual production and highlights salient thematic overlaps between the *Dichos* and other texts copied in Ms. 1163; the *Dichos* are a metonymic example of Aljamiado manuscripts’ “función didáctica” and representative of “literatura sapiencial” in particular (Roza 2016, 284-5). Galmés de Fuentes links the “sentencias morales en verso” to a medieval milieu, drawing comparisons with “la literatura didáctica, tan abundante en toda la Romania medieval” (1991, 12; 18).

Building from Roza’s and Galmés’s superb analyses, rather than describe *what* the text appears to teach, I ask *how* it purports to do so. I examine one of the poem’s earliest extant print editions (1549; Zaragoza, R/8836 BNE) and the Aljamiado rendition (Ms. Arabe 1163 BNF, fols. 61r-80v) with renewed attention to paratexts, internal framing devices, and colophons.<sup>214</sup> The convergence of early modern print and covert manuscript traditions compels a reassessment of the contemporary boundaries that divide them. In addition to the *Dichos o sentencias*, this chapter examines the *Coplas sacadas de los castigos del hijo de Edam* (BRAH 11/9393 olim S-1, fols. 205-238) and the *Sermón puesto en metro castellano* (Ms. Cataluña 1574, fols. 15r-24r). Though these three poems are ostensibly “didactic,” understanding *how* they teach is less straightforward.

<sup>214</sup> Galmés de Fuentes and Roza surmise the Morisco scribes copied from the Zaragoza edition (1549) whereas Taylor ventures the possibility that a similar edition, no longer extant, served as the source text (Galmés 1991, 25-9; Roza 2016, 300; Taylor 398). A copy is preserved in the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (R/8836).

This chapter addresses the “didactic” classification oft-applied to Aljamiado texts. Catherine Brown (1998) and Julian Weiss (2006) discuss the problematic term *vis-à-vis* medieval literature. Arguing that medieval works are concerned with the *process* of teaching, Brown challenges the notion that texts possess a self-evident didactic content: “it would be inappropriate—and *anachronistic*—to confine their teaching to the transparent communication of doctrine” (9). Weiss underscores the “cognitive” and “rhetorical” dimensions of didacticism; the former involves the distinction between truth and falsity while the latter refers to the necessary construction of authority to make that distinction compelling to others (6). Brown and Weiss both affirm that it is not enough to describe the content of presumed “didactic” works. One must ask *how* texts purport to teach—not only what they appear to communicate.

I approach the question of *how* by focusing on three key processes: recontextualization, recitation, and mediational performance. Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs outline the process of “entextualization,” or “rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit—a *text*—that can be lifted out of its interactional setting” (Bauman and Briggs 1990, 73). Such acts of “lifting”—designated as a “decentering” or “decontextualization”—entail a concomitant process of “recentering” or “recontextualization” that requires us to “determine what the recontextualized text brings with it from its earlier context(s) and what emergent form, function, and meaning it is given as it is recentered” (Bauman and Briggs 1990, 72; 75). The Aljamiado *Dichos*, the *Coplas sacadas*, and the *Sermón* recenter print, prose, and poetic works, as well as alphabetic expression. Recitation engenders additional processes of decontextualization and recontextualization, which I evaluate at the end of the chapter. The final section reflects on the relationship between performance, reported speech, and *alfaquíes*’ authority.

Each poem recurs to authoritative words in order to communicate wisdom. I examine the impact of reported speech through Bauman's concept of "mediational performances" (2004). Simulated quotation in each text positions the text's author as an "intermediary" of wisdom who enacts "speech routines organized around the relay by a mediator of at least one utterance from a source to an ultimate targeted receiver, with the relayed message framed and understood by the participants as a replication of the original" (Bauman 2004, 129). Embedded voices in each composition play an indispensable rhetorical role in the conveyance of knowledge. They exhibit the various "metadiscursive processes" manifest in Bauman's "mediational performances" (2004, 146). I discuss three of these processes below: the socialization of knowledge, traditionalization, and the authorization of discourse (Bauman 2004, 25-8; 129-58).

Both the *Coplas sacadas* and the *Sermón* were redacted with the Latin script, which Moriscos referred to as "letra de cristianos" in contrast to "letra de muçlimes," or Arabic script. A significant portion of the chapter discusses this alphabetic shift through the concept of language ideologies. I analyze examples from several Latin-script manuscripts to show the range of responses to and possible reasons for using "Christian letters" in the early seventeenth century. Ideologies of language reveal the ways in which alphabetic expression impacted the authoritative underpinnings of knowledge.

### **From Bestselling Book to Confiscated Codex: *Dichos o sentencias de los siete sabios de Grecia***

Derived from a rich intertextual tradition, the *Dichos o sentencias* involve multiple decontextualizations and recontextualizations. López de Yanguas draws upon Spanish gnomic literature's complex discursive landscape—one dependent on Arabic sources translated throughout the Middle Ages (Galmés 1991, 29). As Deyermond explains, the majority of Spain's

gnomic works descend directly or indirectly from Arabic texts (181). López de Yanguas refers to his poem as “bocadillos de oro,” recalling the medieval collection of maxims, *Bocados de Oro*. Though the *Bocados de oro* attribute their content to Greek philosophers, as Galmés and Deyermond point out, the work is derived from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik’s eleventh-century *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsin al-kalim* (“Book of Selected Maxims and Sayings”) (Galmés 1991, 26; Deyermond 182).

The poem’s deceptively straightforward title entails gestures of both decontextualization and recontextualization: “Los dichos o sentencias de los siete sabios de Grecia: hechos en metros por el bachiller Hernan Lopez de Yanguas.” By introducing the “sayings or maxims” as a textual entity, the initial phrase presupposes the poem’s prior existence while the subsequent clause conveys the author’s lyrical agency. The verb “hacer” reiterates the author’s active role in the maxims’ versification. As a competent “bachiller,” he fashioned the textual antecedent into verse. Underneath the title, López de Yanguas offers a rationale for decentering and recentering wisdom. Showcasing his poetic prowess, the author accentuates the mnemonic function of his composition: “Estos bocadillos de oro / Me plugo escrevir en ternos / Porque los niños más tiernos / Los puedan saber de coro.”<sup>215</sup> The stanza underscores his act of creative recentering (“it pleased *me*”) and conjures prestigious precedents.

Emphasis on poetry’s mnemonic function exemplifies one of the metadiscursive processes enacted by mediational performances: the “socialization of knowledge” (Bauman 2004, 149). A work’s entextualization activates this process “insofar as it enhances the

<sup>215</sup> Octosyllabic tercets—with rhyme *abb* or *aba*—often appeared as refrain for *villancicos*. Álvarez Gato used the form for his versified maxims featured in the *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*: “Procuremos buenos fines, / que las vidas más loadas / por lo cabos son juzgadas” (qtd. in Navarro Tomás 125). See additional examples in Lope’s *La inocente Laura* (qtd. in Navarro Tomás 265).

transferability, memorability, and repeatability of the encoded knowledge, now rendered as a text and thus as a durable unit of knowledge” (Bauman 2004, 150). Drawing attention to the poetic nature of his text compounds the capability of discourse to be transferred, memorized, and repeated. In the prologue, López de Yanguas suggests that the “bocadillos de oro” will not only benefit young children, but also a competent *lector*. The author again stresses the poem’s destination for memorization:

Los dichos / o por mejor dezir las flores y sentencias de los siete sabios más principales de Grecia / cuyos nombres son Bias. Periandro. Pitaco. Cleobulo. Chilon. Solon: y Thales. *Sacados* nuevamente por el bachiller Hernan Lopez de Yanguas de latín en romance / *hechos* en ternos. Que quiere dezir que es cada dicho tres pies para que mejor le puedan quedar al lector en la memoria (R/8836, fol. 1v; my emphasis).

The verb *sacar* (“to take out”) describes the process of translating Latin into *romance*. “Sacados” (“taken out”) implies a derivative decentering whereas “hechos en ternos” (“rendered in tercets”) connotes a creative recentering. The prologue inscribes the “dichos” as a concrete unit that existed before the author “extracted” them and “made” them into verse.

Translation and versification form the crux of the *Dichos o sentencias*, which López de Yanguas dedicates to an aristocratic patron. The sayings are “ofrecidos al muy magnífico Señor don Gabriel de la Cueva / hijo del ilustríssimo Señor / el Señor Duque de Alburquerque. Con el qual habla el auctor en estos metros presentes / dedicándole esta presente obra” (R/8836, fol.

1v).<sup>216</sup> “Ofrecidos,” which corresponds to “dichos,” refers to the versified maxims as a durable, moveable unit. On the other hand, the dedication of “esta presente *obra*” (this *work*) conveys the

<sup>216</sup> Gabriel de la Cueva is the son of Francisco de la Cueva, “mayorazgo y primogénito de don Beltrán de la Cueva, tercer duque, este último, de Alburquerque” (González Ollé xiii). The final stanza alludes to López de Yanguas’s geographical transplantation: “que aunque estoy en tierra agena / mientras durare la vida / sere suyo” (fol. 2v). “Estar en tierra agena” could also refer to the author’s existential presence on earth (as opposed to heaven).

poem's independence from, even eclipse of, "los dichos" as a textual entity. The "auctor" claims creative agency and directs the reception of "esta presente obra."

The shifting directions of entextualization position López de Yanguas as an indispensable mediational figure. After two folios of tercets addressed to don Gabriel, López de Yanguas includes a final message in which he directs the text to its targeted interlocutor. Here López de Yanguas embraces the role of mediator, rather than creator, of knowledge: "Comiençan los dichos de Bias / los quales son los siguientes: y para ser bien entendidos / piense el lector que cada sabio habla con el" (R/8836, fol. 3r).

Encouraging the audience to insert themselves into chains of communication with ancient sages facilitates the process of traditionalization, that is, "the active creation of a connection linking current discourse to past discourse" (Bauman 147).<sup>217</sup> Building from Dell Hymes's assertion that "'The traditional begins with the personal,'" Bauman adds, "and the immediate here... with the active construction of connections that link the present with a meaningful past" (2004, 27). Enjoining readers to imagine "que cada sabio habla con el" enables their dynamic production of such connections. When López de Yanguas steps out of the limelight, he enables not only the work's traditionalization but also its authorization—the means through which it is constructed as authoritative (Bauman 2004, 151). "Comiençan los dichos de Bias" presents words intoned by a Greek sage, rather than the "obra" of a sixteenth-century author. López de Yanguas infuses the work with authority by attributing its content to Bias; he is no longer author but rather compiler of direct speech ascribed to Greek sages.

<sup>217</sup> Barletta discusses the concept of "traditionalization" vis-à-vis his analysis of the temporal aspects of Aljamiado texts (2005, 52-5).

The vacillation between decentering and recentering is also manifest in the poem's colophon: "Fenescen los dichos de los siete sabios de Grecia / interprete Yanguas. ~ *Deo gracias*. ~ Fue impressa la presente obra en la muy noble ciudad de Caragoça. Acabose a xxx de Enero. Año de M.D. xxxix" (R/8836, fol. 15v).<sup>218</sup> "Intérprete," which implies "translator," portrays López de Yanguas as the mediator of a decontextualized text, instead of the author of a poetic recontextualization.<sup>219</sup> On the other hand, allusion to the place and time of printing invests the copy with geographic and temporal specificity—key indicators of its recontextualization. "Fenescen los dichos" and "fue impressa la presente obra," similarly cue antithetical messages. The reified words of sages ("los dichos") pivot to an independent creation, "la presente obra." As observed in the dedication to don Gabriel, "obra" emphasizes the text's recontextualization, while "dichos" evokes its decontextualization.

In addition to the paratexts and colophon, internal framing devices likewise emphasize the author's mediational role. A metadiscursive phrase presents each set of sayings as a direct quote, such as: "Aquí se acaban los dichos de Bias: y comiençan los de Periandro" (R/8836, fol. 5r).<sup>220</sup> Though no *verbum dicendi* initiates the tercets per say, the transitional cue maintains the source utterance's integrity. The author does not proclaim, "Here I begin to compose (or versify, or translate) Periander's sayings"; Periander's sayings merely begin. Expressed in prose, the transitions function as a "signaling event" of entextualization (Shoaps 48). Each ascription

<sup>218</sup> "Fenescen" and "Fue impressa" are headed with a *calderón*. Two floral designs flank the Latin expression of thanksgiving. The final paragraph's text is centered in a descending "V" shape, a typical colophon layout.

<sup>219</sup> In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), Covarrubias defines "interprete" as "el que buelve las palabras y conceptos de una lengua en otra, en el qual se requiere fidelidad, prudencia, y sagacidad, y tener igual noticia de ambas lenguas, y lo que en ellas se dize por alusiones y términos metafóricos mirar lo que en estotra lengua le puede corresponder" (fol. 79r).

<sup>220</sup> See identical transitions on fols. 8r, 10r, 11v, and 13r. A close variation reads: "Aquí se acaban los dichos de Salon / y siguense los de Thales" (fol. 14v).



frames verses as coherent entities and catalyze the poem's authorization. By presupposing the text's previous existence outside of its present context, quotation (albeit feigned) displaces the poem's power from author onto the text itself (Barber 18-9). As intermediary, López de Yanguas cedes control to ancient authoritative voices that engage with sixteenth-century audiences.

Engage they do. Sagacious readers, Moriscos recontextualize the words of wisdom reported in López de Yanguas's composition. The Aljamiado adaptation catalyzes the mechanisms of traditionalization and authorization embedded in the *Dichos o sentencias*. The Aljamiado *Dichos* exemplify D.F. McKenzie's observation that "new readers make new texts, and their meanings are a function of their new forms" (qtd. in Chartier 319). Roger Chartier includes McKenzie's quote in his discussion of early modernity's "lectores populares." As Chartier elaborates, by means of material and formal transformation, "los textos pueden ganar nuevos públicos, más amplios y menos sabios, y recibir nuevos significados, alejados de los que pretendió su autor, o de los contruidos por sus primeros lectores" (319). To approach the *Dichos* as a "new text" created by "new readers" who fashion "new forms," I begin with an overview of Ms. 1163's manuscript context.

### **Recontextualized Wisdom in the Aljamiado *Dichos***

Ms. 1163 (in *quarto*) is comprised of thirty-five heterogeneous texts, though Barletta resists classifying the codex as a "miscellany" due to the thematic thread he characterizes as "a serious preoccupation with ethical/pragmatic issues, and an explicit reckoning with time within the larger ethico-moral framework laid out by these texts" (2005, 73).<sup>221</sup> Roza echoes Barletta's

<sup>221</sup> See Roza (2016, 304-5) for a list of contents. See also Suárez Piñera's (1973) and Ben Jemia's (1982) editions.

description, designating the compilation “un compendio de buenas prácticas” (2016, 308). The *Dichos* reiterate instruction found in surrounding texts regarding fear of God, respect for elders, works of charity, and cleanliness (Roza 2016, 306-17). In addition to the poem’s 1563 colophon, the codex features works dated to 1564 and 1566 (fols. 157r; 90v). The *Dichos* (fols. 61r-80v) appear after an account of Muḥammad’s miraculous ascension to heaven, or *mi’rāğ* (fols. 12r-60v), and precede a numerical account of the days of the month. Two scribes copy the poem, though the more experienced hand intervenes only three times. Roza conjectures that a professional copyist instructed the less experienced scribe throughout the redaction (2016, 300).

Subtle elisions yield noteworthy transformations in the Aljamiado recontextualization. Scribes postpone the text’s deictic grounding by eliding López de Yanguas’s authorial introduction and dated title page. The Aljamiado version begins: “Estos son los dichos de Bias los cuales son los siguientes i para ser bien entendidos piense el lector que cada sabio habla con él” (Ms. 1163, fol. 61r). By presenting the poem as “los dichos de Bias,” the scribes remove intermediaries between remote sources of knowledge and the present, privileging the text’s decontextualization rather than López de Yanguas’s recontextualization. Information was not “made” into a poem or “taken out” from one language and put into another. The bachiller’s assertive claims to authorial and mediational roles are conspicuously absent.

When the deictic cues finally arrive, the scribes of Ms. 1163 do not replicate the information provided in the *Dichos o sentencias*. Instead, they actualize and elaborate the print edition’s colophon. In contrast to the ordered arrangement of the print edition’s final folio, the Aljamiado colophon is surrounded by calligraphy practice, reminding us of the interactive and contingent nature of textual production. The copyist elides metadiscursive reference to “la presente obra” and instead maintains the integrity of “los dichos” as a concrete entity:

“Feneçense los dichos de los siete sabios de Grecia. Interbrete Yanwas. Deo graçias a Dios del çielo. Amin. Acabáronse los dichos de escrebrir [*sic*] el çaguero de março de año de mil y quinientos y çinquenta ssnta [sesenta] y tres años” (Ms. 1163, fol. 80v).<sup>222</sup> The colophon transforms a printed *obra* into written *dichos*. As Galmés points out, the copyist seems to interpret “Deo gracias” as “Doy gracias,” which inspires the additional “a Dios del çielo” (1991, 76). The scribe briefly alludes to López de Yanguas’s role as “intérprete,” yet overall, the colophon recontextualizes the poem’s production in the dynamic “now” of copying.

As William Hanks explains, “the ‘now’ of textual production... is actually a multilayered construct. ‘Right now’ at any point subsumes a past and an anticipated future” (113). The recontextualization of López de Yanguas’s *Dichos o sentencias* as “dichos de Bias” points to a genre Morisco readers and listeners would have recognized. In Aljamiado texts, “dichos” refers to admonitions attributed to renowned Islamic, ancient, or otherwise influential figures. Kadri translates “dichos” as “*proverbes*” and links the concept to Arabic *maṭāl*: “*Dichos* doit plutôt être compris dans son sens espagnol de « proverbes », c’est-à-dire des formules exprimant une vérité d’expérience ou un conseil de sagesse pratique et populaire, et donc comme une traduction de l’arabe *maṭāl*” (I, 228).<sup>223</sup>

Scribes of Aljamiado texts introduce “dichos” with an attention to source. For instance, the “dichos del annabī” (“Sayings of the Prophet”) a collection of maxims attributed to Muḥammad, begin: “Estos son dichos del annabī ‘*alayhi iṣṣalām* del libro de los mil dichos que son breves y

<sup>222</sup> The copyist appears to correct “cincuenta” with “sesenta,” establishing the date of 1563 (Galmés 1991, 76).

<sup>223</sup> An interlineal translation of *Kitāb aš-šihāb* renders “*amṭāl*”, plural of *maṭāl*, not as “dichos” but “*rretrayreys*” (Ms. J-29 CSIC, fol. 3r). Perhaps “*rretrayreys*” refers to “*retraher*,” a refrain or proverbial expression that invokes an authoritative admonition. *Amṭāl* also allude to the *exempla* tradition.

de mucha sabencia y de mucho provecho” (Ms. Esc. 1880, fol. 32r; qtd. in Kadri II, 69). The “dichos” derive from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma b. Ġa‘far b. ‘Alī. b. Ḥakmūn Al-Qudā‘ī’s (d. 1062) *Kitāb aš-šihāb*, known as the “libro de los mil dichos” among Moriscos.<sup>224</sup> Attention to source persists in a bilingual copy of *Kitāb aš-šihāb* in which an authorial voice cites himself as transmitter of the Prophet’s speech: “yo é aplicado en mi libro éste de lo que oí de lo que contaba el mensajero de Allāh” (Ms. J-29 CSIC, fol. 2v). Another collection of sayings commences: “Estos son dichos sacados de la *tawqir* [*tafsīr*] del-alqur’ān i de los *alkitebis* de *arabi’a* [*‘arabiyya*] en-*aljemā* que los dixerón los sabios por-el dicho de annabī Muḥammad ṣ ‘m” (Ms. J-8 CSIC, fol. 170). The sayings were extracted from reliable oral and written sources: Qur’ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), Arabic books, and wise authorities.

Such attributions reflect the practice of *ḥadīth*, an authoritative tradition derived from Muḥammad’s sayings and behavior. Rahman defines *ḥadīth* as a “narrative, usually very short, purporting to give information about what the Prophet said, did, or approved or disapproved or, of similar information about his Companions” (1979, 53-4).<sup>225</sup> A reputable chain of transmission (*isnād*) ensures a *ḥadīth*’s content (*matn*) is authoritative (Rahman 1979, 54). In Aljamiado texts, the phrase “fue rrecontado por...” or the quotative verb “dixo” supply the required documentation to establish the text’s reliability.

<sup>224</sup> The complete Arabic title is *Kitāb šihāb al-akhbār fī-l-ḥadīth al-marwīya ‘an ir-rasūl al-mukhtār*, or “Book of the resplendent light of stories concerning the parables and teachings related by the most excellent Prophet,” a work widely diffused in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages (Harvey 2005, 146; Kadri I, 229). Extant copies include a bilingual Arabic-*aljamía* copy (Ms. J-29 CSIC); an Arabic copy (Ms. J-39 CSIC); and one in *aljamía* (Ms. 5354 BNE). See Harvey 2010, 205-6.

<sup>225</sup> See also Mattson (2015, 1594-5) and Robson (2002). Harvey compares the authoritative nature of *ḥadīth* to Qur’ānic verses: “It does not have authority equivalent to the Koran, but a story from a hadith, which, after an elaborate process of authentication and criticism of the transmission (*isnād*) is adjudged to be sound (*sahih*), may serve as a basis for preaching, teaching and legislation” (2005, 145).

Though the text purports to be a series of “dichos,” in the Aljamiado recentering of López de Yanguas’s *Dichos o sentencias*, previous processes of translation, versification, or transmission are not acknowledged. Authority rests on the absence, rather than presence, of an *isnād*. Only an oblique reference to “intérprete Yanguas” on the final folio recognizes previous mediation. The Aljamiado recontextualization minimizes the involvement of sixteenth-century intermediaries. By eliminating the paratexts and deictic grounding, or the “prior contextual residue,” the scribes of the *Dichos* invoke an authoritative genre through unprecedented means (Shoaps 50).

### **Apostrophe, Recitation, and Production Layouts**

Whether preceded by authorial commentary or not, the print and Aljamiado versions of the poem begin with the same injunction: the reader must imagine that each sage speaks with him directly. Throughout the composition, apostrophe functions as connective tissue linking past and present. Over 80% of the poem’s tercets include direct informal address. A plethora of commands enjoins listeners to rectify their behavior: “*mírate* todos los días”; “nunca *digas* mal de nadie”; “si fortuna te es adversa / *no te aflijas* que muy presto / suele mostrar otro gesto”; “*sey* templado en los deleites”; “de los tiempos *no te fíes*”; “*cumple* siempre tu palabra”; “nunca *sigas* los extremos”; “con tus padres *ten* paciencia”; “A los viles lisongeros / nunca tu casa les *abras*”; “*teme* a Dios todas las horas” (R/8836, fols. 3r; 3v; 5r; 5v; 6v; 8r; 9r; 10r; 13r; my emphasis).

Some of the commands reiterate the speaking subject’s stance. For example, “Si sabes artes o letras / mira bien *lo que te digo*,” or the words attributed to Pítaco, “Lo que más *te encomiendo* / porque sé que es hondo abismo / que conozcas a ti mismo” (R/8836, fols. 3r, 9r; my emphasis). Pervasive apostrophe and first-person declarations simulate a conversation

between ancient sage and sixteenth-century interlocutor. The prevalence of present-tense verbs grounds the text in listeners' "here and now." At the same time, the use of future subjunctive allows listeners to imagine scenarios in which they will have the opportunity to *apply* this knowledge (e.g. "tratares"; "vieres"; "tuvieres"; "fueres"; "padescieres"; "bivieres"; "pudieres"; "hizieres"; "quisieres"; "anduvieres" [R/8836, fols. 6r; 6v; 9v; 10v; 11r; 11v; 12r; 13v; 13v; 14v]).

Angled toward application, the *Dichos o sentencias* are not static assertions or indirect maxims. The poem enables individuals to reflect on wisdom's integration in their own lives. As a familiar genre with a nuanced communicative thrust, perhaps López de Yanguas's poem appealed to Moriscos not only for its edifying content but also its rhetorical expression. Though presented as "dichos" by the Morisco scribes, I believe the text's didactic appeal aligns with that of *waṣiyya* (pl: *wasāyā*), discussed below, a genre in which revered interlocutors share advice with a disciple through repetitive apostrophe. Similarly, the *Dichos o sentencias* simulate direct speech to appeal to listeners' attention; apostrophe functions as connective tissue linking past and present.

Indeed, of the sixty-two "dichos del annabī" preserved in Ms. Escorial 1880, only one incorporates direct address to an individual.<sup>226</sup> Succinct, impersonal maxims predominate: "No es servido Allah con mexor cosa que con entender l'addīn" (Ms. Esc. 1880, fols. 32r; 35v; qtd. in Kadri II, 69; 72). Generalized maxims become direct injunctions in the *Dichos o sentencias*. The preponderance of apostrophe simulates dialogue between ancient speakers and current listeners. By delaying the text's deictic grounding, the Aljamiado recontextualization foregrounds this dialogic tenor. Eliminating the poem's paratexts enables the Morisco scribes to repurpose the

<sup>226</sup> Nine include plural apostrophe.

poem's content—recasting a popular vernacular work as an authoritative sapiential text.

Similarly, recentring the poem in Arabic script elevates its prestige. By decontextualizing a print text and recontextualizing it in an Aljamiado codex, the scribes transform the poem's reception and direct its interpretation.

Given the Aljamiado recontextualization's opening frame and closing colophon, perhaps it is more accurate to affirm that Moriscos incorporated an ancient set of Greek "dichos" rather than a sixteenth-century poem. Yet the manuscript's physical layout, or "production register," complicates this interpretation (Dagenais 144). The experienced scribe designates the end of each line with typical Arabic manuscript punctuation: a cherry-like design and triangulated groups of dots, or *tréboles* (Ms. 1163, fols. 62v, 65r, 65v). Inserting this punctuation reduces the amount of blank space on the page. The practiced copyist maintains the redaction's horizontal regularity by justifying each line of text as continuous prose.

The primary scribe, on the other hand, deploys various techniques to convey the text's poetic nature. Rather than beginning each verse on the folio's right-hand side, as one would expect in an Arabic text, stanzas resemble an inverted *pie quebrado* (Ms. 1163, fol. 61v).<sup>227</sup> The arrangement yields copious amounts of blank space (fols. 62r; 63r; 63v). At times, the copyist simulates his instructor's style by including a group of dots at the end of each stanza, though these contain up to ten points rather than the customary three (e.g. fol. 77v). Beginning on folio 75r, the poetic tercets strongly resemble couplets.

<sup>227</sup> *Coplas de pie quebrado* combine octosyllabic and tetrasyllabic lines (Navarro Tomás 136-8). The scribe begins copying text mid-folio in other sections of Ms. 1163, though with less consistency (e.g. fol. 143v). Perhaps he utilized this tactic to index the beginning of a new section—poetic or otherwise.

Fluctuations in physical layout pose numerous questions. Should we attribute the eclectic variations to scribal experimentation, intentional aesthetic decisions, or practical contingencies? Did the scribes transliterate directly from López de Yanguas's print text or did they work from another Aljamiado copy? Taylor and Roza call attention to the absence of several stanzas in Ms. 1163; they ascribe certain errors to homoeoteleuton, that is, a visual skip from same to same (Taylor 398; Roza 2016, 301). These examples suggest that the scribes copied from a text with demarcated stanzas: if a copyist jumped over "si fortuna" after writing the stanza that begins "si la fortuna," it is likely he copied from a text with discernible strophes (fol. 64r; see also fol. 76v).<sup>228</sup>

Irrespective of the alphabet or layout employed in the source text, "each act of textual production presupposes antecedent texts and anticipates prospective ones" (Bauman 2004, 4). Considering the Zaragoza (1549) edition's physical layout allows us to imagine the Aljamiado recontextualization vis-à-vis this potential antecedent. The print edition features neatly separated groups of tercets in which a *calderón* (pilcrow) highlights the first stanza of every folio as well as each set of sayings. The metadiscursive commentary is centered in a three-line grouping, while the poetic text is aligned with the folio's left-hand side. The production design produces a mirror effect; seven three-line stanzas per folio sync *recto* and *verso*. The uniformity confers a polished and ordered impression.

<sup>228</sup> Taylor highlights a beguiling example of *hapax* in which the amanuensis renders López de Yanguas's verse "los oficios populares" as "los oficios purpurales" (398; fol. 66v). He hypothesizes the existence of lost print editions that could account for this change, as well as the possibility that it is an example of metathesis [-*rales*]. *Damma* can render *u* or *o* in *aljamía*. If the scribe copied from an Aljamiado text, the change from "purpurales" to "porporales" seems equally enigmatic.



Comparing López de Yanguas's text to the codex's *mise en page* illuminates the latter's perplexing inconsistencies. It appears as if the primary scribe could not recreate the poem's aesthetic equilibrium with tercets. Instead, he approximates the mirror effect by opting for couplets or inverted stanzas of *pie quebrado* (e.g. fols. 73r-74v). In this way, the main scribe seems to deemphasize the "intertextual gap" between the Aljamiado recontextualization and López de Yanguas's poem (Bauman 2004, 7). Despite framing the text as "*dichos* de Bias," the manuscript's physical disposition evokes López de Yanguas's sixteenth-century *obra*. Whereas the experienced scribe reproduces traditional features of Arabic manuscripts, the primary copyist imitates and innovates the print edition's layout.

Textual adaptations can both hew to the sources they presuppose and create emergent models for those they entail. López de Yanguas's poem recenters wisdom as conversation and Morisco scribes are quick to perpetuate the dialogue. Reconsidering intertextual links between Aljamiado texts and coeval literature posits Moriscos as active readers in touch with their Old Christian and *converso* neighbors. The Aljamiado rendition of López de Yanguas's poem is but one example of Moriscos' participation in the literary currents of their day. As readers who not only recuperated the past but preserved the present, Aragonese Muslims engaged with contemporary tendencies and, in some cases, even anticipated them.

### **Morisco Humanists: Challenging the Construction of an Oxymoron**

The *Dichos* disprove one of the negative stances ascribed to Moriscos: their lack of interest in Renaissance literature and humanistic inquiry. Harvey compares sixteenth-century linguistic developments in Christian and Islamic literatures, highlighting the shared impulse of translation into the vernacular. He ultimately concludes: "For Muslims, Classical antiquity

signified little” (2005, 136). The Moriscos’ disinterest contributed to linguistic divergence, in that Christians’ language became more Latinate whereas that of Muslims became more Arabicized. Hegyi draws similar conclusions, surmising that the Renaissance’s “connotaciones politeístas” and “sabor neopagano” would have repelled Muslims (1985, 653). Accordingly, linguistic shifts associated with the influx of Renaissance literature, particularly the influence of Latin and Italian, did not infiltrate Moriscos’ writing

Scholars have challenged perceptions of Moriscos’ disinterest in humanistic thought (Castilla 2019). Moriscos such as Pérez de Hita, Alonso del Castillo, and Miguel de Luna, clearly engaged with vernacular humanism (Olds 126-7; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2010). Critics have highlighted Muhammad Rabadán’s *oeuvre*, which comprises over 600 folios and 17,000 octosyllabic verses, as emblematic of Moriscos’ engagement with Spanish humanism (Vespertino 1990, 281). As Vespertino suggests, the prologue to Rabadán’s work displays “un espíritu nuevo, no sé si renacentista y humanístico, pero en el que se valora la obra poética, la versificada, se siente un atractivo por la fama que produce el texto literario y gusto por la poesía hasta ahora desconocido en la producción aljamiada anterior” (1990, 284).<sup>229</sup> David Zuwiyya’s insightful analysis of Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz* also highlights the poet’s humanistic sensibilities by invoking a generalized Aljamiado corpus. Zuwiyya suggests that Rabadán breaks with tradition by revealing “su conciencia de autor, conciencia de estilo y conciencia de contexto histórico en el que escribe” (2017, 306).

Though Rabadán was undoubtedly groundbreaking and claimed authorship for his works unlike the majority of anonymous Aljamiado scribes, the poetic ground he built upon was not

<sup>229</sup> Vespertino also attributes a “contagio con la literatura hispánica del momento” to the poetic compositions redacted with the Latin script in Ms. 1574, discussed below and in the following chapter (1990, 287).

devoid of fruitful examples. Other Aljamiado poems also display a “conciencia de contexto histórico,” a “gusto por la poesía,” and even a “conciencia de autor,” as I will argue below. Though we do not find translations of Cicero and Lucretius in Aljamiado codices, the binary division drawn between Moriscos’ texts and contemporary literary trends reinforces the narrative of intellectual degeneration attributed to sixteenth-century Aragonese Muslims. The absence of an all-encompassing embrace of antiquity does not imply a rejection of humanistic ideals. Rather than couch Aragonese Moriscos’ texts in terms of divergence, the following discussion highlights an approach that foregrounds points of contact and shared interests—not only with early seventeenth-century Latin-script manuscripts, but also with sixteenth-century Aljamiado ones.

Convergences abound, not only with López de Yanguas’s poem but also, to offer but one noteworthy example, with the impulses behind Pedro Mexía’s (1497-1551) *Silva de varia lección*, a celebrated contribution to humanistic thought in sixteenth-century Spain. Mexía includes two chapters devoted to “la hystoria de los siete sabios de Grecia y muchos de los dichos y sentencias notables que dixeron, que son de grande moralidad y dotrina” in which he laments that the wisdom of the seven sages remains restricted to “hombres latinos y leydos” while “comúnmente no se sabe ni se goza (II, 388-410). The author-compiler pledges to diffuse salient knowledge transmuted from Greek to Latin to Castilian, in order to combat the public’s ignorance and refute spurious accounts:

[E]n prosecución de mi desseo y propósito (que es comunicar a mi patria y lengua castellana muchos de los secretos y dotrinas de la latina y de los que ella tomó de la griega), acordé hazer aquí una breve suma della, porque las gentes no leýdas entiendan quién fueron estos sabios y se aprovechen de su dotrina y sentencias, y salgan también del engaño de un librillo, que anda impresso con título de *Los siete sabios*, fingido y sin provecho (Mexía II, 388-9).

Contextualizing Mexía's assertions within an early modern milieu, Antonio Castro Díaz avers that humanists prioritized not only "exhuming" ancient knowledge, but disseminating it to a wider audience. Mexía, with his *Silva de varia lección*, "pretende recopilar esa cultura recién recuperada y revisada, que se encuentra dispersa en libros latinos, y *hacerla accesible a un público mayoritario que sólo conoce su lengua materna* (qtd. in Mexía I, 73-4, my emphasis). If we replace "latinos" with "árabes," Castro's analysis is shockingly transferrable to the labor of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Mudejars and Moriscos who compiled and translated esteemed Arabic texts. Just as Aljamiado texts expanded knowledge of inaccessible Arabic works, so did vernacular translations of Greek, Arabic, and Latin gnomic literature.

In addition to their methodological disposition, Aljamiado codices reflect humanistic sensibilities through their organization. Sixteenth-century readers created personal anthologies and compilations by selecting works from assorted books and manuscripts. Mexía's anthology reflects this characteristic impulse of the humanistic spirit. On the other hand, scholars tend to understand Morisco compilations as particular to Spanish Muslims, as evidence of their desperate attempts to preserve a fleeting textual heritage, or in relation to Arabic *adab* collections. Though practical needs and esteemed traditions undoubtedly drove the compilation of Aljamiado codices, we could also consider Moriscos' manuscripts vis-à-vis projects such as that of Pedro Mexía: reflective of the humanistic urge to diffuse instructional material from heterogeneous sources in the vernacular.

The Aljamiado *Dichos* thus display humanistic engagement in both content and form. Scribes compile instructive texts suited to Moriscos' predilections. Just as Pedro Mexía and Hernán López de Yanguas strove to communicate "Greek" or "Latin" wisdom in comprehensible and pleasurable terms, *alfaquíes* transmitted knowledge from Arabic sources into *romance*.

Reconsidering the “miscellaneous” and “didactic” qualities oft-assigned to Aljamiado manuscripts highlights nuanced modes and means of knowledge production. As purveyors of wisdom, Moriscos deftly navigated early modern Iberia’s literary and religious borders, yet too often their cultural production is classified as a religious minority’s centrifugal attempts to perpetuate Islamic knowledge. The Aljamiado *Dichos* attest to Moriscos’ active reading practices—ones that engender new texts and entail new meanings. Aragonese Moriscos did not only translate and transliterate Islamic traditions; they anticipated, traversed, and claimed early modern Iberian literature as their own. In a similar spirit, the next poem modifies an authoritative tradition in unanticipated terms with an unexpected script.

### **Transliteration and Ideologies of Language**

The previous example highlighted a surprising use of *aljamía*. Though Moriscos incorporated vernacular print works in their codices in the 1560s, by the turn of the century, they were transliterating *aljamía* into the Latin script. The prevalence of Latin script among texts produced in the early seventeenth century prompts the question: why might an Aragonese Muslim forsake the Arabic script on the cusp of the expulsion? To unpack this question, I turn to the concept of language ideologies. After analyzing several examples, I will reflect on how a poem copied in BRAH 11/9393 *olim* S-1 communicates, casts, and creates wisdom.

Michael Silverstein (1979) defines linguistic ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structures and use” (qtd. in Kroskrity 1998, 104; Silverstein 1976; 1993).<sup>230</sup> Paul Kroskrity emphasizes the social

<sup>230</sup> I follow Kathryn Woolard’s interchangeable use of the terms “linguistic ideology,” “language ideology,” and “ideologies of language” (2000, 4).

element of ideologies of language, defined as “the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group. A member’s notions of what is ‘true,’ ‘morally good,’ or ‘aesthetically pleasing’ about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to his or her political-economic interests” (2000, 8). Kroskrity highlights the divergent perspectives held by distinct individuals of any given group; members may identify with different genders, classes, ages, and professions (2000, 12). Kroskrity’s emphasis on the multiplicity of language ideologies is essential. Since Aljamiado manuscripts were primarily produced and disseminated by *alfaquíes*—educated men steeped in the Islamic tradition—we should keep in mind that ideas about language expressed in extant manuscripts constitute only a fraction of Aragonese Muslims’ language ideologies.

As discussed in Chapter 1, *aljamía*’s close adherence to Arabic reflects Moriscos’ veneration of their sacred language. The presence of the Arabic script indexes identity and confers legitimacy; its absence engenders suspicion. Yet *aljamía* itself does not signify, index, or suggest. Social actors endow linguistic expression with significance. Internalized and implicit, beliefs about language are in fact “*socially* produced as effective and powerful” (Woolard 1998, 10; my emphasis). Beliefs about language derive from “construed practice” (Woolard 1998, 10).

A series of *fatwās* issued between 1508 and 1513 illuminates Moriscos’ “construed practice” of language. In the *fatwās*, Chief Judges of the four Sunni *madāhib* addressed questions regarding life in Christian lands. Unlike the Oran *fatwā*, no extant copies confirm these texts’ circulation among Moriscos.<sup>231</sup> Nonetheless, the *fatwās* provide important insight into official

<sup>231</sup> Harvey suggests the ruling sought to sway opinion in Egypt rather than provide practical solutions for Iberian Muslims (2005, 66). Beset by Ottoman advances, Portuguese pressures, and appeals from co-religionists in Spain, perhaps the judges sought to maintain the status quo by presenting exceptions to the emigration obligation.

verdicts on translation in Qur'ānic and homiletic contexts; they are essential to understanding the “socially produced” beliefs about language in early modern Muslims communities. The judges responded to the following queries regarding translation:

Is it permissible or not to express (*ta' bīr*) the Venerable Quran in non-Arabic words in order that those who do not understand the Arabic language can understand it? If you hold the second opinion, is this then to be considered [merely] ‘reprehensible’ or ‘prohibited’? And is it permitted for the preacher of a community whose members do not understand Arabic to give the Friday sermon in Arabic and then explain (*yufassir*) it in the non-Arabic language? Is there any distinction or not between [the preacher] who explains [his sermon] word by word [in non-Arabic] and the one who completes both of the sermons [in Arabic] and then explains them in the non Arabic language—doing all this from the pulpit? (qtd. in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1996, 140).

The terms “reprehensible” (*makrūh*) and “prohibited” (*muḥarram*) are technical legal terms—two of the “five qualifications,” or *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*. Islamic law distinguishes between obligatory, recommended, permitted, reprehensible, and forbidden acts (Schacht 2012). For “reprehensible” acts, omission is rewarded but commission is not punished. For “prohibited” acts, omission is rewarded and commission is punished (Faruki 1966).<sup>232</sup>

If expressing the Qur'ān is not permissible, the inquirers want to know the extent to which it is censured—whether it is *makrūh* or *muḥarram*. The jurists understood Qur'ānic “expression” (*ta' bīr*) in distinct ways. The Mālikī scholar condemns those who are able to recite the Qur'ān in Arabic but do so in a non-Arabic language; it is only acceptable for a pupil to recite the Qur'ān in a non-Arabic language to his teacher. The Ḥanbalite and Shāfi'ite jurists submit that translation would destroy the Qur'ān's literary quality. Van Koningsveld and Wiegers surmise this is a reference to the doctrine of *i'jāz al-qur'ān*, which establishes the inimitability and matchless expression of the Qur'ān (Rahman 1979, 40). The Ḥanbalite *mufīī*

<sup>232</sup> For “obligatory” acts, performance is rewarded and omission is punished; “recommended” ones are rewarded but their omission is not punished. “Permitted” acts are those whose ethical content is considered “indifferent” and occasion neither reward nor punishment.

deems Qur'ānic translation *ḥarām* (qtd. in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1996, 150). In contrast, the Ḥanafite scholar contends it is not *makrūh* to make the Qur'ān understood in a non-Arabic language: “to explain [*tafhīm*] the meaning of the Noble Quran in non-Arabic is permitted and does not fall into the [legal] category of ‘reprehensibility’” (qtd. in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1996, 146). Though Qur'ānic verses are ubiquitous in Aljamiado manuscripts, it is important to keep in mind that Islam does not sanction any alteration to the revelation.<sup>233</sup> As López-Morillas notes, “For a Muslim, *any* non-Arabic version is an interpretation only” (2006, 259; emphasis in original). Qur'ānic “translation” is thus better considered as exegetical interpretation, or *tafsīr* (pl: *tafāsīr*).<sup>234</sup>

The term *tafsīr* derives from *fassara*, the verb used above to describe translating the Friday sermon. With respect to preaching practices, the Mālikī scholar sustains that a preacher who can deliver a sermon in Arabic must not do so—or even explain the sermon—in another language. It does not matter whether he clarifies the *khuṭba* in its entirety or word-for-word “*shay'an fa-shay'an*”—neither is permissible (qtd. in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1996, 149). In contrast, the Ḥanbalite jurist stipulates that a preacher may explain the Friday sermon in another language after he delivers it, though he may not gloss any Qur'ānic verses included in

<sup>233</sup> Twenty-six manuscripts contain translations of the Qur'ān, though with the exception of Ms. 235 Toledo, these are partial copies. The most common form comprises *al-Fātiḥa* and *sūras* 36 (*Yā Sīn*); 67 (*al-Mulk*) and 78-114 (*al-Nabā'* to *al-Nās*). López-Morillas suggests justification for the abbreviated form could be found in Q 73:4 (2006, 262). The Medinan period of revelation seems to have held less interest for Aragonese Muslims than did the verses revealed in Mecca, perhaps due to length or content (Winet 145). Of the twenty-six extant versions, only four date to the fifteenth century while the rest are dated to the sixteenth (López-Morillas 2006, 272). Mudejars and Moriscos often divided the Qur'ān into fourths. Of the twenty-six Qur'ānic manuscripts, twenty-four use the Arabic alphabet for the *romance* translation. Only four contain translation without the Arabic (López-Morillas 2006, 265). The most common production layout features the Arabic verses followed by blocks of Aljamiado explanation; some manuscripts feature an interlinear layout.

<sup>234</sup> See Rippin (2012).



the text. Once again, the Ḥanafite scholar gives the most leeway. He affirms it is permissible for a preacher to deliver a sermon in a non-Arabic language, particularly when the audience is incapable of understanding Arabic or if the preacher “is unable to convey his message in Arabic” (qtd. in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1996, 146).<sup>235</sup> In sum, none of the jurists sanctioned translating Friday sermons without qualification.

These *fatwās* illuminate impulses behind language usage in Aljamiado manuscripts. Translation of religious texts—even in oral contexts—generated unease. Given these strict guidelines, what would jurists have thought about putting the Divine Word into “letra de cristianos”? After a century of persecution, Moriscos had to justify not only non-Arabic expression but also the Latin script. Ms. 9653 BNE, though produced after the expulsion, is essential for understanding the evolution of seventeenth-century beliefs about scripts, both Arabic and Latin.

In Ms. 9653, an anonymous author active in Tunis in the 1630s reflects on the licitness of translation before penning a commentary on Ibrāhīm de Bolfad’s poem.<sup>236</sup> Explaining his reasons for composing the work, the author notes in the “Prólogo al lector” that the treatise will benefit Moriscos who “de todo punto estaban remotos y apartados de ssaber lo que les conbenía en su creyencia y modos del serbicio de Dios por falta de entender la lengua y perdidas las esperanças de adquirilla porque la hedad no da lugar a ello” (Ms. 9653 BNE, fol. 5v).<sup>237</sup> Specifically, the author notes: “y particularmente los hermanos aragonesses a quien é ssido

<sup>235</sup> As Harvey points out, Ḥanafism was the predominant *madḥab* among the Turks, who often used the vernacular in religious contexts (2005, 69).

<sup>236</sup> Wiegers suggests the author of Ms. 9653 is likely the same as that of Ms. 9654 BNE, a work on religious obligations according to the Ḥanafī *madḥab* (2014, 399-400).

<sup>237</sup> When quoting from Latin-script manuscripts, I add punctuation and capitalization to facilitate comprehension. I redact “Allah” with the appropriate Arabic transliteration (i.e. “Allāh.”)

siempre afiçionado por sus buenas yntençiones y desseos de ssaber. Y a pedimiento dellos é hecho comentaçión sobre un quaderno en poessía de un // hermano andaluz que sse llama Ybrahim de Bolfad” (Ms. 9653 BNE, fols. 5v-6r).<sup>238</sup>

Illiteracy in Arabic has separated Muslims from Islamic knowledge. Yet despite low morale, Aragonese Moriscos have demonstrated “buenas yntençiones” and maintained their desire to learn. Their request stimulated the composition of Ms. 9653. Instead of lamenting the challenges inflicted upon Aragonese Muslims, he stresses their intention and resolve. The following passages emphasize that without effective communication, there is no understanding; without understanding of correct Islamic beliefs and practices, Muslims are at risk of eternal punishment: “y de no deçirselo en lenguaxe que entienda quedarsse sin sabello y de no ssaberlo proçederle tanto daño” (fols. 6r-v).

In addition to citing Moriscos’ requests (“a pedimiento de ellos”) and the soteriological risks posed by incomprehension, the author justifies his composition’s linguistic expression with reference to external examples. He reiterates his rejection of any worldly esteem, and instead with “umildad y contriçion” asks God to accept the work despite its linguistic expression: “pido sea admitida de su dibina magestad y dé probecho para quien fue serbido de dalles cortedad en la lengua y limitarssela en que fuesse esta bulgar castellana” (Ms. 9653, fol. 7r). Citing Islamic law, the author highlights rituals that can be performed in another language: “Y permitió en su santa sarea [*šar ‘īa*] que en el *çuchut*<sup>239</sup> de la çala hiçiesse el *doa* [*du ‘ā*] con ella o con semejante no pudiendo alcançar la arábiga y aunque la sepa la será su çala çierta” (fol. 7r).

<sup>238</sup> I have added accents and punctuation to aid the reader. Ridha Mami’s edition of Ms. 9653 includes a distinct foliation; Mami lists fol. 1r as the torn folio in which “Prólogo al lector” appears in the bottom half. Yet this is fol. 1v, as the penciled foliation on the manuscript indicates, and as evident by the previous (albeit incomplete) fol. 1r.

<sup>239</sup> *Çuchut* approximates Arabic *as-sujud*, or prostration (*Glosario* 20).

According to the *šarʿīa*, if a Muslim is unable to prostrate correctly or supplicate in Arabic, she may perform the ritual in another language. The author cites an eminent wise man as evidence: “Y solo le es *macruh*<sup>240</sup> por quien dijo el sayx xalil<sup>241</sup> وكره دعاء بعجميه لقادر . Y assí mesmo perdonó al que tubiesse perturbaçión la lengua por ocassión de sser tartamudo o çachami aunque perturbe las letras y no las diga como ellas son. Y-esto en el reçado // de la çala ora haga solo o ssea mamum o yman” (Ms. 9653, fols. 7r-v). It is only “detested” if a suppliant petitions God in a non-Arabic language when they have the ability to pray in Arabic. This position recalls the Mālikī response cited above. Like those who cannot speak Arabic, believers who have incurable stutters are also excused; this rule applies to the imam and the *maʿmum*, or the person who follows the imam.

The phrase “وكره دعاء بعجميه لقادر” remains without translation or even transliteration, a pattern consistent with other passages in which the author incorporates Qurʾānic verses and sayings attributed to Muḥammad. The abrupt change in script indexes an *isnād* and bolsters the author’s legitimacy as a linguistic mediator. Explaining the importance of “sabios” in an earlier section, he quotes from a *ḥadīth*, adding: “y otros muchisimos dichos de nuestro profeta que por neçeçitar de ponellos en arábigo no los pongo en este lugar” (Ms. 9653, fol. 3v). Whereas religious instruction and *adʿiya* can be written and performed in “bulgar castellana,” Qurʾānic verses and authoritative sayings that require an *isnād* must conform to a higher standard. Not all words are created equal; for the author of Ms. 9653, sacred words—the words of God and of

<sup>240</sup> From the root *kāf-rāʿ-hāʿ*, to hate or detest, the derivation *makrūh* means something “detested” accordingly to Islamic law. In the Qurʾān, the verb often refers to Allāh’s feelings towards evil or disbelievers (e.g. Q 17:38).

<sup>241</sup> Wiegiers identifies him as Khalīl ibn Ishāq al-Jundī, the renowned author of a legal compendium, *Mukhtaṣar fiʾl-fiqh* (1995, 314).

Muḥammad in particular—do not retain their integrity when transposed into different scripts or rendered into different languages.<sup>242</sup>

After reflecting on al-Jundī's injunctions, the commentary's author turns to the polemics of translation. He refutes accusations of *bida'* with various arguments:

demás de que no haçemos ynobación en esta traducción. Pues yo é bisto a quien sabe la lengua turquesca y arábica dar lición [A] en la turquesca a quien sabe las dos. Y muy usada cossa es en el mundo el traducçir porque a no sser assí, ¿cómo se entenderían unos con otros? y ¿cómo los que no ssaben más de una lengua entenderán en la otra si no ubiera quién lo declarara? Y nuestro profeta, engrandezca nuestro Señor su perfección, habló todas las lenguas que á abido en el mundo y a todos los que sabían la suya les mostró con ella lo que les conbino. Y otras muchas causas y raçones pudiera traer para dar a entender ques *fard cafaya* el aber traducción en castellano y quien en castellano dé lición porque de no abello se sigue quel que no ssabe otra lengua se quede sin saber lo que le ynporta. Y lo sserá sobre el que entendiere las dos lenguas y aunques berdad questo le tocaba a otros y no a mí, bisto lo dejan de haçer (la causa ellos la saben)<sup>243</sup> quisse anticiparme por ssi acaso, me munde de tanbién a mí [y] el serme forçosso por lo que tengo de las dos aunque no con el cunplimiento que se requiere para tal obra~” (Ms. 9653, fol. 7v).

Unlike the majority of Aljamiado manuscripts, here the author refers to his work as a “traducción.” The author diffuses blame by invoking personal experience: he has witnessed someone deliver religious instruction (“dar lición”) in Turkish, though both the leader and his audience understood Arabic. By focusing on the practices of Turkish-speaking Muslims, this illustration shifts the focus away from *romance*-speaking Moriscos. Second, irrespective of official, theological, or theoretical prohibitions, translation is a widespread phenomenon throughout the world (“muy usada cossa es en el mundo”). A pair of rhetorical questions emphasize the logical and necessary nature of translation: how would people, especially monolinguals, ever understand one another without it? The third argument involves Muḥammad,

<sup>242</sup> A copy of the Qur’ān in Ms. BNF 447 features interlinear Spanish translation redacted in Latin script, save the name of Allāh, which is left in Arabic. The same phenomenon occurs in the interlinear translation of a *khuṭba* in Ms. 11/9416 BRAH V-12.

<sup>243</sup> Parenthesis brackets are in the manuscript.

who is ascribed the ability to speak all languages. This attribution dignifies non-Arabic expression and depicts Muḥammad as a generous, patient prophet.

Finally, “*otras muchas causas y razones*” could be presented to persuade the reader that translation is a “*fard cafaya*,” a collective obligation. The term *farḍ* (also *farīḍa*; pl: *furūd*), refers to a religious duty or obligation, one of the “five qualifications” discussed above. A *farḍ* can be either individual (*farḍ ‘ayn*) or collective (*farḍ kifāya*). The former encompasses duties incumbent upon every Muslim such as ritual prayer and fasting; the latter entails obligations, such as funeral prayer and *jihād*, that apply to the community as a whole. If only a few Muslims perform the duty, the rest are absolved of the obligation (Lane 2374).

By invoking the concept of *farḍ kifāya*, the author of Ms. 9653 argues that bilingual Muslims who translate and instruct co-religionists in *romance* fulfill a duty for the good of the *ummah*. Far from being “prohibited” (*muḥarram*) or “detested” (*makrūh*), translation becomes a fundamental obligation whose omission is punished. Believers capable of transposing Arabic knowledge into comprehensible *romance* must do so to prevent unaware Muslims from ignoring “*lo que le ynporta*.” The author admits that this obligation “*le tocaba a otros y no a mí*.” Yet seeing as others “*lo dejan de haçer*” he decides to undertake the task. The expression “*fard cafaya*” also begs the question of readership. A typical Morisco without knowledge of Arabic or Islamic law might struggle to recognize the technical legal phrase transliterated without a translation. It is as if the author attempts to convince circumspect Islamic authorities in Tunis of the necessity of translation.

Justifying translation entails legal, moral, and practical arguments. The author’s extended reflection on the issue suggests he was poignantly aware of the necessity of defending his work’s linguistic expression. By presenting a compelling case for translation in religious contexts, the

author paves the way for other authors to do the same and builds upon textual practices initiated prior to the expulsion. He does not allude to his choice of script in particular; instead, he weighs the advantages of teaching expelled Moriscos in “castellano.” The author’s justifications draw from ideologies of language manifest in Latin-script manuscripts produced before the expulsion. I will offer three examples before turning to the *Coplas sacadas*.

### From Scripts to Soundscapes

S-1 consists of 174 folios and measures 12 cm x 8 cm (*octavo*).<sup>244</sup> Based on paleographic characteristics, Galmés dates the text to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (1998, 11).<sup>245</sup> A single scribe, who is also responsible for Ms. T 235 and Ms. T 232, copies the entire manuscript (Villaverde 99).<sup>246</sup> He documents his son’s date and place of birth in Ms. 232, a juridical treatise dated to 1607 (López-Morillas 2011, 26-7). “Yahye ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Aziz” was born in Villafeliche on May 14, 1608. López-Morillas deduces the copyist’s identity from his son’s name: Yahye is the son of “Muhammad ibn Ibrahim.” The copyist’s

<sup>244</sup> I will refer to the manuscript as S-1. The copy begins on fol. 64 and is missing a sexternion (fols. 164-175).

<sup>245</sup> Biographical information gathered from additional manuscripts corroborates Galmés de Fuentes’s conclusion. Casassas (2009, 104) proposes the year of 1522, copied in the manuscript, though Suárez García argues this date was “sin duda copiada de un original anterior” (2016b, 58).

