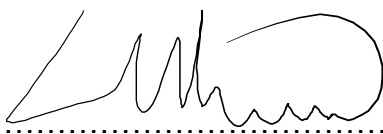


Why can't they be more like us?
Baptism and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Spain.

Submitted by Carla E. Roland to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
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Abstract

In Spain, in 1501 the conversion of Muslims to Christianity was thought possible, hence the decreed baptisms; by the end of the century *metanoia* was deemed impossible. Similarly, religious *otherness* was thought to be surmountable; yet, it ultimately became indelible or racialized. These construction processes helped to discursively justify the expulsions of Christians, baptized descendants of Muslims, in the years 1609-1614. The importance of language in these justifications was arrived at through the study of referential language in texts, and a trans-Atlantic comparative approach.

The discursive (re)construction and (re)inscription of *otherness* were traced through a variety of sixteenth-century ecclesial texts. Before these communities came to be named the so-called “*moriscos*” there were important changes in meaning and usage of other phrases and terms, such as “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*.” The referential language was still in transition throughout the century and the processes are easily hidden by the historiographical premature and (over)use of the term “*morisco*.” Moreover, the full transition toward the racialized term “*morisco*” occurred closer to the eighteenth century and mostly across the Atlantic. The justifications rely on these communities being *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*: suspect and alien. “*Morisco*” is not often a good *metonymy*.

The fact that “*moriscos*” discursively came to be considered *non-Spanish* and *non-Christian* did not mean that there was actual discernible or insurmountable *otherness*. Therefore, a level of difference in the peninsula was posited through the study of referential language related to *Amerindians* before and after baptism: especially given that *Amerindians* remained “*indios*” after baptism—an indication that difference could be overcome in the peninsula. Furthermore, an analysis of the *Sistema de Castas* where “*morisco*” was used revealed that the proliferation of categories on both sides of the Atlantic was to prevent these communities from ever reaching the status of *old Christian* or *Spanish*.

Dedicated to my family.
With gratitude to family, friends, and colleagues.
En conjunto y para la comunidad.

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Introduction

On 2 January 1492, King Ferdinand (1452-1516) and Queen Isabella (1451-1504) took control over the last Muslim-ruled kingdom in the promontory southwest of the Pyrenees, the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. Although they had been free since 1492 to practice Islam, in 1501, after the first rebellion/war of the Alpujarras, the King and Queen decreed that the Muslims of the kingdoms of Granada and Castile should be baptized; if they were not, then they were to be exiled. In the mid- to late-1520s the same was decreed for Muslims of other kingdoms, including Aragón and Valencia. This theoretically meant that there were no free Muslims left in the peninsula. Though ostensibly a choice, given the reality of threatened exile from their homeland, the baptisms were and have been deemed forced, albeit theologically and technically valid. Over a century later, on 9 April 1609, King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) began the long (yet initially swift) process of ordering and then executing the expulsions of the baptized descendants of Muslims from the entire peninsula, which would officially culminate in 1614.¹ An often-cited number of persons expelled comes from Henri Lapeyre's analysis: 275,000.²

This study focuses on non-monolithic Christian communities which, in the sixteenth century, were *wholly* discursively constructed as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, and historiographically have been constructed as the so-called "*moriscos*." "Discursively constructed" means that these constructions happened in texts and that the texts did not necessarily reflect or intend to reflect the historical reality of these communities. In short, although they were discursively constructed as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, that does not mean these persons were in fact not Christian and Spanish.

Another aim of this study is to elucidate some of the discursive processes used in the historical and historiographical justifications for the expulsions of baptized descendants of Muslims. The narrative and conclusions in this project do not ultimately elucidate "why" members of these communities of Christians were expelled; however, they do uncover the

¹ The decree in Valencia was promulgated on 22 September 1609; for old and new Castile on 5 January (Valladolid), and Extremadura and La Mancha on 10 July 1610 (Aranda); for Granada, Murcia and Andalucía, 12 January 1610. See L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 309-331. Henri Lapeyre shows that most of the expulsions occurred from September 1609 to September 1610: perhaps 243,000 of the 275,000 or more than 80%. See Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1959), 175.

² Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 206, 212.

referential language that developed over a century and functioned as discursive justifications of “how” the expulsions were accomplished. “Referential language” refers to language used to “name” and describe the communities of interest, before and after baptism. Historically, this project is about sixteenth-century baptized Muslims and their baptized descendants, and the latter’s expulsions from the peninsula at the beginning of the seventeenth century; through 1568-71, attention is given to communities in Granada. Historiographically, this project studies the difference between “*moriscos*” and “*new Christians*.”

The analytical approach used for this project is inter-disciplinary and multi-faceted, though primarily in the fields of history and historical theology. The broad field of study for this thesis is the history of *Spain*; in church history, specifically baptism and conversion. It gleans insights from religious, literary, and post-colonial studies (in themselves fields with interdisciplinary approaches). The bookends and the time-frame of concern for this project are 1492 to 1609-14—broadly the sixteenth century—although there are excursions to the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries, and to later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The geographical and textual boundaries for this project are primarily the promontory region southwest of the Pyrenees, with particular emphasis on the region of the Kingdom of Granada and texts from and about Granada (mostly prior to 1568-71), augmented by texts from and about the Kingdom of Valencia among other places (center and periphery) connected to the emerging Spanish Empire, as well as expulsion-related documents that draw on wider geographical areas.³ The geographical and textual boundaries are extended through the trans-Atlantic study of the peoples and texts of *New Spain* (part of modern-day México), used as a control group or groups, in order to highlight relevant elements regarding the communities under study in the peninsula. Given that the communities in question were initially defined according to their religious *otherness* and given that there were specific (non-debated) historical moments of mass baptism of Muslims, a theological and historical framework of baptism and conversion is also of import. “*Otherness*” is used throughout this narrative as designating that which was made into the discursively different or *other*. The religious *otherness* of Muslims eventually

³ More than 150 documents in total.

extended to other differences, such as racial or ethnic. In a more common sense, “*other*” also denotes the binary opposite of “*self*.”

Unearthing how the expulsions were justified discursively occurs primarily at four levels. At the first, historical level, language used to refer to these communities is quantified and chronologically and geographically located. The language is analyzed in a series of primary texts from Granada, and other texts from outside of Granada, including expulsion decrees. Chronologically mapping this terminology then reveals a series of changes in how these communities were named, changes that correlate with geography and chronology. The specific language regarding baptism and conversion in the same texts likewise varies. Given the findings from the quantitative analysis, as well as the historiographical presentation, explored in chapters 2 and 3, the narrative of this thesis minimizes the use of the term “*morisco*.”

The second level is the methodological or analytical. Here, a series of processes that correspond to the identified historical changes in language usage and meaning are documented, described, and named. This includes making qualitative assertions about the data which was analyzed quantitatively (e.g. counted). These processes include a shift from descriptive to nominative language (nominalization), increasing homogenization, and increasing theological reliance on issues of conversion rather than issues with the “forced” context of the baptisms in prior generations. Furthermore, the initial descriptive, hybrid, temporal, and non-static qualities of the language are brought into relief, as is the progressive flattening of the terminology as the century progressed.

By “descriptive” is meant that the language was considered to describe a community, rather than define it; by “hybrid” is meant that language represented something or someone which/who was not one or the other; by “temporal” is meant that it represented a status that could be changed, or still belonged to the descriptive realm; and by “non-static” is meant that it did not have a fixed quality or definition, and had the possibility of shifting in meaning and usage. As seen in these definitions, although enmeshed, at this point the analysis remains at the language level, how words or phrases changed, not yet, the content or meaning, or discursive realm, a different stage.

Analyzing the changes in phraseology, in content and meaning, reveals parallel processes in the discursive realm, the third stratum of interest in this project. At the

discursive level, the changes in language correspond to an effort to discursively *other* and minoritize the communities of the baptized descendants of Muslims to justify their expulsions as persons who were wholly discursively *non-Spanish* and *non-Christian*. This discursive *othering* was accomplished in several ways, including by (re)inscribing religious *otherness* after baptism and thus maintaining the original “matrix of difference” (or basis of *othering*) albeit now an *intra-* rather than *inter-*religious difference. The term “(re)inscribe” denotes that the “new” inscription of difference was not the same difference as before. The phrase “matrix of difference” refers to the *tripartite* religious basis for difference, *otherness*, which existed in the peninsula for eight centuries, which was reduced to *bipartite* after 1492/1497, and theoretically and theologically did not exist after the late 1520s.⁴

This (re)inscription, which required the proliferation of nominative (rather than descriptive) categories, at the discursive level prevented the completion of the conversion process, and yet aimed to preserve the validity of the baptisms. If baptism was initially thought to allow for the possibility of a complete change in religion (conversion or *metanoia*), the creation and use of categories like “new Christian” and later “*morisco*” made such a change impossible for some in the communities of the *newly* baptized, since they were denoted by those in power as not having converted. And, since they were discursively constructed as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, albeit still subjects of both the Crown and the Church, they were excisable, as *alien* and *suspect*.

This movement from possibility to impossibility of conversion also corresponded to a discursive somatization of religious *otherness* (which has been read historiographically as actual *epidermic* difference). In the narrative of this thesis, the idea of “somatization” is meant to encompass the process of making the religious *otherness* indelible, a physical *otherness* of the body and blood; inheritable, yet not necessarily visually discernible. “Epidermic” conveys what can specifically be identified in the skin. “Somatization” and “epidermic” specify more than the terms “race” or “ethnicity” may convey to the reader of this narrative. Of import, is to note that the “impossibility of conversion” discourse required the theological dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another.⁵ It is at this point

⁴ “*tri*” refers to the religious differentiation between Jews, Muslims, and Christians; “*bi*” to the religious differentiation between Muslims and Christians.

⁵ Which may be a consequence of the normalization of infant baptism since the fifth century, as discussed in Section 1.1, and later in Section 4.3.

that the identified processes with respect to some meta-narratives or models that have been used to study the expulsions of members of these communities—such as the Braudelian “clash of civilizations,” or the parallel shift from *Maurophilia* to *Maurophobia* analyzed in literary texts—are considered.⁶

The observations and conclusions at the historiographical level are dependent on and interrelated to the other layers. The historical, methodological, and discursive strata highlight a difference between the historical and the historiographical referential language; a difference between the historiographical image—the historians’ or eternal “*morisco*”—and the historical reality of various elements of the communities, perhaps both “*morisco*” and “*new Christian*.” The (over)use of “*morisco*” takes as fact the discursive and constructed religious and later constructed “somatic” *otherness* between *old* and *new* Christians.⁷ This difference is further homogenized and reified. Therefore, there is an attempt to untangle the historiographical from the historical and discursive to try to approximate the actual usage and meaning of the language and possibly then begin to understand the realities of the lives lived. Or put differently, the historiographical is brought closer to the historical. Again, the focus is on “how” this was done, not “why,” for trying to ascertain the “why” does not change the historical fact that many baptized descendants of Muslims were expelled from the peninsula.

Beyond the definitions provided above for some theoretical terms, there are other language choices that inform usage and style in this narrative. From the start, the phrase “baptized descendants of Muslims” is used to name many of the communities of concern in this project. Given the focus on referential language and discursive processes, here follows further elucidation of other choices. Additionally, as part of the methodology, a note about style follows the presentation on language and language choices, particularly the choice of avoiding the use of the term “*morisco*,” as well as the choice of primarily using “*baptized*” over “*converted*.”

⁶ See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). Explored further in Section 2.3.

⁷ Constructing the term “(over)use” is meant to denote both the use and overuse of the term in historiography. In many ways, the term is unavoidable; in other ways, it has been overused, and incorrectly so.

A challenge exists from the outset regarding the very nature of defining a subject or the process of naming, signifying, or denoting. For once a “subject” is defined it risks being bounded. The specificity of the boundedness of the “subject” category for this thesis is partially challenged through the research done and presented here. Therefore, by defining the subject, a starting point is merely established that will continually be challenged and destabilized as more evidence is presented in this thesis.

At the turn of the sixteenth century the term “*moro*” was used primarily to mean “Muslim.” Thus, “*moro*” was more narrowly used than the term “*morisco*,” although later some more nuanced, and significant, connotations for “*moro*” did emerge because of the somatization of religion. Broadly, the etymology of the term “*moro*” is from the Latin *maurus* (pl. *maurī*) relating to the Roman province of Mauretania (North Africa), which, as an ethnic and geographic term, predates Islam. In Greek, it may be related to *mauroi* (μαῦροι) from *amauros* (ἀμαυρός, adj.) “hardly seen, dim faint,” and has modern-day associations with “blackness.”⁸ The primary use of the term “*moro*” as “Muslim” is corroborated through the analysis of the texts in Chapter 3. Over the course of time, and beyond the peninsular texts, “*moro*” (re)gained a greater connection with “blackness” and Africa (not just North Africa or Mauretania) because of the trans-Atlantic, mostly sub-Saharan, slave trade.⁹ Starting in the fifteenth century there was an increasing conflation of Islam and Africa; Islam and “blackness”; and finally, Islam as “blackness.”

⁸ See L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 2. Robert Beeks, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:84. Def. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, DRAE* (2014 edition): *moro*, ra. Del lat. *Maurus* 'mauritano', y este del gr. Μαῦρος *Maûros*; propiamente 'oscuro', por alus. al color de su piel. 1. adj. Natural del África septentrional frontera a España. U.t.c.s. 2. adj. Perteneciente o relativo al África septentrional frontera a España o a los moros. 3. adj. Que profesa la religión islámica. U.t.c.s. 4. adj. Dicho de una persona: Musulmana, que habitó en España desde el siglo VIII hasta el XV. U.t.c.s. 5. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a la España musulmana del siglo VIII hasta el XV. 6. adj. Dicho de una persona: Musulmán de Mindanao y de otras islas de Malasia. U.m.c.s. 7. adj. Dicho de un caballo o de una yegua: De pelo negro, con una estrella o mancha blanca en la frente y calzado de una o dos extremidades. 8. adj. coloq. Dicho del vino: Que no está aguado, en contraposición al bautizado o aguado. 9. adj. coloq. Dicho de una persona, especialmente un niño: Que no ha sido bautizado. 10. adj. coloq. Dicho de un hombre: Celoso y posesivo, y que tiene dominada a su pareja. 11. adj. Cuba. Dicho de una persona mulata: De tez oscura, cabello negro lacio y facciones finas. 12. m. trigo moro. Accessed 4 January 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>. See also Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española, 2d and rev. ed.* (ed. Felipe C. R. Maldonado, rev. Manuel Camarero in *Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1995), 763: “Moro,” Lat. *Maurus*, dicho así de la provincia de Mauritania. Proverbio, A moro muerto gran lanzada; “Morisma,” Multitud de moros o secta. “Moor” and “Morisma”: accessed 2 September 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Moor>.

⁹ The term “(re)gained” has been written in this manner to denote that there was a prior connotation that had not been recently used and was being reused; yet, it cannot ever fully be defined exactly as it had before. A similar intention exists for other terms that are constructed with the “re” in parenthesis: (re). The trans-Atlantic slave trade was primarily from sub-Saharan Africa which is not geographically co-terminus with

Historiographically, “*morisco*” is the most widely used bounded homogenized term for naming and studying the baptized descendants of Muslims around the sixteenth century; within this narrow understanding, the 1611 definition of the term, as presented by Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco (1539-1613), seems to be appropriate:

MORISCOS. The converted of the Moors to the catholic faith, and if they are catholic, great mercy has God granted them and us also.¹⁰

Prior to 1501, when baptism was decreed, it can be stated without much difficulty and reification that the term “*morisco*” was used primarily (if not universally) as the descriptive (adjectival or adverbial) form of the term “*moro*”¹¹—meaning “of the Muslims” or “Muslim style,” etc. The term “*morisco*” is least problematic when used as a descriptor, and when it more seamlessly translates into English as “*Moorish*.” Subsequently, and beyond the primary concern of this project, there was another use of the term “*morisco*” outside of the peninsula: “*morisco*” as related to “*moro*” (descriptive) in the Philippines.¹² More relevant, though, was “*morisco*” as used in the *Sistema de Castas*.¹³

Mauretania. “*Muslimness*” and “*Blackness*” became conflated. The sub-Saharan African slave trade which intensified in the 1440-60s aided in the increased understanding and conflation of slavery with blackness. By the middle of the sixteenth century there would be very few white slaves (even if Muslim) in the peninsula or the New World. María Elena Martínez, “The Black Blood of New Spain: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial México,” in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (July 2004): 486. Martínez cites an article by James H. Sweet, “The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought,” in *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 155, 157. María Elena Martínez writes in “Language, Genealogy, and Classification of ‘Race’ in Colonial México” in *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*, ed. Ilona Katzew and Susan Deans-Smith (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 31-33: the Hamitic myth “equat[e]s the perpetuity of the ‘blemishes’ of Jewish and Muslim ancestry...this religious-cum-racial construction of blackness as ineffaceable strongly influenced the *Sistema de Castas*”; also, Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios: Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización en México*, 1st ed., (Ciudad de México, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1980), 126-127.

¹⁰ Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *Tesoro*, MORISCOS, 763: “Los convertidos de moros a la fe católica, y si ellos son católicos, gran merced les ha hecho Dios y a nosotros también.” L. P. Harvey in *Muslims in Spain* uses the definition from *DRAE*, “Dícese de los moros que al tiempo de la restauración de España se quedaron en ella bautizados” (3). *DRAE* (2014 edition): “morisco, ca: De moro e -isco. 1. adj. moro (perteneciente al África septentrional). 2. adj. Dicho de una persona: Musulmana, que, terminada la Reconquista, era bautizada y se quedaba en España. U.t.c.s. 3. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a los moriscos. 4. adj. En la América colonial, nacido de mulato y española, o de español y mulata. U.t.c.s. Accessed 4 January 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>.

¹¹ See L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 2-3.

¹² L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 6.

¹³ See Section 3.2. See also usage #4 for *morisco* in footnote 10 above. The *Sistema de Castas* was an elaborate way of designating the “racial” or “ethnic” mixture of people in the New World. See Leslie B. Rout, Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 126-ff. Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial México* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 199.

There are difficulties inherent in the use of the term “*morisco*” as a subject matter or field, or as the only term that referred to these communities in the sixteenth century or for the entire peninsula. First, the usage of the term in the sixteenth century was not static; the term underwent changes in meaning and usage as the century progressed. Second, a wholesale use of the term may, in fact, be a (mis)use of *metonymy*—the use of part to describe or name the whole.¹⁴ For example, the historians’ (over)use of “*morisco*,” may lead to the double exclusion from the narration, historical and historiographical, of the “*moriscos*” that were not narrated as (or included in) “*moriscos*.” The term may not be the most appropriate for whole communities about which it has been used polemically, apologetically, and historiographically, and may be more appropriately applied only to parts of the communities, at particular times and places. In other words, some baptized descendants of Muslims may not deserve to be appropriately named (or understood) as “*moriscos*” at all, particularly not at all times and for all places.

Yet although the communities, or parts of them, being studied in this project were eventually denoted historically (although not always), discursively, and historiographically as the “*moriscos*,” and the term “*morisco*” is a bounded homogenized nominative term (a definition), in this thesis the term is used and understood in a hybrid and unstable or non-static manner, much as the nominative term was initially used in the primary texts, albeit bounded by being texts. Thus, for this thesis “*morisco*” is used in the historical rather than historiographical sense.

Why does this matter? Because understanding how “*morisco*” came to be used reveals some shifts in usage and meaning as the century progressed. For example, there was a shift from “*morisco*” as a descriptive term to “*morisco*” as a nominative term; a shift from a description to a stated indelible and unchanging defining characteristic: a process toward fixidity, which inevitably went through a period of hybridity (of both and neither). This nominalization process does not take away the fact that the term “*morisco*” as a noun continued to be hybrid and unstable or in flux throughout the sixteenth century.

The stance taken for this project, that “*morisco*” is in fact historiographically (over)used, leads to the hypothesis that this (over)use has obfuscated certain processes of *othering*, possibly embedded in the language, which necessitated changes in usage and

¹⁴ More on *metonymy* in Section 2.4.; see footnote 607.

meaning that were integral to the justifications of the expulsions. The hypothesis is that “ *cristianos nuevos*” and “ *nuevamente convertidos*” were changed to “ *morisco*” as part of a series of *othering* processes. Therefore, in this project, the term “ *morisco*” is not used as a nominative alternative to phrases such as “ *cristianos nuevos*” or “ *nuevamente convertidos de moros.*”

Given that there were other terms and phrases used in the sixteenth century, are the histories of the “ *moriscos*” in opposition to, parallel to, or co-terminus with the histories of the “ *new Christians of the Moors*”? Or put differently, were all “ *new Christians*” “ *moriscos*” or vice versa? Although “ *new Christian*” may be closer to “ *Christian*” than “ *morisco,*” both “ *new Christian*” and “ *morisco*” were **not** equal to “ *Christian,*” thus creating a “ *not-quite*” (suspect) category of Christians. L. P. Harvey argues that in using “ *morisco,*” scholars “are tacitly accepting and approving of the forcible reclassification of this group of Muslims as something other.”¹⁵ Characterizing the decreed baptisms as a “ *forcible reclassification*”—a way of reclassifying a community and its people—means for L. P. Harvey that it was a way “to impose a new sub-Christian identity.”¹⁶

The argument here is that the *othering* accomplished by this “ *reclassification*” happened as a process, not as a single moment (baptism), that it was furthered and cemented as the century progressed, and that it is seen in the changes in the way the communities were named. The initial “ *reclassification*” put the communities of Muslims under the control of the Church and thus the Inquisition. The further “ *reclassification*” made them excisable. “ *New Christian,*” “ *newly converted,*” and “ *morisco*” all served as terms that showed reclassification; in this case, ultimately all were reclassified as “ *suspect*” Christians and “ *suspect*” Spaniards. Yet, although “ *suspect*” and “ *less than,*” they were legally under the control of the Church. The terms themselves may have been mechanisms of control and of *othering*. The terms were also a way of using language to show rupture and change from a prior to a subsequent signifier: “ *morisco,*” which as a fixed or static term cannot be “ *moro*” nor “ *cristiano.*” As L. P. Harvey states, in the end,

¹⁵ L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250-1500* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 3.

¹⁶ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* 4.

[m]orisco was not ideologically neutral when employed in the sixteenth century, and it can easily smuggle an undesirable bias in[to] our discourse today.¹⁷

Another language choice in this narrative is the use of “*baptized*” versus “*converted*” in the constructed and descriptive phrase “baptized descendants of Muslims.” The choice of the term “*baptized*” over “*converted*” is a consequence of the assertion made in the primary texts that these communities never truly converted. Such an assertion does not inherently challenge the baptism, even a baptism deemed to have been forced. However, this choice is made even though some of the early phrases used to designate these communities include the term “*converted*,” such as the “*nuevamente convertidos de moros*” (*newly converted of the Moors*). It is possible, in part, to choose “*baptized*” in the phrase, because closer to the original time of initial baptisms the “*newly*” in “*newly converted*” was used as a non-static term, meaning that there was still the possibility of no longer being “*newly*” converted as time passed, including the distance of generations from the moment of the first baptisms. Eventually “*newly*” was used in a static and nominative manner rather than a descriptive one. Another reason to choose “baptized” is because one of the justifications of the expulsion was the lack of conversion.

The hypothesis offered is that that the “new sub-Christian identity,” “*new Christian*” or later “*morisco*,” was part of the (re)inscription of a prior religious *otherness*, in order to maintain the prior *bi/tri*partite matrix of religion; this (re)inscribed *otherness* cannot completely equal the prior one.¹⁸ Put differently, although a minority community within Spain could be *Spanish* and Christian, its discursive minoritization and (re)inscription prevented them from being truly thought of as *Spanish* or Christian.

Given this hypothesis, it is noted that there are other terms which have functioned similarly to “*morisco*,” historically and historiographically, that are not addressed or analyzed in this project, yet could be studied in similar fashion, for example, the analogous (re)inscription of persons as the so-called “*conversos*,” or baptized descendants of Jews.¹⁹

¹⁷ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 5.

¹⁸ *Bi/tri*partite is a recognition that after 1492/97 there were technically only two religions in the peninsula: Islam and Christianity; and after the late 1520s, only one. See page 8 (FN4).

¹⁹ Def. *DRAE* (2014 edition): converso, sa. Del lat. conversus. 1. adj. Dicho de una persona: Convertida a una religión distinta de la que tenía. U.t.c.s. 2. adj. Dicho de una persona: Que ha cambiado de ideología o de corriente. U.t.c.s. 3. m. En algunas órdenes y congregaciones religiosas, antiguamente, lego (ll profeso sin opción a las sagradas órdenes). Accessed 11 October 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>. “*Converso*” is a

Similarly, the term “*mozárabe*” (Christians under Muslim rule) is not problematized here.²⁰ Also, there is not a full treatment of the term “*mudéjar*” (Muslims under Christian rule), or the specific reference to females as “*morisca*.”²¹

Finally, there is a deliberate use of extensive visual textual aids: of “quotations” for phrases and terms, (parenthesis), singular (plural)—although a preference for the plural—*italics*, **bold**, and at times “dual/multiple terms” (ambivalence) with “/” or “()” throughout the text in an effort to demonstrate and highlight, in this limited textual medium, the non-static, imprecise, non-quantity specific (one community or multiple ones), and hybrid nature of the language of concern in this project. This is done to place emphasis on the various terms and phrases used throughout the sixteenth century, how this language shifted in meaning and use as the century progressed, and how the changes in language contributed to the justifications of the expulsions of these communities. It is also done to highlight other terms that are problematic, or non-static, or should be paid attention to as the narrative of this thesis progresses. Language matters. Denoting “expulsions” instead of “expulsion” and “communities” instead of “community” is intentional. For there was not only one expulsion, and there were multiple communities of baptized descendants of Muslims, not just a monolithic one.

substitute category for the erasure of a religious boundary by baptism, that aimed to (re)create or (re)inscribe that boundary, but now as an internal boundary within the Christian community.

²⁰ *Mozárabe* is a general term for Christians living under Muslim rule. These Christians are considered to be the ones to have kept the liturgy of the Visigothic period “alive”; that liturgy is termed “*Mozarabic*.” Def. *DRAE* (2014 edition): *mozárabe* Del ár. hisp. *musta'rabí*, gentilicio del ár. clás. *musta'rab* 'arabizado', infl. por *árabe*. 1. adj. Dicho de una persona: De la población hispánica que, consentida por el derecho islámico como tributaria, vivió en la España musulmana hasta fines del siglo XI conservando su religión cristiana e incluso su organización eclesiástica y judicial. U.t.c.s. 2. adj. Dicho de una persona: De la población hispánica que emigró a los reinos cristianos del norte, llevando consigo elementos culturales musulmanes. U.t.c.s. 3. adj. Dicho de una persona: De la comunidad *mozárabe* toledana, que pudo por especial privilegio conservar la vieja liturgia visigótica frente a la romana. U.t.c.s. 4. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a los *mozárabes*. *Rito mozárabe*. 5. adj. Perteneciente o relativo al *mozárabe* (ll lengua). *Léxico mozárabe*. 6. m. Lengua romance, heredera del latín vulgar visigótico, con elementos del árabe, que hablaban cristianos y musulmanes en la España islámica. Accessed 8 June 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>.

²¹ Def. *DRAE* (2014 edition): *mudéjar*. Del ár. hisp. *mudáğġan*, y este del ár. clás. *mudağġan* 'domado'. 1. adj. Dicho de una persona: Musulmana, que tenía permitido, a cambio de un tributo, seguir viviendo entre los vencedores cristianos sin mudar de religión. U.t.c.s. 2. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a los *mudéjares*. 3. adj. Dicho de un estilo arquitectónico: Que floreció en España desde el siglo XIII hasta el XVI, caracterizado por la conservación de elementos del arte cristiano y el empleo de la ornamentación árabe. U.t.c.s. m. 4. adj. Perteneciente o relativo al arte *mudéjar*. Accessed 10 October 2016. <http://dle.rae.es/>.

Potentially problematic is the use of *mudéjar* to refer to Granadan Muslims, since *mudéjar* is used without nuance with its general definition of a Muslim living under Christian rule and some historians use this as the preferred term in Granada from 1492 until 1501—some of the same problems as with “*morisco*” may emerge.

Furthermore, the fluidity of the language used here is meant to prevent essentializing and to recover the inevitable hybrid essence of the peninsula and its peoples. The use of these uncommon mechanisms is also meant to show the instability of the meanings at the time and the language and meaning of today. Finally, numbers, equations, and schemas are used; practices not typical in a historical study of texts.

A description of a research project not directly related to this one may be useful here. Israel Burshatin, writing about a person whose sex was ambiguous and who lived at times as a gender that some thought was different from the birth sex, keeps the reader on edge by introducing a degree of instability and caution by alternating pronouns or changing the gender of the name. Burshatin, through the written text reinforces that the subject did not fall within the binaries of sex or gender, then or now.²² This practice expands the lenses through which the subject Eleno/a may be studied and broadens the possible understandings of why Elena/o was brought before the Inquisition,²³ or was seen at times as a threat and at others not.

Concomitantly the language of historiography (secondary works) should at least mirror the language used in the primary texts in most, if not all, its variety, in meaning and use. By noting differences in language other factors come into relief and are then seen as variables, which otherwise would have been erased, not narrated, or invisible. For example, in the topics of interest here, the different regional and chronological variables

²² Israel Burshatin, "Written on the Body: Slave or Hermaphrodite in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 420-456 (see footnote 598); "Elena Alias Eleno: Genders, Sexualities, and 'Race' in the Mirror of Natural History in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Sabrina Ramet (London: Routledge, 1996), 105-122; "Interrogating Hermaphroditism in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Hispanisms and Homosexualities*, ed. Sylvia Molloy and Robert McKee Irwin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 3-18; and, Francois Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms* (Leiden: BRILL, 2012), 57.

²³ Although highly contested by the *DRAE* and grammarians of the Spanish language, in the United States the gendered (non-inclusive) Spanish language is contested through the use of "o/a" and "as/os" as endings to gendered terms, rather than spelling out, for example, "latinos y latinas" to avoid the *male* "latinos" being the all-encompassing term it can be shortened to latinos/as. There are additional changes to language, including "@" and "@s" to mean "o/a" and "as/os," respectively. Even this last change is highly contested because the "a/o" or "@" still only represent binaries. Therefore, increasingly, in order to transcend the binary a reader may find that instead of Latinos, Latinos/as, or Latin@s, the term Latinxs (a non-binary term) is used. The use of "x" is increasingly used in order to be inclusive of the transgender community. Whether or not consensus is reached, the desired effect can be maintained: to destabilize the static nature of words, which in this example is/are the words of sex and gender.

and usages may be deemed significantly relevant and have somewhat parallel, yet different, language usage and changes.

Along with the language and style choices presented, following are other underlying principles for this project. First, a foundational precept is that the level of difference or *otherness*, religious and/or racial or ethnic, described discursively did not necessarily match the actual difference between the various communities (e.g. *old* vs. *new*). Related to this point of view is that whatever level of *otherness* indeed existed at the turn of the sixteenth century, *epidermic* or in practices, would be different than at the turn of the seventeenth century.

The second tenet is that by studying *Spaniards*' "difference" in relation to another group, *Amerindians*, insight can be gained regarding a theorized difference between groups of Christians in the peninsula. Thus, parallel to the identification of the various processes that aided the *othering* of these communities—the constructed difference—is the determination of what discernible differences, if any, could be ascertained between *old* and *new* Christians. This is done, in part, with the analysis of the language used to refer to *Amerindians*, as a contemporaneous control group across the Atlantic, religiously, and racially or ethnically starting in the sixteenth century.

Religiously, given that a great number of *Amerindians* were baptized *en masse* contemporaneously with peninsular Muslims, the language used before and after baptism for *Amerindians* is significant and revealing, especially as compared to the language used, before and after baptism, for Muslims. The language of the *Sistema de Castas* (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) becomes relevant, especially since it uses the category of "*morisco*". In the trans-Atlantic lens, the theory is that the initial level of "outward and discernible" difference between *Amerindians* and *Spaniards* was greater than the difference between *old* and *new* Christians in the peninsula, or earlier between peninsular Muslims and Christians; thus, *Spaniards* believed that the (purported initial) difference in the peninsula was surmountable. In short, difference, real and constructed, could be approximated, or surmised referentially.

The third principle is that if any *epidermic* difference between *old* and *new* Christians can be reasonably surmised, a clarification is needed regarding what kind of differences existed between *old* Christians and Muslims at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Before the decreed baptism of Muslims, Muslims and Christians were, in fact,

religiously *other* to one another. This religious *otherness* was not a *de facto epidemic* or racial or ethnic difference, as can be seen, for example, in the anxiety around issues of the possibility of conversion and passing.²⁴ After baptism this religious *otherness* was technically erased. Yet, through the proliferation of categories and the racialization of religion, so called “*somatization*,” full conversion (erasure of religious *otherness*) was eventually, discursively, deemed impossible. Moreover, the religious *otherness* that existed before baptism was different than the (re)inscribed and (re)constructed *otherness* that was established after baptism. The processes of (re)inscription and (re)construction created a *new* construct which was not equal to the previous religious *otherness*, whether *inter-* or *intra-*. This (re)construction and (re)inscription, along with the proliferation, guaranteed that the new *otherness* could not be the previous *otherness*.

The fourth assumption is that the forced baptisms did not make the expulsions inevitable. For example, although the years 1492-1501/1520s and 1609-1614 serve as the general chronological bookends to this project, along with the events that occurred at or around those dates, does not imply, from the onset, that there was a full and direct causal relationship between the deemed forced baptisms and subsequent expulsions. Or put differently, notwithstanding the expulsion of Jews in 1492/1497, after the baptisms of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the expulsions over a century later were not inevitable and foreordained.

The expulsions, in fact, may have been more closely linked to processes of differentiation, which were part of an ongoing national and imperial Spanish-identity construction in the sixteenth century, rather than religious *otherness*, perceived or real. In other words, if religion had not been discursively *somatized* (racialized, made indelible), then the possibility exists that the expulsions may not have happened. Or, if *Spain* had not been continually “*blackened*” by other emerging nations and empires, there may not have been the need to *somatize* religion or excise the groups perceived to be the root of the “*blackening*,” as seen in the section on the discourses of the so-called “Black Legend.”²⁵

The specific meta-narratives or arcs that go from baptisms to expulsions take the expulsions as inevitable (retroactively and anachronistically presumed) and furthermore

²⁴ “*Moro*” was originally a regional and ethnic designation, it cannot be said that this “ethnicity” was shared by all “*Muslims*” designated as “*moros*.” See footnote 8.

²⁵ See end of Section 2.1.

assume that the expulsions had a uniform effect on a complete homogenous group of people; these meta-narratives buy into the dominant discursive justifications of the expulsions promulgated by the State, apologists, and the Church; a narrative (ultimately) perpetuated historiographically, of an (un/in)assimilable community. Although there may indeed have been aspects of a century-long causal relationship between those two events in the texts (imagination/discourse) of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, there were also other discursive counter-currents and exceptions to this historiographically-assumed progression. Even if some aspects of such a progression seem to be repeatedly proven, the steps or intermediary processes in those progressions have not been methodically fully identified or discerned: the search for the “how” the expulsions were discursively justified.

The forced baptisms inevitably had a series of repercussions which may or may not be contributing factors to the subsequent expulsions. Yet, leading to the expulsions, over a century later, there was also a series of incidents, unrelated to the decreed baptisms, which justified the expulsions; and, there were intermediary discursive changes and processes that should also be identified as they pertain to the expulsions and their justifications. Parallel to this possible progression were counter-currents and exceptions, often unknown, as well as silent or invisible agents, actors, and events that were not narrated. They are “invisible” to the textual record (or some texts) because they were not narrated (perhaps being the stories of those who passed and/or assimilated). Therefore, throughout the sixteenth century there were many factors that contributed, contra-rested the (perceived) progressive consequences of the decreed baptisms, or co-existed along regional and chronological lines, that may have had some discursive and not necessarily causal relationship to the expulsions and their justifications.

Counter-currents and exceptions are increasingly noted in the historiographical record. In texts, the constitutive effects of the decreed baptisms and causes of the expulsions tend to be more static (even repetitive and tropic); the counter-currents, exceptions and invisible elements tend to represent and exist in the creative space where life and lives, including identities, were continually negotiated, and inevitably changed—

(un)intentionally, noticeably, or unperceptively; this is what conceptually falls within Homi K. Bhabha's notion of hybridity or third space.²⁶

The fifth principle is that this is not a project about faith or the actual beliefs of anyone in the peninsula. This thesis is about discourse about religious *otherness*. Furthermore, it aims to avoid totalizing discourses, for it assumes that Christian communities, including *new* Christians, were not monolithic; there were different levels of adherence to religious norms (orthodoxy) by members of **all** communities, whether descendants of Muslims or not: *new* and *old* Christians. Of course, not **all** *new* Christians were *crypto*-Muslims or failed in their conversion, and some were just as Christian as any *old* Christian. Similarly, not **all** baptized descendants of Muslims were expelled, just as not **all** baptized descendants were brought before the Inquisition. Issues regarding orthodoxy and reform were not unique to the baptized descendants of Muslims, but affected many groups within Christianity. Similarly, the Inquisition was not solely concerned with one group of people; nor were all so-called "*moriscos*" solely secretly-practicing Muslims. The written record is often more reliable for the exceptions than for the mundane.²⁷ Yet, the written record and the exceptions have often been used as *metonymy*.

Using the texts under examination, absolute conclusions cannot be reached for **all** baptized descendants of Muslims. Several sub-groups can be supposed, but often nothing more definite than that. First, there are the unknown numbers of those who are not narrated—those who completely assimilated or were acculturated, who passed regardless of religious practices, and those who were for whatever reason of no interest to the narrator of the texts. Second, there are those who were narrated as exceptions, which include those who legally gained *old*-Christian status, those who were deemed *old* Christian because they were baptized prior to the decreed baptisms, those of mixed parentage (*old* and *new*), and those who were documented as remaining after the expulsions. Third, there are those who (discursively) did not truly convert, which may be the "*moriscos*" considered "*crypto*-Muslims" historiographically.

²⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, with a new preface (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 54. This is discussed further in in Section 2.3.

²⁷ For example, see James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 2013), 34.

The sixth and seventh assumptions or principles of this investigation are that the variables of time and space, or chronology and region, matter, as do demographics. These are important vectors in understanding the multiplicity of communities that have been included under the umbrella of “*morisco*,” and these vectors inform the variety of terms and phrases used, as well as changes in usage and meaning found for different regions and for different timeframes.

For over four centuries until 1492 different Muslim-ruled kingdoms or regions came under Christian control at different times. Furthermore, the relative proportion of Muslims and their Christian descendants to *old* Christians varied by region. These differences in time and region allowed for varying degrees of inter-connectedness and assimilation, or acculturation, to the hegemonic Christian society. Put differently, if there was *otherness*, the differences varied regionally and chronologically. In addition to the varied relationships to the society around them (beyond religion, and to emerging “*Spanishness*”), there were regional differences regarding the communities’ relationship to Islam. Accepting regional difference means not imposing the characteristics of one region to another or others, while keeping in mind the interrelationship of regions given the eventual common royal rule, and increasingly centralized state, imperial, and ecclesial bureaucracies.

The regional differences between the different populations of the baptized descendants of Muslims have been variously described. For example, in writing about the geographic realities, differences, and relative population proportions among the various groups, Henri Lapeyre observes:

Castile, where proponents of Islam were drowned in the mass of Christians; in the Kingdom of Valencia where they were very numerous, but submitted for over three hundred years and had the Seigneurs who were their defenders, and finally in Granada where although defeated they retained their leaders and the memory of independence lost only for a century.²⁸

A different way of thinking about the regional differences regarding these communities, is in exploring the so-called “*morisco problem*” which was *fixed* by the expulsions. This *problem* is related to regional difference and can be measured depending on the region. For example, the insignificance of the problem in Catalonia; the

²⁸ Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 3. “Castille, où les tenants de l’Islam étaient noyés dans la masse des chrétiens, dans le royaume de Valence où ils étaient très nombreux, mais soumis depuis plus trois cents ans à des seigneurs qui se faisaient leurs défenseurs, et enfin à Grenade où les vaincus conservaient encore leurs chefs et le souvenir d’une indépendance perdue depuis d’un siècle.”

relative ease of the solution in Aragón; the graveness of the crisis in Valencia; the small proportion of this (bifurcated) population in Castile; and the displaced Granadans and the long-standing Castilian community of Muslim descent.²⁹

Along different lines, Valencian Muslims were the most religiously distinct community, Aragonese were the most assimilated but also used *aljamiado*,³⁰ Granadans were the most outwardly distinct in practices (dress, food, language), and Castilians were the most estranged from Islam and most indistinguishable from other Castilians.³¹ After the internal displacement of 1571, Granadans (*moriscos granadinos*) had different manners in dress and language than other baptized descendants of Muslims (*moriscos antiguos*) or than *old* Christians in Castile. This functioned differently than the supposed religious *otherness* of “*new* Christians” in Valencia (whom had been called *mudéjares*) from “*old* Christians.” Even the idea of the “*morisco problem*” can be differently defined depending on region and time-frame.

Demographics also differed by region and timeframe. Therefore, an eighth assumption of this thesis is that even with the data available now and its analysis, it is not possible to make reliable assertions about whole communities. For example, it is known that people were expelled—but how many? It is also known that some were not expelled, but can those be quantified?³² And, would combining those who were expelled with those who remained yield the total for the communities? The assumption underlying this last question, is that even if **the number of those expelled** was known within a reasonable statistical tolerance level, there is still an unknown element of some of **those not expelled** that remains elusive.

The investigation then turns to the aporias and exceptions.³³ Yet, information gathered here is hindered by the fact that the same “quality” of data is not found for all

²⁹ James Blaine Tueller, “Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997), 87.

³⁰ Romance/Castilian written in Arabic characters.

³¹ This is posited from the regional differences proposed by James Blaine Tueller, “Good and Faithful Christians.” See footnote 29.

³² Within the **exceptions** there are the 6% that were allowed to remain according to the initial decrees of expulsion. See Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 63, 151, 188.

³³ The use of *aporia* is as a gap or gaps in the knowledge base or data. It may be related to contradictory data. It is used as a synonym to *lacuna*. Exceptions are that which goes against the “accepted” or “received” pattern.

regions or all time periods, and is restricted to the same few sources and quantitative studies that have been done.³⁴ With the data that is available, the population of the peninsula in the thirteenth century is estimated to have been around six million, with one million Muslims included in that total;³⁵ there are estimates of fewer than six million for around 1500.³⁶ J. H. Elliott, however, estimates the population of the peninsula, without Portugal, to have been around 7.5 million.³⁷ At the turn of the fifteenth century there were approximately 250,000 Jews of which perhaps as many as 200,000 were baptized.³⁸ The number of Jews (non-baptized) may have been 150,000 on the eve of their expulsions in 1492/97.³⁹ Yet, little is known about the actual proportion of Christians who were of Jewish descent, including *suspect* Christians (*conversos*), those who were assimilated, and those who in 1492/97 became Christians (this time to avoid exile, rather than persecution).

Although regional differences existed, how many of the estimated six million were Muslims around the year 1500 is unknown, though Lapeyre suggests it was less than the one in six above, given that some Muslims left Granada and the peninsula after the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom. On the eve of the expulsions, Lapeyre estimates the population of the peninsula to have been about eight to nine million.⁴⁰ Assessments of the number of persons expelled range from about 275,000 to 1 million persons,⁴¹ thus between 3.1% and

³⁴ Earl J. Hamilton (1899-1989), Jaime Vicens Vives (1910-1960), and Henri Lapeyre (1910-1984) are often cited. Others, more contemporary, who are also cited like L. P. Harvey, J. H. Elliot, etc. are often using those sources as well. (A type of *orientalism* as purported by Edward Said.) Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, Harvard Economic Studies 43 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934); Jaime Vicens Vives, *Economic History of Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

³⁵ L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 7. Jaime Vicens Vives, *Economic History*, 293.

³⁶ John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 142. Perhaps the result of the devastating effects of the Black Plague, and/or other events.

³⁷ J. H. Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 223.

³⁸ Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 117.

³⁹ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy: The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, trans. Lysa Hochroth, with an introduction by Helen Nader, in *Hispanisms*, ed. Anne J. Cruz. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 14; see also 67, 71. Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 113, indicates that by 1415 out of 300,000, 1/3 were baptized, 1/3 murdered, and 1/3 remained Jewish. See Section 1.2 on peninsular Jews in 1391.

⁴⁰ Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 206, 212.

⁴¹ Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 6. Carla Rahn Philips cites 275,000: "The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614," *The Journal of Modern History*, On Demand Supplement, 50 no. 2 (June 1978): D1067. J. H. Elliott

12.5% of the population of the entire peninsula (7.5 to 8 to 9 million as denominators).⁴² Henri Lapeyre offers the number of 275,000 as the floor and indicates that numbers such as 1 million are fantastical. For comparison, other scholars suggest that somewhere between 50,000 and 300,000 Jews were expelled in 1492.⁴³

Given the regional differences in relative proportions of *old* Christians and *new* Christians, L. P. Harvey proposes that overall figures are not as important as the more regionally specific figures.⁴⁴ This would mean that the impact of the expulsions varied by region given the differing relationships of the various communities to the *old* Christian (church and state) hegemony. The region with the largest proportion of baptized descendants of Muslims was the Kingdom of Valencia where it is thought to have been around 25% of the population.⁴⁵ If that number is accurate, some estimate that 25 to 30% of the population of the Kingdom of Valencia was expelled.⁴⁶ In Castile, the kingdom with the highest total population, there were perhaps 50,000 baptized descendants of Muslims expelled out of a population of more than 6 million.⁴⁷ Lapeyre indicates that in 1495 Aragón Muslims accounted for 20% of the population.⁴⁸

also cites 275,000: *Spain and Its World*, 225. L. P. Harvey cites 300,000 to 330,000: *Muslims in Spain*, 1, 12. L. P. Harvey, 12, citing J. H. Elliot indicates a population of between 7.5 and 8.5 million with an additional million from Portugal. Henri Lapeyre, 212, argues for a population of between 8 and 9 million.

⁴² Rodrigo de Zayas, *Los moriscos y el racismo del estado: Creación, persecución y deportación (1499-1614)* (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2006), 219: speaks of an expulsion of 500,000 or 16% of the population and does not indicate the total population. De Zayas' numbers would lead to a total population of 3,125,000, far lower than any other estimate given. This may in fact be a typo, since 500,000 representing 6% corresponds to a population of 8.13 million; or, perhaps the 16% is the percentage for Valencia and the 500,000 the total for the population – there are no other indicators in his text to clarify. L. P. Harvey in *Muslims in Spain*, 12, indicates that even if the number 300/330,000 is increased to 500,000 that it “would scarcely exceed 5 percent of the total population.” The ratio of 500,000 to 8.5 million is actually 5.9 percent (of 7.5 million, 6.7%).

⁴³ John Edwards, *Spain of the Catholic Monarchs*, 229. Jaime Vicens Vives, *Economic History*, 291. Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 14; see also 67, 71.

⁴⁴ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 13: “In this, the final century of the existence of Spanish Islam, then a key factor was not the absolute populations of Muslims, not yet the rate of the increase of the Muslims, although this was a theme that preoccupied many Christian commentators of the period who often spoke of the propensity of the Moriscos to breed rapidly.”

⁴⁵ Carla Rahn Phillips, “Moriscos of La Mancha,” D1068. Jaime Vicens Vives, *Economic History*, 177. Jaime Vicens Vives states that in the 14th century 35% of the population of Valencia was Muslim (*mudéjar*), 3% in Catalonia.

⁴⁶ James Casey, “Moriscos and the depopulation of Valencia,” *Past & Present* 50 (February 1971): 19.

⁴⁷ Carla Rahn Phillips, “Moriscos of La Mancha,” D1069.

⁴⁸ Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie*, 96.

There is similar lack of certainty about how many people and who precisely remained in the peninsula. This is because there were some who sought and gained exemptions, others who gained *old*-Christian status and were considered *old* Christians even if they were baptized descendants of Muslims, and still others who did not make ripples in the historical record, perhaps because of acculturation or assimilation, passing, and/or because they were indistinguishable from other persons in the peninsula, regardless of genealogy.⁴⁹ If the population figures that are known and deemed more accurate can be separated from the numbers that support an ideological or biased stance, then these could be combined to create a more robust database, and then some data for previously unknown *aporias* emerges, which may be indicative of the assimilated or invisible population that was not counted as either *old* Christian or as *new* Christian, and was not written about or narrated either.⁵⁰

Another important reason to be aware of regional differences in the numbers of baptized descendants of Muslims is so that conclusions for one region are not automatically assumed for other regions with a different mix of groups. As will be discussed further in Chapter 2, such hasty assumptions have led to the repetition of laundry lists of what *all moriscos* supposedly practiced. James B. Tueller sets out to demonstrate that there was

a group of Moriscos who lived as other Christians did. The royal assumptions about Moriscos were based on faulty comparisons between Moriscos who were different in geographical, generational, and religious terms.⁵¹

This thesis toggles between the historical and the theoretical. The historical framework relies on the contours of events, people, and texts—in short, context. The theoretical framework relies on precise use of some technical terms or phrases, as already introduced: “referential language” and its “proliferation,” “somatization,” “(re)inscription,” “*bi/tripartite* matrix of difference,” “nominalization,”

⁴⁹ The “ladino.”

⁵⁰ For James Blaine Tueller, “Good and Faithful Christians,” the “invisibles” could be a “voiceless underclass” (12); the “disappearing Morisco” (20); the non-visible minority as opposed to the “visible minority” (65).

⁵¹ James Blaine Tueller, “Good and Faithful Christians,” 71.

minoritization,” etc., to identify and analyze *othering* discourses. These *othering* discourses were ultimately part of the justifications of the expulsions of a community deemed to be of “suspect” Christianity and “suspect *Spanishness*,” or *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. As presented, specifically, in Section 2.3, the theoretical framework draws from a post-colonial and post-modern toolkit. This requires seeing Granada as a *colony*, and Muslims and their baptized descendants as the *colonized*; including seeing baptism as a mechanism of control. These lenses help to challenge homogenizing narratives (who narrates?) and to contest binaries (what is the distance between *self* and *other*?).

With this in mind, it may seem paradoxical that the title of this thesis, “Why can’t **they** be more like **us**?” sets up a binary of *us-them*, a *de facto* problematic binary on many levels. It is not a phrase or sentiment found in any document analyzed in this project, but it is a phrase that might resonate with the reader today, as the understandings of *difference* are investigated and analyzed. Some of the problems in studying any community are embedded in the very language that is used to describe or name communities, as seen with the term “*morisco*.”

The title of this thesis is meant to present an opposition, while also destabilizing the terms of the binary: who were the “*they*” and who were the “*us*”? Like the demographic questions presented, did the “*us*” and “*they*” encompass entire communities, or were they subsets within communities? Could the “*they*” and “*us*” be distinguished from one another, or did they overlap? Can a spectrum be identified between the “*us*” and “*they*”? Was movement possible from “*they*” to and from “*us*”? This very much has to do with the relationship of the *self* and the *other*. Many other permutations of questions may be added here, including whether the terms—and the communities the terms may represent—were in apposition or in opposition to one another? For this last question, much of the historiography tilts toward the stance of opposition.

These questions regarding the *us-them* binary are related to the curious idea of conversion to or within Christianity of Christians, or put differently, the question of how to convert a Christian to Christianity or how to Christianize Christians. If the above idea of the binary *us-them* is any indication, this required making some Christians into *non-Christian*s or the wrong kind of Christians (*new* or suspect), which poses a theological problem with regard to baptism and its relationship to conversion. This then relates to the

idea of difference, including the homogenization of difference, and the construction of *otherness*. How was the language of *difference* used to justify the expulsions of members of particular communities? How have such discursive processes not been previously identified or understood? How this misunderstanding led to a reification of language (a sort of problematic feed-back loop)?

Following are four chapters and a Conclusion, Appendices, and Bibliography. In Chapter 1, "*Baptism and Conquest*," there is a narrative presentation of the history and theology of baptism, as well as a narrative outline of the historical background (time and space) for the communities under question: Muslims and their baptized descendants. Since the baptism of Jews is relevant as a precursor to the baptism of Muslims, and the baptism of *Amerindians* is a contemporaneous event, space is also given to a general outline of the history of these communities and their baptisms. The very difference in how these three communities are written about and how their histories are presented begins to show some steps in the general (historiographical) construction of *otherness*. For example, these three communities experienced mass baptisms; yet, the mass baptisms were different in context and in their eventual repercussions to the communities. These very differences then aid in identifying the constructed differences in the peninsula. In introducing the peninsular communities of descendants of Muslims, there is an introduction of the Granadan documents, that are more extensively analyzed in Chapter 3.

The history of the baptism of *Amerindians* is specifically provided given the trans-Atlantic methodological approach that uses *Amerindians* as a control group to understand the construction of baptized descendants of Muslims as *other* from other *Spaniards* and other Christians: as *non-Spanish* and *non-Christian*. Furthermore, given the multiplicity of expulsions (1492/97, 1571, 1609-14), the completion of *othering* processes, even to the point of "*morisco*" not only being a religious category (*non-Christian*), but a racial or ethnic category (*non-Spanish*) as seen in México and Perú in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries *Sistema de Castas*.

Although secondary works regarding the subjects of this thesis are presented throughout the entire narrative, there is a specific historiographical and methodological introduction in Chapter 2, "*Studying Spain and the Granadans*." In Chapter 2 there is a general overview of the issues related to the study of Spain and its people, broadly, and

more specifically to the study of the baptized descendants of Muslims. This historiographical presentation, or review, is done in such a manner as to begin to identify the layers of obfuscation that require excising to understand the textual changes in the discursive treatment of these communities, which aided the justifications of the expulsions. In the latter part of Chapter 2, a multi-faceted approach and methodology is presented, which includes various tools and strategies employed in the analysis of the data and texts. This methodology includes elements of deconstructionist, post-colonial, and post-modern approaches. Of interest, are the ideas of hybridity and third space, *metonymy* and trope, and discourse. Identifying these discursive processes is an aim of the analysis of this thesis.

The methodology developed in Chapter 2 is then applied in Chapter 3 “*The term ‘Morisco’*” and Chapter 4. Here, the referential language used to describe and name the communities and its members before and after their baptism is quantified and analyzed. This analysis yields variations in terminology across time and region, and the conclusion that there were processes of differentiation and *othering* that were reflected in changes in language usage and meaning. Therefore, changes in language are compared to the terminology used with respect to the control group, *Amerindians*. The completion of processes of *othering* is hypothesized to proceed outside of Granada, primarily Valencia, exacerbated with the expulsions in 1609-14, and reified and cemented in historiography.

The language used across the Atlantic becomes helpful again, this time by analyzing the use of the term “*morisco*” in México (and Perú) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as it appears in the *Sistema de Castas*. The usage in New Spain then provides the foundation for the hypothesis that there was a *racialist turn* in the term “*morisco*” when it regained not only its original meaning within Spain (its derivation from “*moro*”) but also the original meaning of the term “*moro*,” which predated Islam, thus associating “*moro*” with Africa and Islam and the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan slave trade. Put differently, not only did “*moros*” become “*new Christians*” and “*nuevamente convertidos*” and then “*moriscos*,” they then became “*moros*” again, except that whereas the “*moros*” in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century were Spanish Muslims, “*moros*” in the seventeenth century were *non*-Spanish and there no longer existed any “*moriscos*,” the supposed *non*-Christians. The data (based on phrases from the Granadan documents) analyzed in Chapter 3 is found in Appendices 1 and 2.

Having analyzed the primary texts and identified the changes in language usage and meaning from Granada's "*morisco*" to Valencia's "*morisco*" to México's "*morisco*," in Chapter 4, "*The Eternal 'Morisco*,'" there is a presentation and challenge of the "*morisco*" of historiography. In this chapter, possible corrective avenues of research and methodologies, are presented, that may ameliorate the long-standing reification of the term "*morisco*," as well as possible ways of applying this quantitative and qualitative methodology to identify other processes of *othering* and minoritization. It is asked the patterns of othering identified among the baptized descendants of Muslims useful in understanding other similar processes, or were those patterns of othering unique to the context and time-frame of these specific expulsions?

Finally, in the last section of Chapter 4, there is a return to the subject of baptism introduced in Chapter 1, especially the relationship of baptism to conversion. This not only addresses the so-called problem of the "Christianization of Christians," but posits a problematic dissociation of conversion and baptism from one another, a dissociation that was, if not theologically then, at least ecclesially necessary to justify the expulsions of some Christians from the peninsula.

Chapter 1: Baptism and Conquest

The aim of this thesis is to identify the referential language used for Muslims and former Muslims and their baptized descendants in a series of primary texts, as well as variations in terminology regionally and chronologically. The identification of language helps to untangle the historical terminology from the historiographical, and thus unearth some processes which helped construct this(ese) community(ies) as *other* and aided the discursive justifications of the expulsion(s) of communities of Christians from the peninsula at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Before teasing out “how” the expulsions of members of these communities of Christians were discursively justified, this chapter presents the historical and theological context which initially led to a change in referential language. The initial historical context is broadly summarized as the decreed baptism of Muslims in the peninsula in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The approach to achieving the objectives of this research project is multi-faceted and inter-disciplinary. In the presentation of the contextual facet, the purpose of this chapter, there is a discussion of the history and theology of baptism, as well as the historical background (time and space) for the communities under question. Section 1.1 presents an overview of the biblical, theological, and historical understanding of baptism broadly in the Western tradition. There follows a presentation of the ecclesial and political context of the centuries surrounding the year 1492, which in Section 1.2 includes the precursor mass baptism of Jews in Spain at the turn of the fifteenth century, as well as the contemporary trans-Atlantic mass baptism of *Amerindians* in New Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Finally, Section 1.3 describes the mass baptism of the Granadans in the sixteenth century, our primary focus. Although the main lens for this project is Christian, within the historical presentation there are brief expositions of some aspects of the prior religious world of the *new* Christians: Islam for the Granadans and Pantheism for the Nahuas. The history of the baptism of *Amerindians* is specifically provided given the trans-Atlantic methodological approach that uses *Amerindians* as a control group to understand the construction of the baptized descendants of Muslims as *other* or different from other *Spaniards* and other Christians.

Religions have functionalist and essentialist aspects (to varying degrees of interpenetration of each of these), among others.⁵² For example, for functionalists religion has a specific role within society and can serve as an ordering principle, such as to articulate the boundaries between the sacred and profane. For essentialists on the other hand, religion provides a set of beliefs which help to explain the world. Religion can also be a tool used in society as a mechanism of control by an institution, such as the Church, or by a particular political power. As regards this project, the State used religion, specifically baptism as a tool to put a series of communities under the control of both the institutional Church and the State. Religion can also be a cultural system that contains elements such as customs that fall outside the parameters of theology and religious traditions.⁵³ The most obscure aspect to arrive at in the study of religion is the content and meaning of the actual beliefs of everyday people, an aspect not delved into here. As will be seen, before ascertaining, if this is even possible, the interior belief of particular groups, it would need to be untangled from what these communities have been discursively constructed as being, doing, and believing.

Charles Taylor, in the foreword to Marcel Gauchet's *The Disenchantment of the World*, gives a good working definition of religion:

...religion is more than a set of beliefs. It is a pattern of practices that gives a certain shape to our social imaginary. Religion—or, as Durkheim liked to put it, the sense of the sacred—is the way we experience or belong to the larger social whole. Explicit religious doctrines offer an understanding of our place in the universe and among other human beings, because they reflect what it is to live in this place. Religion, for Durkheim, was the very basis for society.⁵⁴

⁵² Functionalist theorists of religion include: Max Weber (1864-1920), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* 1946 trans., ed., and introduction H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Oxon: Routledge, 1991, orig. 1946), 245-264; Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. by W.S.F. Pickering and Jacqueline Redding, in *Durkheim on Religion: A Selection of Readings with Bibliographies*, VOL. 1 (Cambridge: James Clark & Co., 1975, orig. 1912), 102-66; Karl Marx (1818-1883), *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, trans. and ed. T.B. Bottomore (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963); Sigmund Freud (1856-1939); Essentialist scholars include: phenomenologists Rudolf Otto (1869-1937), *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational*, trans. John W. Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923, orig. 1917, 2d ed. 1950); and Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1957.)

⁵³ See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁵⁴ Charles Taylor, "Foreword," in *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion* by Marcel Gauchet, trans. Oscar Burge, *New French Thought*, series ed. Thomas Pavel and Mark Lilla (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), x. See also Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms*.

This definition addresses the elements of religion beyond theology (the meaning and mechanism of conversion), and allows for an increased understanding of the historical and discursive contexts in which these communities were baptized *en masse*; what changes were caused by the baptisms; the benefit to keeping these communities under the control of the State and Church; and how this was done after the initial act of the decreed baptisms. In these areas, there were competing religious, political, and social interests. With the context in hand, the question can be approached of “how” discursive processes were used to justify the expulsions of members from these communities.

Sociologists of religion often note that the social has an impact on the religious and vice versa. For example, Otto Maduro writes that religion

is a situated reality—situated in a specific human context, a concrete and determined geographical space, historical moment, and social milieu.”
[Furthermore,] each religion’s activity is limited by the social context in which it operates.⁵⁵

Although these statements are true, here there is also an interest in the historical moment (point of contact) and context in which persons or groups of different religions, backgrounds and ethnicities meet and how they interact, the hybridity that emerges in that space, as well as aspects which occur in the discursive realm. For example, James Blaine Tueller would argue that even if **all** Muslims remained Muslim after baptism, they were still affected by the Christian environment around them;⁵⁶ they were also affected by the ways in which they were constructed and (re)inscribed discursively as *other*—one real effect of the expulsions.

At the turn of the sixteenth century, religion functioned in *Spain* and *New Spain* as an ordering principle not only for the religious life of the faithful (public, ritual, and institutional; private and interior), but also for the sociopolitical context. There were many degrees of interaction between religion and society, including the use of religion for political purposes. The ordering of life in the religious, socio-cultural, and political spheres varied, albeit with points of intersection, for Christians, Muslims, and Nahuas. Likewise, the interior understanding of the world about them, and articulation of the sacred and profane with their corresponding discourses (such as thought patterns or conceptual

⁵⁵ Otto Maduro, *Religion and Social Conflicts*, trans. Robert R. Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982), 41, 42, 43.

⁵⁶ James Blaine Tueller, “*Good and Faithful Christians*,” 49.

systems) were different for each of these groups—although the Granadans (Muslims) and other Spaniards (Christians) in the peninsula often shared a similar context, shared some common understandings of the physical world about them, and may have shared some thought patterns and conceptual systems.

The act of baptism would naturally be understood differently by Christians, Muslims, and Pantheists (Nahuas), even ones who had lived side by side on the same peninsula. Yet this research project takes a Christian point of view, especially since the discourse was constructed and used by Christians. Yet that constructed discourse, as written on the page, no doubt differs from the lived reality of the subjects narrated. Because there is a reliance on written records, it is posited that the actual identifiable differences need to be distinguished from the constructed differences in those written records.

The baptism of both Muslims and Nahuas not only entailed a change in religion, but also pushed the boundaries of the organizing principles around which religion and society were organized. These boundaries were pushed differently on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, given the syncretic and pantheistic nature of the religion of the Nahuas, they more easily incorporated the Christian god and saints into their pantheon; yet, this was unacceptable to Christians (and even Muslims) because of their monotheistic orientation. Some Muslim scholars have posited that it was conceivable for an outward appearance of conversion to occur (in this case through the ritual of baptism) without an actual change in interior belief or religion, since one's private life is beyond external control. This has led to the historiographical stance and definition of these communities as solely Muslim or at least *crypto*-Muslim; this is a problematic view that challenges the theological understanding of baptism.⁵⁷ Christians policed outward practice and interior belief of all the baptized, however difficult the latter was to ascertain. To be clear, what is of interest here is the act of baptism and what it triggers in terms of discourse regarding these communities; the discourse does not need to equal the lived reality or the person's actual belief.

The ensuing theological and historical presentation of baptism and conversion within the Christian tradition underlines that there were non-religious factors, albeit written in the language of religious discourse, that led to the expulsions of Christians, baptized

⁵⁷ See for example the Oran Fatwa of 1504: L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 60-64; Cairo fatwas, 65-ff.

descendants of Muslims. The Church did not declare these Christians to be heretical, especially not through the mechanism of a church council, nor were all accused let alone tried by the Inquisition.⁵⁸ Although Christian tradition and theology had always upheld the indelibility of baptism, these particular groups of Christians were ultimately deemed *non-Christian*, thus breaking with the basic theological understanding that what makes a person a Christian is baptism. As presented in the Introduction and shown in chapters 3 and 4, this was only possible through the processes of construction of these communities as *other*, and the dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another.⁵⁹

1.1 History and Theology

*[Despite] the formal stance of Catholicism against forced baptism, nevertheless, generally, following the Council of Toledo, once performed, all baptisms, whether forced or not, were considered not only valid but irreversible since baptism constituted an indelible sacrament, and consequently to allow converts to Christianity to revert to Judaism would be dishonorable to Christianity.*⁶⁰

From its beginnings, Christianity had the imperative to proclaim the gospel of Jesus everywhere and to make disciples of all people.⁶¹ Notwithstanding this imperative, it is also believed that a person must accept initiation into a faith (in this case through baptism) freely, and that any person is thought to be capable of becoming a Christian.⁶²

In the early centuries of Christianity, adults who sought baptism generally spent a lengthy period preparing for their baptism and during that time learned about the Christian faith, practices, and beliefs. Yet there were instances in which baptism was forced or

⁵⁸ Since they were not **all** condemned, the perceived or constructed lack of “conversion” had to be coupled with the perceived or constructed “threat” to the State.

⁵⁹ From a Christian theology perspective dissociation was necessary because of the threat to the irreversibility and indelibility of baptism. Explored further in Section 4.3.

⁶⁰ Benjamin Ravid, “The Forced Baptism of the Jews in Christian Europe: An Introductory Overview,” in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood, International Medieval Research 17 (Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 159.

⁶¹ See Matthew 28. Scripture quotations are from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ, 1989).

⁶² Biblically, any distinction, prior to baptism is erased, and all are children of God, and as children of God “heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ.” Romans 8:17. Galatians 3:26-29, “for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham’s offspring, heirs according to the promise.” See also, 1 Corinthians 12:13 and Colossians 3:9-11.

decreed on persons and entire populations. These coerced baptisms, and mass baptism without instruction or prior conversion, posed challenges to the church and to other Christians. Yet, forced or coerced baptisms did not diminish the indelibility of baptism, because there was “consent” in the moment of the rite.⁶³ With baptisms *en masse*, a logistical challenge had to do with how to instruct a great number of adults within a very short time-frame, and whether this would be before or after the rite.

In the Christian scriptures and in the early centuries of Christianity, not only individuals but entire households and communities converted to Christianity: this meant that both adults and children were baptized. There are many examples of mass baptism: Franks, Goths, and Saxons, among others, and in Spain, Jews, and Muslims.⁶⁴ Yet, unlike Franks, Goths, Saxons, and even *Amerindians*, baptized descendants of Muslims in Spain were ultimately discursively deemed un-convertible, incapable of becoming or being *true* Christians, notwithstanding their baptism. This, in fact, may be solely a constructed narrative, taken as reality in historiography. By making these communities into “*nons*”, movement between Muslim and Christian or a spectrum of religious adherence to either religion cannot be conceived of.

Although there is evidence of infant baptism in the early centuries of Christianity, since those who chose baptism faced the possibility of death, it was mostly adults who sought baptism. After centuries of religious persecution and with the tolerance of Christianity in the early fourth century, the number of adults seeking baptism eventually decreased and infant baptism became the norm.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the language of the rite of baptism referred to adult baptism.⁶⁶ Since infants and children could not be instructed

⁶³ Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 159. See also Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, ed. *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002), 75.

⁶⁴ For the conversion of Germanic tribes see Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371-1386 AD* (London: HarperCollins, 1997) and *The Barbarian conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe 300–1000* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991).

⁶⁵ Maxwell E. Johnson, “Christian Initiation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008): “Designed, of course, with adults converts in mind; the overall ritual process of baptism in these several sources was to be short-lived, due according to John Baldovin, to its success (Baldovin 1991: 167). In other words, it eventually died out, in part at least, because, apparently, it had worked and, for good or ill, the Empire had become ‘Christian!’”

⁶⁶ See Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). This continues to be true as can be seen in the baptismal rite of the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP), 298-314. Episcopal Church. *The Book of Common Prayer and*

in the faith prior to baptism, with the rise of infant initiation, religious instruction was delayed, and instruction prior to baptism was no longer the norm.⁶⁷ Instead, catechisms emerged to teach those already baptized about the Christian faith, practices, and beliefs; a penitential system, which may be considered a mechanism of control, developed over centuries to monitor and correct belief and practices after baptism, and to reincorporate into community those who had lapsed. Yearly confession did not become a requirement until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). In direct response to heresy, the first Inquisition, directed by the papacy was created in the thirteenth century. The Inquisition was one mechanism of control within the breadth of penitential tools available to the church. The Spanish Inquisition was not established until 1478.⁶⁸ All of these aspects—instruction, catechism, penitence, etc.—can be seen in the efforts to *Christianize* the baptized descendants of Muslims and *Amerindians*.

*The Christian Scriptures*⁶⁹

Baptism is the principal act of initiation in Christianity, and for Christians the central story of baptism is that of Jesus by John the Baptist.⁷⁰ This baptism has the two central elements and symbols that have defined baptism ever since: water and the Holy Spirit. Oil can signify the Holy Spirit, but it is also represented by fire and a dove.⁷¹ Notwithstanding

Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David According to the Use of the Episcopal Church (New York: Church Hymnal Corp, 1979).

⁶⁷ Catechisms are a compilation of religious teachings in the form of questions and answers and include lists of items that are important for Christians to know. Catechisms are used after baptism. The Catechumenate is religious instruction prior to baptism.

⁶⁸ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), xvi.

⁶⁹ For a vast survey of Baptism from the New Testament through the fifth centuries see Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009).

⁷⁰ Matthew 3:13-17, Mark 1:9-11, Luke 3:21-22. The word baptism comes from the Greek βαπτίζω (baptizō) and there are 81 occurrences of it and related forms: In *Strong's Concordance* it is word number 907. James Strong, *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1890).

⁷¹ See Matthew 3:11, Acts 2:3; Mark 1:10. John the Baptizer “proclaim[ed] a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” but also announced that although he baptized with water the one [Jesus] that followed would baptize with the Holy Spirit. For baptism of repentance see Matthew 3:8, 11; Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3; Acts 13:24, 19:4. For the baptism with the Holy Spirit, see Mark 1:8, Luke 3:16, John 1:33. At Jesus’ baptism “as he came up from the water, suddenly the heavens were opened to him and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting him.” See Matthew 3:16. The gospel according to John mentions that Jesus and his disciples also baptized (John 3:22, 4:1).

the centrality of Jesus' baptism, the remaining references to baptism in the Christian scriptures are not uniform in form or meaning. As Maxwell E. Johnson puts it, the New Testament offers a "rich mosaic of baptismal images."⁷² Since the second century, the most common formula for baptism is a Trinitarian formula for the water ablution preceded or followed by some sort of chrismation.⁷³ Yet, in the New Testament there are more references to baptism "in the name of Jesus Christ" or "the Lord Jesus" than to this Trinitarian formula.⁷⁴ This Trinitarian formula, and related theology, was and is antithetical to the monotheism of both Judaism and Islam.

The custom of chrismation or anointing with oil, specifically tied to baptism, and as a symbol for receiving the Holy Spirit, is not literally found in the scriptural descriptions of baptism; there is however an association between "laying on of hands" and the receiving of the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁵ In the fifth century and later, the laying on of hands became connected to bishops and the rite of confirmation, as initiation in the West was increasingly divided into two parts. This was one indication of the church's belief that reception of "the gift of the Holy Spirit" could occur at a time before or after the immersion in water,⁷⁶ rather than as an indispensable part of the water ablution rite. Two other scriptural foundations give meaning to baptism. First, John 3:5, which expresses the idea of rebirth; second, Romans 6, which expresses the idea of resurrection along with Christ.⁷⁷

⁷² Maxwell E. Johnson, "Christian Initiation," 695.

⁷³ The formula for the water ablution was based on the mission imperative found at the end of the gospel according to Matthew: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Matthew 28:19.

⁷⁴ Acts 2:38; see also Acts 8:16, 10:48, 19:5; Romans 6:3; Galatians 3:27.

⁷⁵ *Strong's Concordance* ἐπιτίθημι (epitithemi), word number 2007 with 39 occurrences. Of the 39 occurrences, 15 are specifically tied to healing (e.g. Acts 9:12, 17); 4 to the imposition of hands: Acts 6:6, 8:17, 13:3, 19:6. A variant of the word is Strong's number 1936 (ἐπίθεσις-epithesis) with 4 references to the laying on of hands connected to the bestowing of the Holy Spirit: Acts 8:18, 1 Timothy 4:14, 2 Timothy 1:6 and Hebrews 6:2. The *Oxford Annotated Bible* refers to the "laying on of hands" as "a ritual of consecration and appointment." See Coogan, Michael David Coogan, Marc Zvi Brettler, Carol A. Newsom, and PHEME PERKINS, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version: with the Apocrypha: An Ecumenical Study Bible* (Oxford [England]: Oxford University Press, 2010), NT 95. References Numbers 8:10, 27:23; 1 Timothy 4:14; 2 Timothy 1:6.

⁷⁶ Acts 2:38; see also Acts 1:5, 19:6.

⁷⁷ "Jesus answered, 'Very truly I tell, no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and the Spirit.'" (John 3:5) "Therefore we have been buried by him into death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk into the newness of life." (Romans 6:4) Both of these senses continue to exist to this day; for example, the baptism rite as found in the *BCP* uses the following imagery: "We thank you, Almighty God, for the gift of water. Over it the Holy Spirit moved in the beginning of creation. Through it you led the children of Israel out of their bondage in Egypt into the land of promise. In it your Son Jesus received the baptism of John and was anointed by the Holy Spirit as the

Historically and theologically baptism has not only been thought of as a rite of initiation but also as a rite of conversion or turning. This follows the idea that the baptism of water, as John baptized, was a baptism of repentance, what in the Greek *metanoia* (μετάνοια) indicates a change of mind.⁷⁸ Similar to *metanoia* is the idea of turning toward God as found in the Greek word *epistrephó* (ἐπιστρέφω) and used to describe the conversion of many, including the gentiles.⁷⁹ Conversion was inherently thought to be possible. Therefore, as seen in the case of the Granadans (and other baptized descendants of Muslims), the frustration lay in the fact that the process and order of conversion or baptism, and vice versa, had been successful (at least discursively) for more than a millennium, and in the sixteenth, these communities, came to be perceived and/or constructed as unable to convert. There were also counter currents to this perceived failure: the baptism was indelible, they now fell under the jurisdiction of the Church, and within the new religion they were *othered* and *minoritized*.

The Christian scriptures do not have a list for specific instruction before or after baptism.⁸⁰ Regardless of this void, Jesus' disciples preached and baptized. What being

Messiah, the Christ, to lead us, through his death and resurrection, from the bondage of sin into everlasting life.

"We thank you, Father, for the water of Baptism. In it we are buried with Christ in his death. By it we share in his resurrection. Through it we are reborn by the Holy Spirit. Therefore in joyful obedience to your Son, we bring into his fellowship those who come to him in faith, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." *BCP*, 306-307.

⁷⁸ *Strong's Concordance* μετάνοια (metanoia), word number 3341 with 22 occurrences. In the early centuries of Christianity persons converted from Judaism and various pagan cults: conversion was a possibility for all and baptism was open to all, Jews and non-Jews. In the early church, when Christianity was not legal, baptism meant a turning to Christ and choosing a particular way of life away from other options (Gnosticism, Judaism, philosophy, etc...): choosing Christianity was for some counter-cultural. See Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 35.

⁷⁹ Acts 15:3. The form of the word is ἐπιστροφῆν. ἐπιστρέφω and its variations are found in *Strong's Concordance*, word number 1994. ἐπιστρέφω is a compound of the preposition ἐπι (*Strong's Concordance* 1909) and verb στρέφω, to turn, change, convert (*Strong's Concordance* 4762). There are 36 occurrences of ἐπιστρέφω and related words. See also, Acts 3:19, 9:35, 11:21, 15:19, 26:18, 26:20, 28:27; 2 Corinthians 3:16; 1 Thessalonians 1:9.

⁸⁰ The writer of the gospel according to Luke states that the book is intended so that the reader "may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed." (Luke 1:4) The idea of instruction is overwhelmingly found first in the ministry of Jesus; there are many stories of him traveling and teaching, even teaching in the synagogues. Some of the instances referring to teaching can be found in the 100+ entries for *didasko* and *didache* (*Strong's Concordance* 1321 and 1322 respectively). Preponderantly these are used to describe Jesus teaching: see Matthew 4:23, 5:2, 7:29, 11:1, 13:54, 21:23 and 22:16; Mark 1:21-22, 2:13, 4:1-2, 6:2, 6:6, 6:34, 8:31, 9:31, 10:1; Luke 4:15, 4:31, 5:3, 5:17, 6:6, 11:1, 13:10, 19:47, 20:1, 20:21, 21:37, 23:5; John 6:59, 7:14, 7:28, 7:35; 8:2, 8:20, 8:28, 9:34; 18:20; Acts 1:1. And, secondly, teaching, proclaiming, and preaching became the responsibilities of the apostles after Jesus' ascension. See Acts 4:2, 4:18, 5:21, 5:25, 5:28, 5:42, 11:26, 15:31, 18:11, 18:25, 28:31; 2 Timothy 4:2; Titus 1:9; Hebrews 6:2; 2 John 1:9-10. Finally, just as Jesus sent the disciples to baptize, he also sent them to

baptized entailed is not entirely clear; the book of the Acts of the Apostles gives a glimpse into the breadth of practice.⁸¹ Theologically and generally for Christians, baptism and the gift of the Holy Spirit are indelible marks on the person receiving them; similar to circumcision for Jews, the chrismation and laying on of hands serve as a permanent seal or identification of a person as a Christian. Fundamentally then, this was a reason for the discursive dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another, as presented in Section 4.3 and of import to constructing the baptized descendants of Muslims as *non-Christian*, despite their baptism.⁸²

To summarize, notwithstanding the diversity of practice found in the New Testament, there are some scriptural elements that began to shape the practice of

instruct: “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you.” Matthew 28:19-20a.

⁸¹ For example, on the day of Pentecost a large crowd was filled with the Holy Spirit and after hearing Peter preach, 3,000 were baptized “and devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers.” See Acts 2:4, 41-42. *Teaching* in “apostle’s teaching” is διδασχῆ (*didache*) *Strong’s Concordance* 1322. Similarly, when Peter preached at the house of Cornelius “the Holy Spirit fell on all who heard the word,” and since the Spirit had come to them Peter “ordered them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ.” Acts 10:44, 48. See also Acts 11:15. In the same way, Philip preached in the region of Samaria, and those who believed were baptized. Philip baptized in water and in the name of Jesus Christ and at a later time Peter and John laid their hands upon those newly baptized and they received the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:5, 12; Acts 8:12, 14-17). Also, Philip traveling on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza encountered an Ethiopian eunuch; after hearing Philip expound on the scriptures and the good news about Jesus Christ, Philip baptized the eunuch in water (Acts 8:26-38). Whereas Peter on Pentecost and Philip in Samaria preached to crowds, with the eunuch there is a story of personal conversion. Immediately following the narration about the conversion of the Ethiopian there is another pivotal story—the conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus. In Damascus, after Paul himself experienced Jesus, Ananias laid hands on Paul who was then filled with the Holy Spirit and was baptized (Acts 9, especially Acts 9:17-18). After Paul converted and was baptized, he travelled widely and preached about salvation in Jesus. The first account of him baptizing is the baptism of Lydia and her household after “the Lord opened her heart to listen eagerly to what was said by Paul.” Acts 16:14-15. We learn that subsequently during Paul’s preaching in Corinth many “became believers and were baptized.” Acts 18:7-8, Titius Justus, Crispus and his household, as well as other Corinthians.

⁸² See Romans 4:11. In the letter to the Ephesians it is described this way, “In [Jesus] you also, when you had heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and had believed in him, were marked with the seal of the promised Holy Spirit.” Ephesians 1:13. The promise is a reference to Joel 2:28-32, Acts 2:14-21; Luke 24:49, John 14:26, Acts 1:4-5. Other references to the Holy Spirit as a seal are Ephesians 4:30; Revelation 7:3-8. Although chrismation directly tied to the act of baptism is not mentioned in the Christian scriptures, the act of sealing can be associated with anointing. Anointing is also related to consecration and requires oil. It identifies or is a sign of choosing someone for a specific role. See for example, the anointing of Aaron: Leviticus 8:12, Psalm 133:2; Anointing of kings: Saul (1 Samuel 10:1), David (1 Samuel 16:13, 2 Samuel 2:4, 5:3), Azael and Jehu (1 Kings 19:15-16); anointing of Elisha as prophet (1 Kings 19:16). In baptism anointing separates a person as a Christian. For Christians, the first to be separated by God through the anointing of the Holy Spirit was Jesus. See Luke 4:18, Acts 4:27 and 10:38, Hebrews 1:9. In the second letter to the Corinthians this connection between anointing and baptism is explicitly made: “But it is God who establishes us with you in Christ and has anointed us, by putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first installment.” 2 Corinthians 1:21-22.

initiation from the time of the early church. These elements include the water ablution; the invocation of the Holy Spirit; anointing and the laying on of hands; the expectation of repentance or a change of life (*conversion*); some sort of teaching/preaching/proclaiming that leads to baptism; the baptism of groups, individuals, and entire households; baptism being open to all: to Jews and non-Jews, and equally to men, women, and children. The reason this is important background to the baptism and subsequent expulsions of baptized descendant of Muslims is in the continuities and discontinuities with the theology, practice, and traditions.

The Western Tradition Broadly

Since the Christian scriptures are neither explicit with respect to any specific instructions as to how to teach, preach, and proclaim, nor about specific knowledge required before baptism, after the first century there appeared a series of liturgical texts that show various local practices. Regardless of the directionality toward uniformity, scholars continue to “emphasize that what was normative in early Christian initiation practice was liturgical diversity and multiple practices.”⁸³

The two oldest extant sources of such liturgical texts are the *Didache* or “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” (late 1st-early 2nd c.),⁸⁴ and the *Apostolic Tradition* (2nd-4th c.).⁸⁵ These texts reveal some of the early practices and how these were or were not a continuation of the scriptural references. In addition to these there was canon 50 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (late 4th c.) which referred to the Trinitarian form and formula for

⁸³ Maxwell E. Johnson, “Introductory Essay: The Study of the Rite of Christian Initiation Today,” in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, rev. and exp. E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), xiv, also xvi; and, “Christian Initiation,” 693, 694.

⁸⁴ For more on the *Didache* see Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Text, Translations, Analysis, and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004). See also, E. C. Whitaker, *Documents*, 1-2.

⁸⁵ For the text of the *Apostolic Tradition* see Hippolytus, and Burton Scott Easton. *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1970). Historically the text had been attributed to Hippolytus of Rome, but now “the emerging scholarly view is that this *Apostolic Tradition* is not Hippolytan in authorship, nor necessarily Roman in its contents, and not early third century in date... [it] may well reflect a synthesis or composite text of various and diverse liturgical patterns and practices reflecting even diverse ecclesial tradition.” E. C. Whitaker, *Documents*, 4. See also John F. Baldovin, S.J., “Hippolytus and the Apostolic Tradition: Recent Research and Commentary,” *Theological Studies* 64 (2003): 520-542. See also Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 10-11.

baptism.⁸⁶ From the beginning there was angst around form, which will also be seen in the texts from Granada and New Spain, especially around issues of context (decreed baptism), the manner of the ritual (irregularities), and instruction.

The first of the two texts, the *Didache*, had sixteen chapters, of which chapters 7-10 had to do with baptism, and specified a Trinitarian formula and ablution in flowing water.⁸⁷ In the absence of flowing water, the baptism could be performed with water poured over the head with the Trinitarian formula. Although the *Didache* provided a brief glimpse into the fasting and prayer that was expected of the baptismal candidate prior to baptism,⁸⁸ it did not mention specific knowledge or instruction required of the person to be baptized.

The second of the two texts, the *Apostolic Tradition*, had a total of forty-three chapters, of which chapters 15-21 were dedicated to the catechumenate and baptism, and indicated that the period of preparation, or catechumenate, was of three years (17:1).⁸⁹ The baptism was specifically in flowing water (21:2); children, men, and women (21:4-5), alike were baptized; and there was anointing with various oils at various times during the ritual and these oils were consecrated by the bishop (21:6-7). The ablution required the one being baptized to be immersed three times (21:12-18) and to be anointed one final time before going into the church (21:19). Inside the church, the bishop laid hands on those that had been baptized (21:21), then again laid his oiled hands on them and sealed them with oil (21:22-23) one final time. After the baptism in water, anointing, and laying on of hands, the newly baptized shared in the Holy Eucharist for the first time (21:27-40).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ See M. F. Wiles, "Triple and Single Immersion: Baptism in the Arian Controversy," *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997): 345; See also C. H. Turner, "Notes of the Apostolic Constitutions. Part II: The Apostolic Canons," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1915): 523-538.

⁸⁷ Aaron Milavec, *Didache*, 19. According to Maxwell E. Johnson, "Christian Initiation," 697, chapters 61 and 65 of the *First Apology* of Justin Martyr (c. 155) corroborate the *Didache*. This text can be found in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1., ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe, trans. Marcus Dods and George Reith (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885); rev. and ed. Kevin Knight, New Advent, accessed 11 March 2014, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0126.htm>.

⁸⁸ Aaron Milavec, *Didache*, 21.

⁸⁹ In the *Apostolic Tradition* the primary purpose of the catechumenate was for the baptismal candidate to hear the word (17) and for their manner of life to be examined (15, 16). During the preparation of the catechumens, the teacher laid hands on them at every dismissal from instruction (19:1; 20:3). Those who were selected for baptism were examined (20:1) and in the final days before baptism, the catechumen was anointed with oil multiple times, primarily for exorcism. Those that were to be baptized fasted on Friday (20:7), gathered on the Sabbath (20:7) and held vigil Saturday night (20:9); the baptism was on Sunday morning at dawn (21:1).

⁹⁰ For some Christians today, weekly participation in the Holy Eucharist is common; participation in the Holy Eucharist in the early and medieval church was rare.

By the fourth century, not only was practice narrowed to triple immersion and the Trinitarian formula, the validity of the rite was based on the Trinitarian formula.⁹¹ The Council of Arles (314) condemned Donatism and affirmed the Trinitarian practice to determine whether someone was to be re-baptized, as had become the practice in North Africa.⁹² This is to say, re-baptism was for those who were baptized with a non-Trinitarian formula or form, not for lapsed Christians. Lapsed Christians would increasingly be re-incorporated into the community through the penitential system.⁹³ The extreme form of penance was a period of excommunication, and for the most extreme cases excommunication for life.

With the toleration of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century came greater definition of the boundaries of Christian faith, practice, and belief. Alongside definitions of orthodoxy were definitions of heresy, or as John B. Henderson puts it, “the broadening of heresy implies a narrowing of orthodoxy.”⁹⁴ The institutional church aimed to maintain right-belief and -practice and did so through various avenues, including through gatherings of bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities (councils and synods), and through the development of a penitential system to monitor belief and practice and bring lapsed Christians back into the fold; the rise of this system signaled the hardening of boundaries of orthodoxy. Analogously, the hardening of boundaries can be seen as the narrowest definition of *self* with a proliferation of categories for what is not encompassed, meaning the *other*.

Although a person could only be baptized once, a person could convert more than once; “[a]uthentic baptism could not be repeated. Therefore, rituals and ceremonies of

⁹¹ Canon 8 of the Council of Arles (314).

⁹² The practice in North Africa was related to what would later fall under the umbrella of the Donatist Controversy. See M. F. Wiles “Triple and Single Immersion,” 338. See Charles Munier and Charles de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae* (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1963), 9-13; accessed 21 October 2013, <http://www.fourthcentury.com/arles-314-canons-to-sylvester/>.

⁹³ The Donatists, as the Novatians (c. 250) before them, refused to admit to communion anyone who had lapsed or was thought to have an invalid baptism (performed by a heretic or schismatic) without re-baptism. The Roman position was that those who had lapsed could be reincorporated in the community and communion after reconciliation through penance. See Maxwell E. Johnson, “Christian Initiation,” 701. The Roman position upholds the theology of the indelibility of baptism as a rite which cannot be repeated.

⁹⁴ John B. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 27. See also J. Rebecca Lyman “Heresiology: The Invention of ‘heresy’ and ‘schism’,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Volume 2: Constantine to c. 600*, ed. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 296-313.

pardon and reconciliation had to be developed.”⁹⁵ There could be a conversion experience leading to baptism; a dramatic moment or turning point (*peripety*),⁹⁶ but there was also ample opportunity for an ongoing process of conversion. After baptism, conversion was a process, not a moment; baptism was a beginning, not an end.⁹⁷ Conversion was expected to be a way of life. Although the penitential system, local councils, and ecclesiastical structures were sufficient to monitor and correct the belief and practice, during heretical times (or perceived heresy) mechanisms such as the Inquisition were also implemented.

The above presentation is relevant to *Spain* and *New Spain* because of its continuity with the Western tradition; knowing the continuities also reveals the discontinuities. The primary texts of concern for this project, and the many other primary texts discussed in the works dealing with the baptized descendants of Muslims are explicitly dealing with issues of practice and belief, instruction, and penance, etc. It is not surprising then, that the penitential system and other mechanisms of control, such as the Inquisition, were also in use in the peninsula. Whereas these systems functioned with specific categories, apostates or heretics, with the mass baptism of Jews and Muslims a “new category” of Christians was created which necessitated being brought back into the fold—a category of Christians who were thought not to be able to be or who did not want to be Christians (usually referred to as *non-Christian Christians*, *new Christians*, *sub-Christian*, or *suspect Christians*).⁹⁸

Old Christians often accused baptized former Jews and Muslims, and baptized *Amerindians*, and their baptized descendants, of adherence to prior practices, often all these accusations falling under the umbrella of Judaizing. This was at times a discursive strategy (even *tropic*), rather than a reality, to keep these groups separate. For scholars, accepting these charges as real has to do with maintaining a “neat” *tripartite* matrix of study, where the defining point was the prior rather than the current religion. Frequently

⁹⁵ Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 14.

⁹⁶ Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, 3, 7, 23.

⁹⁷ Bert Roest, “Converting the Other and Converting the Self: Double Objectives in Franciscan Educational Writings,” in *Christianizing Peoples*, 297. See also, Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 44, 47, 48.

⁹⁸ Ultimately these *non-Christian Christians* would also become *non-Spanish Spanish*.

the charge found in some documents of the time are recalled (in historical reference order) by some historians as follows:

- Alastair Hamilton quotes with respect to the converts from Judaism: “so although they were baptized, they never abandoned their Jewish rites.”⁹⁹
- Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1485-1546) writes with respect to the baptized Granadans: “we see that the Saracens never become Christians; no, indeed, they are as much Moors as ever they were.”¹⁰⁰ A. D. Wright writes, “they barely converted in fact to any true Christian practice.”¹⁰¹
- Robert Ricard quotes Bernardino de Sahagún (d. 1590) regarding Amerindians: “although the pagans did indeed consent to become Christians and receive baptism, at the bottom of their hearts they never really meant to abandon their old ways, deny their traditions, or renounce their Gods.”¹⁰²

Baptism and Conversion are voluntary, except when not...

In the Christian scriptures, early liturgical texts, council documents, and papal pronouncements, both baptism and conversion were voluntary, and once a person consenting to the rite was baptized, regardless of any coercion toward seeking baptism, the baptism was deemed to be valid.¹⁰³ In a letter written in 591, Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604) encouraged baptism/conversion by persuasion and preaching, thus seeking baptism was voluntary; the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) did not allow the forced baptism of Jews in the peninsula; and Pope Calixtus III (r. 1119-1124) in *Sicut Judeis* reasserted free will in baptism and not force.¹⁰⁴

These same authorities agreed that Jews, Pagans, and later Muslims fell outside of the jurisdiction of the church, but that lapsed, apostate, or heretic Christians were within the jurisdiction; these distinctions were especially important when baptism was a

⁹⁹ Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 9.

¹⁰⁰ Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al. *Colonial Latin America*, 73. See also footnote 538.

¹⁰¹ A. D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society under the Reign of Philip II, 1555-1598, and Philip III, 1598-1621*, Studies in Religion and Society 27 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, ON and Lampeter, UK: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 15.

¹⁰² Robert Ricard, *The spiritual conquest of Mexico: an essay on the apostolate and the evangelizing methods of the mendicant orders in New Spain, 1523-1572* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1966), 274.

¹⁰³ Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 159.

¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 157. Pope Gregory I, *Epistle 1.14*.

mechanism of control. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) believed both that baptism was voluntary and that once a person was a Christian (thus, baptized), any later heresy and apostasy would not be tolerated.¹⁰⁵ Thomas Aquinas saw “conversion as a [noetic] turning towards God” and he insisted that conversion and re-conversion can only be compelled on lapsed believers.¹⁰⁶ For Augustine of Hippo (354-430), conversion entailed “the striving for the proper good, a simple good which was epitomized by the ordering of the soul and body toward God.”¹⁰⁷

Notwithstanding the stance that a person should consent to baptism, they considered even a forced baptism valid given consent in the rite and, as Benjamin Ravid writes, not only valid “but also irreversible since baptism constituted an indelible sacrament.”¹⁰⁸ The above position was held alongside the belief that royal rulers had the right to coerce the baptism of subjects as a means to enforce political loyalty and consensus.¹⁰⁹ This was true for Reccared’s (r. 586-601) conversion of his subjects to Catholic Christianity from Arian Christianity in 589; Sisebut’s (r. 611/12-621) forced baptism of Jews;¹¹⁰ and Charlemagne’s forced baptism of the Saxons.¹¹¹ Given the mass baptism of Muslims and *Amerindians* in the sixteenth century, questions of baptism and conversion were vigorously brought up and discussed; as the century progressed, this was mostly about conversion and not baptism.

¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 157. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* II-II Q. 10 Art. 12 and III Q. 68 Art. 10. Francisco de Vitoria agreed, see Kenneth Mills et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 70.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick Quinn, “St. Thomas Aquinas’ Theory of Conversion,” in *Christianizing Peoples*, 270. Unlike Aquinas, Duns Scotus (c. 1266-1308) believed in forced conversion.

¹⁰⁷ Donald Mowbray, “*Conversio ad bonum commutabile*: Augustinian language of conversion in Medieval theology,” in *Christianizing Peoples*, 294. See also, Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 87 and 173: Augustine’s “*peregrinatio* of the soul toward God.”

¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 159. See also Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 75.

¹⁰⁹ J. Rebecca Lyman puts it this way - after the toleration of Christianity “heresy was increasingly no longer only an ecclesiastical matter or a serious theological challenge, but a problem of public safety since correct belief and worship ensured the unity and stability of society. Heresiological categories were often a means to establish or maintain common boundaries.” See J. Rebecca Lyman, “Heresiology,” 296.

¹¹⁰ Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 123, 136-138, 143, 153.

¹¹¹ Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 185.

The Dominican Francisco de Vitoria weighed in on whether King Charles I (1500-1558) had “the right to convert non-Christians to the faith ‘by violence and the sword’,”¹¹² and argued that the king had this right over his subjects, the Granadans, but not over those who were not subjects of the crown, *Amerindians*.¹¹³ For Francisco de Vitoria, although the mass baptisms of the Granadan Muslims and *Amerindians* were contemporary with one another, the category of peoples and conclusions were different.

Vitoria challenged the authority of the Alexandrian donations to the Spanish monarchs, arguing that the papacy could not automatically exercise rights over non-Christian peoples and the lands over which they rightfully ruled.¹¹⁴

For Francisco de Vitoria, forced baptism was problematic, but in the case of the Granadans, Vitoria did not see the threat of exile as forced baptism, because those persons had what he considered to be a choice to accept baptism or exile.¹¹⁵

Baptism and conversion in Spain

There has been a Christian presence in the peninsula since the second century.¹¹⁶ Christianity in the peninsula was rooted, historically, in the western traditions of the church, and had Roman, Celtic, and African (north) influences. There was continuity with practices found elsewhere, although it cannot be said that there was uniformity; fluidity, variety, and local practices abounded.¹¹⁷ The earliest documented church council in the peninsula, the *Council of Elvira* (c. 306) produced 81 canons, of which several have to do with the catechumenate, baptism, and confirmation.¹¹⁸ From this council it is known that

¹¹² Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 68.

¹¹³ Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 69, 72, 74. At this time the Granadans and Castilians were already baptized and Charles V was about to require baptism of all other Muslim subjects.

¹¹⁴ Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 67.

¹¹⁵ Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 75. See also Benjamin Ravid, “Forced Baptism of the Jews,” 159; T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation in Spain, c. 300-1100* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1967), 20, 25, 91.

¹¹⁶ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 25. Mentioned by Ireneus of Lyon and Tertullian. See Luis A. García Moreno, “El Cristianismo en las Españas: los orígenes,” in *El concilio de Elvira y su tiempo*, ed. Manuel Sotomayor and José Fernández Ubiña (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2005), 172.

¹¹⁷ See T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 34, 65, 67, 134, 192.

¹¹⁸ On baptism: canon 1, 2, 4, 24, 38, 39, 42, 48; Catechumenate: canon 10, 11, 45, 68; Confirmation, 77. See also E. C. Whitaker, *Documents*, 153-175. Canon 42 specified a period of preparation of two years, except for pagan priests who were required three (Canon 4). Baptized virgins were not allowed to marry heretics, Jews (Canon 16), or pagan priests (Canon 17). A possible anomaly to the initiation rite appeared in Canon 39, which specified that a gravely ill gentile could become a Christian merely by the imposition of

there were at least 37 Christian communities at that time, of which 19 were represented at the council.¹¹⁹

Unlike the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Tradition*, council documents are neither liturgical nor instructional texts. Many of the canons from Elvira addressed how to deal with persons who were baptized and had committed various sins, specifying the penalties, including the length of excommunication. It was stated in the canons that Christians lived alongside pagans, gentiles, and Jews; rules were provided to maintain separation between the communities, and control the practices and interactions of the various groups. Already in the fourth century various peninsular communities were differentiated by religious boundaries, a matrix that would abide in this context.

T. C. Akeley's *Christian Initiation in Spain, c. 300-1100* presents the analysis of a series of liturgical texts from the peninsula, all related to what is known as the Hispano-Visigothic liturgy (also known as *Mozarabic*) and various initiation practices. Akeley shows that there were a variety of practices even though council texts insisted on uniformity.¹²⁰ Different from other regions, according to Akeley, in the peninsula baptism and confirmation were not separate rites.¹²¹ Although triple immersion was the normative practice in the Western church, the peninsular church has a history of single-immersion.¹²²

hands, not necessarily by water ablution (the water ablution could be implied, but it is not textually mentioned). Canon 77 provided a glimpse into the presence of bishops in the thirty-seven Christian communities in the Iberian Peninsula and their role in baptisms. The Canon suggests that not all baptisms were performed by bishops, thus separating the ablution from the imposition of hands. Canon 77 alluded to the ablution being sufficient for salvation if the person dies before receiving the laying on of hands. Confirmation could be done at a later time (Canon 38, 77). Another canon stated that lay persons could baptize if there was a grave need (Canon 11, 38).

¹¹⁹ Luis A. García Moreno, "El Cristianismo," 177.

¹²⁰ See T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 34, 65, 67, 134, 192. For example, the Fourth Council of Toledo.

¹²¹ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 20, 91.

¹²² T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 31, 64, 133. See J. D. C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London: SPCK, 1965), 88-100; M. F. Wiles, "Triple and Single Immersion"; Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 109-133; Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 663-670. Single immersion was approved in the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) to differentiate the *orthodox* baptism from *Arian* baptism which used triple immersion. This is, in part, because of the aftermath of the conversion of Reccared and the mass conversion of the Visigoths in 589. The basis for the orthodoxy of a single immersion can be found in a letter from Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604) to Bishop Leander of Seville (c. 534-c.600) which reads, "But with respect to trine immersion in baptism, no truer answer can be given than what you have yourself felt to be right; namely that, where there is one faith, a diversity of usage does no harm to holy Church. Now we, in immersing thrice, signify the sacraments of the three days' sepulture; so that, when the infant is a third time lifted out of the water, the resurrection after a space of three days may be expressed. Or, if any one should perhaps think that this is done out of veneration for the supreme Trinity,

Also particular to the peninsula was an association between oil and the Holy Spirit, alongside angst around who could consecrate the oil:

[t]he evidence seems clearly to suggest that the Spirit was thought to be transmitted to baptisands with a chrismation immediately after the laver.¹²³

Regardless of who did the chrismation, a bishop had to consecrate the oil used for it. Chrismation by a presbyter, without a subsequent laying on of hands by a bishop, still made the baptism sufficient.¹²⁴ The concern regarding the consecration of chrism recurred throughout the peninsula and indicates that “in the Peninsula chrism alone [was] the significant part of baptism.”¹²⁵ Starting in the fourth century, as was the case elsewhere, the period of baptismal preparation was greatly reduced over the next centuries to weeks and then days,¹²⁶ until eventually infant baptism became normative.¹²⁷ There is evidence of a post-baptismal period of instruction (catechism).¹²⁸

Beginning in the early fifth century the Visigoths arrived on the peninsula and practiced Arian Christianity until Reccared, in the *Third Council of Toledo* (589), decreed the conversion of the whole population to catholic Christianity.¹²⁹ Until the end of the sixth

neither so is there any objection to immersing the person to be baptized in the water once, since, there being one substance in three substances, it cannot be in any way reprehensible to immerse the infant in baptism either thrice or once, seeing that by three immersions the Trinity of persons, and in one the singleness of the Divinity may be denoted. But, inasmuch as up to this time it has been the custom of heretics to immerse infants in baptism thrice, I am of opinion that this ought not to be done among you; lest, while they number the immersions, they should divide the Divinity, and while they continue to do as they have been used to do, they should boast of having got the better of our custom.” Trans. James Barmby, from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 12., ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1895); rev. and ed. Kevin Knight, New Advent, accessed 21 October 2013, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/360201043.htm>.

Maxwell E. Johnson in “Christian Initiation,” 707, notes that new studies challenge this interpretation of the *single* immersion. He writes that “McConnell, for example, has challenged the long-standing scholarly assumption that the *single* baptismal immersion characteristic of Spain was an anti-Arian development, and has argued that it was simply the traditional practice of Spanish Christianity, which received an anti-Arian interpretation later.” See Christian McConnell, “Baptism in Visigothic Spain: Origins, Development, and Interpretation” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2005).

¹²³ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 50.

¹²⁴ Canon 77 of the Council of Elvira. See footnote 116.

¹²⁵ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 75.

¹²⁶ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 46, 49, 62, 123.

¹²⁷ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 89, 123, 133.

¹²⁸ T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 86, 180.

¹²⁹ Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000*, New Studies in Medieval History, ed. Maurice Keen (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1983), 53-54.

century there were few instances in which baptism was forced on whole populations. Up to that point, most decrees were meant to control the interactions between groups, not force one group to change their religion. This changed after the conversion of the Visigoths to Roman Christianity.

As Joseph Pérez points out, Jews through the sixth century had participated in all aspects of peninsular society and were indistinguishable from the rest of the population;¹³⁰ yet, with the increased anti-Jewish sentiment and legislation, Jews that remained in the peninsula were progressively restricted to specific occupations and to specific religious practices; an ongoing *othering*.¹³¹ In the seventh century the church increasingly enforced the decrees regarding the behavior of the baptized descendants of Jews. The increased policing paralleled the increased desire for uniformity in practice and political consensus across the peninsula, given its relatively recent change to Roman Christianity.¹³² For the church, the immediate consequence of the forced baptism of Jews by Sisebut was the creation of a new category of Christians: *suspect* Christians.¹³³

After the seventh century, Jewish communities continued to exist in the peninsula and throughout Christian realms; Christians increasingly encountered, interacted, and clashed with Muslims, especially on the frontier areas of the Mediterranean, and eastern regions, such as modern-day Turkey and Greece. In the peninsula, a sort of equilibrium persisted for many centuries; Christians and their institutions (ecclesial or royal) did not have to deal with mass baptisms and their consequences again until the end of the fourteenth century—the mass baptism of Jews in the years after 1391, and then the decreed baptism of Muslims in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Reform

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a confluence of factors persuaded the church to (re)establish and harden the boundaries of orthodoxy. These factors included

¹³⁰ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 6.

¹³¹ Guy G. Stroumsa, “Religious Dynamics between Jews and Christians,” in *The Making of the Abrahamic Religions in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Studies in Abrahamic Religions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 151.

¹³² See Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, 155.

¹³³ See Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, 153; Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 48; see footnote 98.

the mass baptism of Jews, Muslims, and *Amerindians*, as well as the baptism of their descendants; the desire for ecclesiastical reform; the rise of Protestantism; and the rise of mystical movements (such as the Illuminists or *Alumbrados*). The Catholic monarchs undertook the reform of the Church, including the religious orders and the secular clergy. The Spanish Inquisition, as a tool of reform and mechanism of control, was established in Seville in 1478 to deal with the baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants. These *new Christians* were thought to have retained some of their own Jewish religious customs and practice. The Spanish Inquisition was established later in Granada and New Spain as a mechanism of control of the additional groups of the *newly* baptized.

The need for reform in the Church, in both orthopraxis and orthodoxy, has been historically worked out through ecclesiastical councils.¹³⁴ Information regarding the mass baptism of the Granadan Muslims and *Amerindians* can be found in documents of the ecclesial gatherings in sixteenth-century Granada and *New Spain*, and in a more limited manner by understanding the general impact of the Council of Trent.¹³⁵

The repercussions of the Reformations and Counterreformations on the peninsular and trans-Atlantic church were multiple. The Council of Trent mandated the production of a new catechism, breviary, and missal, together called the Tridentine Rite, and this shaped the Roman Catholic Church into the twentieth century. Yet, the concerns of the Roman Catholic Church, in Rome and in other places on the peninsula and throughout the imperial realm, were often of local interest and concern, and were not explicitly mentioned in the Tridentine proceedings or canons. The nascent-*Spanish* empire was in opposition

¹³⁴ For example, Council of Jerusalem, the seven Ecumenical Councils accepted by the Eastern and Western Churches, and councils specific to a particular denomination or local Church.

¹³⁵ The Council of Trent was part of the overall European reforming trends of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent met three times over 18 years (1545-1548; 1551-1552; and 1562-1563) and covered the pontificates of Paul III (1534-1549), Julius III (1550-1555), and Pius IV (1559-1565). The Council addressed issues of belief and practice, and cannot be seen outside of the political and religious context of Europe in the sixteenth century. Robert Bireley summarizes the Council in this way: "The council's historical significance consisted in two achievements.... First, it clarified Catholic teaching on most doctrines contested by the Protestants, and secondly, it put forth a series of reforms that aimed not only at the elimination of abuses but at the renewed pastoral programme that placed the bishop and the priest at the centre of the church's mission." Robert Bireley, SJ, "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond," in *Reform and Expansion, 1500-1660*, The Cambridge History of Christianity 6, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 148. The council was received in the various provinces of the church starting in 1565. For brief introductions to the Council of Trent see, Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to the European Reformation, c. 1500-1618* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), Ch. 8; Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation*, The Pelican History of the Church, 3 (Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1964), 273-ff.

to reforming movements in the European continent and England, yet, the church in Granada and in New Spain was mostly concerned with the Christianization and assimilation of *new* Christians, a local and specific concern.¹³⁶

James Blaine Tueller rightly points out that the ongoing changes in the church throughout the sixteenth century impacted not only *new* Christians, but *old* Christians as well.¹³⁷ Yet, since the impetus for reform narrows the category of orthodoxy and expands the category of heresy, part of the reforming movement in the peninsula was a direct reaction to the mass baptism of Jews after 1391. The overview of their mass baptism thus follows.

1.2 Baptizing Jews and Amerindians

*Mass Baptism of the Iberian Jews*¹³⁸

Jews have lived in the peninsula since the first century.¹³⁹ For centuries, although this Jewish community was distinct because of its religion, it “did not constitute a distinct ethnic group.”¹⁴⁰ Apart from religion, “nothing differentiated Jews from the rest of the peninsula’s Hispano-Roman population.”¹⁴¹ This means that Jews, although religiously *other*, were not *other* to Christians in every way. Increasingly, Jews became particularly important and present in urban centers and in royal courts; yet, they were not immune to the ebb and flow of anti-Semitism. Despite periods of persecution and tensions, there

¹³⁶ The Illuminists are probably a notable exception to this.

¹³⁷ See James Blaine Tueller, “Good and Faithful Christians,” 49.

¹³⁸ For overviews of the history of Jews in Spain see: Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*; Joseph Pérez, *Los judíos de España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2005) and *History of a Tragedy*; Jonathan Ray, ed. *The Jews in Medieval Iberia: 1100-1500* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2012); Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2013). See also works by Norman Roth *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); and B. Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition: Essays on Jewish and Converso History in Late Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997), and *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (New York, New York: Random House, 1995).

¹³⁹ The Council of Elvira (near Granada), c. 306, deals with issues relating to the Jewish community in the peninsula. The council has four explicit canons dealing with contact between Jews and Christians. For a broad look at the Council of Elvira see Manuel Sotomayor and José Fernández Ubiña, ed., *Concilio de Elvira*. As it relates to the Jews in the peninsula see the essay in the same volume by Ramón Teja Casuso, “«Exterea gentes»: relaciones con paganos, judíos y herejes en los cánones de Elvira,” 220-ff.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 5, 6.

¹⁴¹ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 6. He further adds that Jews contributed greatly to the broader Iberian society and quotidian, but for centuries “did not constitute a separate social class.”

were Jews who remained as a recognizable religious community (religiously *other*) in the peninsula until they were expelled in 1492 from Spain and in 1497 from Portugal. Being religiously *other* did not preclude assimilation or acculturation, and should not be equated with being *non-Spanish*.

After 711, Jews functioned ably under Muslim rule. Jews served the Umayyad Dynasty which ended in 1031, had success under the rulers of the various *taifa* kingdoms, but experienced hostility under the north African rule of the Almoravids (1086-1148) and the Almohads (1156-1269). Many Jews left Almohad-controlled lands for the Christian-controlled kingdoms to the north, and made the transition to Christian living under rule beginning in the eleventh century, as Christian rulers progressively conquered Muslim-held areas of the peninsula.¹⁴²

For centuries, as royal subjects, Jews often served as a bridge community between Christians and Muslims, regardless of the faith of the ruler: “[a]s the former structures of the vanquished Muslim states were dismantled Jews [again] reemerged as a cultural bridge between the two.”¹⁴³ As the territorial boundaries changed, Jews were encouraged to (re)settle in newly conquered areas of the peninsula.¹⁴⁴ The increased dominion of Christians and the role of Jews in the peninsula can be summarized as follows:

The transformation of Spain to Christian rule was accompanied by a new mixing of cultures, for coexistence of Muslim and Christian peoples ranged along a continuum from active warfare or tense stalemate to mere proximity, from absence of conflict to mutual borrowing. Within this perspective of changing relationships and convivencia, Jews again found a niche as cultural intermediaries as they had in Umayyad Spain.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Briefly: After the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate in 1031 there emerged a series of separate and small *taifa* kingdoms, and Christian rulers were able to take advantage of this fragmentation to make territorial advances. For example, the *taifa* kingdom of Toledo fell in 1085. The successive rule of Almoravids (1086-1148) and the Almohads (1156-1269) was able to unify the remaining Muslim-controlled territory, but their territory greatly diminished after the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The surprisingly last great Christian advance came with the fall of Seville in 1248. After the Almohads and until 1492 the only remaining Muslim kingdom in the peninsula would be that of Nasrids of Granada (1232-1492). See Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London and New York: Longman, 1996). See also, Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 8-ff., esp. 12.

¹⁴³ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 97.

¹⁴⁴ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 95. “The *fueros* often drafted to entice Jews into newly reconquered areas were a reflection of competing forces in Spanish society: crown, Church, nobility, and municipality.”

¹⁴⁵ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 99.

Notwithstanding this ability to serve as intermediaries, to serve the royal courts, and even to become an indispensable part of urban life, Jews as royal subjects often had to carefully navigate the environment they lived in, and their status and autonomy were often precarious given that these depended on royal needs and whims. Jonathan Ray writes, that

[p]rior to 1492, Iberian Jews had become practiced in deflecting or minimizing policies that could potentially impinge upon their hard won privileges or status. They exploited the system of overlapping jurisdictions that characterized medieval society, and regularly challenged the authority of their local Jewish governments.¹⁴⁶

Eventually, even kings who understood the value of these royal subjects

came to realize that to go on protecting them could cost them too much in terms of their relations with the majority of the people, and that the presence of Jews, despite the advantages it afforded, was more of a liability than an asset.¹⁴⁷

As was the case in the fifteenth century, the changes in territorial control also coincided with a time of increased religious fervor in the peninsula, the rest of the European continent, and the British Isles. This increased religious fervor included the rise of the mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans) and renewed anti-Jewish sentiment. For example, although not greatly enforced in the peninsula, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215, Canon 68) required Jews and Muslims to wear a distinctive badge and clothing.¹⁴⁸ Jane S. Gerber sums up this renewed hostility against Jews:

¹⁴⁶ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 6; see also 24, 25.

¹⁴⁷ B. Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, 199.

¹⁴⁸ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 95. This type of requisite was not new, but the fact that it was included in the council alludes to a time ripe with anti-Semitic sentiment. Canon 68 reads, "In some provinces a difference in dress distinguishes the Jews or Saracens from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. Thus it happens at times that through error Christians have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, that they may not, under pretext of error of this sort, excuse themselves in the future for the excesses of such prohibited intercourse, we decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress. Particularly, since it may be read in the writings of Moses [Numbers 15:37-41], that this very law has been enjoined upon them.

"Moreover, during the last three days before Easter and especially on Good Friday, they shall not go forth in public at all, for the reason that some of them on these very days, as we hear, do not blush to go forth better dressed and are not afraid to mock the Christians who maintain the memory of the most holy Passion by wearing signs of mourning.

"This, however, we forbid most severely, that any one should presume at all to break forth in insult to the Redeemer. And since we ought not to ignore any insult to Him who blotted out our disgraceful deeds, we

By the middle of the thirteenth century, these extremely negative influences combined with the setting down of society as the *Reconquista* neared its successful conclusion. The time was ripe for traditional negative attitudes toward Jews to reassert themselves. Spain's porous borders were breached as she began to share Europe's deeply rooted anti-Jewish patrimony.¹⁴⁹

A century later the association of Jews with the Black Death (c. 1348) did not aid their status or assuage the violent sentiment against them.¹⁵⁰

Jews prospered during times of prosperity, but in times of crisis Jews were often blamed for societal decline.¹⁵¹ Joseph Pérez summarizes this precarious situation in the following way:

Two prevailing conditions were required for Jews to survive without encountering major problems with the rest of society: a healthy and prosperous economy and a state authority capable of guaranteeing the security of persons and possessions. In other words, the well-being of the Jews required a climate of economic expansion and political stability.¹⁵²

Neither of these two favorable conditions existed in the latter part of the fourteenth century. This is like the discourse against the baptized descendants of Muslims, as seen in the texts analyzed for this thesis.

The shared hostility toward Jews in the peninsula and other areas of Europe was also emblematic of an important shift in the gaze of the peninsula. For centuries, areas under the rule of various Muslim rulers were oriented toward North Africa and the Islamic world (south/east). As Christians increased their hold on the promontory, the gaze shifted to their co-religionists to the European continent and the British Isles. There was a shift

command that such impudent fellows be checked by the secular princes by imposing them proper punishment so that they shall not at all presume to blaspheme Him who was crucified for us."

From H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 78-127. Also accessed through the *Medieval Sourcebook: Lateran IV: Canon 68—on Jews*, 26 July 2013, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/lat4-c68.asp>.

Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España: un enigma histórico*, 6th ed. (Barcelona: Edhasa, 1991), 3:892, argues that dispensation of the use of the badge was received by Ferdinand III (1199-1252) from pope Honorius III (r.1216-1227) in 1219, given the great contributions of the Jews and their threat to return to Muslim-controlled lands if they had to wear the badge.

¹⁴⁹ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 101. The negative associations include: responsibility for Jesus' death, desecration of the Eucharist and relics, poisoning of wells, etc.

¹⁵⁰ See Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 110-ff.

¹⁵¹ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 31; see also 53, 99. See also, Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: The Purging of Muslim Spain* (New York and London: The New Press, 2009), 28-ff.

¹⁵² Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 31-32.

from contact and influence and a permeable relationship with the south/east to the hardening of that border in exchange for the northern (Christian) border.¹⁵³ With the change in gaze various negative forces coincided that affected Jewish communities in the peninsula and abroad: renewed proselytization, legal restrictions (such as clothing legislation and separate Jewish living quarters), and anti-Jewish sentiment to push Jews to convert to Christianity.¹⁵⁴ As explained further in Chapter 2, this can be considered part of the dual processes of Occidentalism/Europeanization, and de-semitization and de-orientalization proposed by Alain Milhou.¹⁵⁵

1391: Seville

Notwithstanding the centuries' long pressures on these communities, prior to 1391 there had been an unremarkable and insignificant number of Jews seeking baptism.¹⁵⁶ In the late-fourteenth century there was an increase in systematic/unrelenting anti-Jewish

¹⁵³ Christian rulers in the sixteenth century will be occupied with North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, but not for shared goals or support, but as rival political forces. Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 5: “[i]ndeed, one of the defining characteristics of the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century was that Spanish and Ottoman expansion generally served to preclude either power from achieving true control of the region. Even in their respective spheres of influence at either end of the Mediterranean, Spain and the Ottomans were forced to contend with political and economic challenges from a host of other competitors, including Portugal, Genoa, Venice, the Papal States, and the sultanate of Fez.”

¹⁵⁴ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 104.

¹⁵⁵ See the desemitization argument by Alain Milhou in Section 2.3. Alain Milhou “Desemitización y europeización en la cultura española desde la época de los Reyes Católicos hasta la expulsión de los moriscos,” *Cultura del Renacimiento* 11 (1993): 35-60.

¹⁵⁶ Knowledge of the rate of conversion in the peninsula to Christianity, Judaism or Islam in the centuries following 711 is limited at best. Richard W. Bulliet in his study of changes in names is often cited for the rate of conversion from Christianity and Islam in the first centuries after 711. See Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period: an essay in quantitative history* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). For the earlier centuries, generally, the available data is insufficient to determine numbers with any precision. In the later middle ages, the availability of sources is better, but it remains widely varied, especially regionally. Norman Roth explores the issues relating to numbers and the Jewish population in 15th-century Spain in “Appendix B. Jewish and Converso Population in Fifteenth-Century Spain” in *Conversos, Inquisition*, 328-332. Joseph Pérez states that in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries many Jews converted to Islam. Presumably talking about Christians and Jews, he further states that “[e]stimates show that by the end of the twelfth century 80 percent of the peninsula’s Hispano-Roman population had done so,” 9. As for the Jewish population in the 15th century, Joseph Pérez writes “It seems reasonable to assume that at the end of the fourteenth century the Jewish population of Castile was in the neighborhood of 250,000 individuals. If we subtract from this figure those Jews who converted to Christianity after the crisis of 1391, some two hundred thousand but probably fewer, and then add a growth factor due to the demographic recovery during the fifteenth century—from which Jews like Christians should have benefited—we are not far from 150,000. This is the usual figure given for the Jewish population of the Castilian territories at the eve of the expulsion of 1492.” Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 14; see also 67, 71. Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 19.

sentiment in the peninsula and the rate of Jews seeking baptism accelerated. The peninsular Jewish community was changed forever.¹⁵⁷ The anti-Jewish sentiment included riots in Seville where Jews were attacked and murdered in 1391: synagogues defiled, prayer books confiscated, and hateful sermons preached.¹⁵⁸ Baptism became an alternative to death. Jane S. Gerber notes, “[t]he religious fervor propelling the persecutors was unmistakable; converts were spared without exception.”¹⁵⁹ As seen before, because these baptisms were sought as a means to preserve life, they have generally been labeled as *forced*.¹⁶⁰ Yet, not all baptisms were due to the immediate threat of violence or death,¹⁶¹ and baptisms continued through 1415.¹⁶² “[A]s many as 50,000 more Jews joined the Christian fold by 1415.”¹⁶³ Overall, perhaps 100,000 were baptized, 100,000 were murdered, and another 100,000 survived as Jews by hiding or fleeing.¹⁶⁴

This mass baptism of Jews had religious, legal, and communal repercussions that posed challenges for the Crown, Church, former co-religionists, and new co-religionists. Eventually these challenges were crystalized in an anti-convert sentiment, *purity of blood* statutes, the creation of the Spanish Inquisition, and ultimately the expulsion of remaining Jews in 1492/1497. With these baptisms, especially of adults, naturally came questions of how to deal with the newly baptized and the changes in the status of such a large number

¹⁵⁷ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 18, 19.

¹⁵⁸ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 44.

¹⁵⁹ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 113.

¹⁶⁰ After 1391 rabbis expressed an opinion “regarding the Jewishness of the converts. They considered the Conversos to be *anusim*, literally ‘forced ones,’ who had accepted Christianity against their will and thus were still to be considered Jewish.” Jonathan Ray. *After Expulsion*, 19.

¹⁶¹ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 114.

¹⁶² Benedict XIII (antipope 1394-1423, from Aragón), responsible for the Diputation of Tortosa in 1413, issues the bull *Etsi doctoris gentium* against the Jews (11 May 1415) which puts more restrictions on the Jewish community. This bull is revoked in 1419 by Pope Martin V (r. 1417-1431). Miguel Ángel García Olmo, *Las razones de la Inquisición Española: Una respuesta a la Leyenda Negra* (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2009), 306.

¹⁶³ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 117.

¹⁶⁴ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 113. See footnote 156. As expressed in the Introduction, there is an awareness of the difficulties with these demographic numbers in historiography.

of persons.¹⁶⁵ As stated before, with the mass baptisms “a new category in the religious geography of the peninsula was created—converts or *new Christians*.”¹⁶⁶

It is hard to discern the relative proportion of Jews and baptized former Jews immediately after 1391; it was difficult to sever ties between the baptized (former Jews and their baptized descendants) and Jews. Because of this there were three communities with ties to Judaism: Jews, Christians (*new Christians* or *conversos*), and Christians (crypto-Jews or *marranos*).¹⁶⁷ The various communities Jane S. Gerber described as

those who openly continued to practice Judaism, those who had converted (*conversos*) and remained so, and those who privately renounced their forced baptism, secretly maintaining their adherence to Judaism. Somehow, either through hiding or flight, the faithful Jews had remained a recognizable community, even though they were impoverished, defeated, and severely traumatized.¹⁶⁸

Although there were religious distinctions (*otherness*) between these various groups, relationships among people blurred these distinctions,¹⁶⁹ and, at least discursively, these fueled the mistrust toward all the baptized (with Jewish ties), regardless of whether they were faithful practitioners of Christianity or not. This is an example of what in this thesis is called the beginnings of the *somatizing* of religion.

Given that there were various Christian communities with ties to Judaism, there was confusion regarding the status of Christians of Jewish descent both in the Jewish and Christian communities. This was exacerbated both by the fact or the perception that some of the baptized (former Jews) were continuing to practice Judaism in secret (*crypto-*

¹⁶⁵ Joseph Pérez estimates between 250,000 and 300,000 converts and descendants of converts from Judaism. See Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 67, 71.

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 48. According to the findings in Chapter 3, this phrase may more accurately be “new Christians or ‘*conversos*’.” See also footnotes 98, 133.

¹⁶⁷ *Marranos* is a derogatory term used to refer to the converts from Judaism. There are difficulties with the names by which scholars refer to these communities. There is particular difficulty with the use of the term *Converso* to describe the converts from Judaism, especially when it is used as an apposition to Christians. For example, if we write about “Christians” and “*Conversos*” in the same context there is an assumption that the *conversos* are different/*other* from Christians. See footnotes 19-21.

¹⁶⁸ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 119. Historiographically, this distinction is not often made for the baptized descendants of former Muslims, because technically there were no free Muslims remaining in the peninsula after the late 1520s.

¹⁶⁹ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 122: “[Jews] [b]ound by ties of history and family, the three groups—observing Jews, conversos, and marranos—remained in touch with each other, initially living side by side in the same neighborhoods. Boundaries were fluid.”

Jews),¹⁷⁰ and by resentment (often a trope). Christians of Jewish descent did not abandon their courtly employment, positions traditionally held by Jews, but now gained access to other professions and positions held by other Christians.¹⁷¹ This increased access to different kinds of employment eventually caused a backlash from the Christian community of non-Jewish heritage. Kevin Ingram summarizes it this way:

Those Jews who converted to Christianity in the wake of the 1391 pogrom found themselves in an advantageous position vis-à-vis both the Jewish and old-Christian communities. As new Christians they were no longer subject to the restrictions that had hampered Jewish merchants and professionals.¹⁷²

Yet, as Joseph Pérez argues, this success could only continue if there was “a climate of economic expansion and political stability.”¹⁷³

The mass baptisms of 1391-1415 had historical consequences for the *new* Christian communities and their baptized descendants. Yet, the consequences of the mass baptisms were not only enactments by the state and the church, but often were fueled by the resentment, real and discursive, of the broader populace. Parts of medieval peninsular society was ordered around religious affiliation and having many people change religion necessitated the creation of a *new* boundary. In short, the removal of a religious boundary led to the (re)inscription of the border by the creation of a *new* boundary or category: a discursive process.¹⁷⁴ And as has been said before, this *new* category of “*new* Christian” was a *suspect* Christian.

B. Netanyahu and Joseph Pérez argue that the majority of those that were baptized

¹⁷⁰ Similar to the study of descendants of Muslims, there is historiographical disagreement regarding the conversion of Jews to Christianity. There are scholars who believe that all converts were crypto-Jews, as well as others that state that the majority of the converts became “true” Christians. For example, B. Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, 157, argues that by the time of the inception of the Spanish Inquisition in 1480 there was only a small number of crypto-Jews and that the majority was “Christianized and assimilated to a very high degree.” B. Netanyahu, 195, further writes that the crypto-Jews “formed a small group, shrinking numerically and declining in their Judaism, ritually as well as conceptually.” Perhaps the “*conversos*” here were the small part, not the whole.

¹⁷¹ Jonathan Ray. *After Expulsion*, 26.

¹⁷² Kevin Ingram “Introduction,” in Kevin Ingram, ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Volume One: Departures and Change*, Studies in medieval and Reformation Traditions, Vol. 141, ed. Andrew Cole Gow (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 3.

¹⁷³ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 31-32, sees this community as an easy scapegoat.

¹⁷⁴ See Section 2.3.

managed complete assimilation into the rest of Christian society and were able to erase what most of their new coreligionists considered to be shameful origins.¹⁷⁵

Their new coreligionists did much to deny a Christian status in society to this community of the baptized (at the very least discursively). Whereas there is a presumed progression from *new* to *old*, additional categories continued to emerge: a proliferation and pattern that was repeated for Granadans and

Amerindians, as analyzed in Chapter 3.¹⁷⁶ Joseph Pérez puts it this way:

The converts' tragic destiny was that of a category of people wanting to assimilate but ultimately rejected by the 'old Christians.' Converts, for [*sic*] new Christians, remained Jews despite baptism, complicated by the fact that as Christians they could have responsibilities, honors, and offices previously denied by their former religion.¹⁷⁷

One way such rejection of converts occurred was by excluding *new* Christians from certain jobs.

1449 - Toledo: purity of blood statutes

Jews who were baptized between 1391 and 1415 may have experienced a decrease in violence; and yet negative sentiment,¹⁷⁸ real or discursive, toward these *new* Christians increased as the decades progressed. In the middle of the fifteenth century there was a time of economic and political crisis and thus legislation was enacted against these communities of *new* Christians. Similar ecclesial ones followed these statutes.¹⁷⁹ In the case of Toledo a new tax was instituted and political rebellion ensued. As Joseph Pérez states “[f]iscal problems again exacerbated anti-Jewish sentiments.”¹⁸⁰

These anti-Jewish and anti-convert sentiments were then “used as anti-convert propaganda and resulted in the promulgation of a discriminatory legal sentence”¹⁸¹ against

¹⁷⁵ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 51. See also B. Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition*, 157, 195.

¹⁷⁶ This is most evident in the proliferation of categories along the *Spanish/African* spectrum of miscegenation in the *Sistema de Castas*, in order to prevent reaching *spanishness*. See Section 3.2.

¹⁷⁷ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 51.

¹⁷⁸ A trope.

¹⁷⁹ Kevin Ingram, “Introduction,” 4.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 53. See also Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 20; Kevin Ingram, “Introduction,” 4.

¹⁸¹ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 54.

baptized descendants of Jews, or baptized former Jews.¹⁸² One legal sentence, the *Sentencia Estatuto*, was promulgated by the Mayor of Toledo, Pedro Sarmiento, on 5 June 1449.¹⁸³ Kenneth Baxter Wolf summarizes the need for the statute in the following manner:

The underlying issue seems to have been fears on the part of the 'old Christian' ruling class in Toledo that their power was threatened by the rise of the 'new Christians.'¹⁸⁴

Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447-1455) condemned the edict, in a bull dated 24 September 1449, "as contrary to the unity of the Christian people."¹⁸⁵ Although others also condemned this promulgation, the sentiment of the *Sentencia* was upheld in many other statutes. The *Sentencia* refers not only to Judaizing practices but also to Jewish lineage:

Therefore we find that we ought to declare and do declare that all the said conversos descended from the perverse line of the Jews, in whatever situation they may be..., be held as incapable and unworthy to hold public or private office in the said city of Toledo and in its lands, by means of which they would be able to hold lordship over Old Christians believing in the holy Catholic faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ and cause damage, injury, and to be incapable and unworthy of giving testimony and faith as public notaries or as witnesses...¹⁸⁶

As the *Sentencia* shows, increasingly "Jewish ancestry or 'race' rather than professed religious belief defined who was a Jew."¹⁸⁷ Joseph Pérez states it differently: "[f]or the masses, all converts were false Christians"; a category of *suspect* Christians.¹⁸⁸ Baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants were perceived as having a primary loyalty to the Jewish community and this led to production of "new theories regarding the indelible nature of their Jewish ancestry" seen through "complaints regarding the

¹⁸² The statute excluded the baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants from holding public office.

¹⁸³ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 54.

¹⁸⁴ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Sentencia-Estatuto de Toledo, 1449" in *Medieval Texts in Translation*, 2008, 319; accessed 22 May 2009, <http://ccdlib.libraries.claremont.edu/u?/irw>; Accessed 28 July 2013, <http://canilup.googlepages.com>.

¹⁸⁵ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 54. The name of the bull is *Humani generis inimicus*.

¹⁸⁶ Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Sentencia-Estatuto de Toledo, 1449."

¹⁸⁷ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 127.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 68.

persistent Jewishness of the Conversos.”¹⁸⁹ As supported in the analysis of the texts regarding Muslims and their baptized descendants, the Jewish precursor helps to show the beginning of increased discursive distinctions between *old* and *new* Christians.

The *conversos* were now isolated as a new class, neither Jewish nor Christian, that was unassimilable and could not be redeemed. Enigmatically, the restrictive laws became increasingly complex as the actual Jewishness of the *conversos* became more remote, even mythical.¹⁹⁰

Jane S. Gerber’s assertion of the “mythical Jewishness” hints at the constructed nature of difference between so-called *conversos* and *old* Christians. Whether seen as frustration with actual conversion or as discursive constructed difference, these issues (re)surfaced with respect to baptized descendants of Muslims, and as introduced in Chapter 2 and analyzed in Chapter 4, become entangled with historiographical biases. This discourse was also found in texts, categorized as from a Jewish or Muslim perspective, from within the community, a different universe of texts from the ones analyzed for this project. By this is meant that there was a sub-set of persons from the communities that although baptized remained Jewish, or later Muslim. Yet this was not the fact for **all** baptized descendants of Jews, or later Christian descendants of Muslims.

Some from within the Jewish community also believed that the baptisms of 1391 and those of 1492/97 were not valid. Jonathan Ray writes,

Jewish authors who had passed through conversion in Spain or Portugal before escaping the peninsula helped to popularize the image of the Converso as a defiantly pious Jew. For these writers, the persistence of Jewish practice and identity among the Conversos was seen not as heresy or proof of the intractable nature of the Jews, but as a badge of honor. The Spanish exile Solomon ibn Verga was among those who converted under duress in 1497. In his chronicle on Iberian Jewry, he boasted: “In three cases water has flowed in vain: the water of the river to the sea, the water in wine and the water at a Jew’s baptism.”¹⁹¹

To address the perceived deficiencies in these Christian communities, ties between Jews, baptized former Jews, and their baptized descendants were increasingly severed to encourage the baptized communities “succeed” in their Christianization and assimilation. Whereas Jews had often lived in distinct communities, these communities were not closed

¹⁸⁹ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 20.

¹⁹⁰ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 127.

¹⁹¹ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 127.

to those who were baptized or other Christians. By 1480 this would change with the requirement from the Catholic Monarchs that all Jews live in *juderías* (Jewish quarters or ghettos).¹⁹² Nevertheless,

[b]y the end of the fifteenth century there was ample evidence of the successful professional, social and cultural assimilation of the *conversos* into *old* Christian society despite the growing impact of the purity of blood statutes.¹⁹³

1480 - Seville: establishment of the Spanish Inquisition

Notwithstanding the progress made in the faith by baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants, new laws and mechanisms of control were created to police these communities and maintain them as separate and distinct communities: this (re)inscribed the previous religious boundary through the proliferation of categories along a different religious spectrum. Put differently, the religious *otherness* of Jews from Christians was (re)inscribed as the religious difference between *new* Christians (*conversos*) and *old* Christians.

For decades *new* Christians were policed by local ecclesiastical authorities and courts; in 1478 Ferdinand and Isabelle asked Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484)¹⁹⁴ to establish the Inquisition in the peninsula under their own royal control.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, the first inquisitors were named in Seville in 1480 to “root out Judaism from the new-Christian community.”¹⁹⁶ One of the primary things accomplished by the Inquisition was to further sever the ties between practicing Jews and Christians of Jewish ancestry.¹⁹⁷ For those brought up before the Inquisition, punishment included death, long-term confinement,

¹⁹² Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 75.

¹⁹³ Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 52.

¹⁹⁴ Papal bull *Exigit Sinceras Devotionis Affectus* (1 November 1478) establishes the Spanish Inquisition in Castile. There was subsequent authorization for Aragón. See footnote 68.

¹⁹⁵ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 130.

¹⁹⁶ Kevin Ingram, “Introduction,” 4.

¹⁹⁷ The Spanish Inquisition had jurisdiction only over the baptized. Yet there are some cases of Jews being condemned by the Inquisition. Such is the case of the Holy Child of La Guardia in 1490-91. Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 83. See also, Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, 212 and 248-251.

confiscation of property; and for those who ultimately confessed to the sins for which they were accused, the humiliation of wearing a *sanbenito*.¹⁹⁸

The promulgation of statutes regarding the baptized descendants of Jews assumed that a baptized person was capable of full conversion and complete indoctrination: full Christianization. Thus, religious *otherness* was still surmountable. Joseph Pérez summarizes it in this way:

Indeed, both the creation of the Spanish Inquisition and its ultimate recommendation to expel the Jews hinged on the belief that the inherent 'Jewishness' of the Conversos was not biological and could be overcome given sufficient vigilance and the proper social conditions.¹⁹⁹

As would become the case with the baptized descendants of Muslims, increasingly this was thought to be impossible, although *new* Christians in this case were not expelled from the peninsula, only the (non-baptized) Jews were.²⁰⁰

1492: Expulsion

From their perspective, the Crown and Church had seemingly tried everything to allow for the successful (and faithful) conversion of baptized former Jews: they had dictated the separation of the baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants from former co-religionists, and had created the Inquisition to root out those not fully adhering to Christianity. Yet none of these efforts seemed to satisfy the Crown, some *old* Christians, and the Church, that the baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants were faithful Christians.

The most explicit reason found for the expulsions of Jews in the edicts²⁰¹ was that to (finally) allow for the success in their new religion (Christianity), one had to prevent baptized descendants of Jews from having any contact with their former co-religionists

¹⁹⁸ Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, 222. A *sanbenito* is a penitential garment worn in Autos de Fe by those serving a sentence from the Inquisition. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* entry "sanbenito" definition 2: "a Spanish Inquisition garment resembling a scapular and being either yellow with red crosses for the penitent or black with painted devils and flames for the impenitent condemned to an auto-da-fé." "Sanbenito," accessed 22 January 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sanbenito>.

¹⁹⁹ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 21.

²⁰⁰ Helen Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 142-144. It may be deemed unsuccessful since the Inquisition and the purity of blood statutes were not abolished until well into the nineteenth century.

²⁰¹ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 111-ff. In this appendix are found three edicts of expulsion: 1) from Torquemada to the Bishopric of Gerona (20 March 1492), 2) from the King and Queen of Castile to the realm of Castile (31 March 1492), and 3) from the King to the realm of Aragón (31 March 1492).

(Jews), and the only way to achieve this was through their expulsion.²⁰² Expulsion was necessary, said the edicts, to address

the great damage it appears that Christians have incurred and continue to incur in communing, conversing, and communicating with Jews, proving that they continue to manage, in as many ways and manner that they can, to subvert and detract pious Christians from our Holy Catholic faith and separate them from it and attract them to and pervert them with their dammed beliefs and opinions.²⁰³

The edicts did not use any distinctive language for the community of baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants, such as “*converso*” or “*new Christian*.” They were simply referred to as “Christians.”

There is no scholarly consensus as to the reasons for the expulsions in 1492, but some argue that

the expulsion is best understood as the culmination of a comprehensive policy of Christian unification that had been emerging in the peninsula even before the conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada.²⁰⁴

Furthermore, the implementation of the policy(ies) had not yet reached their height. Their implementation continued well into the seventeenth century and across the Atlantic. The desire for unification, centralization, and homogenization alone cannot account for the difficulties experienced by Crown, Church, and former and current co-religionists for the decades since the mass baptisms of Jews. Jonathan Ray argues that

Were it not for the mass baptisms of 1391 and the subsequent existence of an inassimilable community of Conversos throughout the Crown of Aragon and Castile, the expulsion of 1492 might not have taken place... [T]he Expulsion of 1492 was inextricably bound up with the long-standing problems created by the mass baptisms of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.²⁰⁵

Helen Rawlings argues (and Joseph Pérez would concur) that

²⁰² Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 115.

²⁰³ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 114. As shown in Chapter 3, the Capitulations of 1492 for the surrender of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, stipulate freedom of religion for Muslims, but required baptism or exile of Jews within three years. This predates the edict of expulsion from later in March 1492.

²⁰⁴ Jane S. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 137.

²⁰⁵ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion*, 26. The idea of an “inassimilable” community was often used as a trope and when used by historians it is a common historiographical argument which buys into the discursive strategy of *othering* the communities. See Section 2.3.

anti-Semitic pressure from below and the drive for religious unity from above were the overriding considerations that led to the publication of the edict of expulsion.²⁰⁶

With hindsight, the Jewish expulsions may be part of longer processes of desemitization that would contribute to the expulsions of 1609-14.²⁰⁷ These longer processes had not concluded in 1492/97, thus the simultaneous contradictions in the treatment of various communities. If the predominant aim of the Crown was unification, then expelling Jews and allowing Muslims to remain may be contradictory. Or put differently, why grant license to practice their religion to one group the very year that another religious group was expelled? Furthermore, in 1501, why would it be thought that the decreed baptisms of Muslims would be any different than that of Jews, or yield different results?

The expulsion of Jews did not fix the real or perceived problems with *new* Christians; similar problems continued to arise, at the very least in the discursive arena. Still, as the edict expressed, in 1492 conversion was still seen as a possibility. If the edict in 1492 was for unbaptized Jews—notwithstanding the increased internalization and somatization of difference, and purity of blood statutes—it still allowed for the possibility of *complete* conversion, and the efficacy of baptism; the long-term theorized meta-process was still in flux. Furthermore, since baptism was an alternative to expulsion, the number of peninsular Jews seeking baptism again increased. The expulsion of Jews did not end the prosecution and persecution of Judaizers; baptized descendants of Jews were prosecuted well into the eighteenth century.²⁰⁸ Yet, they were not the only ones. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Inquisition had many other groups of people to police for various “offenses”: Protestants, skeptics/Humanists, Illuminists (*Alumbrados*), the baptized former Muslims and their baptized descendants, as well as the baptized *Amerindians* across the Atlantic.

It has been important to include the precursor mass baptism of Jews for two main reasons. First, some of the processes of *othering* that began after the mass baptism of Jews were not completed by 1492 and carried over into the processes of *othering* of the baptized descendants of Muslims: for example, the (re)inscription and proliferation of

²⁰⁶ Helen Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 64.

²⁰⁷ The Granadan capitulations stipulated the baptism or exile of the Jews that were living in the Nasrid Kingdom. This was prior to the much broader edict of expulsion of the Jews later that year.

²⁰⁸ Helen Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 70-71.

categories; second, rather than a comparison (for similarities), which is the usual manner in which the mass baptism of these communities is handled, it is the *aporias* that are also of interest, especially in how these gaps and similarities confirm that the difference between the various communities in the peninsula had to be constructed in the absence of actual discernible difference in the *epidermis* and/or in beliefs, rituals and practice.

This catachrestic approach for understanding and using the baptism of Jews carries over to the inclusion of *Amerindians* in this project. Given that the mass baptism of *Amerindians* was contemporaneous to that of the peninsular Muslims, the discursive approaches of the Church, in texts, to these various communities can reveal more about the (actual) level of difference between groups in the peninsula. The foundational point becomes that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *epidermic* difference between *Amerindians* and *Spaniards* was more significant than the much lesser difference between *Spaniards* who were descendants of generations of Christians, and *Spaniards* with Islamic or Jewish ancestry and had been more recently baptized, meaning within four to five generations. Or put differently, there was at least some level of constructed difference. Therefore, the introduction of the Nahuas (with related homogenous terms, “Aztecs” or “*Amerindians*”) becomes the focus in the next section.

Mass Baptism of the Nahuas: the Aztec and Nahua Context

After 1492, when *Spaniards* reached the various lands across the Atlantic, including what became known as *New Spain*, they encountered various indigenous groups with established religious practices and rituals. In *New Spain*, the Nahuas’ religion, at the time of the conquest, can be (homogeneously) categorized as a form of pantheism. For over a century prior to 1521, when Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) conquered Tenochtitlan, the Chichimecas (Mexico) had consolidated a Mesoamerican empire (Aztec) in what today is central México. The Aztec empire centered on the city of Tenochtitlan, a city of 200,000 inhabitants. This empire had “nearly 400 subject and allied cities from which [they] drew regular and substantial tribute payments.”²⁰⁹ The city of Tenochtitlan depended on trade

²⁰⁹ Caroline Dodds Pennock, *Bonds of Blood: Gender, Lifecycle and Sacrifice in Aztec Culture*, Series Early Modern History: Society and Culture, ed. Rob Houston and Edward Muir (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.

with these cities for the goods needed for its population.²¹⁰ The tributary cities were varied: they were of different independent or ethnic groupings (*altepetl*), each with further subdivisions or districts (*calpolli*).²¹¹

As part of the Aztec empire, all subject and allied *altepetl* paid tribute; as a diverse group of *altepetl* in Central México, socially and culturally they shared the Nahuatl language. Various *altepetl* pre- and post-dated the Aztec empire (a political entity) and existed after the Spanish conquest, therefore it would be reasonable to use the term Nahuas rather than Aztec or *Amerindian* to refer to the various peoples encountered by the Spaniards in central México, and who remained after the fall of the Aztec empire.²¹² After the conquest of Tenochtitlan by Hernán Cortés

the Mesoamerican empire fell, [yet] its constituent cities continued as before except that they were now independent or they had new overlords.²¹³

The Aztec empire had a syncretic religious system which was hierarchical and included a pantheon of gods. In Aztec religion, the sacred was present in the world, and society mirrored the sacred. Rituals brought stability and re-created sacred stories.

[U]nderpinning Aztec religion [was the fact] that there existed a profound correspondence between the sacred forces in the universe and the social world of the Aztec empire.²¹⁴

The extensive Aztec pantheon showed that

all aspects of existence were considered inherently sacred and that these deities were an expression of the numinous quality that permeated the world.

²¹⁰ See Ross Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 1st ed. (Longman: London and New York, 1994), 14, 32, 35. (To differentiate the two editions, future references will use *México (1)*.)

²¹¹ For a substantial introduction to the sociopolitical organization of the Nahuas see, James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians in Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 14-58.

²¹² Although Nahua and Amerindian are both used in this thesis, the argument for only using Nahua is convincingly presented by James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 1, 8. It is recognized that "*Amerindian*" is an academic term and not one used in the sixteenth century. Council documents use the homogenizing term "*indios*." This language usage is explored in Chapter 3 as it contrasts to the use of *new Christian* in Granada. *Amerindian* is a homogenous category which could refer to any group of indigenous persons in the Americas; therefore it is italicized.

²¹³ Ross Hassig, *México (1)*, 147.

²¹⁴ David Carrasco, "Aztec Religion," in *Encyclopedia of Religion (ER)*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005), 1:716, and in *Religion Past & Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion (RPP)*, 4th ed. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 1:533.

There was also “a spectrum of hierophanies which animated the world.”²¹⁵ Two Aztec practices that were notable and antithetical to the *Spaniards* (Christian) were human sacrifice and polygamy.

Religious life for Nahuas was ordered by ritual, and this ritual was directed by the imperial and *altepetl* calendars. The primary function of priests, rather than being intermediaries as in Christianity, was as “ritual-makers.”²¹⁶ Religious ceremonies occurred not only at the imperial level in the many temples of Tenochtitlan, but also in the various districts; these other rituals revolved around agricultural cycles and local gods.²¹⁷ The Aztec Calendar had two parts: a 365-day yearly calendar and a 260-day ritual calendar.²¹⁸

The imperial religion of the Aztecs had political implications, and was also a means to maintain cohesiveness among the many diverse groups of peoples that were politically connected to Tenochtitlan. Here religion is seen as a mechanism of control.²¹⁹ For the Nahuas, “[r]eligion was an integral part of sociopolitical organization.”²²⁰ The tributary cities often provided the candidates needed for the ceremonies that required human sacrifice. When the Aztecs conquered new cities, religious conversion was not required, although “the conquered temples and associated buildings might be burned as the ultimate sign of Aztec victory.” This had a “symbolic significance of defeating the local gods” but was also a “devastating blow” because these buildings tended to be the most fortified in the city.²²¹

²¹⁵ David Carrasco, “Aztec Religion,” in *ER*, 1:717 and in *RPP*, 1:534. The theory of the *numinous* is attributed to Rudolf Otto, *Idea of the Holy*. The theory of *hierophanies* is attributed to Mircea Eliade, *Sacred and the Profane*.

²¹⁶ Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 242.

²¹⁷ Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs*, 244, argues that most scholars overemphasize the imperial cult, and yet, the local domestic rituals are similarly important.

²¹⁸ The Aztec Calendar is generally viewed as a cyclical calendar. Yet, Ross Hassig argues that “the traditional emphasis on time in Aztec culture as a cyclical phenomenon that patterns behavior is the result of a theoretical predisposition...[and that in fact] the Aztecs did not have a primarily cyclical notion of time or history; rather, they manipulated time by way of their calendar, for political purposes.” See Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial México* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), xiii.

²¹⁹ See David Carrasco, “Aztec Religion,” in *ER*, 1:715-720 and in *RPP*, 1:533-536; Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs*, 4-11, 238-ff.; James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 203-260. See also Ross Hassig, *México (1)*, 144.

²²⁰ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 203.

²²¹ Ross Hassig, *México (1)*, 27-28, 31.

Although people with different religious backgrounds came into contact, during the first years of the conquest of *New Spain*, the conquerors (Christian) did not prioritize the baptism or conversion of the conquered peoples;

[r]ather, public conversions were political statements and occurred only after an alliance had been established and the Indians could no longer back out.²²²

For the rulers of various Nahua groups that allied with the *Spanish* against the Aztecs, baptism and/or conversion at this stage, as seen through a historical lens, was in exchange for *Spanish* assistance; baptism could be a political rather than religious act (yet, without endangering the indelibility of the initiation rite). Although baptism was sometimes considered coerced as well, in contrast to what Jews and Muslims experienced across the Atlantic the various Nahua peoples were not given the ultimatum of baptism or exile.²²³ The fall of the Aztec Empire had a more immediate impact on the elite and priestly classes. Later, the greater impact was felt in the political and religious realms when the conquered religion or peoples were deemed to compete with the religion and hegemony of the *Spaniards*. Indigenous priests were not able to function as priests, temples were destroyed, and holy sites appropriated for Christian use.²²⁴ Therefore, as noted by James Lockhart,

[t]he religious history of post-conquest México has often been seen in terms of successful or unsuccessful resistance to a Christian conversion campaign.²²⁵

Yet, because of the syncretistic and pantheistic nature of Nahua and Aztec religion, the fact that the *Spaniards* were victorious meant that their god could be added or assimilated to their pantheon of gods. Furthermore, the political orientation of an *altepetl* could signal success in conversion. There was a great “intermingling of religious life and altepetl politics.”²²⁶ There were many aspects of Nahua society and religion that were incorporated into the increasingly imposed modes of *Spanish* society and the Christian religion. Whereas, the predominant picture of the conquest and conversion processes

²²² Ross Hassig, *México (1)*, 144.

²²³ Francisco de Vitoria in Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, 68-74.

²²⁴ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 204.

²²⁵ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 203.