<sup>246</sup> A distinct hand contributes to fols. 140v-141r. I believe the reader is non-Muslim or someone unversed in Islamic concepts, perhaps the same editor who wrote “Debe de ser tomo 2 pues empieza con fol. 64” and a series of Arabic words at the beginning of the codex (e.g. “Alhax”; “Alomra”; “Acorar [desollar!]”). The reader seems unfamiliar with Aljamiado’s idiosyncratic expression and paleographic conventions. Above “annabi” they write “profeta” and next to the scribe’s redaction of *Allāh*, they scrawl “alla” and “alla Dios” (fol. 140v). The reader pens “h” and “s” beside the seventeenth-century copyist’s redaction of “h” and “s” as well as “Maoma” next to “Muhamed.” The reader translates “almalaques” as “fíeles” rather than “ángeles” (fol. 141r). The intervening hand changes “maca” to “meca” and writes “cam” over @, which indicates Arabic *‘ayn* (fol. 141r). “Cam” is the abbreviation for *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallām*.

participation in his community's textual tradition spans pre- and post-expulsion. Established in Tunis by 1635 as "Muhammad Rubio," a name that probably refers to his hair color, he personally commissioned the translation of a volume of Islamic treatises: "sacó el libro con su dinero de árábigo en castellano porque se holgasen los de su tayfa" (qtd. in López-Morillas 2011, 28). His 1606 copy of the Qur'ān (Ms. Toledo 235) is the only complete extant Spanish translation from the early modern period.<sup>247</sup>

In Ms. T 235, the scribe uses the Latin script, rather than Arabic, with the exception of two folios in which he justifies his use of the former. In the following quote, italicized words represent Arabic script (i.e. the copyist writing in *aljamía*) and non-italicized words represent the Latin script:

Aquí se acaba el primer quarto del Alcoran *onrrado n[o] ay [que] meter en-ello duda ninguna porque está escrito en letra de cristianos que el que lo sacó lo copió de otro Alcoran que *estaba en su propia lengwa de arabigo i de-clarado* palabra por palabra al bocablo *i copió solamente el rromançe del* para su estudio que tenía en el árábigo y por quanto *él lo tenía prestado de una onrrada* gente para copiarlo en tiemp[o] asignado y era corto y porque si quisiese Allah darle gracia de cumplir con su promesa de bol-verselo *en dicha asignación por tanto* lo escribió en letra de cristianos. Pero haze verdad el escribano que esta rrectamente *copiado como lo halló i que él sabe la letra de los cristianos y de los muçlimes y parte del arabigo i que se atrevió para pas[a]r a cabo delante en su estudio como está dicho por la brevedad que tenía consignada con quien se lo prestó y su letra la de los cristianos era la que más se atrevió pa[ra] // dicha ocasión rruega y suplica que por estar en dicha letra no letra no lo tengan en menos de lo que-s antes en mucho por-que pues está así declarado está más a vista de los muçlimes que saben leer el cristiano y no la letra de los muçlimes porque-s cierto que *dixo el annabī Muḥammad š'm que la mejor lengwa era la que se entendía esto se entiende aunque sienpre* confieso que su perfección es la del árábigo... (Ms. T 235, fols. 81v-82r).<sup>248</sup>**

<sup>247</sup> See López-Morillas's edition (2011). A digital copy of the manuscript is available here: <https://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=397610>.

<sup>248</sup> Switching between Arabic and Latin alphabets indexes the scribe's competence with both scripts, though probably not both languages. López-Morillas suspects the scribe had limited knowledge of Arabic (2011, 25).

The copyist showcases his ability to write *aljamía* by layering the Latin and Arabic scripts. Citing practical reasons and an apocryphal tradition of the Prophet enables the scribe to justify his choice of the Latin alphabet. The copyist twice mentions his limited time frame. First, we learn that the period he borrowed the text “era corto.” Writing in *aljamía* requires laborious vocalization, as well as the time-consuming “uso reiterado del *alif* para representar la *e* romance, y el *šīn* con sus tres puntos para la *s*” (López-Morillas 2011, 24). Signaling a moral imperative, the copyist explains that he had to “cumplir con su promesa de bolverselo en dicha asignación.” He again alludes to “la brevedad que tenia consignada con quien se lo prestó,” underscoring his pragmatic decision to use Latin script.

After attributing a maxim to Muḥammad (“la mejor lengwa era la que se entendía”), the copyist briefly slips into first-person: “confieso que su perfección es la del árábigo.” Given that he writes the preceding passage in third person, the switch is unexpected and suggests he might have improvised this interlude before redacting the colophon. Though the scribe elects “letra de cristianos,” he assures readers of his scrupulous copying techniques. The Latin script requires additional justification but it does not prevent this Morisco scribe from carrying out his vital labor. The scribe entreats the reader to withhold suspicion—one must not judge a book by its alphabet! He argues that “no hay que meter en ello duda ninguna” because of its alphabetic disposition; finally, “rruega y suplica” to the reader to not underestimate the text (“no lo tengan en menos de lo que es”) because of its alphabet. On the contrary, the copyist makes the point that using “Christian letters” extends the text to Muslims who “saben leer el cristiano y no la letra de los muçlimes.”

The copyist’s linguistic and rhetorical maneuvering points to beliefs about “letra de cristianos.” When the scribe of Ms. T 235 assures readers of his copy’s faithfulness to the



original Arabic expression, his alphabetic acrobatics both reiterate and respond to a linguistic hierarchy. His “rationalization” and “justification” (to borrow Silverstein’s terms) for using Christian letters reflects an anxiety—not only about alphabetic expression, but about proximity to non-Muslims, loss of Islamic identity, and alteration to the word of God. Perhaps we can attribute the need for extended justification to the Qur’ān’s incomparable sanctity. If the use of Latin script raised eyebrows, its application to the revelation would surely provoke unease.

In contrast to his reflections in Ms. Toledo 235, the scribe does not address the merits of a “Christian” or a “Muslim” alphabet in S-1. After a sermon and prior to an explanation of various months in the Islamic calendar, the copyist briefly notes in S-1: “sacóse de letra de muçlimes. Costó su origen 80 sueldos.<sup>249</sup> Queda por copiar una rrogaría de 6 ojas *que* por ser una copia y mal compuesta no la é copiado” (fol. 140r). S-1 is a self-proclaimed transliterated text. As the scribe himself relays, the manuscript was “extracted” from “letra de muçlimes” (fol. 140r). Similar to his reflections in Ms. T 235, the copyist notes the manuscript’s provenance from an authoritative source. The succinct commentary reveals the same process described in Ms. T 235: transliteration from Arabic to Latin script. However, in this case the scribe does not explain the impetus behind the alphabetic transformation.

Another poem that circulated on the eve of the expulsion in Latin script is Rabadán’s oft-cited *Discurso de la luz* (1603).<sup>250</sup> Derived from Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī’s *Kitāb al-anwār*, or Book of Lights (*Libro de las luces*), the text recounts Muḥammad’s lineage and life events.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>249</sup> Part of the Aragonese monetary system, a *sueldo* was worth twelve dineros; one *libra* was worth twenty *sueldos*.

<sup>250</sup> Rabadán’s poetic oeuvre is extant in the following manuscripts: Ms. Esp. 251 (*olim* 8162) BNF; Ms. Harley 7501 (British Library); Ms. 1767 (Biblioteca de la Palacio Real de Madrid).

<sup>251</sup> Composed in the thirteenth century, the biography and genealogical sketch of the Prophet achieved wide popularity among Mudejars and Moriscos (Corriente 42-3; 87-173).

Zuwiyya suggests Rabadán's choice of alphabet could reflect the calamitous crisis through which Moriscos lived in early seventeenth-century Spain: "En aquel momento crucial, la conservación de su alfabeto ya no resulta tan de suma importancia para el pueblo morisco; pues el riesgo que corre su propia existencia—sus casas, su patria, su vida—relevan cuestiones de grafía a un segundo plano" (2017, 305). According to this assessment, Moriscos resigned themselves to using the Latin script due to an acute awareness of imminent catastrophe.<sup>252</sup>

Rabadán attributes his composition—without mentioning its script—to the desire to counteract Moriscos' unfavorable circumstances and lack of Islamic knowledge. The poet laments the state of religious practices among "los moros destos reynos":

las cosas de *nuestro* adin //  
 an benido a tanto extremo  
 que ya no se administrauan  
 en público ni en secreto  
 ya el *açala* se olbidaua  
 ni se haçía caudal dello  
 y si se haçía hera poco  
 demençiado y sin respecto  
 el ayuno interonpido  
 mal guardado y descompuesto  
 el *açaque*<sup>253</sup> sepultado  
 las *alfitras*<sup>254</sup> y sus diezmos  
 y el nombramiento de Allah  
 con el de su mensagero  
 ya casi no se nombrauan  
 con sus nombres los perfectos  
 porque siendo baptizados  
 a fuerça, con tantos miedos,  
 perdieron los *alquitebes*  
 no quedando rastro dellos (Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, fols. 8r-8v).

<sup>252</sup> Zuwiyya also ascribes the use of the Latin script to Rabadán's polemical engagement with a Christian readership. In addition to poetic features familiar to Christian works, the use of the Latin script allowed Rabadán to cultivate "un tono familiar para un público castellanoparlante," making "el uso del grafema romano como una decisión sensata, lógica y persuasiva" (Zuwiyya 2017, 305).

<sup>253</sup> Traditional alms or tithes (*Glosario* 147).

<sup>254</sup> Derived from Arabic *fā'-ṭā'-rā'*, "alfitras" refers to alms offered at the end of Ramaḍān.

After the forced baptisms, Islamic concepts (“las cosas de nuestro adin”) were not explained either in public or in secret. Prayers were forgotten, fasting was interrupted, and God’s “perfect names” went unsaid. The latter refers to Allāh’s ninety-nine attributes, discussed in Chapter 3. Rabadán intends to ameliorate this dire situation with his poetry: “esto es lo que me á mouido / esto me dio atreuimiento / a emprender tan gran jornada / con tan pequeño talento” (Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, fol. 9r). Rabadán’s *Discurso de la Luz* aims to enlighten Moriscos and inspire devotion; the exposition neglects to mention script.<sup>255</sup> Emphasis remains on counteracting the loss of religious knowledge, similar to the arguments articulated in Ms. 9653 three decades later.

Whether or not Rabadán and seventeenth-century Morisco scribes abandoned *aljamía* for polemical or practical reasons, it is misleading to equate the use of the Latin script with a forsaken Islamic identity. Often its presence reflected the explicit desire to bolster Moriscos’ religious knowledge. As the scribe of Ms. T 235 pointed out, using “Christian letters” was a pragmatic decision. Moriscos could access God’s words despite their inability to understand Arabic or read Arabic script.

Many Latin-script manuscripts contain just as many Arabic words as *romance* ones, as we will observe below. Despite their physical appearance, when recited aloud, listeners would have heard *aljamía*’s Arabic-derived lexicon. Indeed, the shift away from *aljamía* could have facilitated *alfaques*’ ability to read manuscripts aloud. For a group of Moriscos less familiar with the Arabic script, the shift would have expedited manuscript production. Perhaps use of the Latin script reflects a purposeful aspiration to increase manuscript production and diffusion amidst increasingly difficult circumstances. The shift to Latin script could also result from

<sup>255</sup> Wiegers suggests the work was first redacted in *aljamía* (1994, 181) though Vespertino refutes this possibility (1990, 290).

cautionary measures. From a distance, the texts' innocuous appearance would not have aroused Inquisitors' suspicion.

By the turn of the century, the "signified" seems to take precedence over the "sign." Though the use of Arabic script declined, the commitment to Arabic did not. Manuscripts with Latin characters continue to manifest ideologies of language manifest in texts redacted with *aljamía*. Though Casassas bemoans the critical category of "textos aljamiados en caracteres latinos," in many ways this formulation captures such texts' unique linguistic character (2009, 95). Many Latin-script texts were derived from Aljamiado ones. The adaptations conserve *aljamía*'s linguistic expression. As scribes themselves purport, they merely "took out" texts from one alphabet and, without significant alteration, put them into another. In fact, if we add the verb *poner*, the phrase "textos aljamiados *puestos* en caracteres latinos" simulates the descriptions offered by Morisco themselves.

In S-1, for example, the reader encounters a lexical landscape replete with Arabic and Arabicized words. Though Spanish-speakers can read Latin script, they might stumble through the following piece of advice directed to Muḥammad's son-in-law, Ali: "Ye @li... y quando abrás acabado el *aguado* dirás *exhedu enleylehe ylalllahu guah dehu lexerique lehu gua exhe-du enne mohameden @bduhugua raçuluhu*. Y quién hará esto perdonarle á Allāh todo su pecado grande y chico" (S-1, fol. 183v). The transliteration approximates the *šahāda*, or profession of Islamic faith: *Ašahadu 'an lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā šarīka lahu wa ašahadu anna Muḥammadan 'abdu hua wa rasūluhu* ("I testify that there is no god but God alone and God has no associate and I testify that Muḥammad is God's servant and messenger").<sup>256</sup>

<sup>256</sup> As noted above, @ indicates the Arabic letter 'ayn.

Similar examples of Arabic words redacted in Latin script abound in the *Coplas sacadas de los castigos del hijo de Edam*. In the description of the End of Time (*al-sā'ah*), the composition departs from its characteristic clarity in the following stanza:

[que] y de *zulzileti larddo*  
 se diçe *zil zelehe*  
 y diçe segun yo sé  
 más. *guáhira chetilarddo*  
 llegando en *aççalehe* (S-1, fol. 225r).

The stanza references Qur'ānic verses 99: 1-2, in which an earthquake signals the Final Day's arrival. The entire passage reads:

When the earth is shaken with her shaking, and the earth yields up her burdens, and man says, 'What ails her?' That Day she shall convey her chronicles; for thy Lord inspired her. That Day mankind shall issue forth upon diverse paths to witness their deeds. So whosoever does a mote's weight of good shall see it. And whosoever does a mote's weight of evil shall see it (99:1-8).

The first two verses ("When the earth is shaken with her shaking, and the earth yields up her burdens") correspond to the beguiling stanza, which approximates the following bolded words:

*Idā zulzīlati al- 'arḍu zilzālahā wa-akhrajati al- 'arḍu athqālahā* (Q 99:1-2).<sup>257</sup>

Enigmatic citations of Qur'ānic verses demonstrate Moriscos' resolute commitment to preserving knowledge of Arabic and Islam's sacred text, irrespective of alphabet. The use of Roman characters does not eclipse the Arabicized lexicon prevalent in Aljamiado manuscripts. In conclusion, the deployment of the Latin script reveals ideologies of language that privilege the perseverance of the signified over the symbolism of the sign. Arabic was preserved not on the physical page but in Moriscos' ears—not by its written appearance, but by its aural diffusion. The shift from script to soundscape did not eclipse the significance of the former; it strengthened the importance of latter. Poetry in particular, as I will attempt to show, enabled *alfaquíes* to

<sup>257</sup> إِذَا زُلْزِلَتِ الْأَرْضُ زِلْزَالَهَا وَأُخْرِجَتِ الْأَرْضُ أَثْقَالَهَا

diffuse what they considered “true,” “morally good,” “aesthetically pleasing,” and even “theologically sound” about language to their followers.

### ***Waṣīyya*: Testaments and Literary Devices**

The advice to ‘Alī quoted above comes from the same textual tradition that inspired the *Coplas sacadas de los castigos del hijo de Edam*. *Waṣīyya* (pl: *waṣāyā*) denotes a bequest, as well as advice, admonition, and exhortation (Q 2:180; 4:12; 5:106; Badawi and Haleem 1030; Wehr 1260; Peters 2012). Before the advent of Islam, a *waṣīyya* referred to a will or series of admonitions addressed to private interlocutors.<sup>258</sup> Later on, as Jones explains, “The Islamic *waṣīyya* retained the pre-Islamic function of private moral or spiritual counsel, but was also used to address the broader public. It usually consisted of Qur’ān- or *ḥadīth*- inspired sententiae and exhortations” (2012, 19). Montaner describes *waṣīyya* as a modality of Moriscos’ didactic literature (1988a, 321). Of *waṣāyā*’s moral and juridical semantic dimensions, the former prevails in Aljamiado manuscripts. Aljamiado *waṣāyā*, deemed *alguacías* or *castigos*, instruct recipients how to achieve a glorious afterlife.<sup>259</sup>

The *Coplas sacadas de los castigos del hijo de Edam* constitute the only extant poetic *waṣīyya* preserved in Morisco manuscripts, though versified *waṣāyā* are not uncommon in Arabic literature.<sup>260</sup> The poem occupies the last forty folios of S-1. After a series of *ḥadīth*, an exhortatory sermon (“Esta es monestación de Pasqua”; fols. 128v-40), and an explanation of the

<sup>258</sup> For pre-Islamic and early Islamic examples of *waṣāyā*, see Bouzineb (1998, 30-2) and Castilla (2004, 39).

<sup>259</sup> Bouras suggests the Spanish word *albacea* is derived from *waṣīyya* as well (18-20). See Roza (2016, 288) for a list of extant *waṣāyā* in Aljamiado manuscripts.

<sup>260</sup> Bouzineb alludes to poetic *waṣāyā* as well as prose *waṣāyā* that conclude with poetic verses, though he does not cite specific sources (1998, 40).

benefits of various months in the Islamic calendar, the *Castigos de ‘Alī* begin the testamentary genre (fols. 176-205).<sup>261</sup> On the last folio of the text (205r), the copyist redacts the poem’s title, beginning the *Coplas sacadas* on the following folio (205v). The close codicological relationship between the *Castigos de ‘Alī* and the *Coplas sacadas* highlights the poem’s derivation from *waṣāyā* as well as its adaptation and reformulation of the genre.

Muḥammad directs his advice to ‘Alī with second-person informal address. Anaphoric apostrophe introduces each piece of instruction (e.g. “Ye @li”). Sometimes the Prophet maintains the apostrophe but shares generalized counsel (e.g. “Ye @li, quién se aparta de los sabios muere su corazón y apartase de la obediencia de Allāh” [S-1, fol. 196v]). The *waṣiyya* urges compliance with specific Islamic practices. ‘Alī learns the benefits of certain fasts and the correct manner to conduct ritual ablutions (fols. 181r; 183v). He receives detailed guidelines for ritual prayer:

Ye @li: quando dirás *Allāhu acbar*. Para hazer el *aḥḥala* esparte tus dedos. Y alça tus manos enderecho de tus hombros y quando arraque@ras. Mete tus manos sobre tus rrodillas y desparte entre tus dedos. Y quando *aḥaxdaras*. Mete tus pulgares enderecho de tus orejas y ajunta tus dedos. Y quando abrá dicho *Allāhu acbar* mete tu mano la derecha sobre tu mano la yzquierda en tus pechos (S-1, fol. 189v).

Each moment of prayer is enshrined in Arabic lexicon. “Araque@r” and “aḥaxdar” refer to the ritual movements of prayer. *Araque@r* romancifies the Arabic root *rā’-kāf-‘ayn*—to bow—while *aḥaxdar* evinces the same technique with the root *sīn-ḡīm-dāl*, to prostrate.<sup>262</sup> One must exclaim “*Allāhu acbar*” (“God is the Greatest”) with the appropriate hand position.

<sup>261</sup> Muḥammad’s advice to ‘Alī is acephalous due to missing folios 164-175. This particular *waṣiyya* is preserved in Arabic and *aljamía* in numerous extant manuscripts (see Bouras 12; 89-91).

<sup>262</sup> See “aḥḥajdar” and “arrak‘ar” (*Glosario* 15; 116). The Qur’ān references bowing (*rukū’*) and prostration (*sujūd*), though the latter is cited more frequently (Tottoli 2001).

Most of this *waṣiyya*'s advice concerns the minutiae of religious ritual, yet some injunctions are less straightforward. 'Alī should avoid excessive sunbathing ("Ye @li, no te sientes mucho al sol que haze quitar la color de la cara y es causa de malautía" [S-1, fol. 193v]), walking alone, and eating in the dark ("Ye @li, no camines solo ni comas en escuridad," [fol. 192r]). Additionally, when eating in a well-lit room, one must not be afraid to salt their food: "Ye @li: comiença tu bianda con la sal que sepas que la sal la haze mediçina de setenta malautías" [fol. 195v]).<sup>263</sup>

Compared to the specific and somewhat abstruse advice offered to 'Alī, another set of *Castigos* promote more generalized ethical behavior. I will draw from two extant prose versions of the latter *waṣiyya* to highlight points of convergence and divergence (Ms. 5223 BNE, fols. 244v-251r; Ms. 505 Bib. de Castilla-La Mancha, fols. 1r-18r).<sup>264</sup> Dated to 1577, Ms. 5223 is beautifully decorated and carefully organized. The manuscript features an index, meticulous geometric illustrations, and ornate *cenefas* between texts.<sup>265</sup> The *Castigos muy grandes para ganar la buena venturança del otro mundo* follow a *ḥadīth* about repentance and precede an

<sup>263</sup> A "malabtía" refers to an "enfermedad, dolencia, con especial referencia a la lepra" as well as any "acto malo" (*Glosario* 405). Muḥammad's *waṣiyya* copied in one of the Ocaña manuscripts sheds light on the reference: "Hay que desayunar con sal cada mañana, porque es medicina para setenta enfermedades: una de ellas es la lepra" (fol. 13v; qtd. in Bouras 133).

<sup>264</sup> The *Castigos del hijo de Edam* are also extant in Ms. 614 (Bib. Nationale d' Algérie, fols. 37v-54v) and Ms. 481 (Bib. Nacional de Malta, fols. 91r-78v). An acephalous and a complete version are copied in Ms. J-13 CSIC (fols. 52r-67v; 116r-127r).

<sup>265</sup> A scribal note informs us that "Muḥammad Corðilero hijo de 'Abdu al'Azīz Corðilero" produced the copy in "la villa d'Exea" for "Muṣṭafar Waharan hijo de Brahen Waharan i para quien querrá Allāh después del" (fol. 255r). The scribe provides an exact date for his work in both Islamic and Christian terms: "Acabóse con ayuda de Allāh i con su graçia *alkhamīs* a siete de la luna de *jumād athāni* [*Jumāda al-ākhira*] del-año de noveçientos i ochenta i çinco del-*alhiğra* del escojido i bienaventurado *annabī* Muḥammad *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa ṣallam* concordante con el vintidoseno de agosto del año de mil i quinientos i setenta i siete al conto de *Īcā* [*Jesus*] *'alayhi iççalem*" (fol. 255r). The codex is in *folio*.



explanation of the merits of “la aleya de l-*alkurçī*” or the “Pedestal Verse” (fol. 251r).<sup>266</sup> Ms. 505, likely produced in the early seventeenth century, is the latest extant copy of the text, here titled *Castigos de mucho aviso* (Suárez García 2016a, note 29).<sup>267</sup> The *waṣīyya* initiates a compilation of religious injunctions and prayers.

Though I have designated these texts as “prose,” both sets of *Castigos* display poetic features that would have facilitated their recitation and memorization. Repetition and parallelism—discussed vis-à-vis *ad’iyya* in the previous chapter—play a critical role in *waṣāyā*. Consider these guidelines:

Yā hicho<sup>268</sup> de Edam, cuando estarás en los plazerres del mundo acordarte as de la muerte i cuando pensarás de hazer pecado acuérdate del fuego de *jahannam*<sup>269</sup> i cuando conbras [*compras*] algos acordarte as // que as de dar cuento dello i cuando te asentarás a comer acuérdate de los pobres i cuando estarás en congoša rrogarás ada Allāh quél es el socorredor i cuando enfermarás meleçinate con *aṣṣadaqas* [*alms*] i cuando terrnás algún pienso [*preocupación*] dirás *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi il-‘alī il-‘aẓīm* [There is neither might nor power but with God, the Supreme the Great] (Ms 505, fols. 7r-7v).<sup>270</sup>

Syntactical parallelism invokes a theoretical near future (“*cuando* + present tense verb” or “*cuando* + future tense verb”), which is followed by a description of the necessary action. The latter clause utilizes either the auxiliary verb *haber*, a direct command, or the future tense to convey the recommended behavior. Semantic parallelism and repetition of the conjunction

<sup>266</sup> Verse 2:255—commonly inscribed on mosques, homes, and amulets—is arguably one of the Qur’ān’s most well-known verses: “God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Self-Subsisting. Neither slumber overtakes Him nor sleep. Unto Him belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is on the earth. Who is there who may intercede with Him save by His Leave? He knows that which is before them and that which is behind them. And they encompass nothing of His Knowledge, save what He wills. His Pedestal [*kursī*] embraces the heavens and the earth. Protecting them tires Him not, and He is the Exalted, the Magnificent.”

<sup>267</sup> The manuscript consists of 57 folios and measures 15 x 10 cm (Bouzineb 2010, 198).

<sup>268</sup> Ms. 505 employs the *tašdīd* over the letter *ḡīm* which renders “ch” instead of “j” in Aljamiado texts.

<sup>269</sup> *Jahannam* is the Arabic term for Hell.

<sup>270</sup> See the corresponding passage in Ms. 5223 (fols. 246v-247r).

“cuando” lends a consistent cadence to an otherwise disparate list. Parallelism enables listeners to capture coherent meaning from the text’s broad gamut of religious injunctions.

Parallel structure permeates the *Castigos del hijo de Edam*. Similar to the advice offered to Ali, second-person singular address initiates each piece of wisdom: “Ya hijo de Edam.” Since all Muslims are sons (and daughters) of Adam, the vocative construction foregrounds an inclusive message.<sup>271</sup> Despite individualized apostrophe, the text slips into second-person plural address. For example, “Yā hicho de Edam, ¿adónde son *vuestros* padres i *vuestras* madres i *vuesos* aguelos [abuelos]? Y-ellos están debacho de la tierra esperando a *vosotros*” (Ms. 505, fol. 3r). Ms. 5223 also switches to plural address at this particular point in the text, inquiring about the location of “vuestros ermanos” and “vuestros conpañeros” (fols. 245r-v). Another maxim employs both singular and plural address: “Yā hicho de Edam, a *tú* es el obrar y-a mi el darte gualardón i los almalaques que-scriben *vuestras* obras” (Ms. 505, fol. 12v).<sup>272</sup>

The *waṣiyya*’s conclusion amplifies its emphasis on collective behavior. The finale culminates with a barrage of plural commands. Repeated parallel structure accelerates the intensity of the text’s message:

**Yā hijo de Edam** ∴ ∴ Perdonaos i perdonaros-é ∴ amaos i amaros-é ∴ aplegaos i aplegaros-é ∴ i socorreos i socorreros-é ∴ // i no maliçyes entre vosotros ni enclines el mal ∴ sino tornarse á mi saña sobre vosotros ∴ ∴ **Abed** verwença los chicos a los grandes ∴ i apiadað los grandes a los chicos ∴ i cunplið los pesos i medidas hazzed bien a vuestras mujeres ∴ no menoscabes a las jentes sus cosas i seréis bien aventurados en-este mundo i en-el otro (Ms. BNE 5223, 250v-251r).<sup>273</sup>

Individuals must act in an ethical manner to ensure their personal salvation, but also for the good of the *ummah*. The young must defer to the old; the old must show compassion for the young;

<sup>271</sup> The Qur’ān refers to humankind as Children of Adam (e.g. Q 7:27).

<sup>272</sup> The variation of “vuestas obras” appears in Ms. 5223 (fol. 249r).

<sup>273</sup> The scribe of Ms. 5223 applies a thicker pen stroke to “Ya hijo de Edam” and “Abed.” The copy in Ms. 505 includes nearly identical closing instructions (fols. 17v-18r).

men must maintain good finances and treat their wives well. The sustained plural address seeks to persuade and move audiences.

Features of orality and plural apostrophe point to the practice of live performance. Indeed, Jones mentions *khuṭab waṣiyya* (“testamentary sermons”) as a sub-genre of Islamic oratory that overlaps with *maw‘iẓa*, (pl. *mawā‘iẓ*), a style of admonitory preaching mentioned in Chapter 3 (2012, 41; 135; 168). The root *wāw*-‘*ayn*-*zā*’ signifies “to preach, counsel, give guidance, exhort, admonish, warn, command, or to instill fear” (Jones 2012, 16). *Wa‘ẓ* and *waṣiyya* constitute an interconnected nexus of Muslim oratory. The poetics of *waṣiyya* enable collective listeners’ comprehension just as an exhortatory sermon would. Considering *waṣiyya* in terms of its relationship with *wa‘ẓ* allows us to foreground the centrality of admonition in S-1’s poetic recontextualization of the *Castigos* and in late-peninsular Morisco texts.

### ***Coplas sacadas: Polemical Recontextualization***

The *waṣiyya*’s poetic recentering employs *quintillas*. The manuscript’s layout features three stanzas per folio. The scribe maintains space between each *quintilla*; he clearly demarcates stanzas with the exception of one folio in which he pens a line to divide ten verses (S-1, fol. 236v). Once deemed a “‘producto entero y genuinamente castellano,’” the *quintilla* includes a *redondilla* with an additional verse (Clarke qtd. in Navarro Tomás 127).<sup>274</sup> The form is ascribed fourteenth-century precedents in Galician-Portuguese poetry; it matured in fifteenth-century *Cancionero* works and enjoyed popularity throughout the sixteenth century (Navarro Tomás 127; Quilis 107).<sup>275</sup>

<sup>274</sup> The most common rhymes include *ababa*, *abbab*, *abaab*, *aabab*, *aabba*, *abbaa*, and *ababb*.

<sup>275</sup> Lope de Vega’s *Isidro* (1599), for instance, employs the *quintilla*.

At times, the *Coplas sacadas* cleave to the *Castigos* that circulated in Morisco codices cited above, the *Castigos de mucho aviso* (Ms. 505) and the *Castigos muy grandes para ganar la buena venturança del otro mundo* (Ms. 5223). For example, bolded words indicate exact or near correspondenced in the *Coplas sacadas*:

Yā hicho de Edam, **obra para tu fuesa que-s casa de soledad i casa de gusanos** i casa que no ay sol ni luna i-el que dentrará en-ella no salrrá sino para las **penas fuertes** o para la **gloria durable** y-en tan buen // día naçió quien **con bien va a su fuesa** y-en tan **mal día naçió** quien con mal **va a su fuesa** (Ms. 505, fols. 2v-3r).

In Ms. 5223 we read similarly:

Yā hijo de Edam ∴ **obra tu fuesa ques casa descuredad** ∴ i **casa de soledad** ∴ i **casa de gusanos** ∴ i casa que no [h]ay sol ni luna ∴ en [el] quentra [*que entra*] en ella no salle sino para la **pena fuerte** o para la **gloria doble** ∴ en tan buen día naçió quien **va con bien a su fuesa** ∴ i en tan **mal día naçió** quien va con mal a ella (fol. 245r).

The excerpts stress the impermanence of life on earth, a theme reiterated throughout the Qur'ān.

Now consider the following stanzas:

y **para la fuesa obrad**  
 todos amigos y ermanos  
 ques **casa descuridad**  
 y **casa de soledad**  
 y al fin **casa de gusanos**.

que bien Allāh lo guió  
 al que **con bien ba a su fuesa**  
 y en que **mal punto naçió**  
 el que mala obra llebó  
 a morada tan adversa. //

que della sallén dos suertes  
 cada qual muy admirable  
 que de la fuessa espantable  
 no ban **sino a penas fuertes**  
 /o/ a **gloria muy deleytable** (S-1, fols. 210r-v).

Minor transformations, such as “deleitabile” rather than “durable” or “doble” do not alter the passage’s overall effect. The expansion of “ya hijo de Edam” to “todos amigos y ermanos” enunciates the collective public implied in the prose versions (Ms. 505 and Ms. 5223).

In another example, the poem hews to a previous version’s lexicon while modernizing its grammatical expression. Various passages in the prose *Castigos* retain the syntax of the text’s original expression. In Arabic, direct object pronouns are attached to conjugated verbs (e.g. *ağ ‘altu* [‘I made’] + *ka* [‘You’ masculine] = *ağ ‘altuka*).<sup>276</sup> Thus in Ms. 505, we read similarly: “Yā hicho de Edam, naçiste desnudo i *vestíte* naçiste pobre i *fizete* rico i naçiste chico i *fizete* grande i naçiste inoçente i *hizete* sentido i naçiste çiego i *dite* vista pues sey tú para mí como yo soy para tú” (fol. 15r). The poem, on the other hand, provides a more readable Spanish text:

Fijo de edam, tú as naçido  
desnudo. Y yo te bistí  
y naçiste sin sentido  
y yo te di el ser cumplido  
que conçieses a mí. //

De pobre te fize rico  
de ciego bista te di  
fizete de grande de chico  
siendo assí lo que publico  
ques lo que tú harás por mí (S-1, fols. 218v-219r).

With the exception of “fizete grande,” the poetic rendition actualizes the syntax of the prose *Castigos*, thereby maintaining the rhyme scheme.

The poem’s title, “Coplas *sacadas* de los castigos del hijo de Edam” presupposes another text’s existence. Extraction implies derivation, rather than creation. Nevertheless, the adaptation consists of more than versification and syntactical actualization. We can appreciate the poem’s

<sup>276</sup> أَجَعَلْتُكَ

innovative recentering by examining the entextualizations of Ms. 505, Ms. 5223, and S-1. The *Castigos de mucho aviso* begin:

*Biḥmi Illāhi arraḥmāni arraḥīmi.* Estos son unos castigos de mucho aviso para quien los querrá tomar para descanso de su *arrūḥ* y-apartamiento del mundo fue recontado por Maqātil ibnu Ḥulleymān que dišo yo hallé escribto en la *Tawrā* [*Torah*] que decía Yā hicho de Edam... (Ms. 505, fol. 1r).

The scribe of Ms. 505 does not distinguish the text's *isnād* with a different penstroke, a punctuation mark, or a line break. He uses red ink for the diacritics of the *basmala*. The introduction directs the text to those who seek rest for their soul and separation from the physical world. "*Ar-rūḥ*" denotes Arabic *rūḥ*, a semantically rich word that means breath, spirit and soul (Sells 2001).<sup>277</sup> The counsel offers a warning to willing interlocutors; those amenable to advice and receptive to wisdom will find rest for their spirit. The conveyance of knowledge requires a sympathetic audience ("quien los querrá tomar").

The entextualization alludes to Muqātil b. Sulaymān b. Baṣīr al-Azadī al-Balḥī (d. 767), a traditionalist known for his knowledge of Judaism and Christianity, as well as his spurious accounts and imprecise exegesis (Bouzoneb 1998, 27; Plessner and Rippin 2012). Numerous Aljamiado texts recur to Muqātil's authority (*Glosario* 694-5). Here, the *Castigos* are attributed to his account of a written text, the Torah. In *ḥadīth*, renowned scholars such as 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās and Jewish converts such as Wahb b. Munabbih allude to the Torah as a source of knowledge (Lazarus-Yafeh 2012). The Qur'ān confirms that the Torah was sent down by God (e.g. Q 3:3-4). Thus, the entextualization in Ms. 505 frames the *Castigos* as Muqātil's extended quote of an authoritative written source. Muqātil communicates the words of God preserved in the Torah.

<sup>277</sup> The word *nafs* or "self" also conveys "soul" (Homerin 2001). In the Qur'ān, *ar-rūḥ* can refer to the Archangel Gabriel, the Divine Command, or the Spirit of God (e.g. Q 17:85; 19:17; 21:91).

Ms. 5223 offers a similar *isnād* for the *Castigos*:

*Bismi Illāhi irraḥmāni irraḥīmi ∴ wa ṣallā Allāhu ‘alā sayyidinā wa nabīnā wa mawlānā Muḥammad il-karīm wa ‘alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa sallama taslīman. Estos son unos castigos muy grandes para ganar la buena venturança del-otro mundo dichos por el noble Allāh ta ‘ālā sacados de la Tawrāt ∴ ∴ // ∴ Fue rrecontado por Maqātil hijo de Çuleymān [hle] qué- l dīxo hallé escribto en la Tawrāt que dezía asī ∴ ∴ ∴ Yā hijo de Edam...* (Ms. 5223, fol. 244v).<sup>278</sup>

The Arabic invocation occupies two lines with “*taslīman*” centered on the third line. A thicker penstroke, indicated with bolded text, highlights the name of God, the text’s title, and the beginning of two phrases (“Fue rrecontado...” and “Ya hijo de Edam...”). The introduction declares the text’s purpose: to achieve well-being in the Afterlife (“para ganar la buena venturança del-otro mundo”). In contrast to Ms. 505, the entextualization in Ms. 5223 attributes the *Castigos* to God, rather than Muqātil, and posits a direct relationship with the Torah. “Dichos por el noble Allāh” and “sacados de la *Tawrāt*” foreground the text’s divine and sacred origins. The use of decorative punctuation after “sacados de la *Tawrāt*” and a heavier penstroke on “fue” underscores the separation between Muqātil and the subsequent text. In this way, the entextualization of the *Castigos* in Ms. 5223 privileges a divine and an authoritative written source over a (less reliable) human transmitter. The recommendations are first “said” by God and “taken out” of the Torah before anything was “recounted” by Muqātil.

Unlike the opening frames of Ms. 505 and Ms. 5223, the *Coplas sacadas* commence with a translation of the standard Arabic invocation:

En el nombre del Señor  
criador del universo,  
del mundo sostenedor  
y de todo formador

<sup>278</sup> The scribe forgets to introduce the quotative verb “dixo” and crosses out the beginning of “hallé.” The Arabic invocation reads: “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Blessings and Peace of God on our Lord and our Prophet and Our Protector Muḥammad the Generous, and His Family and His Companions.”

Alto poderoso ynmenso.

Allāh es el que da el ser  
a todas cosas criadas  
el por su gra[n]de poder  
me quiera faboreçer  
del [de él] mis cosas sean guiadas.

Esta obra començé  
yo. mediante su fabor  
Allah tal graçia me dé  
que la acabe y fin le dé  
en su serviçio y loor (S-1, fol. 205v).

The poetic voice reframes the *Castigos* as a creative exercise dependent on God's favor. No longer the direct speech of Muqātil or Allāh, the poem's principle entextualization links the invocation of God to the first-person lyric stance and portrays the text's inception as a personal endeavor. The poetic persona, simulating an authorial consciousness, takes on the role of a dedicated author inspired by God.

The fourth stanza invokes an imagined public:

y mis hermanos y amigos  
desto aprobechar se puedan  
contra adversos enemigos  
porque estos son los castigos  
en metro del fijo de edam (fol. 206r).

Whereas Ms. 505 and Ms. 5223 frame the *Castigos*' merit in terms of the text's impact on one's life after death, the poetic voice grounds the text in a polemical realm. Instead of instruction to "ganar la buena venturança del otro mundo" or the provision to rest one's "*ar-rūh*" and separate oneself from the world, the poem encourages informal addressees ("hermanos y amigos") to gain advantage over adversaries. Ms. 505 and Ms. 5223 celebrate separation and salvation, while the poem champions victory over "adversos enemigos." In this stanza, the poem guides its interpretation and application.



Only in the fifth and sixth stanzas do we learn of Muqātil's involvement. The poem contemplates Muqātil's transmission of the "found" message:

El sabio Macatil dixo.  
hombres mortales sabed.  
que de Çuleymen soy hijo.  
la doctrina que os corrijo.  
en el *ataura* la hallé.

Bie[n]do<sup>279</sup> aquella escritura  
exçelente y admirable  
gustando de su dulçura  
en ella hallé una figura  
para mí muy agradable (S-1, fol. 206r).<sup>280</sup>

Muqātil's personal input dramatizes the *isnād*. The entextualization affords him speaking room through the presentation of direct speech with the active verb "dixo" rather than passive "fue recontado por." Instead of immediately diving into apostrophe ("Ya hijo de Edam"), the entextualization allows Muqātil to explain his attraction to the inscribed knowledge, conceived as "una figura... agradable." Wonder, awe, and human participation usher in wisdom. Muqātil finally relays God's message in the seventh stanza:

Ye fijo de edam deçía  
mira que yo te formé  
dite el ser que combenía  
harás la boluntad mía  
y obedeçerme as por fé (fol. 206v).

Thus, the poem's entextualization first mentions the act of poetic creation, then Muqātil's dynamic contribution, and finally Allāh's direct message to "fijo de Edam."

<sup>279</sup> The scribe writes 'n' above 'biedo.'

<sup>280</sup> To the right of this stanza the copyist notes "lectura." Perhaps this marginal note served as a prompt for recitation, reminding the performer of the stanza's gist. It could also be a reader's guide, helping them grasp the essential point. Since the word "lectura" does not appear in this or the following stanza, it does not function as a catchword. The scribe seems to have corrected "un figura" by penning a small "a" after "un."

The poetic recontextualization articulates a distinct purpose in the opening frame as well as the closing stanza. The *Castigos* in Ms. 5223 conclude: “no menoscabes las jentes sus cosas i seréis bienaventurados en-este mundo i en-el otro ∴ ∴ ∴ aquí hazzen fin *wa alḥamdu [li-llāhi] rabba al-‘alamīna*” (fol. 251r). Heeding the counsel will be beneficial in this world and the next. The *Castigos de mucho aviso* also finish with praise of God, though Ms. 505 does not reiterate the text’s purpose: “*wa al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi al-‘alamīna* i la loor es ada Allāh el Señor de las jentes” (fol. 18r). In contrast, the *Coplas sacadas* refer back to the “adversos enemigos” cited in the beginning:

Si tú deseas alcançar  
de los aduersos bictoria  
pensarás en bien obrar  
y ad Allāh el alto rrogar  
que nos dé a todos la gloria  
~ amen ~ (S-1, fol. 238v).

The poem urges good works and supplication to God; such actions will enable victory over adversaries. One cannot help but connect the “adversos” to the challenges Aragonese Moriscos faced at the turn of the century. The repurposed *Castigos* reflect and reinforce a polemical atmosphere. The poem orients perennial advice to Moriscos’ particular circumstances: the text creates a dialectic between an “in group” to whom the message is directed and an undistinguished mass of “adversos.” Listeners should obey wise guidance in order to gain advantage over the unapprised. The *Coplas sacadas* convey knowledge through a hierarchical lens: addressees and adversaries are cast as winners and losers. Recontextualized in verse, wisdom bears new implications for an acutely persecuted community whose cohesion is predicated on the existence of an external, inferior menace.

The *Coplas sacadas* reframe wisdom and heighten its stakes. The poem insists on correct behavior as a means to avoid a painful death. Warning listeners of their imminent expiry occurs

in the prose versions, yet the threatening tone does not possess the rhetorical force nor the visceral descriptions conveyed in the poem. For instance, in Ms. 5223, the following phrases remind the reader of death's imminence: “Yā hijo de Edam ∴ ∴ no te reposes en este mundo que no as de morar en él ∴ sienpre trabaja para el-otro mundo que mañana serás en él” (fol. 247v). In another example, semantic and syntactical parallelism simulate the certainty of death: “Yā hijo de Edam ∴ ∴ la muerte es camino i toḍos lo an de caminar ∴ la muerte es puerta i toḍos an de pasar por-ella ∴ la muerte es amarga i toḍos l-an de gustar” (Ms. 5223, fol. 247v). Finally, a series of rhetorical questions meditate on the futility of accumulated wealth:

**Yā hijo de Edam** ∴ quien sabe que naḍió para morir cómo se puede alegrar para vevir ∴ i quien sabe que á de morir cómo puede llorar al que muere ∴ i quien sabe qué cosa es la fuesa cómo se puede alegrar ∴ i quien sabe ques *jahannam* cómo se puede rreír ∴ i quien sabe que lo an de comer los gusanos cómo puede engordar (Ms. 5223, fol. 248v).

In a corresponding section, the poem embellishes the latter passage's imagery of a rotting corpse: “como engordan los humanos / llenos de goḍo y plaḍer / pues saben que an de comer / a sus carnes los gusanos / a sus guesos podreḍer” (S-1, fol. 217r). The lyric voice eschews the use of hypothetical example and transforms question into concrete fact. Due to the lack of punctuation, we could read these verses as: “¿Cómo engordan los humanos, llenos de gozo y plaḍer? Saben que los gusanos van a comer sus carnes y sus huesos se van a podreḍer.” Alternatively, we might read “como” in exclamatory terms: “¡[Mira] cómo engordan los humanos llenos de gozo y plaḍer, [mientras] saben que los gusanos van a comer sus carnes y sus huesos se van a podreḍer!” In either case, the elision of “puede” and the substitution of indeterminate “quien” with collective “humanos” generates an accusatory tone absent from the prose *Castigos*. All humans are guilty of an insouciant attitude towards death. The poem transforms hypothetical probing into direct denunciation—obligating listeners to account for their own behavior.

The parallel phatic structures bring to mind rhetorical strategies deployed in vernacular sermons. The transformation reflects Bauman's assertion that "recontextualization amounts to a rekeying of the text, a shift in its illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect – what it counts as and what it does" (2004, 6). Indeed, the *Coplas sacadas* modifies the "illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect" of numerous clauses. In Ms. 5223, an "if clause" communicates Allāh's injunction without the presumption of guilt: "**Yā hijo de Edam** ∴ si traspasas mis mandamientos i me desobedeçes quien te wardará de mis penas" (fol. 246v). With punctuation, the second clause clearly forms a question: "¿quién te guardará de mis penas?" On the contrary, in the *Coplas sacadas* we encounter an irate God who assumes the believer's malicious intent:

Quies [*quieres*] me desobedeçer  
con malicia muy estraña  
pues quiero de tí saber  
qui [*qué*] ente podrá defender  
de mi furor y mi saña (fol. 212v).<sup>281</sup>

Direct accusation supplants theoretical stance, intensifying the statement's illocutionary function. The poem shifts the perlocutionary effect as well, demanding a response from listeners and inducing contrition. Assertion ("quiero saber de ti") supersedes hypothetical question ("¿quién te guardará de mis penas?"). A similar shift occurs in the following example. Whereas a prose rendition asks provocatively, "**Yā hijo de Edam** ∴ ¿cómo quieres segar lo que no senbraste i gozar de lo que no ganaste i tomar pago de lo que no hiziste?", the lyric voice interrogates relentlessly: "di por que quieres tomar / el pan que nunca se gaste / di por que quieres goçar / del premio y pago llebar / de lo que no trabaxaste" (Ms. 5223, fol. 248v; S-1, fol. 216v). Anaphora

<sup>281</sup> A modernized and punctuated version reads: "Quieres desobedecerme con malicia muy extraña; pues, quiero saber de ti, ¿cuál ente podrá defender de mi furor y mi saña?"

and alliteration deliver a punchy cacophony of denunciations. The text assumes the interlocutor's guilt and discounts explanation.

The foregoing quotes illustrate the ways in which the *Coplas sacadas* change what the text “counts as” and “what it does.” In addition to adapting content common to other versions of the *Castigos del hijo de Edam*, stanzas 92 to 198—nearly one half of the poem—deviate from both the form and content of extant prose *Castigos*. Third-person description and interpolated voices expand the stylistic features of this particular *waṣiyya*. Stanza 92 initiates a series of fear-instilling images that culminate in an emotive depiction of Judgment Day and the lament of a painful death:

Donde tendrás mil passiones.<sup>282</sup>  
 en esta ora tan fuerte  
 mi[l] dolores y aflições.  
 pues te hecha las prisiones.  
 @zrayeyl<sup>283</sup> de la muerte. //

O como lo sentirás  
 quando beas tu muger  
 y a los hijos que tendrás  
 que hablar no les podrás  
 ni ellos te podrán baler.

Pararse á tú cuerpo frío  
 falta el calor natural  
 tus carnes sin n[error]ingun brío.  
 en tu haber no ay poderío  
 para librarte del mal.

Berás tus hijos llorando  
 tu muger a par de tí  
 con angustia lamentando  
 y tu a la cama mirando

<sup>282</sup> To the right of this stanza, the scribe has written “aflições.” Similar to “lectura,” mentioned above, this could serve as a reader's aid or performer's guide.

<sup>283</sup> @zrayeyl renders ‘Azrā’īl, the Angel of Death, referred to in the Qur’ān as *malak al-mawt* (*Glosario* 647; *The Study Quran* 1012). He is the angel responsible for extracting human souls (Q 32:11).

sin hallar rremedio allí ~ (S-1, fols. 220v-221r).

The passage underscores human futility: once imprisoned in ‘Azrā’īl’s inexorable clutches, one’s “cuerpo frío” cannot avail them of an unforgiving fate—nor can grieving family members aid them. The description of the helpless corpse continues:

Los almeleques [*angels*] bendán  
de tu arroh [*soul*] rreçibidores  
de tus pies començarán  
y tu alma sacarán  
hasta los pechos mayores.

Tenderá entonçes sus manos  
@zrayeyl muy sin pena  
dexa tus mienbros libianos  
hechos terrón de gusanos  
tu casa de gritos llena (fol. 221v).

Angels extract your soul, ‘Azrā’īl, dismembers your body, and you remain trapped by your inescapable corporality and undoable past actions: “y quedarás empeñado / por el bien y mal que obraste / en tan estrecho ençerrado / con soledad sepultado / afligido en gran contraste” (fol. 222v). The intermediate period between death and resurrection is known as *barzakh*, the initial period in the “stages of the Afterlife” or *manāzil al-ākhirā* (Q 30: 55-6; Yusuf 1827). The phase commences with an interrogation of the deceased, known as the questioning in the grave (*su’āl al-qabr*):

Al uno llaman *Muncar*  
y al otro llaman *Nequiro*.<sup>284</sup>  
un golpe tienen de dar  
sobre tu fuesa al dentrar  
que te causará suspiro ~ //

En ella se asentarán  
con yncreyble furor  
demandas te pedirán

<sup>284</sup> *Munkar* and *Nakīr* are angels who interrogate the dead in the afterlife (*Glosario* 694; Webb 2001).

que mucho te espantarán  
dirán: ¿quién es tu Señor? (fols. 222v-223r).

According to the Qur'ān, true believers respond to *su'āl al-qabr* with “firm speech” or *qawl thābit* (Q 14:27). Likewise, the poem’s interlocutor will affirm their belief in Islam “sin temor,” “muy prompto,” “determinado,” and “con ánimo muy osado”:

Y si hubieres bien obrado  
rresponderás sin temor  
muy prompto y determinado  
con ánimo muy osado  
diziendo Allāh es mi Señor. //

Y Mohamed mi annebí.  
y el *Alcoran* es mi guía  
mi *alquibla*<sup>285</sup> dirás assí  
ques [--]<sup>286</sup> casa que la escogí  
adonde *alhaxe*<sup>287</sup> se hazía.

Si no sabes rresponder  
a lo que te piderán [*pedirán*]  
podrás por cierto tener  
que jamás tendrás plaçer  
sino trabaxo y afán (fols. 223r-v).

The description lends itself to dramatic performance. We can only imagine ways in which an *alfaquí* might have simulated the voices of threatening angels, wailing widows, and cross-examined subjects. The polyphonic chorus grows as prophets, supplicants, and God join the poetic reenactment.

The multiplicity of voices derives from *ḥadīth* literature and textual traditions devoted to narrating the events of the Day of Reckoning (*yawm al-ḥisāb*), also deemed the Day of Judgment

<sup>285</sup> Arabic *al-qibla* designates the place in a mosque that orients believers towards Mecca, the direction towards which Muslims direct their prayers.

<sup>286</sup> Unclear script.

<sup>287</sup> “Alhaxe” approximates Arabic *al-ḥağğ*, the pilgrimage to Mecca performed during the month of *Ḍū l-ḥiğğā*.

(*yawm ad-dīn*), the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*), and the Last Day (*al-yawm al-ākhir*), which commences the final sentencing. On this day, all of humankind will seek their prophetic representative:

Unos a Edam ban buscando  
para que rruegue por ellos  
ottros [*sic*] de Noh<sup>288</sup> demandando  
que suplique con su bando  
que Allāh quiera socorrellos (S-1, fol. 226r).

In the midst of “bramidos” and “fuego,” desperate humans appeal to not only Adam and Noah, but to “Muçe” (Moses), “Ybrahim” (Abraham), and “Yça” (Jesus) (S-1, fols. 226r-227r).

Believers appeal to prophets for intercession (*ṣafāʿa*), before Jesus finally sends them to Muḥammad (Yusuf 1834; Wensinck 2012a).

Indeed, Jesus plays an important role as one of the prophetic voices during Judgement Day. Moriscos preserved several accounts of this narrative.<sup>289</sup> For instance, in the “Recontamiento del día del juiçio,” preserved in a sixteenth-century codex, in response to pleas, each prophet exclaims, “Yā jentes, no es a mī la rrogaría,” then directs supplicants to the next prophet (Ms. Arabe 774 BNF, fol. 221v). Jesus (ʿĪsā ibnu Maryam) proceeds Muḥammad in prophetic succession. He replies: “Yā jentes, no es a mī la rrogaría que yo soy aquel que me tomaron las jentes por Señor a menos de Allāh en el mundo más yo vos guiaré a quien rrogará por vosotros... el Señor de la silla alta él rrogará por vosotros, Muḥammad, *ṣalla Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallām* sillo de los annabies *ʿalayhimu assalām*” (Ms. 774 BNF, fol. 223r). In this version, ʿĪsā acknowledges his followers’ mistaken devotion (“me tomaron las jentes por señor”) and

<sup>288</sup> Noah (Arabic: *Nūḥ*).

<sup>289</sup> Mss. J-4, J-9, J-57 (CSIC), BRAH T-17, Ms. 481 (Bib. Nacional de Malta), and Ms. 774 BNF include accounts of Judgment Day.



sends them to Muḥammad, the “Seal of the Prophets” (Q 33:40).<sup>290</sup>

Similarly, in Muhammad Rabadán’s account of Judgment Day, the *Historia del espantoso día del juyçio* (Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, fols. 190r-204r), Jesus sends weary souls to Muḥammad, explaining humbly:

‘No está para mí esta empresa  
ni tal suficiençia siento,’  
les responde el sancto Yze,  
‘porque su silla me dieron  
las gentes de mi criador  
y en su lugar me sirbieron  
y no osaré yo pedir  
este día ninguno premio  
más yo os mostraré el camino  
por donde tendreys remedio’ (Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, fol. 198r).

Aljamiado recollections of Jesus conform to Qur’ānic and *ḥadīth* precedent.<sup>291</sup> Tarif Khalidi refers to the vast corpus of Arabic texts related to Jesus as the “Muslim gospel,” which comprises ethical and Sufi works, *adab*, Stories of the Prophets, and gnomic texts (3). The Qur’ān portrays Jesus as a prophet who performed miracles and was conceived by a virgin (e.g. Q 3:43; 19:16-35). Islamic belief emphatically denies Jesus’ divinity (Q 9: 30-1); Jesus stands as a witness against the People of the Book on Judgment Day (Q 4:159). The prophet foretells Muḥammad’s coming (Q 61:6) and some traditions report that he will usher in the Day of Resurrection when he descends from heaven to fight the Antichrist (*ad-dağğāl*) (Hasson 2001).

<sup>290</sup> The appellation signifies that Muḥammad is the last prophet God sent to humanity.

<sup>291</sup> For a selected edition of Aljamiado texts about Jesus, see Vespertino Rodríguez (1983, 300-353). Texts include accounts of Jesus’ birth and miracles, as well as polemical refutations of the Christian belief in Jesus’ divinity. The Islamic doctrine of God’s unity or oneness (*al-tawḥīd*) vehemently rejects the notion of a Holy Trinity. The Qur’ān refers to ‘Īsā with various appellations, including *al-Masīḥ* (the Anointed), *nabī* (prophet), *rasūl* (envoy), and *Ibn Maryam* (son of Mary). *Al-Masīḥ* derives from a Jewish root and does not retain its Christian connotations. Scholars generally attribute one of two Arabic roots: *masaḥa* (to rub, to anoint) or *sāḥa* (to travel, go on a pilgrimage). See Anawati (2002) for a detailed explanation of these names.

Khalidi concludes: “Jesus is a controversial prophet. He is the only prophet in the Qur’an who is deliberately made to distance himself from the doctrines that his community is said to hold of him... In sum, the Qur’anic Jesus, unlike any other prophet, is embroiled in polemic” (12).