²²⁶ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 210.

was the imposition of Christian and *Spanish* forms, and structure in *New Spain*, often the Church and the Crown superimposed their structures onto existing Nahua structures. For example, it is believed that the designation of a parish corresponded closely to the geographical boundaries of a single *altepetl*.²²⁷

Other aspects of Christianity worked well with the Nahua religious outlook. The Nahuas had taken great care in the building and maintenance of their local temples; they took the same interest and care with the building and care of churches.²²⁸ Furthermore, saints took the place of the local gods and had a

role in the corporate and individual life of the Nahua... [At the corporate level,] a saint was the primary symbol identifying and unifying each sociopolitical entity, not only the *altepetl* but its constituent parts.²²⁹

With respect to the cult of the saints, the Church faced two problems: first, the identification of saints with pre-conquest symbols; and, second, the Nahua understanding that the images were indeed an actual manifestation of the saint, contrary to Christian teaching.²³⁰ James Lockhart concludes,

There is no doubt that a close parallel existed between the Spanish and pre-conquest Nahua religious systems. In Spain, the corporate aspects of local religion were expressed through images of saints with specialized supernatural powers, each image having its own attributes and being associated with a particular region, town, social group, or sub-district. Among the Nahuas a pattern of specialized gods behaved in precisely the same manner. ...A general principle of Spanish-Nahua interaction is that wherever the two cultures ran parallel, the Nahuas would soon adopt the relevant Spanish form without abandoning the essence of their own form.²³¹

As *Spaniards* increased their political control in *New Spain*, the Church began its evangelism effort in earnest. Different from the coerced or decreed baptism of Jews and Muslims, there were three approaches to the baptism of the Nahuas. First, non-ecclesial views encouraged baptism and conversion as part of a civilizing mission of the native population of *New Spain* by the *Spaniards* and the Church, a civilizing mission that condoned the use of force if necessary. Second, Dominicans believed that the Gospel

²²⁷ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 206, 209.

²²⁸ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 219, 236.

²²⁹ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 235-36.

²³⁰ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 236, 238.

²³¹ James Lockhart, *Nahuas*, 243.

should be preached but that baptism and conversion were not at the expense of the “political sovereignty and the private property” of the various groups of *Amerindians*, and were often more concerned with the theological underpinning and boundaries of the Crown’s control of the lands across the Atlantic. Third, the Franciscans believed that the baptism of Nahuas and other *Amerindians* was part of a millennial expectation and the ushering in of the second coming of Christ.²³²

²³² John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd rev. ed., (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 5-17.

*Evangelization in New Spain*²³³

Monks, and secular and regular priests, travelled in the ships of the explorers and conquerors. Thus, from the beginning conversion and baptism were thought to be, and were, practically possible, as well as being individually pursued by some of these clerics. For example, when Hernán Cortés set out from Cuba in 1519 to explore the Yucatán Peninsula, he had five clerics on his ship, and when he landed on Easter Sunday, a mass was celebrated. These conqueror-priests were not the principal evangelization agents for the Spanish Church, though per the chronicles of the time they nevertheless were the first

²³³ The early history of colonial New Spain/México (1519-1650) has been written primarily by relying on the point of view of the Spanish chronicles of the sixteenth century. There is helpful bibliographical essay by John F. Schwaller, *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 245-249. A review of the early chronicles is Georges Baudot, *Utopia and History in México: The First Chroniclers of Mexican Civilization, 1520-1569* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1995). See also, Charles Gibson, *Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahuatl Views of the Conquest of México* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Ross Hassig, *México and the Spanish Conquest*, 2d ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006). These chronicles include: Bernal Díaz del Castillo (c. 1492-c. 1585) *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Francisco López de Gómara (c. 1511-c. 1566) *Historia general de Indias (1553)*, Hernán Cortés (1485-1547), *Letters from México*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden, introduction J. H. Elliot (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), also, Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (16th c.), *Crónica de la Nueva España* (México: Porrúa, 1985). In recent years there has been an effort to problematize this history by augmenting it with sixteenth-century Nahuatl sources and by placing more of an emphasis on localized and topical studies. There is much more scholarly work on late-colonial México (to 1821). See Jeanne Lou Gillespie, *Saints and Warriors: Tlaxcalan perspectives on the conquest of Tenochtitlan* (New Orleans, LA: University Press of the South, 2004); Sarah L. Cline, ed. and trans., *The Book of Tributes: Early Sixteenth-Century Nahuatl Censuses from Morelos* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1993). Sarah L. Cline uses these census materials (from the archives in México City) to improve our understanding of baptism/conversion; "The Spiritual Conquest Reexamined: Baptism and Christian Marriage in Early Sixteenth-Century México," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (August 1993): 453-480. See also, José Rabasa, "Thinking Europe in Indian Categories, or 'Tell Me the Story of How I Conquered You'," in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, ed. Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel, and Carlos Jáuregui, Series: Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations, ed. Walter D. Mignolo, Irene Silverblatt, and Sonia Saldívar-Hull. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2008), 43-76.

The classic work in the conversion and evangelization of Amerindians is that of Robert Ricard *Spiritual Conquest*. See also, Luis N. Rivera Pagán, *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992). Much of the early church history of New Spain is dedicated to the different evangelization strategies used by the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and later the Jesuits, and to figures such as Bishop Juan de Zumárraga (bishop 1528-48). For example, see John L. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*. Richard E. Greenleaf, *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1961); related to this Inquisition episode, see also, Patricia Lopes Don, "Franciscans, Indian Sorcerers, and the Inquisition in New Spain," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 1 (March 2006): 27-49. This article is reprinted in John F. Schwaller, ed., *The Church in Colonial Latin America*. Most studies on the Inquisition in New Spain relate to the reestablishment of the Inquisition after 1571. Juan de Zumárraga arrives in 1528 as bishop-elect; he is not consecrated until 1533. There are other clerics and bishops involved as well. Most of the monographs written about the secular clergy are by John F. Schwaller, *Origins of Church Wealth in México: Ecclesiastical Revenues and Church Finances, 1523-1600* (Albuquerque: University of New México Press, 1985), and, *Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century México* (Albuquerque: University of New México Press, 1985).

to baptize some of the indigenous people they encountered.²³⁴ Yet, these were not the clerics that would indoctrinate, found churches and monastic communities, or establish episcopal sees.

The territorial conquest and exploration was not detached from a parallel spiritual conquest; indeed, the spiritual conquest was a clear legacy of the *Reconquista* (reconquest).²³⁵ Presumably not solely for religious reasons, Hernán Cortés in his first letter to Emperor Charles V, related information about the evangelism effort on the part of the expedition and wrote about how the Christian faith was being taught to those they encountered,²³⁶ and how more resources were needed for that endeavor:

And we believe that it is not without cause that Our Lord God has been pleased that these arts be discovered in the name of Your Royal Highnesses so that Your Majesties may gain much merit and reward in the sight of God by commanding that these barbarous people be instructed and by Your Hands be brought to the True Faith. For, as far as we have been able to learn, we believe that had we interpreters and other people to explain them the error of their ways and the nature of the True Faith, many of them, and perhaps even all, would soon renounce their false beliefs and come to the true knowledge of God...²³⁷

Charles V responded in 1524 by sending a group of twelve Franciscans to begin the evangelization effort; episcopal ecclesial structures took longer to establish. This was

²³⁴ *Concilios Provinciales Primero y Segundo, celebrados en la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de México. Presidiendo el Ilmo. Y Rmo. Señor D. F. Alonso de Montúfar en los años 1555 y 1565. Dalos a luz el Ilmo. Sr. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Arzobispo de esta Santa Metropolitana Iglesia.* Hereafter referred to as *Concilios Provinciales* with reference to I, II, or Appendix.

Volume printed in 1769 by the Archbishop of México Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1766-1772). This volume includes the *Junta Apostólica* of 1524 and the canons of the *First and Second Provincial Councils of México in 1555 and 1565*, hereafter referred to as *Concilios Provinciales* with the respective number (I, II) or section. The volume also includes papal bulls from Paul III, letters to Charles V, histories of all the bishoprics of México, and an appendix with documents relating to the Juntas of 1537 and 1539. I have consulted this volume at the (Rare Books) Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta Collection at the Benson Latin American Library - University of Texas at Austin catalogued as GZZ 282 C21p1-2 cop.1. I have consulted other facsimile copies of this book online since the text is available in digitized form. Columbia University and the New York Public Library collections also have copies in their Rare Books Collections. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana states that the original documents to the *Junta Apostólica* of 1524, as printed in this 1769 volume are not extant. The notes and other annotations are from the time of the printing of the volume. The canons of the *Third Provincial Council of México* in 1585 are available in a different volume.

Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Archbishop of México (1766-1772) wrote in 1769, “[t]he first [cleric that arrived with Cortés] had the role of priest and pastor, he was Juan Díaz, baptizing and catechizing the infidels, as if he were an apostle.” *Concilios Provinciales (I and II)*, 8-9; see also 12, 14.

²³⁵ See Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 15.

²³⁶ Hernán Cortés, *Letters*, 11; see also, 12, 18, 23.

²³⁷ Hernán Cortés, *Letters*, 36.

different from Granada where there were institutional-church structures that could be more quickly established, with the result that the evangelization effort started immediately. The form of the baptismal rite in *New Spain* was problematic because it was irregular given the dearth in availability of chrism as well as of bishops to bless the chrism: the angst around chrism was one that was characteristic of peninsular Christianity for centuries.²³⁸

Nonetheless, the church deemed these *irregular* baptisms valid, but in 1539 it decreed uniformity, and in the 1550s began to require instruction prior to baptism and marriage.²³⁹

The immediate documentary precedent to the establishment of the Church in the encountered lands across the Atlantic was the (re)establishment of the Church in the former Nasrid Kingdom of Granada.²⁴⁰ The right of Royal Patronage and Presentation for the Americas (West Indies) was granted by Pope Julius II (r. 1503-1513) on 28 August 1508 in the papal bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*. This bull referred to the 1486 bull *Orthodoxae Fidei*, noting that,

[Ferdinand and Isabelle] having shaken Spain from the Mauritanian yoke, achieved circling the ocean, to exalt, even in unknown lands, the banner of the Cross...so that in those lands false and pernicious rites may be extirpated, and the true religion be planted...we grant to Ferdinand and Joanna, and their successors, the right to consent to the construction, edification and erection [of churches] in said islands, and in others that are acquired, and places in the sea, and in those that belong to the State of the same king. ...And also we grant the right of patronage and of presentation of suitable persons [for positions in dioceses, cathedrals, monasteries, and other dignities.]²⁴¹

The instructions to the twelve had many contemporary elements of religious fervor, including a sense of militancy and millenarianism, and were given this exhortation:

²³⁸ See T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 50, 75, and *Canon 77* of the Council of Elvira.

²³⁹ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 83.

²⁴⁰ This is first argued by Robert Ricard in *Spiritual Conquest*, 202. This argument is the one picked up by Antonio Garrido Aranda in *Moriscos e Indios; Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, Siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979). In this thesis it is argued, though, that those connections and parallels are much thinner, but in their contrast they reveal much about the two baptized Christian communities in Granada and New Spain. The connections between Granada and the encounters with the Americas are many; even the agreement between the Catholic Monarch and Christopher Columbus was signed in Granada on 17 April 1492 (See Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, 2), but these connections and influences should not be overstated.

²⁴¹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Appendix 2, 113-ff. *Universalis Ecclesiae*, bull from Julius II in 1508. Important to note that the reference to “Mauretanian” here is from outside Spain and thus retains the connection of “Moor” to Mauretania, but yet used to mean “Muslim” yoke. *Orthodoxae Fidei* can be found in Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix I, 261.

I send you to convert with words and example the people who do not know Jesus Christ Our Lord, who are held fast in the blindness of idolatry under the yoke of the satanic thrall...and win them for that Christ in such a manner that among all Catholics an increase of faith, hope, and love may result; and to the perfidious infidels a road may be opened for them and pointed out; and the madness of heretical evil may fall apart and come to nothing; and the foolishness of the gentiles may be made manifest to them, and the light of the Catholic faith may shine forth in their hearts.²⁴²

With the evangelization effort underway, and as was Church custom (including in Granada and Valencia), from the earliest years after the conquest there were gatherings of clergy and others concerned with the baptism and conversion of the indigenous population. Within months of the arrival of the Twelve, these and others gathered in the first *Junta Apostólica* (meeting) to establish a common understanding of the task of the administration and manner of the sacraments, baptism and extreme unction, evangelization and conversion, instruction and the content of doctrine.²⁴³ From 1524 until 1546, there were at least nine *Juntas*.²⁴⁴ The primary difference between these *Juntas* and the Provincial Councils that followed was the participation of both ecclesial and civil representatives in the former. The *Juntas* had an organizing principle not only for the evangelism project but for the civil administration of the regions that had been conquered, in this case *New Spain* and its surrounding territories.

In 1526, the evangelism effort was increased with twelve Dominicans; in 1533 with seven Augustinians; the Jesuits arrived in 1572.²⁴⁵ Unlike Granada, for decades the evangelism effort fell outside of episcopal jurisdiction, since dioceses had yet to be

²⁴² Kenneth Mills, et al., *Colonial Latin America*, "Instructions to the twelve," 63, 64. There were six preachers and confessors; 2 preachers; 2 priests; 2 lay brothers. Charge by Fray Francisco de los Angeles, Minister General, to Fray Martin de Valencia and the others: see 61 and 63. The Franciscans had a sense of urgency for this evangelization task - they see themselves as being at the 11th hour of the end times (62). See also John Leddy Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, 5-17. John F. Schwaller, "Franciscan Millennial Kingdom," in *Iberia and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: a Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia*, ed. J. Michael Francis (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006), 506-507.

²⁴³ The records of these meetings are some of the texts analyzed in this thesis.

²⁴⁴ Fernando Gil, "Las 'juntas eclesíásticas' durante el episcopado de Fray Juan de Zumárraga (1528-1548): Algunas precisiones históricas," in *Teología*, Revista de la Facultad de Teología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina 54 (1989): 9; see also n.7 on the same page. José Ignacio Saranyana refers to 15 such meetings: see José Ignacio Saranyana and Carmen José Alejos-Grau, et al. *Teología en América Latina. Vol. 1 Desde los orígenes hasta la Guerra de Sucesión (1493-1715)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1999-2008). There is no consensus on which meetings should be included, and as more documentary sources are studied the number of *Juntas* may be settled.

²⁴⁵ On the arrival of the Franciscans see Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 21, 61-ff.; the Dominicans, 22, 69-72; the Augustinians, 22, 72-ff.

established across the Atlantic. Thus, “mendicants, not bishops, were the foundation of the young Mexican Church.”²⁴⁶ In the bull *Alias felicitis recordationis* (25 April 1521) Pope Leo X (r. 1513-1521) provided for evangelization efforts by the regular clergy,

so that in the lands of the infidels where they were residing they could propose and declare the word of God, and absolve those who find themselves excommunicated in these regions, and to receive and baptize those who wish to convert to the Christian Faith, and number them among the children of the Church. And so that those who are priest among these monastics may administer to such persons the sacraments of penance, the Eucharist, extreme unction and others, and that in the case of necessity, even with the lack of bishops in the province, the sacrament of confirmation, and to confer minor orders to the faithful, and that they could also bless chapels, altars, chalices, church ornaments, reconcile churches and cemeteries, and provide them with suitable ministers, and confer the indulgences that the bishops give in their bishoprics, and to do all the other things that would pertain to the increasing of the Divine Name, conversion of the infidel and growth of the Catholic Faith...and also that they could use the Chrism and Holy Oils for three years, given that in those parts these are difficult to find...²⁴⁷

The sentiment of this bull was amplified and extended by Pope Adrian VI (r. 1521-23) in *Exponii nobis feciste* (1522)²⁴⁸ and by Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549).²⁴⁹ From the seemingly paltry start with twelve Franciscans, by 1559 there were 160 monastic houses with 802 religious in New Spain.²⁵⁰

With the right of Royal Patronage and Presentation, it was incumbent on the monarchs to establish the church in their conquered realms. This task took decades to

²⁴⁶ See Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 4, 82.

²⁴⁷ Jerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604), *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (México: Porrúa, 1980), 27-30. See also Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 22: “...en las tierras de los infieles donde entonces residían pudiesen proponer y declarar la palabra de Dios y absolver a los que en estas partes se hallasen excomulgados, y recibir y bautizar a los que quisieren convertirse a la Fe Cristiana, y enumerarlos entre los hijos de la Iglesia. Y de estos Frailes, los que fueran sacerdotes, pudiesen administrar a dichas personas los Sacramentos de la Penitencia, Eucaristía, Extremaunción y los demás, y en caso de necesidad, faltando en la provincial los obispos, el Sacramento de la Confirmación, y de dar órdenes menores a los fieles, y también pudiesen bendecir capillas, altares, cálices, ornamentos eclesiástico, reconciliar las Iglesias y cementerios, y proveerlas de ministros idóneos, y conceder las indulgencias que los Obispos suelen conceder en sus obispados y hacer todas las demás cosas, que pertenecieren al aumento del Divino Nombre, conversión de los infieles y acrecentación [sic] de la Fe Católica...y también que puedan usar el Crisma y el Oleo Santo por tres años, porque en aquellas partes no se puede haber sin gran dificultad...”

²⁴⁸ See Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica*, 30-35; Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 22.

²⁴⁹ See Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica*, 35-36.

²⁵⁰ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 22, 80.

complete, since it did not benefit from existing structures, and, in some ways, was created *ex nihilo*. Different than in Granada, the regular clergy saw themselves as following in the steps of the apostles, and felt tasked with an apostolic mission akin to that of the early church. The first bishop, then bishop-elect Juan de Zumárraga (1468-1548), arrived in *New Spain* in 1528; the diocese was suffragan to the Archdiocese of Seville until the establishment of the Provinces of Santo Domingo, México, and Perú in 1546.

As the sixteenth century progressed, the church in *New Spain* shifted from being a nascent church to an established church. This shift was seen in the increased role of the secular clergy and in the creation of episcopal structures. The work of the regular clergy did not end; instead, the regular clergy became crucial assets in the expansion of the Spanish church and empire into the northern reaches of then territorial lands of México (the southern United States today). The secular clergy worked well within ecclesial structures; the regular clergy were well suited to work outside those structures.²⁵¹

In both Granada and *New Spain* there was a recognition of the importance of knowing local languages for the success of the evangelization effort. This recognition was in tension with difficulties in translating the Christian message and the distrust of those same native languages.²⁵² In Granada distrust overwhelmed any potential positive outcome in the knowledge of Arabic; the use of Arabic in the peninsula was dismissed before the use of native languages in *New Spain*. Friars needed to know the native languages to teach the Christian faith and ascertain the level of understanding of *Amerindians*, especially during confession. Robert Ricard analyzed the difficulty the friars faced; given the intense sensitivity to heresy that existed in the peninsula, the friars were aware of the difficulty in using native terms to explain Christian concepts which might do more harm than good. Yet, in using the Christian concepts, in their European form (Latin, Greek, or Castilian), they risked making Christianity always a foreign religion.²⁵³

²⁵¹ The establishment of the church in the Americas had three recognizable periods: the early church from the time of the conquests in 1492 and following, through the 1540s, expansion and establishment of institutional structures through about 1575, and then a more mature church after 1575. John Frederick Schwaller, *Church and Clergy*, 226.

²⁵² See Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 39, 45, 55.

²⁵³ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 35, 55.

On the other hand, and in a clear contrast with Granada, initially there was hesitation to have the Nahuas learn Spanish (Castilian). Hispanization or acculturation was not an early goal; indeed, the friars were clear that

so long as the linguistic barrier remained standing, they were the indispensable intermediaries between the Indians and the civil officer, between their Orders and episcopal authority.²⁵⁴

The process of Hispanization came later in the sixteenth century, along with the establishment of the Inquisition in New Spain in 1569.²⁵⁵ Acculturation was an explicit expectation in Granada; another observation that supports the hypothesis that difference in the peninsula was initially thought to be surmountable.

Baptism in New Spain

*The administration of baptism, therefore, was always preceded by a more or less summary, more or less hasty, instruction, depending upon the case and the circumstances. Unfortunately, we are much less informed about the preliminary instruction than about the catechism that followed baptism.*²⁵⁶

Baptism was administered from the moment clerics arrived in New Spain. And, as noted, *Junta* and provincial-council documents express that there were challenges from the beginning, including different approaches to the evangelization project and the baptismal rite. The rite was increasingly standardized beginning in 1539 and lasting to the mid-1550s.²⁵⁷ There were progressive changes as time passed that can be seen in the various documents. For example, the pronouncements of the 1524 *Junta* were primarily concerned with the way the sacraments were being administered. There was concern that the great numbers of baptisms were being performed without the Chrism or Holy Oil necessary to perform the rite of baptism in its most complete form.²⁵⁸ This concern was common to all the early documents, and appeared again with regards to extreme unction. The following is said about baptism in a 1769 note to the primary texts' edition used for this thesis:

²⁵⁴ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 52.

²⁵⁵ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 58.

²⁵⁶ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 85.

²⁵⁷ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 83.

²⁵⁸ See T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation*, 50, 75, and *Canon 77* of the Council of Elvira.

There is a debate regarding the manner in which the recently conquered Indians are being baptized by the Religious; some want to say, that they have baptized many together, spraying them with a hyssop and at the same time pronouncing the form; the foundation of this assertion is in that they performed many baptisms in one day, and sometimes the number reached a thousand. Father Torquemada...defends this position of the Religious, and even though he does not deny an example of a clergy person who has done this, and even that perhaps some Religious have done this in urgent cases, he also brings forth reasons to persuade, that this is not new in the church of God to [baptize] by sprinkling...referring to the fact that it might have been done this way by the Great Cardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, of the Order of Saint Francis, **in the conversion of the Moors in Granada; and above all, it cannot be affirmed that the baptism is null.** Soon after the arrival of the Religious there was not any Holy Chrism or Holy Oil, and because of this, after it arrived, all the ceremonies were performed, and all of the rites of the Solemn Baptism with those who had already been baptized only with natural water, or at most with blessed water, but not consecrated.²⁵⁹

From this note it is gleaned that: first, there was a sense that the number of baptisms was great;²⁶⁰ second, without a bishop there was limited availability of consecrated oil to perform the rite of baptism completely; third, relying on tradition, the baptisms performed in this “incomplete,” or irregular manner were nonetheless considered valid. Historically, much as forced/coerced baptisms were deemed valid because of consent in the rite, so were these irregular (without chrism) baptisms deemed valid. In this case the tradition cited was contemporary—the evangelization and baptism of the Granadans. The fact that there were “irregularities” in baptism for Jews, Muslims, and

²⁵⁹ Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, in the introduction of the *Concilios Provinciales*, note, page 2; my emphasis. This concern with Holy Oil and Chrism did not exist in Granada given the ready access and presence of bishops. “Se disputa sobre el modo como bautizaron a los Indios recién conquistados los Religiosos; algunos quieren decir, que bautizaban a muchos juntos, rociándolos con un hisopo, y pronunciando a el mismo tiempo la forma; el fundamento de esta aserción fue el que hacían muchos Bautismos en un día, y a veces llegaba el número a mil. El P. Torquemada defiende de este hecho a sus Religiosos, y aunque no niega algún exemplar de Clérigo, que lo hizo, y que acaso lo harían algunos Religiosos en caso de urgente necesidad, trahe también razones para persuadir, que no es nuevo en la Iglesia de Dios el ejecutarlo por Aspersion, citando a tertuliano, San Cipriano, y a Ovando, que refiere haberse hecho así por el Gran Cardenal D. Fr. Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, de el Orden de San Francisco, en la Conversión de los Moros de Granda; y sobre todo, n se puede afirmar, que es nulo el Bautismo. Recién venidos los Religiosos, no había Santo Chrisma, ni Oleo bendito, y por esta razón, luego que llego, hicieron todas las Ceremonias, y Ritos del Bautismo solemne con los ya estaban bautizados con sola Agua natural, o a lo más bendita, pero no consagrada; y aquí se advierte, que los primeros, que se bautizaron en esta Nueva España, fueron los cuatro Señores de Tlaxcála.”

²⁶⁰ Sarah L. Cline, “The Spiritual Conquest Reexamined: Baptism and Christian Marriage in Early Sixteenth-Century México,” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (August 1993): 453-480, argues that the number of baptisms was not as great as the accounts of the friars have led to believe.

Amerindians should not also overstate that the “irregularities” were the same in all three cases: one was in form, the other two had varying “contexts.”

Fray Juan de Torquemada (c. 1562-1624) had heard that these irregular cases of baptism were done in “urgent cases,” which may have had to do with the high mortality rate among *Amerindians* because of foreign pathogens brought by Europeans and *Africans*. Resulting deaths also required oil for extreme unction.²⁶¹ This biological devastation during the sixteenth century is described by Alfred W. Crosby:

The most spectacular period of mortality among the American Indians occurred during the first hundred years of contact with the Europeans and *Africans*. Almost all the contemporary historians, from Bartolomé de las Casas to William Bradford of Plymouth Plantation, were awed by the ravages of epidemic disease among the native populations of America. In México and Perú, where there were more Europeans and *Africans*—and therefore more contact with the whole world—and a more careful chronicle of events kept than in most other areas of America, the record shows something like fourteen epidemics in the former and perhaps as many as seventeen in the latter between 1520 and 1600.²⁶²

The “irregular” nature of the baptisms was also, in part, justified because of a Franciscan eschatological urgency, and that there was historical precedent to baptizing great numbers of people in the manner they had been doing.²⁶³

Baptism and extreme unction were not the only sacraments of concern for the *Junta* of 1524. There was also a concern with confession and penitence, the Eucharist, and marriage. The *Junta* of 1524 also dealt with the education of the *newly* baptized and their indoctrination. In 1526, Martin de Valencia gathered the friars and again discussed the manner of baptism. Since the Dominicans had now joined the evangelism effort, greater

²⁶¹ See Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972). Europeans also died by new diseases brought through their encounter with these indigenous populations, such as Small Pox and Syphilis.

²⁶² Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *Columbian Exchange*, 37-38.

²⁶³ The Observant Franciscans that came to the New World believed that they were at the threshold of the second coming of Christ, and his millennial kingdom. They believed that as soon as the last *Amerindian* was baptized the second coming would be realized. For a brief synopsis of Franciscan eschatology see John Frederick Schwaller, “Franciscan Millennial Kingdom,” 506-507; for the standard monograph on the subject see John Leddy Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*.

emphasis was put on instruction prior to baptism. Participants also discussed the system of *encomiendas* or the *repartimientos* of the indigenous population.²⁶⁴

From 1531 to 1535, Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal (d. 1547)²⁶⁵ convened several *Juntas*; in attendance were bishops Juan de Zumárraga and Julián Garcés (1452-1541). They continued to discuss the manner of baptism, but now also the issue of idolatry. During this time the question about the rational or natural capacity of the native population arose, and related to this was the issue of exploitation and *támenes*.²⁶⁶ The main task of the *Juntas* was then to standardize practices. In 1536 they agreed to: build decent baptismal fonts, administer non-essential elements, such as salt, to a select number of *Amerindians* of both sexes chosen from all those requesting baptism, bless the baptismal water, and to apply the chrism to all those baptized, meaning to both sexes, and to both adults and children.²⁶⁷ In Granada the issues resembled more the ones of the rest of the peninsula rather than those across the Atlantic.

In the latter part of the 1530s issues of baptism, *Amerindian* tributes, and idolatry continued to be discussed. Bishop Julián Garcés wrote to Pope Paul III and eventually received the bulls of 2 June 1537, *Sublimis Deus* and *Altitudo Divini Consilii*. *Sublimis Deus* dealt positively with the rational capacity of the indigenous population and prohibited their enslavement.

[some] have not hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and the South, and other people of whom we have recent knowledge should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith. We...consider, however, that the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it. ...We define and declare ...that, notwithstanding whatever may have been or may be said to the contrary, the said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property; nor

²⁶⁴ The system of *encomiendas* placed a certain number of Amerindians under “the care” of an *encomendero*: a system of servitude. *Repartimientos* were the division of Amerindians to *encomiendas* or *repartimientos*.

²⁶⁵ President of the second Audiencia of México from 1531 to 1535.

²⁶⁶ Laborers that would carry large loads and were exploited.

²⁶⁷ José Ignacio Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina*, 101.

should they be in any way enslaved; should the contrary happen, it shall be null and have no effect.²⁶⁸

Overwhelmingly it was concluded that the indigenous population could be baptized and was capable of receiving and understanding the Christian message. Pope Paul III “declared that nothing justified depriving the Indians, who were reasonable men, of the blessing of liberty and the light of the Christian faith.”²⁶⁹ *Altitudo Divini Consilii* also addressed the pastoral and sacramental concerns regarding baptism and marriage, as summarized by José Ignacio Saranyana,

As far as what has already been practiced, he declared licit having administered baptism without following the rites/ceremonies and solemnities established by the church...[F]or the future, he proscribed that baptism be celebrated with all the established ceremonies and solemnities, unless there was an urgent need.²⁷⁰

In *Altitudo Divini Consilii* there was the insistence that

the full rite be followed, save in cases of necessity when the imposition of salt, the Ephphatha rite with its use of spittle, the imposition of the white garment and the candle could be performed as in the Franciscan practice with a few representatives only.²⁷¹

The meeting of 1537 again showed the process of increased consolidation and the increased desire for uniformity,²⁷² with respect to various sacraments: including uniformity in the rite of baptism and the concern regarding the persistence of idolatry. Furthermore, as the church gained more structure, the emphasis shifted to the sending of suitable clergy; a recurring theme for the peninsular church as well.²⁷³ Eventually, as was the case

²⁶⁸ *Siblimis Deus*, accessed 23 February 2012, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Paul03/p3subli.htm>. This source cites the date 29 May 1537, not 2 June. There is some sense that this might be an earlier draft. The text of *Sublimis Deus* can also be found in Helen Rand Parish and Harold E. Weidman, *Las Casas en México: historia y obras desconocidas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), 310-312.

²⁶⁹ Robert Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest*, 91.

²⁷⁰ José Ignacio Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina*, 101.

²⁷¹ The text of *Altitudo Divini Consilii* can be found in Helen Rand Parish and Harold E. Weidman, *Las Casas en México*, 306-309. Quote from Peter McGrail, *The Rite of Christian Initiation: Adult Rituals and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 44. See also, José Rabasa, *Tell me the story of how I conquered you: elsewhere and ethnosuicide in the colonial Mesoamerican world* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 65. See also Luis N. Rivera Pagán, *Essays from the margins* (Eugene: Cascade, 2014), n. 48.

²⁷² José Ignacio Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina*, 102.

²⁷³ *Clero idóneo*: this is a great issue and it is tied to the deep seeded needs for reform of the church at all levels.

in the peninsula, the list of concerns regarding “conversion” continue to be repeated and thus increasingly function as discursive tropes rather than accurate to the ongoing reality.

In 1537 the bishops of México, Guatemala, and Oaxaca wrote a progress report to Charles V regarding the evangelization process. The bishops requested that *Amerindians* be organized into towns so that the task of evangelization may be improved. They requested that more regular clergy be sent, but asked that to not mislead *Amerindians* that they “be persons of doctrine, life and example, so that these natives are edified with their lives and honesty.”²⁷⁴

The progress report indicated that a continued challenge was that the native population vastly outnumbered the clerics and this affected the way the sacraments were performed. The letter described this numerical difference in the following manner:

We make known...that the regular clergy who have come to these lands, have had, and have great care in the instruction and conversion of these natives, and they have taken great advantage, given that they are very few, according to the quantity of people in this land, which are many, that cannot be counted, and they would have done more, if there hadn't been so great an obstacle for this conversion effort, and it is where there isn't more Christianity than what there is; given that these natives are so far, ones from the others, that they have not been able to be gathered like the regular clergy had wanted.²⁷⁵

Other challenges included the vast geographical distances and plethora of languages.

The bishops also requested that a theologian and a canon expert be sent to *New Spain* to help with the proper answers to the questions regarding the evangelization effort.²⁷⁶

Finally, they requested the construction of churches, schools, and a nunnery; these to aid in the indoctrination of *Amerindians*. The request for resources was a reality on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Juntas of the 1530s continued to be concerned with the way baptism was performed. The *Junta* of 1524 had appealed to the actions in Granada as a comparison;

²⁷⁴ *Apendice á los Concilios primero, y segundo mexicanos* (México: n.p., 1770), 2-3.

²⁷⁵ *Apendice á los Concilios*, 2. “Item: hacemos saber á V.M. que los Religiosos que á estas partes han pasado, han tenido, é tienen mucho cuydado de la Instrucción, y conversión de estos Naturales, y han aprovechado mucho, puesto que han sido pocos en número, según la cantidad de las Gentes que en estas partes hay, que son tantas, que no se pueden numerar, y obieran hecho mas, si no hubiera gran estorvo para esta Santa Obra de esta Conversión, y es por donde no ha habido mas Christiandad de la que hay: estar estos Naturales derramados de sus habitaciones, y tan lexos unos de otros, que no se pueden juntar, como los Religiosos querían.”

²⁷⁶ All quotes are from the bishops' 1537 letter to Charles V. *Apendice á los Concilios*, 1-22.

the Junta of 1539, on the other hand, appealed to the history of the conversion of the Franks in the fifth and sixth centuries. In Section 2, it was stated that baptism should be done in the mode used during the conversion of the Germans, and in England

since we have the same case in our hands now...at this moment we have at our disposal many wholesome adult gentiles, who lived in a security of peace, who believed, and converted, and turned out for baptism, as they now turn out.²⁷⁷

Perhaps this shift was because by that point they were aware of the challenges the Church was facing in Granada with the *new* Christians. Sections 12 through 14 also dealt with baptism and had the overall objective of obtaining uniformity. Thus, baptism needed to conform to the rites of the ancient church and the bull of Paul III (1537), and holy unction had to be provided to *Amerindians*.²⁷⁸

Gatherings to discuss church polity and theology continued on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1540s. In June 1541 there was a meeting of theologians in Salamanca, which included Francisco de Vitoria, who discussed the preparation and understanding necessary before baptism, as well as the relationship between secular and regular clergy, and the need for suitable clergy for the evangelization project. In that same year, a *Junta* gathered to coordinate the pastoral work of the various orders. The first editions of catechisms emerged in the late 1540s and early 1550s. For over three decades the clergy had been concerned with the baptism of the indigenous population and had the general outlines of what each baptized person should know; now they increasingly had the tools they needed to improve the evangelization process.

With more ecclesial structures and a greater number of clerics, the church had matured enough to be able to gather in a regional ecclesiastical council, not just a *Junta*. The prologue to the canons of the *First Provincial Council* (1555) spoke to the transformation from idolatry to Christianity that had been achieved since 1524:

In these western areas so many centuries passed without knowledge of the Holy Gospel, and now we call in this last era to the knowledge of our Holy

²⁷⁷ *Apendice á los Concilios*, 27. “en la Conversión de Alemania, é Inglaterra, quando se convirtieron en tiempo del Papa Gregorio, y de el Emperador Carlo Magno, é Pepino, pues tenemos el mismo caso entre las manos ya, y la misma razón que quando se establecieron los dichos Decretos había, y los que los ordenaron tuvieron, quando la Iglesia Católica se asentó en sus Ritos, y Cirimonias....quando el mismo caso se le ofreció, como agora se nos ofrece de muchos Adultos de Gentiles sanos, y que vivian en seguridad de paz, que creían, y se convertían, y concurrían al Baptismo, como agora concurren: y se haga Manual conforme á ellos...”

²⁷⁸ *Apendice á los Concilios*, 33-37.

Catholic faith to many barbarous and idolatrous people: put already under the obedience of the Catholic church, with diligence and expense, and people, and Christian zeal of the Emperor and King of Spain.²⁷⁹

The ninety-three canons of the council had as their aim the standardization of instruction, the manner of living of *Amerindians* and clerics, administration of the sacraments, and even included a long section regarding legal issues involving clerics (Canons 76-90).

The need for uniformity and standardization regarding baptism was a salient issue in the *Juntas*. Although this aspect of standardization was still present in the canons of the First and Second Provincial Councils, uniformity and standardization became a part of all aspects of the evangelization process. Canon 4 of the 1555 council stipulated that manuals of Christian doctrine should be written for the indigenous population, to standardize their instruction. The canon stipulated that *Amerindians* should only be instructed in those matters that they were capable of understanding, leaving “the mysteries and difficult things of our faith, that they may not understand, nor achieve, nor have a need for at this moment.”²⁸⁰ Canon 28 called for uniformity in the saying of the *Ave Maria*, Mass, and Vespers.

Canon 2 dealt with baptism, although now with the requirement of a period of instruction prior to the rite. This was part of the ever-recurring theme (sometimes tropic) of the instructional challenges given the great number of adult baptisms in a very short time on both sides of the Atlantic, and the (real or discursive) repercussions generations later. It stated that no adult could be baptized without first being sufficiently instructed in the Holy Catholic Faith: “and be clean, and be examined, not only regarding idols, but also for old rites, and be legitimately married,” and that special attention needed to be given to the examination of their leaders.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 36. “en estas Partes Occidentales tantos figos pafados fin conocimiento de el Santo Evangelio, y agora llamados en la ultima edad al conocimiento de nueftra Santa Fé Cathólica tan innumerable gente barbara, y idólatra: Puefstos ya debajo de la obediencia de la Iglefia Cathólica, con la diligencia, y gaftos, y gente, y zelo chriftianifsimo de el Emperador, y Rey de Epaña...”

²⁸⁰ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, Canon 4.

²⁸¹ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 43. This shows the shift from Franciscan theology to Dominican theology regarding baptism. “Eftablecemos, y ordenamos, que ningun Cura, ni Religiofo, ni Clérigo adminiftre el Sacramento de el Bautifmo á ningun Adulto, fin que primero fea fuficientemente inftruido en nueftra Santa Fé Cathólica, y limpio, y examinado, afsí de ídolos, como de los Ritos antiguos, y cafado legitimamente, y reftituido lo que tyranicamente tiene ufurpado, y en efpecial fe ha de advertir efto en los Caziques, y Principales...”

With the shift toward an established church, by the time of the First and Second Provincial Councils there was a greater infrastructure, which had developed parallel to the time of the *Juntas* of the 1520s and 1530s. In this more established church, as Canon 65 states, clerics had to return to re-teaching basic Christian doctrine every year, and had to examine each and every Indian, in particular, and they must search for those that have never have confessed and tell them to confess, and [be sure] that those Indians who seek to be married [...] have knowledge of Christian doctrine.²⁸²

Revisiting Christian doctrine every year was related to the (real or discursive) difficulties faced in the extirpation of indigenous beliefs, since

experience has taught us that the natives of this land are naturally careless in what regards their souls without the due diligence of the clergy, and because of this it was advisable, and was necessary to have great care in having them learn the Christian doctrine, and to examine them in due time regarding their knowledge.²⁸³

Canon 64 stipulated that the Eucharist and the sacrament of extreme unction could be given to the baptized indigenous population and *Africans* (blacks) if they showed the proper devotion.

It has been doubted whether it was proper to give them the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, because of being new in the faith, and of little direction and trust as is required to receive such high a sacrament, not without good reason this has been doubted, and because we are obligated, as with new plants, to provide them as parents of their souls with nourishment and spiritual sustenance, and at the present moment with kindness of God, in many of them it is known and can be seen signs of devotion... ministers can administer this Sacrament to the Indians and Blacks... [but], do not provide with indifference such high a mystery to all the recently converted.²⁸⁴

²⁸² *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 139. “Que cada año se de vuelta a la Doctrina Cristiana, examinando a cada uno de los Indios en articular, y que se busquen todos los que nunca se han confesado, y se les mande se confiesen, y sepan los Indios, que se casan, la Doctrina.”

²⁸³ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 139. “La experiencia nos enseña, que los Naturales de esta tierra naturalmente son descuidados en los que toca a sus animas, faltando la diligencia de los Ministros, y por tanto conviene, y así es necesario tener muy gran cuidado con ellos en hacerles aprender la Doctrina Cristiana, y en tomarles cuenta a su tiempo si la saben, o no.”

²⁸⁴ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 138. “se ha dudado, y duda, si será acertado darles el Santísimo Sacramento de la Eucaristía, porque por ser nuevos en la Fe, y de no tanta discreción, y confianza, como se requiere para recibir tan alto Sacramento, no sin gran razón se ha en ello dudado, y porque estamos obligados, como a nuevas plantas, a proveerlos como Padres de sus animas de nutrimento, y sustentación espiritual, y al presente, por la bondad de nuestro Señor, en muchos de ellos se conocen, y ven señales de devoción, y deseo de fe llegar a este Divino Sacramento: porende declaramos que los Ministros puedan administrar este Sacramento a los Indios, y Negros, en quien conocieren, que tienen aparejo, y vieren

Canons 5 through 13 addressed issues of confession and penitence, thus beginning to show an interest in bringing persons back into the fold, even if these were used as a mechanism of control, as presented before in Section 1.1. Canons 8 and 9 dealt specifically with the jurisdiction of confessors with respect to the regular clergy. Canon 18 dealt with the feast days that should be kept and provided certain exemptions to *Amerindians*, so as not to burden them:

Because our Most Holy Pope Paul III considering the misery, and poverty of the Indians, natives of this land, dispensed regarding some feasts, that they not be forced to keep, and named those to which they were obligated.²⁸⁵

The natives had to observe twelve feast days plus Sundays and were obligated to fast three times a year. By contrast, *Spaniards* were required to observe over forty feast days plus Sundays.²⁸⁶

The church, as part of the instruction of *Amerindians*, was concerned with making sure that *Spaniards*, lay and ordained, lived honest lives worthy of imitation. If they did not go to mass, “God [was] offended, and these Indians recently converted are scandalized.”²⁸⁷ The same was said of widows who were not going to mass:

[which was] against the commandments of God and the church, it is scandalous in the Christian world, and that of the Indians, and the servants of their homes, and of no little detriment to their souls.²⁸⁸

Not only did the canons deal with aspects of care for the souls of *Amerindians*, but a great number of the canons dealt specifically with the discipline of priests. For example, priests

señales de devoción, y creencia, y deseo de recibirlo, sobre lo cual les encargamos las conciencias, en que no comuniquen indiferentemente tan alto Misterio a todos los recién convertidos.”

²⁸⁵ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 68-69. “Y porque nuestro Santísimo Papa Paulo III, confiderando la miseria, y pobreza de los Indios naturales de esta tierra, dispensó en algunas Fiestas, que no fueren obligados á las guardar, y les señaló las que los obligan.”

²⁸⁶ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 65-67: “Las quales dichas Fiestas guardan todos los Españoles, como conviene á buenos Christianos.” *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 69: “Los demás días, que la Iglesia obliga á ayunar, los dexa á libertad de los Indios, para que conforme á su pobreza, y oficio, y trabajo, cada uno haga, fin escrupulo de pecado, lo que mejor le pareciere; y porque acontece muchas veces, haberse alquilado los Indios para trabajar en las haciendas de los Españoles son obligados á guardar, y los Indios no; de donde se toma ocasion, para que el Español no las guarde, como es obligado, por ende, S.A.C. estatuímos, y mandamos, que los Españoles no traigan obra aquellos días, ni hagan trabajar á los Indios en sus haciendas, si no fuere con licencia del el Diocefano en casos permitidos.” This is discussed further in Section 3.2.

²⁸⁷ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 70. “Dios es ofendido, y estos Indios recién convertido muy escandalizados.”

²⁸⁸ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 72. Canon 19. “lo cual allende de ser contra los Mandamientos de Dios, y de su Iglesia, es grave escandalo en el Pueblo Cristiano, y de los Indios, y criados en su casa, no pequeño daño de sus animas.”

were not to have contracts for the religious services and sacraments of the church; they were not to perform private baptisms or masses, etc.²⁸⁹ The continual concern with the behavior of clergy brings to the fore some interrelated issues: first, that “less than” practices, beliefs, and rituals were not only things to do with *Amerindians* or baptized descendants of Muslims or Jews, but that had to do perhaps with the need for reform for the whole church regardless of location; second, the purpose for repeating lists of concerns (becoming *tropic*) at times had other purposes, including discursive ones.

The Second Provincial Council was convened to receive the Council of Trent. Although the Council of Trent was received in this provincial council, many historians would say that the church in Latin America remained a pre-Tridentine church well into the nineteenth century.²⁹⁰ The introduction of the council document includes elements of the ideology discussed before. It stated

the obligation we, all the Christian faithful, have in believing, that there are two churches, the one called the Triumphant Church, the other the Militant Church. The one, where for eternity they live in perpetual joy and happiness...the other that we call the Militant Church, which lies where we, all the Christian faithful, are on earth, in continual battle with the devil, and the world, and the flesh, where there is no security, nor do we have certitude of the beginning, middle or end of our battle.

The contemporaneous mass baptism of indigenous persons in the Americas and Muslims across the Atlantic were on the surface similar events. The similarity lies in the agency of the Spanish Crown and Church in these mass baptisms. In their dissimilarities, the mass baptism of *Amerindians* and the previous mass baptism of the peninsular Jews can be used to understand the particularities of the mass baptism of the peninsular Muslims. Up to this point the concern is with the parallel nature of these mass baptisms; later, the concern will be with how the mass baptism of Jews, Muslims, and *Amerindians* mutually influence over several centuries the processes that led to the *somatization* of religion. The end of that posited process is seen in the analysis of the category of

²⁸⁹ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 78. Canon 23.

²⁹⁰ It is believed that the church in Latin America remained pre-Tridentine until the middle of the nineteenth century. Because of this much of the religion transplanted to the new lands was unique, in many ways to Spain and Spanish popular religiosity. Two examples of this would be found in the devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Cult of St. James. For more on the subject of popular religiosity see: Orlando Espín, “Popular Catholicism among Latinos,” in *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the U. S.: Issues and Concerns*, ed. Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck, S. J. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 308-59.

“*morisco*” in the *Sistema de Castas*, but before reaching that point, the next section introduces the contemporaneous mass baptism of Muslims.

1.3 Baptizing Muslim Granadans

As was done in the case of New Spain, here follows a brief presentation of the religion of the Nasrids—Islam—which predominated in Granada until the mass baptisms at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Islam emerged in the Arabian Peninsula in the early seventh century when the Qur’an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ (570-632). Islam, like Christianity, is a monotheistic religion and asserts the unity and oneness of God (*tawhid*). Yet, in contrast to Christianity, in Islam anthropomorphic representations of God are forbidden. Authoritative in Islam are the Qur’an and the traditions of the prophet (*Sunna* and *hadith*), and from these the law (*fiqh*) is derived. Islam is divided into two major branches—Sunni and Shi’a; mystical forms of Islam are denoted as Sufi. Within Sunni Islam, there are four major schools of legal interpretation: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi’i, and Hanbali.

In Islam, there are several elements of faith or belief: the absolute unity of God, angels, the Qur’an, Muhammad ﷺ as a prophet, and final judgment. Purification is an important practice in Islam and done in relation to many acts of faith. There are five practices (pillars) expected of every Muslim: the *shahada*, prayer, almsgiving, fasting (especially during the month of Ramadan), and the pilgrimage to Mecca (once in a lifetime). For Muslims, actions are described as either obligatory, recommended, permissible, forbidden, or reprehensible.²⁹¹ Although prayer can be done anywhere, congregational prayer is encouraged, especially the Friday noonday prayer, and it generally occurs in a mosque. A major difference between Islam and Christianity is prophetology, thus the understanding of Jesus; Christian Trinitarian theology is not compatible with Islam.

In contrast to Christianity, there are no clergy or sacraments in Islam, and ultimate judgment of orthodoxy and orthopraxis is in God’s hands. Orthodoxy is derived from the authority of the Qur’an and the *Sunna*. Although in Islam the faith of a person is not the

²⁹¹ See Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 4th ed. (Prentice Hall: Boston, 2011): Chapter 5; Fazlur Rahman, “Islam,” in *ER* 7:4560-4691; Emory C. Bogle, *Islam: Origin and Belief* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1998); David Waines, *An Introduction to Islam* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

purview of others, and although Islam does not have institutional structures like Christianity, there are two ideas that function similarly to the Christian idea of heresy: *bid'a* and *zindiq*. *Bid'a* is innovation or “a doctrine or practice not attested in the time of the Prophet.”²⁹² *Zindiq* is a person who holds a belief contrary to Islam.²⁹³ Although in Christianity the church councils serve as a mechanism for dealing with heresy, in Islam, “efforts of the ‘ulama’ to reach some consensus on the community’s beliefs and practices and thereby protect it from internal corruption” have a similar function.²⁹⁴

The first year of the Islamic calendar, the year of the *hijra* (migration from Mecca to Medina), is 622 in the Christian calendar. The Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar (and thus eleven days shorter than the Christian calendar). Integrated into this calendar are the times of religious obligation, such as the month of Ramadan.²⁹⁵ It is in Medina that the Muslim community (*umma*) was founded, and within a century after the death of the Prophet Muhammadﷺ, Islam had spread from the Arabian Peninsula as far as India in the east and the Iberian Peninsula in the west. Non-Muslim religious communities (*dhimmi*), primarily Christian and Jewish, could live under Muslim rule, although each non-Muslim person was subject to a tax (*jizya*). As has occurred in other contexts, although conquered peoples could maintain their religion,

the preservation or improvement of one’s social status or prestige was probably the single most important cause of conversion during the first centuries of Islam.²⁹⁶

Forced conversion is prohibited in the Qur’an; in Islam, there is a lack of compulsion in religion (Qur’an 2:256).²⁹⁷

Islam arrived in the peninsula in the eighth century with conquering Arab-Berber forces, and there were Muslims continuously in the peninsula until the sixteenth century.

²⁹² Bernard Lewis, “Some Observations on the Significance of Heresy in the History of Islam,” *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): 52, as quoted by John B. Henderson in *Construction of Orthodoxy*, 19. See also, David Waines, *Introduction to Islam*, 49.

²⁹³ John B. Henderson, *Construction of Orthodoxy*, 19.

²⁹⁴ David Waines, *Introduction to Islam*, 49.

²⁹⁵ Frederick Mathewson Denny, *Introduction*, 120.

²⁹⁶ David Waines, *Introduction to Islam*, 53.

²⁹⁷ “There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong. So whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold with no break in it. And Allah is Hearing and Knowing.” Accessed 21 April 2015, <http://www.quran.com>.

The primary form of Islam found in the peninsula was Sunni; the primary legal school was Maliki. Depending on the dynasty or *taifa* rulers, Islam was more or less tolerant toward religious diversity within its realms. Among the most intolerant rulers were the north African Almoravids and Almohads; among the most tolerant were the Umayyads; the Nasrids of Granada were in between these poles.

As the Christian monarchs gained ground in their conquest of the Muslim-controlled regions of the peninsula, they soon established the Church in the conquered realms through the designation of episcopal sees and cathedrals, and building of churches and other ecclesial structures. In 1436, Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431-1447) referred to the conquest of Muslim lands by John II of Castile and León (r. 1406-1454),

The notable exploits that [John], bravely, as a fighter and famous athlete of Christ, achieved against the perfidious/treacherous Moors, enemies of the Christian name. And not neglecting to personally lead the army in order to conquer the lands and places occupied by the Moors for the Christian rule, as we recognized for the splendor of the Roman Church...²⁹⁸

Therefore, John and his successors were rewarded by the Papacy by a series of rights and concessions, including Royal Patronage and Presentation. Likewise, on 13 December 1486, Innocent VIII (r. 1484-1492) issued the bull *Orthodoxae Fidei*, which conferred

on the King and Queen what the Count of Tendilla expounded on their behalf: power conferred in cathedrals, churches, monasteries, and conventual priories in the Canary Islands, the Kingdom of Granada, and Puerto Real, and the right of presentation of canons, prebends and dignities.²⁹⁹

When the conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom was completed, Granada became the ecclesiastical see of the established Archdiocese of Granada,³⁰⁰ which included the suffragan dioceses of Guadix y Baza, Almería, Cartagena, Jaén, and Málaga. Two key

²⁹⁸ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 1, 261. The bull *Orthodoxae Fidei* quotes an earlier bull from Pope Eugene IV. “por las ilustres hazañas en que [Juan] mismo, valientemente, como pugil y atleta famoso de Cristo realice contra los pérfidos moros enemigos del nombre cristiano, y no dejano de dirigir él personalmente el ejército para someter las tierras y lugares ocupados por los moros al dominio cristiano, tal como reconocemos para el splendor de la Iglesia Romana...” For *Universalis Ecclesiae*, see Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Appendix 2, 113-ff.

²⁹⁹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, 45. See bull *Orthodoxae Fidei* in *Organización*, Appendix I, 261: “concedemos a los Reyes lo que el conde de Tendilla nos expuso en sus nombres: Poder conferido en catedrales, Iglesias, monasterios, y prioratos conventuales en las islas Canarias, Renio de Granada y Puerto Real, y derecho de presentación para canonjías, prebendas y dignidades.”

³⁰⁰ Or from a re-conquest point of view: the (re)establishment of the See of Granada.

markers of the establishment of the ecclesiastical see were the naming of an Archbishop and the endowment of the Cathedral of Granada.³⁰¹

The church in Granada was established using the support and ecclesiastical structures already in place and, as such, quickly became an extension of the rest of the peninsular church. Given that ecclesial structures were established relatively quickly, the evangelism effort was under the purview of the secular clergy, different than in *New Spain* where the regular clergy took the lead initially. Furthermore, nearby prelates, archbishops, and cardinals³⁰² showed interest in the church in Granada. In Granada, and to a lesser extent across the Atlantic, the creation of ecclesial structures was not only for *new* Christians, but for *old* Christians coming from other areas to (re)populate the region.

Because of surrender of the Nasrids, some Muslims migrated to places outside of the peninsula, yet a part of the population remained.³⁰³ To this native population were added many Christians from the north that were enticed to (re)populate the region. Although with the conquest the Church was established in the realm and Islamic religious spaces were taken over, as in *New Spain* the church was not immediately concerned solely with evangelism; the Capitulations granted a license for Muslims to practice Islam so long as they were loyal subjects to the Crown. This did not mean that baptism and conversion were not possible; it meant that baptism and conversion were by persuasion and freely taken (an important distinction for those who later sought *old* Christian status). After the transfer of power, fray Hernando de Talavera (r. 1493-1507) was appointed Archbishop of Granada; Talavera had a good relationship with the native population of Granada. Archbishop Hernando de Talavera believed in persuasion to seek and win the baptism and conversion to Christianity of the Muslims of Granada. A. Katie Harris writes that the monarchs

³⁰¹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 5, 269-ff. This appendix describes the endowment of the Cathedral and the Collegial Church of Santa Fe. This authority was given to Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1495).

³⁰² Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros was in Granada in 1499. Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (d. 1493) was given responsibility for the establishment of the Cathedral in 1492. See Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 5, 269.

³⁰³ A. Katie Harris argues that for 1492 there are estimates from 50 to 100 thousand in the Kingdom of Granada. See A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early-Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 9. Ángel Galán Sánchez has numbers varying from 200 to 300 thousand. See Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición: los granadinos de mudéjares a moriscos* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010), 54, 92.

sought to convert Granada both in appearance and in fact. Soon after the royal victory, the process of Christianization and the restructuring of the city along Castilian lines began with the seizure of palaces and other lands for conversion into monasteries and government offices.³⁰⁴

In 1499, with Ferdinand and Isabella, the Archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (r. 1495-1517) visited Granada. Archbishop Jiménez de Cisneros prioritized the conversion of the native population of Granada: *helches*.³⁰⁵ *Helches* were descendants of Christians who had converted in previous generations. This would become one catalyst for the beginning of the final religious unification of the peninsula.

[Jimenez de] Cisneros, who added to his evangelism mission a great sense of governing, clearly warns that so long as a religious unity was not achieved, subjecting the defeated to the same law as the victors, the political unity achieved with the conquest runs grave risk of breaking, thus making it more necessary to intensify the conversion.³⁰⁶

As Alonso de Santa Cruz writes in his *Chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs*:

The archbishop of Toledo, Fray Francisco Jiménez, wished [in 1499] to remain in Granada with the zealous desire and intention of trying to see if he could convert the Moors to the faith of Jesus Christ, and if he could not, at least of seeing to it that those who were of Christian descent should be converted.... those who refused, he had put in prison until they were converted.³⁰⁷

Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros demanded the baptism of Muslims of Christian descent. If they were not baptized willingly, they were imprisoned until they sought baptism. This overt and coerced baptism of these Granadans was a blatant disregard of

³⁰⁴ A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 10.

³⁰⁵ An alternate spelling is *elches*. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada writes that “Jiménez de Cisneros, arrived in the city with the authority of the Inquisition to investigate the *helches*, or former Christians converted to Islam, who resided in the Albaicín and other parts of the kingdom and who continued practicing Islam because the city’s capitulation did not oblige them to do otherwise...” in “Mudéjares and Repobladores in the Kingdom of Granada (1485-1501),” in *Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492*, ed. Alisa Meyuhás Ginio (London and Portland: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1992), 72. It is not clear if the *helches* were themselves Christians who converted to Islam or descendants of Christians who converted to Islam in previous generations. This is an important distinction because it would determine how (if in any way) the Inquisition can deal with them, which was Jiménez de Cisneros’ intention and justification for their imprisonment. For another description of the *helches* incident see Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith*, 58-61.

³⁰⁶ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1968), 17. It seems that Jiménez de Cisneros’ ideology will come full circle during the equally intransigent reign of Philip III and the decreed expulsions of all baptized descendants of Muslims.

³⁰⁷ As cited by L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 330. See Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los reyes católicos (hasta ahora inédita)*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Sevilla, 1951).

the Capitulations, which stated that “nobody may by word or deed abuse any Christian man or woman who before the date of the Capitulations had turned Moor;” and, “no Moor may be forced to become a Christian against his or her will.”³⁰⁸ The *helches* incident, although not of foremost concern for this project, was one part or step in the discursive processes which increasingly thought of religion as inherited (blood). At the center of the *helches* incident was the question of how to reconcile to the Church Christians who had converted to Islam (and their non-baptized descendants). Another issue was whether the indelibility of religion (including baptism in Christianity) was inherently antithetical to the possibility of conversion or change in religion.

The treatment of *helches* was a catalyst for the first rebellion of the Alpujarras. In 1499, a bailiff (*alguacil*) was sent to the *albaicín* (Muslim quarter) to arrest a Granadan (*helche*) who had refused to “return,” or convert, to Christianity; the bailiff was killed in the *albaicín*, inciting a revolt. Because of the relationship that had been built by Fray Hernando de Talavera and the Count of Tendilla³⁰⁹ this uprising was short lived. Yet, eventually a full-fledged rebellion began in the Alpujarras and extended to various places in the Kingdom of Granada. This incident shows the three differing approaches to Christian relations with the Muslims of Granada: those of the local authorities (Talavera and Tendilla), of the Crown, and of Archbishop Jiménez de Cisneros. Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros insisted that the *helches* were simply returning to the content of the faith of their ancestors; a view that supports the indelibility of religion.

Because of the rebellion, the Capitulations of 1492 were rescinded, and the Granadan population either had to agree to baptism or be exiled. The native population argued that forced baptism went against the original Capitulations, whereas the monarchs believed that the rebellions abrogated them. Therefore, after 1501 there were no free Muslims in the lands of Granada (and the lands of Castile), and technically, the remaining Granadan population had been baptized. For the first time in centuries, with the expulsion of Jews and the baptism of many of the remaining Granadans, the peninsula was well on its way to having only one religion in its realms: Christianity. This (forced) uniformity would

³⁰⁸ As cited in L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 29, and *Islamic Spain*, 318-319. (Curious use of the term Moor: equated to religion.) See Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 18.

³⁰⁹ The third Count of Tendilla. From 1492, Captain General of the Kingdom of Granada and Major of the Alhambra.

be finalized in the 1520s with the required baptism of all remaining Muslims in the peninsula.

The new Capitulations, as those of Baza and Huéscar,³¹⁰ stipulated that once baptized the former Muslims would be treated like other Christians, and thus also have the same obligations as other Christians. Some of the new capitulations would later be disregarded or abolished, capitulations such as the validity of contracts in Arabic,³¹¹ and the permission to use their own butchers, so long as those butchers killed the animals in a Christian manner.³¹² Opting for baptism was seen as a way to start over: all offenses, including those related to the rebellions, were forgiven up to the time of the new capitulations.³¹³ This *tabula rasa* was repeatedly requested in order to delay the actions of the Inquisition in the Kingdom of Granada and elsewhere in the peninsula.³¹⁴ Although after 1501 the *new* Christians, who were considered Christian given their baptism, continued to request general graces for crimes against the faith, given the charge (at least discursive) of a slow pace of assimilation and acculturation. With the aim of indoctrination, assimilation, and acculturation, the Crown and Church repeatedly legislated against a variety of practices to make the *new* Christians seem more assimilated or part of the more normative (Castilian) culture. Many of these practices are discussed as part of the analysis of the primary documents in Chapter 3.

Hernando de Talavera, although not as intransigent as Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, expressed in his *Memorial* (letter) to the residents of the Albaicín,³¹⁵ ways in which they could successfully assimilate into *Spanish* culture and into the Church.

³¹⁰ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, 163-168. Appendix 5 on Baza, dated 30 September 1500 (thesis Document 3); Appendix 6 on Huéscar, dated 26 February 1501 (thesis Document 4).

³¹¹ The Congregation of 1526 recommended the elimination of the use of Arabic, and the translation of contracts written in Arabic. Like other results of this Congregation these were not enforced.

³¹² Royal decrees in 1511 and 1513 limit the work of newly converted butchers; eventually only old Christians can butcher the meat; in the case that there was not old Christian the local priest or sacristan needed to be present. See Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 11, 172-73; Appendix 17, 180-81 (thesis Documents 10 and 16).

³¹³ This is interesting because it is the capitulations not baptism that grants the forgiveness of sin. The new converts of Granada will try to negotiate obtain this *tabula rasa* again and again but it will become more difficult as time progresses and intransigence sets in.

³¹⁴ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 48, 244-ff. (thesis Document 58).

³¹⁵ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Appendix 3, 117-ff. (thesis Document 32); Appendix 4 of Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, 161-ff. There is no date for this document, but it would have to be after the rebellions and before his death, so between 1501 and 1507.

Talavera's recommendations would become a list of the elements, perceived and written about, which then served as proof of the resistance by the *newly* baptized population of Granada; the lists became tropes. The first item in Hernando de Talavera's *Memorial* told the residents of the Albaicín to "forget all Moorish things and ceremonies in prayers, fasts, feasts and births, weddings, baths, funerals and all the other things." Hernando de Talavera continued by listing the doctrine and practices they should know;³¹⁶ the sacraments in which they were expected to participate;³¹⁷ and encouraged them to do as other catholic Christians do (in terms of burial, marriage, guilds, and church attendance). Hernando de Talavera expressed the importance of indoctrination, especially for children. Before concluding the *Memorial*, he encouraged them to abandon speaking in Arabic both outside and inside the home, noting that:

so that your conversation is not scandalous to the *crístianos de nación* and they not think that you still have Muhammad's sect in your heart, it is important that you conform in everything and by everything in the good and honest conversation of the good and honest Christians in dress and shoes, shaving, and at the table...and most of all in speech, forgetting to the best of your ability the Arabic language, and to leave it behind and never speak it at home.³¹⁸

Hernando de Talavera concluded the *Memorial* by resisting the imposition of excommunication on those who did not keep these rules, and instead asking the King and Queen to determine the penalties by other means.³¹⁹ All of these issues repeatedly came up in the documents of the sixteenth century. They were seen in various capitulations in 1500 and 1501, the Royal Decrees of 1511 and 1513, the Congregation of the Royal Chapel of 1526, the reiteration of 1526 in 1539, as well as the Synod of Guadix y Baza in 1554.

The documentary evidence of the sixteenth century, when seen only in reference to the *new* Christians, seems repetitive regarding the ongoing issues of concern (lists that

³¹⁶ This is comparable to the lists in the New Spain documents. "signar y santiguar, y entrar en la iglesia y tomar allí agua bendita y decir Paternoster y Avemaria y Credo y adorar allí Nuestro Señor en la santa misa y adorar la santa cruz y hacer a las imágenes reverencia que le es debida." Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 4, 161.

³¹⁷ Confession and communion.

³¹⁸ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Appendix 3, 17-ff. (thesis Document 32); Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 4, 161-ff.

³¹⁹ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 4.

may have also been discursive tropes that continue to be repeated historiographically): for example, Arabic, *zambras*, indoctrination, and secret Moorish rites and ceremonies. In illustration of this, from 1511 to 1513 Queen Joanna promulgated a series of decrees³²⁰ regarding baptism, butchers, and Moorish dress. Queen Joanna wrote that for the

newly converted...to be, as they should, very good and faithful Christians and have conversation with the old Christians, so that they can better learn and know the things of the faith...From now on the godparents...should be old Christians, and [godparents] cannot be any newly converted from Moor or Jew.³²¹

In 1513, Queen Joanna responded to complaints by the *new* Christians regarding the lack of cooperation from *old* Christians to act as godparents. *Old* Christians required payment to be a godparent and sometimes had to come from a distance; therefore, Queen Joanna dictated a penalty of 10,000 *maravedís* for refusing to be a godparent to children of *new* Christians.

Similarly, regarding the new capitulations' insistence that the *new* Christians butcher their meat in the manner of *old* Christians, Queen Joanna was concerned that,

Some of the newly converted from the said Kingdom of Granada sometimes butcher meat as they used to in the time of the Moors... [Therefore] wishing that they be good and faithful Christians...now, meat can only be butchered by old Christians. If there is not a butcher that is an old Christian, they ought to have an old Christian as a witness, so that there are no Moorish ceremonies.³²²

Finally, some of the decrees dealt with the use of Moorish dress by the *new* Christians and in some cases by *old* Christians. The new capitulations stipulated that they could wear

³²⁰ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendices 10-17: 171-181. Decrees of 20 June 1511: Appendices 10 (godparents and baptism), 11 (butchers), 12 (dress); Decree of 14 December 1512: Appendix 13 (tailors); Decrees of 29 July 1513: 14 (godparents and baptism), 15 (dress), 16 (dress), 17 (butchers)—thesis documents 9-16, respectively.

³²¹ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 10, 171 (thesis Document 9). "Godparents" is specified as *padrinos y madrinas*.

³²² Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendices 11 (1511) and 17 (1513), both letters from Queen Joanna regarding the butchering of meat in a Christian rather than *halal* manner. The 1513 letter clarifies what to do in case there are no *old* Christian butchers, especially when out of benevolence an animal needs to be killed. (Thesis documents 10 and 16, respectively.) From Appendix 11: "algunos de los nuevamente convertidos del dicho reino de Granada degüellan algunas veces las carnes como solían en tiempo de moros y no las degüellan según y como los cristianos viejos... e deseando que ellos sean buenos e fieles cristianos...[ahora] ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos puedan degollar ni degüellen carne, sino por mano de los dichos carniceros; y en lugares e alcarias donde no puedan haber carniceros cristianos viejos, las degüelle un carnicero de los dichos nuevamente convertidos sin ninguna de las ceremonias moriscos..."

Moorish dress until they wore out, but could not make new ones.³²³ In 1511, Queen Joanna, ordered that the

newly converted...from now on no longer have a memory of the things of the Moors and be and live as Christians, since that is what they are, and could not newly make any Moorish clothes, nor wear anymore the ones they currently have, except for the clothes that are in the form and manner of the old Christians.³²⁴

Of concern was women's head coverings or outer garments, called the *almalafa*, as well as *old* Christian women covering their faces. The penalty for the first instance of wearing Moorish dress was the loss of the clothing or *almalafa* plus a pecuniary fine. Penalties increased from there, and in the case of an *old* Christian woman and repeat offender, exile. The issue of the *almalafa* continued to surface through the 1520s.³²⁵

On 25 August 1523, Queen Joanna and King Charles responded to a series of assessments by Francisco Núñez Muley in which he presented the great difficulties and harm caused to the *new* Christians by some of their pronouncements, in particular those decrees requiring cooperation and participation of *old* Christians.³²⁶ With regards to the requirement that godparents be *old* Christians, Francisco Núñez Muley explained the difficulties encountered by the *newly* converted given the dearth of *old* Christians available to take up this responsibility; this notwithstanding the penalty of 10,000 *maravedís* imposed on any *old* Christian who refused without a valid reason to be a godparent. Also, as Christians, Francisco Núñez Muley argued, the *newly* converted could be godparents, "given that they were already Christians and had turned to our holy catholic faith."³²⁷

Similarly, about the requirement that an *old* Christian be present when an animal was butchered, Francisco Núñez Muley shows that this requirement caused great insult

³²³ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 5, New Capitulations for Baza (thesis Document 3).

³²⁴ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 12, 174. "los nuevamente convertidos... que porque dende en Adelante no hubiese más memoria de las cosas de los moros y estuviesen y viviesen como cristianos, pues lo eran, no pudiesen hacer nuevamente ninguna ropa morisca ni traer más de las que al presente tenían hechas, sino por la forma e manera que las traen los cristianos viejos." *Old* Christian tailors thought they were exempt from this, so there was a decree prohibiting this as well.

³²⁵ See Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix, 27, 194 (thesis Document 25).

³²⁶ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendices 24 (regarding old Christian godparents), 25 (regarding butchers)—thesis documents 22 and 23, respectively.

³²⁷ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 24, 190 (thesis Document 22).

and harm, and that an *old* Christian or clergy or sacristan was not always available. Francisco Núñez Muley noted that there were circumstances in which it would be unjust and cruel to wait for an *old* Christian or priest or sacristan for an animal to be sacrificed, especially if an animal was injured and suffering. Francisco Núñez Muley also noted that *old* Christians frequently insulted the *newly* converted when approached to witness the butchering. Francisco Núñez Muley requested that

any of the newly converted may butcher an animal that has to be killed in the presence or absence of an old Christian, because, otherwise, they receive much insult and damage and are mistreated and bothered, and because of this in them can grow some scandals...³²⁸

The two documents from the monarchs that related the petitions by Francisco Núñez Muley mandated that the matter be investigated to see if “in keeping the order there is damage and harm to the said newly converted.”³²⁹

In 1526 Charles and Joanna visited Granada and referred to “Moorish” customs rather than Christian ones.³³⁰ Therefore they commissioned an assessment of the *newly* converted community throughout the Kingdom. This work was done by the Bishop of Guadix, Gaspar de Ávalos (r. 1525-1528),³³¹ and was discussed in a meeting at the Royal Chapel. The agreements of this *Junta* were dated 7 December 1526. The purpose of this assessment was so that,

they ought to have great care in the praising of our holy catholic faith and extirpate, remove, and set aside the errors that Christians may be in...[and having visited Granada and seen]...that the newly converted...having received the water of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, had every day committed and done, and continue to commit and do, grave things against our holy catholic faith, following their first damaged sect of Muhammad, and its errors and ceremonies, of which I was given some accounts and petitions...[therefore I require a report] informing on the ways and cases in which the newly converted of Moors in this archbishopric follow the damaged

³²⁸ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 25, 192 (thesis Document 23).

³²⁹ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 24, 190 (thesis Document 22). “e si por guardar la dicha orden los dichos nuevamente convertidos reciben algún daño o perjuicio....” See also, Appendix 25, 193 (thesis Document 23).

³³⁰ Curious to note that during the coronation of Charles in 1530, the *Spanish* were described as wearing Moorish dress. See Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 92; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 96.

³³¹ Third bishop of Guadix, 1525-1528, then Archbishop of Granada from 1529 to 1542. He was joined by fray Antonio de Guevara (who will become his successor in Guadix), canon Utiel, doctor Quintana, canon Pero Lopez. He is also connected to the church in New Spain.

sect of Muhammad and its errors and ceremonies...[as well as of] the things that had been done against them...³³²

There followed a series of items that had to do with the overall administration of the kingdom and the wrongs done to the *newly* converted. The *newly* converted were, for example, prohibited from having Christian slaves or servants, carrying arms, moving to another region, or rescuing captives. Speaking Arabic was forbidden; and, all contracts (buying and selling) had to be in Castilian; old agreements in Arabic had to be translated and then the original Arabic version destroyed. There were restrictions on jewelry and privet (henna/*alheña*). As in earlier documents, so also in these later ones, circumcision and Moorish names were not permitted.

On 10 December 1526, the monarchs sent the recommendations of the Congregation of the Royal Chapel to the newly appointed Archbishop Pedro Ramírez de Alba (r. 1526-1528). The instructions included being vigilant regarding practices as they related to weddings, births (and circumcision), and baptisms (and naming). Births required the presence of an *old* Christian midwife. The instructions reiterated that on certain days the *newly* converted had to keep the doors open to their houses. When babies were brought for baptism they were not allowed to have henna on their forehead “because the chrism ought not to be put over the henna, and that in the baptism the child be given a name and nickname that is Christian.”³³³

Most of the provisions of the Congregation of 1526 were not enacted. This was evident in later pronouncements, in the 1530s, which reiterated the pronouncements of 1526, especially those that have to do with *zambros* and Moorish dress. According to Luis

³³² Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 31, 190 (thesis Document 29). “Por quanto principalmente los reyes han de tener gran cuidado del enalzamiento de nuestra santa fe católica e estirpare quitar e apartar los errores en que los cristianos estuvieron...[estando en Granada] que los nuevamente convertidos...habiendo recibido agua del bautismo de Espiritu Santo, habían hecho y cometido y hacían de cada día muchas cosas graves contra nuestra santa fe católica, siguiendo su dañada secta primera de Mahoma y a sus errores y ceremonias, de lo cual me fueron dados algunos memoriales y peticiones...[por lo tanto requiero que] se informasen en qué cosas y casos los nuevamente convertidos de moros en el dicho arzobispado seguían la dañada secta de Mahoma y sus errores y ceremonias....[y también sobre] algunos delitos y otras cosas contra ellos...”

³³³ The Church was concerned that although the act of baptism was done that the child was still being named in a Muslim manner or given a Muslim nickname to be used instead of a Christian name. See Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 31, 201-205 (thesis Document 29).

del Mármol Carvajal (1520-1600), for a large sum of money, the implementation of the Royal Chapel of 1526 was delayed for 40 years to the end of 1566.³³⁴

In 1539, as a response to a request made and discussed in a meeting in Toledo, it was noted that,

the newly converted of Moors [had requested that the King] concede them a general pardon for everything in the past, without condition of confession nor anything else, because of the difficulties and little ability they have.³³⁵

It was resolved that,

It should not be conceded in the way it was requested, since there is no room for the remission of sin without being preceded by confession; moreover, Your Majesty served by their merciful treatment, since they have been given two grace terms in exchange for [some considerations], another term of grace may be granted, so long as those who come to confess their offenses and errors fully and gave their confessions in writing to the inquisitors, would be received into the guild and union of the holy mother church and be absolved in form, without confiscation of property, nor jail nor dress, but in spiritual penitence, warning that if they return to their errors they will be punished according to the law.³³⁶

A further response³³⁷ recommended that there be a confiscation of property, but that for the first 25 or 30 years, unless for heresy or apostasy, only half of the property be confiscated. The recommendations were sent to the Inquisitor General and the Council of the Inquisition in 1540, and their response stated that they deemed reasonable, in exchange for 120,000 *ducados*,³³⁸ to

³³⁴ Spanish Chronicler, Luis de Mármol Carvajal (1520-1600), because why would the monarchs then issue additional decrees as early as 1530. See also Francisco Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and kingdom of Granada (1567)*, ed. and trans. by Vincent Barletta, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 63-64.

³³⁵ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 48, 245 (thesis Document 58): “que Vuestra Majestad haga merced a los dichos nuevamente convertidos de moros de concederles perdón general de todo lo pasado, sin ninguna condición de confesión ni otra cosa, por las dificultades y poca habilidad que tienen.”

³³⁶ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 48, 245 (thesis Document 58): “no se debe conceder, pues no ha lugar remisión del pecado no precediendo confesión; mas que, siendo Su Majestad servido que se use con ellos de misericordia, puesto que se les han dado dos términos de gracias por algunos justos respetos y consideraciones, se les podría conceder de nuevo otro termino de gracia, dentro del cual, los que viniesen a confesar sus delitos, y errores enteramente y diesen sus confesiones por escrito ante los inquisidores, fuesen recibidos al gremio y unión de la santa madre Iglesia y sean absueltos en forma, sin confiscación de bienes ni cárcel ni habito, sino en penitencias espirituales, aperciéndolos que si destornaren a sus errores serán castigados conforme a derecho.”

³³⁷ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 52, 250 (thesis Document 62).