Jesus’ debut in the *Coplas sacadas* derives from this textual and scriptural milieu. In contrast to the conventional response ascribed to ‘Īsā in the *Rrecontamiento* and in Rabadán’s text, the poem features a rueful prophet who begs for God’s forgiveness on behalf of his followers. After “naçiones muy diferentes / llamaran con agonía / a Yçe muy diligentes,” Jesus is not content to send them to Muḥammad without a sharp denunciation:

Y él [*Jesus*] rresponde: ‘buestro horror  
es bien se publique aquí  
pues tú bistes por mejor  
dexan el sumo haçedor  
y en todo servirme a mí’ (S-1, fol. 227r).

Jesus reprimands Christians for their misplaced devotion, as he does in the Qur’ān (5:116). The prophet downplays his own miracles, attributing them to God’s will rather than personal ability:

‘Los milagros que yo obré  
con su favor los haçía  
y en quanto yo os pedrique  
ad Allāh os encomende  
sirvieseis de noche y día’ (fol. 227r).

‘Īsā’s followers ignored their obligation to serve Allāh. Though Jesus preached to them, they did not heed his instructions. Even worse, they broke God’s commandments and succumbed to the seductions of a comfortable life:

‘Bosotros como violentos  
siguisteis opinión bana  
quebrastes sus mandamientos  
y *buestro* bivar contentos  
os guió para *chehennem*’ (fol. 227v).

This violent disobedience led them to Hell. “Chehennem” derives from Arabic *al-jahannam*, or Hell, while “alchanna” corresponds to *al-janna*, the Qur’ānic term for paradise (S-1, fols. 233r, 230r; Tottoli 2014, 537).<sup>292</sup> Jesus does not dare intercede for his followers’ sins, fearing the possibility that God will deny him favor:

‘Y digo que no é de osar  
pareçer ante el Señor  
esto, amigos, escuchad  
con justa rrazon podrá  
Él negarme su fabor’ (S-1, fol. 227v).

Jesus absolves himself from any personal accountability, professing faith in God’s omniscient knowledge and once again citing Christians’ misplaced devotion:

‘El loor que a él se debía  
a mí lo quisistes dar  
pues la culpa no era mía  
que Allah todo lo sabía  
abéisme de perdonar’ (fol. 227v).

After affirming his faith in God, Jesus guides sinners to Muḥammad, hoping that the Prophet will help his mistaken followers:

‘Más yo os quiero encaminar  
al que la rrogaría es dada  
y podréis lo yr a buscar  
ques Mohamed. yd hablad  
que os ayude en tal jornada’ (fol. 228r).

<sup>292</sup> Tottoli argues that descriptions of *chehennem* in Aljamiado manuscripts conform to “the body of late Arabic literary re-workings of eschatological and cosmological traditions usually attributed to Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, Wahb b. Munabbih and Ibn ‘Abbās” (2016, 277-8). Aljamiado texts also refer to Hell as “fuego,” though *jahannam* is more commonly used to recall the horrors of a punishing afterlife (Tottoli 2014, 542-8). Tottoli cites Mohanmad de Vera’s Latin-script rendition of Samarqandī’s *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, arguing that his choice of the word *infierno* “proves the existence of a different audience” (2014, 545). Yet the prevalence of “chehennem” in *Coplas sacadas* (fols. 232v; 233r; 233v; 228r) and additional texts in S-1 (e.g. fols. 142v; 144r; 145r; 153r), disproves the correlation between Latin-script manuscripts and fewer Arabicized terms.

Muḥammad also admonishes his followers for neglecting their religious duties. Wayward Muslims have rendered the Prophet's wisdom otiose. Multiple preachers and Muḥammad himself instructed them, to no avail:

Entonces el escogido  
 Mohamed rresponderá:  
 'ya os fue esto probeydo  
 y con sermón muy cumplido  
 os pedriqué la berdad.

Y todos los sabidores  
 del Señor os pedricaron  
 bosotros muy pecadores  
 nunca oystes sus clamores  
 ni nada os aprobecharon' (fols. 230r-v).

Despite his frustration, Muḥammad nonetheless appeals to God on behalf of his followers (fols. 231v-232v). The poem dramatizes an authoritative textual tradition, vivifying an ancient past and conjuring an imminent future. Prophets become poetic characters in a drama of repentance and punishment. The use of reported speech allows Muḥammad himself to address errant Muslims who did not listen to "sermones" on earth. The text urges Moriscos' adherence to Islam through the Prophet's dramatized lecture.

The *Coplas sacadas* reprimand both Christians and impious Muslims, though the former's admonition serves mainly to bolster Islamic belief. A chagrined Jesus denounces the fundamental tenets of Christianity, including his own divinity. The prophet points out his followers' erroneous faith, not necessarily to change early seventeenth-century Christians' minds, but in order to indoctrinate Muslims. Once again, the text seems to articulate a hierarchical binary: "hijos de Edam" versus "adversos" and correct religion versus false belief. Though similar scenes transpire in a myriad of textual traditions, the *Coplas sacadas* intensify the representation's polemical thrust. Portraying Jesus' followers as "violent," in "error," and

destined for *jahannam* enables listeners to envision a world in which vilified adversaries meet due punishment. The condemnation of Christian belief on Judgment Day illustrates in vivid terms the “victoria” that Muslims will soon achieve over “adversos.”

Though derived from a *waṣiyya*, the poem transcends its genre. Reenacting the Day of Resurrection, it warns disbelievers of the horrors that await them and nurtures a collective consciousness. After Muḥammad’s intercession, the recollection of Judgment Day continues, as the *Coplas sacadas* advise listeners to focus on the Hereafter. Exhortation is accompanied by description of both the glories and trials of the afterlife. In the poem, Allāh ushers in Mālik, the angel who presides over the entrance to Hell (Q 43:77). The gatekeeper provokes *chehennem*, a personified horror: “y ella con grande herbor / da tan terribles bramidos / aumentando su calor / su fuego de mala olor / quespantará a los naçidos” (S-1, fol. 232v). Suddenly, in the midst of a cacophonous medley of voices and bellowing, the lyric voice once again addresses an informal interlocutor, a feature I will address below: “pues oye no te desbías / de hazer bien para tí / tras lo bueno siempre guies / queste día los annebías / cada qual rruega por sí” (fol. 233r). The apostrophe is short-lived, however, as the text describes “aççiratte” (Arabic *aṣ-ṣirāṭ*), the bridge that extends precariously over the depths of Hell:

Para dar fin y rremate  
de juzgar la gente humana  
manda Allāh que sin debate  
el puente del *aççiratte*  
se tienda sobre *chehennem*.

Más quel cabello delgado  
más que nabaxa cortante  
más sutil y delicado  
su largueza es conparado  
desde poniente a lebante (S-1, fols. 233r-233v).

Hiperbaton and metaphor intertwine, inviting listeners to imagine how they will traverse the slender bridge. The comparisons to a “cabello delgado” and a “nabaxa cortante” stem from various *ḥadīth* accounts in which the *ṣirāṭ* is “finer than a hair and sharper than a sword” (qtd. in Yusuf 1844). Rabadán recurs to the same imagery in his *Historia del espantoso dia del Juyçio*; the bridge is “cortante como una espada / delgado como un cabello / tendido sobre *chaanna*” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 201r). Though the author of *Coplas sacadas* compares the bridge to a razor, rather than a sword, the example displays notable intertextuality. The poem reimagines the limits of *waṣiyya* by refracting and recentering other textual traditions.

Descriptions are culled from a welter of sources. The text also references the “siete grados” or gates of Hell. The Qur’ān refers to Hell’s seven gates or doors (*abwāb*; sing. *bāb*), which correspond to the level of sin one committed during their lifetime (Q 15:44; Tottoli 2016, 286-7). A *ḥadīth* copied in an Aljamiado manuscript lists the seven sins as follows: “descreer con Allāh,” “matar persona,” “levantar falso tes- // timonio,” “desobedeçer al padre i-a la madre,” “comer el logro,”<sup>293</sup> “fazer *azzīnā* enpues de ser casado”<sup>294</sup> and “ser bebedor de vino” (Ms. 4953 BNE, fols. 146v-147r).

The poem, in contrast, affixes Islam’s “siete mandamientos” to each gate (S-1, fol. 233v).<sup>295</sup> The seven commandments include the profession of God’s unity, ritual prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, honoring one’s parents, and “el séptimo si as usado / de hazer bien y no mal” (fol. 235r). The first five commandments correspond to Islam’s “pillars of faith,”

<sup>293</sup> “Comer el logro” means to practice usury (*Glosario* 363).

<sup>294</sup> “Fazer *azzīnā*” means to commit fornication or adultery (*Glosario* 147).

<sup>295</sup> The catchword “el primero” appears underneath this stanza at the bottom of the folio. “El primero” could also be a reader’s guide, as suggested for “lectura” and “aflicciones.”

from a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Archangel Gabriel. The poem fuses the number of negative prohibitions with positive mandates. In sum:

Estos siete mandamientos  
procurarás de guardar  
con ánimo y pensamientos  
que son seguros çimientos  
para yr al çielo a morar.

Y si con poco temor  
los echares en olbido  
sabete ye pecador  
que te fuera muy mejor  
que nunca hobieras naçido (fol. 235v).

The menacing tone recalls the urgency of a *maw'īza*, an admonition that instills fear. Advice emphasizes steps to circumvent the treacherous passage over *ṣirāṭ*. After showcasing the perils of *jahannam*, the seven commandments—rather than sins—offer interlocutors a roadmap to *al-janna*. Wisdom is conveyed through warning. The poem concludes with a condemnation of “el juego,” though the last folios are incomplete due to paper damage.

The final stanzas return to second-person address, thereby resuming the rhetorical style of *waṣīyya*. Intimate address recalls the vocative “tú” prevalent in the *Dichos o sentencias de los siete sabios*. Similarly, informal apostrophe involves listeners in the *Coplas sacadas*. Yet instead of cultivating an innocuous dialogue with ancient sages, the audience is pressed to respond, repent, and react. The poem’s familiar tone facilitates its admonitory goals; the lyric voice creates a sense of complicity with interlocutors (“mis hermanos y amigos”) in order to condemn their behavior. After a frightening account of Judgment Day, the poem’s abrupt return to second-person address forces listeners to contemplate themselves as characters in the dramatic recollection. Admonition, when obeyed, engenders believers’ salvation.

Awareness of the relationship between one’s actions and one’s fate makes a person wise.

The *Coplas sacadas* recenter *wa'z*, *waṣiyya*, and accounts of Judgment Day with accessible expression. Interlaced persuasion, instruction, and exhortation redefine wisdom in an increasingly polemical and precarious environment. Vivifying the potential perils of the Afterlife through intimate address and lucid delivery redirects knowledge to an acutely persecuted community. The lyric voice channels authoritative voices in order to challenge listeners. By conveying divine and prophetic fury in comprehensible terms, the poetic persona—and the *alfaquí* animating it—bring an uncertain future to bear on the tumultuous present.

### **Keeping Time: Poetic Persuasion in Ms. 1574**

Like the *Dichos o sentencias* and the *Coplas sacadas*, one could also classify the *Sermón puesto en metro castellano* as didactic. Ms. 1574 (Bib. de Cataluña; *quarto*) contains 23 folios. The manuscript was found in Almonacid de la Sierra in 1876, eight years before the large discovery (Villaverde 115). Ms. 1574 was embedded within Ms. J-28 CSIC “en la cocina de una pobre casa” (Saavedra 1878, 180). The date of 1603 provided on fol. 14v suggests the manuscript was produced in the early seventeenth century. After a poem that recounts Ishmael’s sacrifice (“Esta es la deguella de Ybrahim aleyçalem” [fols. 1r-11v]), folios 12r-v are left blank; folios 13r-14v contain lists of financial accounts, including a note that reads “lo que fiado en Figeruelas...a pagar al agosto de 1603 yo rodrigo carniçero figeruelas,” followed by a list of debtors (fol. 14v).

As I will discuss in the next chapter, *alfaquíes* likely recited both poems during the celebration of *ʿīd al-ʿadḥā*, or Festival of the Sacrifice, the distinguished Islamic holiday that commemorates Abraham and Ishmael’s devotion to God. The untitled “sermón puesto en metro



castellano” occupies fols. 15r-24r.<sup>296</sup> In general, *La degüella* receives a cleaner redaction than the *Sermón*. The latter elucidates the merits and obligations of each month in the Islamic calendar through stanzas of *arte menor*. Each folio features two columns of text; the number and spacing of stanzas per folio varies.<sup>297</sup>

Though the manuscript is redacted with the Latin script, one folio features Arabic calligraphy exercises, including the *basmala* and various letters (Ms. 1574, fol. 24v). On the same folio, the scribe appears to practice his Latin-script handwriting with a popular ballad:

@ a  
y como por  
Capitulo de Como el rey don Sancho  
de de Como el rey don Sancho  
Le rres - pondro p p p P P P P

The poem could be one of many that recalls Sancho II’s (d. 1072) siege of Zamora. In lieu of a title, collections of *romances* often include a description of the poem’s contents. For instance, “De cómo el rey don Sancho envió mensaje con el Cid a su hermana doña Urraca, pidiéndola que le entregase a Zamora por dinero, o en cambio de otras villas o ciudades” begins the ballad, “Llegado es el rey Don Sancho / sobre Zamora esa villa.”<sup>298</sup> Regardless of which poem the scribe had in mind, the scrawled note affirms Samuel Armistead’s provocative question: “¿Existió un romancero de tradición oral entre los moriscos?” (1978).

<sup>296</sup> I refer to the poem as *Sermón*.

<sup>297</sup> A recently identified Aljamiado manuscript includes both *La degüella* and the *Sermón* in a codex that comprises nearly 200 folios (Castilla 2017, 299-312). The manuscript was found in Morés in 1850; it was copied around 1570-1600 (Castilla 2017, 299). I have not been able to locate a copy of this compilation, currently preserved by Dr. Jörn Günther in Stalden, Switzerland. Nuria de Castilla is preparing a critical edition.

<sup>298</sup> See no. 768 in Agustín Durán’s *Biblioteca de autores españoles. Romancero general. Tomo primero* (1849).

After the *basmala*, the first stanza reads: “Aquí berás buen ermano / amado de corazón / de las lunas un sermón / puesto en metro castellano” (Ms. 1574, fol. 15r). These opening verses liken the listener to a close companion. The term *puesto* could presuppose the prior existence of a prose sermon. On the other hand, the lack of the verb *sacar* posits the text’s originality. In Morisco manuscripts, *sacado* often cues awareness of a text’s previous avatars: a poem was *taken out* of ‘*arabī* and put into ‘*ajamī* (Ms. Escorial 1880); texts in S-1 were *taken out* of “letra de muçlimes”; the *Coplas sacadas* were *taken out* of a *waṣiyya* purportedly *taken out* of the Torah, and so on (Ms. 5223 BNE). Accordingly, the *Sermón* copied in Ms. 1574 was *put into* a Castilian meter, but from where was it taken out?

A plethora of Aljamiado manuscripts specify the ritual practices associated with particular days in each month of the Islamic calendar, which include *Muḥarram* (1), *Šafar* (2), *Rabī‘ al-awwal* (3), *Rabī‘ ath-Thānī* (4), *Jumāda al-ūla* (5), *Jumāda al-ākhira* (6), *Rajab* (7), *Ša‘bān* (8), *Ramaḍān* (9), *Šawwāl* (10), *Dū l-Qa‘dah* (11), and *Dū l-ḥiġġa* (12). Aragonese Muslims tracked the lunar calendar to ensure correct ritual practices (Harvey 1986b). Certain religious rites would engender increased reward and entail higher efficacy when aligned with particular times of the year.

The *Sermón* belongs to an intertextual web, though its direct precedent has yet to be identified. Like Muhammad Rabadán’s poetic *oeuvre* and the *Coplas sacadas*, the *Sermón* likewise employs the Latin script and versifies material that circulated in prose. The following analysis does not attempt to draw firm conclusions with respect to the poem’s origin(s). I will instead reflect on the socially inflected ways in which the *Sermón* constitutes and communicates wisdom—for whom, through which mechanisms, from which materials, and to what ends. The

text provides new insight into Aragonese Muslims' production of knowledge on the eve of the expulsion.

As Rabadán lamented, due to their deteriorated religious knowledge, Moriscos forget to perform the “açala,” they fast only intermittently, and they neglect to praise God with the Most Beautiful Names. Since the omission of necessary practices brings about eternal risks, Rabadán is committed to instructing his community in verse. The lyric voice in the *Sermón* expresses similar concerns by simulating a concerned “conciencia de autor”:

Más por ebitar el daño  
que ynorançia ba a causar  
me mobí aquí a declarar  
las lunas de todo el año.

Y a relatar sin engaño  
los días que traen dayuno  
no quede muçil [*muçlim*] ninguno  
que no goçe bien tanmaño (Ms. 1574, fol. 15v).<sup>299</sup>

The “daño” caused by ignorance is, in fact, eternal punishment. Therefore, listeners must be wary of time poorly spent on earth:

Del tienpo mal espendido  
nos debe pesar a todos  
procuremos por mil modos  
gozar del bien prometido.

Pues de Allāh fuemos criados  
para gozar en el çielo  
procuremos en el suelo  
de no bibir descuydados.

De las culpas y pecados  
si no hazemos penitençia  
iremos sin rejistençia [*resistençia*]

<sup>299</sup> I retain the scribe's spacing between stanzas, noting that other stanzas comprise groups of eight rather than four.

a *jihana*<sup>300</sup> condenados (fol. 15v).

Accurate knowledge of the lunar calendar will enable Muslims to comply with religious obligations. Heeding fast days, living with humility, and repenting sins helps believers avoid the torments of *jahannam*. If unaccompanied by repentance, “tiempo mal espendido” and living “descuidados” surely lead to a fiery fate.

The intent to combat Moriscos’ unfamiliarity with Islam permeates the poem, whose content transcends that of a succinct explanation of the months of the year. Knowledge alone does not ensure a believer’s entrance into *aljanna*. Believers must fast, pray, and perform works of charity:

Nadi se piense salbar  
con deçir yo tengo fé  
que sin obras cierto fue  
que es echar agua en la mar.

Con la fé á de procurar  
de los bicios apartarse  
con el dayuno abraçarse  
ques birtud muy singular.

Y cunple con umildad  
el *açala* adeudeçida  
y en tanto que tengas bid[a]  
no olbides la caridad (Ms. 1574, fol. 15v).

Concrete acts will enable one to overcome their “vicios.” Faith alone is like “throwing water into the sea,” a message reiterated a few folios later (“nadi piense con qureer [creer] / que le basta esto a salbar / sino que á de bien obrar / si quisiere mereçer” [fol. 16v]).<sup>301</sup> Fasting, prayer, and charity will enable Moriscos to “no bibir descuydados” in this world, and thus gain blessings in

<sup>300</sup> Here the scribe seems to fuse the spellings of *jahannam* and *aljanna* (see fols. 2v; 19v).

<sup>301</sup> Don Quijote shares a similar refrain with Sancho after his efforts to free the galley slaves go awry: “Siempre, Sancho, lo he oído decir: que el hacer bien a villanos es echar agua en la mar” (Cervantes I, 23).

the next (fol. 15v). The *Sermón* ranks action over information. Being wise is not what you know, but what you do. The latter depends on the former, but also on one's will to act.

The desire to combat “ynorancia” *now* derives from an eschatological awareness of *then*. The explication of each month's merits entails a corresponding description of Muslims' obligations. For example, “*Arajab*,” (*Rajab*) the seventh month, deemed the “mes del Señor,” requires fasting on the third and twenty-seventh days (fols. 18v-19r). “*Xabaen*” (*Ša 'bān*) is Muḥammad's month; on the fifteenth day, any “buen muçilim” who fasts will reap eternal rewards: “la amargura de la muerte / serle á fáçil y libiana // estrechura no berá / ni escuredad en su fuesa” (fols. 19r-v). The *Sermón* underscores the belief that present actions have future consequences, either good or bad: “pues por el obrar se espera / el gualardón o castigo” (fol. 16v).

In addition to direct instruction, the poem offers listeners a comparative model by which they can assess their actions. In a popular *ḥadīth*, here attributed to al-Haçan (“según rrecuenta Al hazan” [fol. 16r]), the Archangel Gabriel professes his desire to be a “fijo de Edam” in order to feed the hungry, shelter the weary, visit the sick, dress the poor, and converse with the wise (fol. 16r).<sup>302</sup> The lyric voice then sets up an explicit comparison between “qualquier mortal” and Gabriel:

Con ser Jibril sin pecado  
deseó hazer obra tal  
pues bed qual quier mortal  
quanto más está obligado

Bed que lo de acá es prestado  
y que allá no llebaremos  
solamente el bien que haremos

<sup>302</sup> “Al hazan” likely refers to al-Haçan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad's grandson (*Glosario* 635). Muḥammad's *waṣiyya* in S-1 incorporates the same *ḥadīth* (fol. 186r).

y el mal que ayamos obrado (fol. 16r).

These stanzas display features of orality employed throughout the composition. Informal and inclusive address communicate knowledge. Conversational turns of phrase such as “el dayuno como beis,” “sabe si no lo sabéis,” and “aquí berás buen ermano,” compel listeners’ attention (fols. 16r; 17r; 15r). The poem’s style eschews formality and stiffness in favor of relatability.

In addition to second-person markers of communication, the *Sermón* uses the collective first-person, as seen in the stanzas cited above. Inclusive plural verbs cultivate an engaging tone predicated on complicity between addressees and the lyric voice. Plural expression includes the lyric voice—and by extension the poem’s reciter who vocalizes it—in the message’s import. For instance, “él *nos* quiera libertar,” “él *nos* cubra con su manto,” “pues de Allāh *fuemos* criados,” “de las culpas y pecados / si no *hazemos* penitencia / iremos sin rejistencia / a jihana *condenados*,” “el premio que Allāh *nos* da,” and “*procuremos* hazer bien” exemplify the strategic creation of an “us” whose collective endeavor involves not only pupils but also instructor—both believers and *alfaquíes* (fols. 15r; 15v; 19v; 16v). Individual knowledge pales in comparison to communal action. The lyric tone fosters a sense of collective responsibility for the community’s salvation.

The *Sermón*’s description of *Laylat al-Qadr*, or the “The Night of Power,” reiterates the emphasis on collective consciousness.<sup>303</sup> The poem refers to “*tul cadri*” as “noche de la ordenación” affirming that “de noches abentajadas / ésta es la más principal / en el año no ay su ygual / aunque ay muchas señaladas” (Ms. 1574, fol. 21r). On this night, required speech acts include the recitation of Qur’ānic verses and praise formulas: “con *alhamdu* y çien bezes / y

<sup>303</sup> The Qur’ān asserts that God communicated the Revelation during *Laylat al-Qadr*, also translated as the “Night of Determination” or the “Night of Accounting” (Q 97: 1-3; 2: 185; Rahman 1980, 102).

*anzalanehu* alfadiloso” (fol. 21v).<sup>304</sup> Specifically, “y de *culhuas*<sup>305</sup> dirás / antes de la *tahayetu*<sup>306</sup> / beinte i çinco y en secreto / en cada *araca* dirás” (fol. 21v). That is, one will recite the first *sūrah* (*alhamdu*) one hundred times, *sūrah* 97 (*anzalanehu*), *sūrah* 112:1 (*culhuas*) twenty-five times, and extend salutations to Allāh during each prostration (*tahayetu...araca*).

After delineating these Qur’ānic verses and the associated movements, the text offers a “moderated” version of the requirements: “Este *açala* aquí nonbrado / algunos sabios dixeron / muchos antigos [*sic*] la hizieron / y mucho más moderada / con *halamdu* [*alhamdu*] una begada / y con *anzalanehu* siete” (Ms. 1574, fol. 21v). One must recite *sūrah* 97 seven, rather than one hundred times, and the first *sūrah* only once. The poem orients its instruction to Muslims living under restrictions:

Ninguno no á de corer [*sic*]  
tras lo que no puede alcanzar  
no di dexe el bien obrar  
por tener poco poder  
Si lo más no puede aber  
tome el medio ques mejor  
que no pide Allah al umano  
más que no puede azer.

El buen muçelim que pudiere  
hazello más encunbrado  
procurelo con cuydado  
si el mérito ganar quiere  
y aquel que no se atrebiere  
haga lo más que podrá  
que al fin Allah le dará  
gualardón del bien que hiziere (fol. 21v).

<sup>304</sup> *Alfadiloso* is the Aljamiado adjective derived from Arabic *al-faḍīla*, a religious virtue or merit (*Glosario* 56).

<sup>305</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, “*culhua*” alludes to the first two words of *sūrah* 112: “Say (*qul*), ‘He (*huwa*), God, is One, God, the Eternally Sufficient unto Himself. He begets not; nor was He begotten. And none is like unto Him.’”

<sup>306</sup> *At-taḥiyātu li-llāh* means “salutations” or “greetings” to God.

The *Sermón* corroborates the belief that Allāh accounts for life's vicissitudes. Various Qur'ānic verses affirm Allāh's benevolence towards the sick or disabled who are unable to carry out religious obligations, such as pilgrimage (e.g. Q 2:185). Similarly, in a repressive environment, Allāh will reward both a "buen muçelim" who dares to pray "con cuydado" as well as a believer "que no se atrebiere" yet manages to do what he can. In an early seventeenth-century Morisco milieu, wisdom means careful resourcefulness. The poem stresses God's compassion towards listeners, interlacing instruction with reassurance. In conclusion, being wise consists of adapting knowledge to present circumstances as a community.

### **New Scribes and the Day of 'Āšūrā'**

Knowledge is inextricably linked to a socially constituted present as well as an authoritative past. The exposition of the lunar calendar incorporates information from *ḥadīth*. For example, *ḥadīth* texts attest to the legendary occurrences associated with 'Āšūrā', the tenth day of the first month, *Muḥarram*, when Sunnis may observe a supererogatory fast and give alms while Shi'ites mourn the death of the Prophet's grandson, al-Ḥusayn, killed during the battle of Karbalā' in 680 (Reid 2011; Aghaie 2013). Traditions link this day with divine miracles and the lives of prophets (Jones 2007, 83-4). According to the *Sermón*, God created the Divine Throne (*al-'arš*), the heavens, and the angels on the day of 'Āšūrā':

Allāh en este día crió  
muchas cosas priminentes  
las más nobles y exçelentes  
y en él las santificó  
día de *axora* halecó  
el *alarxi* y *alcorçi*<sup>307</sup>

<sup>307</sup>*Al-'arš* and *al-kursī* refer to the throne of God; the latter is sometimes portrayed as an accessory to the former. God's 'arš symbolizes divine sovereignty (Elias 2001; Huart and Sadan 2012).



los çielos y para allí  
los *almalaques* formó (Ms. 1574, fol. 17r).

On ‘*Āšūrā*’, Allāh ordered the planets and created “*Edam* nuestro primer padre / tanbién *Hegua* [Eve] nuestra madre,” as well as the moon, stars, sun, oceans, and land (fol. 17v). The same day that God liberated the prophet ‘*Idrīs*’ from the flames and Job (*Ayyūb*) from leprosy, Pharoah (*Firaon*) began to sin, Noah (*Noh*) sailed his ark, Joseph (*Yuçuf*) rose from the well, Jonah (*Yunez*) exited the whale, and God granted Zechariah a son (fols. 17v-18r).<sup>308</sup>

Due to a calendar’s cyclical pattern, ‘*Āšūrā*’ repeats throughout successive *Muḥarrams*. Elucidating Islamic months and sacred days inspires Muslims to link current practice to past miracles. The poem inflects wisdom through present strife, past glory, and future judgment, enabling the process of traditionalization, that is, the “active construction of connections that link the present with a meaningful past” (Bauman 2004, 27). On the same day that God intervened in the lives of prophets, Moriscos pay homage to their Creator and request blessings for an uncertain future. The *Sermón* encompasses chronological and cyclical temporalities—from past to present, present to future, and back again. Keeping time, in particular Islamic time, preserves a cross-temporal web of spiritual identification.

The poem’s detailed account of ‘*Āšūrā*’ displays striking parallels with a work composed by Muhammad Rabadán, the *Canto de las lunas del año* (Ms. Harley 7501, British Library; fols. 327v-339r).<sup>309</sup> The texts were copied in similar timeframes (around 1603) and in close proximity (Figuieruelas, mentioned in Ms. 1574’s account notes, is about twenty kilometers north of Rueda

<sup>308</sup> ‘*Idrīs*’, the “Truthful” (Q 19:56), is considered to be the second prophet after Adam; he is sometimes associated with biblical Enoch (Vajda 2012).

<sup>309</sup> Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, another copy of *Discurso de la luz*, does not include the *Canto de las lunas*. When quoting from Ms. Harley 7501, I follow the foliation in pencil.

de Jalón).<sup>310</sup> Bolded words in the following table indicate exact or near correspondence between the two descriptions of ‘*Āšūrā*’:

<i>Canto de las lunas del año</i>	<i>Sermón</i>
<p>Este es el <b>día de axora</b>  en el qual la suma alteza  <b>crió</b> las <b>cosas</b> más altas  señaladas y perfetas  <b>el alarx el alcorçi</b>  <b>la luz</b> relunbrante y bella  <b>lebantó los</b> siete <b>çielos</b>  y los adornó <b>destrellas</b>  y los pobló de <b>almalaques</b> //  y puso aquellas lumbreras  del <b>sol</b> y la blanca <b>luna</b>  con <b>los signos y planetas</b>  <b>crió</b> el Señor el <i>alchana</i>  de gloria adornada y <b>bella</b>  y la plantó con sus manos  <b>ymajinen</b> que tal sea  <b>el alloh el alcalam</b>  <b>halecó</b> y les dio liçençia  <b>que escribiese el alcoram</b>  sello de toda grandeza  escribió Allah el <i>taurat</i>  con la mano de su esençia  este día deçendió  la <i>rahma</i> a los hijos de Edam  asentó los firmamentos  ygualó las siete <b>tieras</b>  y adornó-la con sus manos  con plantas flores y yerbas  las <b>mares</b> dulçes y amargas  y sus amparas entre ellas  formó <b>nuestro primer padre</b>  a <b>nuestra madre</b> primera  <b>lebantó a Edriz al çielo</b></p>	<p>Allah en este dia <b>crió</b>  muchas <b>cosas</b> priminentes  las más nobles y exçelentes  y en el las santificó  <b>día de axora halecó</b>  <b>el alarxi y alcorçi</b>  <b>los çielos</b> y para allí  <b>los almalaques</b> formó.</p> <p>En este muy santo día  <b>crió la luna y estrellas</b>  y el <b>sol</b> medalla más <b>bella</b>  que <b>ymajinar</b> se podía  puso la orden y guiya  de <b>los sinos y planetas</b>  tan conformes y tan netas  según que les conbenía.</p> <p><b>La luz</b> también fue a criar  el agua la <b>mar y tierra</b>  con cuanto en ella se ençie[rra]  de arboledas abastadas //</p> <p>[17v]  hizo lo todo de nada  aquel <i>rrey çelestial</i>  en este día prinçipal  <i>dalfadila</i><sup>311</sup> sublimada.  En este día fue criado  <b>Edam nuestro primer padre</b>  también <i>Hegua</i> <b>nuestra madre</b>  <b>Edriz</b> [<i>Idrīs</i>] <b>fue al cielo</b> llevado</p>

<sup>310</sup> Scholars intuit the 1603 date of Rabadán’s composition from verses in the prologue that allude to Aragonese Moriscos’ forced conversions: “Pues entre tantos trabaxos / e intolerables tormentos / que hasta oy an caulebado / setenta y seys años çiertos / y siempre con más rigor / ba su coriente siguiendo” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 8v). Adding seventy-six years to 1525-6, gives the date 1601-2 (Vespertino 1990, 283).

<sup>311</sup> “*Dalfadila*” approximates Arabic *al-faḍīla*.

<p>por su perfección sinzera  fue <b>Ybrahim libre del fuego.</b> //  <b>Y Yuçuf de la çisterna</b>  <b>en el penó Faraon</b>  <b>Ayub sanó de la lepra</b>  Daniel fue libre del fuego  <b>perdonó el Señor a Edam.</b>  <b>Este día paró el arca</b>  sobre la más alta sierra  en este día traspasó Yçe  dentre la naçión hebrea,  <b>naçió Yce saliό Yunez</b>  <b>del biente de la ballena</b>  <b>dio el Señor a Zacarias</b>  <b>por sus rogarías y ofertas</b>  <b>el hijo</b> que tanto justos [...]</p> <p>Ms. Harl. 7501, fols. 329v-330v.</p>	<p>daquel <b>fuego</b><sup>312</sup> <b>fue librado</b>  <b>Ybrahim</b> de Namerod<sup>313</sup>  y aquel muy paciente <b>Ayub</b>  <b>fue de la lepra librado.</b></p> <p>Y tanbién fue elejido  en el reyno Çuleymen  y Alhadir<sup>314</sup> <i>aleyçalem</i>  en este día fue bendido  y <b>el halloh</b><sup>315</sup> esclareçido  formó con <b>el alçalam</b><sup>316</sup>  <b>que escribió en alcoram</b>  a Muhammad prometido.  [...]  En <b>este día</b> començó  <b>Firaon cierto a pena</b>[...]r  <b>laçafina</b><sup>317</sup> <b>fue a parar</b>  de Noh donde Allah ordenó.  <b>Ayce</b> al çielo subió  el que todo lo gobierna  y <b>libró de la çisterna</b>  <b>a Yuçuf</b> y perdonó.</p> <p>En este día <b>reçibió</b>  <b>de Edam su repintençia</b>  <i>çalem</i> él de la prudençia  <b>fue naçido del tanbién</b>  <b>de Yunez fue su salida</b>  <b>del biente de la ballena</b>  toda obra santa y buena  en este día es rreçebida.</p> <p>[18r]</p>
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<sup>312</sup> “Fuego” is written slightly above “daquel fue librado,” as if the scribe forgot to copy it.

<sup>313</sup> “Nimrod” is the tyrannical ruler who sought to destroy Abraham (Al-Tha‘labi 129).

<sup>314</sup> “Alhadir” refers to al-Khaḍir, more commonly known as al-Khiḍr (“the Green”), the legendary figure and wiseman. Al-Khiḍr converses with Archangel Gabriel in Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz* (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 78r). The latter text also renders Al-Khiḍr as “Alhadir.”

<sup>315</sup> I believe “halloh” (rendered “alloh” by Rabadán) is a reference to *lawḥ mahfūz*, or the “Preserved Tablet” (Q 85:22; see Madigan 2001). Vespertino lists several words that appear exclusively in compositions by the Mancebo de Arévalo and Rabadán, including *allohar*, which he glosses as “consignar, escribir” (1990, 286). Its presence in Ms. 1574 could reflect Rabadán’s influence.

<sup>316</sup> “Alçalam” approximates Arabic *al-qalam*, or pen.

<sup>317</sup> From Arabic *safīna*, meaning boat or ship.

	<p>Este día fue cuando oyó  <b>el Señor a Zacarias</b><sup>318</sup>  <b>aquello que muchos días</b>  <b>con umildad le suplicó</b>  sus culpas le perdonó  con aumento de salud  después en la jobentud  bed que <b>tal hijo le dio</b> [...]</p> <p>Ms. 1574, fols. 17r-18r.</p>
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Correspondences seem too close for coincidence. Both poems rhyme “alcalam” with “alcoram,” though in other verses in Ms. 1574, the scribe writes “alcoran” for the Qur’ān (e.g. fol. 16r; 19v). Descriptions of key figures also coincide: ‘Idrīs (llevar / llevar al cielo); Abraham (librar del fuego); Joseph (librar de la cisterna); Jonah (salir de la viente de la ballena); Pharaoh (penar). Though it is possible the authors integrated similar *ḥadīth* into their poetic compositions, the prevalence of shared vocabulary suggests a more direct interaction took place. Due to Rabadán’s prestigious reputation, it is unsurprising that his work spawned imitations.

A seemingly misplaced stanza further confirms the presence of intertextual ties between the *Sermón* and the *Canto de las lunas*. In the *Sermón*, the first-person poetic voice protests its ability to realize the undertaking: “auque yndino i pecador / me hallo para lo tal / el Señor celestial / mencamine [*me encamine*] a lo mejor” (Ms. 1574, fol. 15v).<sup>319</sup> The trope of false modesty is later abandoned. After describing the ninth month (*Ramaḍān*) the text refers back to ‘*Āṣūrā*’. The sudden shift does not cohere with the surrounding verses. The poetic <<yo>> asserts authorial, or perhaps scribal, control:

En lo de *axora* é hallado

<sup>318</sup> Zakariyyā is the father of John the Baptist in the Qur’ān and the Bible. See Q 19:2-15 and 21:89-90 for accounts of Zechariah and his wife, both revered for their piety.

<sup>319</sup> These verses also recall Rabadán’s work, as quoted above: “esto es lo que me á mouido / esto me dio atreuimiento / a emprender tan gran jornada / con tan pequeño talento” (Ms. Esp. 251 BNF, fol. 9r).

muchas cosas deste mes  
 nuebos escribanoes  
 entiendo que lan falsado  
 que an de lo del mes quitado  
 por aumentar en el día  
 yo lo bolbí por la bía  
 que Allah me á encaminado (fol. 22v).

Regarding ‘*Āṣūrā*’ (“*axora*”), “new scribes” have falsified “muchas cosas” in order to “aumentar en el día.” An enigmatic phrase, this last clause could refer to erroneous information inserted to bolster the sacredness of ‘*Āṣūrā*’. On the other hand, “an de lo del mes quitado” could suggest that scribes have neglected ‘*Āṣūrā*’ in favor of other sacred days in the month of *Muḥarram*. The term “escribano-es” rhymes with “mes.” The *Sermón* confers agency to scribes, rather than “authors” or “poets,” perhaps because the term *autores* would not supply a sufficient syllable count. The poetic voice, emboldened by Allāh’s guidance, justifies its decision to recall the distinctions of ‘*Āṣūrā*’. But why now? To make matters more confusing, the scribe tacks on an additional message about ‘*Āṣūrā*’ after the poem’s final stanza:

Quien hará quatro *arracas*  
 el día de *haxora* y se bañara  
 con una bez *alhaudud*  
 y çinquenta bezes *culuhua*  
 y estas *aracas* sean de azer a mediodía  
 darle á Allāh  
 gualardón cunplido (fol. 24r).<sup>320</sup>

On ‘*Āṣūrā*’, Muslims who perform ablutions accompanied by one recitation of “*alhaudud*” (“*al-ḥamdu li-llāhi*” or Praise be to God), four prostrations at midday, and fifty repetitions of “*culuhua*” (Q 112:1-4) will receive God’s blessing. It is unclear why the scribe ends his copy with this stanza.

<sup>320</sup> Identical instructions are found in “Este es el rrejimiento de las lunas i-el cuento dellas para los muçlimes” (Ms. J-28 CSIC, fols. 116v-117r).

The *Sermón*'s elusive predecessors—authorial, scribal, and textual—exemplify the social contingencies of communicating wisdom. This scribe takes it upon himself to stress the virtues of 'Āṣūrā' since other copyists have left it out, intending to correct misleading reports. In sum, wisdom comprises what one says as well as what others have left unsaid. The allusion to “nuevos escribanos” highlights the poem's intertextual ties. Moriscos did not uncritically copy previous manuscripts or refashion contemporary ones without attention to detail. The *Sermón* underlines the commitment to “fact-checking” textual predecessors and contemporaries.

Similarities between the *Sermón* and Rabadán's *Canto de las lunas del año* illuminate networks of knowledge production in early seventeenth-century Morisco communities. Texts travelled from place to place and person to person. The octosyllable, in particular, was a portable means of knowledge diffusion. Octosyllabic verses played an essential role in Moriscos' poetic practices, and by extension, their religious instruction. Pairing “popular” forms (such as *arte menor* and the *romance*) with Arabic-derived lexicon enabled *alfaquíes* to communicate a religious register to Moriscos who did not receive formal educations.

Despite being put into a “Castilian meter” and even “Christian letters,” both poems are replete with Arabic words. Enumerating the virtues and traditions of certain months in rhyming verse allowed Moriscos to ascertain Islamic practices and learn about pious predecessors. Octosyllabic verses enabled Moriscos to keep time, more specially, to keep Islamic time. Setting Islamic teachings to “metro castellano” and “letra de cristianos” allowed *alfaquíes* to proclaim salient knowledge and recenter it with a specific purpose in mind: combatting Moriscos' diminished awareness of their religious obligations on earth, in order to ensure their salvation after death.

### Performance and Authoritative Words

Unlike the explanation of ‘*Āṣūrā*’, when describing the month of Ramaḍān, the lyric voice does not deliver information in the third-person mode. Instead, divine speech takes over poetic expression. God conveys the merits of fasting to Muḥammad: “hablando Allāh al anabí / Muḥammad su mensajero / le rebeló por entero / y declaró y dixo así” (Ms. 1574, fol. 20r). Twelve stanzas of reported speech feature God’s explanation Ramaḍān’s virtues. For instance, Jesus came to earth on the ninth day and on the twenty-second day “fue consolado / con la mesa que le di / del cielo cuando lo bi / con sus diçipulos juntado”; Joseph was born on the seventh day and Allāh united him with his brothers on the fourteenth; Solomon was born on the twenty-second day, though God returned his reign on the sixth day (fols. 20v-21r). The enumeration of prophetic occurrences recalls the lyric voice’s report of the merits of ‘*Āṣūrā*’. Yet unlike the latter, in this passage past tense “di” and “vi” channel God’s speech.

Third-person description interrupts Allāh’s monologue. The interlude explains the modified requirements during *Laylat al-Qadr*, as discussed above (fols. 21r-v). After this intermission of seven stanzas, God references the twenty-seventh and last night of Ramaḍān (fols. 22v-22r). Unlike the first introduction of reported speech, replete with quotative verbs (“reveló”; “declaró”; “dixo”), an understated shift in subject conveys the change in speaker. The third-person description concludes: “que al fin Allāh le dará / gualardón del bien que hiziere” (fol. 21v). The next stanza abruptly begins: “El beynteseteno fue / cuando *eché mi* maldiçión / sobre el malbado Firaon / a él y a su jente *ahogué* // el último día *enbié* / *mi* piadad y *mi* perdón / sobre la umana naçión / que con *mi* poder *crié*” (fols. 21v-22r). First-person possessive pronouns and verbs cue Allāh’s speech, yet an inattentive reader might overlook the abrupt transition from third-person description to reported speech.

Not to mention an inattentive listener. The beguiling order of stanzas conflates the lyric voice's expression with that of God. After the single stanza return to Allāh's speech, the rest of the *Sermón* features third-person expression, with the exception of the penultimate stanza. The passage describes *'īd al- 'aḏḥā*. On the tenth day of "dulhije" (*Ḍū l-hiġġa*), the final month, Muslims celebrate the esteemed "pascua de carneros" (fol. 23v). Rather than enumerating the ritual actions associated with *'īd al- 'aḏḥā* in the present, the *Sermón* reconstructs past events.

According to several accounts of Abraham's story, angels protested God's decision to befriend the prophet: "When God [*t' 'ala*] decided to take Abraham as his friend, the angels said to him: 'Our Lord and Creator, why do you wish to befriend one of the sons of Adam, if they are destroyers of the Earth, corrupters, and spillers of blood without just reason?' And God said to the angels: 'I know what you do not.'" (Ibn 'Abbās qtd. in Barletta 2004, 74). The Aljamiado prose account of Ishmael's sacrifice, relays the interaction succinctly: "Ḍišeron los almalaques: 'Yā nuestro Señor y nuestro precuador, ¿para qué quieres tomar amigo de los hijos de Edam? I ellos son afolladores de la tierra i conrrunpedores i son derramadores de sangres a desinrrazón.' Ḍīšo Allāh a los almalaques: 'Yo sé lo que vosotros no sabéis.'" (Ms. J-25 CSIC, fol. 130v).

The conversation between the angels and God often initiates the account of Ishmael's sacrifice. In contrast, the *Sermón* incorporates this detail at the end of the poem, as part of the description of the "pascua de carneros." The poem dramatizes the angels' complaints and God's response. The reported speech extends across four stanzas. "Los almalaques" ask God: "'Ye nuestro Señor Allāh, / ¿por qué quiere tu deydad / hazer tal cosa? dixeron" (Ms. 1574, fols. 23v-24r). The angels' concern transforms into anger. Humans commit innumerable sins; they "derraman a sin justiçia / [en] la sangre que tú as formado" (fol. 24r). They are "peores que



brutales”; they are unfaithful, disobedient, and sinful. The angels implore God: “Si a ti plaze, ¿no es mejor / tomar amigo en el çielo / y no de aquellos del suelo / hijos de un pecador? (fol. 24r).<sup>321</sup>

In the *Sermón*’s penultimate stanza, God responds to the angels: “Allāh a esto respondió / en ello no me habléis / que bosotros no lo entendéis / quel saber es dado a mí / mi boluntad es así / y yo soy más sabidor / que lo que hago es mejor / y aquesto entended de mí” (Ms. 1574, fol. 24r). Underneath this stanza the scribe embellishes a line break to mark a transition.<sup>322</sup> The subsequent and final stanza returns to third-person elucidation of correct practices on “el día de haxora.” These last verses seem incongruous with the preceding dialogue.

The vacillation between third-person description and first-person reported speech recalls Vološinov’s “pictorial” classification of quotation, as opposed to a “linear” style. In the linear style of quotation, “clear-cut, external contours” bind the interpolated discourse, whereas the pictorial style eschews “precise, external contours of reported speech” (Vološinov 120-1). An example of the former could be found in the *Dichos o sentencias*, in which text and frame are clearly demarcated. In the *Sermón*, however, shifting subjects blur the “external contours” of God’s reported speech. Pictorial quotation of God closes the gap between lyric persona and divine authority, both embodied by the *alfaquí* who recites the poem.

Pictorial and linear styles of reported speech impact a text’s “didactic” import. The three poems analyzed in this chapter recur to reported speech, whether of the pictorial or linear style. Reported speech is a critical component of mediational performance.<sup>323</sup> As Bauman explains, mediational performances seek “to enact and display the continuity of discourse across gaps in

<sup>321</sup> The stanzas copied in the left-hand column are partially illegible in the digital reproduction. All punctuation is my addition.

<sup>322</sup> [c//c//c//c//c//c//c//c//]

<sup>323</sup> See Hanks (1989, 111-2) on analytical approaches to performance.

time, space, existential domain, and social status” (2004, 158). In the *Dichos*, the *Coplas sacadas*, and the *Sermón*, the quotation of remote sources transforms Goffman’s “animators” into Bauman’s “intermediaries.” In other words, when he recites these poems, the *alfaquí* does not only perform a text; he also mediates temporal gaps, navigates existential domains, and conveys remote voices.

When an *alfaquí* recites the *Dichos*, for example, the dialogue between ancient sage and present-day listener coheres in a concrete channel of diffusion. No longer a written or printed text, the recitation enables *alfaquíes* to embody authoritative sages who engage with addressees. The poem’s oral diffusion transmits the “source utterance” to a target audience through a human *isnād*. Listeners must reflect on the poem’s moral valence and apply the versified knowledge to their own lives; at the same time, they undertake an active role in the assessment of this live *isnād*.

At the beginning of the chapter, I alluded to Julian Weiss’s partition of didacticism into “cognitive” and “rhetorical” aspects. The latter “demands strategies which create a position of authority from which to teach” (Weiss 6). When Aljamiado poetry is recited, efficacious communication of wisdom depends on *performative* strategies; a poem’s didacticism hinges on a performer’s aptitude. *Alfaquíes* must persuade listeners of their capacity to convey wisdom through skillful performance. Verbal and visual cues demonstrate the performer’s ability to transmit an authoritative message (Briggs 130). The reciter buttresses the text’s message through fluid delivery, appropriate intonation, and auxiliary gesticulation. Moreover, a performer’s skill bears implications that transcend the immediate act of performance. When audience members become “caught up” in a text through an engaging performance, “the performer gains a measure of prestige and control over the audience—prestige because of the demonstrated competence he

has displayed, control because the determination of the flow of the interaction is in his hands” (Bauman 1977, 43-4).

Effective performance buttresses authority. If an *alfaquí* creates “a position of authority” through his performative prowess, reciting certain poems would have facilitated his construction of authority. For instance, a performer of the *Coplas sacadas* encompasses the voices of Muqātil, Allāh, and the lyric <<yo>>. When an *alfaquí* recites this polyphonic text, he channels multiple stances: the sincerity of the poetic first-person, the expertise of wisemen, and the authority of divine speech. Advice to “hijo de Edam,” conveyed in the first-person, simulates divine speech. In the *Coplas sacadas*, certain stanzas reiterate the impact of God’s words. For example, “Allāh” warns: “que si tú huyes de mí / no haciendo lo que te digo / oye y entiendolo así / mi saña será con tí / y tú serás mi enemigo” (S-1, fol. 220r; my emphasis). God speaks in comprehensible, inescapable terms. Divine speech is reported through first-person expression, just as the lyric voice speaks. When the text is recited, the polyphonic *isnād* becomes subsumed in the immediacy of performance.

Similarly, in the *Sermón*, the same *alfaquí* who forges a stake in the text’s message through the lyric <<yo>> performs the voice of God. The poem’s incorporation of a “pictorial” style of reported speech blurs the boundaries between authorities. When listening to a recitation, audience members might begin to wonder: who is speaking? A single performer channels the lyric voice’s intimacy, the author’s frustration, and God’s authority. Ambiguous expression and abrupt subject shifts reinforce the slippery lines between each of these stances.

Webb Keane sheds light on the significance of reported divine speech in contexts of performance. In his discussion of religious language and Goffman’s participation framework, Keane concludes:

A shift in presumed author entails a shift in the animator's relationship to his or her words. Falling short of full possession, in which one socially recognized identity can supplant the other, is what Hymes (1981) called the 'breakthrough' by which a speaker may shift from report (taking some distance on his or her words) to performance (fully identifying with the role of authoritative animator, even if not that of author) (60).

When God's words appear in poetic compositions, the change in "presumed author" forces the animator to realign himself to the text (Keane 60). If *alfaquíes* intended to indoctrinate their Morisco flock, what better way than to channel God's speech through comprehensible and memorable rhyme and meter? When recited, the poems foreground a living, immanent God who corroborates a text's import. Through the recitation of lyric poetry, performers become intermediaries as well as embodied manifestations of divine authority.

Indeed, it is not uncommon to hear the Word of God—in the form of scripture—read aloud in synagogues, mosques, or cathedrals. Much of religious discourse is infused with reported speech, or, as Joel Robbins puts it, "talk about talk" (2001b, 904). Islam in particular foregrounds divine reported speech, since "the majority of the revelation takes the form of a direct discourse from God to his Prophet" (Tottoli 2002, 3). Yet in both the *Coplas sacadas* and the *Sermón*, "talk about talk" becomes "talk" enveloped in poetic expression in which a lyric first-person cites, expounds, and reports. In this way, poetry renders God's words decipherable and proximate—made accessible for the common Morisco.

The recitation of Aljamiado poetry exemplifies the social underpinnings of wisdom. *How* a poem is conveyed matters just as much as *what* it conveys, though critics tend to gravitate towards the latter. In part, the resources we have at our contemporary disposal drive the inclination for a "what" instead of a "how." As Jones suggests, whereas an anthropologist may gauge a performer's technique and an audience's reaction through direct observation, "The historian of the premodern sermon, however, has only a partial record of the ritual" (Jones 2012,

35). Likewise, we have only a “partial record” of the premodern poem. Nevertheless, despite epistemological obstacles, we should not underestimate the importance of performance in any interpretation of Aljamiado poetry, particularly of texts characterized as “didactic.” For as Rabadán himself affirms: “Es el berso reclamante / que abiua el entendimiento / y haze que con más juycio / la memoria remobemos / y es bien que los hechos raros / en general los cantemos / porque siempre su acordancia / nos exhorta con su exemplo” (Ms. 251 BNF, fols. 7r-7v).

## Chapter 5: Intertextuality and Prophetic Example

In the early seventeenth century, Muhammad Rabadán touted the instructive and cathartic functions of remembering prophets in verse: “Es bien que nos acordemos / de todos los annabíes / por el muy grande provecho / que de sus fechos sacamos / para gouierno del cuerpo / y descanso a nuestras almas” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 7v). Recalling previous paragons of virtue offered exemplars to follow and consoled the weary. In the following pages, I explore how poetic portrayals of prophets may have instructed and consoled Aragonese Muslims, as well as the ways in which two compositions transcended these functions. Mudejars and Moriscos circumvented linguistic and literary barriers through their poetic homages to prophets. Their compositions played a critical role in the “coproduction” of religious communities in multiconfessional Iberia—long after Muslims and Jews were nominally Christian.<sup>324</sup>

One of the most celebrated Aljamiado texts, the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf*, presents Joseph as a prophetic paragon for Mudejars and Moriscos. I examine the poem’s intertextual ties with medieval Christian and Islamic literature. After a temporal and alphabetic shift, I turn to a seventeenth-century poetic account of Abraham and Ishmael, *La degüella de Ibrahim*. Representations of father and son reveal the polemical and existential dimensions of prophetic legacies at the turn of the century.

Informed by the work of Charles Briggs, Richard Bauman, Mikhail Bakhtin, and William Hanks, as well as Vincent Barletta’s and Alberto Montaner’s theoretical approaches to

<sup>324</sup> Nirenberg’s concept of “coproduction” derives from his identification of a “fundamentally ambivalent form of neighborliness” in medieval Iberia (2014, 4). Nirenberg characterizes the intellectual, social, and scriptural interactions between medieval Jews, Muslims, and Christians in terms of “a process of simultaneous identification and dis-identification with their rival ‘siblings’ and neighbors. We might call this process, in all of its ambivalence, the ‘coproduction’ of religious communities” (2014, 5).

Aljamiado manuscripts, the following analysis foregrounds the related issues of genre and intertextuality. In previous chapters, I have alluded to one of genre's principal epistemological hurdles, elucidated by Bauman and Briggs as "the etic-emic distinction," that is, "a priori, analytical, universalistic categories, usually labeled in Western terms, versus locally constituted classification systems, employing local labels, which are to be discovered" (1992, 144). Defining genre in terms of "locally constituted classification systems" rather than "universalistic categories" is particularly challenging in analyses of Aljamiado texts, since it is often difficult to apprehend an emic vision from the codices themselves. As Barletta points out, "we know very little about the categories (textual, discursive, and pragmatic) to which most of these texts might have corresponded from the perspective of the communities that copied and made use of them" (2006, 514). The lack of emic insight spurs etic attempts to delineate genre on thematic grounds, which lack critical depth (Montaner 1988a, 313-4). Acknowledging the relevance yet inadequacy of thematic criteria, Montaner instead proposes a typology of Aljamiado texts based on formalist categories (1988a, 315-6).

Building from two key definitions, I revive Barletta's and Montaner's avenues of analysis for my discussion of poetic works. As I have cautioned, deeming texts to be "poetry" conjures contemporary expectations distinct from premodern attitudes towards (not to mention practices of) "coplas." Aljamiado poetic works display formal, lexical, and functional connections with other textual traditions, such as *ad'īya*, *waṣāyā*, and *mawā'iz*. This chapter highlights intertextual ties between poetry, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* ("Stories of the Prophets"), *ḥadīth*, and the *mester de clerecía* in particular. Considering genre in interactive terms, as Hanks does, offers a productive approach to these textual intersections: "genres consist of orienting frameworks, interpretive procedures, and set of expectations that are not part of discourse structure, but of the ways actors

relate to and use language” (1987, 670). Bauman and Briggs also subordinate genre’s supposed fixity to its evident fluidity: “Like reported speech, genre is quintessentially intertextual. When discourse is linked to a particular genre, the process by which it is produced and received is mediated through its relationship with prior discourse” (1992, 147). Approaching genre in terms of orientation, interpretation, and intertextual interaction illuminates the ways in which Mudejars and Moriscos recontextualized authoritative textual traditions. Intertextual experimentation in the *Ḥadīth de Yūçuf* and *La degüella de Ibrahim* enabled *alfaquíes* to claim “transconfessional” prophets and to captivate listeners in a “world of others’ words.”<sup>325</sup>

### **Qur’ānic Prophethood and *Qışaş al-anbiyā’***

The Qur’ān mentions more than twenty prophets. “*Nabī*” (pl: *anbiyā’*) is the Arabic term for prophet; “*rasūl*” (pl: *rusul*) indicates apostle or messenger.<sup>326</sup> Since the Qur’ān asserts interpretive prerogative over Jews and Christians, Islamic representations of biblical prophets are often controversial (Rubin 245). In addition to the prophets embroiled in polemic, Tottoli points to the significant number of non-biblical prophets represented in the Qur’ān, including Hūd, Šālīḥ, and Shu‘ayb (2002, 18).