³³⁸ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 53, 251-ff. and Appendix 54, 252-ff. (thesis documents 63 and 64, respectively). One *ducado* is equivalent to 375 Maravedís. Therefore,

offer the general remission of all the offenses they have committed until that point, confessing them in writing to the inquisitors or representatives, as is required for the salvation of their souls, and be absolved without the imposition of any temporal penalty and... [without] the confiscation of property for all said offenses committed until now.³³⁹

Considering the pros and cons of confiscating the property, they resolved against the confiscation of property:

It should not be presumed that without [the confiscation of property] and penalties that it would give occasion for sinning, since they could be severely punished, by burning, exile, galleons, and with sanbenitos, perpetual imprisonment and floggings and other punishments, so if it seems that [this exemption should not be perpetual] that it could be granted for fifty or sixty years.³⁴⁰

The forty-year grace period obtained from enforcement of the recommendations of the Congregation of 1526 seems to have held for that period. Although similar issues continue to resurface, the frequency in some of them, such as Moorish dress or face/head covering ebbs. This is to say that many of the documents of the ensuing forty years allude to a continued *status quo*, with the exception that the frequency of the issues mentioned diminishes. This would forever change with the end of the forty-year grace period.

In the beginning of 1567 a decree by Philip II prohibited all Granadan socio-cultural vestiges (associated with Islam), without any further possibility for negotiation, including payment for autonomy. The longevity and strength of the regional Granadan practices had not been eradicated. Until then the baptized descendants of Muslims had been able to negotiate certain social, and some would say religious, autonomy. The hardening of the Royal position contributed to the second war/rebellion of the Alpujarras and the internal

120,000 ducados is equivalent to 45 million maravedis. This is an extraordinary sum of money. This sum of money, if accurate, would (without inflation) fund 100 years of the 40 positions at the Cathedral of Granada, which required over 420,000 maravedís per year.

³³⁹ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 53, 251 (thesis document 63): “ofrecidos, con que se les hiciese remission general de todos los delitos por ellos cometidos hasta aqui, confesandolos por escrito ante los inquisidores o ante las personas por ellos diputadas, como se requiere para la salvación de sus animas, y sean por ellos absueltos sin imponérseles pena alguna temporal y remitiéndoles todas las obras del derecho y confiscación de bienes por todos los dichos delitos hasta agora cometidos.” There was hesitation to confessing in writing, thinking that it could later be used against them, so in Appendix 54 (thesis Document 64), 54, they allow for verbal confession.

³⁴⁰ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 54, 254 (thesis document 64): “No se debe presumir que el no haber la dicha confiscación y penas seria ocasión que pecasen, pues que podrían ser gravemente punidos, quemando y desterrando y echando en galera y con sambenitos y cárceles perpetuas y azotes y otros castigos, y si pareciere que no se debe conceder perpetuo, podría concederse por cincuenta o sesenta años.”

exile of all non-combatants baptized Granadans (descendants of former Muslims) to other regions of Castile.

The first rebellion led to new capitulations; the second to the internal displacement of the Granadans (baptized descendants of Muslims) to other areas of the Kingdom of Castile; creating a different set of problems. The Granadans now exiled were created into a distinct community in these other areas and were the source of problems and tensions for the rest of the population. If the Granadans were thought not to have been able to assimilate in their own land, much less would they assimilate in other regions of the peninsula. Ultimately, at the instigation of the Duke of Lerma and Bishop Juan de Ribera, from 1609-1614 Philip III would seek to expel all baptized descendants of Muslims from the peninsula.

Since the historical narrative moves outside of Granada after 1570, that narrative is picked up, as appropriate, when discussing the primary documents and the reading of those documents in Chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, when reading the primary documents, the following periodization is used:³⁴¹

- 1) 1492-1501: a pre-baptism period from the conquest until the mass baptism after the first rebellion of the Alpujarras (1499-1501). By 1501 many of the regions within the Kingdom of Granada had negotiated new capitulations.
- 2) 1502-1526: a negotiated-autonomous period from the baptisms to the decrees of Charles V, and renewed interest in the baptized population. (Also, the mass baptism of Muslims in the rest of the peninsula.)
- 3) 1527-1570: a period of increased intransigence toward the *new* Christians and increase in repressive measures leading to the expulsion of the *new* Christians and their baptized descendants from Granada after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568-1570). There was also a lull because of the negotiated autonomy.
- 4) 1571-1609/14: Outside of Granada and the events leading to the expulsion of all Christians, baptized descendants of former Muslims, from the entire peninsula.

³⁴¹ Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición*, 22.

Before moving to issues of historiography and methodology in Chapter 2, here follows a brief review of some of the theological and historical contours just presented that will resurface throughout the rest of the narrative of this thesis. Specifically, the salient issues brought up in the history and theology of baptism, the precursor mass baptism of Jews (1391-1415), the contemporaneous mass baptism of *Amerindians* in *New Spain*, which together begin to shed light on the understanding of the mass baptism of Granadan Muslims (and other peninsular Muslims), and the ultimate expulsions of a community or communities of Christians, baptized descendants of Muslims from the entire peninsula.

With respect to baptism, in the peninsula as elsewhere, infant baptism was normative, and catechisms were the primary form of religious instruction. With the mass baptism of Granadans and *Amerindians* the Spanish Church was again faced with the baptism of adults (as they had a century earlier with Jews); yet, in the peninsula, the Spanish Church did not revert back to the catechumenate (instruction before baptism—the Dominican view in *New Spain*), and thus was faced with a large number of baptized adults who had little, if any, formal knowledge of the orthodox Christian faith, including practices and beliefs.³⁴² This state of affairs was not restricted to *new* Christians since the orthodoxy and orthopraxis of *old* Christians, including clerics—especially those in rural areas, was also deficient and inadequate in those centuries, issues addressed in the Council of Trent.³⁴³ The dominant narrative about these communities, as will be seen in the historiography in Chapter 2 (especially Section 2.2), was ultimately about an inassimilable community (historiographically not communities) of *non*-Christians, and for that matter *non*-Spanish, in spite of the rite of baptism—much like views of baptized descendants of former Jews and baptized Nahuas.

Yet, in the few Granadan primary documents introduced in this chapter and all those analyzed in Chapter 3, although deficiencies were noted in the Christianity of these communities, the validity of their baptism was not questioned (from the Christian point of view taken here). Increasingly questioned were Granadans' conversion, acculturation or assimilation, and instruction. Therefore, there were discursive processes whereby baptism and conversion were dissociated from one another, as analyzed in Chapter 4.

³⁴² Prior to conversion Muslim access to Christianity was through how they saw Christians behave and through the polemical or theological understanding of Christianity by Islam.

³⁴³ See A. D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society*, 3, 99, 110, 193.

This in turn may be looked at as a parallel process of racialization (somatization) or *othering* (minoritization) of these communities of Christians, as analyzed in Chapter 3. These processes then help to justify the expulsions of perceived and constructed inassimilable groups, and help in understanding the policing of these communities as *other* through various mechanisms of control. The methodological aspects of identifying the discursive process(es) of *othering* are presented in Chapter 2. Indeed, Muslims were religiously *other*, thus the requirement of baptism, yet, that *otherness* was different than the (re)constructed *otherness* that develops throughout the sixteenth century. Put differently, it went from a surmountable *otherness* to an insurmountable *other*.

The other aspect of baptism which must be noted is how baptism was thought of as a rite of transition, whereby a change in religion could be achieved. While seemingly dogmatic, this is related to the theological stance in Christianity about the indelibility of the sacrament. One of the seemingly logical extrapolations of a stance of the indelibility of baptism would lead toward the inheritance of religion. If religion is inheritable, then religion is racialized as seen in the *helches* incident. Yet, if the indelibility of religion given through a rite is conflated with race or ethnicity and thus inheritance, then the stance of non-conversion becomes paradoxically equally valid. Notwithstanding the (perceived) level of success, or not, in the conversion/baptism of Jews, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the change from one religion to another was still thought to be a possibility. As seen a century earlier with Jews, as the sixteenth century progressed the erasure of a religious boundary (external) necessitated the construction of an indelible boundary (internal) that preserved the *newly* baptized (former Muslims) in Granada and their baptized descendants as different from other (Castilian) Christians, and therefore not able to be *truly* Christian, regardless of their baptism. A. D. Wright summarizes it this way,

The final identification of the [baptized Granadans and their baptized descendants] as an alien and unassimilable people, ultimately recognized as a racial enemy [and] no longer as supposed Christian subjects of the Catholic Monarchs, led precisely to the expulsion.³⁴⁴

With the theoretical underpinning presented in Chapter 2, this may be the discursive processes of (re)inscription, *othering*, and minoritization. Furthermore, with the same approaches from Chapter 2 the hybrid moments of this(ese) discursive process(es) can be

³⁴⁴ A. D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society*, 196; also 237.

identified through the analysis of the primary texts in Chapter 3, where the non-static, or non-fixed, nature of the terms “*morisco*,” and phrases “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” are analyzed.

With respect to the mass baptism of Jews, a century before the Granadans, there were processes that began in the fifteenth century with their baptism and culminated with the baptized descendants of Muslims, and even later across the Atlantic with the baptism of the indigenous populations. Although a new homogenous category of Christian was created, such as *converso* (or *suspect Christian*), for Christians of Jewish descent, the problem was again not with their baptism but with their conversion and continued influence by Jews that remained in the peninsula. Important to remember is that those expelled in 1492 were Jews; in 1609-14 it was Christians who were expelled. This was possible in 1609-14 because a non-baptized community had not been allowed to remain in the peninsula since the 1520s, and the baptized communities had been (re)constructed as *other* with the discursive use of tropes and metonymies.³⁴⁵ Therefore, since full conversion was still thought possible at the end of the fifteenth century, it is noted that the process(es) had not been completed. It is further noted that the initial religious *otherness* was not equal to the subsequent (re)constructed religious *otherness*. In this case, there was a movement from an *inter-group otherness* to an *intra-group* one.

There were other differences between the mass baptism of Jews and Muslims. For example, different from Jews, the Granadan Muslim population was a majority of the population in the region. Granadan Muslims were colonized; Jews had often been protected subjects of monarchs. Furthermore, the Granadan Muslims were not a transplanted population and thus many of the structures of daily life remained intact. The Granadans could be understood as *colonial* subjects, as were *Amerindians*. A. Katie Harris characterizes this in the following way,

³⁴⁵ Helpful historiographical articles on the Granadan converts and their descendants are Mercedes García Arenal, “Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age,” *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 2009): 888-920. Eliseo Serrano Martín, “La historiografía morisca,” in *La expulsión de los moriscos*, ed. Antonio Moliner Prada (Barcelona: NABLA Ediciones, 2009), 297-320. The most extensive historiographical study through the 1970s is Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: historiografía de un grupo marginado* (Madrid: Catedra, 1983).

During the first few years after the fall of Granada...despite the appropriation of some mosques and palaces by the victors, the city and its Muslim population remained in many ways substantially unchanged.³⁴⁶

Moreover, initially there was no popular animosity against this population (possibly only discursively), as existed in other areas against Jews. Notwithstanding this beginning, as the century progressed the history of Granada became very much defined by conflict, a conflict that may be a struggle of socio-religious identities, albeit of different Christian groups (*intra-Christian* vs. *inter-religious*).³⁴⁷ Whereas this was also happening a century earlier, the processes were increasingly cemented as the sixteenth century progressed.

The language used and changes in usage and meaning with respect to the baptized former Jews, as well as the language used about *Amerindians* also shows the presence of an *othering* discursive process (or processes) for Granadans and others of Muslim-descent in the primary texts. In some ways, these processes were exacerbated by the second rebellion of the Alpujarras and the internal displacement of the Granadans to the Kingdom of Castile, since after 1570 the addition of a great number of Granadans to the Kingdom of Castile proved to be negative for the (more) assimilated (now baptized) former Muslims in that region. The equilibrium that had existed in other realms between Muslims and Christians and their descendants was disrupted.³⁴⁸ The completion of processes of *othering* are seen in the primary texts after 1570 and outside of Granada.

As seen with the peninsular Jews, and as foreshadowed for the baptism of the Granadan Muslims, there were three competing and incompatible forces, which may in fact be discursive and/or historiographical: first, the belief in the possibility of full assimilation, Christianization, and acculturation of the baptized former Muslims or Jews and their baptized descendants; second, the desire to keep the communities of *new* and *old* Christians separate from one another; and third, the belief that it was impossible for these communities to overcome their Jewish, or later Muslim, ancestry; the latter has been termed the inassimilability of the communities, a frequently used historiographical stance. Paradoxically, the ultimate belief in the indelibility of their *Jewishness* or *Muslimness*

³⁴⁶ A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 10. For the architectural conquest see Amy G. Remensnyder, "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century México," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts*, Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein, eds. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 189-219.

³⁴⁷ Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición*, 21.

³⁴⁸ Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición*, 54, 92.

(internalization and racialization of religion) had to be held in tension with the analogous indelibility of their baptism and thus Christianity.

Finally, with respect to the mass baptism of *Amerindians*, of concern is the language usage to refer to these communities before and after baptism and what it reveals about the Granadans and the level of difference between *Spaniards* of Muslim/Jewish descent and other *Spaniards*. In short, *Amerindians* are used as a control group and are of interest for what they can reveal about the Granadans. Although most trans-Atlantic studies move from the peninsula west, here the movement is from *New Spain* to the peninsula. Given the difference between *Amerindians* and *Spaniards*, the contemporaneous baptism with the Granadans, and the parallel council documents, the lesser difference between Granadans and other *Spaniards* is discerned. This lesser difference then brings into relief the discursive process(es) of *othering* of the baptized descendants of Muslims in the peninsula. For example, *Amerindians* were referred to as “*Indians*” both before and after baptism. The labeling/naming of the Granadans changed after the rite. Also, *Amerindians* were treated differently from *Spaniards* and had different Christian obligations, yet Granadans were expected not only to convert but to acculturate/assimilate. Finally, the rational capacity of the Muslims of Granada to accept Christianity was never questioned, thus leading to the (added) reasonable presumption that the difference between *old* Christians and *new* Christians in *Spain* was less than the difference between *Amerindians* and *Spaniards*.

Ultimately, the theological and historical presentation in this chapter serves as the foundation for the meta-narrative theory/hypothesis for this project regarding what process(es) can be identified across three centuries from the analysis of referential terms, before and after baptism, for different communities of Christians initially religiously *other* from Christians. Processes which began with the peninsular Jews and some of their baptized descendants continued with some of the baptized descendants of Muslims, and was completed as a racialized process across the Atlantic with persons of various mixed racial/ethnic heritage (*Spanish*-“*white*,” *African*-“*black*,” and Indigenous). In short, it is posited that in the fifteenth century the constructed new category of religiously *other* emerged; in the sixteenth century, the religiously *other* category was increasingly conflated with race and ethnicity as religion was increasingly constructed and seen as indelible, and eventually led to the full racialization (*somatization*) of the religiously *other* across the

Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This last step necessitated the conflation of Islam and “*blackness*” in the *African* bodies of slaves or anyone with *African* blood in this context.

The next chapter presents the historiographical and methodological approaches to the study of *Spain*, in general, and specifically the study of this(ese) community(ies) of Christians who were baptized descendants of Muslims. This will lead to the enactment in chapters 3 and 4 of a multi-faceted reading strategy.

Chapter 2: Studying Spain and the Granadans

The objective of this project is to identify referential language and textual processes that helped to justify the 1609-14 expulsions of some Christians, descendants of Muslims, by discursively constructing them as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*; historiographically as the so-called “*moriscos*.” The aim of this chapter is to contextualize this goal within a broader historiographical and methodological framework, or within the framework of how the study of these communities has been previously approached as opposed to the way these communities are approached in this project.

The referential language is identified in part to aid in an untangling of historical language from the historiographical, and thus to unearth some of the ways in which these communities were (re)constructed as *other* and then historiographically reified as such. This may be the difference between studying “*moriscos*” and studying “*new Christians*.” The historiographical and inter-disciplinary methodological presentation includes the introduction and development of the multifaceted approach used to analyze the primary texts of interest for this study.

The study of the history of “*Spain*” has often sought to present a unified picture of “*Spain*” through the centuries: the “one, eternal Spain.”³⁴⁹ In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries some of the primary approaches to the history of medieval and early-modern “*Spain*” were philological and positivist with a focus on cataloguing texts, “*Spanish*” heroes such as el Cid (1043-1099), and the Spanish (Castilian) language, including its development.³⁵⁰ In the early-twentieth century different approaches to the history of “*Spain*” began to take hold, more relativistic approaches, including a focus on the history of ideas.³⁵¹ A common thread in these latter approaches was their European or

³⁴⁹ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (February 1985): 25. The use of quotation marks for “*Spain*” in this Chapter is done to denote the use of the term in a homogenizing way, as a place holder for a geographic and political entity not always contiguous with what is understood as Spain today. Anything to do with “*Spain*” prior to the sixteenth century will be kept in italics, after that time no quotations will be used. The same can be said about “*Spanish*” when it is ambiguous. The idea of *Spain* will be in italics.

³⁵⁰ Includes the Nobel laureate Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968). *Crónicas generales de España* (1898) and *La España del Cid* (1929).

³⁵¹ Includes the Nobel laureate José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955). A shift from positivist and national history (*Volkgeist*) to the study of the history of ideas and culture (*Zeitgeist*, *Geistesgeschichte*). José Luis Abellán, “La polémica de Sánchez Albornoz con Américo Castro,” in *Sánchez Albornoz a debate: Homenaje de la Universidad de Valladolid con motivo de su centenario* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones

occidental orientation, a desire to connect “*Spain*” to the broader history of the European continent, even while showing its uniqueness. The correlative to these Occidentalizing or Europeanizing approaches was the continual desemitization or deorientalization of the history of “*Spain*.”³⁵² The history of ideas and “meta” approaches, as they relate to the idea of *Spain* were also a response to broader trends in the historical endeavor throughout Europe.³⁵³ Mercedes García Arenal summarizes the Spanish historiography of the time as

sharply divided between a traditional, Catholic, nationalist strand and a liberal, secular strand that in turn was linked to and nourished by the Protestant historiography of Spain that developed in northern Europe beginning in the seventeenth century. Although diametrically opposed to one another, both in fact present the same image of an undivided Spain, where absolute royal power and the church are inextricably linked, where there is no intellectual or ideological pluralism of any kind, and all of whose citizens stand firmly united behind its singular version of the Catholic Reformation credo under the watchful eye of the Inquisition.³⁵⁴

The notion of an undivided “*Spain*” has often been a reaction to the historical and historiographical construction of contrary ideas about *Spain* and *Spanishness* from internal and external factions. Historical narratives that present either exceptional or homogeneous histories have been increasingly challenged by the unearthing of a plurality

Universidad de Valladolid, 1993), 45-52. See José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves (1911-1986), *El concepto de España en la edad media*, 4th ed. (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1997): 253, 257, 304, 327, 334, 337. There are various examples where Maravall is firmly placing his work in that of the history of ideas. For example, making the distinction between the actual continuity of the Visigoths and the idea of continuity; the actual events of the reconquest and the idea of reconquest. José Ortega y Gasset, *España invertebrada: bosquejo de algunos pensamientos históricos*, 9th ed. (Madrid: Revista de Occidente en Alianza Editorial, 1998); *Obras completas*, 10 vols., Edición Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, Centro de Estudios Ortegüianos (Madrid: Taurus, 2004-11).

³⁵² This idea has been developed by Alain Milhou and Barbara Fuchs. See Alain Milhou “Desemitización y europeización”; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). This is further explored in Section 2.3.

³⁵³ Great theses proposed by historians such as Henri Pirenne (1862-1935), Marc Bloch (1886-1944), and Fernand Braudel (1902-1985). Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2001). The Pirenne Thesis offers the view of the decisive impact on Europe of the presence of Islam. Marc Bloch and the *Annales School* proponents of the *longue durée*. Marc Bloch, *Feudal society* trans. L. A. Manyon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974, c1961); *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam, with a preface by Peter Burke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, c2002). Fernand Braudel also from the *Annales School*. Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1980); *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., trans. Siân Reynolds, 1st Harper Torchbook ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972-1973).

³⁵⁴ Mercedes García Arenal, “Religious Dissent and Minorities,” 896. As with all “neat” polarities, not all historians fit this framework, not even Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz whose debate is introduced in this chapter. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz defines himself as “católico, liberal y socializante” and “no soy positivista.” In Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:x, 1:13.

of voices, including regional differences, as well as inroads into understanding the shared daily lives of many in the peninsula, which may variously be the places of intersection of *self* and *other*, and thus show the constructed nature of difference in this context. As presented in the Introduction and shown in Chapter 3, time and region are important variables to understanding the referential language denoting the baptized descendants of Muslims.

The multi-faceted reading strategy presented at the end of this chapter requires the untangling of some of the history of this period from historiographical approaches and biases: from myths and overarching narratives; as well as adding some tools from other fields not typically used in the historical study of these communities. The chapter begins, in Section 2.1, with some “meta” narratives regarding the construction of the ideas of *Spain* and *Spanishness*, as seen in the so-called Gothic Myth; and in geography with the ideas of *Iberia*, *Hispania*, and *al-Andalus*. Section 2.2 is an exposition of one of the very traditional and major historiographical debates in the study of “*Spain*,” *Convivencia* (living together, coexistence) and *Reconquista*, as exemplified in the sparring between Américo Castro (1885-1972) and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (1893-1984).³⁵⁵ This historiography also requires being freed from the often unchallenged so-called Black Legend or the discourses which aim to “*blacken*” *Spain* morally and racially. Section 2.3 is more narrowly focused on some of the traditional approaches used in the study of the baptized descendants of Muslims, followed by a presentation of some more recent approaches which may be applied to the study of this(ese) community(ies) such as, post-colonialism, deconstructionism, etc. These then lead to a presentation, in Section 2.4, of a practical multi-faceted reading strategy that will be used in the analysis of the primary documents of concern in this project.

The historical endeavor is often about making sense of the present: articulating the history of *Spain* to discover the essence of *Spain* and its people. Those studying the medieval and early-modern periods try not only to understand the history of those centuries, but to articulate the contribution of those centuries to what *Spain* and its people

³⁵⁵ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz was heir to the pidalian focus on the *Reconquista* (footnote 436). Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948). *España en su historia* was reissued in 1983 without changes to the text, but with different pagination. Therefore, citation from this book provides both (equivalent) page numbers 1948/1983.

are today.³⁵⁶ For example, the debate between Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz was not just about the unifying narratives of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista*, but also about the nature of “Spanish” history, associated (nation) myths, and the contributions, if any, of “minority” groups to the formation of the idea of “Spain” and its people. These are related to stances taken on the importance of the period from 711 to 1609, and the impact of Muslim and Jewish presence in the peninsula, for what Spain is today. For example, in 1948, Américo Castro opposed the then prevalent view that

The centuries of semi-Moorish history in Spain (711-1492) are regarded by many as a long and annoying interval, as nothing but a protracted military enterprise, slow and laborious, after which Spain returned to normality, albeit scarred and retarded here and there—³⁵⁷

and challenged “the central myth of Spanish historiography, that of ‘one, eternal Spain.’”³⁵⁸

J. N. Hillgarth characterizes “the debate on the nature of Spanish history” as “a debate which represents in our own time the perpetually recurring Spanish anxiety to explain the past of Spain” and a “debate that illustrates the power of established myths.”³⁵⁹ J. N. Hillgarth notes that Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz were working with myths that aimed to replace the other and that the latter’s myth in particular was a distorted view of “Spanish” History.³⁶⁰ Where Américo Castro saw influence by Muslims and Jews (*Convivencia*), Claudio Sánchez Albornoz saw Christian resistance and ultimate victory (*Reconquista*). Moreover, historians, like J. N. Hillgarth, often position themselves in relation to these schools of thought, and create a hierarchy of them. J. N. Hillgarth writes,

³⁵⁶ Joseph F. O’Callaghan writes that “Spanish historians especially have explored their past in an attempt to explain those apparent faults of character they see as causing Spain’s decadence in modern times or the retardation of her political and cultural development when compared to that of other European countries.” Joseph O’ Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 17. This leads to articulations of both continuity and parallel progress with the rest of Europe as well as exaltation of Spain’s uniqueness. This is supported by the idea that the decline of Spain at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century was due to the presence of “infieles” in the peninsula.

³⁵⁷ Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 83-84. See also, Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 50/50.

³⁵⁸ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 25-26. Here J. N. Hillgarth is criticizing Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves.

³⁵⁹ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 23. See footnote 356.

³⁶⁰ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 33, 40.

It would be absurd to deny that Castro wrought a Copernican revolution in Spanish historiography, a revolution which may be refined but cannot be reversed. Myth for myth, the myth that Spain was created by the *convivencia*, the productive tension, of three religions, is undeniably truer to the fact than the idea that the Islamic conquest of 711 represented no more than “a step backwards—unparalleled in the West—in the progress of an historical community—towards its national unity,” or than the concept that the eight centuries between 711 and 1492 constituted simply a long crusading attempt to return beyond 711 to a world of pure orthodoxy and uncontaminated Hispanism, under a new dynasty of “gothic” rulers.³⁶¹

These historiographical stances have created a binary view of the history of *Spain*, with many other standpoints aligned with one camp or the other. These positions also become mutually reinforcing. Each side of the binary challenges the other; such as the challenge of the discourse of the “Gothic Myth” by the discourse of “*convivencia*.” After Américo Castro, Muslims and Jews could no longer be ignored in the history(ies) of the peninsula and their impact on *Spain*—or the idea of “*Spain*.” Joseph F. O’Callaghan agrees with J. N. Hillgarth’s assessment and Américo Castro’s challenge to “the concept of an eternal and immutable Spain and Spanish character” but warns that Américo Castro’s vision was as static as that of Claudio Sánchez Albornoz.³⁶²

The myth of the “one, eternal Spain” is also related to the discourses of the “Gothic Myth,” which some have traced through the various histories of the peninsula, starting from Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636),³⁶³ through the medieval and early-modern periods. The idea that ultimately Philip III “preferred faith to *farda*”³⁶⁴ may be part of this view.

‘Quest for unity,’ when analyzed, proves to be a modern, secularized, somewhat metaphysical version of a much older idea, the idea that Spanish

³⁶¹ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 33.

³⁶² Joseph O’ Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 18. Américo Castro’s “vision tends to be static and does not give sufficient importance to the gradual nature of the historical process.” This in itself is Joseph F. O’Callaghan’s own historiographical position. See also Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus: 711-1492* (Hachette Littératures, 2000), 17-ff.

³⁶³ It can be noted that both Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Américo Castro are trying to unify the history of the peninsula as well. Two important works by Isidore of Seville are *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, et al., with the collaboration of Muriel Hall (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, trans. and intro. Thomas L. Knoebel (New York: Newman Press, c. 2008).

³⁶⁴ *Farda* was a tax/fee paid by Muslims under Christian rule and later baptized descendants of Muslims specifically for the defense of the coast. Baptized descendants of Muslims often negotiated to pay more *farda* or monies in exchange for levels of autonomy. Baptized descendants of Muslims paid for the defense of the coast and were also blamed for the precarious security situation of the coast. As cited by C. Kathryn Camp, “A Divided Republic: Moriscos and Old Christians in Sixteenth-Century Granada” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2001), 134, 216, 217.

history is the history of a crusade, that in it one can see the struggle of one favored religion against its rivals, and its ultimate triumph over them.³⁶⁵

The discourses of the “Gothic Myth” rely on the ascendancy of Castile as the defining religious and socio-political milieu of the peninsula and thus the Spanish Empire. This view of history shows how *Spanishness* has often been defined by Castilian elements and scholars have taken this for granted.³⁶⁶ The myths, explored by J. N. Hillgarth, have an explicit consequence, which can clearly be seen in New Spain:

Spain narrowed down not only to the Christian tradition but to that tradition represented by Castile. By identifying ‘Iberian’ or ‘Spanish’ man with Castile, non-Castilian Spaniards (and the Portuguese) are inevitably relegated—almost as effectively as Jews and Muslims—to an inferior status.³⁶⁷

Removing *Spain* from Europe is paralleled in the removal of certain elements from “Spain.” The way this is done discursively is seen in approaches to answers to the questions: “who are the Spaniards?” and “what is Spain?” This has been the (re)construction and (re)inscription of hierarchical differentiation; in this project the creation of *non*-Christians (*suspect* Christians) and *non*-Spanish (alien).

2.1 Problematic Ideas of *Spain* and its People

The communities of concern for this project are of baptized descendants of Muslims in the peninsula. It is the position taken for this project that they were *Spanish* as others in the peninsula were also *Spanish*. Yet, there is historiographical confusion, given the *racialization* of religion, of this community at best as a “minority” community, or communities, and at worst as an indelibly “foreign” element within its borders. Therefore, to begin to understand how they were discursively constructed as *non*-Spanish, there needs to be an appreciation of that which has been constructed as *Spanish*. Who then

³⁶⁵ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 26. J. N. Hillgarth is citing Joseph F. O’Callaghan idea of “quest for unity” from *History of Medieval Spain*, 24.

³⁶⁶ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 28. J. N. Hillgarth cites Robert B. Tate regarding the fifteenth century. “...created a new Messianic vision of history, a powerful salvific myth which maintained that the Castilian royal house descended from the Goths and that ‘all the kings of Spain descend from the House of Castile.’ Castilian supremacy, first inside Spain and then in the rest of the world, was presented as ‘part of the divine scheme of things.’” J. N. Hillgarth’s own footnote 16, Robert B. Tate, *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 33-54.

³⁶⁷ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 36.

are the *Spaniards*? And related to this, who narrates(ed) or defines(ed) who the *Spaniards* are or were?

Writing in the middle of the twentieth century, Américo Castro believed that *Spaniards* had been shaped by everything that had come before, including the existence of persons of different religious backgrounds throughout the centuries.³⁶⁸ For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Spaniards* were descendants of an ever present and distinct *homo hispanus*, traced from before 711 and beyond.³⁶⁹ The *homo hispanus* was “shaped in the forge of the reconquest with the iron of the primitive Spanish.”³⁷⁰ For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, underneath the “dissimilar superstructure” of the various peoples of the peninsula, “was the same *homo hispanus*, with parallel qualities and analogous defects.”³⁷¹ The assumption by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz seems to be that there was an outward difference, but that the *homo hispanus* was held in common. This is problematic at various levels, such as: can this “dissimilar superstructure” be an assumption on real *epidermic* difference? And, does this not go against the eventual stance on the indelibility of religion which justified the expulsions, when the indelible was the *Hispanic*? For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz the hispano-Muslim contributed to the *Spanish* its *Hispanic* rather than Muslim heritage, but the hispano-Christian contributed more.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ See Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 18.

³⁶⁹ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:5. See also, 1:7; 4:1335; 4:1339-40.

³⁷⁰ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1334. He writes, “El *homo hispanus*, forjado en la fragua de la reconquista con el hierro del español primitivo...” See also the prologue to the 2nd ed., 1:2, 1:4-6.

³⁷¹ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1153-1154. He writes that at various times and places “se habían mezclado...todas las sangres de España...—por bajo de una superestructura disímil alentaba el mismo *homo hispanus*, con parejas calidades y análogos defectos.” J.N. Hillgarth is a great critic of the idea of the *homo hispanus*. See J. N. Hillgarth, *The Visigoths in History and Legend*, Studies and Texts 166 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 61, n. 11.

³⁷² Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4. See also 1:199. Sánchez Albornoz writes, “Insisto en reconocer la importancia del legado del Islam a España...Pero la adopción, recepción, captación e imitación de bienes y valores culturales islámico no autoriza a suponer que los cristianos españoles adoptaron los hábitos mentales, los procesos de conciencia, los mecanismos emotivos y pasionales...de sus vecinos enemigos, por ellos a la postre sojuzgados. El enfrentamiento y contraste de los hispano-arábigo y lo hispano-románico, no tuvo, no pudo tener tan maravillosas consecuencias.” Here and elsewhere Claudio Sánchez Albornoz is arguing that notwithstanding the Islamic presence there were no structural or psychological changes to the institutions and people of Spain in the centuries of Islamic presence in the peninsula. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:877-ff. Ch. XIV is partly titled “The limits of the Jewish Contribution...” Similar to his views on the Islamic contribution, he writes on 3:878 regarding the Jewish contributions: “La contribución de los judíos españoles a la acuñación de lo hispánico fué muy otra y siempre de carácter negativo, quiero decir que no transmitió calidades, sino que provocó reacciones. Nada de lo esencial de la contextura psíquica del pueblo hebreo dejó huellas entre los españoles. Más aún, una tajante oposición enfrenta lo hebraico y lo hispano.” (Yet he calls them

Analogously and contemporaneously to the *homo hispanus* was the *hispani* traced by José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves. The *hispani* was a human group with a common origin that was conscious of its origins. This human group survived the more than 800 years of Muslim presence in the peninsula, and can be traced alongside the unifying ideas of *gothic continuity* and the *Reconquista*. Maravall Casesnoves proposed that the *hispani* was a group with five characteristics. They were: unified in action with and against other human groups; under the same political obligation; with a unique and common history; without prejudice to the various internal groups; and united in a historical destiny.³⁷³ For both Sánchez Albornoz and Maravall Casesnoves, Jews and Muslims and their descendants were not constitutive of the “*Spaniard*.” These views have been challenged by recent approaches, which highlight the internal and regional plurality and reality of the peninsula.

The homogenous ideas of the *Spaniard* have an analogous specific geography: the locus of the *Spaniard* tied to a specific peninsula in the European continent. This is the other side of the binary—the regionalism and plurality characteristic to the peninsula. The geographic idea of a unified peninsula is traced to the Greek designation of this promontory as *Iberia*³⁷⁴ and the later Roman designation as *Hispania*.³⁷⁵ More than two millennia ago, the peninsula was settled by waves of Celts and Iberians, among others. The Romans unified the region under Emperor Augustus (27 BCE-14 CE), and as Roger Collins notes, there would not be another great migration or invasion for 400 years. Roger Collins summarized this in the following way:

Spain under Roman rule was...tranquil and economically prosperous.... Its great cities were amongst the finest and most flourishing in the western half of the Empire and it was an integral part of the whole world.... The Visigoths and the Arabs were themselves the beneficiaries of Graeco-Roman culture,

Spanish Jews, and extolls their greatness among Jewish communities and their great contributions to the rest of Europe. For this exaltation as a preamble to the denigration see 3:877-3:878).

³⁷³ José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, see esp. 479, 483, 487, 492, 499, 502.

³⁷⁴ See Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered: From 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 1.

³⁷⁵ For a more extensive exploration of the idea of *Hispania* and Spain, see José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*. See also, Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 17-33; Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain*, 1-13.

both material and intellectual, and in both cases had less that was clearly and attractively superior to offer the conquered populations.³⁷⁶

The idea of *Spain* as *Hispania*, encompassing the land southwest of the Pyrenees, is a powerful and compelling idea, in competition with the reality of its internal geography.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, the prodigious geographical boundary of the Pyrenees has led to various interpretations of the peninsular history with respect to the rest of the European continent, the Mediterranean world, and the British Isles, whether of isolation or contact. This specific geography lends itself to histories or narratives about the peninsula which value time periods when its geography was deemed united under **one** rule: Romans, Visigoths, Hapsburgs, etc. Joseph F. O'Callaghan summarizes this in the following manner:

The concept of a unified and indivisible kingdom embracing the entire Iberian Peninsula, though it hardly corresponded to reality, was one of the most significant elements in the Visigothic legacy.³⁷⁸

The imagined, thus discursive, continuity of the Visigoths and the geographical unity of *Hispania* were foundational myths and impetus for the *Reconquista*.³⁷⁹

On the heels of the decline of the Roman Empire, in the fifth century a series of Germanic tribes crossed the Pyrenees and over the next 150 years Visigoths³⁸⁰ gained greater control of all its regions, while defeating Sueves, Franks, and Byzantines, among others, who also had interests in the same lands. From 569, the beginning of the reign of Leovigild (r. 569-586), to their defeat in 711, the Visigoths would in effect rule over the entire peninsula.³⁸¹ The Visigoths converted from Arian to Roman Christianity in 589.³⁸²

³⁷⁶ Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 9. See also Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797. A History of Spain*, ed. John Lynch. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*. This point of view devalues the Gothic and elevates the Graeco-Roman above anything else.

³⁷⁷ Américo Castro argues against an overemphasis on the geography of the peninsula. This is a critique of a Braudelian view that places great emphasis on geography.

³⁷⁸ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 4.

³⁷⁹ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 6. See also, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1082, 4:1088, 4:1174.

³⁸⁰ There is awareness that "Visigoths" is also a homogenous term.

³⁸¹ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 9.

³⁸² Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 53-54. See footnotes 129, 132.

In 711, Arab-Berber forces entered the promontory from North Africa under the command of Tariq ibn Ziyad (670-720) and defeated Roderic (r. 710-11) in the Guadalquivir valley. More Arab-Berber forces arrived and strengthened their political hold and populated areas of the peninsula. Over the following decades, a series of governors and clients of the Umayyads would rule the area of the peninsula south of the Duero and Ebro valleys.³⁸³ The push north was primarily in the direction of the Ebro valley and the Pyrenees (north and east); the Duero valley (north and west) seems to have been less of a concern. Well into the period of the Umayyad Caliphate (929-1031) much of the region of the Ebro and Duero valleys was the fluctuating frontier between the Christian north and the Muslim south.³⁸⁴

There is a lack of consensus, both historical and historiographical, about the actual legacy of the Visigoths beyond 711 and how this legacy contributed to the formation of the idea of *Spain*, as it is understood throughout the centuries.³⁸⁵ The question of the period of 711 to 1492 is important because prior to the Catholic Monarchs and the Hapsburgs in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the last time the imagined *Hispania* or *Spain* was religiously and politically united was under the Visigoths.³⁸⁶ Then, the imagined, discursive and perpetuated continuity between the Visigoths and the Hapsburgs has permeated much of Spanish historiography, and requires the undervaluing of the contributions to Spain and its people from Muslims and Jews, and their descendants. This devaluing is, in some ways, accomplished discursively by making descendants of Jews or Muslims *non-Spanish*: alien and suspect. Yet, by noting the contributions of Muslims and Jews to what *Spain* and *Spanish* are, Américo Castro did not really mean that he considered members of these communities as fully *Spanish*.

³⁸³ The Caliphate based in Damascus (661-744), in Harran (744-750) and overthrown by the Abbasids in 750. Some fled to North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula/Hispania. The Umayyad's had a presence in *al-Andalus* through 1031.

³⁸⁴ Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1978), 27: "The frontier between Muslims and Christians became then not a simple line but a wide band of territory." Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 37, calls the Duero valley a "buffer territory."

³⁸⁵ Notwithstanding Roger Collins' assessment of the importance of Roman times, many histories of the peninsula attempt to establish connections and disconnections to the Visigoths depending on their stance regarding change or continuity on the pivot of 711. Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 9.

³⁸⁶ A Christian (north) point of view which cannot account for the Caliphate or an Islamic (south) point of view.

The mythical Visigothic continuity underpins the ideology of *Reconquista*—the discourse of continual resistance to the Arab-Berbers peoples and their religion, from 711 to the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in 1492, the subsequent baptism of the last Muslims in Granada and Castile, in 1501, and in the other kingdoms in the 1520s, and the expulsions of many Christians, descendants of Muslims, in 1609-14. Although there is now scholarly agreement that the Visigothic continuity is more a notion than a fact, the idea was discursively powerful enough in guiding some in their *Reconquista* impetuses.³⁸⁷ This is to say that just because it is known to be an idea does not mean that its effects remained only in the imaginary; some agents were directed to historical action by that conviction. The idea of Visigothic continuity is also related to the notion of the *hispani/homo hispanus* discussed before.³⁸⁸

The motivations to recover the peninsula by the so-called *heirs* of the Visigoths began soon after the Arab-Berber invasion of 711. The evidence used to make this argument are the late-ninth and early-tenth century chronicles,³⁸⁹ and their description of the defeat of Arab-Berber forces by Pelagius (r. 718-737) at the Battle of Covadonga in 722. By the time the chronicles were written this battle had gained legendary status and had become the foundational myth for the Kingdom of Asturias.³⁹⁰ Although Pelagius was probably an Asturian figure, the chronicles make him into “a legitimate representative of the ruling line of the Visigothic kingdom as a whole”;³⁹¹ Alfonso I (r. 739-757), son-in-law of

³⁸⁷ The pidalian school calls it *neogothicism*. See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1088. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz writes that is not a political gothic succession but that “más el neogoticismo arraiga pronto en las mentes y en las voluntades de la minoría clerical y nobiliaria que rodea a los reyes de Asturias.” Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 18, also uses neo-gothic. See José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, 300-ff.

³⁸⁸ J. N. Hillgarth is one of the major historians that tends to show the construction of the *gothic myth* as well as how the three ideas (*Reconquista*, gothic continuity and the *hispani*) break down as unifying ideas in the study of Spain. José Ortega y Gasset is unique in his lack of exaltation of the Visigoths and as Joseph F. O’Callaghan puts it, José Ortega y Gasset sees the Visigoths “as the source of all calamities that have befallen Spain over the centuries”: *History of Medieval Spain*, 18.

³⁸⁹ Roger Collins and others note the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Chronicle of Albelda*. See Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 225-ff.; Roger Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 142-147; Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 25, 39, 40; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:727; J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 68-ff. The *Chronicle of Alfonso III* has two extant versions: see J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 69. For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz these two chronicles are extremely important for his *Reconquista* thesis; J. N. Hillgarth refutes this by calling it “highly questionable.” See also José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, 309-ff.

³⁹⁰ Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 228. See also, Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 25.

³⁹¹ Roger Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 147.

Pelagius, claimed descent from the late sixth-century Visigothic rulers Leovigild and Reccared.³⁹²

Although the story of the *Reconquista* and the idea of gothic continuity begins with Pelagius and the Asturian revolt, Derek W. Lomax's reading of the sources indicates that the seeds of these ideas were first found in the reign of Alfonso II (r. 791-842) who consciously imitated Visigothic practices,³⁹³ and later in chronicles from the reign of Alfonso III (r. 866-910). The claim to a Visigothic lineage also underlined a geographical claim to the peninsula and a religious claim as defenders of the Christian faith. From this angle the *Reconquista* was a return to the glorious Visigothic past. Derek W. Lomax writes that "they decided to reconquer the south as if recovering property stolen from their ancestors,"³⁹⁴ and Muslims had no right to the peninsula—even though it was their homeland.³⁹⁵ This is seen as part of the construction of Muslims as perpetually an alien people.³⁹⁶ Yet, not all historians trace the idea of *Reconquista* to the eighth or ninth centuries; Roger Collins traces this ideology to the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries; and Richard Fletcher does not agree that the idea of *Reconquista* was a primary concern for the ninth century at all.³⁹⁷

J. N. Hillgarth traces the discourses of the *Gothic Myth* through various stages and regions in the medieval and early-modern periods, including through the ascendancy of various Christian kingdoms in the north: Asturias to León to Castile. Other northern kingdoms, such as Navarre, Aragón, and Catalonia "did not consider their history as a continuation of the Visigothic monarchy."³⁹⁸ In other kingdoms there was a different Visigothic "continuity," namely that of descendants of the Goths who had converted to

³⁹² Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 228.

³⁹³ Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 29. José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, 254.

³⁹⁴ Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 40; also 38. See also, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 7, 21.

³⁹⁵ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 11.

³⁹⁶ See footnote 344.

³⁹⁷ See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, 18; Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 268; Richard Fletcher "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c 1050-1150", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 37 (1987): 31-47 (esp. 34).

³⁹⁸ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 99: Aragón would find it advantageous and geographically propitious to trace their heritage to the Franks and Carolingians; also, *Visigoths*, 133-ff.

Islam, such as the Banu Qasi who claimed descent from a Visigoth named Cassius, a convert to Islam and client of the Umayyads.³⁹⁹

For the eleventh century, J. N. Hillgarth explores the anonymous *Historia Silense* from León⁴⁰⁰ and the migration of *mozárabes* to the north and their role in the survival of the Visigothic (*Mozarabic*) liturgy.⁴⁰¹ The myth is then traced in the writings related to the pilgrimage of Santiago in the twelfth century,⁴⁰² and later the *Chronicon mundi* of Lucas, Bishop of Tuy (r. 1239-1249) and *De rebus Hispanie* by Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo (r. 1208-1247).⁴⁰³ The idea would not resurface again for another two centuries, with a renewed interest in connecting present history to the Visigoths and the destruction or loss of Spain in 711, and legitimize the ascendancy of Castile.⁴⁰⁴ Of importance, then, were the writings of Pablo de Burgos and Alfonso de Santa María in fifteenth-century Burgos, who single-handedly seem to have revived the myth.⁴⁰⁵

The revival of the myth was pivotal in the ascendancy of Castile. As the territorial *Reconquista* concluded in 1492, the discourses of the Gothic Myth neatly summarized the 800 years of (re)conquest. This can be summarized in two citations found in J. N.

³⁹⁹ The only source for Cassius is the tenth-century writings of Ibn al-Qutiyya (d. 977). See J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 59; Roger Collins, *Arab Conquest*, 204-205.

⁴⁰⁰ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 85-ff.

⁴⁰¹ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 83. For studies on the *mozárabes* see Leopoldo Peñarroja Torrejón, *Cristianos bajo el Islam: los mozárabes hasta la reconquista de Valencia* (Madrid: Gredos, 1993); Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994); Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus, 711-1000* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001); Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early-Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Simon Barton and Peter Linehan, eds. *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008). A classic 19th century work is Francisco Javier Simonet (1829-1897), *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (1903), 4 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1983). Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, c. 2007). See footnote 20; T. C. Akeley, *Christian Initiation* as presented on pages 47-48 of this thesis.

⁴⁰² J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 96-ff. The *Historia Compostellana* and *Liber sancti Jacobi*. See also Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 236-ff.

⁴⁰³ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 104-ff.

⁴⁰⁴ As found in *El Victorial* by Gutierre Díez de Gamen in Castile. J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 121-ff. J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 119, criticizes José A. Maravall Casesnoves for not recognizing the diminution of the myth in these two centuries; he refers to José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, section on the gothic heritage, 299-337. See J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography," 25-26.

⁴⁰⁵ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 123-ff. Of note are *Scrutinium scriptorium*, *Las siete edades del mundo*, *Anacephaleosis* (c. 1456). They both were Jewish converts to Christianity from 1391. Pablo, previously Rabbi Solomon ha-Levi, was Bishop of Cartagena (c. 1402) and then Bishop of Burgos (r. 1415-1435). His son Alfonso achieved notable positions both for the Church and the Crown; he succeeded his father as Bishop of Burgos.

Hillgarth's *Visigoths*: first, Peter Linehan's assessment of the Asturian Gothic Myth that "the Asturian kings hijacked a corpse, acquired its papers, and assumed its historical identity," and, second, Stephen Gilman's conclusion that

the epic past was self-consciously reestablished, accompanied by the wild enthusiasm of a reunited nation. Perhaps that was the only time in world history that an idealized past was programmatically restored and not just dreamed up.⁴⁰⁶

The purported continuity of the Visigoths as the ancestors of the Christian *Spaniards* is always confronted by the long-standing presence of Muslims and Jews in the peninsula, who could themselves have had a gothic lineage and were native to the peninsula, and alternative historical lenses. Yet, the reality remains that territorial *Reconquista* included a series of discursive processes of *othering* and of "purification" that helped to justify getting rid of the elements perceived and constructed as *non-Spanish* and *non-Christian*. And, in the case of "Spain" eventually getting rid of a part of the *self*, undifferentiated from the *other*.

Geographically, the designations of *Iberia* or *Hispania* are Western labels for mostly co-terminus extensions of land which for the most part coincide with the countries known today as Spain and Portugal. Yet, at times, parallel to these designations was the Arabic term "*al-Andalus*," usually equated with the idea of "*Muslim Spain*." No consensus exists regarding the etymology of the term "*al-Andalus*"; some explanations relate the term to herculean myths, some to the legend of Atlantis or proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, others to the prior presence of the Vandals (early-fifth century), among many different explanations.⁴⁰⁷ Yet there is consensus that the term "*al-Andalus*" began to be consciously used shortly after 711, and that the term historically designated the region of the peninsula under Muslim control. This designation was used regardless of which

⁴⁰⁶ J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 82 from Peter Linehan, *History of the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992); *Visigoths*, 131 from Stephen Gilman, "The Problem of the Spanish Renaissance," in *Studies in the Literature of Spain: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Michael J. Ruggieris (Brockport: State University of New York Press, 1977), 49.

⁴⁰⁷ See José Antonio González Alcantud, *El mito de al-Ándalus: orígenes y actualidad de un ideal cultural* (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2014), 23-24. Pedro Damián Cano refers to the name of "uncertain origin" in *Al-Ándalus: el Islam y los pueblos ibéricos*. (Madrid: Sílex, 2012/13), 11, 23. See also, Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización: la sumisión de Hispania y la formación de al-Ándalus* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2003), 26-29.

Muslim ruler or dynasty was in control: from the Umayyads, to the *taifa* kingdoms, to the north-African kingdoms (Almoravid and Almohad), to the last Muslim rulers in the peninsula, the Nasrids.

Aside from etymology, the term was used to create a rupture with the past and mirrored the changed political situation of the peninsula. As a term, it resisted any hybrid quality, thus suggesting a static stance, and not adapting to new contexts; as a location, it still overlapped *Hispania/Iberia*. Pierre Guichard writes that, “it shows, more or less explicitly, a way for the authorities to impose a new identity; a radical break with the past of the realm.”⁴⁰⁸ Pedro Damián Cano argues that the terminology worked by

quickly designating the territory formerly known as Hispania, with a new political, social and religious conception where the Islamic element would predominate.⁴⁰⁹

Different from *Iberia* or *Hispania*, the geographic borders of *al-Andalus* would change during the entire history of Muslim presence in the peninsula. Pedro Chalmeta argues that given the geographical fluidity of the term, it is more appropriately used as a socio-cultural rather than a politico-territorial term.⁴¹⁰ It may be supposed that, in terms of language, a reaction to the idea of “*al-Andalus*” as a rupture from Islam was reverting to the Visigothic past after the *Reconquista*. Like the way the term “*al-Andalus*” was used to designate rupture after 711, reverting to the language of Visigothic legacy after the fall of the Kingdom of Granada and using the term “*Spain*” designates another rupture: *Reconquista* vanquishes *al-Andalus*. These are examples of the ways language can breach, span, unify, or prevent *otherness*, or solely allow for it.

The history of *al-Andalus* was tied to the broader history of the expansive Islamic world in the Middle Ages. *Al-Andalus* was the westernmost boundary of medieval Islamic rule, and as such was connected to North Africa and the Muslim world of the time.

⁴⁰⁸ Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus*, 29: “Mais surtout apparaît sur les monnaies un terme jusque-là inconnu dans les sources et dont l’origine est assez mystérieuse, pour designer la nouvelle province de l’empire islamique: celui d’*al-Andalus*. On voit le terme latin *Hispania* des légendes latines traduit en arabe parce nom. Quelle que soit l’explication que l’on donne à ce dernier (la plus courante en fait un dérivé du nom des Vandales qui avaient occupé le sud de l’Espagne des environs de 415 à 429), Il manifeste apparemment la volonté plus ou moins explicite des autorités d’imposer une identité nouvelle, en rupture radicale avec les anciennes réalités du pays.”

⁴⁰⁹ Pedro Damián Cano, *Al-Ándalus*, 11: “El nombre de al-Ándalus, de incierto origen, pero de rapidísima implantación, designará desde entonces el territorio anteriormente llamado Hispania, en una nueva concepción política, social y religiosa en la que el elemento islámico será preponderante.”

⁴¹⁰ Pedro Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, 27.

Although *al-Andalus* was the remote western outpost of Islam, over time it was affected by events in the Islamic world, such as the rise of the Abbasids and Fatimids, the Berber kingdoms in northwest Africa, and later the Ottoman Empire. Whereas *Iberia* or *Hispania* ties the history of this peninsula to its Celtic, Graeco-Roman, and Visigothic past, *al-Andalus* ties the history of the peninsula to that of the Islamic world.

The ideas or myths, depending on the point of view, of *Spain*, *Spanish*, *Iberia*, *Hispanic*, *al-Andalus*, and *(Visi)Gothic* continuity are all examples of discourses that have functioned across centuries. Moreover, even though they have been discourses, not fact or reality, they have guided agents in action through the centuries, and have impacted specific communities or supplanted other competing discourses; functioning similarly are the way various groups in the peninsula are “named.” Their power has lain in their persistence, but also in their conflation with the reality which they purport to represent. These ideas represent examples of a conscious use of language within a binary matrix, whether of continuity or rupture.

The geographic ideas presented above are not inclusive of any diversity (or difference) found within the space encompassed by those terms. Similarly, *al-Andalus* poses a challenge of being more suited as a politico-geographic term than equated to the analogous ones: *Spain*, *Iberia*, or *Hispania*. It is easy for the ideas of *Spain*, *Spanish*, *Iberia*, or *Hispania* to be devoid of anything related to Jewish or Muslim populations and their descendants; the same is not true for *al-Andalus*, specifically related to Muslims in the peninsula.

Yet, the history of medieval and early-modern *Spain* must deal with the long-standing presence of Jews and Muslims, as well as Christians, in the same land, and with all as native and not alien populations to the peninsula. Therefore, the discursive quality of interaction, interconnectedness, influence, encounter, and penetration between these various communities is an unavoidable subject of study and concern. As mentioned before, two major approaches to the study of this interaction—interconnectedness and encounter, or lack thereof—are the lenses of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista*: tolerance versus animosity, as well as mutual influence, if any.⁴¹¹ Both ultimately try to present a

⁴¹¹ The idea of *Convivencia* has been applied to many varied time-frames in the history of the peninsula. The idea of *Convivencia* is best suited for the study of times and places where those of all three faiths lived together, perhaps not solely harmoniously, but in some sort of equilibrium and mutual tolerance. This is particularly true under the Umayyad Dynasty (756-1031) and later in places like Toledo between the

picture of the quality of interaction between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, and later between Christians and other *new* Christians of the Jews or of the Moors—including the underlying shift from *inter-* to *intra-*dynamics. To a lesser extent, both have also been applied to the interaction between the *Spanish*, indigenous peoples, *Africans*, and those of mixed parentage across the Atlantic. Both lenses rely on analogous matrices and the maintaining of distinct categories of study (based on religious lineage and *otherness*, increasingly conflated with ethnicity/race), regardless of baptism (or shifts or mixing or hybridity). The tendency is to (re)inscribe the *bi/tripartite* matrix to the emerging configurations.

Américo Castro was responsible for the idea of *Convivencia*, the idea of co-existence of Jews, Muslims, and Christians when all three religions were present in the peninsula. Américo Castro was deeply impacted by the Spanish Civil War⁴¹² and sought to understand how such a terrible and brutal event could occur.⁴¹³ Castro's historical answer extolled the contributions of Muslims and their tolerance in the peninsula during the medieval period, as well as Muslim influence in *Spain* and *Spanish* society.⁴¹⁴ Américo Castro attributed this time of co-existence to the Qur'anic doctrine of tolerance of the *'Ahl al-Kitab* (people of the book),⁴¹⁵ the rise of intolerance to Christians' inability to

eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Notwithstanding, *Convivencia* has been applied to many times, places and contexts where two or three of the religions or their descendants were present.

⁴¹² Américo Castro was exiled as a result of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and subsequent rule of Francisco Franco (r. 1939-1975). He returned to Spain in 1964. See Eammon Rodgers, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary Spanish Culture* (New York, New York: Routledge, 1999), 89.

⁴¹³ José Luis Abellán, "La polémica de Sánchez Albornoz con Américo Castro," 48.

⁴¹⁴ See J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography," 33.

⁴¹⁵ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 213-214/204-05. See also Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to their History*, trans. Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1971), 62. Here he cites Qur'an III:63-69. *Ahl al-Kitab*: Jews and Christians, and other monotheists that predate Islam, and living under Muslim Rule. Related also to *dhimmi*: a person living under Muslim rule allowed the retention of faith.

accept the presence of other beliefs,⁴¹⁶ thus, arguing that the rise of intolerance happened when “religion and nation confused their boundaries.”⁴¹⁷

Geographically, the *Convivencia* point of view is oriented from south to north. This view acknowledges the history of the peninsula as connected to North Africa and the broader Islamic world. In *Convivencia* although members of the three religions interacted (*tripartite* matrix), their respective religious spheres remained distinct; their *otherness* was religious. If *Convivencia* is used after 1391 or 1492/97 and then after 1501, the lens requires the (re)inscription of difference after baptism for the *bi/tripartite* separation of groups to be maintained, or to account for the proliferation of categories of (*suspect*) Christians different from *old* Christian. Orthodoxy began to be defined by lineage rather than right-belief. By this is meant, for example, that Christians of Jewish descent are still categorized within the “Jewish umbrella.”

Convivencia relates to the interaction and mutual influence of various groups. There tends to be a contrast between the productive tension found in the interactions of three religiously *other* communities, to one another, in the medieval period and its breakdown beginning in the fifteenth century and traced throughout the sixteenth century.⁴¹⁸ Américo Castro suggested that the idea of coexistence was at the root of the social system that existed in the region. Castro recognized that there were “irregularities and vicissitudes in the practical realization of that mode of collective existence” but insisted that these did not destroy the existence of the idea nor the common life and inter-

⁴¹⁶ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 210-11/202-03: “La concepción de la tolerancia se derrumbó cuando los musulmanes dejaron de actuar como paradigmas de cultura, y cuando las masas comenzaron a arrollar a los judíos desde fines del siglo XIV. Cristianos, moros y judíos no podían ya cobijarse bajo la misma cúpula, porque se había roto el orden vigente en España: el pueblo cristiano guerreaba o trabajaba la tierra, el moro le labraba las casas y el judío lo señoreaba como agente del fisco y como hábil técnico. Sobre tan extraño complejo se alzaba el poder de reyes y ricos hombres, que los mantenía juntos en convivencia, sin demasiados choques—una convivencia que la Iglesia hizo cuando pudo para romper desde el siglo XIII—. El empuje popular, desde fines del siglo XIV, echó a un lado al moro y arremetió contra el judío. Desde fines del siglo XV, España estuvo regida por una sola creencia, que había absorbido el ímpetu de las otras dos.”

⁴¹⁷ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 71; also 70. Américo Castro argues that the idea of unity between religion and nation, as adopted by Christians, was a Semitic idea which was incompatible with the coexistence of multiple faiths. *Spaniards*, 247. This is seen in the analysis in Chapter 4.

⁴¹⁸ Although the progressive momentum of the *Reconquista* dates back to the fall of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI (1040-1109), until the fifteenth century there were still non-belligerent examples of interaction between the various communities (defined by religion), albeit now primarily under Christian Rule. Toledo under Alfonso X (1221-1284) is often cited as an example of non-belligerent interaction among the people of the three faiths. This all irreparably changed after 1391.

dependence they shared.⁴¹⁹ Castro called it an “unstable equilibrium of the three castes”;⁴²⁰ “castes” is (re)inscribed religious *otherness*. Each group, defined by religious affiliation, also had a “consciousness of lineage” or caste;⁴²¹ this consciousness remained after baptism and thus put a limit on the extent of their conversion. Yet, was this “consciousness” about a type of *Iberianness* or *Spanishness*, an indelible religious identity or *otherness*, or about blood (race or ethnicity)? For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Américo Castro was incorrect in his division of peoples into *castes*; he argued for classes instead.⁴²² The stance taken here is that this is a place where the religious matrix (boundary) was conflated historiographically with a constructed racial or ethnic boundary, which cannot be proven to have existed. Put differently, “consciousness of lineage” was defined by religious affiliation and equated with an eventual full racialization of religion. And, given this case, the parallel racial or ethnic lineages become co-terminus with the *epidermis* (as Claudio Sánchez Albornoz’s phrase “dissimilar superstructures” suggests).⁴²³

Américo Castro saw all three *castes* as contributing to the development of *Spain* and *Spanishness*. Countering the immutability—lack of change by anything Islamic or Jewish—of the *Spaniard* posited by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and others, Castro countered with the example of language. Castro wrote:

The effect of language on the process by which collective life is constantly being made testified to the impossibility of imagining the past as a rocklike foundation upon which there gradually settled the successive waves of human beings speaking different languages who came to the Peninsula.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 62.

⁴²⁰ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 242.

⁴²¹ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, Chapter III, esp. 59. Caste is used as it relates to the concept of *castizo*: good lineage.

⁴²² Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:758-ff.: “Es inexacto afirmar que España - quiere decirse los reinos españoles - se desarticulara en tres gradualismos independientes unos de otros: cristianos, moros y judíos. Lo es también que esa graduación se tradujera en un régimen de castas, Y que esa organización se basara en supuestos ideológicos singulares de los españoles, únicos en la Europa de entonces.” See also 3:769

⁴²³ See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1153-1154.

⁴²⁴ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 28. In Chapter 2, the idea of “constantly being made” is explored in this thesis as part of the presentation of Homi K. Bhabha’s understanding of where the locus of culture is made and constantly changing, as well as Barbara Fuchs’ exploration of culture and the quotidian. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*.

Castro continued by reiterating that with every successive wave of migrations *Spaniards* are “different from everything that had preceded,” thus, changeable.⁴²⁵ Sánchez Albornoz countered with a warning about “disproportionate conclusions regarding the vital and psychological impact of the Islamic in the Spanish.”⁴²⁶

The idea of *Convivencia* has been used well beyond the meaning(s) given by Américo Castro and has become associated not only with living together, but with an idyllic tolerance.⁴²⁷ J. N. Hillgarth argues that Castro’s *Convivencia*

meant more than the physical coexistence of communities and peoples of different religions; it meant rather the combative but often also productive tension between these groups.⁴²⁸

Furthermore, rather than equate it solely with tolerance, Castro and others use *Convivencia* to express that

‘Spain is different’ from the rest of Latin Christendom, its civilization the product of a unique religious and cultural frontier that brought Muslims, Christians, and Jews together in close contact with one another.⁴²⁹

In opposition to negative views, *Convivencia* helps to construct an image of medieval *Spain* as

diverse, multicultural and plural society, where the three cultures—the Christian, the Muslim, and the Jewish—co-existed in relative harmony, showing an unbelievable mutual toleration and understanding at that time unknown beyond the Pyrenees.⁴³⁰

This was a view criticized by Francisco García Fitz as idyllic, and the extolling of Muslim tolerance, given that the members of all three religions did not enjoy equality under

⁴²⁵ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 29. See also Joseph F. O’Callaghan’s assessment of Castro in *History of Medieval Spain*, 18.

⁴²⁶ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:196.

⁴²⁷ See also David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 8. David Nirenberg cites Norman Roth as romanticizing the concept of *Convivencia*. See Norman Roth, “The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492,” in *Historian* 55, no. 1 (1992): 17-30.

⁴²⁸ J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 33.

⁴²⁹ Jonathan Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval ‘Convivencia’,” in *Jewish Social Studies*, New Series 11, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 2. See J. N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography,” 25.

⁴³⁰ Francisco García Fitz, “Las minorías religiosas y la tolerancia en la edad media hispánica: ¿mito o realidad?” in *Tolerancia y convivencia étnico-religiosa en la península ibérica durante la edad media*, ed. Alejandro García Sanjuán (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva Publicaciones, 2003), 13.

any of the configurations; these were non-equal Venn diagrams and hierarchies. Thus, García Fitz argues that medieval *Convivencia* is a myth, a constructed discourse; rather than *symbiosis*, there was *antibiosis*;⁴³¹ the interactions between the religious communities were never based on equality, but always on a hierarchy.⁴³² Thus, “coexistence was on a plane of undeniable inequality.”⁴³³ Similarly, Joseph Pérez writes:

The three religions, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish, were never comparable in terms of dignity or status. Inasmuch as Muslims, like Christians, claimed to possess the revealed (one and only) truth, a truth exclusive of others, no mutual respect was possible between them. As for peninsular Jews, both Muslims and Christians felt an identical contempt for it.⁴³⁴

Derek W. Lomax, specifically referring to Jews and Christians under Muslim rule, describes a “discriminatory tolerance.”⁴³⁵ Within Christian hegemony, the posited reality of inequality and hierarchy may be seen discursively in the proliferation of categories constructing and treating *new* Christians as *suspect* Christians.

As the quality of the interaction between members of the different faiths and *castes* is further problematized, the fact remains that the study of *Spain* cannot erase its Jewish and Muslim constitutive elements, and in narrating constitutive elements care must be taken not to narrate them as solely *other* (*non-Spanish* and *non-Christian*, for example). It is one thing to determine what those elements are/were and to differentiate them specifically as Jewish, Muslim, or Christian, quite another to determine what can be identified as *Spanish* or regional or shared, etc.

⁴³¹ Francisco García Fitz, “Las minorías religiosas y la tolerancia,” 55.

⁴³² Francisco García Fitz, “Las minorías religiosas y la tolerancia,” 23; also, 24-30, 55. Francisco García Fitz writes, “Sin embargo...no pueden hacernos olvidar que las relaciones entre comunidades no se desarrollaron nunca en pie de igualdad, sino marcando siempre una neta e incuestionable superioridad de unas sobre otras.” He further writes of segregation, subordination and discrimination. The *othering* process analyzed in Chapter 3 (especially Section 3.2) is one of hierarchy since it functions on the vertical plane; this is also seen in the *Sistema de Castas*. In 16th century hierarchy, Castilian *old* Christians were at the top.

⁴³³ Francisco García Fitz, “Las minorías religiosas y la tolerancia,” 30: “coexistencia en un plano de indiscutible desigualdad.”

⁴³⁴ Joseph Pérez, *History of a Tragedy*, 26.

⁴³⁵ Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 20. Joseph F. O’Callaghan argues that there was “no real possibility of full integration” by those of the non-ruling religion. Those of the non-ruling religion “could only be protected minorities with limited political and legal rights.” See, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 10 and *History of Medieval Spain*, 23. See also Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 4: “The communities of Christians, Jews, and Muslims never lived together on equal terms; so-called convivencia was always a relationship between unequals.”

Reconquista, the antithetical idea to *Convivencia*, was advanced by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz. Sánchez Albornoz was a proponent of the meta-view which posited a continual resistance and crusade against the invading Muslim peoples and Islamic religion from the Battle of Covadonga in 722 to the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in 1492.⁴³⁶ For Sánchez Albornoz *Reconquista* went hand in hand with repopulation. This view is often reinforced by the elements included in the idea of the so-called “*Gothic Myth*” presented above, or *Reconquista* vanquishing *al-Andalus* discursively and geographically. Sánchez Albornoz unequivocally advocated for “the *reconquista* [as] the key to the History of Spain.”⁴³⁷ Similarly, José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves saw the idea of *Reconquista* as defining the *Spanish Middle Ages*.⁴³⁸ Geographically, the *Reconquista* and repopulation historiography is primarily in the northern part of the peninsula and focuses on the Christian kingdoms and their progress south, including the repopulation of newly (re)conquered areas. This view is also oriented toward Europe and shows little or no concern for the historical connections to North Africa and the Islamic world.

From the *Reconquista* point of view, the imagined 1492 date (and related 1501/1520s and 1609-14) also marked the return to the religious and political “unification” of the peninsula or at the very least a rupture from the Islamic interlude.⁴³⁹ The *Reconquista* lens suggests unabated persecution, real and discursive, of “minority”

⁴³⁶ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:726. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz follows the line of the conservative historians and philologists Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912) and Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968) in his adherence to the *Reconquista* view. In the second half of the twentieth century one of the most important figures in this view is José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *El concepto de España*, see especially 249-ff. A big opponent of the *Reconquista* view is J. N. Hillgarth who uses the term in quotations. This is remarked by Joseph F. O’Callaghan in *Reconquest and Crusade*, 1. See J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976-1978). J. N. Hillgarth uses the term conquest to refer to the territorial and political advance of Christian kingdoms into formerly Muslim-controlled realms. When he uses the term *Reconquista* it is in italics (for example see pages 1:20, 1:248, 1:248, and 2:628), as J. N. Hillgarth does with other Spanish words in the text; the term Reconquest tends to be in quotations (see pages 1:105, 1:106, 1:186, 1:287 and 1:288), with the exception, to my knowledge, of two instances on page 1:288. All instances referring to ‘Reconquest’ are related to the end of the conquests in the middle of the thirteenth century.

⁴³⁷ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:723: “Considero a la reconquista clave de la Historia de España.” (My emphasis.)

⁴³⁸ José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, 253: “recojamos la ‘idea reconquistadora’ como definición de nuestra Edad Media.”

⁴³⁹ Similar to the historiographical importance of the year 711, the year 1492 with its political unification marks the beginning of the Siglo de Oro for Spain (Golden Age; literally, Golden Century). The Kingdom of Navarra joins in 1512; Portugal in 1580. The (literary) Golden Age of Spain is broadly 1492-1681. The latter date is the death Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

religious and/or ethnic communities, even the created *other*. José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves described the idea of *Reconquista* as follows:

shortly after the entrance of the Arabs a resistance movement resolves as a plan of political action to expel those new foreign elements; an action plan which was maintained until its completion eight centuries later.⁴⁴⁰

Along with an occidental and European orientation, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz' views on the history of *Spain* tie him to many historians, including Américo Castro, whom support the idea of the uniqueness of *Spain*.⁴⁴¹

Claudio Sánchez Albornoz wrote *España, un enigma histórico* as a response to Américo Castro's *España en su Historia*.⁴⁴² One of Sánchez Albornoz' aims was to combat Castro's *hebrewfilia* and *semiticizing* history of *Spain*; such a project requires Europeanization and Occidentalization.⁴⁴³ Sánchez Albornoz aimed to fight the "absurd and stupid theory that what is Spanish is subsequent to 711."⁴⁴⁴ According to Sánchez Albornoz, Castro

passionately threw himself [in]to demonstrat[ing] that all in Spain is the result of the marvelous overflow of the Arabic-Hebrew tide over the peninsular lands.

Sánchez Albornoz confronted this by arguing that "the Spain prior to the Arab invasion is for [him] part of the making of the Hispanic structure of [Spanish] life."⁴⁴⁵ Alain Milhou

⁴⁴⁰ José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves, *Concepto de España*, 251-252: "En España, pues, en donde a través de los treientos años precedentes se había aceptado y asimilado de la manera más completa, no siendo obstáculo a ello la heterogeneidad religiosa y racial, la invasión germánica, se levanta, poco después de la entrada de los árabes, un movimiento de repulsa que muy pronto formula como programa de su acción política la expulsión de esos nuevos elementos extraños, programa que se mantiene hasta su consecución, ocho siglos después." Different from the Visigoths the "new invasion is radically repulsed." ("se levanta una radical repulsa de la nueva invasión.")

⁴⁴¹ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:725: "esta empresa multiseccular constituye un caso único en la historia de los pueblos europeos, no tiene equivalente en el pasado de ninguna comunidad histórica occidental. Ninguna nación del viejo mundo ha llevado a cabo una aventura tan difícil y tan monocorde, ninguna ha realizado durante tan dilatado plazo de tiempo una empresa tan decisiva para forjar su propia vida libre. ...rara vez interrumpida por alguna década de paz."

⁴⁴² The titles translate as "Spain: a Historical Enigma" and "Spain in its History," respectively.

⁴⁴³ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:v (prologue of sixth edition). Barbara Fuchs cites Alain Milhou's thesis on the "desemitzation" of Spain in *Exotic Nation*, 20, 21, 22, 27.

⁴⁴⁴ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:5; also 1:7.

⁴⁴⁵ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 1:12. Américo Castro, according to Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "se lanza apasionadamente a demostrar que todo en España es resultado del maravilloso desborde de la marea árabe-hebraica sobre los arenales peninsulares." Claudio Sánchez Albornoz counters that, "La España anterior a la invasión árabe cuenta para mí en el hacer de la estructura hispánica de vida."

argues that this overarching denial of any Muslim or Jewish influence in defining Spain and its people has been part of a broader program of the desemitization of Spain.⁴⁴⁶

The *Reconquista* lens offers a view about the quality of interaction between the peoples of different faiths which was one of strife and animosity. Américo Castro argued that *Spain* could not be blind to itself and “deny or ignore the existence of those unique forms of living that arose from eight centuries of coexistence” between the three *castes*: Christians, Muslims, and Jews.⁴⁴⁷ Yet, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz was adamant about not overestimating the Arab and Hebrew heritages.⁴⁴⁸ Sánchez Albornoz insisted that their influence or legacy might have been outward (“dissimilar superstructure”), but it did not impact the essence of *Spain* and its people. This *epidermic* claim may be an assertion that the “darker” image of “Spain” was attributed to the Muslim or Jewish heritage as, for example, perpetuated by the so-called Black Legend.⁴⁴⁹

In making an *epidermic* claim, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz conflated religion with an idea of race or ethnicity (difference) that cannot be proven, while at the same time perpetuating the idea of religion as indelible yet, although an indelibility that was non-penetrable or influential to Christian “co-nationals.” Put differently, because religion was racialized to make it indelible, this meant that complete conversion to Christianity was impossible and a challenge to baptism, thus justifying the expulsions of the baptized descendants of Muslims; while at the same making sure that the Islamic religion had no influence on *Spanish* identity.

This was a process. This *racialization* or *racialist turn* was a (re)inscription into the normative (previous) religious matrix of difference: *bi/tripartite*. It is no different than Américo Castro’s separation and conflation of *castes* based on religious *otherness*. This is one of the reasons the *helches* incident discussed in Chapter 1 (un)intentionally became part of the processes of making religion indelible, and became a contributing factor for the discursive justifications of the expulsions a century later. In making the religious *otherness*

⁴⁴⁶ See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 20, 22, 27; see also J. N. Hillgarth, *Visigoths*, 150; also Alain Milhou, “Desemitización y europeización.”

⁴⁴⁷ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 566. Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 94: “I have yielded to the evidence that the disposition of the life that is now Spanish was a fabric woven of three threads, none of which may be cut out.”

⁴⁴⁸ See footnote 372.

⁴⁴⁹ For the conflation of Muslim and *African*, see footnote 9. For “dissimilar superstructure” see Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 4:1153-1154.

merely superficial (a “superstructure” rather than the essence of a person), as Claudio Sánchez Albornoz argues there seems to be dissatisfaction and lack of clarity regarding the relationship of religion to race or ethnicity in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, and regarding whether one could change one’s religion. Yet this is something that can be analyzed through noting changes in language usage and meaning.

Similar to the discourses of the so-called Gothic Myth, the idea of *Reconquista* has its seeds in medieval chronicles.⁴⁵⁰ Asturians tracing their lineage to the Visigoths contributed to their aim of “unifying” the peninsula, as the Visigoths had done before them. Joseph F. O’Callaghan summarizes it this way:

Spain may not have been reconquered by the descendants of the Visigoths, but it certainly was reconquered by the Christians, who again and again expressed their belief [that] the recovery of Spain from Muslim hands was their ultimate objective.⁴⁵¹

Thus, for Joseph F. O’Callaghan and other historians, the idea of *Reconquista* became an organizing principle and structure for the history of “Spain.”

For Claudio Sánchez Albornoz *Reconquista* and repopulation went hand in hand and had two stages: before 1085 and after.⁴⁵² For Sánchez Albornoz, notwithstanding the importance of the *Reconquista*, the repopulation that occurred after each victory was (almost) as significant. Sánchez Albornoz posited that the Duero valley was strategically depopulated (in the mid-eighth century) to create a buffer zone between the Kingdom of Asturias and Muslim-controlled lands. Sánchez Albornoz then argued that “[t]he radical repopulation” was indicative of the “intensity of depopulation.”⁴⁵³ Sánchez Albornoz suggested that the repopulation that took place from 850 to 1212 was what helped to build the kingdoms of Castile and León, and especially the basis for the ascendancy of Castile. Furthermore, during these centuries of repopulation, *Spain* was forged.⁴⁵⁴ Again, these were powerful discourses and ideas that had historical impact.