Muḥammad is known as *khātam an-nabiyīn*, or “Seal of the Prophets” (Q 33:40). Due to their occurrence prior to Muḥammad’s life, accounts of the prophets are deemed *anbā’ al-ghayb*, or “stories of the unseen” (e.g. Q 3:44; 11:49; 12:102; Rubin 234). Such stories instruct through

<sup>325</sup> Gregory Hutcheson’s insightful comments during a Kalamazoo panel in 2017 as well as subsequent correspondence with him elucidated the term “transconfessional.” The title of Bauman’s monograph (2004) derives from Bakhtin’s assertion that speech is filled with “others’ words”: *A World of Others’ Words: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Intertextuality*.

<sup>326</sup> Some figures are deemed both *rasūl* and *nabī*, such as Ishmael, Moses, and Muḥammad (Q 7:157; 19:51; 19:54; Rubin 240).



mimetic impulse. Believers are called to identify with positive models and to distance themselves from nefarious ones, such as those who persecuted, mocked, or violently rejected God's message (Q 8:54; 43:56; 66:4; Khalidi 10). For instance, *sūrah* 7 recounts the scorn with which unbelievers dismissed Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Shu'ayb, Lot, and Moses. Though they managed to expel prophets, incredulous antagonists ultimately incur divine retribution: "But those who disbelieved said to their messengers, 'We shall surely expel you from our land, or you shall revert to our creed.' So their Lord revealed unto them, 'We shall surely destroy the wrongdoers'" (Q 14:13; see also 25:39; 43:55-6; 50:12-4).

In addition to illustrating God's wrath that will befall unbelievers, stories inspire listeners to persevere through strife. Prophets triumph despite suffering. Tested to unimaginable extremes, their faith in God remains intact. As Rahman elucidates: "Prophets are humans who must constantly struggle inwardly, but in this inward struggle truth and righteousness prevail; if prophets did not struggle and suffer inner travail, they could not become examples for other humans" (1980, 89). Those who endure challenges on earth—including existential threats—do well to remember the lives of revered religious figures who likewise suffered, overcame, and received God's reward. Qur'ānic references to the prophets often begin with the command "*uḍkur*" or "remember" (Tottoli 2002, 4; e.g. Q 19:16; 38:17). God exhorts Muḥammad to recall prophetic precedence when faced with derision in order "to strengthen" his heart (Q 11:120; Rubin 234). Though addressed to Muḥammad, the injunction "remember" simulates instruction for all Muslims, particularly to those who experience rejection or mistreatment (Lumbard in *The Study Quran* 1105).

To a persecuted group of Muslims we now turn. In what ways did Aragonese Mudejars and Moriscos "remember" the prophets? How did they engage with "stories of the unseen" in

written and oral forms, and through collective and individual practices? Particularly when persecution of Islamic practices intensified, prophetic figures transcended two-dimensional representations to become touchstones of resilience and identification. As Muhammad Rabadán declares: “más basta a me consolar / ber que un pecho limpio y bueno ~ / muchas beçes acauo / mil imposibles apretos / como Noe con el agua, / como Hibrahim con el fuego / como Daniel con las fieras / y Judit con Oloferno ~ / que solo su pura fé / los libró destos estrechos / y los hiço venerables” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 8r).<sup>327</sup> Just as God saved Noah from the sea, Abraham from the fire, Daniel from the lions, and Judith from Holofernes, so too will Allah deliver Rabadán’s community.

Mudejars and Moriscos preserved accounts of the prophets derived from *ḥadīth* and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*. *Ḥadīth*, as defined in the previous chapter, denotes a “tale,” “tradition,” or “narrative” (Harvey 2005, 145). Barletta cites the twofold nature of *ḥadīth*: “alongside the learned and authoritative *ḥadīth* tradition there has developed a parallel *ḥadīth* tradition that has reworked Qur’anic narratives into popular, even folkloric stories” (2005, 115). Like *ḥadīth*, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* are also tied to Qur’anic material. Though often translated as “legends” or “stories” of the prophets, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* encompass more than the imaginary tales.<sup>328</sup> As Jones explains, *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* “emerged as an independent genre of literature in the ninth century to embellish the Quranic narratives about the pre-Islamic prophets and the people of Israel, and is thus closely

<sup>327</sup> Judith is a deuterocanonical book, recognized by Catholic and Orthodox Christians, but not by Jews or Protestants. After Holofernes, the leader of the Assyrian army, besieges Bethulia, the heroine incites his desire and he drinks until becoming unconscious (Judith 12:15-20). Judith then decapitates Holofernes. She attributes victory to God’s will (Judith 13:14). See Sheaffer (2014) for the association between David and Judith in early modern Italy. The story of Judith and Holofernes is a popular pictorial motif in early modern European painting, seen in works by Caravaggio, Fede Galizia, Carlo Saraceni, Artemisia Gentileschi, and Giovanni Baglione, among other artists.

<sup>328</sup> For this reason, Brinner deems al-Tha’labī’s collection “lives of the prophets” (2002).

related to Quranic exegesis” (2012, 102).<sup>329</sup> In addition to their exegetical thrust, collections of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* incorporated material of folkloric origins (Tottoli 1998, 159). *Qiṣaṣ* is the plural form of *qiṣṣa* (“story”), from the root *qāṣ-ṣād-ṣād*: to narrate or tell a story. *Qaṣaṣ*, or “homiletic storytelling,” played an important role in other oratorical genres, including canonical sermons (*khuṭab*) and admonitions (*mawāʾiẓ*) (Jones 2012, 18).<sup>330</sup>

Indeed, both al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1035) and al-Ṭarafī (d. 1062) stress the edifying intent behind their collections of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*: “[God] told [Muhammad] the stories to serve as an example of the noble traits exhibited by the messengers and prophets of old... and so that his community would refrain from those actions for which [previous] prophets’ communities had been punished” (al-Thaʿlabī qtd. in Klar 339). Al-Ṭarafī suggests his work’s contents comprise “what every high-minded person should desire to know and be enthusiastic to read and to learn by heart” (qtd. in Tottoli 1998, 137). As Tottoli explains, *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* play a central role in Muslim communities, in that believers “must draw inspiration and instruction as the correct way in which to conduct themselves” (2002, 83).

*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* circulated widely in Al-Andalus, including works by al-Ṭarafī, al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), al-Kisāʾī, and al-Thaʿlabī (Tottoli 1998, 144).<sup>331</sup> A volume of al-Fārisī’s (d. 902) *Badʿ al-khalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* appears to be the earliest work of *qiṣaṣ* in circulation among

<sup>329</sup> On the connection between storytelling and Qurʾānic exegesis, see Berkey (39-40).

<sup>330</sup> *Al-Qaṣaṣ* is the title of *sūrah* 28, which tells the story of Moses. Itinerant *quṣṣāṣ* (sing: *qāṣṣ*) recited *qiṣaṣ* and other works to believers, though they “all too often fell into disrepute when unscrupulous *quṣṣāṣ* misused those tales, even creating vulgar or erotic version which were condemned by the religious leaders” (Brinner qtd. in al-Thaʿlabī xii-xiii).

<sup>331</sup> Tottoli alludes to the biographical enigma surrounding al-Kisāʾī (2002, 152). The date of his collection is unknown and extant manuscripts vary greatly among one another, suggesting “The stories of the prophets of al-Kisāʾī could have been elaborated starting from a collection of traditions originating from circles of storytellers, and from then growing with successive recensions” (2002, 153).

Moriscos (Harvey 2005, 148). The prevalence of *qışaş al-anbiyā*—manifest in several extant Aljamiado manuscripts—suggests that Mudejars and Moriscos continued to engage and to refashion this textual heritage throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The appeal of *qışaş al-anbiyā* endured into the early seventeenth century, as we will observe in this chapter. Brinner deems Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz* a “Spanish *qışaş*” (qtd. in al-Tha‘labī xxiii). The following section examines a poetic adaptation of *ḥadīth* and *qışaş al-anbiyā* regarding the story of Joseph.

### **The *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf*: Form, Dating, and Manuscripts**

The *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf*, alternatively referred to as the *Poema de José* or the *Poema de Yūṣuf*, is considered one of the foundational Aljamiado texts.<sup>332</sup> Yet it is also one of the most misunderstood, due to critics’ tendency to reduce the text to either an exotic linguistic curiosity or a substandard imitation of Christian poetry. Loosely based on the twelfth *sūrah* of the Qur’ān, the text versifies one of the popular versions of Joseph’s life that prevailed in Iberian Muslim communities. The prophet is betrayed by his jealous brothers, sold into captivity in Egypt, condemned to prison after attracting the unsolicited attention of his captor’s wife, and finally liberated when the king relies on his divination expertise to save Egypt from famine. Joseph forgives his brothers and reunites with his father, Jacob, who is cured from grief-induced blindness.

Post-Qur’ānic representations highlight the prophet’s proverbial beauty. As one early Islamic author writes: “Beauty is in ten parts; nine belong to Joseph and one to the rest of

<sup>332</sup> I will refer to the text as the *Ḥadīth* and to the protagonist as Joseph. The Joseph of the text is the prophet whose story appears in the twelfth *sūrah* of the Qur’ān and in Genesis 37-50.

mankind” (Wahb b. Munabbih qtd. in al-Tha‘labī 184). Early Islamic writers touted the instructional value of Joseph’s exemplary life. Citing Wahb b. Munabbih, Al-Kisā’ī maintains “whenever God sent a prophet He would tell him the story of Joseph as He told it to our Prophet Muhammad” (192). The twelfth *sūrah* refers to its content as “the most beautiful of stories” (*aḥsan ul-qasas*) (Q 12:3). The chapter’s conclusion emphasizes its didactic import: “Certainly in their stories is a lesson for those possessed of intellect. It is not a fabricated account; rather, it is a confirmation of that which came before it, and an elaboration of all things, and a guidance and a mercy for a people who believe” (12:111).

Indeed, someone “possessed of intellect” composed the Aljamiado recontextualization of Joseph’s story; the *Ḥadīth*’s author was likely an educated Aragonese *faqīh* well-versed in the works of medieval Castilian authors (Montaner 1993a, 43). The poem employs *cuaderna vía*, a strophic form composed of quatrains of *verso alejandrino*—fourteen-syllable verses divided into two heptasyllabic hemistiches with consonant rhyme. *Cuaderna vía* is associated with the thirteenth-century *mester de clerecía*, a clerical and learned “mode of poetic practice” that serves religious and moralizing ends (Barletta 2005, 150). Julian Weiss elucidates the ways in which clerical authorities “adopted the role of intermediaries between the lay world of the unlettered and the secular wisdom and spiritual values which they had acquired through the privilege of their literacy (their ‘clerecía’ or clerisy), adapting material from written Latin and French sources, but also from popular oral legend” (2006, 1). Notable texts of the *mester de clerecía* include thirteenth-century works such as the *Libro de Alexandre*, the *Libro de Apolonio*, and compositions by Gonzalo de Berceo (d. 1264). The fourteenth-century *Libro del Arcipreste*, more commonly known as the *Libro de Buen Amor*, is celebrated for its appropriation and subversion of the poetic mode. Destined for recitation, these works are products of an intellectual

elite meant to captivate, entertain, and instruct a broad audience. Authors display an ethical commitment to communicating knowledge in the vernacular through poems that constitute “un arte erudito para la difusión popular” (Gerli in Berceo 18).

Due to its use of *cuaderna vía*, scholars have typically dated the *Ḥadīth* to the fourteenth century, though Gerard Wiegers posits the earliest extant copy, Manuscript A, could be dated to the mid-fifteenth century (1990, 183; 1994, 66).<sup>333</sup> Manuscript A (BRAH 11/9409 *olim* T-12, fols. 1-9r) contains the initial 95 stanzas, although quatrain 33 is missing. The nine folios dedicated to the *Ḥadīth*’s redaction precede sixteen texts of varying length and content—copied by numerous scribes and likely compiled in the sixteenth century (Barletta 2006, 520).<sup>334</sup> Manuscript B (BNE Res. 247 *olim* Gg. 101) contains 312 stanzas; acephalous, it begins with the tenth stanza and ends after Joseph offers his brothers forgiveness. Copied by a single scribe in the sixteenth century, Manuscript B measures 142 x 212 mm and consists of fifty folios. An additional unbound folio redacted by the scribe of Manuscript B suggests that there was at least a third copy of *Ḥadīth* in circulation among Morisco communities (BRAH Ms. 11/9416 [Caja #5] *olim* V-5).<sup>335</sup>

Irrespective of Manuscript A’s contested dating, what is important is the sustained interest in Joseph from Mudejar communities to Morisco ones, given the text’s Mudejar origins (be they fourteenth or fifteenth century) and its later Morisco renderings. Because of its language

<sup>333</sup> Wiegers acknowledges the difficulty of dating the manuscript based on its watermark alone (1994, 66-7). Pidal bases the fourteenth-century to early-fifteenth century date on linguistic and codicological evidence ([1902] 1952, 2-3). Montaner contends the text was composed between the mid-fourteenth and the early-fifteenth century (1993, 44; 2010, 54).

<sup>334</sup> The codex was found in 1864 in a cave bundled with rusted firearms near Morés (Aragon). It measures roughly 6.5 by 4 inches (Barletta 2005, 123).

<sup>335</sup> Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva called my attention to two additional folios of the poem, which he has prepared in a forthcoming publication.

and the author's deft execution of *cuaderna vía*, previous scholars examined the *Ḥadīth* vis-à-vis coeval Christian poems. For instance, in a letter sent from Hispanist George Ticknor to his colleague Pascual de Gayangos in 1840, the former expresses surprise at "the tone of Christian morals which has intruded itself into the Moor's work, even when teaching dogma of his own religion" ([1840] 1927, 9). In addition to the *Ḥadīth*'s espousal of "Christian morals," Ticknor also praises the work's impressive aesthetic value: "The literary execution of it, too, is better than I had expected, though it would not be extraordinary if it came from a Spanish Christian of the same period" (1927, 9). Over a century later, Billy Bussell Thompson attributed the text's original authorship to a Christian poet for similar reasons:

En su estado original, no tenía nada de aljamiado el *Poema de José*. Es puro ejemplo del mester de clerecía de los siglos XIII-XIV en su lenguaje, en su regularidad métrica absoluta, y en especial en sus hemistiquios formulaicos. No es obra de ningún imitador morisco de una técnica de la poesía cristiana... En otras palabras, no hay diferencia alguna entre el método de *Alixandre*, *Apolonio*, etc.: es de la misma estirpe del mismo repertorio (1989, 170).

Scholars' difficulty reconciling the *Ḥadīth*'s content and form reveals the ways in which ideological attitudes often undermine appraisals of Aljamiado poetry. As seen in Thompson's and Ticknor's analyses, regarding "Islamic" themes and "Christian" expression as an aporia causes the former to be subsumed in the latter's purview.

These critical appraisals implicitly invoke genre. Since Manuscript B is acephalous, "*Ḥadīth de Yūsuf*" is the only title offered in the manuscripts themselves (BRAH fol. 1r).<sup>336</sup> Yet hispanized translations render "*Ḥadīth*" as "Poema" and "Leyenda" (Vespertino 1983; Klenk 1972). Titling the work *Poema de José* highlights its purported Christian origins. "Poema" entails expectations for a Spanish-speaking Western audience. As I discussed in Chapter 2, the

<sup>336</sup> I provide the corresponding manuscript foliation with reference to Manuscript A as "BRAH" and Manuscript B as "BNE."

term “legend” connotes mythical content, far removed from the exegetical rigor of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and *ḥadīth* literature.

Rather than attempting to homogenize form and content of the *Ḥadīth*, this chapter foregrounds the entrenched intertextual strands that cannot be separated into multiple looms. After partial reproductions and transcriptions of the poem in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Ticknor 1849; Morf 1883; Schmitz 1901), Menéndez Pidal published the first critical edition of Manuscript A in 1902.<sup>337</sup> Johnson transcribed both Manuscript A and B in *The Poema de José: A Transcription and Comparison of the Extant Manuscripts* (1974), the most recent edition of the text. Vincent Barletta’s (2005) insightful analysis of the *Ḥadīth* in the final chapter of *Covert Gestures* draws upon theories of language ideologies and narrative engagement. Barletta highlights negotiations of power and social interactions encoded in the poem. Building upon the *Ḥadīth*’s previous scholarship, I examine the poem’s intertextual links within the discursive web of premodern Iberian literature, in order to reevaluate the similar impulses driving *mester de clerecía* and *aljamía*.

### **Performers, Characters, Audiences**

*Alfaquíes* disseminated the *Ḥadīth* in both written and oral forms. Conveying Joseph’s story through regular meter and rhyme enables both performers and listeners to memorize its message. Recitation motifs typical of the *juglaresca* tradition and *mester de clerecía* capture the audience’s attention. Second-person plural address appeals to listeners through the poem:

“Fagovos a saber oyades mis amados / lo que conteció en los [altos] tienpos pasados” (BRAH

<sup>337</sup> The University of Granada republished Pidal’s text in 1952; it originally appeared in the *Revista de Bibliotecas, Archivos, y Museos* VII (1902).



fol. 1r).<sup>338</sup> The *Ḥadīth* invokes the public in anticipation of dramatic moments throughout the narration. For example, in premonition of the brothers' malicious actions, the lyric voice hints: "De que fueron apartados *bien veredes* [...] fueron a far" (BNE fol. 1v).<sup>339</sup> When "Zaliha" (Zulaykha), the lustful woman who attempts to seduce Joseph, becomes ensnared in a dramatic tangle with the protagonist, the audience is cued to anticipate: "trabólo de la falda *como oiréis dezir*" (BNE fol. 13r).

Such communicative gestures attest to the custom of reading poetry aloud. We see similar appeals to listeners' attention in the opening stanza of Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*: "Amigos e vassallos de Dios omnipotent / si vos me escuchássedes por vuestro consiment, / querriávos contar un buen aveniment: / terrédeslo en cabo por bueno verament" (69). At times, the first-person singular voice expands to include imagined and real listeners in professions of faith: "Varones e mugieres, quantos aquí estamos, / todos en ti creemos, e a ti adoramos, / e ti e a tu Madre todos glorificamos, / cantemos en tu nomne el 'Te Deüm laudamus'" (Berceo 149). Berceo's lyric <<yo>> ascribes to listeners a spiritual identification. The *Ḥadīth*'s poetic voice similarly incorporates the audience with the use of first-person plural possessive pronouns, such as: "Muy nobles criaturas y feguras de alegrar / porque *nuestro* Señor les quiso ayudar" (BNE fol. 11r).

In addition to its engaging tone, the *Ḥadīth*'s incorporation of reported speech punctuates the poem's temporal mode. Though narrated in the past tense, quotation orients listeners to the present. After Joseph's brothers encounter a merchant, the text relates the interaction as follows: "Dixo el mercadero, 'Amigos, si queredes / aquestos vinte dineros por él si lo vendedes.' /

<sup>338</sup> Johnson (29) does not include the word "altos" in his edition, yet the copyist of Manuscript A clearly writes then crosses out this adjective (Barletta 2005, 147-8; Pidal 6).

<sup>339</sup> A hole in the folio renders the word after "veredes" illegible; Johnson suggests "que" (32).

Dixeron, ‘Contentos somos con que lonbresione[des]<sup>340</sup> / asta la tierra santa que no lo soltedes’”  
(BNE fol. 5v).<sup>341</sup>

The use of reported speech creates temporal synchronicity with the moment of recitation. Over half of the extant stanzas include dialogue. The prevalence of quotation enables listeners to immerse themselves in the narration. Present dialogue supersedes narrated past through an unending parade of memorable characters. Not only are rulers and heroes afforded opportunities to speak, a myriad of minor, socially marginalized characters leave their textual periphery to propel the narration. A servant conspires privately with her mistress, passing merchants debate an appropriate selling price for their captive, swooning *dueñas* mistake their hands for grapefruits—even the accused wolf has a chance to tell his story (BNE fols. 11v; 5v; 4r).

In a similar vein, Michael Gerli points to the motley crew of characters in the *Libro del Arcipreste*, arguing that when “unconventional, outlandish voices and accents” are rendered, even mimed, in live performance, they enhance the text’s dynamic appeal—one that is underappreciated in silent reading (2016b, 99). Similarly, the *Ḥadīth* would have called for a certain degree of histrionics to impersonate its colorful characters. The poem’s expression lends itself to performance; the compelling array of characters necessitates a dynamic reenactment difficult to grasp through private reading.

Goffman’s (1981) concept of participant roles sheds additional light on the poem’s expression. In particular, the *Ḥadīth*’s use of reported speech highlights the stances of *animator* and *principal*, or the live reciter and the entity responsible for words, respectively. In traditional

<sup>340</sup> It appears the scribe ran out of space and thus wrote [des] above the verse. We can understand “lonbresionedes” as “lo enpresionedes.” *Enpresionar* means to imprison or to detain (*Glosario* 250).

<sup>341</sup> I have added punctuation to facilitate comprehension.

*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*’ and *ḥadīth*, the verb “*qāla*” (or “dixo” in Aljamiado texts) presents the text’s *isnād*. The versified version of Joseph’s story does not attribute recounted details to an official informant. In the *Ḥadīth*, the same quotative introduces character speech. Because “dixo” indexes an authoritative voice in numerous Aljamiado texts, when the verb invokes heterogeneous character voices, it seems to bestow this narrative authority on the characters themselves. Consider the following exchange between Joseph, the baker, and the wine-steward:

Dixo el paniçero, ‘No soñé cosa zertera  
que yo me lo dezía por ver la manera.’  
Dixo Yúçuf, ‘Esta es cosa verdadera  
que lo que tú diñestes Allāh lo envió por carrera.’ //

Dixo Yuçuf al escañiano aquesta rrazon,  
‘Rruegote que rrecuerdes al rrey de mi presión [*prisión*]  
que arto me á durado esta gran maldiçión.’  
Dixo el escañiano, ‘Plazeme de coraçón’ (BNE fols. 17r-v).

The *principal* is no longer Ka‘b al-Aḥbār or Wahb ibn Munabbih, but rather a compelling assortment of legendary personalities vivified in the act of reading aloud. When characters are *principals* who speak in the present tense, listeners are encouraged to insert themselves in the story. Audience members must align their beliefs with or against those conveyed by the characters. In this way, the *Ḥadīth* engenders edification with rhetorical finesse. The poetic recentering disproves an earlier appraisal of the poem that concluded: “La narración del morisco es un narrar á medias, con escasa delectación en lo que cuenta; muy empapado en los pormenores de su historia no sabe exponerlos con viveza, ni siquiera con entera claridad” (Pidal 1952, 60).

The story, comprised of vibrant *principals* and an *animator* (the *alfaquí* who facilitates it), becomes the focal point of interest. Quotatives such as “dixo” and “dixeron” position the *animator* as facilitator of direct speech. The lack of *isnād* heightens the necessity of a

performer's competence; the *animator* must demonstrate his ability to render each *principal*'s voice effectively. This technique conjures concrete individuals rather than two-dimensional characters; the poem enables audience members to believe in its *principals* and its *animator*, thereby bolstering the *alfaquíes*' authority and fostering the poem's purposive didacticism. The communication of Joseph's story is predicated on performative prowess and dynamic embodiment. Accordingly, the *Ḥadīth*'s recitation reinforces the performer's affiliation with prophetic legacy. As José Antonio González Alcantud demonstrates, Morisco *alfaquíes* identified with "la figura carismática de los profetas, en contraposición a los sacerdotes," in order to link their legitimacy to a divine heritage rather than earthly rituals (205). The *Ḥadīth*'s oral transmission facilitates this spiritual alignment.

### Talking Wolves and Prophetic Virtues

Though Joseph exemplifies many virtues, the prophet particularly illuminates the concept of *ṣabr*, "a term that encompasses patience, self-command, fortitude and temperance" (Miller 145). *Ṣabr* is a semantically dense word that is difficult to convey in translation. The Hans Wehr dictionary lists the following meanings: "fettering, shackling; patience, forbearance; composure, equanimity, steadfastness, firmness; self-control, self-command, self-possession; perseverance, endurance, hardiness" (585). In *ḥadīth*, *ṣabr* is often applied to endurance in holy war, or *jihād* (Wensinck 2012b). In the Qur'ān, *ṣabr* denotes "endurance" or "tenacity" as well as patience during a time of suffering (e.g. Q 2:153; 2:177; 22:35; 31:17; 73:10). Various verses associate the term *ṣabr* with prophets who endure hardship and earn Allah's blessing. Those who display *ṣabr*, the *ṣābirūn*, receive God's favor (Q 39:16; 3:146). God commands Muḥammad to "be patient" (*uṣbur*), like the prophets who lived in previous epochs (Q 46:35).

After enduring fraternal betrayal, unjust imprisonment, and alienation in a foreign land, Joseph confirms that those who persevere with *ṣabr* will receive Allah's reward: "Verily whosoever is reverent and patient [*yaṣbiru*]*—surely God neglects not the reward of the virtuous*" (Q 12:90). Earlier in the twelfth *sūrah*, Jacob invokes the concept of *ṣabr* when his sons present him with Joseph's bloodied shirt. He cries out: "'Beautiful patience [*ṣabrun jamīlun*]! And God is the One Whose help is sought against that which you describe" (Q 12:18). Mohammed Rustom interprets Jacob's exclamation as "an expression used at times of extreme grief to find solace in the fact that patience will triumph in the end and that the difficulty will eventually pass. *God is the One Whose help is sought against that which you describe* means that Jacob seeks God's Help in bearing the lie that his sons were telling him concerning Joseph's death" (*The Study Quran* 596). Though most English translations employ the noun "patience" for *ṣabr*, Wensinck (2012b) explains that Jacob's use of the term in verse 12:18 expresses "resignation," translated as "[My best course is] fitting resignation."

In the *Ḥadīth*, when Jacob receives Joseph's shirt he affirms his faith and cautions his sons: "Dixo Yagqub, 'fichos [*fijos*] que tuerto me tenedes / de quanto me dezides de todo me falleçedes / en-al Allāh creyo i fiyo que aún lo veredes / todas estas cosas que aún lo pagaredes'" (BNE fol. 4r).<sup>342</sup> In contrast, as Klenk notes, the Aljamiado prose version of Joseph's story includes a direct adaptation of Qur'ānic verse 12:18 (15).<sup>343</sup> Yet the *faqīh* who renders Jacob's expression into *romance* does not opt for "*paciencia hermosa*," but rather "*sufrençia hermosa*" (Ms. 5292 BNE, fol. 45). The interpretation reiterates *ṣabr*'s connotations of glorified suffering

<sup>342</sup> Jacob's name is spelled *Ya'qūb* in Arabic. BNE's scribe eliminates long-vowel *wāw* and replaces 'ayn with *ghayn*, which produces "Yagqub" instead of Ya'qūb.

<sup>343</sup> Ms. 5292 BNE consists of 166 folios (in *quarto*; 22 x 16 cm).

as a means to know God.<sup>344</sup> Later on, Joseph refers to *ṣabr* in terms of suffering: “‘yo soy Yusuf i-este es mi ermano i-a feito [*ha hecho*] Allāh graçia sobre nos’ que quien *sufre* y teme Allāh no menospreçia a los *sufrientes* ni de los buenos” (Ms. 5292 BNE, fols. 310-1).

The latter phrase is an adaptation of Q 12:90, which reads: “They said, ‘Art thou indeed Joseph?’ He said, ‘I am Joseph and this is my brother. God has been gracious unto us. Verily whosoever is reverent and patient [*yaṣbir*]*—surely God neglects not the reward [*ajr*] of the virtuous.*” The translation of this verse in Ms. Toledo 235 offers a clarifying gloss for the verb *yaṣbir*, which is rendered “sufre.” The gloss is indicated between parenthesis: “Que ello es que quien teme ad Allāh y *sufre* / en su obidiençia / pues Allāh no abateçe el gualardón de los buenos” (Ms. T 235, fol. 133v). The exegetical material incorporated into this Qur’ānic translation associates *ṣabr* with suffering in terms of obedience.

The story of Ishmael and Abraham underscores the connection between *ṣabr*, suffering, and obedience. As discussed below, the Islamic tradition posits Ishmael as Abraham’s sacrificial victim, rather than Isaac. In the Qur’ānic account of sacrifice (37:101-113), Abraham’s son assures his father that he is one of the “*ṣābirīn*” (genitive of *ṣābirūn*), those who display patient endurance (Q 37:102). In an Aljamiado prose account of the story, Ishmael responds similarly: “yā padre, fes lo que te á mandado ao [aún] me trobarás se querrá Allāh de los sufrientes” (BRAH 11/9409, fol. 12r). Another extant version similarly reads: “yā padre fes lo que tes mandado que aun me trobarás si querrá [Allāh] de los çufrientes” (Ms. J-25 CSIC, fol. 142r). *La degüella de Ibrahim* (Ms. 1574) likewise invokes *ṣabr* as “sufriencia.” Ishmael reiterates his disposition to be “muy çufriente” twice during the poem’s climax (Ms. 1574, fol. 7v). After

<sup>344</sup> Bossong offers “constancia/perseverancia/firmeza” for the Spanish translation of *ṣabr*. He documents *sufrencia* as the “español islámico” version in thirteenth-century texts, including *Bocados de oro* and the *Libro de los buenos proverbios* (383).

Abraham attempts to kill his son, a “llamador” affirms: “de los dos es conoçida / buestra umildad y çufrençia / buestra costança y prudença / está bista y entendida” (Ms. 1574, fol. 9v). In the poem, Ishmael affirms his willingness to die in terms of both obedience and suffering: “Si querrá Allāh me allarás / padre mío muy obidiente / y muy umilde y çufriente / como por obra berás” (Ms. 1574, fol. 6v).<sup>345</sup>

It is not difficult to imagine how the translation of “sufrençia” may have resonated with Aragonese Muslims.<sup>346</sup> Prophetic paragons who display *ṣabr* throughout their tribulations provide solace. Abraham and Ishmael remain steadfast throughout their harrowing ordeal; Joseph is cast into a well and a prison cell; Jacob endures separation from his beloved son. Perhaps the *alfaquíes* identified Joseph’s life in particular as a propitious subject for their instructional goals. The prophet’s pious example offers an attractive model for Muslims who seek to maintain their faith throughout times of suffering.

For instance, Aragonese Moriscos recalled Joseph’s commitment to prayer and ablution during his captivity. In Muhammad de Vera’s *Compendio islámico*, Joseph serves as an example for Muslims unable to perform ritual prayers. On Judgment Day, if a believer attributes their neglect of prayer to a lack of freedom, “Dirán los almalaques: <<A Yuçuf no le estorvó su cabtiverio de su serviçio>>” (Ms. Esp. 397 BNF, fol. 241v; qtd. in Suárez García 2016b, 545). In addition to prayer, Joseph is held up as a model for those unable to perform ablutions with water. In Rabadán’s *Discurso de la Luz*, Gabriel animates the prophet: ““si el agua falta / o Yuçuf toma la tierra / limpia y con ella te amaha”” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 67v). *Amahar*, derived from Arabic

<sup>345</sup> At times the poem evokes the “patient” connotation of *ṣabr*, such as the following description of Ishmael: “como cordero ynoçente / tomo la muerte en paçencia” (Ms. 1574, fol. 7v).

<sup>346</sup> Hawkins analyzes the concept of suffering in a sixteenth-century Aljamiado codex (Ms. 4953 BNE) but does not mention *ṣabr*. Barletta underscores the relationship between suffering and eschatological awareness (2005, 108).

*maḥā*, means to expunge one's sins (*Glosario* 94). Next to the verse "O yuḥuf," the scribe has written "*atayam*." From Arabic *at-tayammum*, this refers to alternative forms of ablution—with dust, sand, or other natural materials—when water is unavailable (*Glosario* 135). The exception, mentioned in the Oran *fatwā*, held particular relevance for Moriscos.<sup>347</sup> Joseph thus served as an exemplar of the *ṣābirīn* as well as a paragon of practical solutions.

Prophets are not the only individuals who exhibit patient endurance. The Aljamiado prose version of Joseph's story refracts the virtue of *ṣabr* onto an inconspicuous character. In several collections of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Joseph's brothers leave him to perish in the wilderness. They claim a wolf killed their brother, slaughtering a lamb in order to stain Joseph's shirt with blood. Skeptical of this tenuous evidence, Jacob summons the accused. The wolf defends himself and contends that he would never kill a prophet. Al-Tha'labī elaborates the narrative detail as follows:

Jacob said to him, 'O wolf, you devoured my son, the apple of my eye, the beloved of my heart, and have caused me endless sorrow and suffering.' Then the wolf spoke, 'Nay, by your white hair, prophet of Allah! I did not devour any of your sons. Your flesh and your blood, O you prophets, is forbidden to us. Verily, I have been wronged and lies have been told about me, for I am a foreign wolf from the land of Egypt.' Jacob said to him, 'What brought you to the land of Canaan?' He said, 'I have come because of kinship with some wolves whom I visit and with whom I am connected'" (193).

Al-Kisā'ī's wolf also protests his innocence, alleging "if you let me go, I shall bring you every wolf in your land, and they will all swear that they have not devoured your child" (171).<sup>348</sup> The *Ḥadīth* relates the episode as follows:

i fueronse a queçar [*cazar*] el lobo con falsía muy grande  
diñiendo que abía fecho una muert tan mala  
trayeron la camisa de Yuḥuf ensangrentado

<sup>347</sup> According to the *fatwā*: "Haced la ablución sin agua aunque sólo sea frotando las manos en la pared; y si esto no fuera posible, procurad dirigir la vista a la tierra o la piedra que os pudiera servir, con intención de hacerlo" (qtd. in Bernabé Pons 2009, 87-8).

<sup>348</sup> On the presence of wolves in *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* see Tottoli (1998, 158).



porque creyese Yagqob aquello sin dudança

Rrogó Yagqub al criador i-al lobo fue a fablar  
dišo el lobo, ‘no lo mande Allāh que anabí fuese a matar  
en tan estraña tierra me fueron a caçar  
an-me fecho pecado i levanme a lazarar’ (BNE fol. 4r).

In contrast to the wolf’s succinct response in the *Ḥadīth*, the version copied in Ms. 5292 affords extensive discursive space to the furry suspect:

I fueronse a caçar el lobo i caçaronle i era un lobo *algaribo* i vinieron con-él a Ya‘qūb i lançonse delantre. Veos que se volvió el lobo i se querelaba i lloraba i la ccuerda en su peskkueço i dizía a Ya‘qūb: ‘Dešame ir mi camino que yo so[y] enchūriado.’ I dīxo a él Ya‘qūb: ‘Dī tú yā lōbo si comís a mi amado Yūḡf pues ya me dīs a eredar tristeza larga.’ Dīxo i fabló el lobo con la potēcia de Allāh ‘*aza w jala* [‘*azza wa jalla*] i lō prrimero que dīxo fue: ‘***Lā ilāha ilā-llāh*** [*lā ilāha ’illā-llāh*] // que sufriente es Allāh sobre quien lo desobedeçe yā Ya‘qūb por la onrra de mi Señor i su nobleza no é yo comido a tū fijo jamás i yō soy enchuriado i enfamado a sinrrazon y-*algaribo* de llas villas de Mišra i por tu dereitaje yā *annabī* de Allāh...’ (Ms. 5292 BNE, fols. 43-4).

Out of place and wrongly incriminated, the “*algaribo*” resists arrest. Derived from Arabic *al-gharīb*, which denotes foreign or strange, *algaribo* can also connote “desdichado” (*Glosario* 58). The image of “la cuerda en su peskkueço” infuses the wolf’s sympathetic portrayal with pathos; the shackled creature is a devout Muslim. Speaking with the “potēcia de Allāh,” he begins his defense with the Islamic *šahāda*, or affirmation of belief, redacted by the scribe with a thicker penstroke. The wolf’s next statement, “sufriente es Allāh sobre quien lo desobedeçe,” alludes to one of God’s Most Beautiful Names (*asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā*).<sup>349</sup> *Al-Šabūr*, that is, “the Patient,” is similar to another one of Allāh’s qualities, *al-Ḥalīm* (“the Forebearing”), though as Wensinck notes “the sinner need not fear any retribution from al-Ḥalīm, but he is not sure of such leniency from al-Šabūr” (2012b). The wolf’s veiled reference to divine retribution portends the brothers’ imminent punishment and assures listeners of the “poetic justice” yet to come. In doing so, he

<sup>349</sup> See Akkach (2015).

reminds us of the story's true antagonists. By articulating his rational case, the fettered animal convinces Jacob of his innocence.

The personification of the wolf—his cogent defense and assertion of Islamic faith—would have held particular relevance for Aragonese Moriscos. The Oran *fatwā* refers to Iberian Muslims as *al-ghurabā'*, plural of *al-gharīb*. Harvey notes the positive connotations attributed to *al-ghurabā'* in prophecies that circulated from the ninth through the sixteenth century, suggesting “In an eschatology from which they obviously drew much comfort, when the Prophet referred to the role of the *garīb* at the end of days, they saw a promise of an ultimate favorable outcome for themselves” (2005, 148). The shared semantic landscape used to describe the wolf and Iberian Muslims further illustrates their possible identification.

Moreover, throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, polemicists likened Moriscos to voracious wolves who endangered the Christian flock by refashioning the biblical trope of the Good Shepherd. As Jesus proclaims in the book of John: “I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep” (John 10:11).<sup>350</sup> In the fifteenth century, prominent *conversos* such as Alonso de Cartagena reiterated the Pauline interpretation of the passage, particularly of verse 16, espousing the validity of their integration into the Christian body: “I have other sheep that do not belong to this fold. I must bring them also, and they will listen to my voice. So there will be one flock, one shepherd.” Nonetheless, other authors employed the passage to distinct ends (see Irigoyen-García 45).

Irigoyen-García analyzes a discursive identification of “Good Shepherd” with Castilian monarch. Overtime, the spiritual and political figurehead exercised the role of an actual sheep herder, that is, “a figure who needs to protect the flock by identifying and excising undesirable

<sup>350</sup> All quotes come from the *HarperCollins Study Bible* (1991).

elements” (54).<sup>351</sup> In the sixteenth century, Moriscos became a “flock” in desperate need of religious direction and political evaluation. In 1587, the bishop of Segorbe alleged that the Moriscos “viven como ovejas sin pastor ques grande lástima” (qtd. in Irigoyen-García 51). A few decades later, humanist Pedro de Valencia lamented the lukewarm evangelism attempts, protesting “los olvidan como si no fuesen del rebaño” (qtd. in Irigoyen-García 51). In his edict issued in 1597, Clement VIII requested renewed religious instruction so that Valencian Moriscos, called “ovejas descarriadas [*oues aberrantes*]” would be “reduzidas” to the “rebaño del Señor” (qtd. in Fonseca 42).

Discriminating “good” from “bad” sheep became a matter of physical security and spiritual preservation, as Moriscos were accused of conspiring with Turks and inducing Old Christians to renege. Overtime, the distinction evolved from “good” and “bad” sheep to “good sheep” and “bad wolves.” Alonso Duarte deems Moriscos “lobos encarnizados” in his poetic account of the expulsion from Pastrana (*Revue Hispanique* 431). Apologists invoked animal imagery as one of many “pure-corrupt” analogies. Such comparisons depicted converts as incompatible with the Catholic body. Enumerating Philip III’s justification for the expulsion, Jaime Bleda explains the danger Moriscos posed to Old Christians with the following comparison: “Representavale también quan dañosa, y contagiosa era a los Christianos simples la compañía de aquellos infieles escandalosos. Porque como otra vez se dixo (y por ser bien dicho, se puede repetir) *jamás estuvo bien la oveja con el lobo*, el santo con el apestado, la muger

<sup>351</sup> Even before the trope’s application to Philip II and III, Hernando de Acuña infuses biblical imagery with imperial ambition in his sonnet dedicated to Carlos V: “Ya se acerca, señor, o ya es llegada / la edad gloriosa en que promete el cielo / *una grey y un pastor sólo* en el suelo / por suerte a vuestros tiempos reservada” (qtd. in Álvarez-Junco 2011, 27; my emphasis).

honesta con la ramera, como ni Abel con Cain” (873; my emphasis). Similarly, Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier invokes biblical precedent to convince readers of the expulsion’s necessity:

Para que los Cathólicos Españoles den por bien empleado las descomodidades que sostienen con la expulsión de los hereges Mahometanos, y vean la razón que nuestro gran Felipe tuvo, para desterrarlos de sus Cathólicos señoríos, emplearé este capítulo, con los nombres que las divinas letras dieron a los hereges; lo que han impuegnado de nuestra Fe: y los peligros de su comunicación. Llama el Espíritu santo a los hereges, falsos Prophetas, *lobos carniceros, vestidos de piel de ovejas*, cabritos lascivos; semabradores de zizaña, perros, bestias, Antechristos (1613, fol. 14r; my emphasis).

Echoing Matthew 7:15, the Franciscan friar likens Moriscos to wolves “dressed” as lambs (i.e. Muslims disguised as Christians) in order to wreak havoc.<sup>352</sup> Ironically, in a subsequent publication Guadalajara y Xavier relates the “premio bien merecido” that expelled Valencian Moriscos received in exile: “Permitió nuestro Señor que los Moriscos de Valencia fuesen castigados con mayor rigor... porque desembarcados, davan en manos de los Alarbes, que *como lobos*, se apoderavan de las mugeres, y los mataban” (1614, fol. 72v; my emphasis).

Writing from exile in 1611, a Morisco from Granada alludes to the lamb-wolf characterization in distinct terms (Janer 1857a, 350-1). “Licenciado Molina” apprises don Jerónimo de Loaysa of his journey’s vicissitudes and concludes with the trenchant observation: “Pues milagro ha sido desterrar los corderillos mansos mas fructíferos y desarmados, por lobos carniceros y traydores, y quedarse con los lobos vorazes, por mansas ovejas” (qtd. in Janer 1857a, 351). Molina likens Moriscos to docile lambs mistaken as traitorous wolves. The final clauses in this sentence are perplexing. Perhaps the “lobos vorazes” refer to Old Christians who assaulted Moriscos en route to embarkation. They could also represent North African Muslims

<sup>352</sup> Matthew 7:15 reads: “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves.” The accusation was also applied to Conversos: “habiéndose bautizado con ficción los judíos, cubiertos de la piel de Christianos, hazían estrago de lobos en la República” (Escolano X, col. 1737).

who shunned the newcomers, though Molina clarifies that he is not complaining about life in exile, since “aquí no nos han obligado á ningun acto espiritual, ni corporal, que nos haga desdecir de lo que avemos sido” (qtd. in Janer 1857a, 351). Irrespective of the identity of the “voracious wolves,” Molina’s remarks highlight the pervasiveness of the lamb-wolf analogy in early modern discourse—as well as its limits.<sup>353</sup>

In addition to the polemical use of biblical tropes, throughout the sixteenth century shepherds presided in the literary pastures of pastoral romances. Concurrently, Joseph’s poetic and prose representations in *aljamía* spotlighted a distinct bucolic scene, one in which a demonized outsider is vindicated by Jacob’s ability to understand his language. The unlikely character exhibits fortitude in the face of false charges. By alluding to Allāh’s ultimate judgment of wrongdoers, the wolf underscores another dimension of *ṣabr*: “Al-Ṣabūr” will deliver justice. The *lobo carnicero* becomes the spokesman for divine punishment. His poised defense disproves the lamb-wolf stereotype and enjoins Moriscos to wait for their own vindication.

When read in light of what Irigoyen-García deems early modern “signifying practices,” the intersection of tropes and traditions in the *Hadīth* sheds new light on familiar characters (15). Yet the importance of *ṣabr* encompasses more than resonances between the plights of Aragonese Muslims, prophets, and legendary wolves. Linda Jones’s research suggests the concept of *ṣabr* posed broader implications for the Mudejar *alfaquíes* who attempted to fashion their followers into a “moral community” (2004, 453). Jones analyzes a series of exhortatory sermons delivered to Aragonese Muslims in the thirteenth century in which, she maintains, *ṣabr* played a critical role. The *faqīh* depicts his Mudejar flocks as exemplars of patient endurance (*ṣabr*) and

<sup>353</sup> Las Casas denounces atrocities committed by conquerors in the Americas by casting indigenous inhabitants as “ovejas mansas” and “corderos muy mansos” in contrast to Spaniards who are “rabiosos lobos y leones” (107; 108; 147).

remembering God (*dīkr*) (Jones 2004, 453). Cultivating the virtues of *ṣabr* and *dīkr* would allow Muslims to retain their distinctive superiority over neighboring “people of the Book” (Miller 2008, 145). Attempts to redefine collective Mudejar identity in terms of *ṣabr* combatted local pressures to convert to Christianity, but also critiques launched from abroad.

As explained in the Introduction, Islamic scholars questioned the religious viability of Muslims subjected to Christian rule. Mudejars were obliged to coexist with non-Muslims and experienced varying levels of linguistic and cultural acculturation to the Christian majority. It is worthwhile to consider how the emigration injunction might have contributed to the conception and transmission of the *Ḥadīth de Yūçuf*. Though we cannot ascribe a thirteenth-century *faqīh*’s consciousness and utilization of *ṣabr* to the impulses behind the *Ḥadīth*’s composition in subsequent centuries, the virtue’s rhetorical implications for Mudejar self-justification are undeniable. Joseph is the paradigmatic Muslim who exemplifies *ṣabr* to survive and ultimately thrive in non-Islamic lands. He and Jacob are prophetic embodiments of a virtue that the *alfaquíes* strove to cultivate among their followers. The dramatization of Joseph’s story in verse provides not only moral guidance for Aragonese believers, but also a compelling defense of their life in Iberia. As a touchstone of Mudejar identity and Morisco resilience, the *Ḥadīth* represents the creative negotiation of “cultural mediators”—Aragonese *alfaquíes* striving to edify and protect their followers (Miller 43).

### **An Intertextual World of “Others’ Words”**

When a Mudejar *alfaquí* composed the *Ḥadīth* and Moriscos later copied and recited it, Joseph’s story was by no means uncharted thematic material. Joseph’s high regard among Muslims, Jews, and Christians is manifest in medieval and early modern Iberia, where the

plethora of laudatory texts leads Michael McGaha (1997, ix) to contend that the three faith communities “all claimed Joseph as their own and produced astonishing new interpretations of his saga in romance, poetry, and drama.” This heterogeneous discursive web includes sources such as the twelfth-century Jewish epic (*Sefer ha-Yashar*), Alfonso X’s *General estoria*, a fourteenth-century Hebrew Aljamiado text (*Coplas de Yosef*), and the sixteenth-century Aljamiado prose narrative (Ms. 5292 BNE), among others.

The text’s notable intertextuality exemplifies Mikhail Bakhtin’s assertion that “Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others’ words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of ‘our-own-ness,’ varying degrees of awareness and detachment” ([1952] 1986, 89). Indeed, “others’ words” abound in the *Ḥadīth*. At the same time, gestures of appropriation and adaptation infuse Mudejar and Morisco “our-own-ness.” Joseph’s nuanced portrayal in the *Ḥadīth* illuminates how Aragonese Muslim communities asserted *their* claims to this “transconfessional” prophet (Hutcheson 2012, 153). Intertextual strands intertwine to form the crux of this act of claiming.

Bakhtin describes intertextual chains of meaning as “living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance” (1981, 276). As Duranti and Goodwin elucidate, Bakhtin’s notion of “dialogic” texts has misled many readers. Though the term “dialogic” connotes a conversation between two interlocutors, in effect, Bakhtin “wanted to call attention to how a single strip of talk (utterance, text, story, etc.) can juxtapose language drawn from, and invoking, alternative cultural, social, and linguistic home environments, the interpenetration of multiple voices and forms of utterance” (Duranti and Goodwin 19). Along similar lines, Kristeva glosses Bakhtin’s notion of the “literary word” as “an *intersection of textual surfaces* rather than a point (a fixed meaning), as a dialogue among

several writings: that of the writer, the addressee (or the character), and the contemporary or earlier cultural context” (qtd. in Bauman and Briggs 1992, 146; emphasis in original).

Discursive “interpenetrations” and “intersections” surface throughout the *Ḥadīth*. The composition recontextualizes conventions associated with the *mester de clerecía*, content derived from *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, and vocabulary reminiscent of medieval Iberian literature. The poem’s expression in *romance*, rather than Arabic, expands the “otherness” of Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ semantic world. As Mercedes García-Arenal suggests, Aragonese Muslims’ mere use of the Spanish language “obligaba al que la hablaba o escribía a establecer un diálogo tácito con la cultura que rechazaba o de la que al menos se defendía” (2010a, 67).

This “tacit dialogue” becomes explicit through the *Ḥadīth*’s deft application of epic lexicon. For instance, when Joseph reveals his identity to his brother Benjamin, he asks: “¿Conoçesme, escudero?” (BNE fol. 38v).<sup>354</sup> His brother responds: “No, a la fé, caballero” (BNE fol. 38v). Joseph is not only a *caballero*, but also the “señor de natura” responsible for a “condado” comprised of loyal “vasallos” and more than one faithful “escudero” (BNE fols. 24v; 23r; 32r; 27v). In addition to feudal lexicon, emotive pleonasm such as “plazeme de coraçon” and “llorando de sus ojos” recall tropes characteristic of poetic texts such as the *Poema de Mio Cid* (BNE fols. 17v; 47v). Epithets for Joseph and his father include “la bella barba,” “la barba donosa,” and “esa barba onrrada” (BNE fols. 5r; 20r; 27r). These metonymic appellations cast the *Ḥadīth*’s protagonists as celebrated heroes of medieval literature.

Moreover, ubiquitous mentions of Joseph’s *mesura*, the Cid’s quintessential virtue, pepper the *Ḥadīth*’s semantic landscape. Montaner defines *mesura* as follows: “En esta cualidad

<sup>354</sup> The foliation in BNM lists fol. 20r twice. Thus, fol. 38v is actually fol. 39v. I retain the manuscript’s (erroneous) foliation to aid the reader.



se resumen las cuatro virtudes cardinales que la teología cristiana heredó de la moral estoica, *prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia*, pero se basa especialmente en la primera” (1993b, 388). In the *Ḥadīth*, the use of the term *mesura* fuses Joseph’s reputation of incomparable beauty—common to both the Islamic and Jewish traditions—with the word’s Cidian resonances. Joseph exhibits *mesura* when the wine-steward shares surprising news: the king will summon his captive from prison to take advantage of Joseph’s divination expertise. Rather than joyously vacating his cell, the prophet instructs his messenger to summon the reckless “dueñas” and Zulaykha. The women must assure the king of Joseph’s innocence. The prophet’s lengthy stipulations display his shrewd foresight; in decisive moments he exercises prudence to ensure his best interests (BNE fols. 19r-20r).

In addition to his self-command, *mesura* often refers to the prophet’s physical attributes, including his regal stature and somber composure. When Joseph learns of his kin’s arrival in Egypt, he adorns himself with exquisite jewels, luxurious perfumes, and sumptuous cloths “de oro i de seda i de fermosa labor” (BNE fol. 29r). Equipped with these accoutrements, Joseph summons his brothers for the first time. The following stanza conveys the scene’s emphasis on visual elements: “i mandó que dentrasen a veyer su fegura / i dieronle salvaçión según su catadura / i mandólos a sentar con bien i apostura / i maravillaronse de su buena medida” (BNE fol. 29r). Joseph prepares himself for the second familial encounter with aromas “de gran medida” (BNE fol. 35r). In this way, the *Ḥadīth* refashions the Cid’s poetic lexicon, highlighting *mesura*’s alternative connotations to emphasize Joseph’s exceptional physical appearance.

Perhaps the *Poema de Mio Cid* and the *Ḥadīth* are evoking a multiconfessional ethical notion, common to both Christianity and Islam. Indeed, As Wensick points out, “*ṣabr*, in all its shades of meaning, is essentially Hellenistic in so far as it includes the *ἀταραξία* of the Stoic, the

patience of the Christian and the self-control and renunciation of the ascetic” (2012). Readers familiar with *ṣabr* may notice this virtue reflected on Joseph; others acquainted with the Cid’s legacy might detect the protagonist’s comparable *mesura*. The *Ḥadīth* maneuvers through both literary and religious worlds of “others’ words.”

Rather than assigning doctrinal allegiances to the poem’s author, the following discussion stems from David Biale’s contention that “The issue is not influence but interaction” (as quoted in Bernstein 2006, 1). Following the premise of “interaction” with the Christian tradition, one could argue that the *Ḥadīth*’s protagonist exhibits qualities not only of an ideal Aragonese Muslim—capable of negotiating a foreign land with patience and trust in God—but also of a Christian, or even Christ-like, “Cid”—adept at serving an intellectually inferior king, ultimately overcoming his unjust exile and reborn to a new life. The *Ḥadīth* seems to evoke the typological comparison between Joseph and Jesus in which the Old Testament prophet foreshadows the Messiah. Christian exegesis highlights various parallels: Joseph suffers the persecution of his brothers and Jesus of the Romans, both prophets confront and overcome temptation, both are falsely condemned alongside two prisoners, and both forgive their adversaries.

In the *Ḥadīth*, Joseph pleads to God as “Padre mío” as Jesus does throughout the Gospels (e.g. Matthew 26:39; John 8:49). After overhearing rumors about her improper advances, Zulaykha invites the gossipy women to a banquet in order to reveal Joseph’s unrivalled beauty. When the luminous prophet enters the dining hall, the women become so overcome by his gorgeous appearance that they mistakenly cut their hands instead of the citrus fruits on their plates. In light of their folly, the guests promptly encourage their hostess to pursue her forbidden desires. In the Qur’ān (and some *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* [e.g. al-Ṭabarī 160]), the prophet begs God to enter prison rather than acquiesce to Zulaykha’s wish: “He said, ‘My Lord (*rabbi*)! Prison is

dearer to me than that to which they call me...’” (Q 12:33). The *Ḥadīth* includes an adaptation of this Qur’ānic verse, though instead of ‘My Lord,’ the stanza reads: “Yuçuf cuando aquesto vido rreclamóse al Criador / dişendo, ‘Padre mío, de mí ayas dolor / son tornadas de una muchas en mi amor / pues más quiero ser preso que no ser traydor’” (BNE fol. 16r).

Not only is Joseph constructed as God’s son, he is also the “Lamb of God,” in accordance with his typological comparison to Jesus. The captive is compared to a lamb in captivity: “Allí jazi dieç años como si fuera cordero” (BNE fol. 16r). Along similar lines, the *Ḥadīth* elaborates the sheep motif incorporated in certain *qişaş al-anbiyā’* (al-Kisā’ī 1997, 170). The poet extends this imagery to symbolize Joseph’s blameless victimhood. First, the conspirators visualize their brother sleeping on his side among a flock of sheep: “Pensaron que dirían al su padre onrrado / que-stando en las ovejas vino el lobo ayrado / estando durmiendo Yuçuf a su costado / vino el lobo maldito i a Yuçuf ubo matado” (BNE fol. 2v). Likewise, the merchant who retrieves Joseph from the well likens his captive to a lamb: “Dişo el mercadero: ‘Esto es maravella, / que ellos te an vendido como si fues ovecha [oveja]’” (BNE fol. 6r).