⁴⁵⁰ See Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*. See also, Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 1-22; *History of Medieval Spain*, 17-33.

⁴⁵¹ Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 18.

⁴⁵² Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:751. 1085 is the date for the conquest of Toledo.

⁴⁵³ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:737; see also the broader sections on depopulation and repopulation, 3:730-3:758.

⁴⁵⁴ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:748: “Durante esos siglos cuajó la contextura orgánica y funcional del embrión de España que fue el reino de Castilla y León.” Claudio

Both lenses of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista* rely on a similar idea of “Spain,” one whose primary matrix of study (*tripartite*) is that of the division along lines of religious *otherness*, Christians, Muslims, and Jews being religiously different from one another. This archetypal scheme makes sense given the longstanding presence in the peninsula of members of the three religions. Yet, insisting on religious *otherness* as primary requires the (re)inscription when there were changes in religion by persons or communities to maintain these “distinct” groups and difference, making difficult to find that which is not defined by religion. The baptism of Jews and Muslims erased the very religious boundaries (or *otherness*) that had existed for centuries and around which medieval peninsular society had in many ways been built (*inter-*). Yet, the Christian descendants of Muslims and Jews were controlled as a distinct category, suspect, within Christianity (*intra-*). This then had as an eventual consequence the racialization or racist turn of religion, and made difference indelible, in this case religious difference.

Similar to the issues of regionalism and chronology brought up earlier, *Convivencia* and *Reconquista* as general models are difficult to apply to more specific foci; both models fail to capture completely the reality of interaction and influence between members of the three religions for all timeframes and locations. Each configuration, region, and timeframe could be sketched as a different Venn diagram with three spheres of different sizes, at times only two, and with varying degrees of interconnectedness, penetration, or influence depending on the historiographical point of view regarding the level of toleration or animosity, which in turn defines the quality of interaction. The lens of *Convivencia* may be best suited for places removed from the frontier (south); the lens of *Reconquista*, on the other hand, may be best suited for the study of the borderlands or frontier between the Muslim and Christian realms—while keeping in mind that the buffer region was progressively moving south and eventually encroached on the regions where *Convivencia* had been or would re-emerge under a different rule.⁴⁵⁵

In the absence of sufficient documentary evidence for the actual and relative Christian, Jewish, and Muslim populations, only general assertions can be made regarding the relative strength of the communities defined by religion under various configurations,

Sánchez Albornoz continues, “La colonización del gran yermo del Duero, al mismo tiempo que exigió un esfuerzo gigantesco, tuvo corolarios complejos, polifacéticos, hirientes, decisivo en la forja de lo hispano.”

⁴⁵⁵ The case of Toledo and Alfonso X being an exception to this view.

regions, and times. In general, if Jews were present in a region, they were the smallest group. At times, there was minority-Christian or -Muslim rule of a majority population of the other religion.⁴⁵⁶ At other times, Christians outnumbered Muslims in Christian-controlled lands, and Muslims outnumbered Christians in Muslim-controlled lands. Finally, in times of heightened repression, the population was mostly of one religion (always Muslim or Christian).⁴⁵⁷

As seen in the section on the so-called “Gothic Myth,” the earliest documented reference to the idea of *Reconquista* appeared in the Kingdom of Asturias, in the ninth century, which was not under Muslim rule; the idea of *Reconquista* for the Kingdom of Aragón came later.⁴⁵⁸ Moreover, from 722 through 1085 much of the northern Christian realms did not have a Muslim population to contend with, thus *Convivencia* seems anachronistic, given the small number of Jews in those realms. Similarly, at times there were Muslim interests in the north that coincided with Christian interests against the Umayyads, so there were strategic alliances that crossed religious boundaries.⁴⁵⁹

The singular focus of the north was not always *Reconquista*. Areas where there were members of all three religions, all under Muslim rule, were not always impacted first and foremost by the pressures of the *Reconquista*, especially if these were at a distance from the contested frontier. Interactions, positive or negative, across religions are not the only ways to understand the history of the peninsula, and are often blind to other forms of interactions and intersection of a common life.

For Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, among others, the religious lens or religious *otherness* is paramount in the study of the history of *Spain*. For both, and as for other historians, these communities remained **wholly** distinct and separate, even after baptism, meaning they were immutable and inassimilable, and thus *non*-Spanish and *non*-Christian. Castro describes the history of these communities as being “parallel and synchronic.”⁴⁶⁰ None of these scholars could conceive of any *true* conversions to

⁴⁵⁶ Particularly, immediately following a conquest and before the migration of co-religionists. There are some estimates of Mudéjares being half of the population in parts of Castile and Aragón.

⁴⁵⁷ Almoravid and Almohad al-Andalus.

⁴⁵⁸ Derek W. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, 38.

⁴⁵⁹ For example, the Banu Qasi. See footnote 399.

⁴⁶⁰ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 471/448. See footnote 431.

Christianity from members of the Jewish or Muslim communities, and in this are aligned with the most prevalent historiographical point of view.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, that the Jewish and Muslim communities were purportedly “unyielding race[s]” (a discursive construction) required and justified their expulsions.⁴⁶² Castro seemed to want it both ways—seeing Muslim and Jewish influence in the formation of *Spain* and *Spanishness* while at the same time keeping people and groups separate. Although from a different point of view, this is the same conclusion Sánchez Albornoz reached.

A problem in using either meta-narrative of *Convivencia* or *Reconquista* is that they both rely on static-group boundaries based on distinctiveness of religion or religious *otherness* and are often blind to anything outside of religion, that which could be held in common, such as the unremarked upon daily life, or even allowing for changes in religion. For example, that which is “inherently” *Spanish* (customs that are not necessarily religious) was not created in the religious sphere, since it was precisely there that there was the least amount of interaction and influence. People of different religions interacted with one another, but not in churches, synagogues, or mosques, but in the market, or legal system, or court. There were instances of inter-religious dialogue, but these did not create anything uniquely religiously *Spanish*, long-lasting, or to put it differently, a “fourth” religion or syncretism (religious traditions or practices uniquely peninsular).⁴⁶³ The static matrix misses the creative moment(s) of “cultural production” as posited by Homi K. Bhabha and the application (if any) of this creative moment in the area of change from one religion to another, or even the impact of baptism in the realms of society and religion.

The level of interaction between the members of the three religions was not such that it erased the boundaries between the religions or remove religious *otherness*, nor was it so exclusive that the crossing of boundaries was always completely prohibited or impossible. Social and religious boundaries were important both for *intra*-group cohesion and even survival, as well as for norms of *inter*-group interaction. Whereas the interaction between religious groups or persons of different religions posed a challenge to the *other* even including violence, such interaction also posed a challenge to the *self*. For example,

⁴⁶¹ For a summary of the prevalent historiographical errors, see Section 2.2.

⁴⁶² Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 58/58; also 50/50.

⁴⁶³ There is one example of an attempt at syncretism as found in the *Sacromonte Texts*, but this was an exception, and certainly did not have an impact as Guadalupe would in the New World. See footnote 519.

Jonathan Ray writes that “[f]or Jewish spiritual and communal leaders, at least, the real problem was not the exclusion but rather the acceptance of Jews.”⁴⁶⁴

Anxiety can be surmised in primary texts regarding the possibility of boundary crossing, of assimilation or becoming like the *other*, of acculturation, of conversion.⁴⁶⁵ From the anxiety over conversion to Islam in ninth-century Córdoba,⁴⁶⁶ to the anxiety over the *newly* converted to Christianity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, interaction between persons of different religions posed challenges to social cohesion and religious identity. Furthermore, in a society where taxation and prosecution of certain offenses could be based on a person’s religious group, a change in religion would have financial and legal repercussions, not only religious ones.⁴⁶⁷

The religious boundaries between people and groups did not prevent interactions, but helped to control and maintain them. Outside of the religious sphere, or of sacred spaces, there were opportunities of interaction and “socio-cultural production” as something distinctively “*Iberian*” or “*Spanish*” (“Andalusian”) rather than specifically Jewish, Christian, or Muslim. This is to say that there was “socio-cultural production” beyond the religious sphere that was shared by persons across different religions (regardless of levels of adherence) and which could be identified as uniquely regional (or broadly *Spanish*) and would be different from other regions whether Christian or Muslim.

⁴⁶⁴ Jonathan Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution,” 4. Jonathan Ray also writes, “Jewish spiritual leaders and communal officials viewed the accessibility of gentile culture as one of the primary challenges to Jewish religious piety, social cohesion, and political autonomy,” 12.

⁴⁶⁵ See footnote 139 on the Council of Elvira (c. 306). There is even earlier textual evidence from the Third Council of Toledo preventing the marriages between Christians and Jews. There was also anti-Jewish legislation by Egica (r. 687-702), later overturned by Witiza (r. 694-710): see footnote 129.

⁴⁶⁶ Refer to the literature on the ninth-century Martyrs of Córdoba: Edward P. Colbert, “The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1962); Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l’Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles* (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1984); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, “The Earliest Spanish Views of Islam,” *Church History* 55 (1986), *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), and *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990); Joanne McWilliam, “The Context of Spanish Adoptionism: A Review,” in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990):75-88; Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (University of Nebraska, 1995); Janina M. Safran, “Identity and Differentiation in Ninth-Century al-Andalus,” *Speculum* 76, no. 3 (2000): 573-598. For the primary sources see Eulogius, *Documentum martyriale, Memoriale sanctorum, and Liber apologeticus martyrum*, in PL, *España Sagrada*, and *Corpus scriptorium Muzarabiorum*. Juan Gil, ed., *Corpus scriptorium Muzarabiorum*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973).

⁴⁶⁷ Regarding Jews, see Jonathan Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution,” 8-9.

Often, as explored by Barbara Fuchs, travelers could identify these “socio-cultural elements” or customs in *Spain* that were not present in other areas like England, Rome, etc.⁴⁶⁸ For example, Francisco Núñez Muley argued in his *Memorandum* that the manner of dress in Granada was different from other Muslim countries, thus making the manner of dress Granadan rather than Islamic.⁴⁶⁹

In moving away from the historiographical poles of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista* it can be apparent that when there were adherents of the three religions, the place of potential tension was not in religion, but in quotidian life as a whole. Since the quotidian is often unremarkable to the people living it, some aspects of it can be identified by what was remarked upon by outsiders, including travelers. Outsiders often saw (or constructed) the *Spanish* quotidian as *exotic* and remarked upon it in that way. Also, there were regional outsiders. When Castilians came to Granada (or *New Spain*) they experienced what they saw as different and unorthodox, and imposed their own practices and regional culture. For example, the Castilian experience outside of Granada was of acculturated Muslims and Jews; before the final conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada what had grown in the rest of the peninsula was increasingly identifiable as *Spanish*, not only Christian Castilian, and this included contributions from Jews and Muslims living in Christian realms. This meant that Castilians did not see their regional practices as different until they encountered different regional practices in Granada; or their practices were identified as different by outsiders or travelers.

In short, within the peninsula there were unavoidable regional differences, but these differences when seen from beyond the Pyrenees were flattened or even erased, and *Spain* and its people were constructed and understood as all being the same: *other* and *exotic*. Although this discourse is problematic, it can show that the internal difference was not as drastic or visible (external or *epidermic*) as perceived by the internal forces trying to homogenize all the realms under the same rule, and were not as different as any existing differences (perhaps also constructed) with other outside groups. This is where the trans-Atlantic contrast becomes useful: knowing that greater *epidermic* difference existed between *Amerindians* and *Spaniards* shows that the difference between Granadans and

⁴⁶⁸ See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, Chapter 1 and Postscript passim.

⁴⁶⁹ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 70.

others in the peninsula was lesser. Therefore, eventually the perceived or constructed *epidermic* difference between *Spain* and the rest of Europe must also be re-evaluated.

In some ways, the *Reconquista* lens, and the idea of Visigothic continuity (the so-called Gothic Myth) are interrelated, and developed as reactions to other external and competing views or ideas of “*Spain*” and its people, including the idea of *Convivencia* and the discourse of the so-called Black Legend. Their reactive parts become a historiography that obscures the historical. One of the myths about *Spain* and its people is the discourse that *Spaniards* have been morally and racially *darker* than others in Europe and the British Isles—this idea and discourse has been termed the “Black Legend.” The internal reaction to this outside view has been at times to “whiten” (Gothic Myth) *Spaniards* by getting rid of the perceived Jewish and Muslim taint (*Reconquista*), which supposedly makes *them* “*darker*” because Muslims and Jews were supposedly deemed “*darker*”; or by making the history of *Spain* more benevolent (*Convivencia*) and less Oriental or exotic (Europeanizing).⁴⁷⁰ At each discursive iteration of the so-called Black Legend, the discursive reaction for the idea of “*Spain*” has been the (re)assertion of its (Gothic and “white”) identity and the excision of the perceived Jewish and Muslim elements (whether present or not). One reason for this was that the imperial claim relied on the claim of internal purity and Gothic heritage, and therefore was in competition with the Orientalizing and exotic views and ideas of “*Spain*,” and the place of its Arab-Berber-Muslim-Jewish constitutive elements.

More specifically, the discourses of the “Black Legend” are the dark, sometimes racial, language used to describe *Spain* and *Spaniards*. In these discourses, competing countries, and empires, as well as historians, have characterized and repeatedly asserted that *Spain* and *Spaniards* have been morally *darker* or *blacker* and racially *other* (exotic); have been a persecuting society: repressive, brutal, and backward.⁴⁷¹ Those competing

⁴⁷⁰ See for example, Henry Kamen, “Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition,” in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 3-23. He begins his 1988 article by challenging the view of sixteenth-century Spain as solely a persecuting society, countering that view with evidence of a society committed to pluralism. At times, Henry Kamen and others are so intent on debunking the “Black Legend” that they end up with a “White Legend” of their own. They go from a picture of utter brutality to one of benevolence.

⁴⁷¹ See A. Gordon Kinder, “Creation of the Black Legend: Literary Contributions of Spanish Protestant Exiles,” *Mediterranean Studies* 6 (1996): 67-68. See also, María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis and London: University of

and asserting these claims have put themselves in the discursive position of being morally and racially “whiter”: a competing hierarchy. The so-called Black Legend has also been fueled by the work of the Inquisition as a mechanism of control of “minority”-Christian communities—a type of discursive minoritization process. The historical basis for the discursive morally-darker image and idea of “Spain” is summarized by Margaret R. Greer in the following way:

The Black Legend owes its own genesis to three simultaneous events: the expulsion of the Moor and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula; the so-called discovery of America and the domination and exploitation of Indians and African slaves; and the privileged position in which Christianity found itself to create a classification in which Christians were one of the groups classified and, simultaneously, possessors of the privileged discourse that created the classification.⁴⁷²

The “Black Legend” as a phrase has existed since the early-twentieth century and was coined by Julián Juderías in a 1913 essay.⁴⁷³ Yet the attitude, discourse, and texts about the so-called Black Legend can be traced to the fifteenth century, and through a core of materials from the second half of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth. There have been subsequent iterations of the so-called Black Legend, as other empires have tried to differentiate themselves from imperial *Spain*. The latest iteration of these was the United States in the century leading up to the Spanish-American War, and continuing to this day.⁴⁷⁴ Walter D. Mignolo summarizes the trajectory and function of the discourses of the “Black Legend” as

the twentieth-century name for a narrative that chastises Castilians for the brutality they committed in the New World [against Amerindians], a narrative told from the perspective of England and dating back to the reign of Elizabeth I.⁴⁷⁵

Minnesota Press, 2005), 5: “In this legend, ‘the Spaniard’ became a typological emblem of religious and political intolerance, tyranny, misrule, conspiracy, cruelty, barbarity, bloodthirstiness, backwardness, slothfulness, and degeneracy.” See also Maria de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, xxvi.

⁴⁷² Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 2; also Walter D. Mignolo, “Afterword: What does the Black Legend have to do with Race?” in Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 312: Mignolo’s quote is in the main text: see footnote 475.

⁴⁷³ Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1914) - earlier published as an essay in 1913. As cited in A. Gordon Kinder “Creation of the Black Legend,” 67-78.

⁴⁷⁴ Maria de Guzmán in *Spain’s Long Shadow*, shows the implication of the continuing construction of Spain as morally darker/blacker and racially other by the United States to influence its current treatment of Latin@s/Hispanics and Muslims in the opening decade of the twenty-first century. See footnote 23.

⁴⁷⁵ Walter D. Mignolo, “Afterword,” 312.

For the English, Dutch, and French (and later the United States) this served as an opportunity to “belatedly contest... Spanish imperial dominance in the Americas,” and to differentiate *Spain* from Enlightenment Empires.⁴⁷⁶

The continued use of the discursive veneer of the “Black Legend” has also been a way to deny *Spain*, and anything touched by *Spain*, any inheritance of “whiteness.” María de Guzmán argues that the vestiges of the so-called Black Legend also have ample repercussions in the study of the construction of *whiteness* (*self*) in opposition to *darkness* (*other*, in this case Spain). For the discourses of the “Black Legend” to be continually repeated, any time there has been a claim by a group to be the inheritors of *whiteness* (Gothic), all other prior inheritors of *whiteness* must be *darkened*.

The discursive processes attributed to the insidious “Black Legend” are interwoven with Orientalism: the perception or construction of the ideas of “*Spain*” and “*Spaniards*” as indeed racially exotic (*other*) and different from other Europeans.⁴⁷⁷ With respect to Europe, *Spain* in its “liminal position vis-à-vis Europe” was a nation that was a “racial and religious other.”⁴⁷⁸ Barbara Fuchs notes,

[e]ven as Spain goes to great pains to contain the influence of al-Andalus by racializing and othering conversos and moriscos... rival European states busily construct Spain as precisely the racial other of Europe.⁴⁷⁹

Therefore, no matter the *Spanish* insistence on the idea that they are heirs of the Visigoths (*whiteness*), other imperial powers repeatedly and deliberately contest this inheritance by representing *Spain* as “oriental,” in an effort to combat its imperial and cultural domination over other emerging European nations.⁴⁸⁰ Since the sixteenth century, any discursive attempt to “whiten” Spaniards (Spain) has been counteracted by a (re)assertion of a morally and racially “*darker*” external construction.

⁴⁷⁶ Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 6, citing Henry Kamen and Joseph Pérez (FN 5) see the Black Legend as official propaganda from England: “a one-sided argument to which Philip II did not contribute but which was fed by certain political and religious sectors in England.”

⁴⁷⁷ The idea of *Orientalism* is explored further in Section 2.3. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979/2004), 1-28; *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); abbreviated version in “Orientalism” in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1995): 87-91.

⁴⁷⁸ Barbara Fuchs, “The Spanish Race,” in *Rereading the Black Legend*, Margaret R. Greer, et al., 93, 94.

⁴⁷⁹ Barbara Fuchs, “Spanish Race,” 88; also 93-94. (Shown in this thesis discursively.)

⁴⁸⁰ Barbara Fuchs, “Spanish Race,” 94.

Sixteenth century intra-Spanish literature which articulated the internal conflict in *Spain* regarding the conquest of the Americas and Granada was used as evidence in the discourses of the “Black Legend” against *Spain*; part of the ideological struggle between countries (e.g. between England and Spain).⁴⁸¹ This included Bartolomé de las Casas’ *Brevíssima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, published in 1552, and translated into French and Dutch in 1578 and into English in 1583.⁴⁸² The ideological struggle was not identified in the translations themselves, but in the fact that they were translated and commented upon:

In their prefaces and notes the editors or translators denounced Spanish cruelty to the Indians, drew analogies between the plight of the Indians and the condition of European peoples under Spanish rule, and endorsed [Bartolomé de] las Casas’ doctrines of peaceful conversion.⁴⁸³

Moreover, the discourse of the so-called Black Legend was the work of propagandists. For example, Benjamin Keen notes that in a Dutch translation of Bartolomé de las Casas,

⁴⁸¹ “Although not named until the twentieth century, the Black Legend was created when Spain’s enemies took Spain’s own internal debates about its identity and ‘purity of blood’ and the morality of its behavior in the New World and constructed an image of the Spanish as violent and close to barbarians.” Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 14. The discourses of the “Black Legend” require referencing the brutalities of the Spanish Empire related to the expulsion of Jews (*Conversos*) and Muslims (*Moriscos*), the atrocities in the “New” World, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Although some of the actions of Spain that gave rise to the Black Legend are true, by putting the blame on Spain and its backwardness, it also serves to absolve the other Empires, including the English and the Dutch, from the same atrocities.

⁴⁸² A. Gordon Kinder’s article, “Creation of the Black Legend” (see footnotes 471, 473), deals primarily with the experiences of Spanish Protestant exiles and how these also fueled the agenda of creating animosity between competing ideological camps. Other writings used to fuel the Black Legend include Francisco López de Gómara (*Historia General de las Indias*, 1552), and the Italian Girolamo Benzoni (*Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, 1565). The figure of Bartolomé de las Casas, “defender of the Indians” doesn’t come out so well in their defense: the difference between Sepúlveda and Las Casas was one of means not aims. See Gonzalo Lamana, “Of Books, Popes, and *Huacas*; or, The Dilemmas of Being Christian,” in Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 127: “the question was not one of goals and agency but of means and agents.” See also, Yolanda Fabiola Orquera, “‘Race’ and ‘Class’ in the Spanish Colonies of America: A Dynamic Social Perception,” in Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 171: a “benevolent oppressor.” See also Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 19.

⁴⁸³ Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (November 1969): 703-719. Although Benjamin Keen agrees that there is an ideological struggle that feeds into the Black Legend, he is adamant to show that the root of the Black Legend is not found in Las Casas, that it is better seen in Francisco López de Gómara and Girolamo Benzoni: “Certainly the *Very Brief Account* of Las Casas helped to deepen and diffuse more widely the evil reputation that Spain already had acquired in Europe, but to say that the book ‘laid a solid foundation for the Black Legend’ of Spanish cruelty in the Indies is to oversimplify a complex process that still awaits thorough investigation,” 712.

the propagandist aim of the book was clearly to promote Dutch unity and fighting spirit by showing the merciless, unjust nature of an enemy who committed such great atrocities in both the Old and the New World.⁴⁸⁴

The discursive and ideological struggle between competing nascent empires, and their subject colonies, has aimed to marginalize Spain from Europe and England, and most recently from the United States, and has ended up reifying its history (and people) as solely exotic, exceptional, and *other*. Related historiographically has been the transfer of the reaction to that external *othering* to the “minority” Christian communities in the peninsula: and internal, at the very least discursive, *othering* or minoritization processes.

As Barbara Fuchs notes, the discourses of the “Black Legend” are parts of “[e]fforts to render Spain African...with profound consequences for the marginalization of Spain within Europe.”⁴⁸⁵ Rendering “Spain African” was aided by the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan African slave trade, and the increasing conflation of Muslims with Africa, thus Islam and “*blackness*,” which included changes in the usage of terms like “*moro*.”⁴⁸⁶ While there are historians who want to exalt the uniqueness of the history of *Spain*, they often do not want to do this at the expense of not being part of Europe: they approach it with a Europeanizing gaze.

History or existing evidence does not support “*Spaniards*” being more racially different from others in Europe, or *Spaniards* being any more or less repressive in their treatment of *Amerindians*, Slaves, Protestants, etc., than other representatives of other empires dealing with the same issues. This is not an apology for *Spaniards*’ methods of conquest and evangelization, but to place the historical discursive reaction in its context and proportion.⁴⁸⁷ Salvador de Madariaga explains the reasons to produce the discourses of the “Black Legend” in the following way:

⁴⁸⁴ Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited,” 716-717.

⁴⁸⁵ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 4. See also Maria de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, 70.

⁴⁸⁶ See footnote 9.

⁴⁸⁷ Henry Kamen, “*Limpieza* and the Ghost of Américo Castro: Racism as a Tool of Literary Analysis,” in *Hispanic Review* 6, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 19-29. Kamen quotes William Monter showing that “the lay tribunals in Germany executed up to ten times more heretics between 1520 and 1550 than the Holy Office did in Spain (Monter, 124).” Kamen continues, 26: “The English courts in the sixteenth century on my estimation executed at least five times more heretics than the Spaniards did. The problem of the *conversos* in sixteenth-century Spain were nothing compared to the persecution of Huguenots in France.” William Monter, “Controles religiosos y sociales en los países germánicos en tiempos de las Reformas,” *Revista de la Inquisición* 2 (1992): 121-133.

Love of tribe made it necessary for England, France and Holland to blacken Spain; for the richest and most majestic empire the world had ever seen was for three hundred years the quarry out of which England, France and Holland built their own. These three nations had to justify themselves. God was still in the past, the Father of the tribe, stern and angry at times, Men could not bear the burden of guilt. They endeavored to hoodwink God the Father by shoving the burden on to some absent-minded brother. Spain had to be wrong so that France, Holland and England, and later the United States could be right.⁴⁸⁸

The discourses of the so-called Black Legend were not only ideological but also religious; England depicted itself as morally better than Spain, and Protestants as better than Catholics.

The Inquisition—the defender of Catholicism and false arbiter of heresy—became in England’s propaganda wars—or Black Legend—the emblem of Spain’s moral and political degeneracy.⁴⁸⁹

The construction of some historical Christian communities in the peninsula as *other*—eventually religiously and ethnically or racially, and thus, *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*—was one of the internal reactions to the discourses of the “Black Legend.” Similarly, the so-called Gothic Myth as articulated in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century was a reaction to the relentless construction of *Spain* as exotic (*other* and *non-“white”*) even after the *Spanish* had “*gotten rid of*” the Jewish and Muslim stains.

This can be seen in nineteenth-century iconic statements such as: Alexandre Dumas’ (1802-1870) insistence that “Africa begins at the Pyrenees,”⁴⁹⁰ or Victor Hugo’s (1802-1885) statement that “Spain is half African, Africa is half Asian,”⁴⁹¹ or Alfred de Vigny’s (1797-1863) declaration that “a Spaniard is an Oriental, he is a Catholic Turk, his

⁴⁸⁸ Salvador de Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), xvii. Variations of this statement are cited by Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1967), 64, which then is used by Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited,” 713.

⁴⁸⁹ Irene Silverblatt, “The Black Legend and Global Conspiracies: Spain, the Inquisition, and the Emerging Modern World,” in Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 99.

⁴⁹⁰ Margaret R. Greer, et al., *Rereading the Black Legend*, 9: “Fernández Retamar (1989) notices the persistence of the racial othering of Spain and its extension to Latin America when he cites Alexandre Dumas’s classic formulation.... Retamar points out the persistence of this form of the Black Legend itself as a form of racism, evident in the common use in the United States of the words ‘Hispanic’ and ‘Latino’ as classified with other ‘people of color.’” See footnotes 23 and 474.

⁴⁹¹ Maria de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, 81, cites Victor Hugo (1802-1885) from the preface to *Les Orientales* (1829) as found in Philippe Julian’s *The Orientalists, European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 115. See *Spain’s Long Shadow*, 333 (FN 18).

blood either languishes or boils, he is a slave to indolence, ardor, cruelty.”⁴⁹² This last example expresses the intersection of the discourse of the so-called Black Legend in ideological and racial senses, as well as in interrelated Orientalism. This is important because it is also on the heels of these characterizations that ideas of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia* were developed; in themselves reactions and counter-currents.

As noted, the most recent iteration of the discourses of the “Black Legend” has been the imperial-ideological struggle, since the nineteenth century, between the United States and Spain. María de Guzmán summarizes this in the following way,

Anglo-Americans created a fantasy of racial purity through the representation of Spaniards as figures of morally blackened alien whiteness or *off-whiteness* and doomed hybridity.⁴⁹³

*Anglo-Americans*⁴⁹⁴ made themselves the rightful heirs of the Goths, and Spain reacted against this claim. Again, external claims of Spain as mixed or hybrid or exotic have repeatedly been met with internal claims of purity and the further excising of perceived impurities and taintedness. Each of the iterations may indeed have contributed to adding layers of historiographical obfuscation, or confusing the discourses for reality, if any, of difference.

María de Guzmán shows how *Anglo-American* identity has been constructed vis-à-vis a counter-construction of *Spain* and *Spanishness*. The construction of *Anglo-American* ethnicity has been “very much dependent on both an antagonistic and exoticizing relation with Spain and ‘Spanishness.’”⁴⁹⁵ De Guzmán continues by stating that *Anglo-Americans* were constructed as having the “‘right kind’ of whiteness in contradistinction to figures of alien whiteness, or, if you will, *off-whiteness*, to be left out of the ideal body politic,”⁴⁹⁶ similar to persons of Muslim or Jewish descent being deemed alien and thus *non-Spanish*. Furthermore, she shows how

⁴⁹² María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, 81, cites Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863) also from Philippe Julian’s *The Orientalists*, 115. See *Spain’s Long Shadow*, 333 (FN 19).

⁴⁹³ María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, xxiv.

⁴⁹⁴ It is acknowledged here that the term “*Anglo-Americans*” is problematic (perhaps in similar ways as are elucidated here with the term “*morisco*”) and thus italicized.

⁴⁹⁵ María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, xxvii.

⁴⁹⁶ María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, xxvii.

the darkness and blackness assigned to the figure of the Spaniard was not only a religious, ethical, and historical evaluation, but increasingly became a racial typology as well.⁴⁹⁷

Supposedly, the long-standing presence of Jews and Muslims in the peninsula fueled the racial-ethnic “darkening” of the *Spaniard*. This implies and perpetuates the idea that the religious *otherness* of Jews and Muslims was indelible, and was a difference that was seen in the body, specifically the skin. As posited, this indelibility of the inherent religious *otherness* of these communities was itself a challenge to the actual possibility of conversion and more narrowly to the indelibility of the rite of baptism. The *helches* incident may in fact have foreshadowed the failure of conversion (theologically, not of baptism) and thus justifying the need for the expulsions at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The historiographical discursive reaction by some in *Spain* was two-fold: to construct baptized descendants of Jews and Muslims as indeed *other*; and to disavow any connection with its Jewish or Muslim past by removing the (perceived) impure elements that signified this past. As is now understood, in the sixteenth century the constitutive elements of an emerging *Spanish* identity included views of *self*, the reaction to views from outsiders, as well as its own internal reality of *self*. Therefore, shedding light on the discursive elements of the “Black Legend” as elements of a powerful myth provides a means by which to understand some of the many interrelated dynamics affecting the nascent Spanish nation and empire in the sixteenth century. *Spain’s* imperial and state claims were challenged by other emerging states who sought to differentiate and distance themselves from *Spain* and its imperial claims.

Methodologically speaking, understanding the pervasiveness of the discursive elements of the so-called Black Legend leads to uncovering history that has been constructed and/or erased at various points in the historiographical endeavor. Although reactions were real, in that real people were *othered* and expelled, much of it remained on

⁴⁹⁷ María de Guzmán, *Spain’s Long Shadow*, xxviii. See also, 5: “The ‘darkness’ and even ‘blackness’ of the Spaniard became not only a religious, ethical, and historical issue, but a racial one as well in which the body bore the stigma of its culture at the same time that it functioned as the main determinant of that culture. As such, it is crucial that this ‘blackening’ and/or darkening of ‘the Spaniard’ be distinguished from the notion of some objective or impartial representation of the historical fact that ‘Spaniards,’ despite the expulsion of the Muslims and the Jews in the later fifteenth century, are descended from Arabs, Jews, Berbers, Romans, Vandals, Phoenicians, Celts, Greeks, and Carthaginians, and others, or that there have been and are Spaniards with a wide diversity of skin tones.” See also, 6.

the level of discourse, meaning that just because they were written of as different (e.g. *blacker*) it did not mean that they were in fact different or as different as the discourse indicates. In some historiography, this discursive difference has indeed been factual. Yet, the so-called Black Legend has been a discursive strategy, and although its genesis may be found in historical fact and texts, it has remained and has been reiterated in the rhetorical realm; its insidiousness has been in its reification.

Although there is increasing acknowledgement of the discourses of the “Black Legend” and it has even been noted in some studies that have to do with the communities of the baptized descendants of Muslims, it has not been seen as a discursive phenomenon with implications in the study of these communities or as having affected these peninsular communities. None of the *ideas* or *myths* presented above serve as a neat lens through which to study the communities of the baptized descendants of Muslims in the peninsula and to understand the discursive justifications of their expulsions. Yet, awareness of these *ideas* is important because the study of these communities is overshadowed by all the very same *ideas*. Historically, these communities were excised in part to allow for *Spain* to counter the external claim to its supposed *blackness*. The baptized descendants of Muslims were not discursively allowed to be part of the idea of “*Gothic*” inheritance. The baptized descendants of Muslims were also the very descendants of those that the ideology of the *Reconquista* sought to conquer. The fact that these communities were ultimately constructed as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* may be evidence of the demise of *Convivencia*.

2.2 Traditional approaches

The above historiographical presentation with associated myths—the “one, eternal Spain” including the so-called Gothic Myth, the lenses of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista*, and the insidious elements of the so-called Black Legend—may be “meta” approaches or methodologies associated with the historical study of “*Spain*” and its various subjects in the last century. These “meta” approaches not only responded to meta-theories being developed by other historians and new schools of thought, but also fit into the schema of history as accessible and knowable, as well as capable of being presented objectively by

the historian.⁴⁹⁸ This meshes with the Enlightenment and Modernity ideas that history can be objectively and completely accessed by the historian, and that truth is discoverable (as well as its structure) and knowable so long as proper methods were used. Modernity's historical narrative was progressive, teleological, transcendent, and Eurocentric; a narrative that was also static, flat, boxed, and uninteresting. The position taken for this thesis is that this purported objectivity is not possible in the historiographical endeavor; nor do historical texts present an objective picture of their subject matter.

In this section, there is a more specific presentation of the traditional and specific historiography and methodology regarding the study of the baptized descendants of Muslims in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Historians of "*Spain*" have "objectively" and "impartially" read the primary texts regarding the baptized descendants of Muslims and developed a narrative of this group as a homogenous community that did not truly convert or were, in fact, *non-Christian*; and, that this lack of true conversion was a factor in their expulsions from the peninsula, along with other (lesser) political pressures. This homogenous community was also foreign, thus, *non-Spanish*. "**These communities**" have been studied as "**a community**"; the choice here is to refer to the subject matter in the plural or at times as one community among many. To some historians, **all** Muslims who were baptized and their baptized descendants outwardly or publicly practiced Christianity, but privately and interiorly practiced Islam; thus, the idea of "*crypto-Muslims*."

The historical study of the so-called "*moriscos*" has followed many of the historiographical trends of the last hundred years or so, from positivist (mimesis) approaches where "historical evidence can be discovered, evaluated, and objectively constituted as facts"⁴⁹⁹ (which included the positing of "meta" structures or narratives often using the tools of the social sciences), followed by an increased emphasis in cultural studies with more regional foci and expanded use of other types of sources. From this earlier era, the field gained knowledge of the contours of the history of these communities from the conquest of Granada to the baptism of whole communities to the internal displacement of the Granadan *new Christians*, and then the ultimate exile of many—but not abundant knowledge of any differences or nuance in the lived lives of members of

⁴⁹⁸ Alun Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 3-6.

⁴⁹⁹ Alun Munslow, *Companion*, 199.

these communities. This historiography has continued to support the overwhelming view of this **entire** community as composed of Christians who were in fact *non-Christian*, but indeed Muslims.⁵⁰⁰

This homogenous view of these communities has been textually supported by the reading of sixteenth-century chronicles, seventeenth-century apologetic literature, and at the turn of the twentieth century through the study of inquisitorial records, and later in the twentieth century through the increased use of polemical literature. The discursive view of **this** community as a *non-Christian* “minority” community or communities dates to sixteenth-century chronicles, such as that of Luis del Mármol Carvajal (1520-1600).⁵⁰¹ In some ways this may be seen as having a similar type of trajectory as the so-called Black Legend. Although Mármol Carvajal’s narrative did not present a completely homogenous view of the entire community as solely inassimilable and Muslim,⁵⁰² the seventeenth-century apologetic literature of the expulsion quickly cemented this view which then has been repeated for close to four hundred years. The traditional view has been of a religio-political struggle, summarized by Trevor J. Dadson as

a widely held consensus regarding the two key issues of assimilation and expulsion, which was that in the more than a hundred years that passed between their forced conversion...and their eventual expulsion between 1609 and 1614 the Moriscos had made little or no attempt to assimilate to the majority Christian culture around them (that, in fact, they were inassimilable), and that this apparent obduracy made their expulsion both necessary and inevitable.⁵⁰³

Narratives about these “minority” communities (*minoritization* and *othering*) have revolved around the question of the “*morisco problem*.”⁵⁰⁴ The problem is described and defined as the permanence and retention of Islamic practices and beliefs by members of these communities, and thus lack of assimilation or acculturation, and therefore a narrative

⁵⁰⁰ For an extensive review of the historiography see Chapter 1 of Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI. Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, vol. 1 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002), 25-122. See also Eliseo Serrano Martín, “La historiografía morisca.”

⁵⁰¹ Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (1600).

⁵⁰² Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 33-39.

⁵⁰³ Trevor J. Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava* (Woodbridge and Rochester: Tamesis, 2014), 2-3.

⁵⁰⁴ A phrase seen in Chapters 3 and 4 which belongs primarily to the region of Valencia and has been used extensively historiographically. See also footnote 29.

of a community that was not loyal to the Crown. The so-called morisco problem also differed depending on the region and the relative proportion of the baptized descendants of Muslims to the rest of the population. (The “*morisco problem*” is also discussed in Chapter 4 when some Valencian primary texts are discussed and analyzed.)

Many narratives include as proof of the “*morisco problem*” a catalogue of Islamic practices and beliefs; these lists have been continually repeated and used in themselves as proof.⁵⁰⁵ In the seventeenth century the narratives were of an apologetic nature, to justify the expulsions, again with a view of these communities as crypto-Muslims, or secret heretics, or apostates: certainly, not as Christians.⁵⁰⁶ This image has been mostly reproduced without being questioned. Amalia García Pedraza calls this the reproduction of “robotic images.”⁵⁰⁷ The stereotype of *all* baptized descendants of Muslims as indeed Muslims continues to be perpetuated, in part, because it fits in nicely with the way the interaction between Muslims and Christians in the peninsula at times has been explained as a “Clash of Civilizations”⁵⁰⁸ which echoes the more contextually specific *Reconquista* lens for *Spain*.⁵⁰⁹

Notwithstanding the historical “objective” and “impartial” trends of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, conservative and liberal historians alike have continued to reach the same conclusion: the expulsion was of an irreducible minority—a community of *non*-Christians—since they never truly converted. The only nuance has been perhaps how they have answered whose fault was the lack of conversion. The liberal side blamed the church because the baptisms were forced, and evangelization and instruction was poor thus not helping members of these communities succeed in their conversion; the

⁵⁰⁵ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 30-32.

⁵⁰⁶ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 37-ff. Writings of Jaime Bleda (1610/1618), Damián Fonseca (1612) and Aznar Cardona. The apologetic literature also includes texts by Gaspar de Aguilar (1561-1623) and Juan Ripol (1613).

⁵⁰⁷ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 41: “retratos robot.”

⁵⁰⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Mediterranean*. See Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 31; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 128. See footnote 8.

⁵⁰⁹ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 48. “nación que forjó como unidad política en su lucha contra el Islam” que afirma su “europeidad.” See also 52: “la forja de la nacionalidad española en la permanente lucha religiosa contra el Islam.”

conservative side blamed an entire community for willfully not converting.⁵¹⁰ This starting point conflates problems of practice with those of belief or theology.

The myth of the inassimilable homogenous community has been normative. One of the foundations of this myth has been the contention that this homogenous community maintained part of its *modus vivendi*.⁵¹¹ This contention is now often refuted by the extensive use of the writings of Francisco Núñez Muley and his separation of regional practices from religious or Islamic practices.⁵¹² Yet, the few writings of Núñez Muley are far outweighed by the more numerous and negative texts about these communities.

At the end of the nineteenth century the same negative conclusions about the communities were reached through different avenues of research. Henry Charles Lea (1825-1909) was the first to extensively use Spanish inquisitorial records to develop a narrative for these communities.⁵¹³ Henry Charles Lea, like Luis del Mármol Carvajal centuries earlier, recognized that these communities were not homogenous in their purported deficient Christianity, yet this contention was minimized and turned out not to be the focus or conclusion of his work.⁵¹⁴ Lea's work became a standard reference for most of the twentieth century, especially since there were few other works focused on the religion or religious practices of members of these communities through the 1960s with the exception of Pedro Longás Bartibás' (1881-1968) *La vida religiosa de los moriscos* (1915), which shared orientalist interests (*arabistas*) with other scholars of the time in emphasizing the characteristics of these communities which tied them to Islam.⁵¹⁵ These communities were then seen as being homogeneously contiguous to Islam in the peninsula and were evaluated through an Islamic lens.⁵¹⁶ Put differently, the Christian lens which sees these communities as **one** community and as *non-Christian* used as evidence the tropic

⁵¹⁰ See A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 23. See also Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 58/58 and *Structure of Spanish History*, 93. Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 47-ff.

⁵¹¹ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 50.

⁵¹² An example of this is the work of Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*. Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*.

⁵¹³ Henry Charles Lea. *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York, Greenwood Press, 1968).

⁵¹⁴ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, section on Henry Charles Lea, 51-53.

⁵¹⁵ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 53-55. Pedro Longás Bartibás, *Vida religiosa de los moriscos* (Madrid: E. Maestre, 1915).

⁵¹⁶ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 59.

catalogue of Islamic practices; the Islamic lens which sees these communities as completely Muslim uses the same evidence. None of the proponents of either lens seems to acknowledge the discursive function of the lists and how they in fact matched or did not match up with the reality purported by the texts, that is, the lives lived versus the discursive lives. The research for this thesis supports the case against the homogenous view as completely *non-Christian* and as wholly *crypto-Muslim*.

After the 1950s there was an increased concern with the study of minority and marginalized groups. As such, these communities, including baptized descendants of Muslims, were of interest once again. From a Christian perspective, the negative view of these communities with respect to their religious life continued. Since the 1970s many studies have been thematic in nature, such as interest in the “*Islamic*” diaspora communities after 1609/14 in North Africa and other Muslim-controlled lands, as well as the “*New World*”,⁵¹⁷ *aljamiado* literature (Arabic philology),⁵¹⁸ the Sacromonte Lead Texts,⁵¹⁹ the church councils of 1554 and 1565, as well as other regional foci. As was posited for the *Convivencia* and *Reconquista* models, the “*Clash of Civilizations*” model as well as Arabist approaches also require the separation of communities in a *bi/tripartite* religious matrix. These models then cannot account for *mestizaje* or hybridization, and thus almost inevitably perpetuate homogenous and static narratives.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ See the works of Mikel de Epalza, Mercedes García Arenal and Luis F. Bernabé Pons.

⁵¹⁸ See the work of Luce López Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature. From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992). *Aljamiado* literature includes texts written in *aljamía*. Aljamía is a “morisco” romance language text transcribed in Arabic characters. Def. *DRAE* (2014 edition): *aljamía* (Del ár. hisp. al’aġamiyya, y este del ár. clás. a’ġamiyyah.) 1. f. Entre los antiguos musulmanes habitantes de España, lengua de los cristianos peninsulares. 2. f. Texto morisco en romance, pero transcrito con caracteres árabes. 3. f. Texto judeoespañol transcrito con caracteres hebreos. Definition *aljamiado*, *da* from the dictionary of the Real Academia Española: 1. adj. Que hablaba la aljamía. 2. adj. Escrito en aljamía. Accessed 28 October 2015.

⁵¹⁹ For studies on the Sacromonte texts see Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Francisco Mediano, eds., *The Orient of Spain: Converted Muslims, The Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La invención de los libros plúmbeos: fraude, historia y mito* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011); Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Francisco Mediano, “Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the Lead Books of Sacromonte,” in *Conversos and Moriscos*, Kevin Ingram, ed., 243-268; L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, Ch. 8 and Appendix III; A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*; Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García Arenal, eds. *Los Plomos del Sacromonte: Invención y Tesoro* (Valencia, Granada and Zaragoza: Universidad de Valencia, 2006); David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁵²⁰ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 56: “Ademas, Pedro Longás no entra a valorar una de las características de este tipo de literatura: el alto nivel de mestizaje que en ella hay entre elementos hispánicos e islámicos”; 69: “unos individuos inasimilables, así como la negación de la hibridación cultural entre los dos grupos.” “*Mestizaje*” has to do with mixing and miscegenation in the Americas. Def.

With the five hundredth anniversary of the fall of Granada approaching, in the 1970s and 1980s many studies fell into broader explorations of the meaning of the year 1492, such as the binaries of continuity or discontinuity, and conquest or reconquest.⁵²¹ Furthermore, since then there has been an interest in plurality of identities in the peninsula. The question of agency for members of these communities has been of concern for some. Louis Cardaillac addressed the issue of agency by studying polemical literature from all sides, showing an active resistance (polemics) on the part of members of these communities.⁵²² Consequently the perception was that not only was this whole community inassimilable, it was willfully so.

It has become acceptable in recent decades to identify the challenges with texts and language as conveyors of history, including problems with representation, and especially to challenge the use of certain types of texts to make broad generalizations, such as those of inquisitorial proceedings.⁵²³ Yet, the narratives are still solely about a lack of assimilation (*non-Spanishness*), and the Islam of this community (*non-Christianness*). Since the late 1970s the argument for the non-assimilation has also been supported by a common, yet unquestioned view of the practice of *taqiyya* (dissimulation) by the whole community: a view advanced by Louis Cardaillac.⁵²⁴ Relying on *taqiyya* supports their use of the term “*morisco*” not only as a religious *other*, but as a racial or ethnic *other* as well. Furthermore, the Arabist position continues to favor a sole view of

"Mestizaje" in *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Encyclopedia.com*. (11 October 2016). Accessed 15 October 2016. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/mestizaje>.

⁵²¹ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 71.

⁵²² Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 72: “Supone la ruptura definitiva con una visión de la minoría que, profundamente arraigada en nuestra historiografía, presentaba al colectivo como una comunidad compacta pero pasiva, incapaz de contraponer una resistencia activa al cerco religioso levantado por los vencedores.”

⁵²³ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 81.

⁵²⁴ Amalia García Pedraza writes that *taqiyya* is “un concepto que, sin crítica ni reflexión, se ha erigido en palabra compendio de toda la problemática planteada por la minoría en material religiosa, así como explicación última del porqué del fracaso de la integración del grupo.” Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 109; see also 74. “Más trascendental aún, ¿fue la práctica de la *taqiyya* la única estrategia de supervivencia del grupo ante un medio hostil como lo era la sociedad cristiano vieja?. *Taqiyya* means dissimulation and behaving externally in a manner which is different from the internal belief. There isn't agreement that *taqiyya* was practiced in the peninsula, by any, let alone by all of the baptized descendants of Muslims. Eliseo Serrano Martín, “La historiografía morisca,” 304. *Taqiyya* means dissimulation - hiding one's faith because of the hostile context. The scholars who alert us to *taqiyya* usually argue that this community, as a whole, did not truly convert to Christianity. This is the view of Louis Cardaillac; it is also mentioned by Henry Kamen in “Toleration and Dissent”, 5.

this community as homogenously Muslim rather than Christian, regardless of baptism. In the case of the texts analyzed in this thesis, which themselves are of a particular kind (e.g. tied to the institutional church), the conclusions are not intended to substitute one essentialized narrative for another. Therefore, as expressed in the Introduction, this study is not about internal belief, but about discourse. Thus, it should add to the knowledge regarding these communities and the expulsions of numbers of its members.

Also around 1992, there was a (re)evaluation of the state of the field and expansion of interest of these communities which seems to have coincided with a broader interest in local histories and the multiplicity of voices or identities, a call for a more interdisciplinary approach, and the use of alternative or different types of sources.⁵²⁵ In addition to the important contribution of Antonio Ortiz Domínguez and Bernard Vincent (1978), Amalia García Pedraza, among others, points to the pivotal contributions by Francisco Márquez Villanueva (1991) and Mercedes García Arenal (1992).⁵²⁶ Francisco Márquez Villanueva tried to show the connection between *old* and *new* Christians not only through the use of institutional or official primary texts, but also by looking at local and quotidian (con)texts and narratives. Mercedes García Arenal proposed a new line of questioning of the sources which is summarized by García Pedroza as asking:

What does it mean to be morisco; what was the level of acculturation; what were the constitutive elements of identity; what are the frontiers that define a minority group; what determines difference, and above all...what role did the new religion play in the formation of a new social identity?⁵²⁷

This falls in line with current questions having to do with the quotidian, with regional differences or contexts, as well as difference and plurality within the same communities. Yet, in many ways the overarching opposition of the two “homogenous” communities continues to be the dominant narrative, even if now understood in terms of vastly different

⁵²⁵ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 81.

⁵²⁶ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Editorial Revista de Occidente, 1978); Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1998); Mercedes García Arenal, “El problema morisco: propuestas de discusión,” *Al-Qantara* 13, no.2 (1992): 491-504. See also Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Publicaciones de las Universidades de Valencia, 2006) and *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1987).

⁵²⁷ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 94: “Que es ser morisco; cuál es el alcance de la aculturación; cuales son los ingredientes de la identidad; cuales son las fronteras que definen a un grupo minoritario; en qué radica la diferencia y, sobre todo...qué papel jugó la nueva religión en la formación de una nueva identidad social.”

mentalities and communities that were incompatible with one another.⁵²⁸ Given the insistence on the *bi/tripartite* matrix, it can only be looked at as *inter*-religious conflict or difference rather than *intra*-religious conflict or difference. Another question which may be asked is whether different or additional conclusions could be reached in answering the question “What does it mean to be morisco?” above, if it was “What does it mean to be a *new* Christian”? In the end this has to do with the construction of these communities as *other* to justify their expulsions as *non*-Christian and *non*-Spanish.

Francisco Márquez Villanueva summarizes the three major historiographical errors concerning the study of these communities as: the idea that *new* Christians constituted a threat to the state: some sort of a *fifth column*;⁵²⁹ the idea that they were an “inassimilable morisco minority”; and the idea that all of Spanish (*old* Christian) society was against them, including that there was complete animosity between the communities.⁵³⁰ Márquez Villanueva challenges a homogenous or one-sided view of the community of the baptized, descendants of Muslims. The language study found in this thesis supports that position.

Some traditional subjects of study regarding the baptized descendants of Muslims, including those in Granada, have to do with trying to ascertain the causes of rebellions and expulsions, yet few go beyond the apologetic, polemical, and inquisitorial literature. Furthermore, given the silence in the texts, there is apparently little interest in determining the level of assimilation (for perceived resistance is easier to determine), or in discovering the quality of the conversions, or in understanding the lives lived by members of these communities. James S. Amelang describes this phenomenon in the following way:

Crypto-Islam is arguably the most closely studied, as well as [the most] controversial, theme in historical writing on the moriscos. Curiously, until recently most speculation on the subject had echoed the two extreme positions of early modern commentators, which asserted that virtually all

⁵²⁸ Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 100: “Eugenio Císcar muestra como nunca desapareció la plena conciencia de las dos comunidades, siendo en el ámbito de las mentalidades donde se hallan las diferencias más bruscas aunque ‘ni siquiera en este aspecto la fractura es insuperable.’”

⁵²⁹ “Fifth-column” is a 20th century term. Def. *DRAE* (2014 edition): quinta columna, 1. f. Grupo organizado que en un país en guerra actúa clandestinamente en favor del enemigo. U. t. en sent. fig. Accessed 17 October 2016.

⁵³⁰ Eliseo Serrano Martín, “La historiografía morisca,” 303. See Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Problema morisco*; Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 93; Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric versus Local Reality: Propaganda and the Expulsion of the Moriscos,” In *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Richard J. Pym (Suffolk and Rochester: Tamesis, 2006), 5; Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 55/55; *Structure of Spanish History*, 90; *Spaniards*, 8, 244; and, also Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, 149-151.

moriscos were either crypto-Muslims or (less frequently) sincere Christians. Historians today tend to prefer less schematic interpretations and allow room for more mixed experiences. That said, it is clearly harder to study assimilation than nonconformity, as the main sources for morisco history—the trials of crypto-Muslims by the Inquisition—are heavily biased in favor of the latter option.⁵³¹

In the critique of older historical approaches, there is an acknowledgement of the gaps or aporias in single-sided and homogenous historical narratives which, in this case, rely on the (over)use of inquisitorial records or expulsion-apologetic literature, and perhaps of the term “*morisco*” itself. One of the turns in the study of the Granadan Christians, and other baptized descendants of Muslims, is a renewed interest in literary studies and what literary texts can tell us about their daily lives and attitudes: the quotidian.

Although these communities were defined by religion, there are very few sources and studies dedicated to the actual religious lives (and interior belief) of its members, something that is equally true of other Christians (so-called *conversos* or so-called *old* Christians). Amalia García Pedraza argues that one of the ways to go beyond the binary of assimilation and non-assimilation is to research the actual religious life of these communities through the expanded use of a variety of sources.⁵³² Before being able to fully make this transition, the categories used in the narratives still have to be unshackled from the *bi/tripartite* religious matrix.

These histories have been supported, in part, by the (over)use of inquisitorial records as texts to understand these communities. The sole use of inquisitorial texts tends to undermine whether it was possible for the Granadans, and other baptized descendants of Muslims in other regions, to truly become Christians (by truly converting), given their baptism. Yet, the overall aim of State and Church, with the threat of the Inquisition, was to keep these communities under their dual control. It was extremely complicated both to accuse a community (or communities) of being *non-Christian*, as well as to continue to assert the Christianity of the community so that it could still fall under the jurisdiction and be controlled by the Church and the Inquisition.

⁵³¹ James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories*, 34. It should be noted that although he is pointing to a bias in the texts, he may be unwillingly perpetuating the bias through his use of the terms “*morisco*” and “crypto-Muslim.”

⁵³² See Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, esp. 106-122.

Inquisitorial records only refer to and represent a fraction of the members of the communities and have been used to homogenize and generalize about the entire community. Notwithstanding the dearth of sources and studies on the actual religious lives (and interior belief), which has led to the overall view of “religious deficiency,” some historians are beginning to agree that among *all* practitioners of Christianity in *Spain* there were varying degrees of adherence to the faith. Going beyond inquisitorial and polemical texts, as well as (re)reading these texts by using different lenses and analyzing discourses, will help historians gain better insight into the actual practices and beliefs rather than the practices and beliefs purported in the written record (the discourse); yet, there are still some historiographical issues to be overcome.

Equating deficiency in practice with not being Christian is also theologically problematic in terms of baptism. As mentioned earlier, if the texts are looked at more closely, it can be noticed that the efficacy of baptism was not challenged although the lack of conversion was. Whereas State documents from Granada at times expressed an attitude toward the lack of true conversion for the Granadans, church documents expressed frustration at the behavior of the baptized descendants of Muslims. Yet none of these texts invalidated their baptism; notwithstanding the perceived deficiencies in conversion, instruction, and indoctrination. The conclusion made (and shown) is that many of the arguments used to justify the expulsions of these Christians, baptized descendants of Muslims, may not be able to be justified by Christian theology or tradition, if the problem was deemed to be with the rite of baptism.

Ascertaining the level of *true* conversion (interior belief) may be impossible. For example, B. Netanyahu was adamant that the majority of the baptized former Jews and their baptized descendants completely assimilated into “Spanish society” and were Christian. This position was in direct response to the assessment of Jews by both Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz. Neither Castro nor Sánchez Albornoz could conceive of any *true* Jewish or Muslim conversions to Christianity in the centuries surrounding 1492. For Castro, the Jewish converts merely had “an appearance of Christianity.”⁵³³ And Sánchez Albornoz insists that in 1391 Jews only sought baptism as

⁵³³ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 471/448.

an alternative to the violence they were experiencing, and that the Jews that were baptized

allowed themselves to be swept by the tide, constituted from thence forth a hybrid element, enclosed within the Spanish-Christian society and for a long time not assimilated to it.⁵³⁴

Although Américo Castro should be credited with the fact that Muslims and Jews can no longer be ignored in the study of the history of *Spain*, and that Muslims and Jews influenced what *Spain* and its people are today, he held a common historiographical view regarding the *new* Christians. Castro saw *new* Christians as a political threat that conspired with enemies of Spain (e.g. the Turks and north-African pirates): a so-called *fifth column*.⁵³⁵ Castro suggests that *new* Christians never truly converted to Christianity, were of suspect faith, and were inassimilable—in short, the same historiographical stances seen as errors above.⁵³⁶

For Américo Castro even as subjects of the king the *new* Christians and their baptized descendants “were in reality Moors who kept their religion and customs.”⁵³⁷ Castro further stipulates that it was indeed the fact that they were “so much so Moors” that led Phillip III to expel them.⁵³⁸ Enigmatically (and here Claudio Sánchez Albornoz would not agree), Castro believed that the *new* Christians “felt themselves as Spanish as the old Christians.”⁵³⁹ These positions rely on maintaining the prior religious *bi/tri*partite matrix

⁵³⁴ Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:955 (my translation): “Muchos miles de hebreos, llenos de pánico, pidieron y obtuvieron el bautismo. Ese gran número de apostasías que no permite atribuir a los judíos españoles demasiada firmeza en su fe ni demasiado valor martirial.... [Los judíos que] dejándose arrastrar por la corriente, constituyeron en adelante un elemento híbrido, enquistado dentro de la sociedad cristiana española y por largo tiempo no asimilado a ella.”

⁵³⁵ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 55/55; *Structure of Spanish History*, 90; *Spaniards*, 8, 244. See also Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, 149-151; Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric,” 5; Eliseo Serrano Martín, “La historiografía morisca,” 303; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Problema morisco*; and Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 93. See footnote 529.

⁵³⁶ Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 9, 95, 252.

⁵³⁷ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 50/50.

⁵³⁸ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 50/50; *Structure of Spanish History*, 84; *Spaniards*, 216. “So much so Moors” is my translation of the beginning of “Tan moros eran, que el piadoso rey Felipe III decidió expulsarlos de sus reinos en 1609.” L. P. Harvey argues that all Granadan converts remained Muslim and thus can only refer to them as crypto-Muslims. Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, 137, agrees and writes, “Vemos, pues, cómo los moriscos granadinos no abandonaron ni dejaron de practicar, desde su nacimiento hasta el día mismo de su muerte, los usos y ritos de los auténticos musulmanes.”

⁵³⁹ Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, 57/57, 58/58; *Structure of Spanish History*, 91-92 and 93; *Spaniards*, 250.

(through (re)inscription) from Muslims, Christians, and Jews to *old* Christians, and *new* Christians of the Jews and *new* Christians of the Moors.

The study of these communities has been different in the past twenty-five years, including a multiplication of areas of interest, use of more types of sources, and interdisciplinary approaches. There has been a change in the questioning of the sources as Mercedes García Arenal suggested, but unlike in the literary fields where the texts themselves have been problematized and seen as a source of new information, in the historical field the texts are still being used to create historical narratives without looking more closely at aspects of the texts themselves that can be used to better elucidate and understand the historical narrative. In the study of these communities the shift has not fully been made to value form (post-modern) as well as content (modernity). Yet in Alun Munslow's terms, there has been a "new conceptualization (of causation) that connects the facts together in a new narrative description" still focused on content but not on form.⁵⁴⁰ In other words the "*linguistic turn*"⁵⁴¹ in historical studies has not completely reached the approach to the particular study of these communities.

In addition to the "*linguistic turn*" there are other inter-disciplinary approaches that have yet to be fully applied to the study of these communities. These include post-modern approaches, including aspects of post-colonialism. In the case of the narrative produced here, the concern is not only with the language used on these pages, but also with trying to understand the language used in the pages of the primary texts and how these have been used or not by historians in their narratives based on those texts. Therefore, the "*linguistic turn*" is both self-reflexive and historiographical. Put differently, and again using the language of Alun Munslow, the historical narratives created about these sixteenth-century communities remain within constructionism and have not made a complete move toward deconstructionism. Therefore, here in this narrative and artifact, when the language of empirical observation, hypothesis testing, and narrative creation is used, it is not done in such a way as to remain within the mid-twentieth century application of social

⁵⁴⁰ Alun Muslow, *Companion*, 61.

⁵⁴¹ Alun Muslow, *Companion*, 10, 164-166, describes "the shift in historical explanation toward and emphasis on the role of language in creating historical meaning." Alun Munslow cites Richard M. Rorty. See Richard M. Rorty, ed., *The Linguistic Turn: Essays in Philosophical Method*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

science methodology to history, but as an entry point to the constructed nature of the language found in the texts: a catachrestic approach.

2.3 Other approaches

The meta-narratives about the history of *Spain*, such as those presented above, generally have a Europeanizing tendency, which in turn produce a desemitization of the history of *Spain*. Arabists, and liberal and conservative historians, who focus on these communities and their expulsions, for the most part consider these communities to have been homogenously Muslim rather than Christian because of baptism. Therefore, these types of narratives produced about these communities have not made the “*linguistic turn*.” In this section tools used in other fields are considered for use in the study of the texts and discourses about these communities.

Since the latter decades of the twentieth century, post-colonial and post-modernity approaches have extensively called into question the Enlightenment or Modernity view of history.⁵⁴² And thus, the “objective” histories and “meta” narratives of the past which fail to capture the constructed elements or discursive strategies of the texts themselves and their biases are being challenged. For example, these narratives fail to capture the discursive reactions to the external constructions of *Spain* (such as the discourses of the “Black Legend”), the attempts by Crown and Church to control an internal colony or minoritized group (colonialism), and the historical complexities of the period as they were reflected or erased in the texts.

These challenges have also shaken the underpinnings of fields beyond history, have exposed gaps and assumptions in scholarship, and have opened previously unexplored areas of cross-disciplinary research. Moreover, this questioning has further shown how ideological the historical endeavor can be, and how much more there is beyond the history that has been presented.⁵⁴³ Post-colonial and post-modern histories,

⁵⁴² Some scholars differentiate between post-colonial and postcolonial, or post-modern and postmodern. Although using a hyphen is the style used in this thesis, it is not indicative of taking a position with respect to this debate.

⁵⁴³ This idea is borrowed from Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 71: “Each time the encounter with identity occurs at the point at which something exceeds the frame of the image, it eludes the eye, evacuates the self as site of identity and autonomy and—most important—leaves a resistant trace, a stain of the subject, a sign of resistance.” When history is written as the Enlightenment/Modernity proposes it cannot capture the whole scene. Although this is true of the entire historical endeavor it is addressing the particular aporias created by the Enlightenment/Modernity approach.

narratives, and reading strategies have opened the possibility of more complex and broader histories by identifying and/or including voices and communities that have been ignored, silenced, homogenized, and excluded or constructed as *other*. These reading strategies have given different and new lenses to explore the same texts and discover more nuanced histories for these communities, rather than the history of this community: new ways of reading the same texts.

One early example of this type of history being called into question can be seen in the work of Edward W. Said (1935-2003).⁵⁴⁴ Said alerted academia to the ways in which scholars had reified communities as *exotic* and *other*, as well as how these constructions have been perpetuated without challenge within the academic world: he named this process *Orientalism*.⁵⁴⁵ Out of these challenges came the assertion that the construction of the *other* is intricately tied to the construction of the *self*. Notwithstanding this contribution, Said's work, as well as other post-colonial works, have also been criticized for gaps and blind spots; such, as being limited to Enlightenment and Modern Empires (British, Dutch, French, and to a lesser extent the United States). Because of this orientation, these theorists and theories have been mostly blind to Spain and Latin America, and thus the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century imperial expansion.⁵⁴⁶ Whereas post-colonialism is a critique of an Enlightenment and Modernity view of history, it must also be viewed as applicable to pre-Enlightenment empires and their colonies. If post-colonialism ignores Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, it remains Eurocentric and ends up (over)correcting Orientalism with Occidentalism.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Culture and Imperialism*.

⁵⁴⁵ See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1-28; abbreviated version in "Orientalism" in *Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 87-91.

⁵⁴⁶ Surprisingly, as is seen later, the Black Legend may be seen as an example of orientalism - in this case Spain being *othered*/Orientalized. It is an example of the dissonance between how Spain increasingly viewed itself, and how the rest of Europe and England viewed Spain. In a description of the coronation of Charles V, his entourage is described as wearing Moorish dress - something that later in some of the documents being studied in this thesis was a cause of great anxiety in Granada, and indicative of disloyalty to the crown. See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 101 and n.41 p. 166. She cites Prudencio de Sandóval (c. 1560-1620), *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V (1604-1606)*, ed. Carlos Seco Serrano (Madrid: BAE, 1955), 1:452.

⁵⁴⁷ With respect to Latin America the work of Anibal Quijano, Walter D. Mignolo, Enrique Dussel, et al., is very important, especially with the challenge they have posed to the conventions of post-colonial theory, and the terminology they have developed for the post-colonial study of Latin America. They not only criticize Orientalism, but also make a claim against Occidentalism and Eurocentrism, while falling within a critique of modernity or the assumption of the teleology of history. See Mabel Moraña, et al., *Coloniality at Large*.

Ignoring Spain, Portugal, and Latin America in a way gives credence to the discourses of the so-called Black Legend (seeing Spain as *de facto* different) and gives preference to the Enlightenment, Protestantism, and to English, French, and Dutch empires, while dismissing the rise of empires and nation-states in the early-Modern and Renaissance periods, Roman Catholicism, and the Papacy.⁵⁴⁸ Although the pervasiveness of the discourses of the “Black Legend” is not always specifically acknowledged, post-colonial theorists are increasingly recognizing this gap. As Peter Childs expresses, “there has not been just one period of colonization in the history of the world.”⁵⁴⁹ Similarly, Homi K. Bhabha strongly asserts that post-colonial tools are not contingent on modernity, and thus have found applicability in the study of other times, places, empires, and texts. Bhabha writes:

postcolonial critique bears witness to those countries and communities—in the North and the South, urban and rural—constituted, if I may coin a phrase, ‘otherwise than modernity’. Such cultures of a postcolonial *contra-modernity* may be contingent to modernity, discontinuous or in contention with it, resistant to its oppressive, assimilationist technologies; but they also deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to ‘translate’, and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁸ See Mabel Moraña, et al., *Coloniality at Large*, 8. The particularities (but not exceptionalism) of Granada and New Spain challenge the presuppositions of post-colonial studies by pushing colonialism and imperialism back to the late fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, thus the pre-Enlightenment and the Spanish Empire. By studying Granada through a post-colonial lens, it is also bringing Spain into the center of a conversation from which it has been excluded. Very few studies refer to Granada as a colony after the capitulations of 1492. Robert I. Burns does refer to Granada as colony from 1492 until 1500: Burns describes a community that goes “from free Islam to colonial Islam to Moriscos” in R. I. Burns “Mudejar Parallel Societies: Anglophone Historiography and Spanish Context, 1975-2000,” in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interactions and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, rev., Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 8 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 105. And, proposing that in these two particular locations there has not been a post-colonialism. Not only was colonialism in its apogee in the sixteenth-century, but has been argued that there has not been a twentieth century decolonization process in Latin America. Furthermore, Granada is not typically seen as a colony of the Spanish Empire and because of the expulsion of Granadans in 1570 to other areas of the Iberian Peninsula and eventual expulsion from all of Spanish lands, they never became a population with the possibility of decolonization (they were only a population with the possibility/potentiality of assimilation.) The impact of their expulsion has been extremely difficult to trace, although the impact on the Spanish imagination is more easily seen in the subsequent apologetic literature justifying the expulsion and the history of the period.

⁵⁴⁹ Peter Childs and Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (London and New York, 1997), 1.

⁵⁵⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 9.

Therefore, post-colonial tools can be and are used to inform the study of the sixteenth-century Granadans, seen as an internal colony of the nascent-Spanish Empire, as well as other peninsular baptized descendants of Muslims. The use of post-colonial tools as part of a reading strategy in the narrative being produced here offers a multivalent corrective, for it includes Spain as a pre-Enlightenment empire in the sphere of study of post-colonial and post-modern theory, and challenges historical narratives regarding certain “minority” communities within *Spain*.

Granada can be seen and studied as a colony of the empire, similar to colonies in Latin America. A guiding definition of colonization and its relationship to both colonial and imperial is

the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system.⁵⁵¹

The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada was a territory taken over by Castile and the *Spanish* Monarchy. The Crown exploited its material resources and labor,⁵⁵² and denigrated and supplanted its political and cultural structures. Furthermore, the centuries-long Christian (re)conquest of Spain was accompanied by a (re)population effort.⁵⁵³ This was no different in Granada. Part of the population was displaced, whether by exile or migration. Yet, there were some practical differences, between Granada and the other colonies (such as *New Spain*), and these are understood in post-colonial terms as the difference between periphery and center, or internal and external.

By using post-colonial and post-modern tools in this deconstructionist approach to the historical endeavor, the analysis and conclusions in this project make the “*linguistic turn*.” The primary texts are (re)read to identify the internal discursive reactions to the external construction of *Spain* as the *other* to Europe. Knowing that there were internal discursive reactions prompts an examination of whether there were changes in the referential language (definition and usage) of these communities, as part of the reaction. Furthermore, the referential language can then be identified as a mechanism of control for the State and the Church. Therefore, using a catachrestic approach to reading these texts

⁵⁵¹ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd ed. (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2005), 11.

⁵⁵² In the case of Granada primarily extortion.

⁵⁵³ See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 3:730-3:758.

also helps to uncover ways in which some people in these communities have been erased from the texts, and the discursive processes that aid in that erasure. Reading the texts with *Orientalism* in mind also opens avenues to identifying the ways in which the *self* and the *other* are intricately connected in the texts as nationally and imperially *Spanish* identity was being constructed as the sixteenth century progressed. All this supports the stance that *Spain* should not from the outset be studied as *de facto* different, because when that is the starting point, it requires making its minority communities “embody” the difference within its borders.

With these opportunities provided by the use of these tools, what follows is a presentation of other more specific conceptual frameworks, within and beyond the umbrella of post-colonialism and post-modernism used in analyzing the changes in definition and usage in specific referential language found in the primary texts in chapters 3 and 4.

The first set of tools comes from the works of Homi K. Bhabha (b. 1949, India) and Walter D. Mignolo (b. 1941, Argentina).⁵⁵⁴ Bhabha’s and Mignolo’s works are useful in the identification of the processes of construction of the *other*, particularly the identification of hybridity, cultural difference, and colonial discourse or semiosis. For Bhabha it is important to focus “on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural difference.”⁵⁵⁵ This process has not been studied in the case of the Granadan community, texts about this community, or more broadly about the baptized descendants of Muslims in the peninsula. What was and is produced in the articulation of *self* and *other* is something that should be read beyond binary categories (horizontal) or hierarchies (vertical); an area known as hybridity—a third space.⁵⁵⁶

The contestation of binaries—such as, if the community was described as *non-Christian* that it must have been Muslim—is accompanied by a challenge to the teleological view of history and change, since both tend to function on a spectrum along a

⁵⁵⁴ See Homi K. Bhabha’s *Location of Culture*, and Walter D. Mignolo, “The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Colonization and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 808–828; *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

⁵⁵⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 2.

⁵⁵⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 54.

plane (horizontal).⁵⁵⁷ In the case of *Spain*, historians are called to challenge the permeation of the idea of progressive *Reconquista* (meaning teleological progress from point A to point B) as solely underpinning the inevitable expulsion of an entire community of Christians as the completion of the process of *Reconquista*.

Furthermore, the *bi/tri*partite religious matrix is then challenged by Homi K. Bhabha's differentiation of cultural diversity and cultural difference. For Bhabha, cultural diversity is an epistemological object—culture as an object of empirical knowledge—whereas cultural difference is the process of enunciation of culture as 'knowledgeable,' authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification.⁵⁵⁸

In the case of Spain, scholars (over)state *cultural* diversity as static and remaining within respective religious boundaries (religious *otherness*), without acknowledging the creation of something *hybrid*, a "third space" which is "neither the one thing nor the other," being not strictly in the religious sphere.⁵⁵⁹ Perhaps this "third space" is what is intrinsically *Spanish* (held in common) and what is missed by insisting on "systems of cultural identification" based on religious affiliation, binaries, or matrices. Another useful way to differentiate cultural diversity from cultural difference is by identifying the places where these two are conflated, and, thus seeing how the conflation hides the very processes of going from diversity to difference, discursively and historiographically.

As Homi K. Bhabha notes,

the enunciation of cultural difference problematizes the binary division of past and present, tradition and modernity...[and] problematizes homogenizing effects.⁵⁶⁰

The national narrative or idea, such as the "one, eternal Spain" is indeed what is threatened, not the "*other*" who is threatening. Bhabha notes, "the threat of cultural difference is no longer a problem of 'other' people. It becomes a question of otherness of

⁵⁵⁷ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 36, 50-2, 167, 179, 201. This teleological view of history is also challenged by Barbara Fuchs, "Maurophilia and the Morisco Subject," in *Conversos and Moriscos*, ed. Kevin Ingram, 269; she refutes a history of Spain that relies on *supersession* "which imagines a present that replaces and improves upon a past left behind" and shows how this "involves a deliberate effort of rhetorical and historiographical construction." See also footnote 547.

⁵⁵⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 49-50; also Homi K. Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," in *New Formations* 5 (summer, 1988): 18; "Cultural Diveristy and Cultural Differences" in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, et al., 155 (excerpts from "The Commitment to Theory").

⁵⁵⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 49; also 54.

⁵⁶⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 52.

the people-as-one.”⁵⁶¹ What is indeed false is the historicity of the national narrative as real.

Cultural diversity, as presented by Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, insists on distinct categories and binaries (and here the *bi/tripartite* matrix) and overstates the separation between the groups as well as the static nature of the groups. Agreed here and relevant in the context of *Spain*, Homi K. Bhabha warns that “[c]ultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other.”⁵⁶² Therefore, getting away from the framework of three religions (homogeneity and *bi/tripartite*) will open the door to begin to understand more fully the socio-cultural and religious identities of these communities, including the multiplicity of loci of intersection.

Using post-colonial tools allows Granada to be seen as a colony, and this in turn enables us to study the theorized constructed nature of this community (and later communities throughout the peninsula) as *other*. By theorizing underlying *othering* processes the primary texts can be studied within the context of what Walter D. Mignolo at first called “colonial discourse” and later “colonial semiosis.”⁵⁶³ In colonial discourse or semiosis, the *Reconquista* (including the idea of *Reconquista*) can be seen as a long colonization process of the peninsula, and the expulsions of communities of baptized descendants of Muslims as the culmination of that process. Furthermore, the expulsions were part of the ongoing consolidation of the Spanish Empire and the external reactions to their hegemonic claims, as explained before regarding the discourses of the so-called Black Legend. Similarly, the monarchs colonized the Kingdom of Granada beginning in 1492 and progressively finished the religious conquest by requiring baptism (a mechanism of control) of all Muslims in the peninsula. This was a discursive process because

⁵⁶¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 215.

⁵⁶² Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 52.

⁵⁶³ Walter D. Mignolo, “Afterword: From Colonial Discourse to Colonial Semiosis,” in *Dispositio* 14, no. 36/38, *Colonial Discourse* (1989): 333-337: “Since we have to account for a complex system of semiotic interactions embodied in the discursive (oral) and the textual (material inscriptions in different writing systems), we need a concept such as “colonial semiosis” which has the advantage of taking us away from the tyranny of the alphabet-oriented notions of text and discourse and the disadvantage of multiplying an already large and sometimes confusing vocabulary. On the positive side, it defines a field of study in a parallel and complementary fashion to already existing ones such as “colonial history”, “colonial art”, “colonial economy”, etc. Briefly, the notion of “colonial semiosis” reveals, as this issue of *Dispositio* illustrates, that language-centered colonial studies (at least Latin American and Caribbean colonial studies), are moving beyond the realm of the written word in order to incorporate the oral and non-alphabetical writing systems as well as non-verbal graphic systems.”