Elements that identify Joseph with his Christian representation are inextricable from the web of discursive heteroglossia that pervades the text. Though it is possible to read Joseph’s characterization as evocative of Christian typology, the comparison with lambs and sheep also recalls the Islamic prophet Ishmael (Ismā’īl), Abraham’s son admired for his selflessness and submission to God. In fact, the story of Ishmael’s sacrifice resumes the narrative thread after the *Ḥadīth de Yuçuf*’s abrupt end in Manuscript A (BRAH fol. 9r). Finally, we are remiss to approach the *Ḥadīth*’s intertextuality as an exclusive “Christian-Muslim” dialogue confined to the Iberian Middle Ages. The poem’s narrative largely derives from *qişaş al-anbiyā’*, a tradition with deep connections to Rabbinic commentaries of the *midrash* as well as their narrative

elaborations, or *aggadot* (sing. *aggadah*). Indeed, Islamic stories of the prophets elaborate Qur'ānic material but also arise from “material based on Jewish scriptures and midrashic literature, as well as on Christian tradition, early Arab tales, and other sources” (Brinner in al-Tha‘labī xx). In the story of Joseph, for example, a dramatic *aggadah* conveys the prophet’s visit to Rachel’s grave when in route to Egypt. Upon arriving at his mother’s tomb, Joseph collapses with grief and laments his beleaguered state (BNE fols. 6v-7r; al-Tha‘labī 195; al-Kisā’ī 172). This scene is one of several that reveals the rich interactions that precede the *Ḥadīth*’s composition.

The Hebrew Aljamiado poem entitled *Coplas de Yosef* represents another significant voice in the premodern Iberian world of “others’ words.” Though Jews and *conversos* redacted works in *romance* with the Hebrew script, as Mudejars and Moriscos did with Arabic, facile equivalences between Hebrew and Arabic Aljamiado texts are misguided. A “covert minority culture” did not engender the former phenomenon, nor did scribal workshops play a decisive role in its fulfilment (Hamilton 2014, xiv). In some cases, Hebrew Aljamiado texts such as Shem Tob’s *Proverbios morales*, dedicated to Pedro I (d. 1369), arose in courtly contexts; their Latin-script counterparts resided in royal and noble libraries of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and France.

Acknowledging these broader distinctions, Girón-Negrón and Minervini argue that the *Coplas de Yosef* share some of the social and ideological concerns manifest in Arabic Aljamiado compositions (19; see Minervini 2012). Unlike *Proverbios morales*, the only extant manuscripts of the *Coplas de Yosef* are redacted in Hebrew Aljamiado and thus imply the text’s destination for Jewish usage (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 17). The *Coplas de Yosef* constitute an affirmation of Sephardic identity and a tool of resistance against assimilation. The *Coplas de*

*Yosef* exist in three extant copies, of which the sixteenth-century version is most complete.<sup>355</sup> Copied between 1533 and 1550, the manuscript is now preserved in the Biblioteca Vaticana (*Neofiti* 48).

As the poem's Vatican copy and sixteenth-century fragments suggest, the *Coplas de Yosef* circulated widely throughout the Sephardic diaspora (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 71). The content approximates the story of Joseph according to Genesis 37-50 as well as the traditions preserved in *midrash* and their attendant "narrative expansions" (Kugel as quoted in Bernstein 2006, 2). The *Coplas de Yosef* belong to the poetic modality Paloma Díaz-Mas deems "clerecía rabínica," a term that designates texts composed by Jewish authors in *romance* that are intended for recitation in liturgical settings and inspired by the *mester de clerecía* (1993, 341-2). I will return to the *Coplas de Yosef*'s poetic form after discussing the text's language and portrayal of Joseph.

In Sephardic literature, Joseph's story is associated with the celebration of Purim, a festival that commemorates Esther's heroic actions to save her people (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 71). The prophet serves as a heroic model of chastity, justice, and truthfulness. Similar to Joseph's epic qualities in the *Ḥadīth*, Joseph's construction in the *Coplas de Yosef* utilizes lexicon reminiscent of the *Poema de Mio Cid*'s epic hero. "Yosef" also "llorava de los ojos" during key moments of the action while his "cavalleros" engaged in ritual professions of loyalty (qtd. in Girón-Negrón and Minervini 147; 157; 167; 181). The editors signal the epithets

<sup>355</sup> The manuscript entered the bibliographic holdings of Rome's *Casa dei Catecumeni* in 1550. Due to the text's calligraphic style, Girón-Negrón and Minervini surmise that a Spanish *converso* commissioned an Italian scribe to make the copy (25). It measures 14.2 cm by 10.5 cm, corresponding to a pocket-sized *pliego de cordel*, as Girón-Negrón and Minervini note (21). For an extensive description of the three extant manuscripts and a synopsis of recently discovered additional sixteenth-century fragments of the poem, see Girón-Negrón and Minervini (13-26).

employed to describe various characters, such as “Yehudah el fuerte,” “Ya’aqob el onrado,” and “el sabio Yosef” (qtd. in Girón-Negrón and Minervini 63). The tenuous distinction between discursive “otherness” and “our-own-ness” becomes more unstable in light of Girón-Negrón and Minervini’s compelling analysis of the poem’s protagonist. They contend that Joseph exudes *mesura*. Lines such as “luego por medida jurava Yosef” contribute to Joseph’s Cid-like portrayal, one that leads Girón-Negrón and Minervini to deem him a hero “dechado de virtudes caballerescas, un <<Cid hebreo>>” (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 185; 79).

Given the heroic nature of Joseph’s life and the literary milieu the authors inhabited, evocations of Iberian epic conventions in the *Ḥadīth* and the *Coplas de Yosef* are unsurprising. The *Poema de Mio Cid* celebrates a Christian hero, yet Iberian Muslims and Jews nonetheless adapt its literary modes and vocabulary to memorialize their own beloved lodestars. Products of a shared vernacular culture, the *Ḥadīth* and the *Coplas de Yosef* reiterate Biale’s subordination of “influence” to “interaction.” The following section explores the ways in which seemingly tacit intertextuality poses larger implications for the study of medieval Iberian literature. A critical return to both Aljamiado poems’ strophic forms challenges inherited presumptions about the *mester de clerecía*.

### **‘Por la quaderna vía’: Transconfessional Expression in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia**

Reconsidering the *Ḥadīth*’s form begins with the manuscripts themselves. The codices’ production registers offer critical insight into the copyists’ attitudes towards the text. Compared to Manuscript A, Manuscript B’s single scribe appears to devote much more care to his redaction; he displays painstaking effort to maintain the aesthetic regularity of *cuaderna vía*. The copyist attempts to create justified columns by extending letters or, alternatively, sketching a

mark to align the stanza (BNE fol. 22v). At times, the scribe forgets to indent a verse and compensates by squeezing two verses into one line of text or, alternatively, crossing out the partial verse and recopying it below (BNE fols. 15r; 7r). In another instance, the copyist begins a new quatrain without leaving a space between stanzas (BNE fol. 25r). Such examples suggest the possibility that he copied from a text redacted without clearly marked quatrains—perhaps in prose, as we see in Manuscript A’s layout.

Manuscript B’s *mise en page* recalls certain manuscripts associated with the *mester de clerecía*. The scribe of a fourteenth-century copy of Berceo’s *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* completes each verse with a straight line in order to justify the text and underscore its impression of regularity (BRAH Archivo Digital).<sup>356</sup> A pilcrow, or *calderón*, divides each quatrain. This effect underlines the poem’s distribution of *cuaderna vía*. Likewise, the scribe of Manuscript S, a fifteenth-century copy of the *Libro del Arcipreste* associated with the University of Salamanca, utilizes a red pilcrow to call attention to each four-verse stanza. Alfonso de Paradinas divides each quatrain with a space to clearly demarcate stanzas of *cuaderna vía*.

Such redactions suggest the manuscripts were destined for individual reading and glossing, perhaps intended for a wealthy patron’s library in the case of the *Milagros*. Indeed, not all works of *mester de clerecía* highlight their strophic form’s symmetrical pattern. For instance, Manuscript G (Gayoso) of the *Libro del Arcipreste* presents a continuous stream of text that could serve a performer as a memory cue, but might present an obstacle for a silent reader (Gerli 2016b, 97). Thus, Manuscript A of the *Ḥadīth* reflects the text’s performative disposition while

<sup>356</sup>[http://www.rae.es/sites/default/files/Archivo\\_de\\_la\\_BCRAE\\_Milagros\\_de\\_Nuestra\\_Senora\\_Manuscripto\\_de\\_la\\_RAE\\_web.pdf](http://www.rae.es/sites/default/files/Archivo_de_la_BCRAE_Milagros_de_Nuestra_Senora_Manuscripto_de_la_RAE_web.pdf)

Manuscript B's fastidious imitation of *cuaderna vía*'s readerly copies indicates its destination as prized possession of a prestigious patron.

The conscious perpetuation of *cuaderna vía* in Manuscript B prompts the question: why would a sixteenth-century copyist go to such lengths to ensure the manuscript's physical resemblance to a strophic form associated with medieval Christian poetry? The scribe's diligent attempts to emulate the aesthetic display of *cuaderna vía* recalls the processes of decontextualization and recontextualization, outlined in the previous chapter. Decontextualizing a genre from one social context (be it medieval Christian manuscripts or the Islamic storytelling tradition), entails its recontextualization in another. The ability to decontextualize and recontextualize genres engenders critical implications for social contexts, since "by invoking a particular genre, producers of discourse assert (tacitly or explicitly) that they possess the authority needed to decontextualize discourse that bears these historical and social connections and to recontextualize it in the current discursive setting" (Bauman and Briggs 1992, 148). The scribe of Manuscript B's assiduous effort to imitate the visual effects of *mester de clerecía* poetry recenters the mode's prestigious connotations in *aljamía*. Transmuted to a Morisco setting, *cuaderna vía*'s overtones of erudition shroud the *Ḥadīth*'s message.

Recontextualizing Christian manuscript layout is also an assertion of authority. Vincent Barletta contends that use of *cuaderna vía* to transmit Islamic narrative enabled Aragonese Moriscos to value unique conceptions of the past: "These local theories of the past, neither fully Islamic nor Hispano-Christian, operate principally as a means of carving out a cultural niche for the Moriscos as Muslims dwelling in a nation-state openly hostile to them" (2005, 153). As Barletta explains, this "niche" is not diametrically opposed to a Christian "Other." Barletta's compelling analysis echoes Kathryn Miller's (53) conclusion regarding Mudejar *alfaquíes*,



whose “leadership drew its strength and ability to maintain Islam both from its community’s strong integration in the Christian environment and from its own carefully cultivated distance from it.”

Yet Mudejars and Moriscos were not the only ones who decontextualized *cuaderna vía* after its usage waned. In fact, the metric pattern of the *Coplas de Yosef* resembles “*cuaderna vía anómala*: los versos son mayoritariamente alejandrinos... y se agrupan en estrofas de cuatro” yet the rhyme differs in that “los tres primeros versos son monorrimos, y el cuarto presenta en todos los casos vuelta en *Yoçef*” (Díaz-Mas 2001, 36).<sup>357</sup> The innovation approximates the aural effect of *cuaderna vía*’s consonant rhyme but recalls medieval Hebrew and Arabic strophic *muwašṣahāt* (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 49; 51). Experimentation with the *mester de clerecía*’s poetic form in the *Coplas de Yosef* suggests that Jewish and later Converso poets were also attracted to its prestigious undertones (Girón-Negrón and Minervini 23).<sup>358</sup>

Poetic expression “por la quaderna vía” in both Aljamiado poems obliges us to reassess the ethical and linguistic ideologies attributed to the *mester de clerecía* (Alexandre [1988] 2013, 131). *Cuaderna vía*’s “curso rimado” was used in clerical settings to indoctrinate in the vernacular (Alexandre [1988] 2013, 131). Not only did works of the *mester de clerecía* intend to showcase intellectual prowess and distinguish themselves from those of “joglaría,” they also aimed to communicate crucial knowledge to a public illiterate in Latin (Alexandre [1988] 2013, 130. Francisco Rico attributes the nascent thirteenth-century poetic phenomenon to “un linaje de intelectuales que ahora sienten con creciente intensidad el deseo o conveniencia de difundir en

<sup>357</sup> See McGaha (1997, 282) for a comparison of the meters of the *Ḥadīth* and the *Coplas de Yosef*.

<sup>358</sup> Scholars have argued that *cuaderna vía* is indebted to the rhymed prose of Arabic *maqāmat* (Kimmel 2014, 29; 35; Hamilton 2006; Wacks 2006).

vulgar las riquezas de la cultura latina” (1985, 4). The decision to instruct in the vernacular does not compromise the erudition or sophistication of works of the *mester de clerecía*. Rather, such texts reveal their authors’ ethical commitment to sharing worthwhile knowledge.

The *Coplas de Yosef* and the *Ḥadīth* demonstrate similar concerns. As Girón-Negrón and Minervini show, the former responded to “un fin primordialmente didáctico-religioso: acercar a los sefardíes al rico acervo de la tradición bíblica y rabínica en su vernáculo románico” (71). The careful cultivation of Sephardic heritage is predicated on instruction in the vernacular. Likewise, Mudejar and Morisco *alfaquíes* surely felt with “growing intensity” the necessity to communicate the tenets of their faith in the vernacular, for reasons discussed in the Introduction. Considering Aljamiado manuscripts as an “expansion” of knowledge, as Nirenberg suggests (2014, 31), resonates with the ethical preoccupations that subtend works of the *mester de clerecía*: clerics intent upon sharing knowledge rather than preserving it among a coterie of intellectuals.

In this way, one could argue that the *mester de clerecía* and the phenomenon of Aljamiado itself reflect related concerns, though scholarship tends to celebrate the former as a display of erudition and frame the latter in terms of a lamentable decline. Aljamiado compositions that utilize *cuaderna vía* capitalize on the didactic and justificatory functions of its associated poetic mode. The unforgiving rhyme scheme and regular *alejandrino* verses seem to counteract the “lowering” of a sacred language to a vernacular. *Cuaderna vía* bestows legitimacy on a text whose linguistic expression might otherwise engender its derision.

With respect to the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf* in particular, “recentered” *cuaderna vía* entails more than its didactic function, prestigious value, and justification for using the vernacular. By redacting the story of Joseph in *cuaderna vía*, especially with Manuscript B’s physical layout,

Aragonese Muslims elevate Joseph to the status of the Virgin Mary, Alexander the Great, and other eminent figures whose lives were famously celebrated with this poetic form. Echoing McGaha (1997), what better way to “claim” Joseph than by enshrining his figure to these heights? In fact, the *Ḥadīth* is not the only Aljamiado text that experiments with *cuaderna vía*. Various poems in praise of Muḥammad and Allāh employ this strophic form (Fuente Cornejo 91).

Eduardo Saavedra (1878) first indicated direct correspondences between the *Ḥadīth*’s opening stanza, that of Berceo’s *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* (Book III), and an Aljamiado praise poem (Ms. 11/9414 *olim* T-18 BRAH; see Fuente Cornejo 20). The latter and the *Ḥadīth* utilize adjectives applied to Santo Domingo and to the “Christian” God in order to praise the oneness and goodness of the “Islamic” God, recasting *Dios* as *Allāh*. The *Vida de Santo Domingo* begins: “En el su sancto nomme, ca es Dios verdadero, / Et de su Sancto Domingo confessor derecho” while the *Ḥadīth* offers instead, “Loamiento ad Allah, el alto y es y verdadero, / onrrado y cumplido, señor dereiturero,” and the praise poem conveys similarly: “Las loores son aḍa Allah, el-alto, verḍadero, / onraḍo i cumplido, Señor muy derecho” (qtd. in Fuente Cornejo 20). Not only do the poems “recenter” *cuaderna vía* within an Aljamiado context, they explicitly repurpose praise of Christian divinity and sainthood as a pious invocation of Allāh. The shared poetic form facilitates this perspicacious act of claiming.

The *Ḥadīth de Yūḥuf* illuminates the intertextual discursive world of Mudejar and Morisco communities. It cultivates a unique “claim” to Joseph, no longer conceived of as a “religious boundary” (Remensnyder 2011, 546). Aragonese *alfaquíes* appealed to the, in Bakhtinian terms, “authoritative utterances” that constituted their complex social reality (1986, 88). Generic recontextualizations in the *Ḥadīth* enabled the *alfaquíes* to shape their community’s

consciousness and to refract Joseph's virtues onto their flock. The text displays an ingenious negotiation of a "world of 'others' words." In doing so, the *Ḥadīth* compels us to reconsider our preconceived assumptions about that world and the meaning of "others' words" in it.

Employed by Muslims, Jews, and Christians, *cuaderna vía* responds to transconfessional Iberian motivations rather than "Christian" ones. Comparable linguistic and ethical concerns that inspire texts redacted "por la cuaderna vía" inform Aljamiado compositions. By recognizing and reflecting on such parallels, one glimpses the rich interactions that give shape to premodern Iberian vernacular culture. The *Ḥadīth*—replete with seemingly irreconcilable nuances—challenges us to confront the ideologies that subtend conceptions of genre, as does the second poem analyzed in this chapter, *La degüella de Ibrahim*.

### ***La degüella de Ibrahim***

Copied in the same manuscript as the *Sermón* (Ms. 1574), the poem deploys *coplas de arte menor*, though the text's production register varies between eight- and four-line stanzas (fols. 1r-11v). *La degüella* astutely synthesizes oratorical rhetoric and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. In the following pages, I trace points of intersection between Ms. 1574, an extant prose version of Abraham's story (Ms. J-25 CSIC, fols. 130r-48v), and Rabadán's *Discurso de la luz* (Ms. 251 BNF, fols. 49v-64v) in order to assess the ways in which Moriscos reshaped traditional texts at the turn of the century.<sup>359</sup> *La degüella* envelops listeners and reciters in a dramatic reenactment of Ishmael's sacrifice. This "story of the unseen" becomes a vivified tableau that moves listeners through strategic devices in cogent terms. Approaching the text in terms of strategy and cogency

<sup>359</sup> Contemporary foliation in Ms. J-25 inverts *verso* and *recto*; I adhere to the inversion for the curious reader's benefit.

enables us to reframe our (mis)perceptions of late-Morisco poetry and to reflect on one of the most disturbing dimensions of the Moriscos' history.

*La degüella* evokes representations of Abraham (Ibrāhīm) manifest in the Qur'ān and *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. The prophet is a pious precursor to Muḥammad, a devout *ḥanīf* (monotheist) and a *khalīl* (friend) of God who founds the *Ka'ba* (House of God) in Mecca (Q 2:127; 2:135; 4:125).<sup>360</sup> The Qur'ān insists that Abraham lived before the revelation of the Torah and Gospels (Tottoli 2002, 26). Since he was neither Jew nor Christian, many passages enjoin Muslims to follow the creed of Abraham, or *millat Ibrāhīm* (Q 3:95; 6:161; 16:123). Abraham denounces his polytheistic community and destroys their idols (Q 6:76-83). His resistance incenses the tyrannical ruler Nimrod, who captures and attempts to murder the prophet. Allah intervenes and rescues Abraham from the flames (Q 21:69).

The Qur'ānic account of Abraham's sacrifice does not specify his son's identity (Q 37: 101-113). Verses 101 and 102 read:

So We gave him glad tidings of a gentle son. When he had become old enough to partake of his father's endeavors, Abraham said, 'O my son! I see while dreaming that I am to sacrifice you. So consider, what do you see?' He replied, 'O my father! Do as you are commanded. You will find me, God willing, among those who are patient.'

The enigmatic use of pronouns replaces the son's name. Early commentators named both Isaac and Ishmael as the sacrificial offering, or *dabīḥa*.<sup>361</sup> Some exegetes interpret verse 19:54 as an allusion to Ishmael's willingness to be sacrificed: "And remember Ishmael in the book. *Verily he was true to the promise*, and he was a messenger, a prophet" (my emphasis; *The Study Quran*

<sup>360</sup> Brinner translates *ḥanīf* as "upright" (qtd. in al-Tha'labī 150). The term is often employed to contrast Muslims with idolaters.

<sup>361</sup> Al-Ṭabarī and al-Kisā'ī relate Isaac's sacrifice, though later scholars such as Ibn Kathīr posit Ishmael fulfilled this role (Tottoli 2002, 104; al-Ṭabarī 82-92; al-Kisā'ī 160-2). After summarizing competing views, al-Tha'labī concludes that Ishmael was the victim of sacrifice (154-8).

778). Overtime, as Tottoli explains, “The choice of Ishmael may reflect an early tendency to ‘Islamicise’ this episode and locate it in Mecca instead of Jerusalem, but this was most probably also influenced by the early Islamic rivalry between Persians and other non-Arabs—who attributed their ancestry to Isaac—and Arabs, who attributed theirs to Ishmael” (2017). The biblical account, on the other hand, unequivocally names Isaac as the sacrificed son (Genesis 22:1-14). The controversy’s early modern reverberations will be discussed below.

Abraham and Ishmael permeate Aljamiado narratives, poetry, and sermons. A popular *ḥadīth* recounts Abraham’s conversation with a frog and a 140-year-old man.<sup>362</sup> The story of Ishmael’s sacrifice is extant in five manuscripts.<sup>363</sup> In addition to *La degüella*, the account appears after the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf* (BRAH Ms. 11/9409 *olim* T-12, fols. 9v-13v), embedded in a sermon (Ms. J-25 CSIC, fols. 100v-148v), and in the *Historia tercera* of Rabadán’s *Discurso de la luz* (Cantos III-V).<sup>364</sup> Preachers often interwove the story of Ishmael’s sacrifice into the *khuṭba* for ‘īd al-’aḍḥā (Jones 2012, 103). The “Feast of Sacrifice” designates the culmination of *ḥaġġ* on the tenth day of the month *Dū l-ḥiġġa*. Referred to as “pascua de los carneros” in some Aljamiado texts, the celebration entails ritual sacrifice of animals and distribution of meat among the poor (*Glosario* 460-1; Jones 2012, 103).

The account of Ishmael’s sacrifice in *La degüella* derives from *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (see al-Tha‘labī 154-161). God informs Abraham of his duty through a series of dreams. After

<sup>362</sup> See Ms. Urrea de Jalón, fols. 112v-117r (Corriente 189-94); Ms. 5313 BNE, fols. 112r-133r; Ms. J-8 CSIC, fols. 21v-25; Ms. J-9 CSIC, fols. 73-7; Ms. II /3226 Biblioteca Real (fols. 82v-93); Leg. 237, n. 3072 del Archivo de Cuenca. Harvey (1981) compares the latter to an Arabic version in Ms. 5251 BNE.

<sup>363</sup> Vincent Barletta has analyzed prose versions of Ishmael’s sacrifice in three insightful publications (2004; 2005, 111-132; 2006).

<sup>364</sup> Both BRAH 11/9409 and Ms. J-25 employ *aljamía*. Ms. J-25 measures 20 cm by 15 cm and is comprised of 184 folios.

sacrificing a camel, cow, and a lamb, the prophet learns Ishmael must die. Without disclosing his intentions to Hagar, Abraham commands her to bathe their son and anoint him with musk (“almizqui”) in preparation for ritual slaughter (Ms. 1574, fol. 4v).<sup>365</sup> As Abraham and Ishmael begin their trek into the wilderness, the “*axeytan*<sup>366</sup> maldito” tries to frighten the boy under various guises: first as an elderly man, then as a bird, and then as a resonant voice that emanates from the mountain (Ms. 1574, fol. 6r). Despite the devil’s efforts to dissuade Ishmael, Abraham begins to carry out the sacrifice of his willing victim. After four thwarted attempts to slit Ishmael’s throat, Archangel Gabriel arrives and apprises Abraham of his achievement: the prophet demonstrated his pious devotion and may now sacrifice a ram in Ishmael’s stead. Father and son return to Hagar, whereupon Ishmael reveals the sequence of events to his mother.

### From Prose to Verse

The account of Ishmael’s sacrifice in Ms. J-25 CSIC arises within a sermon titled “*Alkhuṭba* de la pascua de las *adaheas*” (fol. 100v). “*Adahea*,” from Arabic *aḍ-ḍaḥiyya* (pl. *ḍaḥāyā*), means sacrifice (*Glosario* 23). Mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, the oratorical genre of *khuṭba* (pl. *khuṭab*) designates “a formal, public, dignified, and rhetorically embellished speech delivered by a speaker who is usually standing upon an elevated place for ceremonial, ritual, or otherwise momentous occasions” (Jones 2012, 15). The *khuṭba* in Ms. J-25 follows a

<sup>365</sup> Arabic: *al-misk*; Spanish: *almizcle*.

<sup>366</sup> “*Axeytan*,” from Arabic *aš-šayṭān*, refers to Satan, also known as *Iblīs*. In several *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, the devil first tempts Hagar, then Ishmael and Abraham, whereas *La degüella* relates *Iblīs*’s attempts to manipulate Ishmael three times (al-Ṭabarī in Vespertino 1983, 22; al-Thaʿlabī 160-2).

series of Qur'ānic chapters; it precedes two more sermons that culminate with a final exhortation, or “pedricación” (fol. 174r).<sup>367</sup>

After an explication of commandments and religious duties for nearly fifty folios, the *khutba* pivots to the momentous celebration at hand: *‘īd al-’adḥā*. Apostrophic address initiates the thematic transition: “Siervos de Allāh. Allāh á purificado vuestro día aqueste i la puesto pascua i aplegamiento<sup>368</sup> a los muçlimes” (Ms. J-25, fol. 125v). The following folios outline the correct realization and theological significance of ritual sacrifice. Muslims must imitate Abraham, invoking him in their supplication: “i diga *biçmi il-Lāhi wa Allāhu akbaru* ∴ Señor esta // es de tú y a tú Señor Allāh rreçíbelo de mī así como lo rreçebís de Ibrāhīm tu amigo y de Muḥammad tu *annabī*” (Ms. J-25, fols. 126v-127r).

The preacher urges listeners to cultivate discursive and somatic connections with their spiritual forefathers: “i sabed siervos de Allāh que vuestro día aqueste es // grande i es pascua onrrada ya lo puso Allāh señal de los señale[s] de vuestro *addīn* y es el día aquel que onrró Allāh vuestra regla<sup>369</sup> i espeçialó con su *alfaḍīla* a vuestro *annabī* Muḥammad *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*” (Ms. J-25, fols. 128v-129r). Second-person plural possessives include the audience in *‘īd al-’adḥā*: this is “your (your all’s) day,” “your faith,” “your religion,” and “your prophet.” After direct address to listeners, the narrative of Ishmael’s sacrifice commences on fol. 130r and continues for thirty-six folios. Attributed to traditionalist Ibn ‘Abbās, the account begins with the interchange between Abraham and the Angel of Death, “Malaku almawte” (Ms. J-25, fol.

<sup>367</sup> The second sermon is titled “*Alkhutba para la-alğum ‘a*” or sermon for Friday prayer (fol. 148v); the third, “*Alkhutba de la pascua de Ramaḍān*” (fol. 154r). The “pedricación de la noche del *leilat al-qadri*” is also related to a particular occasion, the Night of Power.

<sup>368</sup> Ayuntamiento, reunión (*Glosario* 109); literally, a coming together.

<sup>369</sup> Religión, ley canónica (*Glosario* 510).



130v).<sup>370</sup> A quotative verb indexes the story's entextualization: "i dīšo ibnu 'Abbās cuando quiso Allāh—*tabāraka wa ta 'ālā* [Exalted is He] tan bendito es su nonbre él-es nuestro Señor i nuestro percurador—tomar a Ibrāhīm // por amigo..." (fols. 130r-v).<sup>371</sup>

The *khuṭba*'s structure progresses from religious injunction, to ritual instruction, to narrative example. The latter arises within the sermon through a performative framework, as Barletta shows (2006, 527-8). Barletta highlights the passage that calls for observance of 'īd al-'aḍḥā, interpolates verses from *sūrah* 22, and ends with the Ibn 'Abbās citation:

[T]he shift from the direct discourse of the *Aljutba* ('Sabed, siervos de Allah...') to the narratives attributed to Ibn 'Abbas is buffered only by a translated portion of the Qur'an that deals with God's relationship with Abraham and the responsibilities placed upon the latter by the former. This portion is itself framed as a narrative in the first person... and, as such, the transition from this portion of the *Aljutba* to the narration of Ibn 'Abbas's stories regarding Abraham has an almost seamless appearance. In fact, the *Alhadith* and the story of the Angel of Death that precedes it begin to look more and more like glosses or commentaries on the Qur'anic text (2006, 528).

Barletta's remarks stress the interconnectivity of sermon and story. Live recitation, in particular, would reinforce the "seamless" transition Barletta intuit. The narrative's contextualization within a *khuṭba* not only links the account of sacrifice to listeners' religious practice, it also presents the story from an authoritative vantage point. If an *alfaquí* recited the sermon and attendant narrative elaboration within the prestigious framework Jones describes, the story would be subsumed in an official text and articulated with liturgical relevance. As such, Ishmael's sacrifice provides narrative grist to an exhortative mill.

The manuscript's physical layout both reinforces and tempers connections between sermon and story. Phrases such as "Fue rrecontado por el mensajero de Allāh," "dīšo annabī

<sup>370</sup> Arabic: *malak al-mawt*.

<sup>371</sup> 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (d. ca. 687) was a Sunni traditionalist and Muḥammad's cousin (*Glosario* 675). The account of sacrifice copied in BRAH 11/9409 elides the Angel of Death scene and does not cite a particular source (fol. 9v).

‘*aleyhi iṣṣalām*,’ and “*ḏīšo Allāh ‘azza wa jalla*” attribute the *khuṭba*’s content to Muḥammad and Allāh (Ms. J-25, fols. 122v; 124r; 107v). The copyist indicates quotatives with red ink. At times, only “*ḏīšo*” is written in red (e.g. fol. 108r; 124r); alternatively, only the subject receives this distinction (e.g. “*el mensajero de Allāh*” [fol. 118v]). In addition to keying the *isnād*, the use of red signals apostrophic appeals such as “*siervos de Allāh*” and “*sabeḏ siervos*” (fols. 108v; 126r; 128v). The title is also redacted in red ink, as are repetitions of “*Allāhu akbaru*” throughout the *khuṭba* (e.g. fols. 104r; 106v; 112r; 121v). Finally, among the enumerated Islamic precepts, the copyist pens “*fazer al-ḥaj*” and “*fazeḏ al-jihād*” in red ink, though he writes other injunctions in black (fol. 111r-v). These could have served as a preacher’s guide.

The scribe copies “*Y ḏīšo ibnu ‘Abbās*” in red ink, aligning the story’s *isnād* with previous quotatives in the *khuṭba*. Yet unlike previous sections in the sermon, in which nearly every folio features red ink, the narrative itself displays only black ink. After the *isnād*, the scribe foregoes red ink until the following text’s title (Ms. J-25, fol. 147v). Perhaps practical issues—dwindling resources or temporary unavailability—inspired the scribe’s sudden conservatism. Nonetheless, Catherine Bell’s observations remind us that texts are not reflective surfaces of reality. Bell argues that too often “we approach the text as a formulation, representation, or expression of its context” (368). Favoring texts’ reflective possibilities limits our ability to perceive their constitutive functions: “By viewing the text as an entity that merely expresses a particular perspective on its time, we may miss how the text is *an actor* in those times” (Bell 368; emphasis in original). Regardless of whether the lack of adornment reflects practical contingencies or the copyist’s predilections, the manuscript’s physical disposition plays a fundamental role in shaping readers’ attitudes and performers’ recitations.

A manuscript's physical layout can help or hinder performance. In the *khuṭba*, the color red provides a visual placeholder, reminding a reciter to emphasize an idea and allowing them to keep abreast of the text's unfolding. Manicules also serve this purpose throughout the manuscript (e.g. fol. 161r; 119v). In the narrative, on the other hand, the absence of distinctive coloring, differentiated pen widths, or punctuation marks could hinder fluid recitation. If an *alfaquí* relied on the text as a performance aid, it would be easy to lose his place in over thirty folios of visually homogeneous content.<sup>372</sup>

These reflections shed light on *La degüella*'s recontextualization. The story in Ms. J-25 CSIC is embedded in layers of citation. As noted above in relation to the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf*, in Arabic texts the verb *qāla* ("he said") often indexes an *isnād*. We observe vestiges of this tradition throughout the text's consistent recourse to "dixo." For example, when the Angel of Death (*Malaku almawti*) enters Abraham's house, the startled prophet mistakes him for an intruder:

I **ḏiṣole**: '¿quién te á dētraḏo en mi casa dē sin mi liçençia?'// I **ḏiṣole** *Malaku almawti*: ∴ 'á me dētraḏo el Señor dē la casa i él que la crió.' **Ḍiṣo** a él Ibrāhīm: 'pues, ¿cómo a mi casa ay otro dēueño sin sé yo?' **Ḍiṣole** *Malaku almawti*: ∴ 'si yā Ibrāhīm aquel que me á khaleqado a mī i te á khaleqado a tú es el Señor dēlla.' **Ḍiṣo**: 'verdaḏ dizes, apiáḏete Allāh' (Ms. J-25, fols. 131r-v).<sup>373</sup>

I have bolded the quotatives in the foregoing passage to highlight their ubiquity. Similarly, when the devil ("*Iblīs*") approaches Ishmael disguised as an elderly man, their conversation hinges on quotatives:

I **ḏiṣole**: ¿adónde va tu padre con tú? **Ḍiṣo** a él: 'a partiḏa dē sus menesteres que l-an veniḏo a él.' I **ḏiṣo** a él Iblīs maldīgalo Allāh: 'sábete que llega tu padre que te quiere degollar el día dē oy.' I **ḏiṣole**: 'yā viejo, e así ¿as visto tú padre que deguella a su fiḓo dē sin dērecho? I

<sup>372</sup> The scribe sprinkles triangulated dot punctation marks throughout the narrative, though the miniscule points appear infrequently (e.g. fols. 142r; 142v; 144v).

<sup>373</sup> The letter "*shīn*" without *shaddah* produces "s" instead of "x." Without a shaddah, when the letter "*shīn*" corresponds to the sound 'x' it is transcribed as 'š.'

**dīšo** a él Iblīs maldīgalo Allāh: ‘allega tu padre que Allāh tan bendito es i tan-alto se lo á mandado aquello’ (Ms. J-25, fol. 138r).

Dialogue volleys back and forth through framed discursive interventions. As we observed in the *Hadīth*, the verb “dijo” can confer authority on characters that supplant recognized transmitters.

At the same time, the profusion of “he said” can encumber narrative pacing. Exhaustive quotation may bolster a text’s authority, but it can also limit the audience’s ability to become immersed in the storyline. It becomes difficult to experience the forest when each tree is cited.

*La degüella*, in contrast, begins *in media res* without an *isnād*. Centered at the top of the folio, the poem’s title “Esta es la degüella de Ybrahim *aleyçalem*” frames the ensuing text as a coherent, bounded entity (Ms. 1574, fol. 1r). The first verses envelop listeners in a dramatic reenactment without deictic clues or attributions. *La degüella* commences with the interaction between God and the Angel of Death before the latter’s visit to Abraham:

Azarayel<sup>374</sup> que entendió  
Malacalmauti es un hombre  
lo que Allah tiene orrdonado  
con umildad preguntó:  
‘Ye mi Allah, si seré yo  
que tal rrecepta guiar  
del arroh y ejir<sup>375</sup>  
del tanbién alçançó.’<sup>376</sup>

El Señor le rrespondió:  
‘Tal rrecepta abrás  
y tú lo consolarás  
con bista muy plazentera  
aplégalo de manera  
que tome plaçer contigo  
que lo tengo por amigo

<sup>374</sup> Approximation of Arabic ‘*Azrā’īl*, the Angel of Death (*Glosario* 647).

<sup>375</sup> *Arroh* signifies Arabic *ar-rūh*, or spirit. The redaction of this word is ambiguous. If it is “ejir,” as I’ve transcribed, it could approximate Arabic *ajr*, a reward or recompense. *Ajr* is used over one hundred times in the Qur’ān; Aljamiado manuscripts often employ the translation *gualardón*.

<sup>376</sup> The poem is replete with reported speech. I have added punctuation to aid comprehension. I also capitalize proper nouns uncapitalized in the manuscript.

pues en serbirme se enplea' (fol. 1r).

"Preguntó" and "respondió" scaffold the dialogue between Allāh and the Angel of Death.

Without ado, *La degüella* submerges the audience in the present of narration. Concision and variation supplant repetitive documentation, as seen in Ishmael's conversion with the devil:

Como Yzmael caminaba  
detrás de su padre amado  
llegó Ebliz [*Iblīs*] desemulado  
con el niño rrazonaba:

'Tu padre, ¿a dó te llebaba  
a dó ba por esta tierra  
de aspera cruda y fiera  
que mucho te fatigaba?' (fol. 5v).

The poem maintains rhyme (*abba:acca*) by varying the quotative. Aligned with "camnaba," "llebaba," and "fatigaba," the verb "razonaba" alters the temporal and semantic value of "dijo." Paradoxically, constraints of rhyme and meter expand the poem's lexical landscape. In another example, the "llamador" informs Abraham: "segunda bez le abisaba: / 'Ybrahim, dexa a tu hijo / sobré-l no tengas letijo / toma lo que Allah te daba" (fol. 10r). "Avisaba," rhyming with "daba," enriches the portrayal of character interactions. Alternatives to "dijo" frame speech through distinct valences: characters do not only "say," they reason, advise, ask, plead, and respond. Rhyming quotatives also prove advantageous for performers. *Alfaquíes* could have memorized Ishmael's story more expediently when it was expressed with mnemonic patterns.

In some cases, *La degüella* eschews the use of quotatives altogether. The poem privileges action over informative scope. Keeping in mind that punctuation is my addition, consider the following passage:

El niño le preguntó:  
'Madre, lo que as hecho çierto  
lo hazen a qualquier muerto  
no sé quién te lo mandó.'

‘Hijo de mi coraçón,  
tu padre me lo dixera  
por esa causa lo hiziera  
no se çiera [*cierta*] su intención.’

‘Tienes, Madre, obligaçión  
de azer su mandamiento  
y cunplir su ynpidimiento  
su boluntad y intençión.’ (Ms. 1574, fols. 4v-5r).

The absence of framing verbs and punctuation might cause a reader consternation. On the other hand, when animated for a live audience, we can imagine a performer adopting distinct character voices to indicate shifts in the speaking subject. Indeed, it becomes incumbent upon the reciter to embody invisible shifts in dialogue. Rather than prefacing Hagar’s speech with “dijo,” an *alfaquí* could alter his body position or vocal pitch. In the following excerpt, the lack of written transition between Abraham and ‘Azrā’īl’s speech necessitates a shift in intonation or somatic position in order to distinguish between characters. In lieu of a performer’s rendition, I offer punctuation to facilitate comprehension:

‘Aunque es dulce tu hablar  
y agradable a lo que suena  
a mí causas muy gran pena  
solamente con mirar.

Las carnes me azes tinblar  
mi cuerpo está sin sosiego  
y está como bibo fuego  
que lo puede esto ca[u]sar.’

‘Yo soy el despartidor  
de las grandes conpañías  
de plazerres y alegrías  
soy contino rrobador.

Yo soy aquel poblador  
de fuesas y çimenterios  
no hagas o más ynproperios  
[d]al rrey que al baxo pastor’ (fol. 2r).

Similar to the *Ḥadīth de Yūçuf*, *La degüella* conveys dialogue in the present tense. The latter poem intensifies this effect by eliding quotatives; it demands dynamic performance in its very conception.

The absence of quotatives hastens discursive pace and fosters dramatic performance.<sup>377</sup> *La degüella* also compels listeners' attention with an intelligible linguistic register. Whereas Ms. J-25 employs verbs such as “esbolodrear” and “derrinklir,” to palpitate and to submit oneself, respectively, the poem elides archaisms (*Glosario* 257; 201). For instance, after assuming the guises of elderly man and bird, the frustrated devil ascends the mountain for his last hurrah. Ms. J-25 describes: “se desfeozó Iblīs el maldīto de Ibrāhīm i de Içmā‘īl i no puđo sobrellos con *alhelas*” (fol. 140r). From Arabic root *ḥā’-wāw-lām*, to change or transform, *ḥīlah* (pl: *ḥiyal* or *aḥāyīl*) denotes a trick or ruse, as well as a shift. The application of *ḥīlah* to the devil's manipulative disguises capitalizes on the word's polysemantic connotations. The verb *desfeuzar*, to become desperate or to lose faith, and Arabism “*alhelas*” capture Iblīs's reaction with eloquence and erudition (*Glosario* 206).

Nonetheless, such terms may have hindered listeners' comprehension, especially in the early seventeenth century. A live audience could miss the nuance of words such as “*alhelas*”; listeners might struggle to grasp passages in which Arabic-inflected syntax shrouds meaning: “enpero derrinklite yā fijo al juzgo de Allāh pues tan bien aventurađo de tú si tú es *alqurben* rreçebiđo delante del Señor [thus, submit yourself, oh my son, to God's will; you will be blessed if God receives you as a sacrifice]” (Ms. J-25, fol. 140r). The command “derrinklite” comes from

<sup>377</sup> Similarly, whereas in many Aljamiado and Arabic texts requisite words of praise follow the names of God and prophets (e.g. *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*, *‘azza wa jalla*, and *tabāraka wa ta ‘ālā*) the poem eliminates the customary addresses. The narrative in Ms. J-25 includes such phrases sparingly, though they are still present (e.g. “Allāh tan bendito es y tan alto” [fol. 138r; 146r]; Allāh *ta ‘ālā* and Allāh *tabāraka wa ta ‘ālā* [fols. 138v; 130r]).

the verb *derelinquir*; derived from Latin, it means to abandon or submit oneself to.<sup>378</sup> In Aljamiado texts, the expression “derrinclar al juzgo de Allāh” corresponds to the Arabic verb “*aslama*” (Q 37:103). *Alqurben* refers to Arabic *al-qurbān* (pl: *qarābīn*), a sacrifice or offering. As Massi notes, the root *qāf-rā’-bā’* indicates nearness, “indicating that ‘sacrifice’ is understood primarily as a means of drawing closer to God” (*The Study Quran* 290).

*La degüella* incorporates a similar register with straightforward syntax. The poem’s expression is tremendously lucid in comparison to the complexities cited above. For instance, *La degüella* describes the devil’s actions: “Pensando los enduzir / el malo del *axeytan* / lleno de invidia y de afán / al monte se fue a subir” (Ms. 1574, fol. 6r). Whereas Ms. J-25 conveys Abraham’s instruction to Ishmael with the phrase “enpero derrinklite yā fijo al juzgo de Allāh,” the poem relays:

Sepas que mandó Allāh  
que tú seas sacrificado  
y en su serbiçio y mandado  
y açercado a su deydad.

Y nos dará de berdad  
a los dos mas gualardón  
que quantos naçido son  
que no se podrá [en]umerar (fol. 7r).

In another scene, Ishmael refers an “*alcurben*,” rather than *sacirificio* (fol. 6v). Incorporated Arabic terms are contextualized within the story’s theme, put into comprehensible verse, and easily staged in live performance, as seen in the description of Ishmael’s sacrifice: “No dilató en lo tomar / cara al *quibla* se bolbió / diziendo lo degolló / *vizmiylehi Allāh huaqbar*” and “con

<sup>378</sup> The Nuevo Diccionario Histórico documents *derelinquir* in fifteenth-century Latin dictionaries as well as seventeenth-century Baroque poetry. In Ms. J-25, the verb is also applied to Abraham, who, by attempting to sacrifice his son, “derrinklióse al juzgo de Allāh” (fols. 143v; 144v). In extant Aljamiado texts, “derrinclar” is often accompanied by “al juzgo de Allāh” or “a la justicia de Allāh” (e.g. Ms. BNF 397, fol. 43r).



*bizmiylehi* començó / diciendo *Allāhuaquebar* / enpeçó de degollar / al hijo que engendró” (Ms. 1574, fol. 10v; 8r). Throughout *La degüella*, standardized and direct expression facilitate listeners’ comprehension. By increasing the fluidity of performance through lexical variation and direct expression, the poem fosters interactive involvement in the narrative.

To be sure, “direct” does not connote “unpoetic” or “low caliber.” The poem evinces rich intertextuality with Aljamiado translations of *qışaş al-anbiyā’*, such as the passage in which Gabriel sends a ram to sacrifice in Ishmael’s stead that features a metonymic description of the ram’s age: “Sa’īd b. Jubayr and others have said, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, that the ram came to Abraham from the Garden, having pastured there for forty autumns” (al-Tha’labī 159).<sup>379</sup> Comparably, in *La degüella*:

La deydad soberana  
mandó que baya Jebril  
por un carnero jentil  
a los prados del *aljana*.

Aquel que su blanca lana  
rresplandeçe en las rriberas  
que quarenta primaberas  
paçió por su bega llana (Ms. 1574, fol. 10r).

*La degüella* reconciles traditional sources, heterogeneous voices, and literary conventions with practical demands. Dressing *qışaş al-anbiyā’* in poetic garb aids both listeners and reciters. Expedited pace, intelligible linguistic terms, and enhanced dramatism convey “stories of the unseen” in compelling terms. Until now, Ms. J-25 has constituted the fulcrum of our comparative analysis. Contrasting prose and verse reveals *La degüella*’s subordination of attribution and Arabisms to performative ease. Whereas the absence of visual directives in Ms. J-25’s prose

<sup>379</sup> As al-Ṭabarī relates: “the ram which Abraham sacrificed had grazed in the Garden for forty years” (95).

narrative could hinder fluid recitation, *La degüella*'s compact stanzas and rhymed verses enhance it. As discussed in the previous chapter, texts that employ the Latin script instead of *aljamía* could facilitate performance. If they had not memorized a text, *alfaquíes* could more easily diffuse texts aloud when unencumbered by the hurdle of transliteration. *La degüella*'s physical manifestation thus reinforces its rhetorical expression.

Though it is impossible to determine from which texts (manuscripts) the author (scribe) of *La degüella* derived his poem (copy), reading the poem alongside *Alkhuṭba de la pascua de las aḍaḥeas* the poetic recontextualization's critical divergences. Ostensive parallels with Muhammad Rabadán's *Discurso de la luz*, particularly the third through fifth *cantos* of *La historia tercera*, suggest that *La degüella* was woven from various textual wefts and warps.<sup>380</sup>

Before juxtaposing selections from *Discurso de la luz* and *La degüella*, it is necessary to address a critical appraisal of the former poem. Zuwiyya underscores *Discurso de la luz*'s readability in comparison to the Aljamiado *Libro de la luz*, contending that Rabadán elided Arabic names and Aragonese terms in order to "bring the *Libro de las luces* closer to his readers than *aljamía* permitted" (2003, 97). Zuwiyya analyzes salient rhetorical transformations of al-Bakrī's text previously unexamined by scholars. Nonetheless, I disagree with the sharp line drawn between "medieval Arabic sources" and "the literary, religious, and philosophical currents that characterized the Golden Age of Spanish letters" (2003, 94). The shift from *aljamía* to Latin script and medieval to Golden Age literature is characterized in terms of an ascension: Rabadán

<sup>380</sup> Rabadán himself recontextualized al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-anwār* and the poem evokes intertextual ties with multiple sources. Zuwiyya compares sections of *Discurso de la luz* to a copy of *Libro de las luces* preserved in the Urrea de Jalón manuscript; he demonstrates correspondences between Rabadán's account of Ishmael and al-Bakrī's description of 'Abd Allāh (Muḥammad's father), offered as sacrifice by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather (2003, 81-2; Corriente 123-30). 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib promises God that if he is granted ten sons he will sacrifice one of them (Corriente 124).

transforms uncritical adherence to Arabic originals into creative adaptations of early modern literary currents.

This contrast construes an implicit subordination of a uniform medieval literary culture to an early modern literary apogee. For instance, Zuwiyya suggests: “The transformation of Aragonese forms into Castilian can be interpreted as an important indicator of the author’s push *to lift* the literature of the Moriscos out of its medieval mold and *up to* the level of the dominant literature of the age” (2003, 87; my emphasis). Moreover, Aljamiado is characterized as an obstacle to overcome: “Once Rabadán had made the decision not to write in Aljamiado, there was nothing constraining him from carrying the literature of the Moriscos out of its medieval Arabic roots and into the literary currents of the Golden Age” (2003, 97).

Aljamiado poems redacted by Mudejars and Moriscos throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also display meaningful interactions with coeval literature, including poetic supplications that employ *arte menor* and the *Ḥadīth de Yūṣuf*. As I noted in Chapter 4, the critical tendency to attribute exemplarity to Rabadán, undoubtedly an erudite and talented author, can impute an inferior, homogenized status to other Aljamiado works. Zuwiyya’s examination nonetheless contributes to a fruitful dialogue: *why* did Moriscos versify prose texts? Why did they do so at the turn of the century?

Despite comparable shifts in linguistic register from prose predecessors, *Discurso de la luz* and *La degüella* entail distinct ends. Attending to discrete processes in both poems highlights the insufficiency of vocabulary we employ to describe genres. Variations between *Discurso de la luz* and *La degüella* defy the etic lines drawn to classify Morisco “poetry.”

Just as the *Sermón* and the *Canto de las lunas del año* displayed remarkable similarities, shared details between Rabadan's *Discurso de la luz* and *La degüella de Ibrāhīm* seem too close for coincidence, as evident in the juxtaposition of opening scenes:

<i>Discurso de la luz</i>	<i>La degüella de Ibrāhīm</i>
<p>~ <b>baxó</b> el fuerte <b>Azarayel</b> y así se adorna y conpone <b>que</b> no se <b>bido</b> almalaque en todas las tronaçiones tan gallardo y tan hermoso tan colmado de favores ~ <b>su</b> rostro <b>alindado</b> y bello como rosa entre las flores <b>su</b> bestidura preciosa con muchos laços y bordes <b>su lengua</b> dulce amorosa <b>sus</b> ojos como dos soles ~ <b>su</b> abla amorosa y grata <b>sus</b> palabras y raçones compuestas y açucaradas con <b>almizcados olores</b> umilde afable graçioso ~ // Dando tales resplandores que al çielo dexó admirado con todos sus moradores <b>entró por casa de Hibrahim</b> que sobre todos los hombres <b>era çeloso</b> y estaba descuydado y luego diole las nuebas del nuevo guésped sus muy fragantes olores bolvióse al olor y biendo dentro en su cara aquel hombre le pregunta algo alterado: 'amigo, dime ¿por dónde dentraste dentro en mi casa <b>sin mi liçençia</b> y mi orden?' '<b>El que es Señor de la casa,</b> Malaculmaute <b>responde</b>, 'me á <b>mandado</b> que dentrara' (Ms. 251 BNF, fols. 50r-v).</p>	<p>luego <b>Azarayel baxó</b> del çielo y su grand altura en la más linda figura <b>que</b> pienso jamás se <b>bio</b> las rropas que deçendió de muy estrañas labores con apaçibles loores quen tal caso probió.</p> <p><b>Su</b> bista muy apazible que se podía ymajinar <b>su lengua</b> para hablar agradable y conbenible <b>su</b> presençia tan horrible <b>su</b> persona <b>halindada</b> muy hermosa y bien tallada no puesta nada terrible.</p> <p><b>En casa de Ybrahim entraba</b> y sabed que <b>era çeloso</b> Ybrahim y sospechoso por su muger que la amaba y como por casa andaba el <b>olor de almizque</b> olió y en aquello estante bio aquel que en su casa andaba.</p> <p>Y con enojo dezía: 'ermano, ¿quién te mandó entrar dónde yo esto[y] <b>sin tener liçencia mía?</b>'</p> <p>Zarayel con alegría <b>rrespondió</b> muy a la rrasa '<b>El ques Señor de la casa</b> lo <b>mandó</b> y yo así lo azía' (Ms. 1574, fols. 1r-v).<sup>381</sup></p>

<sup>381</sup> I've added punctuation to both texts and highlighted shared language in bold.

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In addition to vocabulary, the texts share poetic resources. The author of *La degüella* evokes Rabadán's predilection for anaphora with the repetition of "su," highlighted above. A similar case arises when the Angel of Death emphatically utters "yo soy" in both poems (Ms. 1574, fol. 2r; Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 51r).

Conspicuous intertextuality persists throughout the compositions. When 'Azrā'īl's intrusion causes the prophet to faint from fright, Rabadán relates: "Causó en Hibrahim tal pasmo / la abla presençia y nombre / que por espaçio de **un ora** / falto de aliento **aturdióse**" (Ms. 251, fol. 51v). In *La degüella* we read: "Y quedó tan **atordido** / del espanto que cobró / que más de **un ora** pasó / que no bolbió en su sentido" (Ms. 1574, fol. 2r).<sup>382</sup> Later, the Angel of Death startles Abraham when he discloses God's special blessing. As described in the *Discurso de la luz*:

Cayó Hibrahim **acaxhedado**<sup>383</sup>  
**dando graçias** y lohaçiones  
**al Señor** que quiso darle  
tan superlatibos dones  
**dos oras largas estubo**  
en su **acaxda y lebantóse**  
más ya **no halló** al mensagero  
que por dó bino boluióse (Ms. 251, fol. 52v).

In *La degüella*, the prophet comparably:

[...]  
se echó en tierra **azajedado**

y **estubiera** así postrado  
**bien dos horas** sin çesar  
de contino **graçias dar**

<sup>382</sup> The account in Ms. J-25 eschews temporal specifics: "cayó Ibrāhīm amorteçido" when the Angel of Death states his name (fol. 132r).

<sup>383</sup> Alternative spelling of *aççajdar* (from Arabic *sīn-ġīm-dāl*).

**al Señor** que la formado

Y como **se lebantó**  
de la **açajeda** en que **estaba**  
Azareyel **no hallara**  
porque se desapareció (Ms. 1574, fol. 3r).<sup>384</sup>

Poetic resemblances reveal the circulation of textual resources. The foregoing pages reveal notable similarities between *La degüella* and *Discurso de la luz*. Let us now inquire into how, and the thornier corollary of *why*, the former departs from the latter.

Rabadán's imprint on *La degüella* waxes and wanes. Though certain passages share lexicon, after the third folio (Ms. 1574, fol. 3v) the correspondences begin to ebb.<sup>385</sup> Rabadán inserts contemplative musings into climactic moments. For instance, when Abraham realizes he must sacrifice Ishmael, the lyric voice begins a fifty-verse meditation (Ms. 251, fols. 54v-55r).

The aside concludes:

o piadoso y gran Señor  
si acaso dan de soslayo  
nuestros baxos pensamientos  
mira que somos criados  
de materia dó se ençierra  
quatro grandes aduersarios  
y no es mucho que desbara  
nuestro ser frágil y umano  
en tan ocultos misterios  
como nos bas enseñando  
en su historia deste justo  
que al presente boy contando (Ms. 251, fol. 55r).

Supplication to God interweaves story and prayer into the poetic present. Metapoetic commentary accentuates the text's artificiality. A first-person voice controls the *historia*'s

<sup>384</sup> Once again, Ms. J-25 leaves temporal ambiguity: "Y cayó Ibrāhīm açajedado...y mantuvo Ibrāhīm sobre aquello tienpo largo // faziendo *aşala* de noche y *dayunando* de día" (fols. 133r-v).

<sup>385</sup> An exception is the concluding scene with Hagar; shared vocabulary includes "reçebir," "sosegar," "y como benir los vio," "abraçar", and "satisfaçer" and "reçeló" (Ms. 1574, fol. 11r; Ms. 251 BNF, fols. 63v-64r).

unfolding and highlights its immediacy (“que al presente boy contando”). The unexpected intervention wrenches readers’ attention away from the narrative and obliges a critical consideration of the moment’s relevance.

Whereas Rabadán expands discursive space, the author of *La degüella* opts for concision: Abraham “muy alterado” rouses from his nightmare and the action resumes without comment (Ms. 1574, fol. 4r). In another example, Rabadán includes an extensive rendition of one of Abraham’s prayers (fols. 61r-v), whereas *La degüella* merely alludes to it:

Más como Ybrahim sintió  
la pacençia y umildad  
del hijo azer *açala*  
un poco se desbió

más como lo concluyó  
tomara el niño en sus braços  
y sin poner enbaraços  
en el suelo lo tendió (Ms. 1574, fol. 7v).

*La degüella* pares the story down to its narrative essentials. Disregarding reflections in *Discurso de la luz*, the author of *La degüella* seems to prefer succinct description. The poem relays the critical details of Ishmael’s sacrifice without preamble or interruption. In fact, the lyric voice does not intervene until the final verses, for reasons I will now address.