The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.... Colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible.⁵⁶⁴

Identifying this "production" of the colonized who in the case of the peninsular Christians are descendants of Muslims, is an objective of this project. The discursive elements of the so-called Black Legend can also be seen as a type of colonial discourse. Here Walter D. Mignolo is helpful by differentiating internal- from external-colonial discourse. Applying his idea, one could say that the so-called Black Legend as an external colonial discourse "produced" a reaction within Spain that required an internal-colonial discourse: creating the racial *other* (racialist turn) and then ultimately excising it.

The discourses of the so-called Gothic Myth, as a reaction to the discourses of the Black Legend, can also be understood as the fetishism that Homi K. Bhabha describes with reference to "historical origins." Bhabha writes,

The myth of historical origination—racial purity, cultural priority—produced in relation to the colonial stereotype functions to 'normalize' the multiple beliefs and split subjects that constitute colonial discourse as a consequence of its process of disavowal.⁵⁶⁵

The more the national myth has been "disrupted" (to use Bhabha's term) the more the unified and homogenous narrative has fallen apart. The presence of difference continually disrupts the "totalizing boundaries" and the "essentialist identities" of "imagined communities."⁵⁶⁶ Once this is recognized, room opens up to study the breadth of cultural differences as found in the breadth of religious differences; rather than being seen as a religious binary between Christianity and Islam (which is eventually constructed into a racial or ethnic binary), it is possible to be seen as difference within Christianity (because of baptism) and one or more of its constitutive Christian communities. Or, put differently, an *intra* dynamic rather than an *inter* one.

By analyzing the language of the texts with post-colonial and post-modern tools, such as colonial discourse, it becomes apparent that the post-Enlightenment

⁵⁶⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 101.

⁵⁶⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 106; also, "[n]ationalist ideology of unisonance," 134; "monoculturalism," 142.

⁵⁶⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 149.

understanding of race used historiographically—meaning retroactively imposed—becomes a less useful lens in studying these communities in the moments (or processes) when they were being constructed or racialized as *other*. This is because the *othering* processes which were racializing (*racialist turn*) had not yet been completed, and still did not have the racialist meanings that would later emerge.

Homi K. Bhabha (and Frantz Fanon) propose that the *epidermis* becomes the location of difference. Yet, what happens when in fact there is no radical or significant difference in the *epidermis* between *self* and *other*? The discourse is read and produced as reality; in this case historiographically. As Bhabha puts it “skin as a signifier of discrimination must be produced or processed as visible”⁵⁶⁷—whether it is. Bhabha’s concepts (as tools) are used to look for the locus of difference in the texts and show examples on which this is seen in the skin.

The post-colonial and post-modern tools presented above need to be specifically applied to a narrower subject matter of concern in this project. For example, Granada is seen as a colony and Muslims and their baptized descendants are seen as the colonized. Colonial discourse is identified specifically in the texts under study, such as hybridity and third space, in order to find discourses that helped to justify the expulsions, discourses that were “produced as reality” (for example, *moriscos* were not Christian nor Spanish), the “locus of difference” (they were indelibly *other*), etc. Binaries are contested as well as the distance between *self* and *other*. Some of these tools have already been used in narrower projects as presented below.

For example, useful applications of some of the above theoretical frameworks for the production of this narrative can be seen in the works of Barbara Fuchs (b. 1970, United States) and Alain Milhou (1944-2001, France), referred to before in this narrative. Milhou and Fuchs problematized the homogenous historical narratives for these communities, and identified the historiographical counter trends to the “meta” narratives discussed above. Fuchs has identified instances of hybridity in texts relating to these communities and in material culture, and along with Milhou has called attention to the

⁵⁶⁷ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 113. Bhabha writes that “the fetish of colonial discourse is the epidermal schema” (112). Also, “race becomes the ineradicable sign of negative difference in colonial discourses” (108). Homi K. Bhabha borrows this from Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952), (*Black skin, white masks*, 1967), trans. Richard Philcox, 1st ed., new ed. (New York: Grove Press, 2008).

constructed nature of the idea of “*Spain*” as reactions to the discursive iterations of the so-called Black Legend, or as a deorientalizing and desemitizing historiographical tendency.

Barbara Fuchs provides a useful conceptual framework, such as noting the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries literary shift from *maurophilia* to *maurophobia* in the peninsula.⁵⁶⁸ This framework is used to identify and study processes in the texts of interest for this project. Though a meta-narrative itself, it is useful because it indicates a process not a moment, and is useful to understand the religious lives of members of these communities, the gap in historiography, and to expand our knowledge and understanding of the expulsions. Put differently, it helps us understand how *Spain* went from acknowledging, tolerating, and even copying its Moorish culture (*Maurophilia*) to getting rid of its Jewish and Moorish constitutive elements (*Maurophobia*). Fuchs proposes that

Spain’s hardening attitude toward **Moors** or **Moriscos** over the course of the sixteenth century may stem in part from the force of European constructions of Moorish Spain. [Therefore], [h]ow does Spain, in its development as a Nation-State, negotiate its often contradictory identifications with Moorishness, and how does this relationship change over the course of the sixteenth century, as the vestiges of Al-Andalus receded and the Counter-Reformation put pressure on all forms of heterodoxy? Conversely, how does the rest of Europe present Spain’s connection to the **Moors** and how is this connection exploited for particular political goals?⁵⁶⁹

Fuchs sees the “hardening attitude” toward these communities as a reaction to the discourses of the so-called Black Legend. Yet, Fuchs’ work is still constrained by the religious binary of Islam/Christianity, or *inter*-religious, rather than Christian/Christian, or *intra*-religious.

As is true of most processes, the transition from *Maurophilia* to *Maurophobia* was not immediate, and they coexisted for a while. Barbara Fuchs writes,

⁵⁶⁸ -philia as a suffix indicates an attraction toward something; in this case Mauro from *Mauros* (Roman designation of a province in Africa); -phobia as a suffix indicates a repulsion against something, usually considered an unreasonable and irrational fear; in this case it is the fear of the Mauro/Moor. This is analyzed further in chapters 3 and 4. *Moor* comes from *Mauros*, but in Granada it is primarily used to mean *Muslim*. Douglas Harper, ed., *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed 4 November 2015, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/-philia> and <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/-phobia>.

⁵⁶⁹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 10. Note the conflation of “*Moor*” and “*Morisco*”: see 259, 274. (My emphasis.)

The maurophile fashion coexists, however uneasily, with the maurophobic discourse of Spain's vulnerability to, and definition against, Moorish culture.⁵⁷⁰

It is suggested that Homi K. Bhabha's "third space" or "hybrid space" is the place where *Maurophilia* and *Maurophobia* co-exist, especially since this space of encounter is a place of incredible creativity and volatility; it both repels and attracts.⁵⁷¹ The religious, ethnic, and socio-cultural connotations of the *maurus* of *Maurophilia* and *-phobia* are here conflated. Barbara Fuchs has a two-part hypothesis: first, that *Maurophobia* was the "conflation of Maurophilia with deviance" (she traces this conflation to the beginning of the fifteenth century);⁵⁷² second, that *Maurophobia* was part of the "desemitzation" of Spain in the sixteenth century. The second part of her hypothesis is taken from the work of Alain Milhou.⁵⁷³

Seeing the Kingdom of Granada as a colony is challenging, especially since the population of this "colony" was displaced throughout the Kingdom of Castile after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras; yet, the baptized descendants of Muslims remained *colonized*. Therefore, attention is also given to processes of *othering* of these populations in various contexts: the processes of the differentiation and the construction of the binary *self/other* away from *self/self*. Barbara Fuchs puts it slightly differently stating that the paradox lies in the fact that *Moors* were not foreigners or aliens, a shared fundamental stance for this project.⁵⁷⁴ Put differently, the baptized descendants of Moors or of Jews were not who made Spain the *other* of Europe. This is a criticism against Edward W. Said who "requires distance between Self and Other, which is not possible in Spain."⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁰ Barbara Fuchs, "Maurophilia," 280.

⁵⁷¹ Similar to the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* explored by Rudolf Otto (*The Idea of the Holy*), and *mysterium fascinans* explored by Mircea Eliade (*The Sacred and the Profane*).

⁵⁷² Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 17.

⁵⁷³ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 20; also, 21, 22, 27. Barbara Fuchs (21) quotes Alain Milhou, "Desemitzación," 42: the "de-Africanizing, de-judaizing, and cultural Europeanization that would become radical under the Catholic kings." Walter D. Mignolo would echo this by noting that this is a kind of "Occidentalism" which has been overshadowed as the other side of "Orientalism." Walter D. Mignolo, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: Cultural Critique or Academic Colonialism?" in *Latin American Research Review* 28, no. 3 (1993): 123.

⁵⁷⁴ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 22.

⁵⁷⁵ Barbara Fuchs, "Maurophilia," 273.

For Barbara Fuchs, the excising of the *Moor* and his or her descendants and practices from the national identity of Spain was a process of “willful forgetting.”⁵⁷⁶ And this process was a reaction to the *Moorish* representation of Spain by the rest of Europe, and in the discourses of the “Black Legend.” Yet, this “willful forgetting” did not actually erase the *Moor* from everything and everywhere. What Fuchs argues is that the historians’ narrative that buys into the State’s narrative of this “minority” community being “unassimilable and undesirable”⁵⁷⁷ fits in nicely with a “clash of cultures model,” as could be said of the other historiographical errors and sweeping models or meta narratives.⁵⁷⁸ Both of these aspects completely dismiss or misrepresent the quotidian and the shared material culture. Put differently, just because religious *otherness* was removed through baptism does not mean that shared elements, as well, ceased to exist, given that these existed prior to the decreed baptisms. This is itself an application of Homi K. Bhabha’s differentiation of diversity and difference.⁵⁷⁹

Hegemonic segments, those in power, in *Spain* reacted to the discourses of the “Black Legend,” by removing whatever was identified as connected to Judaism and Islam, yet this in itself is not proof that there was something solely identifiable as Jewish or Islamic to be excised; and as such something inherently *Spanish* was lost. Barbara Fuchs explains it this way:

whether embraced or stigmatized therefore, Moorishness becomes an unavoidable component in the construction of Spain’s national identity over the sixteenth century.⁵⁸⁰

Both “racialized, essentialized distinctions” and “representations of commonalities between Moors and Christians in Spanish Maurophilia” share the assumption of Spain’s

⁵⁷⁶ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 84; also “memory,” 45; “forgetting,” 85. See also Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 229-230.

⁵⁷⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 38.

⁵⁷⁸ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 128. Here Barbara Fuchs cites Javier Castillo Fernández and the fact that “historiography has largely neglected the large class of assimilated moriscos....” (See Javier Castillo Fernández, “Luis Enríquez Xoaida, el primo hermano morisco del Rey Católico (análisis de un caso de falsificación histórica e integración social),” in *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995): 235-53. See Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 31.

⁵⁷⁹ See Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 49-50.

⁵⁸⁰ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 138.

Moorishness, whether real or constructed.⁵⁸¹ Ultimately, Spain cannot excise its very self; it can only damage it.

In the desemitization thesis Alain Milhou proposes that there was a dual process of identity construction for *Spain* in the sixteenth century. The related parts of these constructions were an opening toward Europe (Europeanization) and a closing toward the “oriental” (deorientalizing or desemitizing). Milhou also called this process “de-Africanizing” and “de-Judaizing.”⁵⁸² The discourses of the so-called Gothic Myth can be seen as part of the Europeanization process. Milhou notes that Spain did not open itself fully to Europe; eventually Spain closed itself off ideologically both to Europe (e.g. the Continental Reformations) and the orient (e.g. Judaism and Islam).⁵⁸³ Yet Milhou’s Europeanization and deorientalizing thesis needs to be expanded in the way that Barbara Fuchs does, by including the remnants, the shared material culture or quotidian, in short, hybridity or that which is produced through interaction, whether positive or negative.

As far as the discourses of the so-called Black Legend are concerned, Barbara Fuchs notes that Alain Milhou points to its characterization of *Spanish* origins as exotic because of its *epidermic* or biological and cultural *mestizaje* (hybridity and mixture).⁵⁸⁴ After 1578, when Bartolomé de las Casas’ *Brevíssima* was translated into Dutch, the exotic image of *Spain* would be transformed and augmented into a morally blackened image.⁵⁸⁵ Therefore, *Spain* was not only a nation of bad Christians (half-Jewish and half-Moorish Catholics), but also a nation of inhumane conquerors.⁵⁸⁶

Both Alain Milhou and Barbara Fuchs are clear on the processes of identity construction being causal and reactionary. Milhou writes,

⁵⁸¹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 138. A way for Castile to “reject its own hybridity” as proposed by Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “The King, the Nation, and the Moor: Imperial Spectacle and the Rejection of Hybridity in ‘The Masque of the Expulsion of the Moriscos,’” in *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring/Summer, 2008): 98-133.

⁵⁸² Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 35.

⁵⁸³ Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 36, 60.

⁵⁸⁴ As quoted by Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 20. See Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 38.

⁵⁸⁵ See footnote 482.

⁵⁸⁶ Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 38.

even before it existed for the Spaniards themselves, Spain existed for the other Europeans as a well-defined country, different from the rest of Christendom.⁵⁸⁷

It is this external construction that *Spain* continually strives to refute by its alternate construction of its own identity. A textually constructed identity which tries to remove actual or constructed oriental—here meaning Jewish or Muslim—and exotic elements ends up removing a part of its very *self*, including its quotidian nature. *Spain* asserted its catholicity, only to be described as Jewish or Muslim. Yet, the de-Judaizing and de-Islamizing (by getting rid of people and communities) did not complete the desemitization of Spain; the Jewish or Muslim constitutive elements of material culture remained, as well as descendants from these communities.⁵⁸⁸ For baptized descendants of Muslims their identity construction by others was an internal discursive reaction, which further bounded these communities as internal religious and ethnic *others*.

This section has explored deconstructionist approaches that can be used to study discursive constructions of baptized descendants of Muslims as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. Such constructions which were used as justifications for the expulsions at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The theoretical underpinnings explored serve as the basis for the practical reading strategy presented in the next section. These theories include identifying “discursive reactions” as seen in the changes in referential language—meaning and usage; or, language used as a mechanism of control. Identifying the ways in which the language of the texts was part of the processes of identity construction, both Europeanization and desemitization, which required the discursive separation of the *self* and *other*, even at the expense of the very self, encompassed in the *other*. The last tools to be presented were those of hybridity, difference, and colonial discourse. These latter ones are used as correctives to the (over)use of the *bi/tripartite* religious *otherness* which is insisted upon in the study of *Spain*. These tools also move away from an emphasis and reliance on binaries and the conflation of religious and non-religious categories. These also help in correcting the pervasiveness of the various historiographical errors and

⁵⁸⁷ Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 39: “Incluso antes de que existiera para los mismos españoles, España existió para los demás europeos como país bien caracterizable, diferente al resto de la Cristiandad.”

⁵⁸⁸ Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 51.

overarching traditional approaches presented earlier, and in suggesting a new reading of the primary texts.

2.4 A multivalent strategy

Chapter 1 presented the historical contours of the history of the Granadans in the sixteenth century as well as a historical-theological presentation of baptism and conversion. For comparative purposes, and as other points in a long-term meta process, the chapter also included discussion of baptism and conversion of peninsular Jews and *Amerindians*. This historical presentation was followed in this chapter by a historiographical and methodological presentation of the general study of *Spain* and the more specific study of baptized descendants of Muslims from Granada and other places in the peninsula. As part of this methodological and historiographical presentation, some gaps in the study of these communities have been identified.

In addition to the historiographical errors identified by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, it is noted that the historical investigation of these communities did not make the “*linguistic turn*,” and continues to insist on a *bi/tripartite* religious matrix as an organizing principle—and thus to perpetuate religious *otherness*. Although scholars are addressing the noted historiographical errors today, the texts have not yet been (re)read with an eye to the language changes of the sixteenth century that ultimately aided the discursive justifications of the expulsions. Furthermore, the changes in the ways to which **these** communities were referred, compared to how scholars have referred to **this** community have not been problematized, as done here in Chapter 4. Because of this, the processes of construction of these communities as *other* have been hidden as a possible area of study, as unearthed here. Thus, referring to this community as the *morisco* community is considered similar to, or part of, the historiographical errors identified by Francisco Márquez Villanueva. By starting from a place other than religious *otherness*, and by understanding how these communities came to be called **the morisco** community may provide insight into the language processes that helped to justify the expulsions of members of these various Christian communities. That in turn may help to eventually understand the lived lives of members of these communities.

Along with the theoretical foundations from Section 2.3, such as colonial discourse, this section uses a deconstructionist historical reading strategy for the primary documents

of interest. The deconstructionist reading strategy first and foremost focuses on the language used in the texts, to refer to these communities before and after their baptism, and how the language changed in usage and meaning as the century progressed. The form, or language choices, of the texts are read beyond the apparent meaning of the content, for another aim of the document analysis is to identify how it was constructed, as well as the variety of meanings—hybrid, and non-stable or non-static—of the terminology used and how these changed.

The approach described in the previous paragraph is supported by an emerging theory which combines Homi K. Bhabha's "third space" (hybridity) as the lens to understand Barbara Fuchs' conceptualization (and location) of the shift from *Maurophilia* to *Maurophobia*. This occurred in the moment of the emergence of a construction of a *Spanish* identity (Europeanizing and desemiticizing), with conscious and discursive processes (colonial discourse/semiosis), which identified certain communities as *other* (thus, minoritizing them) and apart from that of *Spanish* identity, an identity which in turn has been historiographically (re)produced and reified as fact. This has to do with the "narration" and textual processes as well. An example of how this process of narration may be identified can be seen in the work of Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón.⁵⁸⁹

The expulsions of members of these communities completed the movement toward *Maurophobia* which can be understood as a "rejection of hybridity," as shown by Lucas Marchante-Aragón.⁵⁹⁰ Mindful that both conceptualizations by Barbara Fuchs and Marchante-Aragón are in literary analysis, these changes in linguistic usage and meaning are seen in the non-literary documents studied in this thesis (see chapters 3 and 4). Furthermore, these processes occurred in a context and era in which there was a first time "construction of a national consciousness."⁵⁹¹ The "rejection of hybridity," or rejection of a spectrum and push toward a binary (*us/them* and static) was also the culmination of the establishment of a hierarchy of peoples with Castilian *old* Christians as the "pre-eminent" caste, and defining caste, in the peninsula.⁵⁹² Said differently, the creation of **these**

⁵⁸⁹ Lucas A Marchante-Aragón, "Rejection of Hybridity," 98-133.

⁵⁹⁰ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, "Rejection of Hybridity." The phrase comes from the title of the article.

⁵⁹¹ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, "Rejection of Hybridity," 105.

⁵⁹² Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, "Rejection of Hybridity," 104. Those who study literary texts and see the process of exultation of the Castilian in the peninsula seem to be very comfortable with using the "caste" terminology. For example, see Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations* 23 (Summer 1988): 122; Israel Burshatin, "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor,

communities into a single community of the *other* functioned on both horizontal (hybridity) and vertical (hegemony and hierarchy) planes. The *othering* and ultimate expulsions functioned to “reject Castile’s own hybridity”⁵⁹³ and to establish a particular segment of the *Spanish* community (Castilian) as the dominant political, socio-cultural, and religious one in the peninsula. These processes are also seen in the historical articulation of the myth of origins (so-called Gothic Myth) and are the final step of the *Reconquista* (the expulsions).

As a discursive strategy of a particular historical moment, the “rejection of hybridity,” the exultation of the Gothic, and the expulsions of members of communities of Christians determined that the *old* Christian (primarily Castilian) would be victorious in “narrating the nation.”⁵⁹⁴ This can be seen as another aspect of a post-colonial lens when ascertaining the struggle of narration, for it established one particular group as hegemonic and gave that group the power to interpret and narrate those colonized. Yet, the continued existence of groups that were not *old* Christian always “questioned the dominant’s caste’s claims to ethnic primacy.”⁵⁹⁵

As colonized subjects, the baptized descendants of Muslims were not able to narrate their stories; they were not able to self-represent.⁵⁹⁶ And as the national narrative emerged and evolved, they were denied “any claim to Spanishness,” what here has been termed *non-Spanish*.⁵⁹⁷ In the end, the constructed national narrative was monological.⁵⁹⁸ As seen above, the *othering* processes of these particular communities which had genealogical ties to Islam was part of the construction of *Spanish* identity and parts of

Emblem, and Silence,” in *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1, “Race,” Writing, and Difference, (Autumn, 1985), 98. See also Américo Castro, *Spaniards*, 566.

⁵⁹³ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 105; also, 116.

⁵⁹⁴ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 112; also, 115, 117.

⁵⁹⁵ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 114. It is not the *other* who is threatening: see Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 573 (as quoted earlier in section 2.3).

⁵⁹⁶ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 101; also FN16, FN18 in the same article.

⁵⁹⁷ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 123. Although Deborah Root writes in English she opts for the Spanish-language word *españolidad* instead of *Spanishness*. See Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 122, 132. Israel Burshatin, “Playing the Moor: Parody and Performance in Lope de Vega’s *El Primer Fajardo*,” *PMLA* 107, no. 3 (1992): 575, using the example of the figure of Fajardo shows how these subjects cannot claim Spanish identity: “The would-be Fajardo has also dismembered the notion that any Moor can ever again claim Spanish identity.”

⁵⁹⁸ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 124, 125. Israel Burshatin, “Written on the Body,” 422, also uses the idea of “*monological*.”

these processes are traced in the documents under study for this thesis. Another aspect of the construction of *Spanish* identity was the construction of the *Spanish* religious (Christian) identity, which went through similar processes as did national and literary narratives. For example, as Marchante-Aragón notes, Deborah Root posits that

the Church played an important role in the process of differentiating a part of the community that had not necessarily been perceived as different. At least, physical racial difference was practically non-existent, and it was precisely that lack of perceivable difference that prompted the Church to start its campaign of differentiation.⁵⁹⁹

Deborah Root understands the processes of constructing these communities as *other* to have had three stages. First, when these communities were still Moorish (as Muslim) they were understood and labeled as “infidels”; second, after baptism, members of these communities were deemed “heretical”; third, as time passed the communities were deemed as an “*impenitente negativo*.” Infidel can be understood as a religious category (religious *other*); heretic as a religious and socio-cultural category;⁶⁰⁰ *impenitente negativo* as a *somatic* category (body and blood, *non-Spanish*) as well as a *non-Christian*—albeit still under the control of the Church. Root summarizes the complete process by identifying a “production of Morisco difference as heterodoxy,”⁶⁰¹ whereby “infidelity was reinscribed as heresy, as something existing within the Christian community instead of outside of it.”⁶⁰² An objective here is to identify analogous (parallel) processes in the texts under study here, as well as to show some possible next steps in the *othering* (racialist) processes. Before *morisco* difference was produced, “*morisco*” had to override “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” from the discourse.

The problem and anxiety around the hybrid shows the small difference between *old* Christians and *new* Christians in the peninsula. This possibility of *passing* caused anxiety to the *old* Christian population and was related to the “indeterminability of faith” which

⁵⁹⁹ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” FN19. Analysis of Deborah Root in her article “Speaking Christian.”

⁶⁰⁰ Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 118: “heresy could function as a social and even genealogical category. Religious deviance by Spaniards of Muslim descent came to be denoted by cultural deviance, or heterodoxy in respect to customs, and eventually by genealogical deviance, or heterodoxy in respect to lineage, or ‘purity of blood’.”

⁶⁰¹ Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 120.

⁶⁰² Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 124.

became tied to the eventual construction of a “determinable ethnicity.”⁶⁰³ With the language study in hand, Chapter 4 identifies the ways in which historians have missed some discursive strategies. It does so by comparing the language in the texts with the language in the historiographical narratives—the difference between the historical and historiographical (perhaps the difference between *new* Christians and *moriscos*), which has been influenced by the overarching homogenous inassimilable views about these communities, and the historiographical narratives about *Spain*. Furthermore, the influence of “myths” about *Spain*, assumed as fact, can be seen permeating first the texts and then the historiography. This is the process of unearthing and differentiating the reactions in the discourses from fact, and then of showing how the ongoing constructions of *Spanish* identity were in themselves reactions to external constructions, which then are read in these specific texts.

The initial steps in the enactment of the methodology are very pragmatic. In Chapter 3, the first step in the analysis of the documents is to map the language used to refer to members of these communities. This quantitative analysis proceeds by documenting and counting all the naming references to persons in these communities in the primary texts in chronological order. The data for this analysis appears in Appendices 1 and 2. After documenting all the instances, the various meanings of the terms or phrases are analyzed and changes documented, in order to yield what in Chapter 3 are termed *empirical observations*, such as identifying the non-static and hybrid qualities of the language, and discursive processes, in order to identify how the *other* was constructed as the century progressed.

After identifying referential language in the primary texts, and tracing changes in its meaning and usage, this section further investigates the construction of the *other* by comparing the peninsular language to the contemporaneous language used with respect to another *newly* converted community, that of *Amerindians*: a trans-Atlantic approach. The trans-Atlantic approach is used to highlight the *othering* processes as they relate to the baptized descendants of Jews a century earlier, and the completion of these processes outside of the peninsula. Seeing the processes across the Atlantic strengthens the position that the *othering* of baptized descendants of Muslims were not isolated

⁶⁰³ The phrase “indeterminability of faith” is Deborah Root’s phrase, as found in “Speaking Christian,” 129, 130.

processes, but related to what came before and after. The completion of these *othering* processes is shown through the analysis of the *Sistema de Castas*.

This catachrestic trans-Atlantic lens helps in understanding the constructedness of the *other* (and difference) when seen through the more factual, or at least agreed upon, *otherness* or difference of *Amerindians* from *Spaniards*; and through delving into some examples on how *Spaniards* themselves defined difference. In other words, the Granadans were not as different from Castilians as *Amerindians* and *Spaniards* were from one another. In addition, whatever difference there was, increasingly was presented as difference that could not be overcome. This highlights the dissimilarity between the discourse of difference and the *epidermic* reality (if any) of difference (or the shift from diversity to difference posited by Homi K. Bhabha); or, taking a discursive strategy (or strategies) as a factual reality (historiography). This also addresses the insidiousness of the repetition of elements of the discourses of the so-called Black Legend.

Trans-Atlantic approaches have not been applied in this way to the texts under study, and to the study of the Granadan community. The few trans-Atlantic studies that deal both with New Spain and Granada focus on the content rather than the form of the texts and their primary interest is the influence of Spain across the Atlantic (east to west). Here the interest is in what the texts from New Spain about *Amerindians* can elucidate about members of Christian communities, baptized descendants of Muslims, in the peninsula.

Another way of understanding the trans-Atlantic difference, changes in language usage and meaning is through an understanding of the tropic function of language. Apart from the four levels of meaning found in the narrative of this thesis as presented in the Introduction,⁶⁰⁴ this study investigates three uses of language that describes the baptized descendants of the Muslims: the historical use (as use and meaning changed), the discursive use (the purpose for the changes in usage and meaning), and the historiographical use (how historians have used the language). For example, figurative language is not just something stylistic that happens in a text; it is also part of a shared context with those who lived when the texts were written (tropes understood by the intended historical audience of the texts), and this may be lost in the passage of time and

⁶⁰⁴ Historical, methodological, discursive, and historiographical.

the translation to a different cultural context. Put differently, would the baptized descendants of Muslims recognize the “*moriscos*” described in the historiographical narratives, or would the narrative of the expulsion be recognizable to the very persons who were expelled?

As noted one of the historiographical errors in the narratives about these communities has been the homogenizing tendency to describe the whole community as inassimilable, and in fact exclusively Muslim. In this thesis, the term “*morisco*” itself is understood to contribute to the aforementioned homogenizing tendency. “*Morisco*” may in fact be what Homi K. Bhabha calls a *metonymy*.⁶⁰⁵ a short-hand term which was used as an equivalent when in fact it was not. Furthermore, this corrective also opens up the hybrid spaces or interstices⁶⁰⁶ that exist between poles or binaries, in this case the spaces in a spectrum between Muslim and Christian, which include **both** “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” **and** “*morisco*.” By using “*morisco*” as a stable term, one overlooks processes of change. This project is about identifying and recovering these processes. The distance between Muslim and Christian should have been one step: baptism. Instead, various agents extended this distance as time progressed.

Metonymy is a type of figurative language in which “the whole is referred to in terms of one of its constitutive parts,”⁶⁰⁷ such as “cleats” referring not just to the metal spikes in sports shoes but to the entire shoe, and more narrowly this may be defined as *synecdoche*.⁶⁰⁸ In the case here the part or aspect of the community used to describe the whole was the *moro/Moor (Muslimness)*, or that which indicated their lack of assimilation or conversion despite baptism. The problems with *metonymy* are: that the part can be

⁶⁰⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 78; also 128. Homi K. Bhabha writes, “Metonymy, a figure of contiguity that substitutes a part for a whole (an eye for an I), must not be read as a form of simple substitution or equivalence.”

⁶⁰⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 37; also referred to as a “third space,” 54, 56.

⁶⁰⁷ Murray Knowles and Rasamund Moon, *Introducing Metaphor* (Routledge: London and New York, 2006), 47-48.

⁶⁰⁸ Homi K. Bhabha’s *metonymy* (*Location of Culture* 78, 128) is like Barbara Fuchs’ *synecdoche* (*Exotic Nation*, 2, 106, 139), and both are related to the idea of (re)inscription and (re)construction. Def. Synecdoche [si-nek-duh-kee] noun, Rhetoric. 1. a figure of speech in which a part is used for the whole or the whole for a part, the special for the general or the general for the special, as in ten sail for ten ships or a Croesus for a rich man. Origin of synecdoche: Medieval Latin, Greek, 1350-1400: synekdochē, equivalent to syn- syn- + ekdochē act of receiving from another, equivalent to ek- ec- + -dochē, noun derivative of déchesthai to receive. synecdoche. Dictionary.com Unabridged. Random House, Inc. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/synecdoche>. Accessed 17 October 2016.

easily homogenized into the whole, and that the tropic image it meant to convey in its own context is not completely translatable to the historian. The latter means that in a way it is used as a *metonymy* of a *metonymy*: *metonymy* is referential. In the language of linguistics, “*morisco*” is the word used metonymically and its intended meaning or referent for the historian is “*non-Christian*,”⁶⁰⁹ when, as shown in Chapter 3, that was not its meaning. Changes seen over time reveal a process or processes, and in this case a *metonymic* process, which can be missed if the term “*morisco*” is used or applied hastily. This process may also be understood as nominalization.⁶¹⁰ In short, hybrid terms across time have non-static moments before terms become stable and complete the journey toward a “set” meaning: a process rather than moment of defining. The settled term or phrase then tends to be reified or used as *metonymy*, and then is used anachronistically.

This deconstructionist approach to reading the texts about communities of baptized descendants of Muslims in sixteenth-century Spain is predicated on the idea that the historian “can only signify the reality of the past (represent it and do that poorly).”⁶¹¹ Yet, without asserting a privileged position as an impartial historian, the approach used for this project also uses the contours of the “scientific method” with its empiricism, hypothesis testing, and inference as useful outlines or organizing principles to think about the research questions at hand and the analysis of the primary texts.⁶¹² The analysis of the texts identifies patterns, but these patterns will not be construed as being *the* patterns or the *only* patterns that can help compose a possible historical narrative that solely explains how the expulsions were justified discursively. This should particularly be noted given that in Chapter 3 the language of “quantitative analysis” and “empirical observations” is used.

Finally, a reminder that the analysis of the primary documents has already led to the intentional avoidance of the term “*morisco*” as a moniker for these communities throughout the entire narrative of this thesis. Instead, the phrase “baptized descendants of Muslims,” and similar variations, is used. This shows that it is possible to expand the terminology used to refer to these communities of Christians, and to acknowledge that there was greater variation in language than the sole use of the term “*morisco*” implies.

⁶⁰⁹ Murray Knowles and Rasamund Moon, *Introducing Metaphor*, 54.

⁶¹⁰ Murray Knowles and Rasamund Moon, *Introducing Metaphor*, 58, 116.

⁶¹¹ Alun Muslow, *Companion*, 30.

⁶¹² Alun Muslow, *Companion*, 30.

A core objective for this project is thus to identify the referential language and textual processes that helped to justify discursively the 1609-14 expulsions of some Christians, who were baptized descendants of Muslims, by constructing them as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. The aim of this chapter was to contextualize this goal within a broader historiographical and methodological framework, and to create a theoretical framework which supports answering the research questions while at the same time avoiding some historiographical errors identified, and to expand the tools used in the study of the texts about these communities. Chapter 3 begins to implement the methodology.

Chapter 3: The term “*Morisco*”

The previous two chapters provided the historical and theological, as well as historiographical and methodological context that informs this study of Christians, descendants of Muslims, in what is today Spain. Of initial interest are documents about communities from Granada, expelled after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, and documents about Christians (descendants of Muslims), expelled from the peninsula from 1609 to 1614. Other regions and time-frames are used in order to contrast, support, test, or strengthen the conclusions reached from the analysis of the Granadan primary documents.⁶¹³ Since this community was no longer fully in the Kingdom of Granada after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, the ongoing processes of construction of members of these communities of Christians as *other* (meaning *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*) can be seen in documents from outside of Granada and from after 1571. Identifying the ongoing processes of construction builds on the initial presentation of the term “*morisco*” in the Introduction and the multivalent reading strategy introduced in Chapter 2.

Ultimately, this analysis aims to elucidate a “how” and not a “why” question: **How** were the peninsular expulsions (1609-1614) of some Christians, baptized descendants of Muslims, discursively justified? Rather than ascertaining: **Why** were Christian communities, of baptized descendants of Muslims, expelled from the peninsula between 1609 and 1614? The answer to the former lies, in part, with the identification of discursive processes which helped to construct these communities as indelibly *other*, through the identification of hybrid and non-static terms such as “*new Christian*,” “*newly converted*,” and “*morisco*.” Subsequently, in Chapter 4, these processes of construction are untangled from the existing disconnection between the language used in the primary documents and the terminology used by historians.

After a presentation of a narrower historical context, the present chapter is divided into four parts. Through a quantitative and empirical analysis of eighty-two Granadan primary texts, Section 3.1 identifies the actual language used to refer to the baptized descendants of Muslims in Granada.⁶¹⁴ Empirical observations result from the quantitative analysis which posits the beginning of the specific construction of the baptized

⁶¹³ Such as New Spain and Valencia, and after 1568-71.

⁶¹⁴ The numbering goes to 83 because the table omits #72.

descendants of Muslims as a community of indelibly religiously *other* that was ultimately termed “*morisco*.” In Section 3.2, the initial steps of these particular processes of construction of the *other* are shown by exploring the hybrid and non-static qualities of the terminology used in the Granadan primary texts, as well as the related changes in usage and meaning, then analyzing the Valencian documents and even the expulsion-related documents. Also in Section 3.2, the identification of these processes is reinforced through a comparison with the language used contemporaneously, across the Atlantic, to refer to baptized *Amerindians*, as a control group.

At this point, the premature substitution of the term “*morisco*” for the phrase “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” is shown to obscure the initial hybrid and non-static qualities of the terminology, as well as to conceal the *othering* processes of construction. This obfuscation is accomplished, in part, by the retroactive view and reinforcement of non-breachable difference (*otherness*), or a post-exile/expulsions lens. Given the trans-Atlantic approach, at the end of Section 3.2, an analysis is done of the term “*morisco*” as used in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Sistema de Castas* and *Casta Paintings*.

Section 3.3 presents a series of documents from outside of Granada, dated after 1571, for which the application of the methodology is completed in Chapter 4. This textual introduction combined with the conclusions from Section 3.1 strengthen the hypothesis that the term “*morisco*” may, in fact, be more appropriate for other regions, contexts, and time-frames. Yet although a difference in regional and temporal usage existed, cumulatively the observations expose other steps in the processes of construction of these communities as *other*. Finally, Section 3.4 presents and analyses a variety of Expulsion Decrees and expulsions-related documents from 1609 to 1614. These documents are analyzed in the same manner as the Granadan documents, which findings the analysis of post-1571 Valencian documents reinforce. It is further demonstrated that the terminology was more varied and less static than the sole use of the term “*morisco*” would imply.

Interest in the study of the baptized descendants of Muslims is perhaps spurred on because of the fate some in these communities experienced. Or, the interest may be because these communities were the last vestige in the peninsula of the romantic view of *Spain* of the three religions (the *tripartite* matrix): a type of (re)inscription. For this project, interest lies in understanding how these communities—communities of Christians, given

their baptism—came to be understood as a community of *non*-Christians (the difference in *inter-* versus *intra-*group dynamics). In trying to comprehend the justifications for the expulsions of some in these communities, the language used to refer to them in secondary literature becomes problematic; thus, in Chapter 4, the difference in the terminology of primary and secondary literature is addressed. Historians have termed these communities **the** “*morisco*” community. Yet given that there were many other ways to describe these communities, is “*morisco*” the most appropriate (and least constructed) term to be used? And can this be done without essentializing the language in another direction?

The term “*morisco*” used to describe this community is a retroactive use of the term, and is not a straightforward substitute for “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*.” In fact, it falls short as *metonymy*. For example, the nominal language used to describe **the** community as found in the Valencian decree of expulsion is an example of the retroactive use of language to describe all baptized descendants of Muslims as one entire community and to justify their expulsion. The following is an excerpt:

You are all aware of what I have through such long efforts tried to do toward the conversion of the Moriscos of this kingdom [Valencia]...and the edicts of grace that have been granted to them and the attempts that have been made to instruct them in our holy faith, and the little that has been accomplished, for we have not seen any of them convert, and they have instead merely increased their stubbornness....[Therefore,] I have resolved that all the Moriscos of that kingdom be expelled and sent to the land of the Berbers.⁶¹⁵

This excerpt shows: the retroactive construction of this whole community as *moriscos* (leaving out the possibility that this can be interpreted as referring to only part of the community), and the idea of conversion of Christians after baptism (analyzed in Chapter 4). Nonetheless, this retroactive construction is the **only** discourse used to study these communities of Christians with their expelled fate a given.

Expulsion was known in the peninsula, given the fate of peninsular Jews. Yet, even in the years closest to the Valencian decree of 1609 there still seemed to be the possibility that this fate could be averted, if not for the Kingdom of Valencia, at least for the rest of the peninsula where these smaller (*new*) Christian populations were deemed less problematic, or where different regional dynamics existed. In Section 3.2, the fact that at such a late date the possibility of conversion was still thought possible, reveals that the difference

⁶¹⁵ Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, Document #34, 145-146.

between *old* Christians and *new* Christians was not always considered unbreachable (or indelible), thus the hybridity and non-static quality of the language. Put differently, there were some who still thought that there was nothing indelible to *new* Christians that would prevent them from becoming “good and faithful Christians” or from being like other Christians in the peninsula.

Long before the decrees of expulsion were promulgated, the process of conquest guided the *Spanish* crown to the complete conversion to Christianity of the entire peninsula. In 1486, as the remaining Muslim stronghold in the peninsula was diminished, Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484-1492) confirmed and then extended the earlier bull (1436) by Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431-1447) for the right of royal presentation and patronage for the Kingdom of Granada. Of interest in this papal bull is not the granting of these privileges, but the exhortation to complete the work of conquest through the conversion of their new subjects:

Innocent, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for perpetual memory and propagation of the catholic faith, being with the curia in a meeting and looking for the increase of the Christian religion and the salvation of souls and the barbaric nations, the prison of the infidels and fervently hoping for their conversion, we do not cease in continuing our apostolic favors and graces to the catholic kings and princes, so that insisting in the most care for the glory of God, whose house they have accepted, and so that they are aware of the petitions of the Holy See for the salvation of their souls, we delightfully grant...⁶¹⁶

The bull continued by stating that the clergy presented for the various positions should “acquire with their laudable lives the conversion of souls and the exhortation to a righteous life.”⁶¹⁷ The 1486 bull, which granted the rights to found monastic houses in the newly conquered lands, reiterated this, in hopes that

⁶¹⁶ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 1, 262. “Inocencio, Obispo, siervo de los siervos de Dios, para perpétua memoria y propaganda de la fe católica, reunida nuestra curia y mirando aumento de la religión cristiana y la salvación de las almas y naciones bárbaras, la prisión de los infieles y deseando fervientemente su conversión no cesamos de continuar nuestros apostólicos favores y gracias a los reyes y príncipes católicos para que insistan en el mayor cuidado de la gloria de Dios, cuya casa han aceptado y para que conozcan los ruegos de la Santa Sede para la salvación de sus almas, les concedemos gustosamente...”

⁶¹⁷ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 1, 263. “por adquirir en los dichos lugares en las que con su laudable vida, conversión de almas y exhortación a la vida recta...”

by the example and preaching of the religious faithful to Christ of said monasteries, the habitants of the kingdom of Granada, after abandoning the Mohammedan error will be converted and instructed in the Christian Faith.⁶¹⁸

In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII lauded the work of the king and queen and expected that they and their successors would continue to expel the Moors and other infidels:

you have reconquered many lands and places of the kingdom of Granada from the power of the Moors...and added them to the land of the catholic faith.⁶¹⁹

The continued fulfillment of this conversion trajectory, an important part of the ideology of Reconquista, would require the baptism of these Muslim communities.

Therefore, the negotiated capitulations of Granada signed in November 1491, which took effect after the transfer of power on 2 January 1492, are viewed with suspicion, especially regarding the autonomy in religion purported for those who would now be *colonial* subjects of the Christian king and queen. As seen in Section 1.3, the Capitulations for the surrender of Granada included several items relating specifically to the license for Muslims to practice Islam. These items were related to worship in the mosques, the process for women to convert to Christianity, the lack of compulsion in Christianity (for Muslims), and the threat of exile for Jews who did not seek baptism. The relevant items are quoted in full below:

They shall not allow any Christians to enter in the mosques of the Moors where they pray, without the consent of their officials, and anyone who enters otherwise shall be punished for it.⁶²⁰

It shall not be allowed for any person to mistreat, by deed or by word, any Christian man or woman who, previous to this treaty, has converted to Islam; and if any Moor has a wife who is a renegade [a Christian who converted to Islam], that person shall not be forced to become Christian against her will, and she shall be interviewed in the presence of Christians and Moors, and

⁶¹⁸ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 2, 265. "por el ejemplo y predicación de los religiosos de dichos monasterios fieles a Cristo sean convertidos e instruidos a la fé cristiana los habitantes del reino de Granada, tras abandonar el mahometano error."

⁶¹⁹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización*, Appendix 3, 266. "pero como según la petición señalaba que habéis reconquistado muchas tierras y lugares del reino de Granada, del poder de los moros, con grandes peligros y trabajos y no sin derramamiento de sangre cristiana y las habéis añadido al campo de la fé católica."

⁶²⁰ Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, 17. Spanish from Luis del Mármol Carvajal: "Que no consentirán que los cristianos entren en las mezquitas de los moros donde hacen su zalá sin licencia de los alfaquís, y el que de otra manera entrare será castigado por ello."

her will shall be followed; and the same will be done with the boys and girls born to a Christian woman and a Moorish man.⁶²¹

No Moor shall be forced to become Christian against his will. And if a woman in love, either married or a widow, should wish to become Christian, she shall not be allowed to until she is interviewed.⁶²²

The Jews who are natives of Granada and the Albaicín and its surrounding areas and all the other places covered by this agreement shall benefit from its contents, provided that those who do not convert to Christianity must leave to Berber lands within three years, starting from December 8 of this year.⁶²³

These capitulations were in place from 1492 to 1501. During this time the population of Granada was predominantly Muslim, but at the turn of the century, and after the *helches* incident and the first rebellion, the Granadan Muslims were given the choice of baptism or exile. Some opted for baptism, while others who had sought baptism prior to 1501 wanted to be treated differently from other Granadans who had sought baptism after the mandate. Specifically, they want to avoid the monikers “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*,” and desired to be treated as *old Christians*.

Therefore in Granada after 1501, there were three groups of Christians, each differentiated by the context of their baptism: first, baptized former Muslims (and their baptized descendants) who chose baptism prior to baptism being decreed; second, baptized former Muslims (and their baptized descendants) who chose baptism after the mandate; and third, those who were born into Christian households who likely were baptized as infants and emigrated to this region as a part of a repopulation effort and who were considered, or named, “*old Christians*.” The *new Christians* who were baptized prior to 1501, as well as other *new Christians* who married *old Christians* believed that there

⁶²¹ Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, 18. Spanish from Luis del Mármol Carvajal: “Que no se permitirá que ninguna persona maltrate de obra ni de palabra a los cristianos o cristianas que antes destas capitulaciones se hobieren vuelto moros; y que si algún moro tuviere alguna renegada por mujer, no será apremiada a ser cristiana contra su voluntad, sino que será interrogada en presencia de cristianos y de moros, y se seguirá su voluntad; y lo mesmo se entenderá con los niños y niñas nacidos de cristiana y moro.”

⁶²² Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, 18. Spanish from Luis del Mármol Carvajal: “Que ningún moro ni mora serán apremiados a ser cristianos contra su voluntad; y que si alguna doncella o casada o viuda, por razón de algunos amores, se quisiere tornar cristiana, tampoco será recibida hasta ser interrogada; y si hubiere sacado alguna ropa o joyas de casa de sus padres o de otra parte, se restituirá a su dueño, y serán castigados los culpados por justicia.”

⁶²³ Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, 19.

was a clear path, and possibility of a status change, from *new* to *old*. The language of “*new*” at this point was still non-static and had a transitional quality, thus surmountable.

In the early sixteenth century, the Church completed a large number of baptisms in a short amount of time on both sides of the Atlantic; therefore, the church had to deal with a large number of adults who were not instructed in the faith prior to baptism. These baptisms *en masse*, as earlier with Jews, created yet other new categories of Christians, the *newly* converted or *new* Christians of the Moors; thus, *suspect* Christians from the start. This would happen repeatedly across the peninsula as other Muslim populations were given the same choice. By the late 1520s, there were theoretically and theologically no free Muslims in the peninsula. In Granada, the descriptor “*new*” for this native community was initially used to distinguish them from other Christians who came to the Kingdom of Granada to repopulate the region, but who were not baptized descendants of the *newly* baptized or former Muslims. This was initially, for the first generation that was baptized, a distinction between a convert to the faith and one that had been “born into” the faith.

Because of the context of these mass baptisms, in the ensuing decades the Crown and the Church embarked on a program of cultural and religious assimilation and acculturation of the *newly* converted and their baptized descendants. Generally, the sense from the texts and the historiography was that this population fell short in their Christianity or continued obstinately and willfully to adhere to cultural and religious practices associated with Islam. Given the ultimate internal displacement of the baptized descendants of these Granadans after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, and the exile of all Christians (baptized descendants of Muslims) from the entire peninsula, this acculturation and assimilation project may be judged a failure. However, the language study reveals that the possibility of conversion was thought possible throughout most of the sixteenth century; Christianization and acculturation was not always deemed impossible.

The price paid for the expulsions by the rest of the population in the peninsula was high as well. To them it felt as if part of their very *self* had been excised. By this is meant that *Spain* denied some of the Islamic elements of its broader socio-cultural milieu in order to exalt the Castilian elements. As Alain Milhou noted, the expulsions of these populations, as well as Jews before them, were part of simultaneous processes of

Europeanization and desemitization that began with the Catholic Monarchs and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition and culminated over one hundred and thirty years later with Philip III and the expulsions.⁶²⁴ The desemitization process required the identification of certain elements as *other* in order then to get rid of them, as also external constructions of *Spain* as the *other* of Europe, as explained in Chapter 2.

Nonetheless, although there were historical processes that eventually led to the expulsions of members of these communities of Christians, there were also processes by which historians have reified these communities—baptized descendants of Muslims—into a community of so-called *moriscos*. The use of the term “*morisco*” presumes a narrative of the *de facto* impossibility of a whole community being Christian, or put differently, that a whole community, because of its resistance (or desired autonomy, or difference in customs), could only truly be Muslim—when in fact this may have been true for only part of the communities. This latter position is held both by Christians who did not want members of these communities of Christians as part of theirs (therefore making them *non-Christian*: at least not “good and faithful Christians”), and by scholars who favor the view that **none** of the Granadans became Christians, regardless of their baptism.

The use of the term “*morisco*” becomes theologically problematic and limiting since, in part, it diminishes the Christianity of this baptized population. Historiographically problematic, the (over)use of the term obfuscates the greatly nuanced use of terminology in the primary documents and the processes of *othering* of these communities. It is a missed opportunity to better understand **how** the expulsions of members of these Christian communities were justified discursively. Put differently, if the category of “*morisco*” was deemphasized, rather than seeing this conflict as an *inter-religious* clash, it can be seen as an *intra-religious* or *intra-sociocultural* tension or struggle. Therefore, how would scholars understand these communities if its members were studied as Christians, given their baptism, rather than through the former religion of their ancestors, Islam? In other words, how would the exile be seen if it were understood as Christians exiling Christians?

The results of the analysis in this chapter will demonstrate that the term “*morisco*” is problematic as a homogenizing term and problematic as *metonymy*; untangling the

⁶²⁴ Alain Milhou, “Desemitización,” 35-60.

historical terminology from its historiographical uses is needed. In what follows, this is done first through a quantitative analysis of how the primary documents in fact referred to this community. This analysis shows that in the documents under study, the primary way of describing this community was as the “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*.”

Furthermore, to better illustrate the terms used to describe this community, before and after their baptism, it is also useful to quantify the use of the terms “*Moor*” (and related words) and “*morisco*,” and compare these to the use of the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*”. This is done quantitatively—yet, the numbers are used in a catachrestic manner: qualitatively.

3.1 Granada’s “*Morisco*”

The following section analyses eighty-two Granadan primary documents in order to identify the language they use to refer to various groups. This is done as a first step in the process of untangling the historical from the historiographical, the problematic homogenizing use of the term “*morisco*” by historians, or what is deemed a disconnection between the primary texts and the usage by historians. Therefore, since the initial concern is with the language used to refer to the Granadan community in the texts, an extensive inventory of all the referential phrases, before and after baptism, and other contrasted or similar communities (as Muslims or as Christians) is included in table form in Appendix 1. The phrases are then tallied in Appendix 2.

Of the eighty-two documents seventy-five relate to events prior to the second rebellion of the Alpujarras and the remaining seven are from during or after the rebellion.⁶²⁵ All of the documents in the inventory have to do with the Kingdom of Granada. The primary documents are found in the appendices of six works on the Church in the Kingdom of Granada in the sixteenth century.⁶²⁶ Documents that are duplicated in

⁶²⁵ Documents 1-76 (72 missing) and 77-83, respectively.

⁶²⁶ The books used are: 1) Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554*; 2) Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios: Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización en México*, and 3) *Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, Siglo XVI*; 4) Rafael Marín López, *La Iglesia de Granada en el siglo XVI. Documentos para su historia* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), and 5) *Un epistolario del arzobispo de Granada Gaspar de Ávalos (BN. MS 19419): estudios, regesta, documentos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006); and 6) *El Concilio Provincial de Granada en 1565: Edición crítica del malogrado concilio del Arzobispo Guerrero*, ed. Ignacio Pérez de Heredia y Valle, Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, *Subsidia* 26 (Roma: Iglesia nacional española, 1990).

the various appendices are not counted twice, but it is noted when they are found in multiple sources. The appendices of several of these works⁶²⁷ (1-3, 5) explicitly make a connection between the contemporaneous evangelization in Granada and across the Atlantic.

The primary texts analyzed for this project are readily available and known. Therefore, they are texts that can be (re)read using the tools presented in Section 2.3; the originality in the analysis is in the way they are (re)read. The collections of documents were chosen for other various reasons, including the fact that they were published as part of works referring to the community of Granadans which are being studied here. Since the documents are found with corresponding analysis, it can be shown in a straightforward way how the language of the primary texts is at times set aside or not used in the secondary analysis. This disconnection is part of the historiographical problematizing explored in Chapter 4. Another reason to use these documents is that they are often referred to in other works, since they are in easily accessible collections. Yet, those scholars who only have access to the secondary texts may be unaware of the difference in terminology in the primary texts from the corresponding analysis or citation, as well as the processes of construction this obfuscates—and may thus accept “*morisco*” as an appropriate term or *metonymy*. Finally, the quantitative analysis is used to support empirical observations; when an empirical observation is gleaned from the texts, it is ascertained whether that observation is supported quantitatively. This is an illustrative, albeit numerical, way to test and apply conclusions.

The inventory of the 82 documents is generally in chronological order.⁶²⁸ Each document is numbered 1 through 83 (with 72 missing), the source of the document is noted, and the page number of the Appendix, in its own book, is provided, as well as the specific inventory of phrases from that document. Each item on the inventory (even if it has multiple phrases of interest) is given a reference number (ref.). In the footnotes and in this text, references to phrases from the inventory table are given by the document number and the phrase-reference number. For example, the first instance of “derechos moriscos” (Moorish fees) in Document 3 is referenced as 3.4, whereas the phrase

⁶²⁷ See 1-3, 5 above.

⁶²⁸ There are instances in which there is ambiguity in the date of the texts. The chronology of the source material is kept, but the ambiguity is noted in a footnote.

“nuevamente convertidos de moros” (*newly* converted of the Moors) in Document 30 would have two references: 30.13 and 30.20. The inventory includes phrases that describe Granadans before and after baptism, as well as phrases that describe other Muslims or other Christians. Since the project has an interest in the term “*morisco*,” it is also noted and counted in every instance.

As has been presented before, a reminder about the use of *italics* and “quotation” marks: all mentions of the terms as “terms” are in “quotation” marks. When used as “terms” the words “*new*,” “*newly*,” “*old*,” “*Moor*,” “*mudéjar*” and “*morisco*” are both in “quotation” marks and italicized; if they are used in the text without being addressed as “terms” they are still italicized without “quotation” marks—this is to alert the reader to the language throughout the text. If the term “*morisco*” is used in a descriptive way translatable as Moorish in English, there may be a substitution; otherwise the term “*morisco*” is retained. If it is a direct quotation from the primary text, then *italics* are not used.

Terminology in the Primary Texts

Counting the terminology produces data that can be used for the following purposes: detecting changes in the language used to refer to these communities, which allows for the identification of processes of construction of these communities as *other*—processes necessary in order to discursively justify the expulsions of members of these Christian communities from the peninsula; and, confirming the hypothesis that there exists a disconnection between the language of the primary texts and the language used to refer to these communities by some historians.

In Section 3.1, counting the number of instances of the phrases “*newly* converted” or “*new* Christian” is not in itself quantitatively significant. This counting becomes significant when compared to the number of instances other terminology was used, and later when compared to the instances of similar terminology in a different set of documents and from a different context. Furthermore, it becomes relevant when compared to the terminology used by historians in the corresponding analysis in the same books. Now, referencing the occurrences serves to support the empirical observation that these phrases were not outliers in the primary texts.

The numerical analysis of the Granadan primary texts is first done by quantifying the language used to refer to the community of Granadans. This counting exercise is the foundation for the evaluation of the conclusions with the contrasting language used for *Amerindians* and for other communities of baptized descendants of Muslims. This then elucidates the construction of difference (*othering*) in the peninsula. Finally, together the language analysis and processes of construction help to unearth the disconnection with the language historians use for these communities. These elements build upon each other. In short, this is an analysis of how the phrases “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” become “*morisco*,” and the difficulties in using “*morisco*” to substitute for the phrases “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*.” For historians “*morisco*” becomes a *metonymy* for “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*,” yet, in the primary texts “*morisco*” was not a *metonymy* for “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*.”

“*Newly Converted*,” “*New Christians*,” and “*Old Christians*”

In the eighty-two documents, the Granadan community was referred to after baptism and before the second rebellion of the Alpujarras primarily with the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*.” Combined, these phrases occurred at least 248 times in 58 documents, 103 times for “*new Christian*,” and 145 times for “*newly converted*.” There were ten documents in which both phrases were used.⁶²⁹ At times the terms were further qualified to specify the “*newly converted of this kingdom*” (six instances in six documents) or the “*newly converted of the Moors*” (seventeen instances in seven documents);⁶³⁰ the same happens with “*new Christian*”—“*new Christian of the Moors*” (four instances in three documents).⁶³¹ One of these was doubly qualified, “*new Christians of the Moors of the Kingdom of Granada*” (64.24). Muslims were not the only persons who became *new Christians* through baptism. There were two other communities of “*new Christians*” or “*newly converted*” referred to in the documents. The first was “*new*

⁶²⁹ Documents 17, 30, 38, 42, 43, 46, 47, 58, 68, 74.

⁶³⁰ *Newly converted of this kingdom or of Granada*: Documents 9.1, 10.1, 33.1, 38.9, 40.4, 41.1; *Newly converted of the Moors*: 29.3, 29.6-7, 29.26, 29.28-29, 29.31, 30.13, 30.20, 34.1, 58.1-2, 58.6, 63.1-2, 71.1, 74.1.

⁶³¹ *New Christian of the Moors*: 29.22, 58.4, 58.16, 64.24.

Christians of the Jews” (30.21, 58.2); the second “*new Christians of the mudéjares*” or “*newly converted mudéjares,*” meaning those from outside Granada.⁶³²

The term “*mudéjar*” was most often used in these texts to refer to Muslims living under Christian rule in realms conquered prior to 1492. Therefore, generally, whenever the term “*mudéjar*” was used in these documents it referred to a group or person from the Kingdom of Castile (64.24, 65.4), although in many texts not dealt with here “*mudéjar*” tends more commonly to be used in the Kingdom of Valencia prior to the decreed baptisms of the late 1520s. This was not clear in Document 8 from 1511, in which the term “*mudéjar*” appeared five times, all instances referring to two former scholars of Islamic law that were *newly converted* prior to 1501. These scholars could have been from Granada or have emigrated from other regions.⁶³³ In Document 14 from 1513, there was an admonition from Queen Joanna to both *old Christian* tailors and *mudéjar* tailors (14.3, used as Muslim) to stop making *morisco* clothing; this was because they were acting as if the prior prohibition to the *newly converted* (Granadans) did not apply to them.

There was an expectation that anyone coming into Granada, regardless of religion, had to wear the costume (dress) of *old Christians* (e.g. Castilians). Document 38 from 1530 stated that “all the mudéjares, women and new Christians that travel to [the] kingdom [of Granada, must] wear the costume (dress) of old Christians” (38.6). The use of the term “*mudéjar*” in this case may be ambiguous with regards to religion, since it occurs after all Muslims were required to seek baptism or be exiled, yet it is clear with respect to being a community from outside of Granada, therefore requiring differentiation. Finally, there was one instance in which the term “*mudéjar*” was used to mean “Christian” but was distinguished from “*new Christians*” (of Granada): “If among the old Christians or mudéjares there are some rebels...write them and call them on a roll as the new Christians.”⁶³⁴ The use of “*mudéjar*” in this case may also indicate that it was a

⁶³² New Christians of the Mudéjares: 61.7, 64.23; newly converted Mudéjares 35.1, 36.1.

⁶³³ The use of the term “*mudéjares*” in this document is intriguing. The baptism of these former *mudéjares* occurred prior to 1501, when all Muslims in Granada were ordered to be baptized or be exiled. Yet, in all other instances referring to people in Granada they are referred to as *moros*. This leads to questions regarding whether these Muslims prior to their baptism had migrated from another region of Spain and at some point, after their migration chose baptism? And/or, does the use of the term has something to do with the fact that they were Islamic legal scholars (*alfaquies*)? Or is it relating to elites who may have chosen baptism prior to 1501 for the privileges it purported to grant? Or would the use of the term be an insertion?

⁶³⁴ Document 74.15.

problematic subset of the communities. Discussed later in this chapter with respect to the decrees of expulsion, the community(ies) in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia) were termed “*moriscos mudéjares*.”⁶³⁵

The following observations result from this initial evaluation of the phrases “*newly converted*” and “*new Christians*.” First, these phrases were not outliers in the texts. And second, these phrases were not used as place-holders for the term “*Muslim*.” For example, the subset of the qualified “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*” phrases with “of the *Moors*” or “of the *mudéjares*” reinforces the unambiguous theological stance that through baptism these communities were understood to no longer be Muslim. Although the documents clearly expressed some anxiety over deficiencies in practice and belief, these real or perceived deficiencies did not diminish the efficacy or indelibility of baptism itself. The Christianity of these persons and the quality of their Christianity are understood as two different subjects at this point of the analysis.

Document 29 from 1526 includes many of the uses of the phrases “*newly converted*” and “*new Christians*” described above. In 1526, during a visit to Granada, Charles was alarmed by what he perceived as Christians who were not adhering fully to a Christian way of life (or put differently, who were still considered to be maintaining Islamic rites and practices). Therefore, Charles commissioned a survey of the community of the *newly converted* in the Kingdom. The stated reason for this survey was that,

The newly converted of [Granada] and of the other cities, villages and places of this archbishopric, had received the water of baptism of the Holy Spirit, had done and committed and every day continued to commit many grave things against our holy catholic faith, following their damaged first sect of Muhammad and its errors and ceremonies, of which I have been informed through letters and petitions. Therefore, in order to provide punishment for the past and remedy for the future... [a group should be named to inform themselves] on what things and cases that the newly converted of the Moors in the archbishopric followed the damaged sect of Muhammad and its errors and ceremonies.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁵ 8 October 1611 and 19 October 1613.

⁶³⁶ Document 29, 198-199. “que los nuevamente convertidos de ella y de las otras ciudades, villas e lugares de su arzobispado, habiendo recibido agua del bautismo de Espíritu Santo, habían hecho y cometido y hacían de cada día muchas cosas graves contra nuestra santa fe católica, siguiendo su dañada secta primera de Mahoma y a sus errores y ceremonias, de lo cual fueron dados algunos memoriales y peticiones, y para proveer el castigo de lo pasado y remediar lo porvenir [personas deben nombrarse para que] se informasen en qué cosas y casos los nuevamente convertidos de moros en el dicho arzobispado seguían la dañada secta de Mahoma y sus errores y ceremonias.”

In the document from which the above excerpt is taken, the phrase “*newly converted*” was used to refer to this community (twenty-three times); the community was not referred to as either “*moro*” or “*morisco*” (n.) even though they were accused of still practicing Islam: supporting the view that they were thought to be Christians, or thought of as Christians (albeit deficiently so). Similarly, when the word “*Moor*” was used in the document, it was to refer to a “Muslim” or being “of Muslims.” Therefore, it can be concluded that the failure lay not in the baptism, but in the practice, and the failure in practice was due, in part, to the lack of enforcement and the perceived or real adherence to cultural and religious practices associated with Islam, not a failure of the “water of baptism.”

This survey of the *newly converted* was twenty-five years after the required baptisms of 1501; in this document the beginnings of the tension between baptism, instruction, and conversion can also be gleaned. Another contributing factor, which began to emerge and is discussed in Section 3.3, was the dearth of priests working with this community and the poor instruction of priests and congregants alike. This latter issue was one that affected all Christians in the peninsula, not just Christian descendants of Muslims. The Congregation of 1526 yielded a series of recommendations on how to improve this community’s adherence to Christianity: the establishment of the Inquisition in Granada, the recognition of the wrongs committed against *new* Christians (by *old* Christians), and the encouragement to build the churches that remained to be built.⁶³⁷ Furthermore, in the recommendations there were prohibitions, specific to these communities, against: owning Christian slaves, the Arabic language and writing, the wearing of *morisco* clothing (especially for women), using henna, halal butchering, and the giving of names or nicknames of the Moors (*nombres y sobrenombres de moros*).⁶³⁸ The Congregation of 1526 also issued a requirement to translate contracts and deeds from Arabic to Castilian. Shortly after these recommendations were made, a forty-year grace period of enforcement

⁶³⁷ See Document 29.7; Document 29.8; and Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 31, 201, respectively.

⁶³⁸ For slaves, see Document 29.11: “shall not have as slaves any black or white Christian.” See also Document 29.10: prohibition of owning Muslim slaves; Document 29.12: prohibition of having an old Christian bachelor (*mozo*) in their service. See also Vincent Barletta, ed., in the analysis of Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 44-46; text of the *Francisco Núñez Muley, Memorandum*, 89-ff. For Arabic, see Document 29.13, 29.15-17; Document 30.12. For clothing, see Document 29.18-21. For henna, see Document 29.22; Document 30.10. For butchering, see Document 29:30-31. For names, see Document 29.33-34; Document 30.11.

was obtained from Charles because of a negotiated grace obtained through the payment of a large sum of money.⁶³⁹

Many of the recommendations and concerns from 1526 were not new. As seen in the correspondence of Queen Joanna in 1511-1513, many of these had already been noted.⁶⁴⁰ That these concerns were ongoing seems significant, making the differences relevant as well. When reading the texts chronologically, patterns and processes begin to emerge. For example, the onset of the use of the category of “*new Christians*” or “*newly converted*” was obviously a direct result of the required baptisms after 1501. These required baptisms were after the *helches* incident and the resulting rebellions throughout the Kingdom of Granada, which led to the promulgation of new capitulations, or abrogation of the 1492 Capitulations.⁶⁴¹ These new capitulations (1499-1501) decreed baptism and required the exile of the Granadan Muslims who did not seek the rite. Therefore, after the capitulations took effect, in technical terms, there were no free Muslims remaining in the Kingdom of Granada. Given this new context, therefore, references to Muslims would have to be to a time prior to the new capitulations. This then brings out the fact that there was room for varied terminology while at the same time there would be a movement toward fixidity. Put differently, as shown in Chapter 2, this may be seen as a period of time in which *maurophilia* and *maurophobia* co-existed, as posited by Barbara Fuchs.⁶⁴²

From 1492 until 1501 there would have been a greater number of terms used to refer to various communities, since there were both Muslims and Christians living in Granada, native or from other regions, and with the change in political control, there would have been a need to refer to the Nasrids differently than to the Christian monarchs. Yet, the terminology could match other parallel contexts that had existed before: the *bi/tripartite* matrix based on religious difference. Nonetheless, with the decreed baptisms, the fluidity in language that existed during the period of time when Muslims remained in the kingdom waned and increasingly the Granadans would be referred to as “*new Christians*” (*cristianos nuevos*). Often the adverbial form was used and this community was called the

⁶³⁹ See Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 59-64: 90,000 Ducats. See Section 1.3.

⁶⁴⁰ See Documents 9-11 and 13-16.

⁶⁴¹ The term “*helches*” is not found in the primary documents studied for this project. See section related to footnote 305.

⁶⁴² Barbara Fuchs, “*Maurophilia*,” 280.

“*newly converted*,” or more specifically the “*newly converted from or of the Moors*” (de *moros*/from the Moors). Eventually, the use of the word “*new*” was anachronistic, since it was also used of the baptized descendants of the initial group of people who were baptized, as well as after multiple generations, leading to the question: when would these Christians stop being called “*new Christians*” or “*newly converted*”?⁶⁴³

What then can be ascertained regarding the qualifications “*new*” and “*newly*” is that notwithstanding the fact of baptism, which removed the religious distinction between Muslim and Christian, the need emerged or remained to distinguish these particular Christians from other Christians, or put differently, to keep the two communities separated, in a way that matched the previous religious matrix. The Christians who were former Muslims and their baptized descendants had to be qualified as “*new*” (as had been done with Jews before them), and their counterparts required the use of the term “*other*” or “*old*” to specify the community of Christians, those with a longer Christian genealogy, who were likely from outside of Granada and had come to repopulate the region. Although it had earlier been seen with the baptized descendants of Jews, this was the first step in what would be seen as a proliferation of language, the beginning of the processes of (re)inscription for this community: the processes of the construction of the *other* within the Christian community rather than from without (*inter-* vs. *intra-*).

Now, after beginning to identify processes of (re)inscription, understanding the contrast of the terms “*new*” and “*old*” with “*Christians*” can be ascertained more easily. Naturally, the difference between *new* and *old* Christians was quickly codified, since it easily corresponded to the communities that were divided by religion before (or by region). The separation (and dependence of one on the other, thus hierarchy) of the two communities, can be seen in the rite of baptism and the method of butchering meat. As Francisco Núñez Muley wrote in 1523,⁶⁴⁴ and as had been commanded in the letters from Queen Joanna a decade before, there was a requirement that the godparents for the descendants of former Muslims be *old* Christians.⁶⁴⁵ This was problematic at various levels, at least discursively. First, it infringed on the autonomy of the community; second, there were places where there were few *old* Christians and they would have to bring in an

⁶⁴³ See Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 71-73.

⁶⁴⁴ See Document 22.

⁶⁴⁵ See Documents 9 and 13.

old Christian from another location, which created “much aggravation and damages... [and had] many costs and expenses”; and, the theological fact was pointed out rhetorically that any of the *newly* converted could be a godparent “since they were already Christians and had turned to our holy catholic faith.”⁶⁴⁶

The phrase “*old* Christian” was one side of the binary *new/old*, although it was not always used with its counterpart. Although the phrases “*new* Christian” and “*old* Christian” together are an implied binary, the use of the phrase “*old* Christian” was more often juxtaposed to “*newly* converted” and not to “*new* Christian.” The *newly* converted were exhorted to learn from (see 9.1) and follow the practices of *old* Christians (see 10.1, 10.4-5). This makes sense in the early texts given that the Granadans were indeed *newly* converted, and the phrase “*newly* converted” can be understood temporally and transitionally in contrast to “*old* Christian.” For example, in Document 11 regarding *morisco* clothing, there is a sense that the *newly* converted needed to abandon the clothing of their recent past and use the clothing that matches their new religion.⁶⁴⁷

There are 118 mentions of *old* Christians in 25 documents.⁶⁴⁸ *Old* Christians were presumed not to be descendants of Muslims or Jews and in the case of Granada, generally, had arrived to repopulate the region after 1492 and often were Castilians. The documents included other ways to refer to these *old* Christians (fifteen occurrences in five documents). At times, they used the term “Christian” without qualification⁶⁴⁹ or with a qualification other than “*old*.” Additional phrases used were “other Christians” (4.11), “other Christian vassals” (3.7, 4.4, 4.6), “other Christian neighbors” (3.10, 3.12, 3.16, 3.18), “faithful” or “good” or “honest Christians” (26.1, 32.1, 32.4, 32.9, 75.5), and “cristiano de

⁶⁴⁶ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, Appendix 24, 190-191: “como en algunas villas e lugares de las alcarias no hay cristianos viejos.” “que los dichos nuevamente convertidos e qualique de ellos pudiesen ser e fuesen padrinos en cualesquier cosas que fuese necesario, pues que ellos ya eran cristianos e tornados a nuestra santa fe católica.”

⁶⁴⁷ See Document 11.3.

⁶⁴⁸ Documents 9.1, 9.3, 10.1-2, 10.4, 10.5(x2), 10.6-7, 11.1, 11.3, 13.2(x2), 14.2-3, 14.8, 15.1-2, 16.3(x2), 16.6, 16.7(x3), 16.8, 17.7, 17.10, 22.2, 22.3(x2), 22.4, 22.6, 23.2,23.3, 23.6-9, 23.11-12, 19.12, 29.21, 30.3-6, 30.8-9, 30.17-18, 30.28, 30.29(x2), 35.2, 38.4(x2), 38.6, 42.2(x2), 43.1, 43.2(x3), 43.3-4, 43.5(x2), 43.7, 43.8(x2), 43.9, 43.10(x2), 43.11(x2), 44.3, 44.12, 44.20-21, 46.1(x2), 46.4(x2), 48.2, 48.4(x2), 51.3, 61.4, 64.10, 64.12(x2), 64.13, 74.3-4, 74.6-7, 74.11, 74.13, 74.15, 74.18(x2), 74.21, 74.26, 74.28-29, 74.32-34, 74.42, 74.45, 74.46(x4), 64.51, 76.5, 76.17, 81.1.

⁶⁴⁹ There are at least 17 occurrences in 10 documents to “Christians” without further qualification. These need to be understood within the specific context of the texts in which they appear. See 3.11, 3.17, 4.3, 4.10, 10.7, 13.1, 16.1, 26.2, 30.23, 30.27, 30.29, 32.6-8, 64.11, 64.13, 76.11.

nación” (32.5, 32.9). Many of the latter references were from Document 32, dated to prior to 1507, whose aim was to exhort the *newly* converted to become a particular kind of Christian: “good and faithful.”

The quantitative look at the phrases “*newly* converted” and “*new* Christian” yields the following relevant empirical observations, which begin to unravel the sixteenth-century belief that a person or community could change religion, and thus that conversion and baptism could be separated or dissociated from one another. In the specific context of *Spain*, which had ways for how to deal with a plurality of religions, the framework of religion (a matrix of difference based on religion) became an obstacle to the belief that a change in religion was possible historically and historiographically. More clearly, the qualifications of “*new*” or “*newly*” initially had a literal and textual sense of temporality and, thus, fluidity or mutability. Yet, this sense of fluidity was antithetical to the fixidity or immutability of the religious matrix by which many things in the society had previously been defined and organized (and the way they are still studied). Therefore, in a way, “*new* Christian” or “*newly* converted” became a (re)inscription of a religious *otherness* different than Christian and thus eventually and ultimately fixed (nominalization). The next transition would be from “*new* Christian” or “*newly* converted” to “*morisco*.”

Moriscos and Moors

The tabulation of the phrases “*new* Christian” and “*newly* converted” begins to support the observation that the language used to refer to this community had a variety that would increasingly be lost. At this stage this fluidity can also be seen in other terms used in the Granadan primary documents. To do this demonstration, the quantitative overview of the phrases “*newly* converted” and “*new* Christians” is now contrasted with the uses of the term “*morisco*” in its nominal and descriptive forms. The term “*morisco*” was used in 31 documents (37.8% of the 82 tabulated; compared to 58 documents, or 70.7%, for “*newly* converted” or “*new* Christian”), for a total of 72 instances.⁶⁵⁰ “*Morisco*” in a nominal form occurred 37 times in 20 documents (24.1% of the documents).⁶⁵¹ Of the 37 occurrences, seven were specific to female *moriscas*.⁶⁵² “*Morisco*” used in a descriptive

⁶⁵⁰ Documents 6, 10-12, 14-17, 21, 29-30, 32, 35-38, 43-44, 48, 58, 65, 69-70, 75-79, 81-83.

⁶⁵¹ Documents 6, 21, 29-30, 35, 38, 43-44, 48, 58, 65, 70, 75-79, 81-83.

⁶⁵² Documents 30.9, 35.1-2, 38.7, 48.4, 76.5, 76.13.

way occurred 35 times in 16 documents (19.3%).⁶⁵³ As a ratio, “*morisco*” in its nominal form was used once for every 6.7 times “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” was used.⁶⁵⁴ Nevertheless, as explored later, the preferred term used by historians for these communities (in the analysis of the very texts used in this study) is “*morisco*” and not “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*,” even as far as historians justifying the use of “*morisco*” over “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.”⁶⁵⁵

“*Morisco*” appeared in both forms, nominal and descriptive, in five documents.⁶⁵⁶ “*Morisco*” in its nominal form appeared 15 times in eight documents that also used the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” to refer to this community (71 occurrences); this was a ratio of once for every 4.7 occurrences.⁶⁵⁷ Even though the phrases and word were both used, the way the term “*morisco*” (n.) was used was not consistent and was not equated to “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.” Five of the “*morisco*” (n.) mentions in these documents were for female *new Christians*;⁶⁵⁸ also, seven of the 15 were negative uses of the term—referring to a subset of the community, and thus not used interchangeably;⁶⁵⁹ the final three uses did not diminish the Christianity of these *new Christians*: in Document 30, in two instances, there was a recommendation that *old Christians* bury *moriscos*, and in Document 48 there were references to *moriscos* being encouraged to marry *old Christians*.⁶⁶⁰ Other than a lack of uniformity, there was no significant pattern for the use of “*morisco*” at this point. Different from the nominative mode, “*morisco*” as a descriptor appeared in 11 documents that also used the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.”⁶⁶¹ Since these uses were descriptive they could not be substituted for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.”