Comparing the *Alkhuṭba de la pascua de las adaheas* (Ms. J-25) with Rabadán’s “Prólogo al creyente lector” sheds light on the sudden arrival of first-person expression in *La degüella*. The sermon closes with a collective *du ‘ā’*. After describing Hagar’s apprehension, without a visual or discursive transition, the *khuṭba* launches into supplication. The narrative ends with “i su mandamiento” in reference to Hagar, and the verb “aprovechar” begins the prayer:

i acontentóse Hāğara su madre [entonce+] con-el juzgo de Allāh i su mandamiento  
aprovéjenos [aprovéchenos] Allāh a mí y-a vosotros con l-*alqur’ān* grande i con las *aleas* i

el nonbramiento çiente<sup>386</sup> i líbrenos a mí i-a vosotros por su piadaḍ del *al-ʿaḍeb*<sup>387</sup> doloroso i ajúntenos a mí i-a vosotros debašo de // la seña de nuestro *annabī* Muḥammad el-onrado ḍigo mi ḍīcho este i con-él os pedriko i demando perdón aḍa Allāh para mí i para vosotros i para toḍos los muḥlimes i muḥlīmās i creyentes i creyentas quel es el [*que Él es el*] perdonador piadoso él-es el vivo no ay Señor sino él pues rrogadlo puramente a él-es el-*addīn* las loores son aḍa Allāh Señor de toḍas las cosas (Ms. J-25, fols. 148r-v).

The conclusion, albeit abrupt, allows the preacher to articulate his role as facilitator of God’s blessing. It appears the scribe began to write “entonces,” after “acontentóse Hāgara su madre” as if to add more narrative details. Instead, he closes with the benediction. Syntactical parallelism structures the *alfaqui*’s petition: “aprovéchenos Allāh a mí y-a vosotros”; “líbrenos a mí i-a vosotros”; “ajúntenos a mí i-a vosotros.” After asking for religious insight from Qur’ānic verses, freedom from punishment, and Muḥammad’s protection, the supplicant requests divine forgiveness for the present audience and the entire *ummah*. Though the religious leader includes listeners in his prayer, the phrase “ḍigo mi ḍīcho este i con-él os pedriko” reiterates his exclusive relationship to the text. “Digo mi dicho” accentuates textual possession; the sermon belongs to the preacher.

The phrase “ḍigo mi ḍīcho este i con-él os pedriko” connects sermon and story. “Mi dicho” encompasses both *khuṭba* and narrative, effectively reifying the tenuous connection established by the brief citation of Ibn ‘Abbās before. Finally, after modeling supplication, the preacher enjoins listeners to do the same. The command “rrogad” emphasizes the text’s exhortative disposition. It is not uncommon for *khuṭab* to end with *ad-ʿiya*. As Jones expounds: “Their intention as culminating clauses is to go beyond the preaching event and to achieve coexistence between the mythic past and the contemporary audience” (2012, 106). In the case of

<sup>386</sup> “El nonbramiento çiente” could refer to the pronouncing of wisdom or to wise pronouncements.

<sup>387</sup> Arabic *al-ʿaḍāb*: punishment, pain, or torment (*Glosario* 45).



Ms. J-25, the *du 'ā'* bridges message and moment; it links Ishmael's sacrifice to the present of recitation. The prayer reincorporates the "siervos de Allāh" addressed at the beginning of the *khuṭba*, yet ignored throughout the subsequent narrative.

*La degüella*'s final stanzas accomplish similar functions. After referring to the "dibino favor" that granted "consuelo" to Hagar, verses connect the story of Abraham to *'īd al-'aḏḥā*:

Pues bin[o] la re[m]isión  
por sec[re]tos soberanos<sup>388</sup>  
para todos los umanos  
esta es la causa y razón

ser de mas beneraçión  
esta pascua y de balor  
y de *alfadila* major  
para la umana naçion (fol. 11v).

Reference to "esta pascua" reinforces the deictic grounding absent from the beginning. After complete engrossment in the story, listeners are ushered into the present through the transition from text to liturgical context. The poem underlines *'īd al-'aḏḥā*'s universal relevance for "todos los umanos" and "la umana naçion."

*La degüella* reimagines homiletic rhetoric, *ad'īya*, and poetic convention in the final stanzas, in which the lyric voice finally asserts itself:

Quiero dar fin a esta istoria,  
perdóneme lo que-erado [*he errado*]  
y a todos os ruego degrado  
que-este mundo es banigloria  
y pues a todos conbiene<sup>389</sup>  
obremos con claridad  
y así la suma bondad

<sup>388</sup> The verses are almost illegible due to folio damage. Between the two columns of text, the scribe (or somebody else?) writes "porque," "loor," and a few letters. The vertical orientation intersects with what appears to be a small *cenefa* of diamond-shaped design.

<sup>389</sup> It appears that the scribe inserted this verse retrospectively. It disrupts the rhyme scheme and is redacted in a smaller size.

nos dará a gozar la gloria (Ms. 1574, fol. 11v).

The poetic <<yo>> assumes discursive control. Similar to a preacher's claims of ownership (“*ḏigo mi ḏiḥo este y con-el os pedriko*”), the phrase “quiero dar fin a esta istoria” conveys textual responsibility. The account ends on the whims of an unspecified first-person agent. In contrast to pleas for forgiveness in Ms. J-25 (“*ḏemando perdón ada Allāh para mí i para vosotros*”), the lyric voice invokes the literary topos of asking compassion for shortcomings: “*perdóneme lo que he errado / y a todos os ruego degraded.*” Yet after assertions of agency and pleas for benevolence, the lyric voice slips into oratorical rhetoric. First-person plural expression includes the audience in collective exhortation: “*obremos con claridad / y así la suma bondad / nos dará a gozar la gloria.*”

Subsequent verses fend off anticipated praise and underscore the poem's oral transmission:

Desta obra nadi arguya  
alaben della al autor  
más den graçias [a nuestro] al Señor  
porque çierto es obra suya.

Pido al oyente no huya  
más rruegue ada Allāh soberano  
que me tenga de su mano  
y en su serbiçio concluya (fol. 11v).

The copyist crosses out first-person plural possessive “a nuestro” and instead writes impersonal “al Señor,” perhaps due to syllabic restrictions. Attributing the composition to “nuestro Señor” (albeit subconsciously) simulates public supplication. The lyric voice implores the listener to supplicate God (“*mas rruegue ada Allāh soberano / que me tenga de su mano*”), yet unlike the unspecific command “rrogad” in the *khuṭba*, here the verb is linked to a particular request. The

audience's active role will enable the reciter to finish his duty. Associated with *ad'īya*, the verb “rogar” is now applied to poetic practice.

The last stanza echoes *ad'īya* and oral benedictions:

Mujer hijos y parientes  
y el autor que esto á sacado  
perdone Allah su pecado  
y al leydor y a los oyentes  
Allah el Señor de las jentes  
por su bondad soberana  
nos dá a gozar l-*aljana*  
Emin ya todos los oyentes.  
*Al hamdu llille hi erabile alamina*<sup>390</sup> (fol. 11v).

These verses recall colophons of various Aljamiado texts. For instance, the *ad'īya* compilation cited in Chapter 3 states: “Perdone Allāh o su *escribidor* emīn y-a su *leidor* emīn y-a su *escuchador* emīn y-a todos los muçlimes i muçlimas y-a todos los creyentes i creyentas emīn yā *rabi* [*rabbi*] *il-ālamīna*” (Ms. J-52, fol. 575r; my emphasis). Similarly, at the end of a *waṣīyya* in Ms. J-4 (CSIC) we read: “Perdone Allah a su *screbidor* y a su *leidor* y a su *escuchador*, *āmīn*. Y a todos los muçlīmes y muçlīmas, vivos y muertos, *āmīn*. *Yā Raba al- 'ālamīna*” (qtd. in Kadri II, 173; my emphasis).

The colophons appeal for the forgiveness of writing, reading, and listening subjects. Asking forgiveness for the “*escribidor*”/“*screbidor*”, “*leidor*,” and “*escuchador*” in both Aljamiado texts parallels *La degüella*'s supplications on behalf of the “autor,” “leydor” and “oyentes.” As these quotes insinuate, “*leidor*”/“*leydor*” refers to a text's reciter, more so than a silent reader.<sup>391</sup> Whereas an *escribidor* denotes the manuscript's scribe, *autor* conveys creative

<sup>390</sup> Approximation of Q 1:2: *alḥamdu l-llāhi rabbi l-ālamina*.

<sup>391</sup> The *Glosario* defines *leidor* as “leedor, lector, recitador” (388). Kadri deems the *leedor* or *leidor* to be the “‘lector’ et par extension ‘lector o recitador del Corán’” (II, 294). Ms. J-3 CSIC includes a description of Islamic burial rites in which an *alfaquí* recites from the Qur'ān. The

agency that befits a poet. In *La degüella*, author, reciter, and listeners coalesce in the indirect request for believers' salvation ("que nos dé a gozar l-*aljana*"), a message that reverberates with communal *ad'iya*. In contrast to the poem's opening, the final phrase is rendered without translation. "*Al hamdu llille hi erabile alamina*" encapsulates story, prayer, and recitation in ritual register.

In this way, *La degüella* teeters between public exhortation and poetic convention, ultimately accentuating the former. Seeking pardon for the "autor," "leydor," and "oyentes" fuses oratorical and poetic devices. Assertions of authorship, entreaties to overlook compositional mistakes, ascriptions of divine responsibility, recollections of recited colophons, and invocations of a collective *Señor* reflect the "interpenetration" of textual surfaces operating in *La degüella* (Duranti and Goodwin 19). The text interlaces Ishmael's sacrifice with multiple discursive threads; the recontextualization reorients expectations and expands discursive possibilities.

Rabadán's poem exhibits distinct rhetorical strategies. *Discurso de la luz*, like many literary works, features a *captatio benevolentiae* at the beginning of the poem. Rabadán appeals to readers' discretion in his "Prólogo para el creyente *lector*": "Pues si en esta copilación y discurso se hallare alguna disonancia o acento desfallecido o sentencia mal aplicada al discreto *lector* suplico lo corrija y enmiende con discreción y prudencia considerando piadosamente mi buen intento" (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 4v; my emphasis). After addressing a "discreto lector" in his prose prologue, subsequent poetic meditations corral a "muçelim" and "prudente" reader: "y a ti *lector* muçelim / a cuyo poder mis bersos / llegaren ruego que supla / mis faltas y torpes yerros /

explanation employs "leer" for the act of recitation and "leidores" for reciters (fols. 89r-v; qtd. in Kontzi II, 360).

tu grande beneuolençia / a cuyo onor los ofrezco / y adierte *lector* prudente / que son los gustos diuersos / que de lo que uno aborreçe / otro reçibe contento” (Ms. 251, fol. 6v; my emphasis).

Zuwiyya cites the presence of “el topos de la modestia” in Rabadán’s prologue and outlines resonances with don Juan Manuel, Fernando de Rojas, and Cervantes (2017, 316-7). Yet as Zuwiyya points out, Rabadán’s recourse to modesty does not last long. The poet distinguishes between those who recuperate forgotten histories and those who do so in pleasurable verse:

así por esta raçón  
se deue dar tanto premio  
al que saca a la luz la historia  
como al patrón della mesmo  
pero el que açertó a estampalla  
en término tan moderno  
que en música se cantase //  
en dulce y sabroso açento  
este mereçiό más gloria  
porque hiço dos supuestos  
que dio más fuerça a la fama  
y al mundo mayor contento (Ms. 251, fols. 6v-7r).

Poets do not only uncover the past, they offer the world “mayor contento.” Rabadán later invokes parallels with king David’s poetic prowess, compelling his readers to recognize him as a capable *autor* (fol. 7r). Rabadán’s literary aplomb frames the text as an object of erudition and a testament to skill. The author consistently directs the poem to a silent reader. Though Moriscos undoubtedly recited portions of *Discurso de la luz* aloud, the poem’s entextualization and interspersed metapoetic asides posit the work’s design for an individual reader’s consumption. *La degüella*, on the other hand, evokes collective listeners and eschews such “readerly” features for which Rabadán’s work is often spotlighted.

### **Beyond Genre: Readerly and “Formerly” Texts**

Roland Barthes's differentiation between "readerly" and "writerly" texts provides a fruitful point of departure to discuss *Discurso de la luz* and *La degüella*. In *S/Z* (1970) and his subsequent essay, "From Work to Text" (1971), Barthes explores the intersection of literary expectations and interpretive activities. Readerly works conform to the former, whereas writerly texts demand innovations of the latter (*Norton Anthology* 1326-31). Jerome Bruner provides a helpful explanation of the categories. "Readerly" texts are those that involve a narrative "so socially conventional, so well known, so in keeping with the canon, that we can assign it to some well-rehearsed and virtually automative interpretive routine" (9). In contrast, "writerly" texts "challenge the listener or reader into unrehearsed interpretive activity" (Bruner 9).

I would like to extend Barthes's distinction to imagine texts that facilitate, demand, and reflect the practice of live recitation. Perhaps we can deem them "performerly" texts. My use of "performerly" and "readerly" refers to texts' interactive functions rather than their interpretive agendas; both terms seek to educe a text's multitudinous possibilities, rather than serve as a comprehensive diagnosis. For instance, *La degüella*, evokes qualities of a "performerly" text by eliding quotatives, immersing the audience, and privileging concision. Such features lend themselves to efficacious public performance. We may deem *Discurso de la luz* a "readerly" text insofar as its entextualization and apostrophic remarks presuppose silent reading.

On the other hand, as we will soon observe, just as *La degüella* seems apt for listeners' ears, its production register appears destined for readers' eyes. Likewise, despite its "readerly" qualities, *Discurso de la luz* undoubtedly traversed time and space in recitation. Testimonies from Tunis suggest exiled Moriscos carried the poem in their aural and oral memories.<sup>392</sup> As the

<sup>392</sup> Joseph Morgan affirms inhabitants of Tunisia sang "whole chapters out of this work, to the sound of the lutes and guitars" in the early eighteenth century (qtd. in Lugo Acevedo 1997, 189). Lugo Acevedo surmises: "es muy probable que este hermoso poema fuese ya parte integrante de

author explains in his prologue, “hiçe la composiçión en verso apaçible y llano para que con más suabidad y gusto se cauleben en la memoria cosas tan dignas de ser tractadas y memoradas” (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 4v). Poetry’s “performerly” mnemonics assist both reciters and listeners. In sum, Rabadán’s composition displays both “readerly” and “performerly” possibilities.

Indeed, Ms. 1574’s physical layout confounds any stark division between “performerly” and “readerly” texts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the scribe’s redaction of *La degüella* is cleaner than that of the *Sermón*. The copyist treats the former poem’s design with more consistency. Though both poems employ *coplas de arte menor* (octosyllabic eight-verse stanzas), the scribe deviates from a consistent stanzaic pattern. Each folio comprises of two columns of text with varying number of lines per stanza:

Folio #	Column 1	Column 2
1r - <i>La degüella</i>	8 / 8	8 / 8
1v	8 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
2r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
2v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
3r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
3v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
4r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
4v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
5r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
5v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
6r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
6v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
7r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
7v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
8r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
8v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
9r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
9v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
10r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
10v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
11r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4

la literatura oral de los moriscos y, que al estilo de los romanceros y cancioneros hispánicos, estuviese en la memoria colectiva de la comunidad morisca exiliada en tierras tunecinas” (1997, 189).

11v	4 / 4 / 4 / 8	4 / 4 / 8
12r-14v - <i>Notes</i>	---	---
15r - <i>Sermón</i>	4 / 16	8 / 8 / 4
15v	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4	4 / 4 / 12 / 4
16r	4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 2 <sup>393</sup>	2 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4 / 4
16v	4 / 8 / 8 / 2	6 / 8 / 4 / 4
17r	8 / 8 / 6	2 / 8 / 8 / 4
17v	12 / 8 / 2	6 / 8 / 8
18r	8 / 8 / 4	4 / 8 / 8
18v	8 / 8 / 6	2 / 8 / 8 / 4
19r	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
19v	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 9 / 4
20r	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
20v	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
21r	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
21v	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
22r	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
22v	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4(5)
23r	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
23v	4 / 8 / 8	8 / 8 / 4
24r	4 / 8 / 8 / 2	6 / 8

The production register poses various questions. To begin, why did the scribe switch from eight- to four-line stanzas on the second folio of *La degüella*? Perhaps the paper size better accommodated groups of four. Striving for aesthetic regularity, maybe the scribe replaced eight-line stanzas with four-verse groups. As we saw with the Aljamiado *Dichos de los siete sabios* (Ms. 1163 BNF), the copyist seems to redact an equal number of stanzas on each folio in order to produce a mirror effect and to economize folio space. Despite *La degüella*'s oral disposition, clearly demarcated stanzas often facilitate silent reading. The orderly physical layout also produces an appealing visual effect, appreciated by readers who engage with the text privately.

On the other hand, we could approach the scribe's unconventional rendition of *coplas de arte menor* through the lens of early modern poetic currents. Dorothy Clarke traces the evolution of *copla de arte menor* (with rhyme *abbaacca* and *abbacddc*) to the *redondilla* (*abba*). Clarke

<sup>393</sup> Almost imperceptible groups of 4.



demonstrates that the latter derived from the former and enjoyed widespread usage in the second half of the sixteenth century (493). Unlike the *copla de arte menor*, which, according to Navarro Tomás, fell into disuse in the sixteenth century, the *redondilla* “se convirtió en una de las estrofas más corrientes en la poesía del Siglo de Oro” (265). It was the predominant strophe employed in dramatic works by Lope, Tirso, and Montalbán. As Lope famously explained in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609): “son los tercetos para cosas graves, / y para las de amor, las redondillas” (18).

Perhaps *La degüella*’s scribe likened his copy to a popular strophe of his day, pervasive in theater especially. Abraham’s charge to execute his son lends itself to a “dramatic” medium indeed. *La degüella*’s predominating rhyme scheme (*abba:acca*) corresponds to *coplas de arte menor*, yet in Saavedra’s catalogue of selected Aljamiado manuscripts, he designates both of Ms. 1574’s poems: “en redondillas” (1878, 181). The discrepancy exemplifies Huot’s claim that “scribal practices and poetic process are intimately related and mutually influential phenomena” (53). Regardless of whether *La degüella*’s layout came about for aesthetic, practical, or contingent reasons, the text’s visual manifestation resists classification.

The *Sermón* copied in Ms. 1574 corresponds to what we might consider a “performerly” text on visual grounds. Stanzas range from two to sixteen verses. Often the verses are copied in continuous columns, like a *romance*. The layout points to the text’s performative disposition. The scribe achieves some consistency in folios 19r-23v, though the first half of the text resembles extemporaneous composition. Perhaps the scribe was also the performer, and Ms. 1574 was his personal copy. Since the *Sermón* was read aloud—presumably only by him—an immaculate physical layout would be gratuitous. Interleaved transactional notes on fols. 13r-14v corroborate the manuscript’s destination for individual use. The *Sermón*’s production design

could also reflect the influence of Rabadán's *Canto de las lunas del año*. Due to close correspondences between the works, it seems likely that the scribe had a copy of Rabadán's poem nearby. Though we do not know which manuscripts Ms. 1574's copyist had at his disposal, several copies of Rabadán's *romance* feature verses without separation.<sup>394</sup>

In sum, Ms. 1574 invites us to parse taxonomical categories. *La degüella* encompasses oratorical strategies, exhortative rhetoric, fluctuating stanza lengths, and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* details. Such features challenge us to expand the meaning of a "poetic" genre into "performerly" and "readerly" dimensions. Parallels with Rabadán's *oeuvre* illuminate the network of Morisco poetry that circulated on the cusp of the expulsion. Modifications of *Discurso de la luz* invite us to consider the manifold ways in which Aragonese Muslims interacted with poetry. Though contemporary critics highlight Rabadán's unprecedented dialogue with Siglo de Oro literature, *La degüella* constitutes a singular, distinct "Morisco" reading of the text, refashioned for live performance, stripped to its narrative necessities, and integrated with other *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. *La degüella* attests to the capable creativity with which Moriscos recontextualized texts in the early seventeenth century. In turn, the following section delves into "not so much what the text means, but what one is able to do with it and through it in different settings" (Barletta 2006, 530).

### **Models of Supplication, Paradigms of Obedience**

<sup>394</sup> *Discurso de la luz* (Ms. 251 BNF) features two columns of uninterrupted verses. Each *Historia*'s title is centered across the folio (e.g. 29r; 79r; 146r). *Historia del espantoso día del juycio* (fols. 190r-204r) follows the same layout. The enumeration of Allāh's ninety-nine names (fols. 205-214v) each attribute is described with four octosyllabic verses, simulating stanzas of four lines.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, *ad'īya* recur to various prophets' predicaments in order to appeal for divine succor. Supplicants relate their prayers to the tribulations of spiritual forefathers, exhorting God to bestow the meriful favor dispensed to the prophets. For instance, one stanza of a versified *du'ā' al- istisqā'* reads: "Señor, por el-*alqamīš* [shirt] de Yūçuf i sus afortunamientos / apiádate de nós como d-él i de los suyos fuese contento, / i quita de nós todo escarmiento, / i danos agua, yā Allāh" (Ms. 1367 *olim* 1223, Bib. de Méjanes; qtd. in Fidalgo 80). Similarly, the *du'ā' al- istigfār* copied in Ms. Escorial 1880 implores God to remember Jonah: "Por Yūnuç, el del pes de la mar, / Por su rogaría l'ubiste de salvar, / Con lo cual te venimos a rogar, / Que nos perdone y nos quieras salvar" (fol. 40r; qtd. in Kadri II, 80). In the latter example, supplicants refer to Jonah's exemplary "rogaría" in order to attain forgiveness and salvation.

*La degüella* stages, rather than explains, prophets' recourse to supplication. Both Ishmael and his father model humble supplication. Abraham prostrates himself numerous times, though the text includes only a few discursive reconstructions. After Ishmael affirms his willingness to die, Abraham petitions God:

Y por tierra se postró  
suplicando Allāh del çielo  
le de graçias en este suelo  
que cunpla lo que mandó:

'ye mi Allāh, dame salida  
debaxo tu buen contento  
que cunpla tu mandamiento  
y mi obra sea cunplida

Si á de ser desmenuyda  
no lo permitas Señor  
y terne [*tendré*] por muy mejor  
que acabe mi triste bida' (Ms. 1574, fols. 6v-7r).

The poem also conveys Ishmael's celebrated "adua sublimado" (fol. 10v). In contrast to Abraham's brief supplication, this dramatic recreation encompasses six stanzas:

Laora hablara el niño  
a su Señor suplicando:  
'A tí me acoxo, Señor,  
sea de tí faboreçido

Y a mi buen padre aflijido  
no adolezcas con mi muerte  
ni permitas por mi muerte suerte  
ser del *axeytan* bençido

Apiada mi ninez [*sic*]  
y mi ynfançia moçedad  
tambien a la ançianidad  
de mis padres y bejez

Da de mi fecho esta bez  
tal salida y muy buen corte  
para descanso y conorte  
pues eres justo juez

Pues solo con tu querer  
seré libre de aflicción  
claro sabes mi entinçión  
lo que soy y puedo ser

Tú me pues faboreçer  
en paso tan congoxoso  
pues eres Allāh piadoso  
y a tí solo es el poder' (Ms. 1574, fols. 9r-v).

The reenactment of pious petition weaves meaning into the poem. *La degüella* transcends referential description—not only telling listeners about Ishmael's powerful *du'ā'* but showing them through vivid simulation.

The poem refracts the virtue of obedience onto each family member. As Bossong (376) notes, in an etymological sense, Ishmael and Abraham are the first Muslims, since the term *muslim*, from Arabic *aslama*, denotes one who submits and is "obedient to God" (Rahman 1980,

8; Hans Wehr 495-6). In *La degüella*, though all three characters display obedience, Ishmael is the only one to articulate the virtue's salience. He reinforces acts of submission with verbal affirmation. For example, after Hagar complies with Abraham's "mandado" to bathe and dress her son, Ishmael adds superfluously: "Tienes madre obligación / de azer su mandamiento" (fols. 4v, 5r).<sup>395</sup> Later, in his retort to the devil, Ishmael foreshadows his father's obedience: "'Si de Allāh es el mandado / mi padre obligado está / de cunplir su boluntad / sin podner [poner] enpidimiento'" (fols. 5r-v). Echoing Qur'ānic verse 37:102, Ishmael later alludes to his own submission "Si querrá Allāh me allarás / padre mío muy obidiente / y muy umilde y çufriente / como por obra berás" (fol. 6v).<sup>396</sup> As Abraham struggles to kill his son, the boy again reiterates the necessity of obedience: "...Padre cunpli el mando / que te mandara el Señor" (fol. 9v).<sup>397</sup>

Despite his characterization as a "niño delicado" and a "cordero inocente," throughout *La degüella* Ishmael wields discursive control (Ms. 1574, fol. 9v; 7v). The "delicate child" instructs his parents as well as listeners. Ishmael himself touts the blessings accrued to the supplicant of his prayer: "dixo el niño, 'rruego Allāh / que el buen muçilim que rruega / con el que el Señor le anpara / y acara con su piadad'" (fol. 11r).<sup>398</sup> The protagonist both teaches and probes. He interrogates his mother when she bathes him ("El niño le preguntó: / 'Madre, lo que as hecho

<sup>395</sup> Curiously, Muhammad Rabadán ascribes this discursive agency to Hagar: "respondió la gran prinçesa / hijo así me lo á mandado / tu padre y pues él lo manda / es justo le obedezcamos'" (Ms. 251, fol. 56v). The portrayal of an articulate and virtuous woman (a princess!) bolsters Rabadán's attempts to reclaim Ishmael's lineage (see "Children of *Abrahán*, Children of *Ibrāhīm*" below).

<sup>396</sup> Q 37:102: "When he had become old enough to partake of his father's endeavors, Abraham said, 'O my son! I see while dreaming that I am to sacrifice you. So consider, what do you see?' He replied, 'O my father! Do as you are commanded. You will find me, God willing, among those who are patient.'"

<sup>397</sup> The Qur'ān often pairs the command to worship God with the command to treat parents well (e.g. Q 17:23; 2:83; 6:151).

<sup>398</sup> Ms. J-25 CSIC ascribes this explanation to Archangel Gabriel (fols. 146v-147r).

cierto / lo hazen a qual quier muerto / no sé quién te lo mandó” [fol. 4v]) and implores his father to disclose the intentions behind their perilous journey:

‘Y beo te aparejado  
para azer *alcurben*  
y no puedo ber yo a quien  
á de ser sacrificado.

Si sobre mi está juzgado  
que lo tengo de pasar  
debes me lo declarar  
no me lo tengas çelado.  
[...]  
Declárame si querás  
todo el fecho pues lo sabes  
pues padre tienes las llaves  
nada no me ençelará’ (fol. 6v).

Ishmael’s body yields to commands while his words propel the narrative. Throughout Abraham’s attempts to kill him, Ishmael continues to instruct and animate his father. His directive encompasses thirteen stanzas, which constitutes the longest instance of character speech in the poem (fols. 7r-8r). Ishmael coaches his father throughout the attempted execution:

‘Padre pasarás de presto  
el puñal por mi garganta  
que la muerte no mespanta  
según será manifiesto.

Ni mires, Padre, mi jesto  
que te moberá a compasión  
perderás del gualardón  
no haziendo lo que as propuesto’ (fol. 8r).

After the second failed stab, Ishmael urges: “‘Padre, hiere con la punta / y ansí se podrá acabar” (fol. 8v). Still waiting for his demise, Ishmael encourages his father to remember past struggles he overcame: “Entonçes habló Yzmael / ‘Padre, ¿quién te aconpañó / cuando en el fuego te echó / Namerud aquel cruel?” (fol. 9r). The boy urges a third time: “dize: ‘Padre cunpli el mando / que te mandara el Señor” (fol. 9v). In such quotes, Ishmael appears impervious to fear. Perhaps

the prophet's grit caused the scribe's slip of pen in which, after redacting Ishmael's lengthy supplication, he writes: "como el moço hubo acabado / su clamaçión *sin* con tristeza" (fol. 9v; my emphasis).

*La degüella* contrasts Ishmael's mettle with his parents' turmoil, grief, alarm, and desolation. Ishmael drives while Hagar and Abraham dwell. For instance, Hagar is "...tan congoxosa / que reposar no podía" when she cannot comprehend the source of Abraham's tears; she is "triste y congoxosa" when her son leaves and receives him "muy congoxada" when he returns (fols. 4v; 5r; 11r).<sup>399</sup> Barletta foregrounds Hagar's role in the pathos-infused description of Ishmael's farewell, arguing that the scene "provides a textual resource by which women could theorize their place in the miracle to follow. Hagar is a model wife and mother, who deeply loves her son and does not question the orders of his father" (2004, 62).

Abraham is also obedient and humble, yet impressionable and anxious as well. When the Angel of Death reveals his identity, Abraham faints. After this "brabo amorteçimiento" dissipates, the prophet is "muy alterado" and "enpaborido" when he discovers he must sacrifice Ishmael (Ms. 1574, fol. 2r; 4r). Abraham exhibits the expected emotions of a doting father: "El alma se le arancaba / en solamente pensar / como abía de degollar / un hijo que tanto amaba"

<sup>399</sup> Hagar ("Hechara") does not appear in the Qur'ānic account of the sacrifice; her presence reflects the narrative elaborations of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. In Arabic texts, the mother's name is *Hāğar*. BRAH 11/9409 preserves this spelling (e.g. fol. 10v). In Ms. J-25, the scribe includes a *fathā* over "rā'," which produces "*Hāğara*" (e.g. fol. 136r). The first scribe to render "*Hağara*" in Latin script might have penned "Hechara" rather than "Hachara" due to *aljamia*'s use of the *ālīf*: when the preceding consonant receives short vowel *fathā*, the presence of an *ālīf* produces the Spanish vowel "e" rather than "a." For instance, the "e" in "fecho" would be written as فَعَا. It is possible the author of Ms. 1574 worked from or imitated Rabadán's spelling. Colominas Aparicio (19) contends that the scribe of Ms. 1574 mistakenly writes "eSara" and alters the error to "Hechara" on folio 11r (Ms. 1574). I see no evidence of such alteration. The scribe consistently refers to "Hechara" throughout *La degüella*; the spelling is derived from Arabic *Hāğara*.

(fol. 4r). Spilled tears dampen the “barba” of the “congoxado” prophet, a symbol of Abraham’s honor (fol. 8r). Abraham inspires empathy and provides affective space for listeners to identify with his grief.

Though undeniably compelling characters, Ishmael’s characterization in *La degüella* outshines that of Hagar and Abraham; his discursive prominence positions him as protagonist. As Lumbard points out, unlike the biblical account of Isaac’s submission, the Qur’ān features an active and willing participant in sacrifice (*The Study Quran* 1094). *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* elaborate Ishmael’s discursive involvement, as we see in al-Tha‘labī’s version of the following episode:

And his son, whom he was about to sacrifice, said to him, ‘Father, bind me firmly so that I do not move about, and hold your garments away from me lest my blood splash them (which would lessen my reward), and lest my mother see them and be saddened. Sharpen your blade and pass the knife quickly over my throat so death will be easier for me. For death is harsh. When you come to my mother, give her my greetings, and return my shirt to her, if you think that this may comfort her for me.’ Abraham said to him, ‘How excellent is the Helper! My son, you are fulfilling what God has commanded.’ *Abraham did as his son bade him*. He bound him up, bent over him and kissed him while he was weeping and the son was weeping so their tears followed each other down his cheeks (159; my emphasis).

The excerpt highlights both Ishmael’s submission to God and Abraham’s fulfillment of his son’s commandment. Like we see in *La degüella*, Ishmael provides the tactical and emotional directives to Abraham that enable him to carry out God’s command. Ms. J-25 CSIC also includes Ishmael’s persistent interventions (with heavy doses of Arabic syntax) as does Rabadán.<sup>400</sup> The remainder of this chapter explores the implications of Ishmael’s protagonism through an early modern lens.

### **Children of *Abrahán*, Children of *Ibrāhīm***

<sup>400</sup> For instance, Ishmael reiterates his mother’s duty (“*ḍīšo a ella: ‘si es que mi padre a te lo á // mandado pues ḍebdo es sobre tú en que obedekas su mandamiento’*” [Ms. J-25, fols. 136v-137r]) and directs his father throughout the sacrifice (Ms. J-25, fols. 142v-145r).



Vincent Barletta highlights the significance of Ishmael's legacy in Morisco communities: "As a prefiguring of the human sacrifice initially ordered by God at the hand of Abraham, the story of Ishmael takes on a powerful moral and existential charge for Morisco men and women: like Ishmael, they were to accept God's will patiently and obediently, faithful that in the end the sacrificial knife would not cut through their flesh" (2004, 66). I would submit that *La degüella* disseminates this "moral and existential charge" not only to Morisco men and women, but also, and most poignantly, to their children. Ishmael is obedient to God and respects his parents; the prophet exhibits maturity and resilience beyond his years. When coupled with poetic features that facilitate memorization and comprehension, Ishmael's example becomes a potent reminder to listening Morisco boys and girls. Capacious quotations of Ishmael's words inculcate religious duties and moral charges by mimetic example.

When religious identification is both imposed and proscribed, the urgency of its self-construction comes to the fore. Moriscos reared their progeny in a world of conflictive identities. As Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent explain, "Para las autoridades, dos categorías debían ser objeto de especial atención: los notables y los niños. Los primeros, porque su ejemplo podía determinar la verdadera conversión de toda la población morisca; los segundos porque se esperaba que, haciéndose cargo de ellos en edad temprana, serían, al contrario que sus padres, buenos cristianos" (98). In other words, we can understand evangelical efforts in terms of bidirectional movements, what I will call "trickle-down" and "splitting-up." *Trickle-down* presumes religious influence will pass from leaders to followers, as Juan de Ribera attested (Ehlers 118; 200). *Splitting-up* is predicated on the separation of children from their parents' alleged adherence to Islam. Priests feared that young neophytes would succumb to their relatives' influence, as evident in Archbishop Pedro Guerrero's directive that from young pupils "'se les quite

totalmente la comunicación con sus parientes” during their tenure in the Colegio-Seminario (qtd. in Vincent 1987, 26).

Beginning in 1580, all Morisco children between the ages of five and eight had to attend school to learn Christian doctrine in Seville (Perry 2007, 126). Similar efforts took place in Gandía, Granada, and Tortosa (Epalza 1992, 112). Juan de Ribera’s school for Morisco children in Valencia followed the same premise (Ehlers 86). The Crown paid special attention to young Moriscos after the Alpujarras War. Following the internal diaspora in 1570, hundreds of orphaned Moriscos were enslaved by Old Christians in Castile. In 1572, Philip II banned the enslavement of Morisco minors (10.5 years and younger for boys; 9.5 for girls), though the captured children would remain as servants until reaching the age of twenty to be “christianamente criados” by their masters (qtd. in Cavanaugh 1290).<sup>401</sup> Without the pernicious influence of their parents, Morisco children would be “fáciles de enseñar y convertir” as cardinal and Inquisitor Fernando Niño de Guevara asserted in 1600.<sup>402</sup>

Overtime, faith in the “trickling-down” and “splitting-up” processes gave way to sweeping denials of Moriscos’ ability to truly convert. Apologists argued against baptizing young Moriscos in the first place. Friar Luis Bertrán discourages baptism “si han de vivir en casa de sus padres” and likens the circumstances to North African evangelism:

Es tan intrínsecamente malo dar fuera de peligro de muerte el bautismo a estos niños, supuesto todo lo sobredicho, como si un Christiano baptizasse los niños hijos de los Moros que están en Berberia, dexándoselos allá entre padres infieles, aunque ellos

<sup>401</sup> See Perry (2007, 113, 119), Lea (266), and Vincent (1987, 28). Granadan Moriscos were not permitted to regain custody of their children, though scores of documents from Valladolid attest to Moriscos’ active demands for liberation (Cavanaugh 1285).

<sup>402</sup> He suggested the king punish “con una gran demostración” the most recalcitrant Moriscos whereas “los niños quitados de sus padres serían fáciles de enseñar y convertir y, quando no quisiessen, se podría hazer con ellos quando tuviessen edad lo mismo que con sus padres” (qtd. in Boronat II, 22).

consintiessen por algun respecto en el baptismo de sus hijos, entendiendo que después los avían de pervertir (qtd. in Escrivà 348).<sup>403</sup>

In a letter to Philip III (1602), Ribera argues that a child raised by “moros” will perforce become a “moro” himself: “criandose un hijo con padres Moros, y decendiendo de ellos, ha de ser Moro” (qtd. in Escrivà 353-4). Resurrecting the lamb-wolf analogy cited above, the Archbishop contends that the Church must not baptize Morisco children, because “no podemos entregar los corderos a los lobos” (qtd. in Boronat II, 707).

Though we notice a subtle distinction between parents’ genealogical and instructional influence in these quotes, the predominating view maintained that a person inherited religious identification through breast milk and blood. Numerous Inquisition trial records cite Moriscos, Conversos, and Old Christians employing the phrase “mi padre moro, yo moro” (qtd. in García-Arenal 2016b, 321). Frustrated Blas Verdú cites this statement in his apology of the expulsion: “Después de aver predicado nos respondían estos desdichados: Mi padre moro, yo moro” (fol. 143v).<sup>404</sup> As Damián Fonseca reported, many “morisquillas” between the age of twelve and fifteen remained in Valencia, “lo qual el Patriarca juzgó poco conueniente: porque siendo estos muchachos ya crecidos, *es imposible que no ayan mamado la mala leche de la secta de sus padres*, y conseruen siempre aquella mala inclinación: y aunque boluiendo a mezclarse con las Moriscas que quedan, en pocos años, como tan fecundos, boluerán a apestar la tierra” (320; my emphasis).

<sup>403</sup> See also Zayas 464-5.

<sup>404</sup> Jesuit Pedro de León also cites the phrase in his *Compendio de algunas experiencias en los ministerios de que usa la Compañía de Jesús* (qtd. in García-Arenal 2016b, 309). As Valencian Inquisitor Pedro de Zárate proclaimed in 1587: “Como estos christianos nuevos *tienen su secta desde la teta*, como por naturaleza, no ay confianza que por temor de la pena dexarán sus ceremonias y secta de moros” (qtd. in García-Arenal 2016b, 323). Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga cites the inherited belief model in order to explain the pervasive “*idolatría*” in Perú (qtd. in Baroja 490).

García-Arenal explains that religious belief was “part of the genes transmitted by one’s ancestors, without the need even to have been educated in it” (2016b, 321). Indeed, like the *alfaquies*’ purported “trickle-down” influence, religious genes invariably “passed down” as a descending swoop of spiritual identification. Thinking about religiosity in terms of movement captures the volatile nature of early modern attitudes towards conversion and that of Moriscos’ in particular.

As calls for the expulsion began to drown out efforts for proselytization, children remained at the fulcrum of theological and political debates. Viewed as less threatening subjects, children and women were granted exceptions (Martinez 1997; Shabou 2017). The official decree allowed Moriscos under the age of four to remain in Spain “si sus padres lo consentían” (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 181). Harvey adds, “Children of six and below with a single Old Christian parent might remain, and the mother as well, even though she was a Morisco woman. But if the father were a Morisco and his wife were an Old Christian, he should be expelled, and children under six should remain behind with the mother” (2005, 311). Harvey suggests that clauses regarding children were added to assuage the consciences of the king or his royal administrators (2005, 311). Ehlers detects less magnanimous motivations for the fiat’s treatment of children. Philip III’s advisors originally suggested retaining Morisco children under the age of ten. Consequently, the diminishing age could reflect anxiety that too many “excepted” children would allow the Valencian nobility to recreate their labor force (Ehlers 147). Irrespective of official incentives, many Old Christians disregarded the stipulation of parental consent and abducted Morisco children.<sup>405</sup>

<sup>405</sup> On account of the abductions, roughly 3,000 children remained in Valencia in 1610 (Epalza 1992, 127).

Documents published during the expulsion attest to pervasive unease (see Janer 1857a, 334). Luis Aliaga, Philip III's confessor, confirmed the validity of expelling Morisco children, though anxiety permeates his words:

Aunque á los ministros de la expulsión se les podrá dar instrucción de que aunque no hayan de permitir que se quede ninguno de siete años arriba; pero que puedan en caso que pareza á V.M. permitir que se queden de siete años abajo, advirtiéndolos que de estos si tuviesen duda *si ya están pervertidos ó no*, que en caso de duda los echen (qtd. in Janer 1857a, 281; my emphasis).

In dubious cases, one could expel a seven-year-old in good faith, since he might have been “pervertido” by his relatives. Priest Ricardo Haller justifies the expulsion of baptized children as a necessary means to ensure the “bien público.”<sup>406</sup> Friar José Gonzalez dissents from these opinions, advising that Aragonese Moriscos, unlike those of Andalusia and Valencia, are harmless (“muy pobre y miserable”), and their baptized children “están debajo del amparo de la Iglesia, cuyos hijos son más que de sus propios padres” (qtd. in Janer 1857a, 281).

Revisiting official attitudes towards Morisco children sharpens our understanding of *La degüella*'s impact. Converted minors became the center of the debate over the efficacy of baptism, the effects of proselytization, and the theological legitimacy (or political necessity) of expulsion. Concurrently, Morisco boys and girls inhabited homes in which a “covert domestic resistance” countered their imputed identities as children of the Church (Perry 2007, 65). Many Aragonese Moriscos circumcised their sons, undid the sacrament of baptism through the ritual of *las fadas*, sent young boys to study Arabic in Valencia, and instructed their children in Islamic precepts (Epalza 1992, 112).<sup>407</sup> As a Granadan Morisco who lived in Murcia attested, writing

<sup>406</sup> The expulsion of minors is not a “pecado de comision, sino de omisión lícita, inculpable y justificada con título de bien público, que siempre ha de prevalecer al privado” (qtd. in Janer 281).

<sup>407</sup> *Las fadas* consisted of ablutions, talismanic inscriptions, the bestowal of an Islamic name, and animal sacrifice (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 91-2; Perry 2007, 40-1). See Soto González (174-

from seventeenth-century exile in Tunis: “Tenía entonces seis años o quizá menos, y aunque frecuentaba la escuela de los cristianos para aprender allí su religión, volvía después a casa y mi padre me enseñaba la religión de islam” (qtd. in Bernabé Pons 2009, 91).

Within a milieu of clandestine resistance centered on child-rearing, *alfaquíes* recited *La degüella de Ibrahim*. The poetic dramatization of Ishmael’s sagacity and steadfast faith presents compelling parallels with children navigating religious identifications. *La degüella*’s young protagonist accepts tragedy with alacrity. Ishmael rejects voices of falsehood—the devil’s attempts to dissuade him—and instead heeds the call to obey Allāh; the prophet successfully discerns God’s command in a cacophonous “world of others’ words.” *La degüella* reenacts the spiritual test and triumph of a young Muslim at a time when Morisco children experienced both Christian proselytization and Islamic instruction. Prophetic precedent functions as a direct model for children’s imitation.

Considering the polemical context of Abraham’s legacy in early modern Iberia further illuminates *La degüella*’s significance at the turn of the century. At the turn of the century, Abrahamic genealogies held metonymic significance for Moriscos’ exclusion and inclusion. Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent adumbrate the central controversy as follows:

La aversión de los cristianos hacia los moriscos se reforzaba por la creencia de que representaban a una raza bastarda; los musulmanes (y por tanto los moriscos) descendían de Ismael... hijo de la esclava Agar, mientras los cristianos descendían directamente de Isaac. Entre unos y otros mediaba, pues, toda la diferencia que existe entre un linaje noble y otro servil (131).

Attributing illegitimacy to Ishmael and his descendants enabled early modern Christians to disenfranchise Muḥammad’s claims to authoritative prophethood. Moreover, expulsion

6) for an etymological discussion of “fada” as well as a list of Aljamiado manuscripts that allude to the ceremony.

apologists such as Blas Verdú and Guadalajara y Xavier recurred to Abrahamic genealogy to articulate their support of the Moriscos' banishment. Cardaillac (58) references Verdú's provocative passage in which he equates Philip III with the biblical patriarch:

A todo lo dicho ayuda que considerando Abraham padre de los creyentes las justas quejas de Sara mujer suya, y el peligro en que estaua el alma y mayorasgo del santo Isac con la mala compañía de Ismael, mandó desterrar madre e hijo, sin reparar en que era hijo y circuncidado, que es como agora ser bautizado...Pues porque nos admiramos, que *Felipe Tercero, un Abraham en la fe, y protector de la Iglesia* saque de sus Reynos // los que ya desterró de su casa el padre de los creyentes, pues de Ismael decienden los Sarracenos (fols. 141v-142r; my emphasis).

Just as Abraham exiled Hagar and Ishmael, so Philip III expelled their descendants.<sup>408</sup>

Guadalajara y Xavier contends that Muḥammad's followers are "agarenos, a devoción de Agar madre de Ismael" (1613, fol. 33v). Austiginian friar Pedro Arias argued that the Moriscos formed a "mala casta" descended from Ishmael (qtd. in Sánchez-Blanco 108).

Yet Christian authors were not alone in their quest for prophetic preeminence. Cardaillac (56) and Zuwiyya (2017, 305-6) highlight Muhammad Rabadán's self-proclaimed impetus for composing *Discurso de la luz*. In the prologue, Rabadán cites his desire to countermand erroneous prophetic lineages:

y sobre todo lo dicho ver la común voz y opinión de los infieles *cristianos* que con tantas beras y instançia y çertidumbre apli-cauan e inputaban de bastardo al justo Yzmeyl y a toda su uaronia [*baronía*] y linage quitándole la palma del sacrificio y dándola a Hizaq poniendo objeto en el buen Hibrahim y nuestro mensagero *çalam* diçiendo que por ser de linea bastarda no podía ser profecta (Ms. 251 BNF, fol. 3r).

Rabadán's poem reflects the intent to bestow legitimacy on Hagar and Ishmael, as does *La degüella*, which refers to Hagar as "Hechara la piadosa" (Ms. 1574, fol. 5r). Similarly, Mohanmad de Vera alludes to the controversy in his early seventeenth-century *Tratado*, a

<sup>408</sup> Apologists also liken Philip III to Moses and king David (Boase 26). Marcos de Guadalajara compares Queen Margarita to Sarah (qtd. in Burshatin 114).

compilation derived from Iça Gidelli's *Breviario çunní* and the *Libro de Çamarqandī*, among others works (Ms. Esp. 397 BNF; Suárez García 2016b, 63-81).<sup>409</sup> In his description of “las adaheas de pasqua,” de Vera reiterates the identity of Abraham's son (qtd. in Suárez García 2016b, 236). When a believer performs ritual sacrifice, they must “Nómbrese Ybrahim porque fue prinçipio d'este eçho, quando fue tentado en su querido hijo Yzmael; que la tentaçión de Dios fue en él, y *los que dizen que fue en Ysac no lo entienden, que no fue sino en Izmael*” (qtd. in Suárez García 2016b, 238; my emphasis). De Vera includes proof for his assertion:

Y la tentaçión a Ibrahim fue quando no tenía más de un yxo solo, y esto fue antes que Ysac naçiese ni fuesse su albríçiamiento; porque, si Ybrahim tubiera dos hijos, la obra fuera flaca y no tan digna, porque le quedava otro yxo con quien consolarse. Y pues Izmael fue el primero de sus hixos, él fue a quien mandó Dios a Ibrahim, alei, su padre, quatro noçhes lo sacrificase en su serviçio (qtd. in Suárez García 2016b, 238).

As we see in these quotes, representations of Abraham and his family by Aragonese Moriscos derive from and contribute to a long-contested prophetic polemic. Apologists refract Abrahamic descendance in order to defend Philip III's decision while Moriscos laud Ishmael's exceptionality in poetic compositions. *La degüella* reclaims prophetic tradition and inspires children. Abraham and Ishmael become touchstones of religious heritage and cultural recognition.

As *La degüella* and the *Ḥadīth* demonstrate, poetic homages to prophets in a “world of others' words” reveal the interactive nature of literary and religious practices. Both poems exhibit the weaving of “living dialogic threads”—whether woven from *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *ḥadīth*, oratory, or contemporary poetic tendencies. The works draw upon various discursive traditions, vivifying the fabric of multiconfessional Iberia that is still being woven in critical looms.

<sup>409</sup> The manuscript was copied between 1600 and 1610, probably in Gea de Albarracín (Suárez García 2016, 60).



## Chapter 6: Tellable Tales

In *sūrah* 22, God says to Abraham:

No metas aparçero con mí a ninguna cosa. Y alimpia mi casa para los rrodeantes y para los fincantes en ella y arraque@antes<sup>410</sup> y açaxdantes. Y pregon a y haz a saber a las gentes con el alhax. Y vendrán a ti a pied, sobre toda cabalgadura, y vendrán todos caminos aluentes para que atestigüen sus gualardones a ellos y sus provechos, y que nombren el nombre de Allah en días señalados sobre lo que les dimos en arrizque de los animales de los averíos, para que coman de ellos y que den a comer dellos al de la fuerte pobreza (Ms. Toledo 235, fol. 187r; qtd. in López-Morillas 2011, 354).<sup>411</sup>

By the time an Aragonese Morisco penned this translation in 1606, scores of Iberian Muslims had ventured to Mecca on “caminos aluentes” by “pied” and “cabalgadura.” Some of them left written testimonies of their journey, a few of which are accessible today. This chapter examines two Aljamiado accounts of pilgrimage undertaken in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. ‘Omar Paṭōn’s *Memoria de ida i venida hasta Maka*, extant in two copies, and the anonymous *Coplas del alhiḡante*, preserved in Ms. J-13 CSIC (fols. 197v-219v), attest to Aragonese and Castilian Muslims’ steadfast commitment not only to fulfill, but to remember, imagine, and vicariously reenact the *ḥaḡḡ*.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>410</sup> The verb *arraque@r* approximates Arabic *ar-rak‘a*, which denotes prostration. In Aljamiado texts, *arrak‘ar* and *arrakear* signify one who prostrates in prayer.

<sup>411</sup> “And [remember] when We assigned for Abraham the place of the House, [saying], ‘Ascribe no partners unto Me, and purify My House for those who circumambulate, and those who stand, and those who bow and prostrate. And proclaim the ḥajj among mankind: they shall come to thee on foot and upon all [manner of] lean beast, coming from all deep and distant mountain highways, that they may witness benefits for them and mention the Name of God, during known days, over the four-legged cattle He has provided them. So eat thereof, and feed the wretched poor” (Q 22: 26-8).

<sup>412</sup> I will represent Arabic “*ḡ*” as “*ḡ*” in *ḥaḡḡ*” and “*alhiḡante*” but I retain alternative spellings from quoted material. Though the analysis centers on the *Coplas del alhiḡante*, Paṭōn’s account engages with questions that will illuminate the poem’s singularity. His journey is recorded in Ms. L771-4 (*Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón*) and Ms. II (olim D, *Escuelas Pías de Zaragoza*). Most quotes come from the former, as I have not been able to obtain a digital copy of the latter. For the *Escuelas Pías* manuscript, I have relied on Roza’s (2018) excellent critical edition.

After outlining rites of *ḥaġġ* (“Pilgrimage: An Overview”), I review Mudejars’ and Moriscos’ participation in pilgrimage (“Viajeros, Emigrados, Alhiġantes”), surveying both L771-4’s and Ms. J-13 CSIC’s contexts and previous appraisals. From here, I explore a new approach to the poem based on the work of Lisa Capps, Elinor Ochs, William Labov and Mary Louis Pratt (“Personal Narrative”). “Ways of Telling: *Coplas del alhiġante*” and “Ways of Telling: ‘Omar Paṭōn’” examine strategies of recollection in poetic and first-person accounts of pilgrimage. In between these sections, “Textual Repositories and Display Texts” analyzes the poem’s use of collective expression and its effect on listeners. Finally, “Narrative Closure” revisits the poem’s puzzling conclusion with attention to marginal notes on the final folio.

### **Pilgrimage: An Overview**

It is incumbent upon every able-bodied, sound of mind, and postpubescent Muslim to undertake the *ḥaġġ*, one of the five pillars of Islam. Qur’ānic verses enjoin believers to complete the pilgrimage:

Truly the first house established for mankind was that at Bakkah [Makkah], full of blessing and a guidance for the worlds. Therein are clear signs: the station of Abraham, and whosoever enters it shall be secure. Pilgrimage to the House is a duty upon mankind before God for those who can find a way. For whosoever disbelieves, truly God is beyond need of the worlds (Q 3:96-7).

Those exempted include the mentally ill, enslaved, destitute, and believers who would imperil their lives by doing so. The *ḥaġġ* begins on the eighth day of the twelfth month (*Dū l-ḥiġġa*), and concludes on the twelfth day of that month. Before entering the environs of Mecca, pilgrims consecrate themselves and affirm their intention to perform the rites of *ḥaġġ*. The state of *iḥrām* involves ritual ablutions and specific sartorial requirements for men and women; a *muḥrim* (person in *iḥrām*) must comply with several proscriptions, including “no cutting of nails or

removal of hair, no use of perfume or scented products, no sexual activity, no arguing, no hunting” (Toorawa 222).

Believers then utter the *talbiya*<sup>413</sup> and commence various rituals: circumambulation of the Ka‘ba seven times counterclockwise (*tawāf*), running or “hastening” (*sa‘y*) between al-Şafā and al-Marwa, standing (*wuqūf*) and reciting prayers in ‘Arafāt, passage through Muzdalifa en route to Minā for ritual slaughter (‘*īd al-aḏḥā*), deconsecration of the body (*taḥallul*) and a final *tawāf* around the Ka‘ba. Some pilgrims venture to Medina, in order to see Muḥammad’s mosque and burial place; others might travel to Jerusalem, where the splendors of *al-Aqṣā* mosque awe the eyes of beholders. Lesser pilgrimage, the ‘*umrah* or *al-ḥaġġ al-ṣaghīr*, consists of circumambulation, prayers facing the Ka‘ba, and crossing between al-Şafā and al-Marwa seven times (Q 2:196). Depending on their specified intent, a Muslim may perform the ‘*umrah* any time of year or concurrent with the *ḥaġġ*.

Victor and Edith Turner designate the *ḥaġġ* a “prototypical” pilgrimage in that rites derive from the practice of spiritual forefathers (1978, 18). Pitching stones in Muzdalifa, for instance, commemorates Abraham’s rebuff of the devil, as Paṭōn recalls: “allí cojen las piedras par-echar en Minā en las tres señales qu-es mandado dond-el-enemīgo tanto [*tentó*] a Ibrāhim” (L771-4, fol. 18v). Hastening between al-Şafā and al-Marwa recalls Hagar’s desperate search for water; Adam’s circumambulation of the Ka‘ba exemplifies the power of *ḥaġġ* rites as a “means to divine forgiveness” (Katz 111). An effective completion of the *ḥaġġ* expurgates sin, though Islamic jurists have debated the extent of expiation (Katz 105).

<sup>413</sup> The *talbiya* begins “*labbayka Allāhumma...*” (“Here we are, oh Allāh!” or “At your service, oh God!”). Içe Gidelli translates “*labayka*” as “que te plaze Señor” in the *Breviario Çunni* (Ms. J-1 CSIC, fol. 92v).

Despite the strong resonances between past events and present practices, Marion Katz probes the commemorative scope of pilgrims' rituals. She asks: "To what extent should or must a pilgrim bring to mind the foundational acts of the prophets in order to invest his or her pilgrimage with meaning, and to what extent does s/he engage in ritual reenactment of those acts?" (Katz 112). Medieval authors invoked other symbolic models of pilgrimage (e.g. visit to a patron or king); some casted doubt on the rites' commemorative nature (Katz 122). Katz thus concludes: "It is only in the modern period that some authors begin to speak of 'symbolism' (*al-ramzīya*) in the rites of the ḥajj, an emphasis that reflects new understandings of the nature of 'religion' and a concern to represent Islam in ways that conform to them" (125). Katz's analysis reminds us that premodern engagements with pilgrimage constituted and consisted of symbolic tapestries distinct from contemporary ones. In the accounts analyzed in this chapter, both pilgrims display an awareness of the commemorative valence of their actions, though to a degree that should not be imputed or assumed, but rather intuited and discerned with care.