⁶⁵³ Documents 10, 11-12, 14-17, 29-30, 35-37, 69, 75-76.

⁶⁵⁴ 37 times compared to 248.

⁶⁵⁵ See Chapter 4.

⁶⁵⁶ Documents 29-30, 35, 75-76.

⁶⁵⁷ *Morisco* (n.) in Documents 29.27, 30.9, 30.18x2, 35.1-2, 38.7, 43.9-10, 44.6, 48.4x2, 58.11, 58.13, and 65.3; *Newly converted* or *new Christian* - Documents 29-24 times, 30-16 times, 35-once, 38-9 times, 43-5 times, 44-4 times, 48-once, 58-9 times, and 65-twice.

⁶⁵⁸ Documents 30.9, 35.1-2, 38.7, 48.4.

⁶⁵⁹ Documents 29.27, 43.9-10, 44.6, 58.11, 58.13, and 65.3.

⁶⁶⁰ Documents 30.18x2 and 48.4x2 - the first instance of 48.4 was specific to a female *morisca*.

⁶⁶¹ Documents 10-12, 14-17, 29-30, 35, and 37.

Therefore, from the above it can be noted that in 17 of the 82 (20.7%) documents there were various combinations of “*morisco*,” in the nominal and descriptive forms, as well as “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*”;⁶⁶² in one out of five documents, the terms “*morisco*” and “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” coexisted, but were not co-terminus. In this group of texts, there were no documents after 1544 in which several of the terms coexisted, specifically the term “*morisco*” (n.) plus the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.” Moreover, more than half of the documents (35) used only the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*”; the use of these phrases was much greater than the term “*morisco*.”

In observing the use of the terminology in conjunction with the date of the documents, a chronology of the usage of the various terms begins to emerge. For example, closer to the time of the initial baptisms “*morisco*” in its descriptive form could co-exist with “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” because it was referring to something religiously or culturally related to their prior religion or political context: in English, the relationship between “*Moor*” and “*Moorish*.” Eventually, “*morisco*” substituted for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” without the possibility of fully reverting to Moor, as Muslim. This was a subtle shift that can be easily missed if the term “*morisco*” is substituted too hastily for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.” Put differently, the term “*morisco*” shifts in meaning from relating to the term “*Moor*” (as Muslim) to gaining a type of hybridity and fluidity shared with “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” to then fully substituting for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” and then to not begin able ever again to revert to “*Moor*” (as Muslim).

In addition to the usage in documents where terms co-existed, and continuing to build on the chronology of usage, prior to the second rebellion of the Alpujarras the uses of the term “*morisco*” as a noun were varied. The term “*morisco*” was not always used with a negative connotation. For example, in a 1559 document there was an instance of a positive use of the term “*morisco*” in contrast to *old Christians*—a remark that it was easier to collect rent from *moriscos* than from *old Christians* (70.1). Yet, many other references

⁶⁶² Documents 10-11, 12, 14-17, 29-30, 35, 37-38, 43-44, 48, 58, 65.

to *moriscos* tend to be negative: for example, drunken *moriscos* (two mentions), *moriscos* committing offences against the faith, or *moriscos* wearing the wrong clothes.⁶⁶³

At times the textual sense was that *moriscos* were a subset of the Granadan community, rather than of the whole community of *new* Christians. Thus, it is surmised that historians studying *moriscos* are studying a subset of a series of communities. For example, when addressing the benefits of *old* and *new* Christians marrying, one of the benefits was that communications amongst *moriscos* would cease (43.9); the same sentence included the phrases and term “*new* Christian,” “*old* Christian,” and “*moriscos*.” A similar instance though, had *old* Christians marrying *moriscos(as)* (48.4, x2) rather than *new* Christians. From this it may be inferred that *new* Christians were becoming like other Christians, but that *moriscos* needed to be further influenced by *old* Christians.

In Document 65 there was a sense that *moriscos* could be done away with if the right inquisitorial steps were taken (65.3). Perhaps then *moriscos* were subject to the Inquisition but *new* Christians were not. Perhaps at this point the term “*morisco*” only referred to the part of the community that was considered recalcitrant, and that by using the term “*morisco*” historiographically for the whole rather than for parts of the communities those that were *new* Christians were erased (meaning not narrated)—an example of which can be read in the decrees of expulsion (and related documents).⁶⁶⁴

Given these examples, when the term “*morisco*” increasingly lost its connection to “*moro*,” as referential to the entire community of baptized descendants of Muslims, “*morisco*” carried with it the negative connotations of deficiencies in religion or character. Yet there was a time when this coexisted with a sense that these so-called deficiencies may have been found only in a subset of the whole community. There was an increased unease with the correspondence of the phrases “*newly* converted” or “*new* Christian” to the reality or perceived or discursive reality of the communities, and which aligned with an increased use of the term “*morisco*,” still not exclusively but increasingly so. With the second rebellion, the shift would increasingly become fixed and magnified.

⁶⁶³ In order, Documents 21, 58, and 58. Drunkenness is an issue that does not only appear with the category *morisco* (21.1); it is referred to about new Christians three times (2.1, 2.2 and 7.1), and to the newly converted four times (17.11-13, 18.1).

⁶⁶⁴ See Jon Cowans, ed., *Early Modern Spain*, Document 34, 145-146.

Quantifying the incidence of the various terms helps to create a mental map of the shifts in the language:⁶⁶⁵

“*moro/Muslim*” prior to 1501
“*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” (through baptism) and
“*morisco*” (n.) from 1501 to 1571, inversely progressing
“*morisco*” after 1571 and used for the expulsions and beyond.

With this mental map, various documents can be read within an additional context. For example, Document 75 by Luis del Mármol Carvajal relating events from 1566 may be considered a transitional document, because although it related events prior to the rebellion it was written after 1568-1571, in fact closer to 1600. In this document, the word “*morisco*” was used in similar contexts to which the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” had appeared in previous documents. Therefore, the fact that the term “*morisco*” was used instead is textually significant; it is an example of an imposition of a later term when relating earlier events.

In Document 75, the descriptive use of the term “*morisco*” (Moorish), such as “*vestidos moriscos*” was used as had been done before. Furthermore, the phrase “*en tiempo de moros*” was used to refer to a time prior to the baptisms and conquest, as has been noted. This supports the sense that the descriptive use of the term “*morisco*” tends to be less problematic than the nominal form. Yet there were subtle changes with respect to subjects and themes that had been addressed before. For example, after the Congregation of 1526 there was a prohibition for the *newly converted* to have Muslim slaves:

Likewise, by our letter it is now provided and mandated again that none of the newly converted have in their homes or in their estates Muslim slaves; we mandate that this is kept.⁶⁶⁶

This prohibition was reiterated by Luis del Mármol Carvajal (in 1600), but instead of using the phrase “*newly converted*” the term “*morisco*” was used:

With respect to the *gacís*, it was provided that those that were free and those that were rescued or would be rescued, cannot live in the entire kingdom of

⁶⁶⁵ As “*morisco*” increases “*moro*” decreases.

⁶⁶⁶ See Document 29.10. Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 31, 201: “Asimismo por nuestra carta está proveído y mandado agora [sic] nuevamente que ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos no tengan en sus casas ni en sus haciendas esclavos moros; mandamos que así se guarde.” This sentence is followed by the prohibition to have black or white Christian slaves or bachelor Christian servants. See also footnote 638.

Granada, and within six months of being rescued leave it; and that the moriscos not have gacís slaves even if they had license to have them.⁶⁶⁷

Furthermore, keeping the subtlety of the terminology in mind, Luis del Mármol Carvajal did not need to use the term “*old Christian*” since it did not use the counterpart “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.” instead he used “faithful Christians.” Seeing these subtle changes then shows how the last use of the term “*morisco*” in this document was a complete negative substitution of “*morisco*” for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*,” thus displaying the more completed process toward the impossibility of conversion. Mármol Carvajal wrote,

This was the resolution taken at the Junta, although some were of the mind that all of the recommendations not be enacted all at once, since the moriscos are so wedded to their customs, and because they would not feel it so much if they were taken away little by little.⁶⁶⁸

What is seen in Document 75 is repeated in documents from during and after the second rebellion. For example, nominative references to *moriscos* (11 of 37) now had the negative connotation of a community that rebelled or was the name given to **the** community as a whole: the rising of the *moriscos* (77.1, 83.1), the rebellion of the *moriscos* (77.2, 83.2), and the rebelled *moriscos* (81.3). The communities were no longer the *newly converted* or the *new Christians*, but **the morisco** community. The possibility remained that there was a portion of the community that was not included because they did not rebel, but these seem to be erased or not exist or, at least, were not narrated.

In documents 78 and 79 there were three unusual instances of the term “*moro/Moor*” being used to substitute for “*morisco*”: “whom the Moors killed” (78.1), “since the Moors stole their houses” (78.2), and “the fruits and cattle stolen and destroyed by the Moors” (79.2). These references have to do with the costs of the second rebellion. As will be demonstrated later, these were the only three instances in this collection of texts in which the use of the term “*moro*” was ambiguous. These may well be substituting for or

⁶⁶⁷ See Document 75.11. Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, Appendix 60, 274: “y cuanto a los gacís...y que los moriscos no tuviesen esclavos gacís, aunque tuviesen licencias para poderlos tener.” *Gacís* were Moors (Muslims) from Africa that came after 1492.

⁶⁶⁸ See Document 75.13. Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, Appendix 60, 274: “Esta fue la resolución que se tomó en aquella Junta, aunque algunos fueron de parecer que los capítulos no se executasen [sic] todos juntos, por estar los moriscos tan casados con sus costumbres, y porque no lo sentirían tanto yéndoselas quitando poco a poco.”

referring to outside forces who were indeed Muslim, supporting the accusation that they got help from North Africa.

Most of the above analysis of the term “*morisco*” was for the nominative form of the word. The other way the term “*morisco*” was used was in a descriptive manner (35 occurrences) and may be divided into two senses: the religious sense (things associated with Islam), and the socio-cultural sense (practices associated with the Granadan community which were not considered solely religious observances).⁶⁶⁹ In the documents there were eight references to rites and ceremonies of the *Moors*, whereas there were 27 references to other customs of the *Moors*. Of the latter 27 references, 20 had to do specifically with the manner of dress, or *morisco* clothing.⁶⁷⁰ For centuries, Christians from Castile were accustomed to Muslims in their region using the “Castilian” mode of dress and even language: therefore, they had the expectation that Granadans could and would also adopt this specific regional mode as a Christian mode of dress that matched their new religion.⁶⁷¹ The issue of *Moorish* dress is very important in trying to understand the actual degree of difference that existed between *new* and *old* Christians. Dress can be seen as an external marker of difference that could be changed. Adherence to *morisco* dress (or regional costume) was equated by some to adherence to Islam, yet dress could be changed and, if changed, difference would be reduced between the two communities: thus, difference at this point was not yet inherent or indelible.

The concern with clothing was an important subject in the texts and often appeared specifically in relation to *new* Christian women. Regarding women, the nominal and descriptive forms of “*morisco*” also had particular foci and uses.⁶⁷² The nominal form of the term “*morisco*” appeared in the texts seven times specifically referring to *moriscas*.⁶⁷³ These were not the only mentions of women in the documents, but these specifically used the term “*morisca*.” The first mention, in Document 30 from 1526, had to do with a

⁶⁶⁹ It is understood that these are and were not always distinct spheres.

⁶⁷⁰ Documents 11.1-2, 12.1-2, 14.1-4, 15.1-2, 30.7, 35.1-3, 36.1 (x2), 75.3-4, 76.8.

⁶⁷¹ See section on clothing in Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 69, 71-73.

⁶⁷² In some of the documents where the term “*morisco*” is not used as a general term, it may still be used specifically for women, using the term “*moriscas*.” A future study could be to find the textual evidence on how women were referred to in the texts (and related changes) and whether it can be ascertained if, when gender can be determined, if women were more likely to be referred to as *moriscas*? Examples of this are found in the *Memorandum* and is raised given the concern with women and their clothing.

⁶⁷³ Documents 30.9, 35.1-2, 38.7, 48.4, 76.5, 76.13.

“partera morisca” (30.9) or a *morisca* midwife who was required to perform her duties in the presence of an *old* Christian; this was like the *old*-Christian godparent and butcher requirements from the 1510s. In Document 35 from 1530 the use of the term “*morisca*” differentiates these women from *newly* converted *mudéjares* from outside of Granada (35.1-2).⁶⁷⁴ The grievance in Document 35 was that women who were baptized outside of Granada and who were accustomed to wearing *old* Christian clothing were wearing *morisco* clothing once they came to Granada: this was seen as a step backwards. They were mandated to “abandon said *morisco* costumes and don the costume of old Christians [f.] as they had before” (35.3). Three other mentions had to do with *morisco* clothing, and two of these specifically dealt with the issue of women covering their faces. Face covering was seen as a threat.⁶⁷⁵ The final mention of a *morisco*, discussed later, is related to intermarriage (48.4).

As can be seen above, five of the seven mentions of *morisca*s were primarily related to their manner of dress, habit, costume, or clothing, or in the *morisco* manner (*hábito/vestido/ropa morisca* or *a la morisca*).⁶⁷⁶ The issue of *morisco* clothing was the predominant issue related to women in the documents. When seen through the lens of clothing, the concerns with women in these documents come into greater focus and exceed the relatively few uses of the term “*morisca*.” Although connected to three instances of the term “*morisca*,” face covering was mentioned an additional ten times in five documents.⁶⁷⁷ Face covering was related to the use of *marlotas* or *almalafas*, but these specific pieces of clothing were not always mentioned in the same documents that refer to face covering.⁶⁷⁸

Although there’s not an abundance of specific mentions of female baptized descendants of Muslims, there seems to be a possibility that women were more likely to be referred to as *morisca*s since their mode of dress was problematic at various levels,

⁶⁷⁴ This is also seen in Document 36 where the “wives and daughters of the *mudéjares* of this city newly converted and the captive women...had abandoned the costume of old Christians [f.], and don that of the *morisca*s...and in this costume they commit and do many crimes.”

⁶⁷⁵ See Document 36.

⁶⁷⁶ Documents 35.1-2, 38.7, 76.5, 76.13.

⁶⁷⁷ Documents 14.4, 14.6, 14.8, 25.1, 29.18, 29.20, 75.4, 76.13.

⁶⁷⁸ *Marlotas* 12:1 and 69.3; *Almalafas* 14.4, 14.6-7, 15.1, 29.18-19, 33.2, 38.3, 75.2, 75.4. Face covering and *almalafas* only appear together in three documents and four entries: 14.4, 14.6, 29.18, and 75.4.

and as Francisco Núñez Muley alludes, women wore *Moorish* dress more readily than men⁶⁷⁹—perhaps a difference between the private and public sphere. Otherwise women were subsumed (meaning not narrated or differentiated) by the more general terms of “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*,” unless their specific behavior needed to be noted. Moreover, this may be considered (by others) something specifically gendered and could be explored around the suspicion of women and especially women who were “hiding” under Moorish dress. The issue of the manner of dress in general and for women again reinforces that for some a change in external appearance was expected to yield a lessening of difference. Yet, when *old* or *new* Christians wore *Moorish* dress, threatening issues of passing come to the fore and could be explored.

Continuing to analyze the 35 occurrences of the descriptive use of the term “*morisco*,” translated into English as *Moorish*, it is noted that 20 of these 35 instances (or 57.1%)⁶⁸⁰ have to do with *Moorish* clothing and the expectation that once baptized members of these communities would abandon *morisco* clothing for *old* Christian modes (or for other regional or Castilian modes). Furthermore, when looked at more closely, the descriptive use of the term “*morisco*,” with respect to clothing, changes, or shifts. Whereas in the earlier documents the term “*morisco*” was more closely related to a descriptive form of “*Moor*,” later it gained the nuanced hybridity of the latter descriptive or nominative uses of “*morisco*.” For example, in Document 11 from 1511, dressing in the manner of the *old* Christians and abandoning *morisco* clothing was tantamount to leaving behind the “things of the Moors” (11.1) or the clothing they used to wear in the “time of the Moors” (11.2) or in the “manner of the Moors” (11.3, see also 14.2). Again, the expectation was that baptism would lead to the abandoning of Muslim religious or social or regional customs including *morisco* dress (all external markers): “that the newly converted abandon the Moorish costume and dress and don the dress and manner of the Christians” (15.1). In short, here “*morisco*” was clearly meant to signify things from the time prior to baptism: this changed as the century progressed.

For example, for Castilians, *morisco* dress was especially frowned upon for the *newly converted mudéjares*. As seen in documents 35 and 36 from 1530, for *mudéjares* the donning of *morisco* dress was especially egregious since they had previously worn

⁶⁷⁹ Francisco Núñez Muley, Memorandum, 71; also 72, 73.

⁶⁸⁰ See footnote 670.

clothing in the manner of *old* Christians when they lived outside of Granada. Here, as in the cases where “*morisco*” and “*mudéjar*” were used as contrasting terms, a distinction was being made between the Kingdom of Granada and other realms—where the term “*morisco*” was specific to Granada. Yet, “*morisco*,” especially as a negative term, would only gain ground after 1571 and outside of Granada, given the internal displacement and the ongoing processes of construction (*othering*). The use of “*moriscos granadinos*” is seen in the expulsion-related documents presented in Section 3.4.

A few decades after the decreed baptisms, the concern with clothing seems to have waned. Of the nine documents that specifically mention *morisco* clothing or style (20 times), seven of these documents (17 mentions or 85%) were from before 1530. This indicates that the issue of clothing discursively diminished, although it is brought up again in documents 75 and 76. As noted before, Document 75 poses a challenge regarding the chronology of the content and the date when the document was written; yet, it referred to *morisco* clothing as the documents from 1530 and earlier did. In fact, Document 75 made a clear connection between *morisco* clothing and the “time of the Moors,”⁶⁸¹ clothing that must be abandoned once a Christian (75.2, 72.4), as was the case in Document 11 above. For various reasons Document 76 is different than other documents, especially about the preferred term referential to this community as natives (*naturales*). Francisco Núñez Muley argues forcefully that any *morisco* (as *Moorish*) practice found in Granada must first be seen as a regional custom, rather than an indication of actively practicing Islam, as explored later in this section.

With an understanding of the nominal and descriptive uses of the term “*morisco*” it is important to also look at its relationship to the term “*moro*.” As seen in the Introduction, in the sixteenth century the term “*morisco*” was related to the term “*moro*.”⁶⁸² In its origins the word “*Moor*” had a regional and ethnic connotation, not a religious one, yet in the primary texts of concern here, the term “*Moor*” was used overwhelmingly to denote Muslim and the term “*morisco*” was used as a descriptor.⁶⁸³ For example, in the first instance, *Moor* was differentiated religiously from Christian or Jew. After the Capitulations of 1492

⁶⁸¹ See Document 75.2 and 75.5.

⁶⁸² See Introduction, footnote 8.

⁶⁸³ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial México* (Stanford University Press, 2008), 36: she states that “*Moor*” was a pejorative term.

and before the first rebellions, “*Moor*” continued to be used to refer to Muslims. For example, the injunction that a *Moor* cannot enter city hall (*ayuntamiento*) on a Friday used “*Moor*” as equivalent to Muslim.⁶⁸⁴ Another example showing that the use of the term “*Moor*” referred to a Muslim can be seen when juxtaposed to Jew: “it cannot be either newly converted of the Moors or of the Jews.”⁶⁸⁵ Here “*Moor*” was used to mean Muslim.

The text of the new capitulations, after the first rebellions, used the word “*Moor*” to refer to Muslims, and still used the term “*morisco*” (adjective) as it related to “*Moor*” (n.), to refer to descriptions for the unbaptized Muslim community (*moros*). For example, the phrase “los derechos moriscos” (Moorish fees) was related to the original capitulations that required certain fees from the Muslim population that remained in the Kingdom of Granada after the fall of the Nasrids. Those who chose baptism would no longer be required to pay “derechos moriscos” and would be treated as “our other Christian vassals.”⁶⁸⁶ The following paragraph summarizes this difference:

that the said moros of the Muslim quarter of Baza that convert to our holy catholic faith be exempt...as the other Christian neighbors of said city of Baza.⁶⁸⁷

As mentioned before, in a society accustomed to organizing tributes according to the subject’s religion, a change in religion would not only have religious consequences but also fiduciary ones. Yet, it would become clear that *new* Christians and the *newly* converted would not be treated as “our other Christian vassals” because they were burdened not only with the fees collected from Christians (*diezmos y primicias*), but also with specific fees given their former ties (religious and political), such as *farda*. Moreover, if they could, they paid additional monies to the Crown in exchange for some level of

⁶⁸⁴ Document 1.

⁶⁸⁵ Document 9.3. This passage refers to the disqualification of baptized descendants of former Muslims or Jews to be godparents to other descendants of these same communities: “no lo pueda ser ningún nuevamente convertido de moro ni judío.”

⁶⁸⁶ Document 3; similar language is used in Document 4.

⁶⁸⁷ See Document 3.3-5. “Item que los dichos moros de la dicha Morería de Baza que se convirtieren a nuestra santa fe católica, sean libres y exentos de pedido e moneda e moneda forera e otros servicios, según que los otros vecinos cristianos de la dicha çibdad [sic] de Baza.” In a 1517 document, the fact that conversion/baptism removed the “derechos *moriscos*” is reiterated with respect to “zambros e bodas e desposorios” because “dar gracia a los dichos moros que se convirtiesen a su santa fe católica...como verdaderos cristianos, les hicieron merced de les mandar quitar todos los derechos *moriscos*... [que] se llevaban en tiempo de los dichos moros...” Document 19.2-3. Again in Document 20.1: “de ciertos derechos que solían pagar en tiempo de moros.”

autonomy for their community in maintaining, as Francisco Núñez Muley asserts, practices that do not go against the holy Catholic faith,⁶⁸⁸ as was the case with the forty-year grace period negotiated at the end of 1526.

Moreover, the term “*Moor*” was used to refer to a time prior to 1492 when the Kingdom of Granada was ruled by the Nasrids. Two examples: “[t]hey pasture their cattle in the same places as they were accustomed during the time of the Moor kings” and “they sometimes butcher the meats in the way they were accustomed during the time of the Moors.”⁶⁸⁹ There are further textual indications that the term “*Moor*” was used to refer to Muslims rather than to a political or ethnic identity. For example, when used as a political or prior affiliation it was qualified, as in the “time of the moors” (*en tiempo de moros*). Furthermore, to be more specific about the ethnicity of a Muslim, several documents refer to the Turks or the Berbers or the Ottomans.

The descriptive use of the term “*morisco*” (35 instances) can be compared with the descriptive use of the term “*Moor*” (22 instances) where 10 instances were specifically religious (compared to eight) and the remainder (12) were either referring to customs or were non-specific (compared to 27). In the nominative use of the term “*moro*,” and after considering the three anomalies in documents 78 and 79 explained above—the use (44 times) of the term “*Moor*” was unambiguous: it referred to a Muslim. Differently, the use of the term “*morisco*” was much more varied.

Finally, in the documents inventoried there were 109 instances of the word “*Moor*.” Of the 109 occurrences of the term “*Moor*,” 64 were used as a qualifier: *newly* converted or *new Christian* “*of the Moors*” (23 examples),⁶⁹⁰ time “*of the Moors*” (15),⁶⁹¹ or various

⁶⁸⁸ See Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 59-64. There was mention of yearly taxes paid starting in 1518 (21,000 ducats) and, later in 1526, an agreement for another 15,000 ducats per year. These were taxes that were not paid by other Christians.

⁶⁸⁹ Document 3 and Document 10, respectively. “Pazcan con sus ganados por todos los términos e partes que solían pacer con ellos en tiempo de los reyes moros.” And, “degüellan algunas veces las carnes como solían en tiempos de moros.” Another example is found in Document 17.3: “para que sean instruidos en la doctrina y dexen los usos y ceremonias que solían e usaban siendo moros”; “that they be instructed in the doctrine and abandon the uses and ceremonies that they were accustomed to and used when they were Moors.”

⁶⁹⁰ Documents 9.3, 29.3, 29.6-7, 29.22, 29.26, 29.28-29, 29.31, 30.13, 30.20, 34.1, 58.1-2, 58.4, 58.6, 58.16, 64.24, 63.1-2, 71.1, 73.1, 74.1.

⁶⁹¹ Documents 3.9, 10.1-2, 11.2, 16.1, 19.1, 19.3, 20.1-2, 27.1, 44.10, 47.2, 48.1, 75.2, 75.5.

things or customs etc. “*of the Moors*” (26).⁶⁹² This indicates that other than to refer to Muslim, the use of *Moor* was also to bring contextual specificity: time, custom, or community. Another 23 occurrences were of “*Moor*” in its nominative form.⁶⁹³ Of the remaining instances (22) there was the prohibition to refer to the *newly* converted as *moro* or *mora*, used as a slur (four times);⁶⁹⁴ also, there were references to a “captive Moor” (74.21) or “Moor slaves” (29.10), among others.⁶⁹⁵ There seems to be an inversely proportional relationship between “*moro*” and “*morisco*”; the increase in the use of the term “*morisco*” was matched by a decrease in the use of the term “*Moor*.” This was also seen in the increased use of “*morisco*” (n.) matched by a decrease in the use of “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.”

In the instances in which the *newly* converted were accused of adhering to practices, customs, etc. *of the Moors*, there still was a textual sense that in abandoning these practices they could become good and faithful Christians. However, in the documents there were four instances in which “*Moor*” was used for the *newly* converted to argue unambiguously for the fact that “they were not good and faithful Christians.” In Document 44 there was a mention that “those new Christians are worse with our holy faith than when they were Moors” (44.4). In Document 47, Archbishop Gaspar de Ávalos argued that “their hearts are as Moor[ish] as before” (47.1) and that they “seem to be Moor residents without a king” (47.6).⁶⁹⁶ Finally, Document 62 stated that “they always have been until that day Moors and they never were Christians” (62.2). As mentioned before there is a problematic use of the term “*Moor*” in documents 78 and 79; it seems that the term “*Moor*” may have been substituted for the term “*morisco*.” This confusion makes sense within the context of the ascendancy of the nominal form of the term “*morisco*” and the corresponding decrease in the appearance of the term “*Moor*” in its most common usage in the primary texts.

⁶⁹² Documents 11.1, 11.3, 14.2, 17.8, 29.33-34, 30.23, 37.1, 43.1, 44.18-19, 58.2-3, 61.5(x2), 63.7, 64.14(x2), 64.16-18, 74.26, 74.35, 74.46, 75.8, 76.16.

⁶⁹³ Documents 1.1, 3.1-4, 3.17-18, 5.1, 6.2, 17.2, 19.2, 29.23, 29.25, 30.12, 31.1, 44.17, 48.1, 50.2, 51.2, 58.15, 63.3, 68.1.

⁶⁹⁴ Document 3.13(x2) and 4.7(x2).

⁶⁹⁵ See Appendix 2 for tallies.

⁶⁹⁶ Sentiments echoed by Américo Castro. See footnote 538.

Documents 44, 47, and 62 are from 1530, 1532, and 1539 respectively. Following the shifts in language usage and meaning proposed, “*Moor*” as Muslim was initially the opposite of Christian, and the term “*morisco*” had not yet fully substituted for the phrases “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*.” When it did substitute, it indicated the increased impossibility of reverting to “*Moor*” or completely becoming Christian; thus, existing in a third space or space of hybridity, which allows for the proliferation of referential categories.

One of the ways to answer the question “**how** were the peninsular expulsions of some Christians, baptized descendants of Muslims, discursively justified?” is by identifying the sixteenth century (and beyond) processes of construction of these communities as *other*. These processes are unearthed by identifying the shifts in language usage and meaning. Yet, to elucidate these processes, the language used to refer to these communities historically has to be untangled from the historiographical language used to refer to one homogenous community (Chapter 4). Thus, the preceding quantification of the phrases “*newly converted*,” “*new Christian*,” and “*old Christian*,” as well as the terms “*morisco*” and “*moro*,” was the first step in this untangling process. Therefore, by identifying the actual referential language used, it can be demonstrated that there is a disconnection between the language used in the primary texts and the language used by historians, and then the focus can turn to the actual processes of construction. These steps build upon each other.

The quantitative analysis thus far has revealed that the preferred referential phrases to name these communities were “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*.” Moreover, these phrases were not initially or intentionally static in meaning, but retained the possibility of moving beyond the “*new*” or “*newly*,” thus having non-static and hybrid qualities. Furthermore, the nominative use of the term “*morisco*” did not initially have the fixed meaning that it eventually came to have. As was presented above, the term “*morisco*” was used in varied ways: to differentiate from “*mudéjar*,” as related to “*Moor*” (as Muslim); as a subset of the community. For the first two-thirds of the century the nominative use of “*morisco*” and the phrases “*newly converted*” or the “*new Christians*” could co-exist but were not co-terminus. The least problematic use of the term “*morisco*” was in its descriptive mode, which can be translated into English as “Moorish.” On the other hand, the phrase “*old Christian*” and the term “*moro*” were fixed in meaning.

The quantitative language analysis leads to the conclusion that there existed shifts in language throughout the sixteenth century. These shifts corresponded to or were parallel to the construction of these communities as *other*. Initially, “*new*” and “*newly*” implied a process of transition. Yet, eventually, since the “*new*” or “*newly*” substituted for the previous religious matrix, it became a (re)inscription and was fixed. Then “*morisco*” substituted for “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*.” This later substitution occurred as the term “*morisco*” shifted in usage. Whereas initially “*morisco*” was related to “*Moor*” (as Muslim), as it became specifically tied to “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” it was ultimately superimposed onto these phrases. Therefore “*morisco*” became disconnected from “*Moor*” (as Muslim) and technically became incapable of reverting to Islam. Until after the expulsions, “*morisco*” became static in its hybridity; it was a third space term, denoting neither Muslim nor Christian.

Beyond Newly Converted or New Christians and Moriscos

As seen above, the baptized descendants of Muslims were referred to in these documents primarily as “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*,” rather than the fewer instances in which members of these communities were referred to with the term “*morisco*.” Yet, other referential terms or phrases were also used: first as “*natives*” (*naturales*) of the Kingdom of Granada, and second as “*Christians*” like other Christians, without any additional qualification.

Document 76 is an excerpt from a longer plea by Francisco Núñez Muley to the Royal Audiencia of Granada and its president in 1567. Document 76 as inventoried and the complete document (*Memorandum*) as edited and translated by Vincent J. Barletta provide clues for understanding the Granadan communities. Important aspects of this document include that: it was written shortly before the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, thus giving a sense of the context on the eve of the rebellion; a *new Christian* wrote it; it recounts many of the negotiations that occurred in the previous decades, many of which are corroborated by the other inventoried documents. This document is also important for how it referred to the population of Granada, as “*naturales*,” and how the author tried to differentiate between religious and socio-cultural practices.

In the process of reading the documents in chronological order and after dozens of documents and many references to *new Christians* and *newly converted*, as well as

contrasts between these aforementioned and *old* Christians, it is striking to encounter a different way of referring to the Christian Granadans as “*natives*” of the kingdom.⁶⁹⁷ The date of the document is also relevant, not only because it was written just prior to the rebellion, but also because it came at the end of the forty-year grace period of enforcement granted by Charles after the Congregation of 1526. New enforcement was going to be enacted beginning in 1567. January 1567 also marked the 75th anniversary of the fall of the Kingdom of Granada.⁶⁹⁸

There were a few other references to *natives* in other documents: for example, in Document 74, from the Provincial Council of Granada of 1565, there were four mentions of the *natives* of Granada and three of these were contrasted with *old* Christians, likely Castilians. More specifically, the Council canons specified that they pertained to the parishes of *old* Christians as well as the parishes of the *natives*.⁶⁹⁹ Notwithstanding the use of *native*, different from Document 76, Document 74 was not consistent in its use and chiefly used *new* Christians (48 times) and contrasted these to *old* Christians.

Document 76 included 16 mentions of the Granadans as the *natives*; in the longer edited *Memorandum* there were at least 34 mentions of the “natives of this Kingdom.”⁷⁰⁰ Similar to the descriptive use of the word “*morisco*,” the term “*native*” was also used in a descriptive way, such as “*native* mode of dress” or “*native* clothing.”⁷⁰¹ Although Francisco Núñez Muley predominantly used the term “*native*” (34 iterations) to refer to the population of Granada, he also used other familiar phrases (14 times), such as “*new* Christian,” “*new* convert,” and “*newly* converted” in contrast to “*old* Christians.” There were uses of the word “*morisco*” in the nominative (eight; three specifically for women) and descriptive manner (19) in a proportion (to *new* Christian, etc.) similar to the whole universe of the inventoried Granadan documents: *morisco* (n.) occurs once per every six times that

⁶⁹⁷ The reference from 44.8, although tallied, has to do with residence for tax purposes, rather than being native to the Kingdom of Granada as the remainder of the references.

⁶⁹⁸ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 20.

⁶⁹⁹ Document 74.3-4, 74.6.

⁷⁰⁰ Document 76.1-2, 76.4, 76.6-7, 76.9-10, 76.12-13, 76.15-16, 76.18-21, 76.24; Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 55, 57, 58(x2), 59-60, 64-65, 67(x3), 68, 69(x2), 70, 71(x2), 72, 75(x3), 76, 77(x2), 82, 84, 88, 89(x2), 90(x2), 91-93.

⁷⁰¹ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 57, 62-63, 66, and 77.

“*native*” or “*new Christian*,” “*new convert*,” and “*newly converted*” occurs.⁷⁰² The proportion of *morisco* (n.) to *native* was one per 4.25 occurrences.⁷⁰³

The use of the term “*native*” also served rhetorical purposes when contrasted to non-native, in this case meaning Castilian. Moreover, using the familiar Christian phrases also served the purpose of showing that the regional or native practices of this population were instances of differences in customs, rather than an indication or proof of religious adherence to Islam. This brings to the forefront that an area of failure for the *newly converted* was not in conversion but in acculturation—a failure to become “Castilian.” Whereas other documents differentiated between *new Christians* from Granada and those from outside of Granada (*mudéjares*), the counter to *native* in the *Memorandum* was Castilian. There were also indications that *old Christians* were Castilian.

Two illustrations elucidate this: first, with respect to keeping doors open and weddings, Francisco Núñez Muley wrote,

With respect to what is said about the weddings taking place behind closed doors, such a thing will never be found. The doors at weddings are always left wide open, whether one is talking about the weddings of Old Christians or those of our community. The Old Christians and the natives drink and eat together at our weddings, which cannot be said of Castilian weddings. When the wedding is over and it is necessary, for various reasons, to shut the doors for the night, this is done, as is the custom and practice among the Old Christians.⁷⁰⁴

Second, regarding the public baths, Francisco Núñez Muley wrote,

The natives of this kingdom, however, do not in any way enjoy such freedoms, and due to the forms of dirtiness (and the people who work in it) described above, as well as the fact that we have, unlike other kingdoms, public waterworks to handle both clean water and sewage, we, unlike Castile, have long had public baths. At the time of the writing of the Gospels there were public baths, and yet the Castilians never desired to have any, due to the fact that going to the baths can weaken the limbs and veins of a man in times of war. In this kingdom the people are not interested in war, and so there are no significant consequences to such weakening. In fact, for

⁷⁰² At 37 times compared to 248 or once for every 6.7 occurrences.

⁷⁰³ For “natives” see footnote 700. For “*new Christian*,” “*new convert*,” and “*newly converted*” see Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 71x2, 72, 73, 76, 80, 82x2, 84x2, 87x2, and 95x2. For “*morisco*” (n.) see Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 60, 68, 71x2, 82x2, 90, and 99. Ratio of once for ever 4.7 occurrences.

⁷⁰⁴ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 81.

the reasons that I have described above the natives of this kingdom have greater need to bathe than others.⁷⁰⁵

Francisco Núñez Muley used these and other examples to differentiate between religious practices and other customs. Núñez Muley accomplished this, at least rhetorically, by explaining how many of these practices were not in conflict with the “Holy Catholic Faith.” The issues raised in this document were familiar and were seen in the primary documents inventoried; what was different was the articulation that these practices were compatible with Christianity.⁷⁰⁶ For example, with respect to clothing:

The payments, agreed to...ensured that the natives could retain their traditional clothing, customs, and footwear as long as these did not conflict with the Holy Catholic faith.⁷⁰⁷

Núñez Muley went on to describe the reasons why the prohibitions on *morisco* clothing were not enforced and the hardship these prohibitions presented. Núñez Muley concluded in the following manner:

All of this and what I have described above was ordered so as to support this kingdom in its desire to maintain its traditional style of dress, which in no way goes against the Holy Catholic faith, and that its people should continue to enjoy their customs and celebrations as they have done for many years up to the present since their conversion, and not pressure or harass them in all ways and manners, such as what is being ordered now in the current decree, based as it is on the reports of prelates and other persons who have informed His Majesty that the aforementioned style of dress and clothing corresponds to that of Muslims.⁷⁰⁸

Then he added all the ways in which there were different styles worn by Christians and Muslims in different regions, which were not directly related to religion.⁷⁰⁹ Finally, with

⁷⁰⁵ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 85.

⁷⁰⁶ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, discusses the following in similar terms as clothing: *zambra* “customs rooted in our kingdom and province” (78), “nothing in it that went against the Holy Catholic Faith” (79); baths (82-85); women covering their faces (87); Moorish names and surnames (88-ff.); owning of slaves (89-91); the Arabic language (92-ff.)

⁷⁰⁷ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 64.

⁷⁰⁸ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 69.

⁷⁰⁹ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 70: “All the kingdoms of Castile, and all the other kingdoms and provinces, have their own styles of dress...and yet they are all Christians. In like manner, the style of dress and clothing in this kingdom is very different from the clothing of the Moroccan and Barbary Muslims...and what they wear in Turkey is wholly unlike anything worn by the Moroccans, and yet they are all Muslims. It follows that one cannot establish or state that the clothing of the new converts is that of the Muslims. This argument contained in the decree is also rendered invalid by the fact that Christians who live in the holy city of Jerusalem—and that whole kingdom is made up of Christians and men learned in the

regards to clothing, Núñez Muley concluded that wearing Castilian-style clothing had not benefited the *new* Christians:

To say that the natives of this kingdom should conform in their style of dress and clothing, in spite of all the aforementioned harm that such a policy would cause, is to assert also that the privileges and freedoms of the natives of this kingdom should also be altered. We have not seen, My Lord, a single New Christian woman who wore Castilian-style clothing that was relieved of the burden of the taxes that the natives of this kingdom must pay, nor have the Moriscos that married Old Christian women been relieved of this tax or been allowed to bear arms. We have not seen such a thing; rather, the natives are treated in every way as recent converts.⁷¹⁰

By 1567, *new* Christians had not been able to progress to being *old* Christians. Furthermore, the fallacy of the meaning of Castilian cultural adherence was revealed; a *colonial* consequence. Whereas, the possibility of conversion was initially thought possible, it was beginning to emerge that it was, in fact, impossible; the rules kept changing.

Of additional interest in the realm of clothing was the elaboration of who indeed was wearing traditional clothing. Francisco Núñez Muley argues that Granadan men “[had] adopted and [wore] wholly Castilian clothing:” it was the women who retained the traditional dress, thus leading to the conclusion that “the natives’ style of clothing and footwear [had] nothing at all to do with either support for or opposition to Islam.”⁷¹¹ Related to the earlier discussion on *moriscas* and clothing, it is important to note that three of the eight uses of *morisco* (n.), in the *Memorandum*, refer to women and that all of these occurrences have to do with the subject of clothing.

As Vincent J. Barletta notes in the introduction to his translation of the *Memorandum*, this document shows a different way the Granadans can be studied. Barbara Fuchs agrees especially with regards to the study of a shared material culture. The *Memorandum* showed that not all Christians in Granada were treated the same. Francisco Núñez Muley argued that, although they had been Christians for decades,

faith—have been seen in Granada wearing clothing and headdresses like what is worn in the Maghreb and resembling in no way what is worn in Castile—and yet they are Christians.”

⁷¹⁰ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 71. See also, 72 and 73: “For the past 35 to 40 years, the men here have worn Castilian-style clothing and footwear with the hope that His Majesty might show them the mercy of granting them certain liberties, relieving them of their tax burden, or giving them permission to carry arms. Well, we have seen nothing like this.”

⁷¹¹ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 72.

Granadans were still treated as “recent converts.”⁷¹² On the eve of the second rebellion, and as captured by Francisco Núñez Muley, there was a sense that the status of *new* Christian or *newly* converted was no longer a transitional state, but a condition that could not be overcome: a static and different (*other*) category of Christians, indelibly suspect. Whereas in the previous decades Granadans after baptism were understood to be Christians, increasingly they were understood as not being Christian enough.

On several occasions, it was noted that they indeed “are Christian.” Document 27 from 1525 dealt with the burial of *new* Christians, not to be done as in the time of the *Moors*. It specified three instances in which, although being *new* Christians, they were considered Christians, and because of this they were expected to be buried in a Christian manner: “ordering that they be buried in the churches and monasteries of this city like Christians, since they were” (27.1).⁷¹³

Furthermore, initially they were thought and considered able to become “good and faithful Christians.” In three documents from 1511-1513, Queen Joanna argued that by changing certain practices or customs she wished “them to be good and faithful Christians” (9.1, 10.3, and 13.2). Furthermore, Queen Joanna had been assured that the *newly* converted “have within them to be good Christians” (14.5). Later, in 1534-35, Archbishop Gaspar de Ávalos believed that they could be good Christians if they didn’t have the hope of going to North Africa (51.2).⁷¹⁴ Additionally, it was thought, as a strategy, that the catholic descendants of those convicted by the Inquisition could be given half of what was confiscated to encourage them to be good Christians (63.4). In this last example from c. 1539 it was still thought possible that this community could be brought fully into the Christian fold and conversion could be completed.

Adding “*natives*” to “*newly* converted” and “*new* Christian,” as well as to “*morisco*” (n.) further shows that up to the second rebellion, there was variety in the referential terminology used for these communities of baptized descendants of Muslims. This diversity in usage, as well as the subtle changes or shifts in meaning, began to move

⁷¹² Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 71.

⁷¹³ With respect to Document 27, see also 27.2 and 27.3; other reinforcements that they were Christian are found in documents 11, 17, 19, 22, and 62.

⁷¹⁴ Gaspar de Ávalos believed that the King’s campaign in North Africa would be successful and that Africa would be brought under the Christian realm. See documents 51 and 53. Gaspar de Ávalos (1485-1545) was first elevated to bishop of the Diocese of Guadix y Baza in 1524 and then to the Archbishopric of Granada in 1529 until 1542. He died as the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela in 1545.

toward fixidity and fewer terms. This increased static quality is what has been termed here a process of nominalization. Nominalization is part of the processes of construction of these communities as *other*, as well as the processes of increased narrowing of meaning and usage of the various terms, and ultimately the increasingly negative (and nominative) use of “*morisco*” (n.).

In this section (3.1), the language analysis leads to two conclusions: the term “*morisco*” in Granada is exposed as an inaccurate *metonymy* since it was not the most prevalent term or phrase used; this notwithstanding, being aware of the limitations of the term “*morisco*” does help to bring into relief how these Christian communities, descendants of Muslims, were undergoing discursive processes of construction as *other* that contributed to and informed the justifications of the ultimate fate of those expelled.

3.2 The *Other*: The Trans-Atlantic *Morisco*

The textual analysis above exposed the preferred referential language usage and meaning for baptized descendants of Muslims as “*new Christians*” or the “*newly converted*,” and revealed the initial non-stable or non-static nature of that very language. Specifically, this lack of fixidity in the language prevents “*morisco*” from serving as a useful *metonymy* for “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” in Granada prior to 1568-71. Furthermore, if “*morisco*” is used it should be used as *metonymy* only when used as a negative term and to refer only to part of the community of baptized descendants of Muslims. The non-static nature of the language is understood as being a quality of hybrid language, and provides an opportunity to understand the changes along a spectrum that occurred throughout the sixteenth century and beyond, and posited to have begun in the fifteenth century. Moreover, these subtle changes in language usage and meaning reveal discursive processes of construction of these communities as *other* as summarized below:

<p>“<i>moro/ Muslim</i>” prior to 1501 “<i>new Christian</i>” or “<i>newly converted</i>” (through baptism) and “<i>morisco</i>” (n.) from 1501 to 1571, inversely progressing “<i>morisco</i>” after 1571 and used for the expulsion and beyond.</p>

With an initial understanding of the changes in language usage and meaning, in this section these shifts are analyzed to identify in more detail the processes of construction of the *other*. This examination is done in part by comparing the contemporaneous mass

baptisms in the peninsula, especially Granada, with those across the Atlantic, especially *New Spain*. This is done by contrasting the terminology used to describe *Amerindians* to that of the Granadans in council documents from 1565; therefore, the discursive processes of construction of the communities as *other*, on the eastern side of the Atlantic, comes into greater focus. This helps surmise that the Granadan primary texts, which infrequently use the term “*morisco*” in a nominative mode, did not initially discursively intend to describe and thus construct as *other* this community of Christians; this construction was a process that took most of the century and beyond to be completed—akin to a process of *Orientalism*. Up until the expulsions (1609-14) it was still thought possible for members of these communities to be “good and faithful Christians,” although the whole community was condemned as *non-Christian* or *moriscos*.

Transatlantic studies abound, especially as they relate to the translation of people, artifacts, and ideas from east to west: from Spain or Europe or Africa across the Atlantic to the so-called New World. A smaller subset of these transatlantic studies, such as those of Antonio Garrido Aranda, are works that make a connection between contemporaneous events on both sides of the Atlantic. In *Moriscos e Indios: Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización en México* and *Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias*, following the most common east to west trajectory Garrido Aranda argues that issues relating to the establishment of the Church in Granada can be seen as precedents in the emerging church across the Atlantic. Garrido Aranda acknowledges that this was not a perfect parallel, since the Church across the Atlantic functioned in many ways like the primitive church, but that nonetheless the evangelization of these two communities and the establishment of the church on both sides of the Atlantic had common elements worthy of study.⁷¹⁵

A very small subset in trans-Atlantic studies focuses on events in the so-called New World and how these help to understand what is happening in *Spain* or a particular region in *Spain*.⁷¹⁶ Rather than an east to west focus, this project moves from west to east. The usefulness of the trans-Atlantic lens here is that it can shed light on the level of difference that existed in one context, as opposed to the level of difference that existed elsewhere.

⁷¹⁵ See Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Ch. 4: 87-105.

⁷¹⁶ J. H. Elliott has an assessment of this in “España y el mundo transatlántico: pasado y presente,” in *Cuadernos De Pensamiento Político* 36 (October-December 2012): 43-58.

The primary documents seem to bring into relief that whereas *Amerindians* were indeed **more other** to *Spaniards*, Granadans were less *other* when compared to other *Spaniards*, such as Castilians. The purported *otherness* of the Granadans, earlier religious, mostly regional, is in great part a reified historiographical construction.

Baptism was seen in the peninsula as a tool and vehicle for acculturation. To put this differently, Granadan *new* Christians, once baptized, were thought to be able to become and behave like other Spaniards (hegemonically Castilian) and eventually be indistinguishable, religiously and culturally, from their co-religionists *old* Christians. The transitional and temporal language of “*new*” and “*newly*” reflects this point of view. On the other hand, *Amerindians*, once baptized, remained “*indios*,” and their baptism would not and was not expected to bring them closer to *Spanishness*, even as they were also expected to abandon religious or socio-cultural practices that were antithetical to Christianity. On both sides of the Atlantic, communities were expected to abandon their previous religious practices, but this forsaking was not expected to have similar results with respect to acculturation. This is the basis for the hypothesis that the difference perpetuated and purported in the peninsula was chiefly a constructed one.

To demonstrate the above observation and hypothesis, it is immediately noted that in the documents under study from *New Spain*, from the Apostolic Meetings and Provincial Councils, the phrase “*newly converted*” was rarely used and there were no occurrences of the phrase “*new* Christians.” For example, in a 53-page appendix to the First and Second Mexican Provincial Councils with two reprinted documents from 1537 and 1539, there were only two occurrences of the phrase “*newly converted*”⁷¹⁷ and dozens of references either to *indios* or *naturales* (at least 24 and 45, respectively).⁷¹⁸ With respect to their condition before baptism, they were also referred to as *gentiles* (five times).⁷¹⁹ In the Council documents themselves, the preferred term was “*indios*,” although the term “*naturales*” (natives) was also used. There was only one mention of “*newly converted*” in Chapter 23 of the Second Provincial Council regarding what books *indios* could have:

⁷¹⁷ *Apéndice á los Concilios*, 46 and 50: with regard to access to the Holy Eucharist: “salvo ser Indios, y nuevamente convertidos y hallase que estos tales tienen capacidad...”; with regard to their humility and obedience: “Que por quanto en estos Naturales, y nuevamente convertidos a nuestra Santa Fe Católica se halla mucha obediencia, y humildad...”

⁷¹⁸ *Apéndice á los Concilios*.

⁷¹⁹ *Apéndice á los Concilios*.

“[that] the ignorant people especially the newly converted Indians [do not have these books].”⁷²⁰

In the case of *New Spain*, unless referring to a Christian or non-Christian practice, it cannot be ascertained fully whether each mention of *indio* or *natural* referred to a baptized *Amerindian*, since unlike for Granadans, *Amerindians* could not be given the option of baptism or exile. In the context of these ecclesial documents, the preponderant meaning was that they were referring to the native Christian population.

The Provincial Councils of 1555 and 1565 from México were contemporaneous with the 1554 Guadix y Baza Synod and the 1565 Provincial Council of Granada (Document 74).⁷²¹ What follows is a brief comparison between the two 1565 documents in terms of language used on both sides of the Atlantic and what this may reveal for the peninsula (west to east). Document 74 did not include any mention of *moriscos*: it referred to the *newly* converted twice, *naturales* five times, and *new* Christians 48 times; there were 24 mentions of *old* Christians.⁷²² In the analogous document, the 1565 Mexican canons, the preferred terms used were “*indios*” (20 times) or “*naturales*” (eight times), and “*newly* converted” only once.⁷²³ This last usage was a qualification of *indios*, as seen above.⁷²⁴ Furthermore, there were seven instances in which *indios* and *españoles* were mentioned together emphasizing that the canon applied to **all** Christians.⁷²⁵ The phrase “*old* Christian” was not used, which was understandable since it did not have the counterpart *new* or *newly*: this is similar to Francisco Núñez Muley’s use of *native*, which did not require the counterpart *old* Christian. All the Mexican canons were directed at improving the lives of the faithful Christians.⁷²⁶ The phrase “*fieles cristianos*” occurred six times.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁰ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*, 201: “la gente ignorante, especialmente los Indios nuevamente convertidos [no tengan estos libros].”

⁷²¹ See Document 74.3-4, 74.6.

⁷²² There was one mention of *mudéjares* (74.15); as well as one mention of a captive *Moor* (74.21).

⁷²³ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: for *indios* see Ch. 2, 5, 9, 11, 21x2, 23, 24, 25, 26x2 and nine times in the final remarks; for *naturales* see Ch. 2, 7, 8x3, 19, 24, and once in the final remarks; and, for *newly converted* see Ch. 23.

⁷²⁴ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*, 201.

⁷²⁵ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 2, 5, 25, 26x2, and in the final remarks twice.

⁷²⁶ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Introduction and Ch. 27, “Por cuanto una de las cosas porque principalmente se celebran los Santos Concilios, es para la reformación de los Fieles Cristianos...”

⁷²⁷ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Introduction, Ch. 2, 13, 27, 28, and once in the final remarks.

Indios as a community were twice referred to as “gente” (people): “gente ignorante” (ignorant people) and “gente nueva en la Fe” (people new in the faith).⁷²⁸

The subjects related to these tallied terms from the Second Mexican Provincial Council can be grouped in the following way. First, *indios* or *naturales*, like *Spaniards*, should have access to the sacraments and did not have to pay for them.⁷²⁹ Free sacraments did not preclude “the offering of alms, which the Faithful Christians, be they *indios*, like *Spaniards*, of their mere, own, and spontaneous will would like to give.”⁷³⁰ Second, there were some practices that required reform, such as: *indios* doing processions without proper supervision,⁷³¹ *indios* believing that they owned the sacred items they gave to the churches,⁷³² priests not providing masses and instruction to *naturales*, or *indios* not hearing mass,⁷³³ *indios* or *naturales* doing the Ave María incorrectly,⁷³⁴ and, dietary restrictions or exemptions for *indios* and *Spaniards*.⁷³⁵ Finally, these canons and other letters had to be communicated to ministers and they, in turn, had the responsibility to communicate these things to the *indios*, including the jubilee, graces, and indulgences that they could also gain.⁷³⁶

Like the second Mexican Council, the Granadan council was concerned with comparable reforms and themes. This was understandable given that both councils had as a purpose to receive the recently concluded Council of Trent. The Mexican canons applied to both *indios* or *naturales* and *españoles*, in Granada these equally applied to *new* and *old* Christians. Although the Granadan canons were quite specific that they be applied to both the parishes of the *old* and *new* Christians (74.3-4, 74.6), the overt aim of the Granadan canons was to help the *newly* converted of the *Moors* to be well instructed

⁷²⁸ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 23 and 8, respectively.

⁷²⁹ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: access to confession *Spaniards/Indios* (Ch. 5), *Naturales* (Ch. 7); *Naturales/Indios/Spaniards* did not have to pay for sacraments (Ch. 2(x2)).

⁷³⁰ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: Ch. 2, 188: Esto no prohíbe “limosnas, que los Fieles Cristianos, así *Indios*, como *Españoles*, de su mera, propia, y espontanea voluntad les quieran dar...”.

⁷³¹ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 11.

⁷³² *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 21.

⁷³³ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 8, 9, and final remarks.

⁷³⁴ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 24x2.

⁷³⁵ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: see Ch. 25 and final remarks.

⁷³⁶ *Concilios Provinciales (II)*: See the final remarks.

in the faith (74.1). The issue of instruction recurred in the peninsula, even up to the time of the expulsions.

New Christians had access to the sacraments (74.9, 74.30, 74.41, 74.43, 74.48, 74.54), were supposed to attend mass or listen to the offices (74.19, 74.12), and to reform their practices, especially those thought to be related to their prior religious affiliation. Beyond instruction, both *old* and *new Christians* had the same responsibilities as other Christians, whether *indios* or *españoles*. There was much in common in the sets of canons from both sides of the Atlantic, which help in recognizing the differences between them, and these differences become relevant in ascertaining the conclusions in this section. The first difference between the two sets of canons was in the referential language used for the various communities; on one side, *indios* and *españoles*, on the other, *new Christians* and *old Christians*.

This variance reflects a contextual difference, but, as it is purported here, it also reflects a difference in degree of dissimilarity between the counterpart communities. Put differently, the language in *New Spain* at this point is fixed, because initially there was a *fixed* difference between *españoles* and *indios*; the language of *new Christian* presumes a possibility of change; therefore, the distance between *new* and *old Christian* could be overcome or bridged, though initially was it was thought to be surmountable since differences, including the religious, were held to be conquerable.

Another difference was in whether it was thought to be advantageous to have interaction between the two communities. In *New Spain*, there was not an expectation of religion leading to adherence to *Spanish* cultural norms, but across the Atlantic, baptism was expected to lead to acculturation; this acculturation could be achieved through the interaction of *new* and *old Christians*: through intermarriage, as godparents, etc.⁷³⁷ The religious practices of *Amerindians* were supervised by *Spaniards*, but mixing was not encouraged. Whereas the regular and secular clergy were encouraged to know the native languages of the *indios* to avoid or detect errors in the faith, across the Atlantic Arabic was removed (forbidden) in order to move toward acculturation.

⁷³⁷ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, Appendix 3, 117-ff. (thesis Document 32); Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del reino de Granada*, Appendix 4, 161-ff. There is no date for this document, but it would have to be after the rebellions and before his death, somewhere between 1501 and 1507. The requirement of *old Christian* godparents can be seen in Documents 9, 13, 22; Antonio Gallego y Burin, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, Appendices 10, 14, 24. Also in weddings: Document 9.3. First introduced in Section 1.3, and also discussed earlier in this Chapter in Section 3.1.

In Granada, Queen Joanna in 1511 and 1513, well before some considered *Muslimness* something that could not be overcome (hence religion being indelible or in the blood), the *newly* converted were required or encouraged to mix with *old* Christians, to bring the practices of the *newly* converted closer to that of *old* Christians (48.2). This mixing was seen in three different contexts: two settings were meant to control the use of rites and ceremonies associated with Islam, and the last to encourage intermarriage between *new* and *old* Christians. For example, in birth and baptism, and in the butchering of meat there was a requirement for the *newly* converted to be in the presence of *old* Christians. These were never requirements in New Spain. A nuanced aspect of this, with godparents (9.1, 89.3, 13.1-2), was that it would require a relationship between *new* and *old* Christians that would move people across boundaries. Charles encouraged intermarriage: the most important benefit of intermarriage appeared to be the theoretical possibility of a change in status from *newly* converted or *new* Christian to *old* Christian. The only other way to argue for the status of *old* Christian was to prove that baptism occurred before the general imposition of the rite.⁷³⁸ In the fifteenth century, continued ties with Jews were frowned upon for those baptized former Jews or their baptized descendants (which led to the expulsion of Jews in 1492), and this was also the case with the baptized *Amerindians* and the non-baptized *Amerindians*.

Intermarriage was thought to be a beneficial way to bring the *newly* converted closer to the faith and for acculturation. The following excerpt shows this encouragement and related benefits:

in order to encourage the newly converted and attract them to our holy faith it would be good that the new Christian [m.] who married an old Christian [f.] was free from farda or could carry arms, and that the old Christian that married a new Christian would also be free of the farda of the property related to his wife.⁷³⁹

Document 43 referred to three *newly* converted men who had various marriage connections to *old* Christians: the first was a son of a man who had been baptized prior to the imposition of baptism on the Granadan population; the second was the son of an *old* Christian (f.) and it is implied a *new* Christian (m.), and was married to an *old* Christian who was the daughter of an *old* Christian (m.); and, finally the third was married to an *old*

⁷³⁸ See Document 43.

⁷³⁹ See Document 38.4; see also 48.4.

Christian (43.1-3). Because of these connections by marriage or parentage to *old* Christians it was expected that they “have and ought to enjoy all the honors, graces, pre-eminences, prerogatives and immunities that are seen and enjoyed by old Christians.”⁷⁴⁰ They were to enjoy the lands promised to them (43.5), and did not have to pay *farda* nor other fees of the *newly* converted Christians (43.8). Across the Atlantic, intermarriage was illegal even among co-religionists (*Amerindians* and *Spaniards*); *indios* through baptism were not expected to come closer to *españoles*.

The contemporary baptism of great numbers of adult *indios* and Granadans raised similar issues for the Church on both sides of the Atlantic issues of indoctrination and catechization. Similar questions or concerns arose in both contexts, such as whether the *newly* converted could be allowed to receive communion and extreme unction, and in both contexts, the answer was affirmative, given that they were already baptized.⁷⁴¹ There was agreement that because of baptism, members of both communities had the rights and responsibilities of any other Christian. In Granada, clergy were instructed to make sure that *new* and *old* parishioners were going to mass, confessing once a year, and receiving the holy sacrament; they were also instructed to penalize *old* and *new* in the same ways.⁷⁴² With respect to the sacraments, *Amerindians* and Granadans once baptized were expected to adhere to the general practice of other Christians.

Yet, there were two areas outside of the sacraments in which Granadans and *Amerindians* were treated differently—other than intermarriage and the interaction discussed above—and these had to do with tithes and church attendance. This also indicates different levels of dissimilarity on both sides of the Atlantic. In the Second

⁷⁴⁰ Document 43.4; see also Documents 44.20-21, 48.4. One of the perceived impediments to these intermarriages was that the property of the newly converted could be confiscated by the Inquisition. It is proposed that “without confiscation, the old Christians may let their daughter marry them and take them for sons in law, which would be very important to their conversion and doctrine, and it is believed that the sons and grandsons would better take the doctrine from Christian fathers and mothers” (64.13).

⁷⁴¹ See Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios*, 95, 99; See *Concilio Provincial de Granada*, 157; See *Concilios Provinciales (I and II)*, 4 and 138.

⁷⁴² See Document 30.16-17: “Pero no se descuiden de trabajar como todos los cristianos, así nuevos como viejos e sus hijos e hijas concurren a la misa y sermones e se confiesen cada año e reciban el santo sacramento y estén en la iglesia con toda devoción e buen orden, descubiertas las caras e haciendo las obras de cristianos. E encargad mucho esto a los curas de las iglesias, e especialmente tengan mucho cuidado de hacerlos confesar, e que así mismo tengan cuidado de saber si los cristianos viejos van a misa, e no se haga diferencia en la pena de los unos a los otros.”

Mexican Provincial Council, there was a clarification regarding what tithes were required of *Amerindians*. Chapter 90 from the First Mexican Provincial Council stated that

it was required that every faithful Christian pay the tithes, as is required by God and the Holy Mother Church, we [now] declare, that it was not our intention to force the Indians, but instead the Spaniards, since such general tithes have never been collected, nor are they now collected, nor will they be ordered to be collected from the said Indians, with the exception of the tithes of the three things, that are ordered by Royal Decree...⁷⁴³

By contrast the Granadans as soon as they were baptized no longer (theoretically) had to pay the Moorish fees (*derechos moriscos*), but had to pay the tithes and first fruits (*diezmos y primicias*) as other Christians (see 3.5 and 4.3). Not only were the Granadans required to pay all the tithes, but there were additional fees, such as the *farda*, and other payments that the Granadan population agreed upon to enjoy a certain level of autonomy. Whereas *Amerindians* were exploited for their labor, Granadans were fiscally exploited—another contextual difference.⁷⁴⁴

The *newly* converted in Granada were expected to have the capacity to be just like any other Christian. This expectation did not exist for *Amerindians*. Put differently, Granadans were understood to have the capacity not only to become Christians, but to be Christians like other Christians, especially like Castilian Christians. This supports the view that initially the status of *new* Christian or *newly* converted was transitional and could be overcome. As the decades passed and baptized descendants of Muslims were perceived as not progressing in the direction desired by the Crown and the Church, the potential for complete conversion was diminished and they were then constructed solely as a community of the *other* that could not progress to be like the *self*. They were considered to be a *suspect* community, an *alien* community.

Another difference, on both sides of the Atlantic, had to do with requirements for church attendance and this similarly reveals that the distance between different groups

⁷⁴³ *Concilios Provinciales (II)* Ch. 26, 203: “se mandó, que todo Fiel Cristiano pagase los Diezmos, como lo manda Dios, y la Santa Madre Iglesia, declaramos, que no fue nuestra intención obligar a los Indios, sino a los Españoles, a así los dichos Diezmos generales nunca se han cobrado, ni ahora se cobran, ni de mandan a cobrar de los dichos Indios, excepto los diezmos de las tres cosas, que están mandados pagar por la Executoria Real, atento a que somos informados, que S. M. entiende con Su Santidad en dar remedio, y orden con estas Iglesias, y Ministros de ellas, en lo tocante a los dichos Diezmos generales.” Citing Ch. 90, *Concilios Provinciales (I)*, 166.

⁷⁴⁴ Francisco Núñez Muley, *Memorandum*, 59-60, 63-65, recounts all the payments the Granadans made.

was less in the peninsula than in *New Spain*. In the canons of the First Mexican Provincial Council, Chapter 18 has to do with the difference in feast days required of Spaniards and the feast days required of *indios*: no such distinction was made in Granada treating *new* and *old* Christians alike with respect to feast days. *Spaniards* in *New Spain* were required to keep at least 96 days of feasts—44 days, plus local patronal feast days since it was “in the interest of good Christians.”⁷⁴⁵ Differently, across the Atlantic, since

our Most Holy Pope Paul III, considering the destitution, and poverty of the native Indians of this land, exempted them from the obligation to keep certain feasts and noted which ones were compelled.⁷⁴⁶

They were required to keep 65 days of feasts: every Sunday, and only 13 other days; therefore, 31 other days *indios* could be exploited for their labor.

Although a list of days for fasting was not included for Spaniards, the required nine days for the *indios* were noted, and these imply fewer days required than those for *españoles*:

The other days that the church requires fasting, are left to the discretion of the *indios*, so that according to their poverty, and trade, and work, each one do, without hesitation of sin, what seems best,

and in the case of days that were required of the *españoles* but not of the *indios* it was requested that *Spaniards* not hire *indios* to work in their lands on those days.⁷⁴⁷

The preceding presentation of some salient issues regarding the baptism of *Amerindians* used as a control group, compared language, expectations of acculturation, group interaction and intermarriage, the requirement of church attendance and attendance to the sacraments, fasting, and tithing. This presentation served the purpose of highlighting that the variety of and non-static nature of the language identified in Section 3.1 as compared with the language across the Atlantic demonstrates that the levels of difference purported to exist in the peninsula between Granadans (and other baptized descendants of Muslims) to other *Spaniards* was less than has been constructed and as historiographically believed to be real. When combined with the quantitative and empirical analysis in Section 3.1, this reveals that the baptism of the *Spanish* Muslims and their

⁷⁴⁵ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*: 67. See footnote 286.

⁷⁴⁶ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*: 68-69. See footnote 285.

⁷⁴⁷ *Concilios Provinciales (I)*: 69. See footnote 286.

descendants was initially part of what was thought to aid in the desired process of acculturation of this community. This was not the case for *Amerindians*, whose baptism was not expected to bring them closer to *Spanish*.

Sistema de Castas

Delving more deeply into the changes in language—such as nominalization and fixidity, there is a further way in which language usage in *New Spain* helps elucidate usage in the peninsula: the analysis of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Sistema de Castas* (caste system). As seen above, using the context of *New Spain* and *Amerindians* helps to show that differences in the peninsula were more typically constructed than actual differences as found across the Atlantic. This comparison is done keeping in mind that the *Sistema de Castas* was also a construction, and that it belonged to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after more than a century of intermixing of Spanish, *Amerindian*, and *African* persons (miscegenation or exogamy or *mestizaje* or *mulatez*). As presented in the Introduction, using the *Sistema de Castas* is reasonable given the theory proposed that the processes of *othering*, nominalization, racialization, etc. took centuries to complete, and culminated outside of the peninsula.

The *Sistema de Castas* was an elaborate way of designating the racial mixture of people in the so-called New World. Whereas in the peninsula the initial concern was with taint based on religious ancestry (*limpieza de sangre*) and the more (or any) Jewish or Muslim ancestry a person had, the more removed they were from Castilian and *old* Christian along the spectrum of difference; across the Atlantic a person was farthest from *Spanish* (“*white*”) the more *African* blood that person had.⁷⁴⁸ The categories of “*African*” (“*black*”) and “Muslim” (*moro*) were increasingly conflated and tied to each other as the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan *African* slave trade increased.⁷⁴⁹

It has been proposed and shown that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the movement along a spectrum from Muslim to Christian was thought possible in the peninsula and that this movement could also correspond to a shift toward *Spanishness* (Castilian), in other words, acculturation. By the beginning of the seventeenth century this

⁷⁴⁸ See Leslie Rout, *African Experience*, 126-ff. Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodriguez O., *Forging of the Cosmic Race*, 199. The equation of “*white*” to “*Spanish*” is just as constructed as all the categories of the *Sistema*.

⁷⁴⁹ See footnote 9.

movement was mostly thought to be impossible. In *New Spain* the fluidity along the *casta* spectrum after each generation could theoretically move one closer or farther away from *Spanishness* (“whiteness”). For example, a person with $\frac{1}{8}$ *Amerindian* blood could still be *Spanish*; this was not the case for persons with **any** *African* blood. R. Douglas Cope describes de *Sistema de Castas* in the following way:

The standard seventeenth-century format (there were, of course, regional variations) contained five to seven groups, ranked as follows: Spaniard, castizo, morisco, mestizo, mulatto, Indian, and black. (Castizos were the product of Spanish-mestizo unions, morisco the children of mulatto and Spanish parents.)⁷⁵⁰

In this system *español* was equated with “whiteness” and was completely opposite to *African* (“black”). The offspring of a *castizo* ($\frac{3}{4}$ Spanish and $\frac{1}{4}$ Amerindian) that married a *Spaniard* would be considered *español*. To this must be added the term *criollo* (a non-peninsular *Spaniard*), referring to the offspring born in a *Spanish* colony of parents who both were *Spanish* or *criollo*.

Of particular interest here is the fact that there was a *casta* category termed “*morisco*.” A *morisco/a* was the offspring of the union of an *español/a* and a *mulato/a*.⁷⁵¹ A *mulato/a* was the result of the union of an *español/a* and an *African*, thus making the *mulato/a* $\frac{1}{2}$ *African* (“black”) or $\frac{1}{2}$ *Spaniard* (“white”), and thus *morisco/a* $\frac{3}{4}$ *Spaniard* ($\frac{3}{4}$ “white”).⁷⁵² Using this system, then, to approximate difference or “distance” between *Spaniard* (normatively Castilian) and *Spaniard* (so-called *morisco/a*), the difference could at most be quantified, or posited, as 25%; this is the position taken for this project.

Moreover, if *morisco/a* in *New Spain* or Perú was understood as biologically hybrid (mixed, *mestizo/a*), and the *Sistema de Castas* as a spectrum, this continuum can be analogously compared to the possibility of change from being a Muslim *Spaniard* to being

⁷⁵⁰ R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial México City, 1660-1720* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 24. See also, Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *Cosmic Race*, 199.

⁷⁵¹ Although the union could be between Spaniards (male or female) and mulattos (male or female), it is biased toward male Spaniards.

⁷⁵² Edgar F. Love, “Marriage Patterns of Persons of African Descent in a Colonial México City Parish,” in *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 1 (February 1971): 81. See also, Wendy E. Phillips, “Representations of the Black Body in Mexican Visual Art: Evidence of an African Historical Presence or a Cultural Myth?” in *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 5 (May 2009): 771; María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 479-520; see 481 n.4 regarding the term “*mulata morisca*”; see also 501, and 507 n.63.

a *new* Christian to being a “good and faithful” Christian *Spaniard*, with *morisco/a* having the hybrid quality described before, which was, at one point, shared with *new* Christian.

Spanish ⇆ castizo ⇆ morisco ⇆ mestizo ⇆ mulato ⇆ Indian ⇆ African
Spanish ⇆ castizo ⇆ mestizo ⇆ Indian
Spanish ⇆ morisco ⇆ mulato ⇆ African

Christian ⇆ new Christian ⇆ morisco ⇆ Muslim(moro)
Christian ⇆ new Christian ⇆ converso ⇆ Jew

These spectrums can be seen as comparable also because “*blackness*” and “*Muslimness*” contemporaneously became conflated categories and with increasingly similar connotations: both were associated with Africa. Furthermore, *Africans* (“*blacks*”) as well as Christians of Muslim or Jewish descent were both associated with disloyalty or “political and religious infidelity.”⁷⁵³

In her study of a “black conspiracy” in central México in 1612, María Elena Martínez proposes that the accusation of conspiracy was a part of a “process of ‘blackening’.”⁷⁵⁴

Citing James Sweet, Martínez argues for the historical

linking of blackness to both servitude and Islam (because of the presence of black slaves in Muslim parts of the peninsula) and in general to seeing black skin color in negative terms.⁷⁵⁵

Furthermore, Martínez in *Genealogical Fictions* sees the *Sistema de Castas* in the Americas as the culmination of the *limpieza de sangre* system in the peninsula; a theory supported by the meta-process proposed here and shown to also function in the sixteenth century:

The full implications of Iberian notions of purity of blood were in a sense only realized in the colonial context, for it was there that systems of classification based on degrees of African, native, and European blood were produced to perpetuate the political and economic subordination of black, indigenous people and the population of mixed ancestry.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵³ María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 480; see also, 507: “striking parallels between anti-Semitic and anti-black discourses in the early Modern Hispanic Atlantic world.”

⁷⁵⁴ María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 482.

⁷⁵⁵ María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 486. See footnote 9.

⁷⁵⁶ Because of the different treatment of *Amerindians* and *Africans*, María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 514-515, continues, “Yet, the discourse of *limpieza de sangre* marked the native and the black populations differently, for, at least in New Spain, the latter was classified as impure more frequently and systematically. Blacks were the quintessential foreign element that, like ‘Jewishness,’ could not be fully assimilated into Spanish colonial society or unto Spanish Old Christian blood itself.” This has to do with the

Although María Elena Martínez sees the connection between the two systems on both sides of the Atlantic, the initial driving focus of difference was unlike. In the so-called New World, the focus was on racial or ethnic lineage, and in the peninsula on religious lineage. Later, the categories of religion and race or ethnicity in the peninsula became conflated. Notwithstanding this breakdown in a complete parallel between the use of the term “*morisco*” in the peninsula and across the Atlantic, as done here, the uses in *New Spain* elucidate the construction of difference on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as the posited movement and change from one understanding or usage to another.

While most references to *morisco/a* in México and Perú have been studied as part of the *Sistema de Castas* and thus were supposedly constructed around the *epidermis*, James Lockhart argues and assumes that the mention of *moriscas* in Perú was of *moriscas* from the peninsula who were brought to Perú as slaves. James Lockhart describes *moriscas* in Perú as “light skinned” and as

slave women of Muslim descent, [who] were for the most part Caucasian (presumably “white”), Spanish-born, and converted to Christianity, and spoke Spanish as a native language.⁷⁵⁷

Although here he describes them racially as “Caucasian,” elsewhere Lockhart states that the race of the *moriscas* was uncertain, and that most *moriscas/os* “were physically indistinguishable from other Spaniards.”⁷⁵⁸ Lockhart then uses this last assertion to propose that after these women were freed, “most assumed the role of Spanish women, among whom they disappeared.”⁷⁵⁹ All three of these descriptions are nuanced in their difference as well. There is a sense in Lockhart’s analysis that difference was not external or *epidermic*. This statement would confirm the sense that part of the anxiety that existed in the peninsula was that the baptized descendants of Muslims could pass as *Spanish*; highlighting the fact that difference was primarily constructed.

María Elena Martínez describes the term “*morisco*” as different from “*castizo*” by stating that the former “was at first more ambiguous for it was associated with blacks,

categorization of Amerindians as Gentiles (without Jewish taint) and *Africans* (Blacks) has having the Muslim taint and being infidels.

⁷⁵⁷ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 170.

⁷⁵⁸ James Lockhart, *Spanish Perú*, 222.

⁷⁵⁹ James Lockhart, *Spanish Perú*, 223.

Islam, or both.”⁷⁶⁰ Exacerbated by the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan *African* Slave Trade, *Africans* were associated with infidelity and the curse of “Ham.”⁷⁶¹ The source of their infidelity was also increasingly associated with Islam. This contributed then to another component of the processes of racialization of *morisco* in *Spain*, which was completed across the Atlantic. Part of the conflation was reverting to the original association and definition of the term “*Moor*” in Roman times (pre-Islamic) as related to Mauritania. Although in *Spain* for centuries *Moor* was related to Muslim, it began again to be related to Africa (perhaps Morocco), and ultimately with black slavery.⁷⁶² Whereas in *Spain* there was a process by which *morisco* was constructed into a religiously and racially or ethnically *other*, across the Atlantic *morisco* started as a *de facto* category of *other*, just as *indio* was initially more completely *other*.