Anthropologists and historians of religion often underscore the *ḥaġġ*'s communal significance and unifying force. As Fazlur Rahman contends, "The institution of pilgrimage has been a very potent vehicle of furthering Islamic brotherhood and a pan-Islamic sentiment among Muslims of diverse races and cultures" (1979, 37); James Thayer surmises the *ḥaġġ* fortifies Muslims' identification with the *ummah* through spiritual and didactic currents (171); in Malcom X's oft-cited account (1964), he recalls the sense of unity he experienced during the *ḥaġġ* (qtd. in Coleman and Elsner 66-7). Likewise, Bernard Lewis attributes to medieval Islamic pilgrimage "a heightened awareness of belonging to a larger whole" and attributes this newfound consciousness, in part, to:

the linguistic unity of the Muslim world, with two or three languages serving not only as the media of a narrow clerical class, like Latin in Western Europe, but as the effective means of

universal communication, supplanting local languages and dialects at all but the lowest levels. The pilgrimage was not the only factor making for cultural unity and social mobility in the Islamic world—but it was certainly an important one, perhaps the most important (qtd. in Turner 1978, 188).

Victor and Edith Turner largely endorse Lewis's portrayal of Islamic pilgrimage. Though they point out Lewis's disregard of what they deem North African manifestations of "folk Islam," overall Islamic pilgrimage's "unifying and centralizing" force serves as a foil to highlight Christendom's more diffuse framework (1978, 188; 191).

Though the Turners' pivotal monograph (1978) centers on Christian pilgrimage, their conclusions are oft-cited in analyses of other faith traditions. At its essence, pilgrimage is constituted by three stages: separation, liminal stage ("the journey itself"), and reaggregation ("the homecoming") (Turner 2005, 328). The liminal stage engenders *communitas*, a "commonness of feeling" reinforced by collective ritual and a shared existence that "puts all structural rules in question" and "strains toward universalism and openness" (Turner 1978, 13; 1973, 216). Qualifying pilgrimage's "anti-structural" nature, Victor Turner remarks that "while the pilgrimage situation does not eliminate structural divisions, it attenuates them, removes their sting" (1973, 221).

Though pilgrimage is undoubtedly a force of coalescence, it does not always spawn a sense of commonality or mutual comprehension. Campo (1991) points out the limitations of understanding the *ḥaġġ* devoid of its authoritative and political underpinnings; Kennedy (2012) corroborates this contention in his description of Umayyad and Abbasid caliphal involvement in the *ḥaġġ* (80-1; 104). Citing the sense of regional identity fostered during sixteenth-century pilgrimages, El Moudden argues that Moroccan Muslims increasingly felt their peripheral status

when they travelled to Mecca (82).<sup>414</sup> Indeed, Muslims of heterogeneous backgrounds, knowledge, expectations, and ways of being in the world experience various degrees of identification and alienation on the *ḥaġġ*. As discussed below, pilgrims' cultural differences often overwhelm religious similarities. Iberian Muslims' account of *ḥaġġ* demonstrate the ways in which pilgrimage solidifies local, regional, and spiritual collectivities.

### *Viajeros, Emigrados, Alḥiġantes*

Regardless of whether Mudejars and Moriscos journeyed to Mecca, they left the peninsula under various guises for distinct purposes. Though most surrender agreements stipulated Mudejars' right to travel, by the fifteenth century Christian officials required Muslims to leave some sort of a deposit to ensure their return; at times, authorities "flatly prohibited Mudejar travel to Islamic lands" (Miller 68). Despite restrictions, Mudejars ventured beyond Spain to study and to escape subjugation. In pursuit of religious freedom or autonomy, among other reasons, Castilian Mudejars emigrated to Granada, to Portugal (until 1497), and abroad. In particular, Pablo Ortego describes the "éxodo" that took place after the 1502 conversion decree (59).

Mudejars also travelled between kingdoms to study and to teach. Many Valencian and Aragonese Muslims went to Granada, where they acquired Arabic texts. Conversely, Granadan scholars shared their knowledge with coreligionists in Valencia (Miller 69). Pilgrimage within the peninsula also spurred Mudejars' movement. Valencian, Aragonese, Catalanian, Granadan,

<sup>414</sup> Though I do not agree with all of El Moudden's conclusions, his case study reiterates pilgrimage's function as a highlighter of difference, rather than as a stimulus for unity.

and Moroccan Muslims flocked to the Atzeneta mosque in the Vall de Guadalest, which housed the tomb of Sufi Abū Aḥmad Jaʿfar b. Sīdbūnah al-Khuzāʿī (d. 1227) (Meyerson 257).

Authorities intensified control over Moriscos' movement in the sixteenth century—both within the Peninsula and beyond its borders (Harvey 1987, 14; Lea 188). Nonetheless, travel proscriptions did not impede Moriscos from maintaining strong ties with one another (Bouzineb 2018, 284). Experts in “viajes clandestinos,” Moriscos ventured in and out of Spain before and after the expulsion (López-Baralt and Irizarry 549-50). Itineraries in Aljamiado codices provide routes for emigration as well as for returns to Spain (López-Baralt 2009, 395-462).<sup>415</sup> Barceló and Labarta transcribe a poem in which a Valencian émigré rejoices in their newfound religious freedom in Algiers yet laments feelings of homesickness (“*al-gurba*”) (2009; see no. 104; 255-6).

Whether with excitement or with dread, for the short-term or the long-term, Mudejars and Moriscos traversed territories. Those who went to Mecca were known as *alḥiġantes*. In Arabic, a Muslim who completes the *ḥaġġ* earns the respected title of “*ḥāġġ*” or “*ḥāġġah*,” an *ism al-fāʿil* derived from the root *ḥāʾ-ġīm-ġīm*. In *aljamía*, Arabic *ḥāʾ-ġīm-ġīm* fused with the *romance* suffix “ante” (e.g. a *caminante* or “one who walks”; an *amante* or “one who loves”) produces “*alḥiġante*”—one who does the *ḥaġġ*. The lexical alternative distinguishes a duality: a *romance*-speaking *ḥāġġ*.

In addition to the extant texts discussed below, official registers document that out of the four hundred Mudejars who departed abroad from Barcelona between 1329 and 1409, sixty

<sup>415</sup> The “Avisos para el camino” (Ms. Arabe BNF 774, fols. 37v-39r) direct Moriscos from Spain to Turkey; an account in BRAH T-16 (11/9412) maps a route from Venice back to Spain. The “Avisos” instruct Moriscos to dress as Christian pilgrims to avoid confrontation with authorities (López-Baralt and Irizarry 560; López-Baralt 2009, 407-10).

individuals stated their intent to reach Mecca (Casassas 2018, 94). Little is known regarding Moriscos' completion of or abstention from the *ḥaġġ*. The Oran *fatwā* (1504) does not exempt, compel, or otherwise opine on the *ḥaġġ* (Harvey 1987, 13). Indeed, in the *Sermón* (Ms. 1574), the lyric voice describes the pilgrimage but qualifies “que pues acá no alhijamos” (fol. 24r). If Moriscos were unable to undertake the pilgrimage, they nonetheless displayed a keen interest in its recollection (Roza 2018, 61-8). In addition to the *Memoria* and the *Coplas del alhiġante*, two accounts of pilgrimage, completed in 1395-6 and 1412 by Muslims from Tortosa and Fez, respectively, circulated among Moriscos. These were translated from Arabic into *romance* at the end of the sixteenth century, likely by the Granadan Moriscos associated with the Lead Tablets (Epalza 1982-3, 30-1).<sup>416</sup>

‘Omar Paṭōn’s journey likely took place between 1491 and 1495.<sup>417</sup> Paṭōn committed his account to paper with the Latin script, though the two extant copies are copied in *aljamía* and are dated to the sixteenth century (Roza 2018, 93). The Calanda manuscript (L771-4, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón) varies between 18 and 20 lines per folio; the single scribe’s redaction is slanted and cramped. The production layout displays little concern for neatness; material corrosion leaves numerous passages illegible. The extant manuscript was found among other Aljamiado codices in Calanda in 1988. Scholars presume the texts belonged

<sup>416</sup> Epalza classifies the Mudejar’s text as “más una guía clásica del peregrino que un relato de viaje, geográfico y erudito” whereas the latter text is addressed to the pilgrim’s brother “en forma de epístola narrativa en verso” (1982-3, 27). The manuscript (no. 128, Biblioteca Bartolomé March Cervera, Palma de Mallorca) consists of 23 texts; the two accounts of pilgrimage appear on fols. 340-359 and 360-373.

<sup>417</sup> For biographical details on Paṭōn, see Roza (2018, 108). Xavier Casassas Canals and his research team published an edition of L771-4 in 2017. Entitled *De Ávila a La Meca: El relato del viaje de Omar Patún (1491-1495)*, the work’s editors clarify that their publication is not a critical edition or “transliteración científica” of the manuscript (11). Roza published a critical edition of L771-4 and the *Escuelas Pías* manuscript in 2018.



to an Aragonese *alfaquí* (Cervera Fras 1993; 2005). Calanda, like Almonacid de la Sierra, was an important center for manuscript production (Roza 2018, 120). Roza suggests that the *Escuelas Pías* manuscript was elaborated from another Aljamiado copy of the account, no longer extant, around the middle of the sixteenth century (2018, 104).

Inserted into Ms. J-13 CSIC, the massive volume described in Chapter 3, the *Coplas del alhiğante* comprise 79 stanzas of *arte menor*. Rhyme varies between assonant and consonant (common schemes include *ababbccb*; *abbaacca*; *ababbcbc*); the number of syllables per line fluctuates.<sup>418</sup> Since the initial folio is damaged, only in the closing phrase do we read the poem's title: "aquí se acaban las coblas del-*alhiğante* de Puey Monçón" (fol. 219v).<sup>419</sup> The poem is redacted in crisp, discernible stanzas separated by groups of *tréboles* (fols. 197v-219v). A distinct hand pens the *Coplas del alhiğante*; the poem does not correspond to other paleographical or material features of the codex (Montaner 1988b, 136).<sup>420</sup> The copy reflects the deliberate work of a skilled scribe. With the exception of the first, each folio comprises eleven lines; each *copla* begins a new line of text.<sup>421</sup> Though the poem begins on fol. 197 *verso* (rather than *recto*), another scribe writes the beginning of the *basmala* on fol. 197 *recto*. Traces of a vertical crease appear at the quire's center, suggesting the manuscript was once folded into someone's pocket.

<sup>418</sup> See Del Casino (18-31) for a detailed discussion of the poem's metrical and rhythmic patterns.

<sup>419</sup> Today known as "Pueyo de Santa Cruz," the town is located in Huesca, a northeastern province of Aragon.

<sup>420</sup> Montaner notes the poem's "numeración independiente correlativa (fols. 1-23), en cifras arábicas escritas a lápiz y situadas en el ángulo superior izquierdo de los rectos, que se deben, muy probablemente, a su editor, Mariano de Pano (1897)" (1988b, 128).

<sup>421</sup> On fol. 199r, the copyist does not insert *tréboles* between two stanzas and instead leaves one of the eleven lines blank. Perhaps he added the decorations after copying the text.

Del Casino describes the poem's linguistic expression as predominately Castilian with "numerosos rasgos aragoneses y algunos catalanes" (4). Scholars have intuited the date of the pilgrim's journey from historical information offered in the text. Some suggest the pilgrimage took place after the forced conversions, as late as 1603 (Pano 292; Harvey 1987, 210). This is unlikely if we accept Montaner's persuasive hypothesis that Ms. J-13 was compiled between 1579-81 and 1588 (1988b, 138). Mikel de Epalza first suggested the text was written between 1505-17; as Roza confirms with documentation from the Arxiu del Regne de València, two Muslims from "Puimonzón" left Valencia for North Africa in the year 1517 (2018, 65). Whether the pilgrim was a Mudejar or a Morisco when he left Puey Monçón, he could have composed or commissioned the work when he returned, probably as a Morisco.

Scholars tend to ascribe the poem's authorship to the anonymous *alḥiġante*, yet it is important to consider the possibility that the pilgrim recounted his journey to another Morisco who later composed the poetic representation. Though I will refer to both the "pilgrim/*alḥiġante*" and the "lyric voice" as a literary expression of the pilgrim's identity, I do not intend to conflate author, poetic construct, and traveler. The poetic stance assumes the identity of a pilgrim, but first-person expression is not necessarily autobiographical. The author could have derived the poem from a prose account of pilgrimage; they could have composed the work at the *alḥiġante*'s behest.

Scholars link the *Memoria* and the *Coplas del alḥiġante* to the *riḥla* tradition (Khedr 2010, 222; Zúñiga 451; Casassas 2018, 96; Del Casino 11).<sup>422</sup> Broadly defined, *adab al-riḥla* (pl: *riḥlāt*) denotes travel and its written recollection. Since the ninth century, Muslims heeded

<sup>422</sup> Del Casino links the *Coplas del alḥiġante* to "la literature árabes de viajes" and Ibn Jubayr in particular, without mentioning the word *riḥla* (11-3).

Muḥammad's injunction to pursue learning far from home (Davis 102). *Al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* ('travel in search of knowledge') became a widespread practice (Netton 2012). "Al-Tortosini," for example, on his way to Mecca consulted venerable scholars and collected their works for diffusion among coreligionists; the commitment to *ṭalab al-ʿilm* evidently impelled his departure (Miller 69). Learners (*tullāb* [sing: *ṭālib*], literally "searcher") acquired knowledge through audition (*samāʿ*) and seeing (*ʿiyān*); such epistemological "paradigms" relied on physical proximity to teachers (Touati 9). Instructors would then confer *ijazas* (licenses) to transmit the imparted knowledge (Irwin 164). Overtime, *riḥla* came to denote the travelogue or written narrative that documented these peregrinations, a form of expression linked to *khavar* (piece of information) and *risāla* (epistle) (Touati 221-55).<sup>423</sup> Some *riḥlāt* also recounted journeys to Mecca, including the testimonies of Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūta.<sup>424</sup>

Though the *Memoria* and the *Coplas del alhiḡante* broadly evoke the *riḥla* tradition, approaching the texts—in particular the poem—solely vis-à-vis this framework does not account for salient communicative gestures and rhetorical expression. Scholars tend to describe texts associated with *riḥla* as informative, didactic, unliterary, or simple. Consider the following assessments: "El <<viajero tortosino>> *no tiene ninguna pretensión literaria*, sino religiosa y didáctica. En cambio el <<viajero fasí>>, a pesar de su *sencillez*, escoge la forma en verso para expresarse y busca a veces sus efectos literarios" (Epalza 1982-3, 36; my emphasis). According to another appraisal, Paṭōn's *Memoria*: "Es un texto en primera persona *sin pretensiones*

<sup>423</sup> Scholars credit Sevilan intellectual Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (1076-1148) with catalyzing the *riḥla*'s development in the early twelfth century (Touati 227; Dejugnat 2017).

<sup>424</sup> Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217) was perhaps the most well-known Andalusian Muslim to document their *ḥaḡḡ*. Born in Játiva, Ibn Jubayr journeyed to Mecca for the first time in 1182. The earliest known copy of his account is dated to 1470 (Kennedy 123-32). Ibn Baṭṭūta inserted passages from Ibn Jubayr's *riḥla* into his own (Dejugnat 2017).

*literarias* en el que el autor rememora con muchos más detalles que los otros las circunstancias y acontecimientos de su viaje a La Meca” (Casassas 2018, 96; my emphasis).

Critics similarly highlight the *Coplas del alhiḡante* for being informative, simple, didactic, and unliterary. In 1890, Pablo Gil surmised the following about the poem: “Aunque *no es un modelo literario*, no deja de ser una pieza insólita y de interés por las noticias que encierra, las descripciones que hace y las costumbres que describe” (171). In 1897, Mariano Pano y Ruata described the *Coplas del alhiḡante* as: “una especie de poema descriptivo notabilísimo, sino [si no] por su mérito literario, por la *sencillez y genialidad* con que está escrito” (27; my emphasis). Over a hundred and a score years later, Casassas substitutes “sencillez y genialidad” with “escueta y amena,” though his appreciation largely echoes that of Gil and Pano: “el autor relata su viaje de peregrinación sin entrar en demasiados detalles, de forma *escueta y amena*, con el fin de animar a los musulmanes castellano-aragoneses a hacer la peregrinación” (Casassas 2018, 97; my emphasis). Ramón Zúñiga López postulates a similar impetus: “El único motivo que empuja al poeta a escribirlas [i.e. *las coplas*] es el piadoso y la exaltación de la grandeza de Islam” (475). Khedr surmises that “el texto tiene pretensión religiosa y didáctica” (2010, 222).

Another critic likewise pits “didactic” features against “literary” quality: “*Las coplas* no fueron escritas con el afán tanto de hacer literatura como de entusiasmar a los moriscos por las creencias de la fe islámica. Y a ese fin didáctico conforman la composición y los demás elementos del poema” (Del Casino 47). Other analyses cast doubt on the work’s literary execution. As Khedr remarks, “la narración no tiene un orden claro,” a charge that recalls Pano’s assertion “No hay orden en la narración” (2004; 40; 41). Harvey contends “this pilgrim is no master poet” and describes the poem as “rather doggerel verse” (1987, 22; 21).

In sum, the poem is a simple (or substandard) composition that treats religious themes and aims to instruct Moriscos. Though previous scholars have illuminated the poem's content in meticulous historical and philological analyses, it remains to be recognized that the *Coplas del alhiġante* are more than transparent poetic conduits of information. Accounts of pilgrimage are not only descriptive but also evocative; they display both informative and meditative functions. Driven by a spiritual paradigm, pilgrims are not merely travelers. Representations of pilgrimage endeavor to convey sacred travel's ethereal and ephemeral qualities. Their effects and functions are anything but simple. Building from previous studies, this chapter approaches accounts of *ħaġġ* not as derivative of *riħla*, but as generative ways of telling.

### **Personal Narrative: Moral Stance and Tellability**

Elinor Ochs's and Lisa Capps's dimensional approach to narrative sheds light on the complexities of storytelling. Though more concerned with "ordinary social exchanges" than "polished narrative performances," Ochs and Capps allude to, and substantiate, Mary Louis Pratt's "blurring of boundaries between literary works and oral accounts" (2; 33). Pratt's "speech act approach to literature" posits texts as communicative wellsprings that share features with other modes of expression (1977, 88). In her analysis of display texts, discussed below, Pratt highlights similarities between "natural narrative" and "literary narrative," questioning the firm line drawn between spontaneous and "polished" storytelling (1977, 69).

With Pratt's conclusions in mind, we can turn to Ochs's and Capps's framework, which hinges on five "dimensions" of narrative: *tellership* (collaborative or individual), *tellability* (rhetorical style and conveyance of the narrative's worth), *embeddedness* (vis-à-vis surrounding discourse), *linearity* (a narrative's unfolding, whether closed or open, causal or uncertain), and

*moral stance* (the articulation of experience “in relation to principles of goodness” [Ochs 284]) (Ochs and Capps 45). Though these divisions may seem schematic, the authors clarify: “we stipulate dimensions that will be always *relevant* to a narrative, even if not elaborately manifest” (Ochs and Capps 19; emphasis in original). Instead of seeking to pinpoint a dimension’s presence or absence, the approach outlined by Ochs and Capps provides a framework within which we can examine distinct rhetorics of telling.

Tellability and moral stance, the main dimensions discussed in this chapter, require additional clarification. The former recalls William Labov’s conception of “evaluation.” Labov examines narratives of personal experience in his study of Black English Vernacular (*Language in the Inner City*, 1970). Similar to the tellability dimension outlined by Ochs and Capps, “Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful: more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual—that is, worth reporting. It was not ordinary, plain, humdrum, everyday, or run-of-the mill” (Labov 371). In other words, evaluation responds to the question of “so what?” (Labov 370); it constitutes “the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told and what the narrator is getting at” (Labov 366). A narrative’s moral stance, on the other hand, conveys “a disposition towards what is good or valuable and how one ought to live in the world” and is grounded in tradition and communal bonds (Ochs and Capps 45). The act of recounting itself “involves piecing together the moral meaning of events” and allows narrators to make sense of an experience (Ochs and Capps 51).

The dimensions of tellability and moral stance illuminate a narrative’s authentic and coherent impulses. As Ochs and Capps elucidate: “All narrative exhibits tension between the desire to construct an over-arching storyline that ties events together in a seamless explanatory

framework and the desire to capture the complexities of the events experienced by avoiding facets of a situation that don't make sense within the prevailing storyline" (4). Hayden White sheds light on similar tensions intrinsic to representations of past events. Shaping experience into narrative form is an imaginative act, whether the "real events" in question happened in one's own presence or another's. Personal accounts and historical discourse alike exhibit "a desire to have real events display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary" (White 1987, 24). Narratives—whether historical or personal—can convey both authenticity and coherence. This duality surfaces in the *Coplas del alhiğante*.

### **Ways of Telling: The *Coplas del alhiğante***

Though the poem teeters between authentic and coherent valences, it errs on the side of the latter. Coherent telling relies on the portrayal of human and divine actors. As Ochs and Capps contend, "Narrators of personal experience evaluate protagonists as moral agents, whose actions, thoughts, and feelings are interpreted in light of local notions of goodness" (47). The poem is replete with "moral agents." The caravan's captain (*amīr al-ḥağğ*) and Al-Shāfi', for instance, display dignified comportment that earns them the designation "grandes señores" (fol. 208r).<sup>425</sup> A ritual exchange of the *kiswah*—the Ka'ba's cloth covering replaced annually—underscores the generosity of the *amīr al-ḥağğ* and the humble appreciativeness of al-Shāfi': "Entrególe el capitán / el camello de la cobertura [*kiswah*] / y-él [*al-Shāfi'*] con mucha medida / no mostrándose ufano / más como onbre umano / demostró su akselençia" (fol. 208r).

<sup>425</sup> Muslim authorities organized *ḥağğ* caravans to minimize the journey's many hazards. Caravans originated in Damascus, the Maghrib, and Iraq (Wensinck et. al. 2012).

Both present and past protagonists populate the poem's moral landscape. The *alḥiġante* weaves a tapestry of spiritual forerunners, highlighting the exemplarity of “‘Umar el de la misura,” Abū Bakr (a “caballero afamado”), ‘Alī ibnu Abī Ṭālib (a “bravo león” and a “barragán probado”) and Fāṭima (“fīja es clareficada / del-*annabī* singular”) (fols. 204r; 212v; 214v).<sup>426</sup> Though less attention is granted to antagonists, two noteworthy exceptions include Jews and disbelievers. Passing through “La Mataría” on the outskirts of Cairo, the pilgrim recalls the garden's prior function: “la cual se abrió a Maryam / por cierto para salvarla / cuando los falsos judíos / andaban por matarla” (fol. 204v). In addition to “falsos judíos,” the *alḥiġante* remembers pre-Islamic disbelievers, the “companions” or “masters” of the elephant (*The Study Quran* 1562). In an episode said to have occurred around 570 CE, the Abyssinian army descended upon Mecca with an elephant in tow, attempting to destroy the Ka‘ba. God dispatched a throng of birds to thwart their efforts (Mattson 2013, 9):

I pasamos por-el val  
a donde fueron destruídos  
las compañías del-*alfil* [*elephant*]  
porque fueron descreídos  
mandó Allāh a unas avezillas  
pedrearlos // por maldiçión  
donde l-*annabī* Edriç [*Idrīs*]  
dende allí subió al cielo (fols. 213v-214r).

The reference to *sūrah* 105 (*al-Fīl*) reinforces the “principles of goodness” sprinkled throughout the account (Ochs 284). Inflected with moral resonance and religious significance, the poem recalls both pious models and previous enemies. The *alḥiġante* strives to convey numinous presence: sites attest to God's omnipotence, the lives of Islamic exemplars, and the triumph of

<sup>426</sup> ‘Umar was the second caliph (r. 634-64) and companion of Muḥammad; Abū Bakr the first caliph (r. 632-4) and companion of the Prophet; ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, as well as the fourth caliph (r. 656-61).



good over evil. Sketching past characters from present spaces weaves moral underpinnings into the narrative, providing a coherent thread to which subsequent interlocutors can relate.

Just as God protected Mary and the Ka'ba, God redresses the pilgrims' unfortunate circumstances. The poem juxtaposes Allāh's past and present soteriological intervention: "el-alto rrey soberano / el que nos quiso salvar / pues todo estaba en su mano / dio rreposito a la mar" (fol. 201v).<sup>427</sup> Highlighting human and divine help subsumes contingency in moral certainty. The laudable actions of "el rraiç Çebiti"<sup>428</sup> and his "primo ermano" likewise overshadow the journey's unpredictability:

Socorrieronnos por çierto  
no nos deşaron mal pasar  
en todo aqueste tienpo  
que anduvimos por la mar  
i Allāh que nos quiso ayudar //  
con la su merçe i *albaraka* [blessing]  
que arribamos a un puerto  
en-el rreyno de Montebarka (fols. 202r-v).<sup>429</sup>

Events are not random or devoid of moral significance; they cohere with religious import. The cultivation of a coherent narrative facilitates readers' involvement in the poem's unfolding.

Underneath the verse "i Allāh que nos quiso ayudar," another hand writes "*çubāḥa*," approximating the invocation "*subḥāna Allāh*" or "Glorified be Allah" (fol. 202r). The marginal note exhibits the ways in which coherent telling stimulates interactive engagement. Recounting Allah's intervention prompted at least one reader of the poem to praise God, despite their physical distance from the events recalled.

<sup>427</sup> The verse "todo estaba en su mano" recalls Qur'ānic references to the "hand" of Allāh (e.g. Q 57:29).

<sup>428</sup> The ship's captain (Del Casino 293).

<sup>429</sup> Montebarka is located on the Libyan coast.

After the shipwreck destroys provisions, the pilgrim seems to enhance the account's authenticity by repeatedly alluding to the affliction of hunger. Between Tunis and Al-Mahdīa, “navegamos por-esa vía / tres días de sin comer” (fol. 199v). Upon landfall, hunger pains intensify:

Cuando rribamos a Şafāqiz<sup>430</sup>  
 con la fanbre aquešados  
 i penados de la marina  
 i de la fortuna tormentados  
 trobemos tales // rreparos  
 de un dolor tan lastimero  
 no trobamos bocado de pan  
 por amor ni por dinero (fols. 199v-200r).

In search of sustenance, the pilgrim and his anonymous “compañero,” come across a “forastero” who guides them to a place in “donde abía ganado mucho” (fol. 200r). After purchasing a lamb “por siete naşrines” they prepare the meat despite sparse resources:

Pusimoslo en-una olla  
 sin-awa ni cozinado  
 ni salsa ni-aparejo  
 ni nengún otro guisado  
 así mal aparejado  
 lo [u]bimos a cozer  
 de sin pan ni otra cosa  
 nos lo ubimos de comer (fol. 200r).

Though the passage reflects the vicissitudes of premodern travel, the depictions of hunger transcend the realm of the authentic. Calamitous contingencies provide evidence of abstemious abnegation. Emphasizing the lack of comforts allows the *alhiğante* to foreground his spiritual sacrifice, inflecting the “contours of an experience” with pious performance (Ochs 278). The shipwreck and its consequences are infused with moral significance. Setbacks are not

<sup>430</sup> Known as Sfax in English, a Tunisian port city in the Gulf of Gabes.

insurmountable; discomfort is evidence of spiritual transformation. In a sense, authenticity serves as the handmaid of coherence.

The passage reflects pilgrimage's "liminal stage" in which an altered frame of mind leads to an eschewal of typical comforts. This stage is characterized by "a preference for simplicity of dress and behavior, by a sense of ordeal, and by reflection on the basic meaning of one's religion" (Turner 2005, 328; Turner 1978, 249). Though pilgrimage culminates in an arrival, the journey itself serves a purpose; sacred travel is not only physical transportation of the self, but also an exercise for the soul. Since it is a journey with a specific end, and pilgrims must endure obstacles and tests toward that end, in some ways the narrative is configured as a quest, both geographical and spiritual. This configuration is evident when the *alḥiġante* describes his sojourn in Tunis:

Çibḍaḍ es muy deleytosa  
para-l qu-está rreposado  
más el que tiene cuiḍaḍo  
ninguna cosa le rreposa  
con nuestra ansia quešosa  
delibremos de nos partir  
sallimonos a dormir  
de fuera un arrabal (fol. 199r).

Those impelled by a holy purpose do not have time to enjoy Tunisian delights. Carefree individuals revel in the city's thrills, while the *alḥiġante* retreats to the outskirts of town. The description of Tunis conveys the pilgrim's spiritual mindset in pursuit of the journey's ends, ones that dramatically unfold throughout the poetic recollection.

Similarly, George Greenia expounds upon the difference between pilgrimage and peregrination: "As distinct from travel for commerce, military expeditions and governance, journeys of faith were 'pre-loaded' with an imaginary that gave them an inner trajectory" (7).

The *alhiġante*'s initial enthusiasm reveals his "pre-loaded" expectations. In the second stanza, he recalls his joyful departure and alludes to his coming expiation:

Sí, yo me partí de mi gozo  
i de todo mi linaje  
para ir a tierra de moros  
a hazer mi rromeaje<sup>431</sup>  
a cunplir aquesti *alħaġe*  
qu-es un debdo prencipal  
que consume todo mal  
al que haze tal viaje (fol. 198r).

The *ħaġġ* is a means of atonement; he who travels to Mecca "tiene ganado el perdón" (fol. 207r).

The protagonist is a dutiful believer as well as a law-abiding citizen:

Yo llegando en Valençi[a]  
no lo quise más tardar  
luego hiz mi delijençia  
y mis hechos ordenar  
pagué al baile jeneral  
todo rrazón i dereitaje<sup>432</sup>  
i el patrón de la naw  
qu-es natural de Veneçia (fol. 198v).

The *alhiġante* pays his dues, puts his affairs in order, and hastens ahead.<sup>433</sup> These verses foreground a moral stance by emphasizing honorable behavior. The pilgrim is once again propelled by a sense of devout urgency.

In addition to moral stance, the dimension of "tellability" cultivates coherence. Though narrators often introduce an "evaluative" element prior to the narrative's resolution, "mechanisms of evaluation" can appear throughout the story, as a kind of "secondary structure"

<sup>431</sup> Mancebo also uses the term "romeaje" in lieu of "romería" (qtd. in Harvey 1987, 21). Pano lists *romeaje* as one of several "provincialismos de origen catalán" (29).

<sup>432</sup> "Derecho, calidad de derecho, autoridad" (*Glosario* 200).

<sup>433</sup> Harvey presumes the *alhiġante* dissimulated his reason for leaving, perhaps because he considers the pilgrim to be a Morisco, rather than a Mudejar, and in the sixteenth century authorities precluded Moriscos from leaving the country for Muslim lands (1987, 21; 14).

(Labov 371; 369). Such evaluative apparatuses permeate the *Coplas del alhiġante*. The pilgrim peppers his account with what I have identified as three key evaluative devices: emphasis on inexpressibility, a nuanced tellership, and depiction of emotional states.

A rhetoric of the ineffable pervades the poem. For the *alhiġante*, experiential impressions elude discursive representations, as observed in the marrying of negation and conditional verbs: “de allí tomamos la vía / para Alqahra [*Cairo*] la famosa / noble i grande i poderosa / que contar *no se podría*” (Ms. J-13, fol. 203r). When the mosque’s *imam* greets the caravan’s leader during the cavalcade in Mecca, “esta fue mira tan gran / *que no sería* de dezir”; the accoutrements are so magnificent “que creer *no se podría*” (fol. 207v). The Ka‘ba is a “casa de tanta valía / casa de tanta nobleza / oro i plata i rriqueza / qu-estimar *no se podría*” (fol. 208v). The central mosque likewise evades description:

Quien más quisiese escrebir  
*no lo podría acabar*  
 ni de palabra dezir  
*no lo podría contar*  
 casa tan singular  
 las cosas qu-están en-ella  
 noble gran rrica i bella  
 qu-en-el mundo no ay su par (fol. 211v).

Exaggerating the impossibility of “telling” increases the narrative’s tellability. Consistent negation of *poder* leaves the experience’s significance to listeners’ imaginations.<sup>434</sup> By emphasizing pilgrimage’s indescribable nature, those who did not witness it first-hand must imaginatively integrate themselves into its recollection.

<sup>434</sup> Del Casino links this rhetorical pattern to “las expresiones formulísticas juglarescas en que se subrayan la abundancia aludiendo a la imposibilidad de contar los componentes en cuestión” (35). The technique often appears in Latin and vernacular sermons to engage listeners’ imaginations.

In addition to a rhetoric of the ineffable, an authoritative tellership heightens the work's tellability. Throughout the poem, recourse to “vi” and “vesité” supplants a third-person reality. Emphasizing personal involvement curtails the epistemological hurdle of translating perceived reality into representation. Rather than convey extraordinary experience with adjectives or intensifiers, first-person verbs, anaphora, and polysyndeton foreground embodied presence:

Allí *vesité* l-alqa‘ba [Ka‘ba]  
 sí me fazía alḥarām<sup>435</sup>  
*vesité* la piedra negra  
 del rrencón i l-almaqām<sup>436</sup>  
 y-el pozo de Zanzan<sup>437</sup>  
 aquell-awa verdadera  
 que de las faltas i olvidos  
 ella es alinpiadera. //

*Vesité* de muy buen grado  
 quisolo mi buena dicha  
 la mujer de nueso amado  
 que su nonbre fue Ḥadiġa  
 de Ḥuwayalad era fija  
 ensalçóla el poderoso  
 en-una muy rrica alcoba  
 enterrada en gran rreposito.

*Vi* do se preñçipió el-aṣṣala  
*i* do se hizo el primer preguen  
 en-una parte de la çibḍaḍ  
 que se llama Ḥayazen<sup>438</sup>  
*i vi* la casa del-annabī  
 ques una casa rreal  
*i* la casa de Ḥadiġa  
 de su mujer la preñçipal. //

*I* la casa de Bu Bakri [Abū Bakr]  
 caballero afamado  
*i* la casa de ‘Alī

<sup>435</sup> On fol. 209v, “al-ḥarām” refers to the Meccan mosque; here it seems to invoke the concept of *al-ihrām*, or the consecrated state a pilgrim must enter before participating in rites of ḥaġġ.

<sup>436</sup> *Al-maqām* refers to Abraham’s dwelling place.

<sup>437</sup> *Zamzam* is the sacred well in Mecca that relieved Hagar and Ishmael’s thirst (Chabbi 2012).

<sup>438</sup> In Arabic, ḥay al-zayn refers to an area in Mecca.

ese barragán probado  
*i* más *vi* la propia muela  
 con que Faṭīma molía  
 cosa que tanto consuela  
*i* da creçida alegría (fols. 211v-212v).

Repetitive conjunctions stress the accumulation of places and objects. Since their quality resists representation, the poet foregrounds the quantity of things observed: the Ka‘ba, the Zamzam well, the tomb of Ḥadiġa, the place for prayer, the houses of Abū Bakr and ‘Alī, and Fāṭīma’s mill. Multiplicity supplants marvels; quantitative substance cultivates tellability. In lieu of third-person description, repetitions of “I saw” and “I visited” emphasize the subjective filter of experience.<sup>439</sup> By reiterating his status as first-hand witness, the *alḥiġante* becomes an authoritative teller. In turn, the teller’s proximity to awe-inspiring sites enhances his descriptions’ tellability.

In addition to repetitions of “I saw” and “I visited,” an explicit appeal to listeners’ attention initiates six stanzas. En route to Mecca, the pilgrim asserts: “*Deziros-é* lo que *vi* / por las sierras *i* collados / de las tierras que *pasé* / de los montes despoblados” (fol. 206v). Once in the sacred city, we are told: “*Deziros-é* de la casa / que de Mmaka [*Mecca*] se *dezía* / *i* de la orden y cawsa / quen-esta casa *abía*” (fol. 208v). Later, the pilgrim assures us: “*Deziros-é* más que *vi* / cosa de tanto consuelo” (fol. 215r). A close variation introduces the future tense: “*Diros-*

<sup>439</sup> The verb “vesitar” may connote *‘umrah*, the so-called lesser pilgrimage. *‘Umrah* is defined as “ritual visit” or simply “visit” (Badawi and Haleem 644; *The Study Quran* 86). The Arabic root *‘ayn-mīm-rā* encompasses multiple meanings: “to live long, to grow old; to cultivate, to inhabit, to populate... to worship” (Badawi and Haleem 642). The eighth *wazn* (verb pattern), *i ‘tamara*, means “to perform *‘umra*,” “to visit the holy mosque in Mecca,” or simply “to visit” (Badawi and Haleem 643; Wehr 753). Semantic connections between *‘umrah* and “visit” pose the possibility that “vesité” conveys greater religious significance than simply “I visited.” It should be noted that visiting tombs is not an orthodox component of either the *ḥaġġ* or the *‘umrah*.

*é del-alqa‘ba [Ka‘ba] / i de su tanta nobleza”*; “*Diros-é del-aşşala / como estaba ordenado*”; “*Diros-é del-Almedina / de nueso annabī onrrado*” (fols. 210r; 210v; 214r).

As frames for subsequent content, these metadiscursive phrases anticipate and summarize events. The turns of phrase are not only mnemonic devices; they provide the poem with what Labov deems narrative “evaluation.” Repetitions of “I must tell you” and “I will tell you” orient listeners to the recited information and suspend the “told” content. The lyric voice postpones the description by informing listeners what will or must be told. The momentary shift from anticipation to delivery piques listeners’ eagerness to hear the forthcoming information and thus increases its potential for spellbound engagement. Such assertions of tellership serve as evaluative enhancements as well as reminders of the narrator’s discursive control. “I will tell you” frames experience as a well-crafted and rehearsed story. Tellability both fosters and depends on rapport between performer and audience, witness and interlocutor.

As an omnipresent teller, the *alḥiġante* describes the impact events have on emotional states. A perilous route to Al-Mahdīa becomes a near-death experience: “*navegamos por-esa vía / tres días de sin comer / a otra parte la fortuna / bien nos pensamos perder*” (Ms. J-13, fol. 199v). By a similar token, Paṭōn recalls choppy waters near the port of Palermo: “*una noche vīno fortuna i tan creġida qu-estuvimos ċerca de nos perder*” (L771-4, fol. 2v). Whereas the *alḥiġante* conveys the pilgrims’ emotional state (“*we thought* we were going to capsize”), Paṭōn depicts the close call as an objective fact (“*we were* close to capsizing”).

The subtle but salient variance demonstrates Labov’s principle of evaluation. As Labov explains, “The first step in embedding the evaluation into the narrative, and preserving dramatic continuity, is for the narrator to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside of the narrative” (372). For instance,



some of Labov's interviewees incorporated the phrase "This is it!" into their recollections (e.g. "I thought to myself, 'This is it!'"). When a narrator interposes previous thoughts and action, she heightens the story's dramatic tide.

The foregoing examples illuminate links between the poem's tellership and tellability. The conveyance of experience in phenomenological terms circumvents the difficulty of depicting events that defy depiction. Rather than describe, the pilgrim underscores his privileged vantage point vis-à-vis remarkable places. Sight supplants site as the poem's rhetorical foundation. Additionally, consistent tellership lends coherence to disconnected episodes and a multitude of settings. The following pages now pivot from teller to listener, examining the poem vis-à-vis Pratt's fruitful definition of "display texts" (143).

### Textual Repositories and Display Texts

As Pratt explains, some assertions seek to inform while others invite listeners' involvement:

In making an assertion whose relevance is tellability, a speaker is not only reporting but also verbally *displaying* a state of affairs, inviting his addressee(s) to join him in contemplating it, evaluating it, and responding to it. His point is to produce in his hearers not only belief but also an imaginative and affective involvement in the state of affairs he is representing and an evaluative stance toward it (136; emphasis in the original).<sup>440</sup>

The *Coplas del alhijante* function as a "display text" by interlacing individual and collective tellership. First-person plural expression conveys a communal undertaking:

De allí *fuemos* a Miħraça<sup>441</sup>  
bonica aldea por ċierto  
allí no *fazimos* escala  
más *dormimos* en-el puerto

<sup>440</sup> Pratt's use of "evaluative" here diverges from Labov's. In a way, display texts comprise of Labovian evaluative mechanisms; the latter constitutes the former.

<sup>441</sup> Miħraça is a Tunisian port.

allí *engolfamos* por cierto  
 que-l rrayç andaba aqueñado  
 de allí *arribamos* a Jerba  
 el puerto de lur<sup>442</sup> mercado (fol. 200v);  
 [...]  
*Partimos* con alegría  
 de Jerba los alhiğantes  
 con muchos de mercadantes  
 para ir en-Ališandría  
 navegando *nuesa* vía  
 por l-alta mar tenpestosa  
 tomónos mala marina  
 una muy terrible cosa (fol. 201r; my emphasis).

The account of shipwreck and salvation is related entirely in plural terms (e.g. “cuando *fuemos* en los golfos”; “el que *nos* quiso salvar”; “que *nos* quiso rremediar”; “quedónos otra tristura”; “socorrieron*nos* por cierto”; “no *nos* dešaron mal”; “que *anduvimos* por la mar”; “i Allāh que *nos* quiso ayudar”; “que *arribamos* a un puerto” [fols. 201r-202v]). After wreckage at sea, the pilgrim’s recollection of limited provisions invokes a collective mentality (e.g. “nuestra ansia”; “delibremos”; “sallimonos”; “navegamos”; “nos pensamos”; “rribamos”; “no trobamos”; “nuevos males”; “mercamos”; “pusimoslo”; “ubimos” [fols. 199r-200]). As a group, the pilgrims visit (“vesitamos” [fols. 204r, 212v, 215v]), traverse (“pasamos” [fols. 204v, 213v]), and walk “nuestra vía” (fol. 206r). Collective tellership highlights pilgrimage’s creation of *communitas*. *Nosotros* is constituted by individuals who share spiritual experiences.

In other instances, first-person plural expression incorporates a generalized Muslim audience. Collective tellership fuses with collective “listenership.”<sup>443</sup> By using inclusive language, the lyric voice imputes a religious identification to the collective body it invokes. Consider the strategic use of “nuestro” in the following quotes:

<sup>442</sup> “Lur” is a Catalanism meaning “su” (Del Casino 319; *Glosario* 398).

<sup>443</sup> I extrapolate the term “listenership” from Capps and Ochs’s “tellership” dimension of narrative.

En-Alqahra está enterrado  
 uno de *nuesos* doctores  
 los que dieron mil favores  
 al-addīn de *nueso* amado  
 que Shāfi‘ fue llamado  
 en-una alcoba akçelente  
 a donde de mucha jente  
 cada día es vesitado (fol. 204r).

The lyric voice acclaims “*our* experts” and “*our* beloved” al-Shāfi‘, thereby invoking an audience of believers—a Muslim community beyond the immediate group of pilgrims.

Collective verbs invoke an imagined listenership. Another verse refers to Adam and Eve as “*nuestros* padres” (fol. 213r). Yet another recalls “*nueso* annabī onrrado” (fol. 214r) and another “allí están cuatro almiḥrabes / de las // *nuestras* cuatro rreglas” (fols. 208v-209r). Listeners are enjoined to supplicate Fāṭima: “fīja es clareficada / del-annabī singular / a la cual *debemos* rogar / que sea *nuestra* abogada (fol. 214v).<sup>444</sup> Plural expression abounds in the poem’s final stanzas.

Allusion to the valley of Josaphat inspires a meditation on Judgment Day:

I más que allí está el val  
 a donde según *leemos*  
 que allí todos con gran mal  
 juntamente *nos veremos*  
 donde todos *lloraremos*  
*nuestras* faltas i errores  
 los que Allāh no *serviremos*  
 que *haremos* peqadores.<sup>445</sup>

Allí onbres y mujeres  
 todos *seremos* juntados  
 de las obras // que *haremos*  
 muy bien *seremos* pagados

<sup>444</sup> Del Casino connects this verse to the Christian belief in the Virgin Mary: “¿Estará influido la visión morisca de Faṭima por la figura omnipresente de la Virgen en la España católica?” (284). She points to an excerpt from Berceo’s *Loores de Nuestra Señora* in which the Virgin is likewise called an “abogada” (qtd. in Del Casino 284). Given Mary’s role as *Mediatrix*, the reference to Fāṭima as intercessor could reflect syncretic and popular beliefs.

<sup>445</sup> Khedr introduces punctuation to understand this verse: “¿qué haremos, peqadores?” (2004, 389).

no nadi perjudicados  
 sino por justa rrazón  
 según *haremos* las obras  
 así *abremos* el walardón (fols. 216v-217r).

Forging an inclusive “listenership” conjures a shared belief system that connects the audience to one another and to the performer. Emphasizing the importance of one’s *obras*, the poetic voice enjoins believers to engage in admirable behavior: *we* should appeal to the Prophet’s daughter and *we* will pay for our sins according to what *we*, as pious Muslims, do.

In addition to the generalized group of believers, the pilgrim incorporates a specific contingent of Muslims: those who follow the Mālikī *madhab*. In the Meccan mosque, “Shāfi‘ haze l-aṣṣala / como a parte de poniente / y-Abu Ḥanifa a la medio / como laora<sup>446</sup> se amana / i Mālik *nueso* doctor / como a parte de saliente / i Ḥanbali ese doctor / a parte de la trasmontana [norte]” (fol. 211r). Another invocation of “Mālik *nueso* doctor” seems to include listening Moriscos: “*acá* y-en todo el-algharbe / a él *tenemos* por mayor” (fols. 214v-215r). Derived from the Arabic root *ghayn-rā’-bā’*, “algharbe” indicates western lands (Wehr 783). Deictic grounding situates *nosotros* “here,” presumably in Aragon. In the final exposition of the four *madāhib*, “los de la rregla de Mālik” comprise of Muslims living in the lands of “rey Ibnu Ḍābira” “rey Kinowanbi,” and “rrey de Aḥum” all of which “son d-esa parte de poniente i toda la berbería de Aliṣandria abašo los más de los al‘arabes” (fols. 218v-219r).<sup>447</sup>

Similar to poems discussed in previous chapters, first-person plural expression in the *Coplas del alhiḡante* cultivates communal consciousness and spiritual affinity. Yet the deployment of collective verbs and possessive pronouns in the pilgrim’s account plays additional

<sup>446</sup> “Entonces, luego, al punto” (Del Casino 319).

<sup>447</sup> Del Casino suggests Ḍābira is metathesis of “Bāḍi”, now Ethiopia (297). “Kinowanbi” refers to Canem (Kānem), a region next to the lake of Chad (Del Casino 299). Axum is the former capital of Abyssinia (Del Casino 289).

roles. As Ochs proposes, when an experience unfolds we are unable to make sense of it; therefore, “in narrating we do not replay an intact experience so much as bring experience into social and psychological focus” (276). The *alḥiḡante*’s reminiscences bring the minutiae of personal past to bear on a collective future. By straddling the interstices between “we pilgrims” and “we listeners,” the lyric voice vests ineffable experience with communal relevance. Subject conflation in the *Coplas del alḥiḡante* bridges “here” and “there.” *Nosotros* encompasses two imagined collectives, thereby blurring the line between those who lived the experience and those who listened to its retelling. Integrating present interlocutors with erstwhile companions invites audience members to “contemplate,” “evaluate,” and “respond to” the experience of pilgrimage (paraphrase of Pratt 136). The effect recreates the *ḥaḡḡ* for listeners’ “imaginative and affective involvement” wherein Aragonese Moriscos may envision themselves within another *nosotros* (Pratt 136).

Upon telling, the teller relives and listeners live vicariously. In addition to discursive inclusion of audience members, the poem facilitates listeners’ engagement through a plethora of sensorial descriptions. The *alḥiḡante* evokes visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and gustatory senses, conjuring the smells and tastes of “árboles frutales,” “muchas datileras,” and “manḡanos priscos i peros” (fol. 200v), the textures of silk and fabrics woven of “fino brocado” (Ms. J-13, fol. 205v), and the sounds of booming “tronpetas y-atables” (fol. 207v). Upon arriving in Mecca, listeners hear the thunderous vibrations of trumpets and drums. The cacophonous storm brings not rain but tears:

De las tronpetas y-atabales  
rresuenan // montes i valles  
atruenan los atabales  
quel-onbre s-estordeḡía<sup>448</sup>

<sup>448</sup> “Aturdir, pasmar” (Del Casino 314).

i lágrimas de alegría  
 iban derramando la jente  
 fueronse a *bābu as-salām*<sup>449</sup>  
 de la casa reverente (fols. 208r-v).

Representations of *ḥağğ* replete with sensorial descriptions enable listeners' vicarious participation. These passages exemplify what Greenia deems a contemplative "memory hoard" (11). Comprised of embodied rituals and infused with sensorial intensity, recollections of pilgrimage aspire to be memorialized. As Greenia explains:

There is an active will to build a memory hoard of real endurance, and not just of places and meals and companions, but of having participated in rites that recover, enact and propel intuitions of the transcendent into future time...And after their return, pilgrims retain something of their status as *repositories of a communal sacred memory*, becoming tokens of the sacred verities they have visited (11; my emphasis).

Greenia confers to pilgrims the "status as repositories of a communal sacred memory"; similarly, I would add that representations of pilgrimage constitute textual "repositories." Evoking sensory elements and invoking collective tellership, the *Coplas del alḥiğante* cultivate communal memory. Affective and somatic ties refract lived experience to those who did not witness it first-hand. As a textual repository of "communal sacred memory," the poem invites listeners to remember the sights, sounds, and smells of pilgrimage.

Along similar lines, Juan E. Campo explores the ways in which representations of pilgrimage impact viewers. Drawing upon the work of David Morgan (*Visual Piety*, 1998), Campo is primarily concerned with visual sources, though he also analyzes written materials, such as inscriptions on pilgrimage certificates. He contends:

[M]ediated images of the Hajj and its landscapes, in both medieval and modern media, engage viewers by creating relationships that both *transcend* place and *put* in place – orienting them physically and perceptually. Such relational engagements of viewer and image, as posited by Morgan, situate the body of the viewer *before the image*, draw the

<sup>449</sup> "Gate of Peace" in the Meccan mosque.

viewer's body *into the image*, and can even lead the body *beyond the image* to a greater communal body or religious tradition (Campo 2016, 270; emphasis in original).

We can extrapolate from the foregoing passage the idea of “relational engagements” between viewer and image. I would submit that a comparable interaction takes place between listeners and the *Coplas del alhiġante*'s recitation. The poem draws listeners' bodies “before,” “into,” and “beyond” the poem through sensory details and inclusive expression. An efficacious display text, the work cultivates a “communal sacred memory” by facilitating vicarious involvement. The *Coplas del alhiġante* might have been recited during the month of *Dū l-ḥiġġa*, particularly around the celebration of *īd al-aḏḥā*. Given the Moriscos' travel limitations, reciting the poem would have brought Aragonese Muslims closer to the joys, trials, and spiritual transcendence of *ḥaġġ*. The *Coplas del alhiġante* linked Moriscos' ritual practices to a sacred calendar, irrespective of their physical location.

### **Ways of Telling: ‘Omar Paṭōn**

Before examining the poem's conclusion, a few examples from ‘Omar Paṭōn's account illuminate another “way of telling” the experience of *ḥaġġ*. Casassas deems Paṭōn's account a “*riḥla* de época mudéjar” (2018, 94), though the Calanda manuscript's entextualization reads: “Aquest-es un treslado i memoria de ‘Omar Paṭōn vezino de la çibdad de Ávila i lo que le acaeçió en su camino de ida i de venida hasta Makka a ‘azzahā Allāh [May it be praised by God]” (L771-4, fol. 1v). The *Escuelas Pías* manuscript similarly reads: “Este es treslado de un memorial que hizo çīda alḥaġi ‘Omar Paṭōn de la çiuḏad de Ávila de las cosas que vio en su camino, y-es según se sigue, cuando fue a Makka a hazer alḥaġ” (qtd. in Roza 2018, 283). “Memoria” and “memorial” convey an account or record, while “treslado” denotes both

translation and a textual reproduction. The use of the word “treslado” in L771-4 refers to the work of a scribe, not a translator.<sup>450</sup>

The term “memoria” recalls the Aljamiado itineraries mentioned above, in which documentation of geographic, economic, and alimentary information prefigures future iterations of the journey: “los itinerantes querían dejar *memoria* precisa de su camino para los próximos que repitieran el viaje” (López-Baralt 2009, 425; my emphasis). Likewise, in Al-Tortosini’s account, we read in the translated prologue: “partíme con el favor de Dios de asientar lo que he visto ocularm/en/te y haverlo oydo de persona de crédito, añadiendo a lo dicho algún precepto de las çerimonias de dicha visita, *para que sierva lo dicho por ayuda y memorial a la persona que desear hacer lo mesmo*, con lo que espero de premio y merçed, confiando en Dios” (qtd. in Epalza 1982-3, 66; my emphasis).

Al-Tortosini reveals a sense of obligation not only to complete the *hağğ* but to enable its successive repetitions. Destined for replication, a textual “memory” anticipates practical application. “Memoria” conveys the intent not only to inform, but to presage; it indexes particular interlocutors and usage. In Paṭōn’s text, future verbs in collective second-person appeal to this intended audience: “*andaréys* por la Turquía dos meses i medio i por partes tres que todos son cristianos salvo los alqaydes que son moros” (L771-4, fol. 4r). Outside of Mecca,

<sup>450</sup> The word “treslado” was often a synonym for “copia,” as seen in the following document: “devya que mandase e diese liçençia a mi, el dicho escriuano, para que sacase e escriviese o fisiese escrivyr e sacar de la dicha sentençia oreginal vn *treslado* o dos o mas, quantos ouiese menester” (*Archivo Histórico de Bilbao*; Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español; my emphasis). *Translatate* means to move something from one place to another (*Diccionario de Autoridades* [III, 334]).



“por-otra parte *andarés* dieç i quinze días que no *toparés* yerbas ni ramō verde” (L771-4, fol. 12r).<sup>451</sup>

Paṭōn warns prospective pilgrims of illness, costs, food shortages, safety concerns, and communicative challenges. Whereas the *alḥiḡante* incorporates suffering into a coherent telling, Paṭōn repeatedly returns to the realities of sickness and death. Soon after the journey begins, his companion Muḥammad del Corral falls ill: “cayó malo l-*alḥiḡant* mi conpañero que estuvo un mes que no se levantó i los dieç días sinse abla [*sin hablar*] que bien pensé que d-aquella veç quedara en la mar que todos los más de los días, tres i cuatro onbres ejaban [*echaban*] en la mar muertos” (L771-4, fol. 2v).<sup>452</sup> After arriving in the port of Çesme, Corral’s condition worsens: “cayó malo mi conpañero no se devantaba de su dolença” (fol. 3r). Locals are not taken with the beleaguered outsiders: “en-este puerto abía quinze casas que todos huían de nosotros porque no se le pegase la muerte” (fol. 3r). Over fifty people die here: “murieron aquí de los que se desenbarcaron más de çincuenta presonas [*sic*] aquí murió el muftī de Granada i alfaquí alqayde de Wadiš [*Guadix*]” (fol. 3r).<sup>453</sup> Later, “mi conpañero estaba muy malo de calenturas e del gran frío que tenía dolor en la bierna [*pierna*]” (fol. 9v).

Due to tenuous health and limited funds, the *alḥiḡantes* from Ávila delay their pilgrimage. In Damascus, Paṭōn acknowledges: “nosotros no tuvimos fuerça para ir este año allá que nos faltó la salud i-el dinero; abíamos menester anbos gamello [*camello*] i medio que valía

<sup>451</sup> A similar technique is manifest in the *Avisos para el camino* (Ms. 774 BNF, fols. 37v-39r). For example, “*Entraréis* en una posada; *regatearéis* primero antes de entrar. Los que *veréis* con tocas blancas, son turcos; los que *veréis* con amarillas, son judíos, mercaderes del gran Turco” (qtd. in López-Baralt 2009, 407; my emphasis).

<sup>452</sup> As the *Escuelas Pías* manuscript suggests, Muḥammad del Corral was from the city of Mérida (Roza 2018, 112).

<sup>453</sup> It appears the scribe wrote “alfaquí” and then replaced it with “alqaide.” Casassas et. al. identify the *muftī* as Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Balawī (77).

de-alqile [*alquiler*] un gamello vintiçinco e trenta duqados de ida i venīda sin la costa del comer ubímosnos de quidar [*quedar*] fasta otro año” (L771-4, fol. 6r). The pecuniary details are not unusual. Paṭōn notes fluctuating prices and laments his lack of funds throughout the *Memoria*. After bandits robbed them, a local authority provides temporary relief: “como nos abían rrobado unos mercaderes valençianos al-alqayde Maḥmūz conoçiendo nueso deseo i trebajo diéronnos vintiséys duqados con que nos rreparamos con estos” (fol. 9v). Regarding Aleppo, “esta çibdad hallamos costosa” (fol. 4r); another location was “tierra muy cara que valía... una libra de harīna tres maravedies” (fol. 11r), though in Mecca “una carga de harīna” is now only “ojo [*ocho*] duqados” and “los datales [*dátiles*] valen más barato qu-en Castilla las castañas” (fol. 12r). On the way home, “hallamos Al-Qāhira mucho más barato que la dešamos” (fol. 21r).

Paṭōn recounts unfortunate circumstances and unsavory characters. He includes a remarkable episode in which he is briefly detained:

Dišiéronos que no se andaba a la çibdad de Gazza que había muchos ladrones; ubímos de ttornar a *Baytu almaqdiç* [*Jersusalem*] i por indiçio de un malo echáronos a presos diçiendo qu-éramos cristianos i que no teníamos lenguas de ‘arabī i que-íbamos por engaño. Pusiéronos todos tres cada uno en una cárçel. Demandé que me diesen trujamán i que me llevasen delante del-alqadī Mālik, que ay cuatro alqades i un qu-e[s] regidor sobre todos; i estos son cada un[o] d-ellos de su rregla. Lleváronme delante del juez mālikī e tomó de mī su enformaçión de cómo éramos moros de tierras cristianas que no sabíamos arabīgo que vinimos en rromeaje a las Casa Santa de Makka i mandónos soltar luego ya que nos queríamos partir (L771-4, fol. 9r).<sup>454</sup>

The passage does not specify the third person’s name, though he was presumably a Mudejar as well. An anonymous “malo” denounces Paṭōn and his companions; as non-Arabic speakers, their presence in Islamic lands makes them suspicious. Paṭōn manages to resolve the case only after summoning an interpreter (“trujamán”) to negotiate with the Mālikī judge.

<sup>454</sup> Many sections of the manuscript are illegible. Roza’s edition facilitated my reading of this passage (2018, 341).

Being “moros de tierras cristianas” posed problems throughout the journey. When passing through Egypt, the pilgrim remarks: “mujo [*mucho*] daño hallamos en cada lugar con su lengua” (L771-4, fol. 9v). As mentioned above, the *ḥağğ* can illuminate unsettling differences with coreligionists; in the case of Paṭōn, pilgrimage also foregrounded similarities with Christian neighbors. Encountering a Catalan friar prompts the following response: “hallamos cuatro frayles e-uno era de-Spaña del rreino de Qatalluña que l-entendíamos muy bien la lengua” (fol. 8r).

Thieves, perjurers, and natural threats endanger those who undertake the *ḥağğ*. Paṭōn’s account of pilgrimage encompasses illness, hunger, and discomfort to a visceral extent distinct from the *Coplas del alḥiğante*. Whereas the poem incorporates listeners into the experience of sacred travel through sensory participation, blurred collectives, and a coherent tellability, the *Memoria* documents contingencies for concrete application. Although we do not know how many Mudejars or Moriscos benefitted from Paṭōn’s counsel, juxtaposing the text with the *Coplas del alḥiğante* illuminates the distinct ways of interpreting what it means to be an *alḥiğante*.

As evidenced in its context of discovery, Aragonese Moriscos engaged with Paṭōn’s *Memoria*. In addition to L771-4 and the *Escuelas Pías* manuscript, additional versions of the *Memoria* could have circulated among Mudejars and Moriscos. In fact, the Mancebo de Arévalo includes a tantalizing reference to a similar (the same?) account in his *Tafsira*<sup>455</sup>:

Esta mi presente intenzzión no es de tratar // de nuestro onrrado Alqur’ān sino de la caída de los muçlimes de Castilla y-en espeçial de la isla del-Andalūzzía que đixo **Muḥammad Baṭun** cuando vino de cumplir su *alḥağğ* que todo muçlīm está obligado a lo cumplir a pied

<sup>455</sup> The title is derived from Arabic *tafsīr*, exegetical Qur’ānic commentary. Narváez likens the manuscript to an *adab* collection, defined as “un tratado misceláneo que puede incluir tanto información general relativa a temas religiosos, civiles o literarios, como reglas de urbanidad” (2003, 17).

o a caballo dīxo este onrrado sabidor que fue tan imentada [*mencionada*] la caída del-Andaluzzía por todas las partidas de Levante que dduró [*duró*] este rresueno [*resonancia*] muchos años y allá en Maka tūvo este *alḥiḡante* grandes demandas desta isla i con la misma persona de nuestro onrrado doctor Mālik. *zzayyir*. Que le dīxo i que le dīxo [*sic*] estas palabras formadas que yo las leí en-Ávila la rreal en un pargamino [*pergamino*] harto espeso y dezían así... (Ms. J-62 CSIC, fols. 291v-292r).

Muḥammad Baṭun, likely the same person as ‘Omar Paṭōn, is an “honorable wise man” who completes the *ḥaḡḡ*.<sup>456</sup> After “onrrado Mālik” the copyist writes “*zzayyir*” between two *nuqṭa*:

“مَالِكٌ زَيَّيرٌ.”

Scholars who cite this passage presume that “*zzayyir*” is part of a name. Harvey renders “our doctor Malik Zayyin (? Sayyid)” in his translation (1987, 17), while Casassas transcribes “Mālik Zzayyir” (2015, 227). In an earlier publication, Narváez noted that Paṭōn speaks with “Mélik Zayyir” in the *Tafsira*, citing the passage quoted above as an actual conversation (1981, 152-3). Yet in the introduction to her edition of the *Tafsira*, she remarks that the Mancebo does not mention the *ḥaḡḡ* in this work; in contrast, in another of the Mancebo’s extant texts, the *Sumario de la rrelación y-exerçição espiritual* (Ms. Res. 245 BNE), “sí hay referencias a La Meca; el autor describe el lugar y recoge una prédica ofrecida allí por <<Mālik Zayyir>>. El Mancebo atribuye todo este testimonio a la <<maga>>, partera y exorcista Nozaiṭa Kalderán” (Narváez 2003, 32). Narváez then postulates in a footnote: “¿Podría estarse refiriendo al rey Malik al-Zāhir, el hijo de Saladino, y que reinó en Alepo entre 1186 y 1218? Es mencionado por Ibn ‘Arabī en su *Futūhāt al-Makiyya*” (2003, 32).

<sup>456</sup> Casassas first surmised that “Muḥammad Baṭun” and ‘Omar Paṭōn were the same person (“Aunque aquí se llama Muḥammad en vez de Omar, se trata, sin duda alguna, del mismo personaje” [2015, 227]), though in a later publication he displays a more circumspect attitude, qualifying “en el caso de que se corresponda con el Patón citado por el Mancebo (Casassas et. al. 40).

The foregoing quotes seem to conflate the *Tafsira* and the *Sumario*. In the latter, Nozaita Calderán—a wise woman and prolific traveler who appears in each of the Mancebo’s extant works—shares a vision experienced in Mecca in which “Mālik” plays a key discursive role (Narváez 1987, 505-6; Fonseca Antuña 202-4). The *Sumario*’s opening sheds light on Mālik’s identity: “i tanbién se cuenta en-él al fin la dicretanza çūnal i de qué manera se sirve i guarda en Mmaka aḡḡahā<sup>457</sup> Allāh dentro del santo tiyabero<sup>458</sup> por nuestro pedricador Mālik y sus dicretadores, según que le fue fecha a saber a este dicho manzebo por personas que an vesitado aquella santa casa” (Ms. Res. 245, fol. 1r). “Dicretanza” renders *madhab*, or school of jurisprudence, while “pedricador Mālik” is a reference to Mālik ibn ‘Anas (d. 795), founder of the Mālikī *madhab*, the prevailing school of Islamic law in the Iberian Peninsula. The Mancebo attributes quotes to Mālik throughout the *Sumario*, emphasizing: “de su dicho se tomó sin añadir ni quitar” (fol. 34r; qtd. in Fonseca Antuña 159).

In the *Tafsira*, “Mālik” likely alludes to Mālik ibn ‘Anas as well. Since Aljamiado texts often refer to him as “nuestro doctor,” the Mancebo seems to employ “que le dijo” in a figurative sense. After citing the quote from “nuestro onrrado Mālik,” itself quite enigmatic, we read: “Estas fueron las palabras que dīxo Mālik sobre la caída del-Andaluzzia i las traxo el dicho Muḥammad Baṭun las cuales tenían como rrelico de fé mmuy wwardadas” (Ms. J-62, fol. 293r). The pilgrim treats Mālik’s words as a precious “relic” transported from Mecca to Ávila. “Zzayyir” does not appear after Mālik in this quote, further indicating the word’s independence

<sup>457</sup> In the right-hand margin, the scribe corrects the Arabic spelling by writing: *a‘zzahā*.

<sup>458</sup> Later the Mancebo refers to the “tiyabero çūnnal” (Ms. Res. 245, fols. 71r-72r). Scholars define “tiyabero” as “armario” or “anaquel” but the reference is still confusing: “estaba el tiyabero çūnnal en Makka escrito en unas ojas de metal // más blancas que la plata dentro de una alcoba de mármol con una tela de fierro por su guarda y cuando algún mufti feneçía allí venían por dicreto çūnnal” (fols. 71r-v).

from Mālik's name. It is possible that “zzayyir” functions as a command to the reader.<sup>459</sup> The verb “zayyara” (second *wazn* of *zāy-yā'-rā'*) denotes to hold, to fasten, or to close (Wehr 453). In a manuscript context it could indicate to fasten one's mind to something, to take note, or to pay attention. On other folios of Ms. J-62, the scribe includes a marginal command—“noṭa”—to direct readers' attention (e.g. fol. 293v). Perhaps “zzayyir” likewise demonstrates his predilection for guiding the audience.

In any case, “Muḥammad Baṭūn” brings back a Mālikī teaching or prophecy that the Mancebo consulted in a “very thick parchment/scroll” in Ávila. The reference suggests that at least one record of Paṭōn's journey circulated among Moriscos. The Mancebo employs a thicker pen stroke to redact Paṭōn's name. Casassas ascribes this feature to the wise man's esteem among Moriscos (2015, 227). We should note that the Mancebo deploys this technique throughout the *Tafsira* to designate the text's *isnād*. Most names are bolded after the quotative “dixo” (e.g. fol. 238v; 251r). Thus, Paṭōn is presented not only as an *alḥiḡante*, but most importantly as a transmitter of information—as a pilgrim whose travels bequeath him knowledge and reliability. His textual “memoria” and “treslado” surely compelled future pilgrimage, or at least its imagined performance.

### **Narrative Closure: From *Maka* to Aragón**

The multiplicity of identifications—learner, pilgrim, authority—sheds light on the *Coplas del alḥiḡante*'s conclusion. Unlike some descriptions of travel and pilgrimage, the poem elides the return home. Instead, the lyric <<yo>> rues his inability to visit Jerusalem (“pesóme no ir ad Alkudus / digo a la Casa Santa” [Ms. J-13, fol. 216r]) and exhorts all “pecadores” to remember

<sup>459</sup> I am grateful for Nizar Hermes's help with this passage.

the valley of Josaphat's significance. Retrospective lament morphs into to prospective reminder. The proliferation of future tense verbs points to a future reckoning (e.g. "nos veremos," "lloraremos," "serviremos," "haremos," "seremos," "abremos" [fols. 216v-217r]). Incapable of recounting the past, the pilgrim foreshadows an imminent future.

After describing Mount Sinai ("la montaña nonbrada Ṭuriḡinā") the lyric voice again expresses the pain of sights unseen: "que me pesó en las entrañas / porque arriba no puyé" (fol. 217r). The pilgrim asks God for forgiveness: "si en-estas dešar pequé / por-ello ada Allāh pido perdón" (fol. 217r). The poem *sensu stricto* comes to an end with this supplication. Pivoting from a chronological account to an atemporal description, subsequent folios enumerate the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence to which Muslims align themselves: "Estas son las partidas que siguen las cuatro rreglas al-aššala en Mmaka [sic]" (fol. 217v). These *maḡāhib*, or "rreglas" in *aljamía*, include those "de Shāfi'," "de Abu Ḥanifa," "de Mālik," and "de Ḥanbali" (fols. 217v, 218r, 218v, 219r). The *alḡiḡante* then lists areas that correspond to each *maḡhab*, mapping space vis-à-vis doctrinal observance.

Though Khedr notes "una ruptura que indica la redacción de esta parte de modo independiente de la primera" beginning on fol. 217v, I do not observe any division between the poem and the prose exposition of *maḡāhib* (2004, 390). The scribe maintains eleven lines per folio and divides each *maḡhab*'s description with the same *trébol* design used to separate poetic stanzas.<sup>460</sup> Moreover, the copyist seems to conceive of the text as a continuous unit; only after the description of each of the *maḡāhib* do we read the closing invocation: "Aquí se acaban las coblas de-l-*alḡiḡante* de Puey Monçón w-l ḡmd l-Llh rb al'ālmīn [wa-l-ḡamdu li-Llāhi rabbi l-

<sup>460</sup> Since some parts of the poem feature only a few *tréboles* (e.g. when stanzas are divided by a folio change [e.g. fols. 201r; 216r]), when used sparingly to divide continuous text, the change between poem and prose is negligible.

‘*ālamina*]” (fol. 219v). Another scribe makes use of marginal space on the poem’s last folio. Before copying a series of “cabítulos” on fol. 220r, “Hand B” scrawls a cryptic message underneath the text’s benediction: “[*Re*] al-*aṣalā* irán todos bašo [*bajo*] en llas cuatro *arakas*” and in the right-side margin, “i si faze *aṣalā* juntos digan en los açalaes seqretos amin [*nal*] todos *ḥamdu*” (fol. 219v).<sup>461</sup> The words “re” and “nal” are unclear. Perhaps “nal” approximates the Arabic verb *nāla*, which means to earn, attain, or win.

How might we reconcile the abrupt poetic conclusion, prose tract, and third-party scribal addendum? In lieu of a geographic return, the poet maps an Islamic topography. Perhaps the *alḥiḡante* intended to provide an uplifting conclusion and thus downplays the deflated return to Spain. Enumerating Muslims’ various dwelling places emphasizes Islam’s expansive—and cohesive—presence throughout the world. The elision of a return route allows the *alḥiḡante* to highlight Iberian Muslims’ central connections to the *ummaḥ*. Spiritual transcendence takes precedence over geographical minutiae.

Shedding a conceptualization of pilgrimage as a “going forth” and a “coming home” compels a reorientation of literary expectations. As Carol Delaney explains, pilgrimage to Mecca is more a “return to a place of origin” than a “going forth” (qtd. in Coleman and Elsner 64). Shawkat Toorawa likewise highlights the *ḥaġġ* as a form of a return—to places that hosted the homecomings of Adam and Eve, Abraham, and most importantly, Muḥammad (229-30). The Ka‘ba constitutes the center of Islam’s sacred geography. Many premodern Islamic maps depict

<sup>461</sup> Montaner identifies this copyist as Luis Escribano, describing his calligraphic style as follows: “B produce una escritura más entrecortada e inclinada hacia la derecha, de trazado más irregular, con propensión a hacer las letras aisladas, sin efectuar los nexos normativos en el sistema grafonómico árabe, como si no dominara los alógrafos mediales de las letras, que escribe con más contraste de gruesos y perfiles y con un *ductus*, en general, más simple” (1988b, 130; 131-2).



the shrine at their center (Haleem 64-6). Thus, if pilgrimage is a spiritual and experiential return, why include the departure from Mecca to Christian lands?

The transition from lyrical account to informative exposition entails a concomitant transformation in speaking subject. After the *alhiğante*'s petition for God's forgiveness ("si enestas deşar pequé / por-ello ada Allāh pido perdón") the lyric voice does not introduce the prose text in the first-person, such as "Aquí deziros-é de las partidas de las cuatro reglas." The poetic voice becomes a third-person authority who proclaims confidently: "*Estas son* las partidas que siguen las cuatro rreglas al-aşşala en Mmaka" (fol. 217v). The shift from the subjective to an objective realm hosts an ontological conversion. Put simply, pilgrim becomes scholar.

As observed in the *Tafsira*'s portrayal of Paṭōn, Muslims who visited remote lands became sought-after authorities back home. Travel allowed pilgrims to become reliable—and respected—transmitters of knowledge. *Al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-‘ilm* and completion of the *ḥağğ* alike enabled returned Muslims "to claim the basic right to speak with authority" (Touati 80). From personal narrative to authoritative doctrine, the *alhiğante*, endowed with knowledge through travel, brings the text to an end. First-person experience allows the pilgrim to perform the role of wise authority. Since a single animator likely recited the *Coplas del alhiğante*, listeners would have identified *raconteur* with expert. Even if an *alfaquí* did not complete the *ḥağğ* himself, upon vocalizing the anonymous poem he would assume—provisionally—the status of an *alhiğante*.

Whether through connections with correligionists abroad, the conception of pilgrimage as a return, or as a means to authoritative knowledge, gestures of closure abound in the text's final folios. In addition, scribal intervention links the memory of pilgrimage to embodied exercise in the peninsula. The reference to clandestine prayer rituals within Spain ("i si faze *aşalā* juntos

digan en los açalaes seqretos...todos *ḥamdu*”) shifts the focus from worshippers in Mecca to Aragonese Moriscos. Perhaps inspired by the preceding description of the four *maḍāhib*, the copyist envisions another form of collective prayer. All bow in successive prostrations (“*arakas*”), just as pilgrims perform together in Mecca. The copyist’s note extends pilgrimage, itself a somatic enterprise, to corporeal realities within Aragon.

Consciousness of a “communal choreography” illuminates the anticipatory element of Islamic prayer (Greenia 12). As Greenia adduces, the *ḥaḡḡ* is not a distant possibility but rather “something [Muslims] anticipate daily when they set their faces toward Mecca and touch their foreheads to the ground that will carry them there” (8). Ritual anticipation is a key part of the *ḥaḡḡ*’s centrifugal relevance, as Coleman and Elsner suggest: “Even as it brings followers of Islam into a centripetal process, converging on the Ka’ba in body as well as mind, it has implications that are far more centrifugal in character” (63). Ritual practice includes non-present Muslims who “share vicariously in the actions of the pilgrimage” (Coleman and Elsner 63). Likewise, in the *Coplas del alḡigante*, somatic, memorial, and ritual connections enfold listeners into the intangible, transcendent experience of *ḥaḡḡ*. The scribal addendum illuminates the poem’s centrifugal ripples, ones that permeated land and soundscapes far beyond Mecca.

## Conclusions: Painting the Past

Last January, the Spanish political party *Vox* posted a Tweet that has since become well-known in Spain. Accompanied by the hashtag #TomaDeGranada, the post read: “No queremos, ni debemos olvidar, que hoy hace 527 años de la liberación de Granada por las tropas españolas de los Reyes Católicos, poniendo fin a ocho largos siglos de Reconquista contra el invasor musulmán.” Despite growing resistance, xenophobic groups continue to commemorate the “Capture of Granada” every January. Recently, *Vox* has spearheaded these commemorations.<sup>462</sup> Invoking the words “liberación,” “Reconquista,” and “invasor,” they apply a familiar trope to a distant past. *Vox*’s ideological use of the Reconquest narrative recalls visions of Spain’s history discussed in Chapter 2. Their polemical resurrection prompts the question of visibility: in what ways and through which platforms are nineteenth-century interpretations of history manifest in Spain today?

Nearly two million Muslims currently live in Spain. International tourists flock to Islamic monuments across the country, yet efforts to repatriate the descendants of Spain’s expelled Muslim population generate virulent opposition. Organizations have appealed to Spain’s government for an official recognition of the suffering caused by the expulsion. The Fundación Memoria de los Andalusíes, for example, has called for a provision similar to the one that made descendants of Sephardic Jews eligible for Spanish citizenship in 2015.<sup>463</sup> Symposia, conferences, live-action commemorations, and historical novels concerning the Moriscos display

<sup>462</sup> Arroyo, Javier. “Vox se apodera de la celebración del Día de la Toma de Granada.” *El País*, 2 January 2020, [https://elpais.com/politica/2020/01/02/actualidad/1577959762\\_186691.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2020/01/02/actualidad/1577959762_186691.html).

<sup>463</sup> “Descendientes de moriscos reclaman un gesto a España.” *El País*, 17 February 2014, [https://elpais.com/politica/2014/02/17/actualidad/1392665218\\_174225.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2014/02/17/actualidad/1392665218_174225.html).

Spaniards' fervent desire to remember and reconcile Spain's Islamic past.<sup>464</sup> Within this active recuperation, previous "emplotments" of the past continue to manifest themselves.

The following pages examine three artistic versions of the Moriscos' past. Currently displayed in Valencia and Castellón, nineteenth-century pictorial works continue to tell the history of the Moriscos to the twenty-first-century viewers. Valencian artists Vicente López Portaña, Francisco Domingo Marqués, and Gabriel Puig Roda inflect the Moriscos' expulsion with nineteenth-century preoccupations and predilections; their paintings enrich our understanding of a tumultuous past's contemporary reconciliation. Returning to an etic perspective will transition us into the dissertation's final conclusions.

### **Nineteenth-Century Historical Painting**

Throughout the nineteenth century, painting provided the nuts and bolts for the nation's symbolic construction (Álvarez Junco 2001, 190). Though historical painting was prevalent in the eighteenth century as an academic exercise, its "época dorada" spanned the nineteenth, deemed the "siglo por antonomasia de la pintura de historia" (Álvarez Junco 2001, 249; Arias Anglés 186). Isabel II's royal decree inaugurated the first "Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes" in 1856. Judges' enthusiasm for works that evoked historical scenes and the significantly higher remuneration for historical paintings, catalyzed the genre's proliferation (Lafuente Ferrari 476; Luis Díez 81). The biannual competition allowed artists to gain national recognition; award-winning works were displayed in the "Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura," which led to "el

<sup>464</sup> "Conmemoración de los 400 años de la expulsión de los moriscos del Valle de Ricote." *Blanca Ayuntamiento*, <http://informatica.aytoblanca.es/prensa/3027/conmemoracion-de-los-400-anos-de-la-expulsion-de-los-moriscos-del-valle-de-ricote>; "Conmemoración de la expulsión de los moriscos en Cortes de Pallás." *Ayuntamiento de Cortes de Pallás*, 5 December 2019, <https://www.cortesdepallas.es/tercera-expulsion-de-los-moriscos-2/>.

carácter eminentemente museal de los cuadros de historia” (Luis Díez 81). In addition to their intended destination in museums, printed reproductions of meritorious works circulated in journals, magazines, and newspapers, thereby broadening the reach of historical paintings among the public (Álvarez Junco 2001, 252).

Scholars link the Crown’s promotion of historical painting to the construction of a national identity. Though the category of “historical painting” does not specify any particular epoch or place, as José Álvarez Junco explains: “se concentró en escenas de historia *nacional*, y su éxito fue tal que la expresión misma ha quedado asociada desde entonces a este significado restringido” (2001, 249; emphasis in original). Works that highlighted heroic moments in the country’s history were meant to “regenerar en el público la autovaloración nacional” (Arias Anglés 210). Canvases glorified eminent figures from the beginnings and ends of the so-called Reconquest, such as Pelagius and the Catholic Kings.

Yet within an emergent “Spanish” nationalism, regional identities continued to imbue artistic production throughout the nineteenth century. Until very late in the century, “regional modes of life that varied radically across the peninsula” eclipsed a “single Spanish culture” (Kamen 2007, 213; 238-9). Though artists vied for success at the National Exposition, they were propelled by local institutions that provided financial support and instructional foundations. In Valencia, from where López, Domingo, and Puig hail, the Provincial Council distributed pensions for painters to study in Madrid and abroad (Benito Vidal 60-1). In turn, recipients memorialized heroes and feats of particular relevance to Valencians. Within this pictorial space, artists insinuated a regional identity into the national limelight.

Since Moriscos comprised roughly one third of the kingdom of Valencia’s population, the “garden of Spain” suffered devastating economic consequences as a result of expulsion

(Casey 1971; Císcar Pallarés 1993). Reluctant to expel their industrious vassals, many seigneurs begrudged the Crown's mandate. Yet one of the most outspoken champions of the expulsion, Juan de Ribera (1532-1611), also held powerful ecclesiastical and political appointments in the kingdom. Nineteenth-century artists portrayed Ribera with critical and celebratory brushstrokes, as the following paintings make evident.

### **Polysemous Brushstrokes: “El beato Juan de Ribera en la expulsión de los moriscos”**

Francisco Domingo Marqués (1842-1920) trained in both Valencia's and Madrid's Fine Arts academies (San Carlos and San Fernando, respectively). Domingo's prolific career earned him the affectionate title of “príncipe de nuestros pintores” among his contemporaries (Alcahalí 99). His talent at the easel inspired another critic to compare him to Diego Velázquez: “Los cuadros de caballete de Domingo son innumerables, y en todos ellos campea un color tan castizo y sobrio, y solamente pueden compararse en este sentido á los del egregio Velázquez.”<sup>465</sup> In 1864, Domingo's representation of the Moriscos received honorable mention in the National Exposition. Various titles “La expulsión de los moriscos,” “El beato Juan de Ribera en la expulsión de los moriscos,” and “Los moriscos valencianos pidiendo protección al beato Juan de Ribera,” the work currently resides in Valencia's Museum of Fine Arts (see Figure 1).<sup>466</sup>

The painting's intimate, interior scene casts Juan de Ribera in the central role. As archbishop of Valencia and briefly its viceroy, “El Patriarca” exercised both ecclesiastical and political influence. After decades of enthusiastic evangelization efforts, Ribera's attitude towards

<sup>465</sup> *El Liberal*. Madrid. 14 July 1894. Page 1.

<sup>466</sup> I will refer to the work as “El beato.” The museum acquired the painting in 1919 from relatives of Antonio García y Peris. Due to construction, Domingo's work is not on display currently, though curator David Gimilio Sanz confirmed the painting's location in the museum (private correspondence, July 2018).

his Morisco flock morphed into deep disillusionment. Ribera's belief in the Moriscos' inability to convert to Christianity fueled his vocal advocacy of their ejection; his vigorous campaign served as the expulsion's "conciencia moral" and "theological justification," since the committee of theologians advising Philip III never approved of the decision, nor did Pope Paul V (Márquez Villanueva 1998, 203; Ehlers 129).

Domingo's painting reenacts Moriscos' appeals for lenience following the expulsion's proclamation. Those who claimed to be genuine converts could be excepted from the decree (Dadson 2006). Ribera rarely acquiesced to such entreaties. Adamant that all Moriscos must leave, in 1610 he criticized the Marquis of Caracena for his predisposition to distribute licenses for Moriscos to remain in Spain (Ehlers 145). The Marquis, Luis Carrillo de Toledo, is likely the nobleman standing opposite the Moriscos in Domingo's representation. At the time of the expulsion he was Valencia's viceroy and captain general, though here his posture of indifference serves to enhance Ribera's authority.

The archbishop's outstretched arms convey ambiguous messages. Spotlit with chiaroscuro and donning a scarlet vestment, Ribera is the tallest and most prominent figure in the painting. The Patriarca's erect posture highlights his power; his hands seem to contain the Morisco family cowering before him. His fixed gaze does not express sympathy or consolation, but rigidity and judgment. Alternatively, instead of delivering an unforgiving punishment, perhaps Ribera's body language evokes an act of blessing. His hands do not push away, but rather bestow grace on the elderly men, women, and children. Slightly parted fingers, unlike clenched fists, which Domingo could have simulated, convey acceptance and benevolence.

Ribera's ambiguous bearing reflects the contradictory policies towards Morisco women and children. The official decree allowed Moriscos under the age of four to remain in Spain with

their parents' consent. Many Old Christians disregarded the proviso and abducted Morisco children to serve them (Halperín 200). Indeed, in 1610, Ribera advocated for the indentured servitude of Morisco children. His proposal stipulated that the children would serve Valencian families "until the age of twenty-five or thirty years in exchange for food and clothing" (qtd. in Ehlers 147). Other provisions allowed children under the age of six to remain if their mother was married to an Old Christian. In the reverse scenario, if the father were a Morisco and his wife an Old Christian, he would be expelled but his family could remain (Harvey 2005, 311; Lea 1968, 321).

Like these official policies, "El beato" privileges, and seems to sympathize with, the maternal and infantile contingents. The depiction highlights the Moriscos' meekness and Christian-ness by evoking parallels with the nativity scene. Portrayals of Mary, Jesus, and Joseph frequently cast the latter in shepherd's attire (e.g. Francisco Bayeu y Sabías, "The Holy Family" [c. 1776]; Vicente Carducho, "The Holy Family" [1631]).<sup>467</sup> Joseph leans over Mary and the infant from a higher and often darker plain, in contrast to Jesus' and Mary's bright presence. Likewise, the elderly Morisco seeks to protect his family crouched below him. He exudes gentleness in shepherd-like robes while his downcast eyes express resignation and subservience. Domingo paints the mother and baby as the fairest Moriscos; their skin gleams as white as Ribera's. The older child clutched by his mother could recall images of the Holy Family that

<sup>467</sup> See: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-holy-family/67bd986e-ce38-4694-bb87-3b5d7f58c951?searchid=a09f7390-099e-32b1-1feb-488f82140c6b>; <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-sagrada-familia/7fa395ab-b715-435c-8752-479439b6151d>.



include John the Baptist, such as Rafael's "The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, or Madonna of the Rose" (c. 1517).<sup>468</sup>

When interpreted in light of Ribera's beguiling body language, the resonances between Domingo's Moriscos and the Holy Family beg the question: with whom does the spectator empathize? Though viewers of distinct eras and dispositions will invariably interpret the work through idiosyncratic lenses, two key dates shed light on Domingo's possible motivations.

As explained above, historical painting was often a means to an end for aspiring artists. After winning admirers at the National Exposition, young painters acquired the resources necessary to study abroad and maintain financial stability through interested patrons. At first blush, Domingo's artistic trajectory exemplifies this strategy; "El beato" enabled him to jumpstart his career with a pension from Valencia's Provincial Council.

On the other hand, Juan de Ribera's pictorial protagonism could reflect extra-artistic maneuvering. Though Ribera died in 1611, he was not beatified until 1796 and he was only canonized in 1960. With pen strokes and brushstrokes, Ribera's confidants advocated for his beatification and canonization. In 1612, the archbishop's Jesuit confessor Francisco Escrivà published the first hagiographic *Vida*. With similar aspirations, early modern artists memorialized his renowned devotion to the sacrament of the Eucharist (Tarín y Juaneda 1891). Campaigns for Ribera's canonization continued into the twentieth century; apologists strove to downplay and justify his controversial involvement in the Moriscos' expulsion (Ximénez 1798; Boronat y Barrachina 1901; 1904).

<sup>468</sup> See: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-holy-family-with-the-infant-saint-john-the/efb3dfa3-c993-4f29-9db4-1c49373b275b?searchid=2f5e7262-ab40-58f8-91d5-210a967d7ef5>

Perhaps Domingo's portrayal bespeaks his intent to vindicate the archbishop's present legacy. Ribera's depiction may highlight his benevolence, thereby attenuating the odious attitudes he expressed towards Moriscos in correspondence and sermons. On the other hand, Domingo seems to extend a sympathetic hand to the Valencians facing impending expulsion. Christianized and defenseless, the Moriscos implore the viewer: why must we go? The irresolvable ambiguity that prevails in "El beato" contrasts with the unmistakable thrust of an earlier painting, to which we now shift our gaze.

### **Eucharistic Power and Unbelieving Foes: Vicente López's Allegory of Expulsion**

Born in Valencia, Vicente López y Portaña (1772-1850) studied at the San Carlos Academy and later served as court painter to Charles IV and Fernando VII. In 1790, he received San Fernando's first-place prize for his painting entitled "Los reyes católicos reciben la embajada del Rey de Fez" and in 1816 he became the Academy's director. Renowned for his portraiture, López's copious oeuvre leads one historian to conclude that "toda la sociedad de su tiempo está inmortalizada por López" (Lafuente Ferrari 437).

López memorialized both present and past figures. In commemoration of Ribera's beatification in 1796, the Valencian cathedral's council commissioned his work, "La expulsión de los moriscos," which currently resides in the cathedral's "Capilla del Santo Cáliz" (Benito Vidal 42; Tarín y Juaneda 27) (see Figure 2). As I alluded to in the Introduction, contemporary visitors flock to the chapel, eager to view its celebrated relic. The grisaille canvas adorns the wall to the left of the altarpiece.<sup>469</sup>

<sup>469</sup> For images of the chapel, see: <https://museocatedralvalencia.com/la-visita/recorrido-capillas/el-santo-caliz-de-la-cena-del-senor/>.

The placement of López's painting highlights its Eucharistic theme. Shrouded under flowing robes, Ribera's hands bear a monstrance, an elaborate vessel used to house a consecrated host. López fuses Ribera's legendary Eucharistic devotion with iconography prevalent in medieval and early modern art. The archbishop impressed the sacrament's importance upon members of his diocese by constructing a new seminary, the "Colegio de Corpus Christi," founding a special mass to celebrate communion, known as the "Jueves del Patriarca," and promoting the greeting, "¡Alabado sea el Santísimo Sacramento!" among parishioners (Boronat 1904, 25).

In his sermons, Ribera propagated the Council of Trent's renewed emphasis on the doctrine of transubstantiation (e.g. *Sermones* IV, 35; 146). According to Catholic sacramental theology, the consecration of bread and wine entails their conversion into Christ's actual body (Muir 2005). Since the elements retain their original appearance, transubstantiation presents an epistemological hurdle—how does one *visually* capture an invisible ontological transformation? Artists underscore the power of the consecrated host by representing its ability to dispel unbelievers. Paintings such as Peter Paul Rubens's "The Triumph of the Eucharist over Idolatry" (c. 1625) depict figures wielding the host (i.e. the Holy Body), while frightened non-Christians flee in droves.<sup>470</sup>

López recurs to this motif in order to allegorize the expulsion of the Moriscos. The orientalized subjects run away from the monstrance, heading towards masts that presage their departure from Valencian shores. Collective movement away from the host, accompanied by a

<sup>470</sup> See: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-triumph-of-the-eucharist-over-idolatry/4b270c6b-092a-4fce-ad1b-5e91dff3e40e?searchid=dbc7e91e-30c3-a69d-4344-367a3da9d553>.

plethora of faces tilted upwards, draws out the scene's apocalyptic undertones. López distinguishes Moriscos with articulated physiques, underlining the medieval trope of Muslims as formidable military opponents. Though a spectator may notice the woman and baby amidst the throng, the most prominent archetype is a muscular man. Unlike Domingo, who portrays the Moriscos' innocuous fragility, López imagines their destructive potential.

The Christians clustered beneath Ribera bear expressions of awe and reverence. Valencia's recently beatified "Patriarca" plays the role of protagonist in the propagandistic commemoration. The archbishop is the only upright character in the pictorial drama. He embodies the patriarchal paragon of divine judgement as the one equipped to brandish Christ's body. López anticipates Ribera's canonization by adorning his head with a radiant halo. His serene semblance masks the imminent violence the painting seems to suggest, capture, and contain.

Pérez Sánchez surmises that in López's work, "el hecho histórico se ha convertido en imagen religiosa ejemplarizante" (31-2). The painting foregrounds the sacrament of the Eucharist by displaying its ability to banish Muslims. The depiction coheres with and reinforces the archbishop's well-known Eucharistic devotion. López portrays Ribera's involvement in the expulsion as a pious endeavor. In doing so, he not only celebrates the Patriarca's beatification but also promotes his canonization. In sum, the Moriscos' past becomes a means to hagiographic ends. López's work underscores the ambiguity of Domingo's portrayal and delineates a striking contrast to the final painting.

**Semblances of Sympathy: Gabriel Puig's "La expulsión de los moriscos"**

From the small Valencian province of Tírig (Castellón), Gabriel Puig Roda (1865-1919) trained in the San Carlos and San Fernando Academies before receiving a pension to study in Rome in 1889. Throughout his career, Puig remitted paintings to his sponsors in the Provincial Government of Castellón. In 1894, he dispatched the historical painting his benefactors had long awaited, entitled “La expulsión de los moriscos.” Puig maintained a detailed account of his financial transactions; several passages from his agenda shed light on the work’s source material. After being sponsored to create a historical painting, in October of 1892 Puig purchased several volumes of the most widely read nineteenth-century Spanish history: Modesto Lafuente’s *Historia general de España*.<sup>471</sup> The painter does not refer to the project again until December of 1894, when he sends the completed painting to his patrons (Espresati and Gascó 1976).

“La expulsión de los moriscos” currently resides in Castellón’s Museum of Fine Arts (see Figure 3). Puig’s painting frequently crops up in contemporary sources, including a flyer for an academic symposium on Moriscos,<sup>472</sup> a Spanish newspaper article on refugees,<sup>473</sup> a highly-renowned collection of scholarly essays on the expulsion,<sup>474</sup> and a blog comparing past and

<sup>471</sup> Originally published in thirty volumes between 1850 and 1867, the Moriscos appear in the eleventh volume of the 1888 edition, which was republished by Juan Valera, Andrés Borrego and Antonio Pirala under Lafuente’s name. Lafuente Ferrari avers that the majority of nineteenth-century painters who depicted historical scenes recurred to this monumental work for inspiration (478).

<sup>472</sup> “Memory and Polemics: A Symposium on Moriscos.” *Syracuse University*, March 2019, [https://www.google.com/search?q=syracuse+memory+and+polemics+moriscos+symposium&sa=N&biw=1012&bih=766&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=qBhWGh-FaUqJzM%253A%252C8j5G0jbLsMwz6M%252C\\_&vet=1&usg=AI4\\_-kRztfgpmdP\\_VP2S1PF-iVLqIVqRNA&ved=2ahUKEwj6MbVt-TiAhVDQKwKHVR8DYc4ChD1ATAAegQICBAE#imgsrc=qBhWGh-FaUqJzM:](https://www.google.com/search?q=syracuse+memory+and+polemics+moriscos+symposium&sa=N&biw=1012&bih=766&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=qBhWGh-FaUqJzM%253A%252C8j5G0jbLsMwz6M%252C_&vet=1&usg=AI4_-kRztfgpmdP_VP2S1PF-iVLqIVqRNA&ved=2ahUKEwj6MbVt-TiAhVDQKwKHVR8DYc4ChD1ATAAegQICBAE#imgsrc=qBhWGh-FaUqJzM:)

<sup>473</sup> “El éxodo de los refugiados se queda sin referencias históricas.” *ABC Internacional*, 25 September 2015, <https://www.abc.es/internacional/20150925/abci-exodo-refugiados-referencias-historicas-201509242032.html>.

<sup>474</sup> *Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora (una perspectiva internacional)*, September 2016, <https://www.amazon.com/LOS-MORISCOS-EXPULSI-Varios-autores/dp/8437099943>.

present xenophobia.<sup>475</sup> Its ubiquitous presence in twenty-first-century discourse is unsurprising given that critics overwhelmingly detect a compassionate portrayal of Moriscos. For instance, Susan Martin-Márquez concludes that Puig “portrays the victims of the expulsion with great compassion, emphasizing the human tragedy of the scene” (38). Pérez Sánchez perceives not only a sympathetic portrayal, but a critique of Philip III’s decision: “en el lienzo de Puig y Roda lo que vemos es el aspecto humano, trágico, <<dramatizado>> del episodio... Lo que vemos, no es sólo el episodio histórico, sino una interpretación volcada hacia la estimación negativa, crítica, del hecho” (32). Another critic similarly contends that Puig renders “una visión crítica y rigurosamente auténtica” (Gascó 78). Despite the painting’s ostensive overtones, its nuanced undercurrents merit further attention. What appears to be a pro-Morisco representation, is, in fact, more complex than meets the eye.

“La expulsión de los moriscos” depicts a scene of departure, one of many that took place on Valencian beaches. The landmark topped with a cross indicates the shoreline near Vinaròs, close to the painter’s hometown (Gascó 75). Puig’s scene captures the effects of banishment on women and men, the old and the young. Unlike other paintings, a Christian presence does not encompass the foreground; instead, a young child and her anguished mother draw the viewer into their suffering.

The expulsion unleashed a plethora of abuses in Valencia, including murder, theft, and family separation. The mother embracing her baby evokes the fear of not only having her property confiscated, but more poignantly, her child. Next to them, a woman’s tattered clothing insinuates her vulnerability. Behind the grief-stricken women, a man holds his head in anguish, a

<sup>475</sup> Leal, Javier. “Un Donald Trump en la corte de Felipe III. La xenofobia y el racismo como cortina de humo en la Historia.” *Khronos Historia*, <https://khronoshistoria.com/donald-trump-felipe-iii-racismo/>.

couple embraces, a Morisco waves his fist, and a defenseless elderly person hunches over his cane. The three raised faces in the center look toward their homeland with cries of desperation. The Morisco's fist of resistance seems to reflect the determination of a marginal population to maintain their dignity in the face of intimidation and injustice.

In contrast to the painting's beleaguered protagonists, Christians are marked by greed and indifference. Aloof from human anguish, men on horseback oversee involuntary exodus; others rummage through seized possessions, recalling the material exploitation that arose as Valencian Moriscos headed to exile. The painting's chromatic scheme complements its sense of hopelessness and depravity. As Juan Bautista Porcar (1889-1974) indicates: "la orquestal rima en grises, lo llena todo de un ambiente pesado, y lleno de angustia, como si el día quisiera sumarse a la tragedia" (qtd. in Gascó 75).

Puig undoubtedly conveys the expulsion's tragic hues. Nevertheless, representations are not equivalent to realities and although Puig paints Moriscos with sympathetic gestures, he does not escape a tremendously romanticized portrayal of his subjects. Barefoot and dressed in exotic garb, the orientalized Moriscos play the role of pitiable victims in a melodramatic opera. As a pictorial reenactment, "La expulsión de los moriscos" illustrates Lafuente Ferrari's contention that "el cuadro de historia viene a ser eminentemente teatral" (478). Upon surveying Puig's canvas, "podremos imaginarnos que se ha levantado el telón y—drama u ópera—los actores declaman enfáticamente sus recitados o gargarizan sus arias" (Lafuente Ferrari 478). Indeed, Puig's staging refracts the Moriscos' history through his era's fashionable predilections. Heart-breaking expressions and dramatic displays of suffering would have appealed to nineteenth-century audiences. Viewers of paintings were also spectators of theater and readers of fiction—attuned to romanticism's hyperbolic emotional landscape.

The centrality of the raised fist—a gesture associated with the struggles of oppressed groups since the French Revolution—recalls scores of literary homages that mythologized the figure of the Morisco rebel. Playwrights such as Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Manuel Fernández y González, and Francisco Sánchez del Arco cast Morisco leaders of the Alpujarras War as romantic heroes, to the extent that the Morisco rebel became “uno de los tipos dramáticos más característicos del romanticismo” (Carrasco Urgoiti 320). Nineteenth-century theater was replete with stories of impossible love, fallen heroes, and rebellious spirits. Puig transfers these theatrical norms from stage to canvas. We could consider his painting a two-dimensional representation of a play.

As an interpretation charged with narrative force, Puig’s painting compels us to return to his ostensive written source, Lafuente’s *Historia general de España*. The authors who continued Lafuente’s work lament the expulsion’s economic consequences as a “wound” (“herida”) that Spain has yet to recover from (146). They empathize with the Moriscos as a “pueblo vencido” that, unfortunately, never became “cristianos” or “españoles” (Lafuente 146-7). Valera, Borrego, and Pirala submit that a better alternative to banishment would have been: “atraer á los descreídos y obstinados por la doctrina, por la convicción, por la prudencia, por la dulzura, por la superioridad de la civilización” (Lafuente 146). Their comments exhibit the limits of ostensibly sympathetic attitudes towards Moriscos. Whether through romantic, idealized, or paternalistic lenses, such interpretations reify difference. Like other versions of the past, they imagine a Spain that only exists in abstraction.

### **Writing History, Painting the Past**



Domingo, López, and Puig render a complex historical landscape on canvases of finite dimensions. Their works not only represent, but construct the past through distinct interpretive filters. In this way, instead of describing the works as representative of *historical painting*, we could approach them as *historiographical paintings*. That is, as works of art that (re)write histories. Artistic interventions in the history of the Moriscos contributed to the nineteenth-century tapestry of symbolic material that fashioned a national identity. Yet, as the three paintings attest, interpretations of history—whether written or visual—tell different variants of a shared past.

Rather than engendering cohesion, competing versions of the past did not always provide a sense of solidarity in the nineteenth century (Boyd 1997). As Kathryn Woolard cautions, we tend to attribute “ideologies, worldviews, mentalities, and discourses” to generalized epochs, when in fact, “Periods are not all of a piece, and social and political significance is lodged not only in unspoken consensus but also in the fragments and conflicts” (2004, 58). The works of Domingo, López, and Puig display particular, locally inflected, and ideologically charged conceptualizations of the past. To understand competing visions of “what is told,” Jerome Bruner suggests we turn to “the conditions on [*sic*] telling” (10). One of these conditions entails “the issue of *intention*: ‘why’ the story is told how and when it is, and interpreted as it is by interlocutors caught in different intentional stances themselves” (Bruner 10; emphasis in original).

Shaped by and constitutive of nineteenth-century mentalities, these radically different portrayals span the course of a turbulent century (c. 1800; 1864; 1894). An unstable epoch inspired divergent interpretations of the country’s history, as Spaniards struggled to define a coherent, in Labanyi’s words, “we in the past” vis-à-vis a conflictive “we in the present.” López

portrays unbelieving foes in order to lionize Valencia's former archbishop; he provides an idealized conclusion to Spain's Islamic past that was never as complete, simple, or seamless as the expulsion's apologists contended. Despite the controversies Ribera's actions generated, López's work champions the archbishop's involvement as a divine mission. His image proclaims a triumphalist Spain—one withering under the negative opinions launched from abroad throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth (Álvarez Junco 2011, 80-1). Amidst an atmosphere of self-defense, López's painting serves as a vindication and affirmation of Catholic identity—one that would become more entrenched in subsequent decades.

Half a century later, Domingo highlights Ribera's centrality in "national" endeavors, while simultaneously depicting the Moriscos as docile, Christianized subjects for unclear ends. The ambivalence displayed in Domingo's work could reflect the social uncertainties caused by the devastating Carlist wars, the disastrous military intervention in Morocco, and persistent problems in the colonies. Alternatively, as a fledgling artist, perhaps Domingo sought to increase his visibility by representing a shared past on the national stage. Whether conceived as an homage to Ribera or to Valencian Moriscos, Domingo's painting launched his artistic career to new heights.

Three decades later, after the failure of the First Republic and on the brink of Spain's catastrophic losses, Puig romanticizes the Moriscos' past. His critique of the Moriscos' expulsion, expressed through dramatic gestures, perpetuates the theatrical Morisco rebel and the exoticized Muslim subject. A stimulus to interrogate Spain's past underlies his historical vision, one that is heavily mediated through nineteenth-century aesthetic and literary trends. Puig's work exhibits the exceptional ability of art to both deflect and direct attention—away from present malaise and towards versions of the past that inculcate values and influence perceptions. As

Spaniards continued to shield themselves from accusations of backwardness and cruelty, rhetorical vestiges of the “Black Legend,” perhaps Puig sought to claim Spain’s past on his own terms. His representation, tinged with local relevance, demonstrates Valencian artists’ sustained interest in recuperating a regional past on a national scale.

The three works discussed above illuminate competing “emplotments” of the Moriscos’ history. Hayden White defines emplotment as “the encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific *kinds* of plot structures,” such as comedy, tragedy, or satire (1978, 83). The historian must identify “the *types* of configurations of events that can be recognized as stories by the audience for which he is writing” (White 1978, 84). Or, we might add, for which he is painting. Whether emplotted as an unfinished story, a religious victory, or a romantic tragedy, historiographical paintings respond to an acute awareness of Spain’s nineteenth-century conflicts. As distinct “interlocutors” trapped by “different intentional stances,” Domingo, López, and Puig emplotted Spain’s past and, in doing so, envisioned its future.

## Conclusions

At the beginning of the dissertation, I shared my experience visiting Valencia’s cathedral to view López’s painting. Though I described my stance as one “from the sidelines,” I’d like to highlight the limitations of this description. Like nineteenth-century painting, contemporary dissertation writing is a reconstruction of meaning, not an uncovering. Just as the Moriscos’ history is distinctly “emplotted” by artists, Aljamiado texts unavoidably undergo transformations in critical analyses.

Alessandro Duranti's reflections on interpretation and the role of the audience are apposite here. Duranti contends that interpretation is not a "passive activity" but rather "a way of making sense of what someone said (or wrote or drew) by linking it to a world or context that the audience can make sense of" (1986, 244). By linking the unfamiliar to the familiar, "interpretation is a form of re-contextualization and as such can never fully recover the original content of a given act" (Duranti 1986, 244). Ethnographers, Duranti continues, "engage in a similar activity of recontextualization. That is inevitable. We set up a context for a new audience to judge and appreciate what went on around and through that text on some other occasion" (1986, 244).

Audiences, anthropologists, readers, painters, and critics recontextualize unfamiliar information within familiar frameworks. Processes of recontextualization and decontextualization illuminate not only the texts we seek to understand but also the critical methodologies we apply to their construction. Textual criticism entails the recontextualization of "others' discourse" within contemporary ways of knowing. Implicated in historiographical paintings, critical editions, and textual analyses, we find "interlocutors" operating within their own biases, experiences, and limitations—ourselves included. Returning to nineteenth-century "intentional stances" facilitates the (quite difficult) process of discerning the ones we hold today. An etic approach to the Moriscos' history, in other words, reveals our inevitably limited access to an emic vision of Aljamiado poetry.

Rolena Adorno elucidates this dilemma when she discusses contemporary readings of colonial texts. Commenting on the sense of shared humanity readers might encounter when reading premodern texts, Adorno contends that such recognition entails "a false currency" (2007, 18). When this occurs:

we are again required to take stock: we are required to understand that we do not—and cannot—fully understand their lost experiences. We cannot step into their shoes. If we're reflective enough, we understand that this awareness of our inadequacy matters, and that it matters very much. In our studies or even in trying to render such texts in translation, we can never claim, naively, to have captured the spirit of the original. There are indeed areas of impenetrability, and these blind spots in our understanding are important to keep in mind, too (Adorno 2007, 18).

Acknowledging the impenetrable “blind spots in our understanding” helps us to reorient analytical goals. Considering textual elusiveness and inscrutability as starting points for exploration, rather than as obstacles to be resolved, poses new questions for future research.

Despite inexorable “areas of impenetrability,” this dissertation has carved multiple avenues for future work in analytical and pedagogical spaces. As Vincent Barletta and Kathryn Woolard, among others, have highlighted, linguistic anthropology is an apt theoretical lens for examining the premodern past. This project has shown the usefulness of applying such a framework to Mudejar and Morisco poetry. I have reconsidered Aljamiado poetry in terms of participation frameworks, mediational performance, decontextualization and recontextualization, dimensional narrative, language ideologies, purposeful borrowing, and speech acts. These concepts have illuminated the ways in which poetry enabled Aragonese Muslims to preserve Islamic beliefs despite diminished knowledge of Arabic and even of the Arabic script.

Throughout the dissertation, I have argued that understanding the scope and meaning of Aljamiado poetry requires thinking beyond contemporary conceptions of what poetry is, what it can do, and what it should look like. Focusing on the “social condition” of Aljamiado poetry has revealed previously overlooked aspects of the texts. A metacritical approach to the Moriscos' history has enhanced our understanding of Iberian Muslims' poetic practices—why they have been underestimated and how we can avoid applying the same misconceptions in the future.

The analysis has revealed salient connections between Aljamiado poetry and other premodern vernacular works. These intertextual intersections suggest that pedagogical editions for undergraduate teaching would be a useful, and viable, future endeavor. Access to Aljamiado poetic works will enrich students' perspective on medieval and early modern Iberia. Moreover, expanded access to digitized manuscripts will facilitate future students' and scholars' research. Additional investigation might examine the poetry written by Moriscos in exile alongside ballads composed in the peninsula before and after the expulsion. Future projects could also explore poetic continuities and transformations in texts that passed from Mudejars' hands to Moriscos' ears, such as the *Almadha* (Ms. Escorial 1880) and the *Coplas* (Ms. J-13 CSIC). Similar patterns are found in works such as the rhymed *khutba* in Ms. Escorial 1880 and the *Sermón de los diez mandamientos* (Cervera Frás 2004). Poetic practices played a central role in Aragonese Muslims' spiritual lives, but the exact contours of that role call for additional investigation.

In the Introduction to her study of the manuscript, print, and digital “page,” Bonnie Mak underscores the polysemy in the word *matter*: “This book is about how the page matters. To matter is not only to be of importance, to signify, to mean, but also to claim a certain physical space, to have a particular presence, to be uniquely embodied. The matter and mattering of the page are entangled in complicated ways as they reconfigure each other iteratively through time” (3). In a similar way, this dissertation has analyzed the intertwined matter and mattering of Aljamiado poetry. Mudejar and Morisco poetry's “matter” has existed in physical and aural spaces—echoed in the ears of individuals, alluded to in apologetic histories, stashed underneath baseboards, preserved in twenty-first century libraries, and maintained in digital reproductions. Poems have been embedded in hefty codices, repurposed from print versions, extracted from prose texts, put into new alphabets, redacted with both care and haste, adapted to present

concerns, and tailored to instructional goals. Aljamiado poetry has been embodied in *alfaquíes*' recitations, in collective recollections, and in contemporary critical editions. To some, Aljamiado poetry has mattered little. To others, it seems to have mattered a lot. Examining the "matter" and "mattering" of Aljamiado poetry expands our perspective on premodern Iberia—a past that has never been, and perhaps will never be, truly past.



Figure 1. “El beato Juan de Ribera en la expulsión de los moriscos.” Oil on canvas, 146 x 189 cm.

Museu de Belles Arts de València.

Wikipedia Commons, “Francisco Domingo Marques El Beato Juan de Ribera en la expulsión de los moriscos.”

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francisco\\_Domingo\\_Marques\\_El\\_Beato\\_Juan\\_de\\_Ribera\\_en.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francisco_Domingo_Marques_El_Beato_Juan_de_Ribera_en.jpg).

Accessed 29 April 2020.





Figure 2. “La expulsión de los moriscos.” Capilla del Santo Cáliz (Museo-Catedral de Valencia).

Museo Catedral de Valencia, “Recorrido Catedral, La expulsión de los moriscos, Lienzo de Vicente López (siglo XIX).”

<https://museocatedralvalencia.com/la-visita/recorrido-capillas/capilla-del-santo-caliz/>.

Accessed 29 April 2020.



Figure 3. “La expulsión de los moriscos.” Oil on canvas, 350 x 550 cm. Museu de Belles Arts de Castelló.

Wikipedia Commons, “L’expulsió del moriscos (1894), Gabriel Puig Roda, Museu de Belles Arts de Castelló.”

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:L%27expulsi%C3%B3\\_dels\\_moriscos\\_\(1894\),\\_Gabriel\\_Puig\\_Roda,\\_Museu\\_de\\_Belles\\_Arts\\_de\\_Castell%C3%B3.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:L%27expulsi%C3%B3_dels_moriscos_(1894),_Gabriel_Puig_Roda,_Museu_de_Belles_Arts_de_Castell%C3%B3.JPG).

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