Using the lens of the *Sistema de Castas* and the Americas, María Elena Martínez writes about the negative fixing of the “*morisco*” category,

Notwithstanding their approximation to ‘whiteness,’ moriscos were generally not allowed to claim a status that corresponded to their ancestry. The moriscos’ real or imagined connection to slaves not only associated them with infidelity and sin, but also limited their ability to make genealogical claims, particularly about the longevity of their ties to Christianity. According to Castilian legal formulas, descendants of slaves could not establish the history and depth of their loyalty to the faith because slavery implied the severing of kinship ties (in ascending and descending generations) and because they could not prove that their ancestors had converted to Christianity voluntarily. In other words, the discourse of purity of blood and its emphasis on the construction of a certain familial and religious past—or the invention of a particular genealogical memory—made it virtually impossible for persons of African parentage to be considered ‘aged old Christians.’⁷⁶³

Through the analysis of the terminology used to describe the community of baptized descendants of Muslims, it has been determined that transient non-static terms became static and eventually became reified as accurately “describing” the persons and

⁷⁶⁰ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 32.

⁷⁶¹ See footnote 9; see also, David M. Goldenberg, *Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1, 168, 170, 178.

⁷⁶² See footnotes 8 and 9: see especially the modern association in Greek of Moor with “blackness.” See also María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 32.

⁷⁶³ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 33.

communities in question. In the peninsula, these have been termed processes of religiously and eventually racially and ethnically *othering* communities of Christians of Muslim descent, processes that contributed to the discursive justifications of expulsions of members of these communities. The counterpart and completing processes of *othering* across the Atlantic was the *Sistema de Castas*. To further understand this *othering* system, it is important to note that the *Sistema* was supposedly primarily a “visual” or *epidermic* classification; thus, always fraught with the dangers of ambiguity and passing.

The complete *Sistema de Castas* was used in a series of paintings by various named and unknown artists in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁷⁶⁴ Many of these artists and paintings are studied by Ilona Katzew in her book *Casta Painting: Image of Race in Eighteenth-Century México*.⁷⁶⁵ The institutional use (such as in church registers) of the *Sistema de Castas* was more limited than the proliferation of categories found in the paintings. In addition to the seven most common *castas* (español, castizo, morisco, mestizo, mulato, indio, negro)⁷⁶⁶ there were a great number of additional terms used to describe various “constructed” racial mixtures between *español* (European or “white”), *African*, and *Amerindian* backgrounds.

An analysis of more than 200 illustrations of *Casta Paintings* available in Ilona Katzew’s book reveal that there were at least 26 categories used in the paintings, with 12 of these categories having multiple definitions (by different artists), or different kinds of racial mixtures. The 26 categories with the 12 that have variations produced more than 80 categories or “terms” to describe the various combinations. Including the permutations, this would produce more than 800 different possibilities of mixture as depicted in the paintings.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ Francisco Clapera (1746-1810); Luis Berrueco (18th c.); Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz (b. 1713–c. 1772); Miguel Cabrera (c. 1695-1768); José Joaquín Magón (18th c.); José de Ibarra (1685-1756); Andrés de Islas (18th c.); Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675-1728); José de Páez (c. 1720-1790); José de Bustos (18th c.); Ramón Torres (18th c.); Buenaventura José Guiol (18th c.); Mariano Guerrero (18th c.); José de Alcívar (1730-1803).

⁷⁶⁵ Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Image of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); see also, Ilona Katzew, ed., *Una visión del México del siglo de las luces: la codificación de Joaquín Antonio de Basarás: Origen, costumbres y estado presente de mexicanos y filipinos*, 1763 (México, D. F.: Landucci, c2006).

⁷⁶⁶ R. Douglas Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 24. See footnote 750.

⁷⁶⁷ For example, there are seven different combinations in the paintings that produce the category “chino”: 1) *Spanish* + *Mulato/a*; 2) *Barcino* + *Mulato*; 3) *Lobo* + *African*; 4) *Amerindian* + *No Te Entiendo*; 5) *Amerindian* + *Barcino*; 6) *Cambujo* + *Chamizo*; 7) *Grifo* + *torna atras*.

Some of the categories cannot be analyzed holding other variables fixed, given that the definitions do not include the same types of “mixture.” For example, two definitions of *chino* (*español* + *African*) were ($\frac{7}{8}$) 87.5% or $\frac{3}{4}$ *español*, and ($\frac{1}{8}$) 12.5% or $\frac{1}{4}$ *African*, yet, another *chino* could have had *español*, *Amerindian*, and *African* blood, with the latter two having greater percentages in the mix. Moreover, *chino* could also have been $\frac{1}{4}$ *Amerindian* and $\frac{3}{4}$ *African*. In a possible graphic including three variables from *español* (“white”) to non-“white” (*African* and/or *Amerindian*), *chino* would fall in various locations.⁷⁶⁸

The definitions of the terms for the seven common *castas* were more static and did not vary in the various sets of paintings. This was also predominantly true for categories that included one parent who was of *Spanish casta*: *mestizo*, *castizo*, *mulato*, *morisco*, and *albino*. There were fewer categories to account for *Amerindian* and *español* mixtures that did not include any *African* blood (such as *castizo* and *mestizo*, and some combinations deriving *chamizo* and *coyote*) than mixtures that included **any** *African* blood (more than 20 categories). Whereas mixtures of only *español* and *Amerindian* blood could potentially and theoretically reach *Spanish* (or attain *Spanishness*), like *español* plus *castizo* producing *español*, rather than allowing for **any** *African* blood to reach *español*, there was a proliferation of categories along the *Spanish-African* spectrum even to the $\frac{1}{32}$ part *African* with $\frac{31}{32}$ part *Spanish* which still remained *non-Spanish*: *tente en el aire*.⁷⁶⁹ Yet this, like other categories (see *chino* before), was not fixed in its definition. *Tente en el aire* also had definitions which did not include any *Spanish* blood at all.⁷⁷⁰

Using the trans-Atlantic approach supports the posited hypothesis that difference between *morisco* and *español*, which was initially surmountable and at most 25%, changed as the century progressed to an indelible difference. This difference (25%)

⁷⁶⁸ In one definition of *chino*, 50% *Amerindian* and 50% *African* it can be equated to one definition of *lobo*. Another connotation of the word *chino* is with Asian.

⁷⁶⁹ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 41. The notion “that reproduction between different *castas* produced new *castas*, that black blood was more damaging to Spanish lineages than native blood, and that the descendants of Spanish-Indian unions could, if they continued to reproduce with Spaniards, claim *limpieza de sangre*.” See also 42: the principle that native blood could be “redeemed”; 154, “the descendants of Indians could become Old Christians by demonstrating, for several generations, their devotion to the faith, and by reproducing with ‘pure’ Spaniards.”

⁷⁷⁰ Such as *tente en el aire* from *calpamulato* and *cambujo*; or *no te entiendo* and *cambujo*; or *Spanish* and *torna atrás*; or *Amerindian* and *cambujo*; or *Amerindian* and *torna atrás*; or *mulato* and *gíbaro*; or *albarizado* and *salta atrás*; or *grifo que es tente en el aire* from *Amerindian* and *lobo*; or *lobo tente en el aire* from *mulato* and *mestizo*.

became indelible as “*morisco*” became increasingly racialized, and tainted and conflated with Africa; yet, this difference did not increase. This is parallel to having the “possibility of change” (conversion) become “impossible” as time progressed through the discursive proliferation of new categories. Said differently, new categories such as “*morisco*” were inserted to prevent “*new Christian*” from becoming “*old Christian*,” like closing off “*español*” to the “*morisco*” or anyone with **any African** blood (even to the $\frac{1}{32}$ “*African*” and $\frac{32}{32}$ “*español*”).

As mentioned, the category “*morisco*” was $\frac{3}{4}$ Spanish and $\frac{1}{4}$ African. “*Morisco*” was at the same distance from “*español*” as “*castizo*” which theoretically, in one generation, would become “*español*.” Notwithstanding this “short” distance, there was a further proliferation of categories which included the addition of four other categories in between “*morisco*” and “*español*”: “*tente en el aire*” ($\frac{31}{32}$ *español*), “*torna atrás*” ($\frac{15}{16}$ *español*), “*albino*” ($\frac{7}{8}$ *español*), and “*chino*” ($\frac{7}{8}$ *español*). In this example, the terms “*albino*” and “*chino*” have the same racial mixture ($\frac{7}{8}$ Spanish and $\frac{1}{8}$ African), yet, although $\frac{7}{8}$ Spanish and $\frac{1}{8}$ Amerindian (*castizo plus español*) equals “*Spanish*,” “*albino*” and “*chino*” do not equal “*español*” and still have at least some other categories in between them and “*Spanish*.”

It becomes clear that the implied possibility of movement along a spectrum, whether religiously in the peninsula or *racially* across the Atlantic, was a possibility at the beginning of the processes of evangelization and conquest, yet progressed toward the impossibility of attaining either “*old Christian*” status, or “*español*” *casta* status. Like the peninsular use of “*morisco*” which could not revert to “*moro*” nor progress toward “*Spanish*” nor “*old Christian*,” albeit with the initial transitional and non-static categories of “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*,” any category with **any “African”** mixture in the *Sistema de Castas* would not be able to progress toward “*Spanish*,” a language requirement used discursively to justify the expulsions.

As was the case in the peninsula, there were “legal” ways to change your *casta* status, by obtaining certificates or *probanzas*. This confirms that there were elements of such a system which included constructions of difference and *othering*, as seen in the case of *castizo plus Spaniard*, which could theoretically produce a *Spaniard*. Yet there were still other hurdles to overcome. María Elena Martínez quotes Cristóbal Ruiz de Quiroz from 1599 regarding a legal process of *probanza*,

that he descended from a clean caste and generation, without the race or mixture of Moors, mulattoes, black, Jews and the newly converted to the Holy Catholic faith or of persons punished by the Holy Office.⁷⁷¹

This is a clear example of the ways in which racial or ethnic and religious categories were increasingly conflated. And this conflation was part of the discursive processes identified in this project, which have been taken for granted by some historians.

María Elena Martínez argues that the category of “*castizo*” signaled the construction of a colonial ideology that recognized the purity, or potential purity, of native lineages (especially if they were noble) and hence allowed their complete assimilation into Spanish old Christian ones.⁷⁷²

This was not true for lineages with **any** African blood;⁷⁷³ as time passed and greater distance existed from the noble past of *Amerindians*, the ability of those with some *Amerindian* blood to reach the *Spanish casta* also diminished.

Although the limitations in progressing from *morisco* to *Spanish* were evident in the proliferation of the “in-between” categories mentioned before, there still existed the possibility and perhaps reality as noted by James Lockhart, that in the case of “*morisca* women” it was an easy step to pass as *Spanish* and therefore drop off the historical record.⁷⁷⁴ This ability to pass is one that repeatedly appears in the documents. The main threat of the *morisco*, whether in the peninsula or across the Atlantic, continued to be their proximity to “*Spanish*”-ness and thus passing. Antonio Garrido Aranda seems to make a similar argument, in passing, when he notes the drop in documentary mentions of *moriscos* across the Atlantic even as the “*morisco problem*” intensified in the peninsula.⁷⁷⁵ For example, Antonio Garrido Aranda notes the existence of “*white*” slaves in the *Spanish* colonies, surmised to be “Muslims” from the peninsula, or Berbers, or persons from the

⁷⁷¹ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 30; also 244.

⁷⁷² María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 33.

⁷⁷³ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 33.

⁷⁷⁴ James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 223. Based on the analysis of “*morisca*” before, women could both pass or be problematic. Perhaps these two discursive positions are in fact related, and the problematic “*moriscas*” need to be pointed out.

⁷⁷⁵ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 126: “Parece paradójico que cuando el problema morisco adquiría tintes protagónicos y dramáticos en la Península, iba desapareciendo toda referencia a esa minoría en América, como no fuera en las Reales Cédulas, que reproducían una y otra vez los deseos del poder, con el mandamiento de devolución a España a todo morisco hallado en aquellos lugares.”

Canary Islands, and notes the dramatic drop in “white” slaves from 1532 to 1540.⁷⁷⁶ This may have been another instance of no longer being able to distinguish between a “white” slave and a *Spaniard* across the Atlantic, thus making this population increasingly invisible or not narrated in the historical record; they could fully *pass* as James Lockhart noted.

Antonio Garrido Aranda uses the lack of documentary evidence to conclude that there were not many baptized descendants of Muslims across the Atlantic.⁷⁷⁷ Yet, based on knowledge of the *Sistema de Castas* and the term “*morisco*” in that system, a dearth of a textual record of baptized descendants of Muslims may mean that the differences between these communities and that of Castilians were not easily ascertained, especially given the presence of *Amerindians* and *Africans*, which were reasonably more distinctively *other*. This suggests that baptized descendants of Muslims may have ceased to be part of the historical record because they could pass as *Spanish* (“white”) or chose not to be narrated. Antonio Garrido Aranda may be agreeing in the following statement:

If that morisco minority in America intended to hide, the best was to not leave a trace and dilute themselves among the other ethnic groups, even at the cost of their identity. In spite of this supposed intention, we have been able to detect the presence of moriscos in that New World that, precisely because of its condition of new, did not wish to have the same problems that existed in Europe.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 127: “...argumentar la existencia de esclavos blancos en Indias, y presuponiendo, con gran verosimilitud, que pertenecía en origen a la cultura islámica o a la aborígen canaria, supondría una influencia de las pautas musulmanas o paganas en el Nuevo Mundo. La presencia de blancos en el tráfico esclavista del siglo XVI, de acuerdo con las licencias expedidas por la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla, se documenta a partir de 1532, y permanece hasta 1540, desapareciendo tan bruscamente como se inició, aunque encontré alguna que otra referencia a esclavas moriscas hacia los años setenta.”

⁷⁷⁷ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 142: “La primera conclusión que hay que resaltar, ya apuntada como hipótesis en el preámbulo, es la escasa incidencia en términos numéricos del Islam en general y de los moriscos en particular en la Nueva España. Menos del centenar de individuos, incluidos los esclavos blancos, que son detectados por este trabajo, suponen muy poco para proyectarse socialmente, aunque sí en lo cultural.” [The first conclusion that stands out, already noted as a hypothesis in the preface, is the scarce incidence numerically of Islam, in general, and moriscos in New Spain. Fewer than the hundred individuals, including the white slaves, that are detected in this work, they are very few to project themselves socially, although they could in the cultural realm. (my translation)] Later he writes that his primary conclusion is that there was “nula proyección de los moriscos en América. Al menos de los visibles.” [Null projection of the moriscos in America; at least of the visible ones. (my translation)]. Deborah Root argues in “Speaking Christian” that in some cases the baptized descendants of former Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula learned to speak in particular ways and used specific language to avoid being taken to the Inquisition or to defend themselves in an inquisitorial process. See Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 128.

⁷⁷⁸ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 178: “Si aquella minoría morisca en América pretendía ocultarse, lo mejor era no dejar huellas y diluirse entre los otros grupos étnicos, aun a costa de su

What indeed may have been happening was not an intentionality in hiding, but that with a different population mix, than that of the peninsula, the constructed or purported differences in the peninsula between *old* Christians and other Christians, descendants of Muslims, were not easily detectable in the new context, to be *othered*, thus not raising a flag or anxiety. This again supports the position that difference in the peninsula was not as great as has been discursively constructed.

This presentation and analysis of the category of “*morisco*” as defined in *New Spain* and Perú in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century shows a posited final step in the processes of racialization of the category of “*morisco*,” now fixed, from when it was related to “*moro*” (Muslim) then overrode “*new* Christian” and “*newly* converted,” thus moving from temporal categories to the proliferation of categories. Like the initial possible movement from “*new*” to “*old*,” there was a possibility to move along the *casta* system, especially along the *Spanish-Amerindian* spectrum.

How long to become Spanish or old Christian?

Initially the contrast or binary of *new* and *old* Christian implied temporality and the possibility of movement from *new* to *old*. Originally, this was believed to occur within three or four generations.⁷⁷⁹ At first, it was true religiously for descendants of former Jews or Muslims, and racially or ethnically for *Amerindians* who mixed with *Spaniards*. While it started in the fifteenth century, by the middle of the sixteenth century this possibility was replaced by a purity of religious lineage (or racial or ethnic lineage) that existed for “time immemorial,”⁷⁸⁰ especially to account for any mixture that included “*African*” blood, or Jewish or Muslim blood.

As posited here as a meta process, these processes began with the baptized descendants of Jews, continued with the baptized descendants of Muslims, and was

identidad. A pesar de esta supuesta intención, hemos podido detectar la presencia de moriscos en aquel Nuevo Mundo que, precisamente por nuevo, no deseaba tener los problemas que acechaban en Europa.”

⁷⁷⁹ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 27, 39, 42; *Genealogical Fictions*, 198, 203. She adds that an *old* Christian is a descendant of gentiles without any knowledge of the past of when they became Christian. See also Ilona Katzew, “White or Black?: Albinism and Spotted Blacks in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World,” in *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual Iberia and Latin America*, ed. Pamela A. Patton (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 151: “The process of *mestizaje*, or racial mixing, was viewed as one way to restore ‘whiteness,’ even if it was also widely decided and considered to corrupt the races.”

⁷⁸⁰ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 27.

solidified with the intensification of the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan *African* slave trade and the conflation of infidelity with both religious and racial taint. The transient categories of “*new Christian*” and even the later problematic terms “*morisco*” and “*converso*,” were further constructed and ultimately reified to mean *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*: *suspect* and *alien*.⁷⁸¹ The *casta* categories, especially those with any *African* blood, similarly functioned to limit access to *Spanish*.

Just as Francisco Núñez Muley pleaded to have Granadans considered *old Christian*, baptized *Amerindians* pleaded no longer to be considered neophytes in the faith and

argued that because most Indians descended from people who had converted in the sixteenth century, they were no longer ‘*neophytes*’ as many people still claimed, but in fact already ‘*ancient Christians*.’ They were, in other words, both ‘*limpios de sangre*’ and ‘*cristianos viejos*.’⁷⁸²

The limitations in becoming *Spanish* and/or *old Christian* were tied to different understandings racially, ethnically, and religiously of *Amerindians* and Granadans from one another, and as such to the understanding of the temporal nature of being a neophyte in the faith. *Amerindians* were believed to have been untouched historically and genealogically by Jewish or Muslim blood.⁷⁸³ *Africans*, whether Muslim or not, were considered to be descendants of Ham (son of Noah) and therefore heirs of Ham’s curse.⁷⁸⁴

The idea that it took three or four generations for new Christians to become old Christians and for the descendants of a Spanish-Indian union to claim

⁷⁸¹ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 4 and 42: “increased reification of the categories of Old and New Christians.”

⁷⁸² María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 203-04. The footnote associated with “neophyte” is found, 348n10, “a person stopped being a neophyte 10 years after having been baptized.”

⁷⁸³ María Elena Martínez, “Black Blood of New Spain,” 485, 514-15. See also Ilona Katzew, “White or Black?,” 15: “As the categories of ‘new’ and ‘old’ Christian imply, temporality was central to the concept *limpieza de sangre*, just as time produced vintage wine, generations of devotion to the faith seasoned and aged Christian lineages. Some of the first statutes stipulated that the ‘stains’ of Jewish and Muslim ancestry were to be traced only to four grandparents (the *cuatro costados*, or four corners), hence implying that it took three, sometimes four generations, for a converts’ descendants to be considered old Christians. But by the 1550s most of the key institutions with purity requirements did not place a limit on the investigations. The condition or status of *limpieza de sangre* thereafter referred to lineages that claimed to be Christian since ‘time immemorial,’ that is, for which there could be no memory of a different religious past.”

⁷⁸⁴ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 31. See footnotes 755, 761.

limpieza, had by the eighteenth century given way to similar formulas for 'whitening.'⁷⁸⁵

The processes had similar functions on both sides of the Atlantic: exclusion through the narrowing of the category of "Spanish" ("white"). Whereas in the peninsula people of Jewish or Muslim descent could not ultimately overcome their religious ancestry given the ideology of *limpieza de sangre*, across the Atlantic, given the ideology of the *Sistema de Castas* purity of blood was somatized to the skin, to the external—although for some whose skin color was indistinguishable from other *Spaniards* the taint, especially of *African* blood, would remain. Therefore, in *New Spain* when skin color was no longer a reliable marker, the colonial body could still be marginalized by the internal blood taint, thus functioning in the more familiar peninsular manner. The proliferation of categories of *non-white* (*non-Spanish*) functioned in the same way as the construction of categories which would become associated with *non-Christian*. In the case of the *casta* category of "morisco" it would gain the conflation of negative attitudes toward *Africans* and Muslims as emblematic of infidelity.⁷⁸⁶ This was also related to reactions to the discourses of the so-called Black Legend which required *Spaniards* to "whiten" themselves.

In using a trans-Atlantic lens and *Amerindians* as a control group, the notion that difference in the peninsula was less is further confirmed. Yet on both sides of the Atlantic, there may have been an actual discrepancy between discursive difference (a construction) and factual religious or *epidermic* difference (which may or may not be visible-somatic, and was also a construct). This is the difference between a person or group being defined or self-identifying/defining; a difference in the location of agency—agency, which the colonial subjects did not have across the Atlantic or in the peninsula, and who was doing the narrating.

Complicating the processes and constructions on both sides of the Atlantic was that attaining *Spanish*- or *old-Christian* status was something that could be achieved through the legal system, since the *Sistema de Castas* was a hierarchical system privileging *Spanish* blood and "whiteness." Just as in the peninsula a person could have a legal judgment which showed that they were *old Christian*, across the Atlantic, a person could

⁷⁸⁵ María Elena Martínez, "Language, Genealogy, and Classification," 39; see also 42, and *Genealogical Fictions*, 198.

⁷⁸⁶ María Elena Martínez, "Language, Genealogy, and Classification," 32. See footnote 9.

have a *probanza* (judgment) which showed them free of the racial or ethnic, religious, and indecency stains.⁷⁸⁷

Thus, by looking at both sides of the Atlantic, and analyzing the usage and meaning of the term “*morisco*” in a different context (the *Sistema de Castas*), the following assertions are reiterated: First, difference in the peninsula was less than across the Atlantic, thus difference (*otherness*) in the peninsula was more greatly discursively constructed. Given the greater and initially more fixed difference between *Amerindians* and *Spanish*, numerous examples were provided which show that the difference between *new* and *old* Christians was initially thought to be surmountable, yet the category of “*morisco*” eventually was not, so that these persons could only be *suspect* and *alien*: *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. Particularly, differences were evident in issues surrounding tithes, church attendance, and fasting, as well as the different expectations regarding acculturation.

Second, the more static quality of the term “*morisco*” in México and Perú confirms that the meaning and usage of “*morisco*” in the peninsula was not always fixed or racialized; there was a process of fixidity (of making religion indelible) that had several steps and had not been completed in the sixteenth century, or by the time of the expulsions. These processes were supported by: the increased conflation of Islam and Africa as part of the slave trade, and thus “*morisco*” with “*blackness*”; the development of *Spanish* imperial/state identity; and Muslim and Jewish heritage as the taint in the peninsula (reactions to the discourses of the “Black Legend”).

Third, the indelibility of the constructed *otherness* required the proliferation of categories, as obstacles, to prevent completion of the movement toward Christian or Spanish. Finally, the constructed nature of *otherness* was also seen in the instances in which a status change could be attained legally, thus uncovering the discursive nature of the difference.

⁷⁸⁷ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 244: “By the end of the eighteenth century, many *probanzas de limpieza* produced in New Spain identified four stains: descent from Jews, Muslims and heretics; descent from blacks and (some) native people; descent from slaves (‘stains of vulgar infamies’); and descent from people who had engaged in “vile or mechanical occupations.” See also 30; see footnote 771.

3.3 Beyond Granada and after 1571

The previous section was a discontinuity in the analysis of the primary texts. This was the case because up to 1565 the trans-Atlantic communities can be compared without the disruption of the internal exile of the Granadans because of the second rebellion of the Alpujarras. Therefore, together the previous two sections provide the bookends of processes of construction and an understanding of actual versus perceived differences between *Amerindians* or descendants of peninsular Muslims and Castilian *Spaniards*.

The analysis of the terms used to refer to the Granadan community shows some of the steps in the processes of construction of this community as *other*. By 1568-71 these processes had not been completed and were interrupted by the internal peninsular displacement of the Granadans. Therefore, the increased use of the term “*morisco*” instead of the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” occurred later and was located elsewhere. Put differently, the internal exile of Granadans, descendants of Muslims, to other areas of Castile truncated the processes of construction of Granadans as *other*. Several of the Granadan documents from during and after the rebellion showed hints of the shifts in language that have been noted. Thus, the search for the ongoing process of construction is picked up outside of Granada and in this case, another set of documents from the Kingdom of Valencia. The reason for seeking the next steps in the processes in Valencia is twofold: first, the term “*morisco*” was prevalent in that region; second, an analysis of a substantial bound volume of primary texts is available (to test both methodology and identification processes).

This geographical shift is possible because there was a presence of other *newly converted* and *new Christians* throughout the rest of the peninsula. As mentioned before, Christians, descendants of Muslims, also lived in the kingdoms of Castile, Andalucía, Aragón, and Valencia. Whereas Granadans as well as Castilians were baptized *en masse* starting around 1501, the required baptisms of other Muslims occurred in the late 1520s. These communities also varied as regards the differing length of time Muslims in these regions had lived under Christian control. For example, Muslims in Toledo lived under Christian rule from the late eleventh century; in Valencia and Sevilla from the thirteenth. By contrast, the most recent Christian rule (and presence) in Granada only dated to 1492.

The difference in the timing of their baptism and their relationship to Christian rulers also affected the level of perceived Christianization, or even resistance, of these varied

Christian communities. For example, the baptized descendants of Muslims in Valencia had very close ties to the seigneurial class; this was not true in other realms. These ties seemingly allowed for economic interests to outweigh religious interests in Valencia, purportedly leading some seigneurs to allow their vassals tacitly to retain some Islamic practices.⁷⁸⁸ Moreover, Muslims in areas outside of Granada had often shared a cultural milieu with Christians from their region for a longer period, sometimes centuries; they had differed in religion but shared a common material and practical context (including language and dress).

The relative proportion of Christians who were baptized descendants of Muslims, and other Christians in these different regions, also varied. After 1571, few *new* Christians remained in Granada, whereas Valencia continued to have the largest population of *new* Christians (numerically and proportionally). The number of *new* Christians in Castile and Andalucía increased after 1568-71 with the influx of relocated Granadan Christians (*moriscos granadinos*); this influx also created tension between the native population of Castile, including the local baptized descendants of Muslims (*moriscos antiguos*), and the incoming groups from Granada.⁷⁸⁹

These varied contexts also provide an awareness of the immense diversity of experience for these various communities, and therefore of the limitations in extrapolating conclusions about all Christians who were baptized descendants of Muslims from one particular region or time-frame to another. This includes shedding light on the limitation of the use of the word “*morisco*” for all regions, contexts, and time-frames, without understanding the varied ways the term was used, and the shifts in usage and meaning over time. Before continuing with the Valencian documents, it must be noted (as shown in Section 3.4) that the use of the term “*morisco*” in Castile had a referential quality, and was needed after the influx of other “*moriscos*” as a means of differentiation.

As concluded from the analysis already done, the use of the term “*morisco*” as a homogenized term to describe the Granadan baptized descendants of Muslims after 1492 and before the internal displacement of 1571 is problematic. Instead, the preferred (historical) phrases to refer to this community were “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*.” Furthermore, in using the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*,” the authors of

⁷⁸⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 320; (Spanish), 237-238.

⁷⁸⁹ Granadans were prohibited from relocating to the Kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia.

these documents accepted the validity of the baptism of this population and likewise made a clear distinction away from their prior religious affiliation, Islam, or as *moros*. Moreover, the processes had not yet been completed of making “*new*” into a static category which was different from any *other* Christian: suspect, *non-Christian*, and *non-Spanish*.

Before analyzing further in Chapter 4 the data for the hypothesis that there is a disconnection between the terminology used in the primary texts and the language used by historians, here there is a preliminary presentation of a second set of documents from Rodrigo de Zayas’ *Les Morisques et le racisme d’État/Los Moriscos y el Racismo de Estado: Creación, persecución y deportación (1499-1612)*.⁷⁹⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas’ tome includes 59(64) primary documents (48 from the *Archivo Holland* and 11(16) from the *Biblioteca Zayas*). The *Archivo Holland* spans the years 1542 to 1610 and is, by and large, concerned with the Kingdom of Valencia. Here in Chapter 3, the concern is initially to establish how the community of baptized descendants of Muslims was referred to in the primary documents included in the book, and how this compares or contrasts with the Granadan documents.

Later in Chapter 4 the concern will be with understanding what language was used by the historian, and how it differs from the primary texts. The in-depth quantitative analysis is presented in Chapter 4. Moreover, in Chapter 4, although some tables are provided, an extensive table of data is not as was provided before in the case of the Granadan documents. Yet, these documents were evaluated in the manner done before and the findings compared to the observations related to the Granadan texts. Here follows a summary of some relevant information about the collection and its context, and some initial conclusions and hypotheses.

Although there is variety in the documents included in Rodrigo de Zayas’ work, all of the documents have to do with the aim of “true conversion” of these by and large baptized persons. In fact, this could be a crux of the matter: how to understand baptism when conversion was sought after the fact? Whereas in the Granadan documents there was a sense of frustration at the pace of acculturation (to normative and hegemonic

⁷⁹⁰ References are made both to the French edition (1992) and the Spanish edition (2006). The two editions differ in the narrative-analytical section. References to secondary material are from the more recent Spanish-language edition. The Spanish edition also has 5 additional documents, not considered in this thesis. The title translates into English as “*Moriscos and the racism of the state: creation, persecution and deportation (1499-1612)*.”

Castilian Christian practices), as will be seen in Chapter 4, what was being sought in the Valencian documents was different: “true conversion.” The issue in Valencia would less likely be acculturation since the communities had co-existed for centuries; they shared a socio-cultural milieu. What changed was the religion of some. For example, an annotation in *Archivo Holland’s* Document XIII stated, “the preaching that will be the basis of this conversion, should be started at present, the same as the catechism and the instruction.”⁷⁹¹ This is noted because this conversion was sought after baptism. The frustration was with how to increase the level of Christianization of an adult Christian community after baptism which required clerics to be assigned for the task of conversion.⁷⁹²

In looking at the collection, there are three document groupings of note. First, documents from the 1560s (*Archivo Holland’s* Documents III-X), which spoke to “the matter of the moriscos of Valencia”; all correspondence between Philip II and his secretary Gonzalo Pérez.⁷⁹³ Second, *Archivo Holland’s* Documents XI-XXI from 1581-1582, which had to do with a perceived Muslim conspiracy which led to the first ardent efforts to recommend the expulsions of all baptized descendants of Muslims. Third, *Archivo Holland’s* Documents XXIV-XLIII (1595-1600) all had to do with the continuing possibility of conversion of this baptized community through preaching, catechizing, and instruction. There are 20 varied documents not grouped above that date from 1542 to 1610, which are referenced as necessary.⁷⁹⁴

These groupings, within the collection of documents, show variations in language usage: the first two groups were more apt to use the term “*morisco*” within a phrase than in

⁷⁹¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIII, 340: “La prédication qui sera le fondement de cette conversion, devra être commencée dès à présent, de même que le catéchisme et l’instruction.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 271: “La predicación que ha de ser el fundamento desta conversión, se deve empezar desde luego y así mismo el catechismo y instrucción.”

⁷⁹² Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XVIII, 371: “Tout le monde sait dans le royaume de Valence que des personnes ont été déléguées à seule fin de les convertir.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 301: “En este reino de València, se a conosciódo bien que aver personas diputadas para sola su conversión.”

⁷⁹³ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Documents III-X: “L’affaire des Morisques de Valence.” Gonzalo Pérez was Philip’s secretary from 1543 through his death in 1565 or 66. He had ties to the Kingdom of Aragón. See 609n.13. Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 247: “Esto de los moriscos de València”; 255: “Cuanto a lo de los moriscos de Valencia...”

⁷⁹⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (French) *Archivo Holland*, Documents I-II (1542, 1543), XXII-XXIII (1585, c.1568), XLIV-XLVIII (1603, 1609, 1610); *Biblioteca Zayas* Documents 1-11 (1526-1705).

the third, although the third group used “*morisco*” alongside “*new Christian*” (nouveaux chrétiens) or “*newly converted*” (nouveaux convertis). The first two groups seem to have understood these baptized persons and their adherence to their prior faith as enemies of the state that must be dealt with—although Philip II continued to be committed to the possibility of indoctrination and true conversion through the end of his reign. The third group of documents was concerned with a renewed effort in instruction and the possibility of “true conversion” for this Christian community, therefore again referring to them as “*new Christians*” as was prevalent in the documents of Granada. It turned out that this was the last concerted effort at instruction and indoctrination: the final opportunity.

Comparing these observations with the findings from the Granadan documents leads to the conclusion that there did not exist a possibility for *moriscos* to convert, but that it still existed for *new Christians*. This is like the earlier finding, in the Granadan documents, that *moriscos* in fact may have been a subset of the community, which has been misread as relating to the whole community. This can more clearly be seen in documents that use both “*new Christian*” and “*morisco*.”⁷⁹⁵

Archivo Holland’s Document I from 1542 used the term “*morisco*” (20 times) and phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new converts*” (15 times), dealt with the Inquisition and the “Morisques du royaume de Valence,” as well as made comparisons to the “Morisques du royaume de Castile” and the “Morisques du royaume de Grenade.”⁷⁹⁶ There are several observations here: first, the term “*morisco*” was not regionally specific, as was the difference between the terms “*mudéjar*” and “*morisco*” seen in the Granadan documents; second, given the date of the document it would be expected that “*newly converted*” or “*new converts*” were more frequently used terms and phrases than the term “*morisco*.” This also strengthens the hypothesis that “*morisco*” was more widely used in the Kingdom of Valencia, or was more widely used earlier than in Granada. In Section 3.4, other uses of the term “*morisco*” are seen in the expulsion-related documents, especially the use of the term to differentiate between groups of “*moriscos*.”

In Document I, there were many arguments from barons and lords from Valencia who requested delays in enforcement for the *new converts*. As would be expected, when

⁷⁹⁵ See Documents 29.27, 43.9-10, 44.6, 58.11, 58.13, and 65.3. This was also seen in the use of “*morisca*” in some documents as contrasted to “*new Christians*.” See footnotes 658, 659.

⁷⁹⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, 315, 319, 333, 381, 386, 508.

compared to the Granadan documents, the concern of this document was for the *new* converts to abandon living like Muslims and leave behind their ceremonies and live like “good Christians.”⁷⁹⁷ At this point, as in Granada, there was a sense that it was indeed possible for members of these communities to become “good Christians.” As the century progressed, this possibility became more remote.

Incentives to live as “good Christians” included concessions regarding the confiscation of property by the Inquisition: an argument for leniency, similar to those of Granada and Castile.⁷⁹⁸ Similar to the documents from Granada, at times the phrase “*newly* converted” was qualified as “from the Muslims” (“ces Musulmans nouvellement convertis”).⁷⁹⁹ Finally, there was already a sense in Document I (from 1542) that delay in enforcement would not necessarily yield the desired results and that this reality needed to be balanced with the belief that there was a great danger of this community rising up if the concessions were not granted. Of note in this document was the distinction of *moriscos* from *Moors*: *Moors* in this document referred to north-African Muslims.⁸⁰⁰ This may be

⁷⁹⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 314 : “...le saint office reçu de nombreuses dénonciations contre ces nouveaux convertis, comme quoi ils vivaient comme des Musulmans et pratiquaient leurs cérémonies comme avant. ” Document I, 315: “Dès lors, ils se remirent à vivre comme des chrétiens, et de ce fait, ils abandonnèrent de nouveau les rites de Mahomet et parurent vivre en bons chrétiens.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 232: “Después de lo qual pasado el dicho término de la gracia vinieron muchas testificaciones al santo officio contra los dichos nuevamente convertidos como vivían como moros y hazían sus ceremonias...” 232 “fueron exortados y amonestados que viviesen como buenos christianos y no bolviessen a la seta de Mahoma ni hiziessen los ritos y ceremonias della.”

⁷⁹⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 315 : “En plus, il apparaissait un autre inconvénient, (à savoir) que les Morisques des royaumes de Castille et de Grenade émigraient dans le royaume de Valence, s'ils se rendaient compte que la, on ne leur confisquerait pas leurs biens...” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 233: “Demás que se podía seguir otro inconveniente que los moriscos del reyno de Castilla y Granada se passarían a vivir al reyno de Valencia siendo que no los confiscavan allá los bienes y despoblarían lo de acá donde estaban más sujetos y poblarían lo de Valencia donde tenían mayores exempciones y libertades e la tierra estaría en mayor peligro con aumentarse el número de ellos.”

⁷⁹⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 315, 317, and 318. Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 233(2), 235, 236: “nuevamente convertidos de moros.”

⁸⁰⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 316: “Cette concession accorda une telle liberté aux nouveaux convertis que, ne craignant plus de perdre leurs biens, ils pratiquèrent librement les cérémonies de Mahomet et abandonnèrent la vie chrétienne. Et pas seulement cela ; ils eurent l'extrême audace d'aller en Afrique et d'en revenir chaque fois que leur en prenait l'envie, et ce avec l'aide des seigneurs des régions côtières et de leurs gouverneurs. En plus des susdits, ils favorisaient ainsi tous les Morisques des royaumes de Castille qui, bien que baptisés, passaient en Afrique pour y vivre comme des Maures. Lesdits seigneurs et gouverneurs les aidaient et les convoyaient pour qu'ils puissent passer, en les accompagnants eux-mêmes jusqu'à ce qu'ils puissent embarquer sur les navires Maures, sus lesquels lesdits seigneurs avaient des agents engagés et placés à cette fin. ” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 234: “De la cual concessión resultó tanta libertad y liçençia en los dichos nuevamente convertidos que no teniendo temor de perder los bienes, usaron más libremente de las ceremonias de Mahoma dexando de bivir como christianos y no solamente hazían esto pero tomaron muy grande atrevimiento para pasarse a África y volverse todas las vezes que querían, para lo qual les daban favor los señores de los lugares de la costa y

part of the process of increased conflation of Africa and Islam which went hand in hand with the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan *African* slave trade.

The following excerpt shows some of the challenges faced in Valencia, especially regarding the order of conversion and instruction in relation to the baptism of this community, as well as what effect, if any, delay in enforcement would have—all recurring themes throughout the documents:

And regarding the length of time they request, that it be given to the said Moriscos so that they are instructed in the matters of the faith, even if they were given a very long time, they will always allege that they have not been educated, because some of the barons and lords resist and prevent with all their efforts, to have priests nor rectors in their churches, nor other ministers to administer the holy sacraments. They even abuse those that prescribe these Moriscos to learn the prayers of the church and do the things of Christians. Since they prepare these obstacles, they will still be able to ask for extensions of the time of instruction; Thus extension after extension, they will ensure that they never become Christian, and they will indirectly prevent the holy office to initiate proceedings against them. Although baptized, they publicly keep the Sect of Muhammad and blaspheme (against) that of Jesus Christ to the detriment of their souls and consciences, and giving a bad example and scandal to the faithful Christians.⁸⁰¹

sus gobernadores y alcáydes que allí tenían y no solamente favoresçian en esto a los sobre dichos mas a todos los otros moriscos de los reynos de Castilla que siendo bautizados se passavan en África para bivar como moros a los quales dichos señores y gobernadores les daban [guaje – tachado] guiaje [añadido] y favoresçian e guiaban para que se pasassen y ellos mismos los acompañavan hasta los embarcar en las fustas de los moros con los quales tenían los dichos señores a sus offiçiales para ello hecho su asiento y contratación, de lo qual ay muy cumplida y bastante información.”

⁸⁰¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 320: “Quant au délai qu’ils veulent que l’on accorde aux Morisques pour qu’ils soient instruits dans les choses de la foi, même si on leur donnait un très long délai, ils pourraient toujours alléguer qu’on ne les a pas instruits. En effet, certains de ces barons et seigneurs résistent et empêchent de toutes leurs forces que l’on envoie des curés et des recteurs dans leurs églises, et qu’il y ait des ministres pour administrer les saints sacrements. Ils soumettent même à de mauvais traitements ceux que prescrivent à ces Morisques, d’apprendre les prières et de vivre comme des chrétiens. Puisqu’ils dressent ces obstacles, ils pourront toujours demander des prolongations du délai d’instruction; et ainsi de prolongation en prolongation, ils feront en sorte qu’ils ne deviennent jamais chrétiens, et ils empêcheront indirectement le saint office d’entamer des procédures contre eux. Bien que baptisés, et blasphémeront (contre) ceux de Jésus-Christ au grand détriment de leur âmes et consciences, et en donnant un mauvais exemple et en scandalisant les chrétiens fidèles.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 237-38: “Y quanto al término que piden, que se les de a los dichos moriscos para que sean instruidos en las cosas de la fee, aunque se les diese muy largo tiempo, siempre an de alegar que no les an instruido porque algunos de los dichos varones y cavalleros resistin (sic) e impiden con todas sus fuerças que no se pongan curas ni rectores en las yglesias, ni aya otros ministros para que administren los sanctos sacramentos, antes hazen malos tractamientos a los que aprietan a los dichos moriscos [para] que deprendan las oraciones de a iglesia y que hagan las otras obras de christianos y poniendo ellos el dicho impedimento, siempre podrán decir que se les prorogue el dicho tiempo para ser instruidos y así, yrán de prorogaçión em prorogaçión para que nunca sean christianos, e impedir indirectamente que el sancto offiçio no proçeda contra ellos y que siendo bautizados, tengan y guarden públicamente la secta de Mahoma y

Relevant to the context of Valencia and not shared in the context of Granada were the interests of the barons and lords with respect to the *new* converts who were their subjects. In *New Spain*, delays in enforcement (periods of grace) were never an issue.

Documents I and II serve as a good introduction to the themes that are found in the entire collection. Document II points in the direction of the main concern of the collection, namely “l’affaire des nouveaux convertis du royaume de Valence.”⁸⁰² Moreover, the first cluster of documents (*Archivo Holland’s* documents III-X), correspondence between Gonzalo Pérez and Philip II, can be summed up from Document IV (c. 1560s) where he argued that a council should meet in order

to debate the method to be applied to indoctrinate and to get them [the newly converted] to become Christians, likewise the punishment that will be inflicted if they do not become so, and everything that concerns this (matter), so that all is resolved and that, this time, it is decided who will be in charge of everything.⁸⁰³

Of immediate interest in Valencia, as was seen in Document I, was the effectiveness of the confiscation of property by the Inquisition for offenses by this community, since it had a direct negative impact on the Valencian seigneurs. Of further interest is ascertaining what was referred to as “l’affaire de Valence”; what historiographically frequently has been called the “*problema morisco*” (*morisco problem*).⁸⁰⁴

blasfemen de la de Jhesu Christo, en gran detrimento de sus ánimas y consciencias y en malo exemplo y escándalo de los fieles christianos.”

⁸⁰² Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document II, 322: “The affair regarding the newly converted from the kingdom of Valencia.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 241: “aquel negocio de los nuevamente convertidos del reyno de Valencia.”

⁸⁰³ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document IV, 324 : “Il faudra débattre de la méthode à appliquer pour les endoctriner et pour obtenir qu’ils deviennent chrétiens, ainsi que du châtement qui leur sera infligé s’ils ne le deviennent pas, et de tout ce qui concerne cette (affaire) de sorte que tout soit résolu et que, cette fois, l’on décide qui se chargera de chaque chose.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 245: “Y hace de tratar así de la orden que se ha de tener en dotrinarlos y en procurar que sean christianos, como en el castigo que se les dará quando no lo sean y en todo lo que más a esto toque, de manera que en todo aya resolución y desta vez quede deternynado a quién toca cada cosa.”

⁸⁰⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document III, 323; see also n. 14, 698. Documents III and VI make no mention of the “matter of the moriscos of Valencia”; Document IV makes two mentions of “au sujet/ sur des Morisques de Valence,” 324; Document V “J’organiserai la réunion sur cette (question) des Morisques de Valence,” 325; Document VII “au sujet des Morisques,” 327; Documents VIII and IX have two mentions each of “cette affaire,” 328 and 329; Document X refers to “au sujet des Morisques de Valence,” 331. Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 241 “aquel negocio”; Document III, 243, “negocio de Valencia”; see also n.254. Document IV, 245 “sobre lo de los moriscos de Valencia.” Document V, 247 “esto de los moriscos de Valencia.” Document VII, 251 “sobre lo de los moriscos.” Document VII, 253, “en esto de los moriscos” and “sobre este negocio.” Document IX, 255 “quanto a lo de los moriscos de Valencia.” See also footnotes 504,775.

None of the documents in the first grouping referred to *new* converts, *newly* converted or *new* Christians. With one exception in Document X, which referred to the punishment of *moriscos*,⁸⁰⁵ all references to *moriscos* were in the context of the phrase “sujet/affaire des Morisques de Valence.” Even if substituting another region, such as Granada for Valencia, this phrase of interest does not appear in any of the Granadan documents. Given that the documents in this grouping had a negative view of this community; it is not surprising that “*morisco*” was the preferred term. Yet, given the dates of the documents and the use of the term “*morisco*” within a particular phrase, it was not, as of yet, a full nominative substitution.

The documents in group two from 1581 and 1582 (*Archivo Holland’s* documents XI-XXI) had to do with “the conversion of the moriscos of the Kingdom of Valencia.”⁸⁰⁶ As with the previous documents, this phrase did not have a parallel in the Granadan documents. As can be seen from these brief examples, so far, the term “*morisco*” was used differently in the two different contexts: Granada and Valencia. The relevant phrase from group two highlights two issues/terms: conversion and *moriscos*. The issue of conversion will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

On the heels of the annexation of Portugal (1580), the Crown had concerns on many fronts: France and England to the North, succession in Portugal to the West, threats from East and South from the Ottoman Turks, and Muslims from North Africa on the Mediterranean front. Patience for the pace of conversion after baptism was also waning. Yet, the communities in Valencia were repeatedly able to obtain edicts of grace (delays in enforcement) through the intervention of the Valencian seigneurs. The pace of conversion after baptism was quickly remedied across the Atlantic, by not permitting the baptism of adults without prior instruction in the faith—the Dominican practice. This is another example in which under similar circumstances the difference between *Amerindian* and *Spaniard* was understood as insurmountable, yet the distance between *old* Christians and *new* Christians in the peninsula was thought capable of being bridged.

⁸⁰⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document X, 332: “S’il s’agissait seulement de punir les Morisques...” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 258: “si fuera solamente para tratarse del castigo de los moriscos...”

⁸⁰⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, for examples see Document X: 332; and Document XI: 336 and 337. Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), Document X: 257; and Document XI: 261, 263: “la conversión de los Moriscos del Reyno de València.”

Like the concession in Granada, after the baptisms of the Muslims of Valencia a forty-year grace period was obtained in 1528.⁸⁰⁷ The idea behind the edicts of grace was to allow for these communities to slowly leave their prior religious and cultural practices (especially those associated with Islam), and to be instructed in the faith and assimilated into the broader *old* Christian and so-called *Spanish* society. The practices or customs that were to be abandoned included language, dress, food, rites related to marriage and burial, etc.

In Granada, the conclusion in 1567 of their grace period and the unwillingness on the part of the Crown to extend it helped to fuel the second rebellion of the Alpujarras. Although feared, a similar rebellion did not occur in Valencia, Castile, Aragón, etc.⁸⁰⁸ In Valencia, the recently arrived Archbishop Juan de Ribera and the grand inquisitor Gaspar de Quiroga believed that this population of Christians had not been properly instructed in the Christian faith in the decades after their baptism and shared the

vision of the moriscos as an uninstructed and perfectible people and believed that given the opportunity to evangelize in an environment free of inquisitorial persecution, [Ribera] would succeed in convincing them to abandon their Islamic practices and beliefs.⁸⁰⁹

In Valencia, this community could negotiate a new edict of grace: the Concordia of 1571, “a royal order granting specific immunities to the twelve morisco communities in exchange for an annual subsidy of fifty thousand sueldos.”⁸¹⁰

The Concordia provided immunities and reduced fines and afforded an opportunity for renewed efforts at instruction, which had failed through the Inquisition. Instruction was now at the hands of the secular clergy.⁸¹¹ This was the agreement that was in place a decade later when there was again heightened distrust of these communities, and a sense (by some) that both the efforts founded in rigor (Inquisition) and in instruction had failed and would not yield the positive results envisioned or thought possible. Put differently, by the 1580s, many in the church believed that the charge or excuse of lack of instruction

⁸⁰⁷ Granada's ended in 1567.

⁸⁰⁸ Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, Maryland, 2006), 83.

⁸⁰⁹ Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 84.

⁸¹⁰ Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 83.

⁸¹¹ Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 83-84.

was in fact false; they believed that members of these communities knew exactly what not to follow, that they willfully refused to adhere to the Christian (faith) way of life and maliciously refused to convert, although baptized. Thus, more and more of the *new* Christians were now discursively deemed “*moriscos*.”

After 1582, the baptized descendants of Muslims were seen in Valencia as unable to convert to a life that matched their baptism. By 1582 Archbishop Juan de Ribera believed that the only solution was the expulsions of all members of these communities; Juan de Ribera believed that any request to delay enforcement by the Inquisition until these communities were instructed in the faith was just a way for them to continue to live freely in the Sect of Muhammad.⁸¹² This was a direct response to a request for a ten-year extension of the Concordia of 1571 because “they were never indoctrinated”⁸¹³ and in exchange for a sum of money and “their faithfulness and the tranquility of the Kingdom.”⁸¹⁴

The documents from group three were from a pivotal time in the history of this Valencian community, when there was heightened distrust based on rumors of a rebellious plot—rumors of this community conspiring with the Ottoman Turks and Muslims from North Africa (Berbery).⁸¹⁵ These documents had to do with the possibility of conversion for this

⁸¹² See Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XVIII, 371 : “Si les Morisques demandent un délai ce n’est pas pour être instruits dans la foi catholique mais pour pouvoir vivre librement dans la secte de Mahomet, en attendant que s’offre l’occasion d’un soulèvement. Ils l’espèrent de toutes leurs forces, et la croient proche avec une telle certitude qu’ils acceptent avec joie tout ce qu’on leur demande. Tout cela est évident pour qui connaît leur état d’esprit, et de plus, démontre par la requête qu’ils expriment; à savoir que l’Inquisition ne puisse les atteindre. Car il est vrai que l’Inquisition ne les châtie pas et ne les a jamais châtiés parce qu’ils ne sont pas Chrétiens, mais bien parce qu’ils sont musulmans.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 300: “El tiempo que los moriscos piden no es [dos palabras añadidas] para ser instruidos en la fee católica sino para ser licenciados de bivyr en la seta de Mahoma, mientras se les ofresçe la ocasión de levantarse que ellos tan de veras esperan. Y por la confiança con qual biben de que a de ser presto, ofrecerán de buena gana quanto se les pidiese. Esto, aliende de ser evidentísimo a los que sabemos sus ánimos, se prueba claramente por lo que juntamente suplican, que es la ynquisición no conozcan dellos, siendo como es verdad que el santo offiçio no los castiga ni a castigado jamás porque no son Christianos, sino porque son moros.”

⁸¹³ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XVII, 368: “Il faut savoir que les Morisques du Royaume de Valence n’ont jamais été endoctrinés.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 297: “Atento que los moriscos nuevos convertidos del Reyno de Valençia nunca han tenido doctrina, ni enseñança suficiente en el conosciendo de la religión christiana, después que los baptizaron.”

⁸¹⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XVII, 369. “En échange de cette grâce et de ce bienfait public, les Morisques proposent de remettre tout de suite à sa Majesté une grosse somme d’argent, et pour le reste, de faire tout ce qu’il faudra pour assurer leur fidélité et la tranquillité du Royaume.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 298: “Offresçen los dichos moriscos que por esta merçed y beneficio público, servirás a su Magestad con una gruessa summa de dineros que darán luego; y en todo lo demás, que para la seguridad de su fidalidad (sic) y quietud del Reyno convenga.”

⁸¹⁵ For example, see Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIV, 350. Reference is made to the fear that they align themselves with those of Barbary or the Turks. See also Rodrigo de Zayas

Valencian baptized community through preaching, catechizing, and instruction. As late as 1610, the year after the first decree of expulsion, an argument was made to exempt some baptized descendants of Muslims who were deemed to be “good and faithful Christians” because

t]hey were the descendants of Moriscos who had converted on their own before the General repression, and who were not involved in the Rebellion of the Kingdom of Granada. In particular, concerning those who are considered old-Christians [not only in] their language, their costumes and their religious practices. [But] they confess, [have] communion, commemorate birthdays and [there are] others who say that they served against the rebellion campaign.⁸¹⁶

Here even though the term “*morisco*” was used, this kind of *morisco* was and could be a “good and faithful Christian.” The Valencian community further added that this exception be made only to those that could be proven to be “a true Christian and faithful vassal.”⁸¹⁷

(French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIX, 375-376: “Etant donné la grande importance de cette affaire; l’insécurité qui résulte de la présence d’un grand nombre en Espagne; le fait qu’ils vivent généralement selon leurs lois; les contacts qu’ils ont, à ce qu’on dit, avec le Turc pour l’inciter à venir; le danger évident qu’ils feraient courir à ces royaumes si débarquait et bénéficiait de leur appui, et le fait qu’une opération d’envergure pourrait échouer en ce moment parce que sa Majesté est fort occupée par ici et que la chaleur est nuisible à sa santé, il fallait décider du moment opportun pour les saisir et les déporter hors des royaumes d’Espagne. Il faudra trouver le moyen de les déporter pendant l’hiver.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 305: “Que visto de quanta importancia es este negocio, y la poca seguridad que ay de tener tanto número dellos en España, y lo que entiendo de que generalmente biven en su ley, y los tratos que se dize tienen con el turco incitándole a que venga, y por el evidente peligro a que con ellos están estos reynos si lo hiziese con su ayuda, y que sacar tan gran golpe como ay se podría malazer por agora estando su Magestad tan ocupado en estas partes y sus fuerças tan lexos del calor, que convenia dar quando se hubiesen de sacar y echar fuera de los reynos despaña; en que se debe mirar para executar el sacarlos al ynbierno.”

⁸¹⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 580-581: “que ne seront pas expulsés les Morisques dont les Evêques auraient la certitude qu’ils sont de bons et fidèles Chrétiens...” “au sujet des descendants des Morisques qui s’étaient converti de leur propre chef avant la répression générale, et qui ne participèrent pas à la Rébellion du Royaume de Grenade. En particulier, au sujet de ceux qui sont considérés comme des vieux-Chrétiens de pas leur langue, leurs costumes et leurs pratiques religieuses; ceux qui se confessent, communient, commémorent les anniversaires et autres qui affirment qu’ils ont servi dans (la campagne contre) La Rébellion dudit Royaume.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 541: “lo que se debe hazer con los Moriscos descendientes de los que se convirtieron antes que se consiguiesse la reducción general, de su propia voluntad, y no concurrieron en la Rebelión del Reyno de Granada. Y en particular, de los que se an tratado como Christianos viejos en la lengua, en el ábito y en los actos de Religión; confessando, y comulgando, dexando aniversarios y otras memorias pías, y que se han mezclado con Christianos viejos y apartándose de los del Reyno de Granada, y otros, los quales alegan que sirvieron en la Rebelión del dicho Reyno.” See footnotes 874, 875.

⁸¹⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 580-581: “Je m’en remets particulièrement à vos consciences pour que, sous aucun prétexte de respect humain, vous ne fassiez d’exceptions pour ceux dont vous ne seriez pas vous-mêmes convaincus qu’ils ont été, et qu’ils sont, de vrais Chrétiens et de fidèles vassaux.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 542: “Os encargo mucho la conciencia, para que por ningún respeto humano reservéis a ninguno de quien vos mismo no tengáys entera satisfacción de que a sido, y es, verdadero Christiano y fiel vasallo.”

Therefore, *morisco* was not yet fully, or solely, negatively fixed, although it was the term by then most commonly used.

Notwithstanding the use of the term “*morisco*,” as seen in the Granadan documents, the above exception was important because their baptism predated both rebellions in Granada (1499-1501 and 1568-1570): as seen with those that sought *old*-Christian status in Granada. Furthermore, not only had they been baptized at the right time, meaning that there was no possibility that their baptism was forced (or of dubious context), they had assimilated into the broader *old*-Christian habits: “they are considered as old Christians in terms of their language, their costume and their religious practices.”⁸¹⁸

The idea that there were “good and faithful Christians” who were baptized descendants of Muslims kept alive the possibility that “full” conversion was indeed possible on a wider scale, and had indeed been possible when force was not used. But this also left open the possibility that it might have been difficult to differentiate between a “good and faithful Christian” descendant of someone who was baptized prior to 1500 (or late 1520s in other regions), and a “good and faithful Christian” descendant of someone who was baptized after the rite was decreed. As seen in the documents from Granada, the year 1500 determined whether a person or community would be deemed a *new* Christian or *newly* converted rather than *old* Christian. This again shows that the baptisms were in part required with the expectation that it was possible for Muslims to fully become Christians, which in the case of the peninsula also meant that they could acculturate fully to Christian (Castilian) cultural norms. As has been noted, in *New Spain* this was never the expectation.

In 1610, the Archbishop of Seville also advocated for the baptized descendants of Muslims in this region (not Granadans but *moriscos antiguos*), and argued that they were not a political or military threat to the king: “for they are not given to participating in uprisings or taking up arms.”⁸¹⁹ The Archbishop further argued that some were indeed Christian, not just in appearance:

Among the male Moriscos who are known to be descendants of Moriscos, there are some who appear to be Christians. Among all of these, some of them must really be. They receive the sacraments, raise their children with

⁸¹⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 580-581; Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 541.

⁸¹⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV.

virtue, and lead them to study... [yet] in this decree, they are punished, exiled, despoiled of their property.⁸²⁰

The Archbishop also agreed with the argument that the expulsion would have negative economic repercussions for the royal treasury. It seems in this case that the use of the term “*morisco*” here was related to *moro* (as Muslim), as in the phrase “descendants of moriscos,” used in a similar way to the phrase chosen in this thesis “baptized descendants of Muslims.” This is different than the use of “*morisco*” as a person incapable of conversion.

Just as there was this plea in 1610 on behalf of a specific group of the baptized descendants of Muslims, as late as 1600 there was a sense among some in the Kingdom of Valencia that conversion was still possible after baptism, if only by removing all exterior signs of Muslims: no longer writing in Arabic, changing their clothing, language and eating habits, and taking on the habits of good Christians.⁸²¹ The same lists of practices seen in the Granadan documents and repeated in most of the secondary literature. It was understood that it was their adherence to these customs that would prevent this baptized community from habituating themselves to the customs of the *Spanish* (e.g. Christian) political and Christian society.⁸²² Even at this late date, this was an expressed possibility, even in documents also stating the impossibility of their true conversion.

With the introduction here to the documents found in Rodrigo de Zayas’ tome, in Chapter 4 there is a more in-depth and quantitative analysis of the terms and how the

⁸²⁰ Jon Cowans, ed. *Early Modern Spain*, Document #35, 149-150.

⁸²¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII, 536: “Ils disent aussi que parmi (les Morisques), il y en a beaucoup qui savent lire et qui écrivent en arabe; ce qui contribue beaucoup à conserver leurs croyances. Ce serait une grande chose que de leur ôter tous les signes extérieurs des musulmans, et de les obliger à comprendre que puisqu’ils sont comme nous Chrétiens par le baptême, ils doivent s’aligner en tout sur les vieux-Chrétiens: dans l’habit et le costume, dans le langage et l’écriture, dans les mets communs, et dans tout ce qui constitue de bonnes habitudes chrétiennes.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 496: “También dizen que muchos déstos saben leer y escriven [cinco letras tachadas] arábigo, cosa que mucho les ayuda a conservar en su Morisma. Grande cosa será sin duda quitarles toda la figura exterior de moros, y hazerles, que pues son como nosotros Christianos en el Bautismo, entiendan se han de conformar a todo lo demás con los Christianos viejos, en el vestido y trage, en el lenguaje y scritura, manjares comunes, y todo lo que fuere buenas christianas costumbres.”

⁸²² Rodrigo De Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII, 542: “Tous les us et coutumes barbares contribuent grandement à leur faire conserver l’attirance et la mémoire de leur loi fausse, alors que s’ils s’habituaiient à nos usages et à notre société politique et chrétienne, ils finiraient par se soumettre et oublieraiient leurs manières mauresques.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 502: “Y porque todo lo que son Bárbaras usanças y costumbres ayuda mucho a conservarlos en la afición y memoria de su falsa ley, y por el contrario, habituándose a las usanças y trato político nuestro y Christiano, vendrán a domesticarse y olvidarse de su morisma.”

terms match, or not, with the language chosen by the author in the secondary analysis. In the Valencian documents, it can be noted that there was an increase in the usage of the term “*morisco*” with mostly a negative connotation. Furthermore, the term “*morisco*” was more prevalent than the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*,” but not yet always co-terminus or a full substitution: not *metonymy*; thus, this is indicative that “*morisco*” may in fact, as a negative term, be used for part of the community. At this point under the umbrella of baptized descendants of Muslims there were both “*new Christians*” and “*moriscos*.” All the terms were co-existing in the “third space”; there was greater multiplicity of language, and its meaning and usage.

“*New Christian*” or “*newly converted*” was more apt to appear in documents that still held the opinion that a conversion that matched their baptism was still possible, even up to the eve of the decrees of expulsions. It was briefly noted, and is analyzed in the next section, that a use of “*morisco*” was to distinguish different communities of baptized descendants of Muslims. The language in these documents also begins to lean toward the noted conflation of religion and ethnicity (somatization), and the impossibility of conversion, albeit coexisting with possibility; not a uniform potential outcome (yet).

3.4 Decrees of Expulsion: 1610-1614

The preceding sections taken together show variability in terminology beyond “*morisco*” that changed as time progressed and differed by regions in the peninsula. The following analysis of a third set of documents—18 documents including expulsion decrees from 1609 through 1614—confirms and strengthens the observations made thus far.⁸²³ For instance, these documents taken together are a clear example of the purported regional differences and the assertion that the terminology was not yet completely fixed, even negatively, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The changes that occurred over more than a century went from a religious definition of the term “*morisco*” as related to *Moor* (as Muslim), to a mostly religious and racial/ethnic definition of “*morisco*” as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, to ultimately a racial/ethnic definition of “*morisco*” as *non-Spanish* (or *non-“white”*), as seen in the *Sistema de Castas*.

⁸²³ These documents are found as appendices in François Martínez, “Le permanence morisque en Espagne après 1609: discours et réalités” (Ph.D. diss., Université Paul-Valéry-Montpellier III, 1997).

There was a progression from a static or stable definition to a hybrid or third space definition to a different static definition. The first of these was studied in the Granadan documents. Then, changes were discerned in the Valencian documents after the internal displacement. Furthermore, it is posited that the *non*-Spanish and *non*-Christian *morisco* was discursively necessary for the expulsions at the beginning of the seventeenth century; yet, the racialization of the term was not fully completed until the eighteenth century, as seen in the trans-Atlantic caste system.

The language of these documents, as the language of the documents written around 1568-1571, had a unique place in the long-term meta-processes of *othering* seen for Christian communities associated with descendants of Muslims in the peninsula, although traced even further back to the fifteenth century. The terminology shows the increased nominal use of the term “*morisco*” (nominalization), including the regional differences in the way the term “*morisco*” was used, as well as the use of other terminology to refer to these communities, indicating that the term “*morisco*” was not yet fully static, homogenous, or universally, in both usage and meaning. Although the definition of “*morisco*” at the beginning of the seventeenth century was far from the definition at the turn of the sixteenth century, it still retained a religious connotation and had not been fully racialized as the eventual definition would be across the Atlantic.

The following table includes tallies of the referential language of interest in these documents. The documents are listed in chronological order and are identified by region.

Table 3.1: Expulsion-Related Documents (1609-1614)

Date	Title	Language used (frequency)
21 SEP 1609	Regarding lactating children (Valencia)	<i>Moriscos</i> (7) <i>Old Christian</i> (4) Christian (1) Madre mora o judía (ambiguous) (1)
22 SEP 1609	Decree of expulsion for the Kingdom of Valencia	<i>Moriscos</i> (12) <i>Old Christian</i> (3) Christian (2)
9 DEC 1609	Decree of Expulsion for Andalucía and Extremadura	<i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos</i> (3) <i>Old Christian</i> (2) Christian (1), Christian (descriptive 3) <i>Moriscos</i> (2)
28 DEC 1609	Document from Castilla	<i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos</i> (1)
24 JAN 1610	List of exemptions to the expulsions (Granada) ⁸²⁴	<i>Moriscos</i> (7) <i>Old Christian</i> (4) Moros (ambiguous 1) seem Christian (1)
29 MAY 1610	Document from Catalonia	<i>Moriscos</i> (25) <i>Old Christian</i> (5) New Christians (4) "raça de Moriscos" (1) Christian (descriptive 1)

⁸²⁴ "Letter from Archbishop Pedro Vaca de Castro to the King. Pedro Vaca de Castro (or Cabeza de Vaca) was Archbishop of Granada 6 December 1589/15 April 1590 to 5 July 1610 and Archbishop of Sevilla 5 July 1610 until 20 December 1623. He was the founder of the Sacramonte monastery. Manuel Barrios Aguilera, "El Sacromonte de Granada y la religiosidad contrarreformista," in J. Ruiz Fernández and V. Sánchez Ramos, ed., *La Religiosidad popular y Almería (actas)* (Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 2004), 17-37.

Date	Title	Language used (frequency)
29 MAY 1610	Document from Aragón	<i>Moriscos</i> (12) <i>Old Christian</i> (4) <i>New Christian</i> (1) Christian (descriptive 2) Good Christians (1)
10 JUL 1610	Document from Castilla	<i>Moriscos</i> (16) <i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos</i> (3) Nación (3) Christian (descriptive 3) Moro (as Muslim 1)
16 JAN 1611	Exemptions by the bishop of Orihuela, Murcia	Descendants of <i>Moriscos</i> (7) <i>Moriscos</i> (3) <i>Tan moros como los de Berbería</i> (1) Ceremonias de moros (4) Moros (2) Good or children of or be Christian (3)
3 FEB 1611	Regarding children (under 7) in Valencia	<i>Moriscos</i> (2) <i>Old Christian</i> (1) Moros (1)
22 MAR 1611	The expulsion of those who stayed or returned. (Castilla) ⁸²⁵	<i>Moriscos</i> (non-specific 5) Good Christians (1) Christian (descriptive 1) <i>Moriscos</i> from Granada (2) <i>Moriscos (antiguos)</i> from Castilla (1) <i>Old Christian</i> (2) <i>Esta gente</i> (1)

⁸²⁵ Likely from Castilla, given the distinction made between *moriscos* from Granada and *moriscos antiguos*.

Date	Title	Language used (frequency)
8 OCT 1611	Expulsion from the Ricote Valley	<i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos</i> (1) <i>Moriscos antiguos</i> known as <i>mudéjares</i> (1) <i>Antiguos</i> (1) <i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos aunque sean antiguos</i> (2) <i>Moriscos que no fuesen antiguos</i> (1) <i>Morisco</i> (non-specific 2) Christian (descriptive 2) <i>Old Christian</i> (5) <i>Naturales ...o no naturales</i> (1) <i>Nación</i> (1)
21 AUG 1612 19 SEP 1612	The expulsion of <i>Moriscos</i> who stayed or returned. ⁸²⁶	<i>Moriscos</i> (7) <i>Gente</i> (2)
19 OCT 1613	Decree of expulsion from the Ricote Valley	<i>Moriscos mudéjares y no mudéjares</i> (2) <i>Mudéjares</i> (1) <i>Moriscos mudéjares</i> (2) <i>Moriscos</i> (13) <i>Old Christian</i> (5) <i>Nación</i> (1)
26 OCT 1613	The expulsion of renegade and hidden <i>Moriscos</i>	<i>Moriscos</i> (6) <i>Moriscos...así antiguos como nuevos</i> (1)
20 FEB 1614	Letter from the Counsel of State ending the expulsions (Ricote Valley)	<i>Moriscos</i> (4)
2 JUN 1614	End of the expulsions in Castilla	<i>Moriscos</i> (6)
2 JUN 1614	End of the expulsions in Catalonia	<i>Moriscos</i> (4)

⁸²⁶ Location unknown.

Table 3.2: Summary

Term/ Phrase	No. of times
<i>Moriscos</i> (not inclusive of the phrases below)	133
Descendants of <i>moriscos</i>	7
Race of <i>moriscos</i>	1
<i>Moriscos</i> from Granada	2
<i>Moriscos</i> (<i>antiguos</i>) from Castilla	1
<i>Moriscos...así antiguos como nuevos</i>	1
<i>Moriscos que no fuesen antiguos</i>	1
<i>Antiguos</i>	1
<i>Moriscos mudéjares</i>	2
<i>Moriscos mudéjares y no mudéjares</i>	2
<i>Moriscos antiguos</i> known as <i>mudéjares</i>	1
Term/ Phrase	No. of times
<i>Mudéjares</i>	1
Old Christian	35
Christian (descriptive)	12
Christian and “good or children of or be Christian” and “seem Christian”	8
<i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos</i>	8
<i>Cristianos nuevos moriscos, aunque sean antiguos</i>	2
<i>Moros</i>	5
<i>Tan moros como los de Berbería</i>	1
<i>Madre mora o judía</i>	1
<i>Ceremonias de moros</i>	4
New Christians	5
Good Christians	2
Nación	4
Gente	3
<i>Naturales o no naturales</i>	1

In these documents, there were at least 179 mentions of baptized descendants of Muslims. Of these 179 references 74.7% (133) used only the term “*morisco*” (not as part of a phrase) and another 21 (11.7%) instances included the term “*morisco*” as part of a phrase. Both total 86.4% of all the terms and phrases tallied. The term “*morisco*” seems to be ubiquitous once the expulsions came around. Yet, most of the phrases that included the term “*morisco*” were examples of the need that existed to differentiate between different groups of “*moriscos*” by specifying communities, as different from other communities, of baptized descendants of Muslims, rather than referential in contrast to *old* Christians. This was a need in Castile after the internal displacement of Granadans around 1571. Again, if the two communities had been homogenous, there would not have been a specific need to distinguish within “sub-communities”—between *moriscos antiguos* and *moriscos granadinos*.

It was noted earlier that in the Granadan documents the term “*mudéjar*” was generally used for Muslims from outside of the Kingdom of Granada. Now, with the displacement of Granadans to other areas of Castile, the regional differences of these communities come to the fore. Therefore, since the term “*mudéjar*” was no longer relevant, differentiating among “*moriscos*” became necessary. For example, when the “type” of *morisco* was specified, *moriscos* could be some version of *antiguos* (3) or *granadinos* (2) or *mudéjares* (3) or *crístianos nuevos* (10) or just *nuevos* (1). They could also be described by the “type” of *morisco* they were not: “*moriscos no antiguos*” (1) or “*moriscos no mudéjares*” (1). The existence of further specificity of “*morisco*”—a proliferation of terms or phrases—further opens the possibility that there could be *moriscos* that did not fit into any of these documented “types.”

The specificity of the type of *morisco* can be distinguished regionally. “*Moriscos antiguos*” were from Castile, “*moriscos mudéjares*” were from Murcia. It was clear that *mudéjares* and *antiguos* were not from Granada. Yet, it is not clear from these documents whether the non-specific *moriscos* were from Granada or Valencia, or elsewhere; yet, given the previous analysis Valencia may be more likely than Granada, for example. Thus, it may be determined based on the other types of *moriscos* or other referential phrases used in the various documents. In the decrees of expulsion from Valencia, Cataluña and Aragón, the term used was “*morisco*” and there were clear references to “herejes, apóstatas, y prodores.” Yet, the decrees for Castile, Andalucía, and

Extremadura make mention of “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*.” There are some phrases found in this set of documents that were not widely seen in documents studied thus far: “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” (7), “*raça de moriscos*” (1), “*moriscos antiguos*” in Castile as differentiated from “*moriscos granadinos*,” and “*moriscos mudéjares*” as one community was known in the Ricote Valley (Murcia).

The phrase “*moriscos mudéjares*” seems to combine what was seen in the Granadan documents, or the use of “*mudéjares*” for descendants of Muslims from outside of Granada, and what was seen in the Valencian documents where “*morisco*” without additional specificity was widely used. This makes geographical sense given that the region of Murcia in the sixteenth century was part of the Kingdom of Castilla and was also bounded by the region of Andalucía which included the former Kingdom of Granada, the Kingdom of Valencia, and the Mediterranean Sea. Being bounded by these regions it seems appropriate that the phrases used included both terms together: “*mudéjares*” and “*moriscos*.” The phrase “*nuevos convertidos*” superseded both “*crístianos nuevos*” and “*nuevamente convertidos*” in the documents from Valencia, which was supplanted by “*morisco*.” Yet how then can the phrase “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” found in some of the expulsion decrees be explained?

The phrase “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” occurred five times in two documents studied for this thesis from the Rodrigo de Zayas volume (Chapter 4): both documents were expulsion-related, from 1610, and printed in Granada.⁸²⁷ The phrase “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” occurs 10 times in four of 18 of the expulsion-related documents. The phrase is specific to Castile six times, three times specific to Andalucía and Extremadura, and was found once in a document from Murcia without additional specificity. In the Murcian document the other two occurrences (tallied under Castile) further specify that the *crístianos nuevos moriscos* were *antiguos*, which was a term used with Castile. Except for one document where the phrase “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” was the only reference to the community, the phrase co-existed in the other three documents with various other terms and phrases. The phrase “*crístianos nuevos moriscos*” was not found in any document from Valencia or Cataluña. Another phrase not seen before is “descendants of *Moriscos*.” This phrase occurred seven times in one document (from Murcia). Was this a

⁸²⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLVII (4) and Document XLVIII (1).

way to encompass both “*moriscos antiguos*” and “*moriscos granadinos*”? The phrase “*cristianos nuevos moriscos*” coexisted in these documents with the term “*morisco*.”

Widening the language study done for the Granadan documents and compared to some of the language differences identified for Valencia, there are at least two other phrases from the expulsion-related documents that should be addressed at this point. In the case of Castile, after the internal displacement of Granadans, language that distinguished the recent arrivals (Granadans) from the local population (Castilians) was used. In this specific case, the difference was between “*moriscos granadinos*” and “*moriscos antiguos*.” Unless the focus is moved to texts from Castilla, the phrase “*moriscos antiguos*” did not appear or become relevant.

The idea and differentiation of “*moriscos antiguos*” from “*moriscos granadinos*” becomes extremely important when it comes to seeking exemptions from expulsion. This was a kind of exemption, the recognition that *moriscos antiguos* had longer ties to the Kingdom of Castile, were in fact assimilated or acculturated in many ways, and were perhaps indistinguishable from the rest of the Castilian population, whereas *moriscos granadinos* were, at least discursively, a distinct community—an *other* within the emerging *other* (minority within minority). *Moriscos antiguos* were different because they did not pay *farda* or additional fees as the *moriscos granadinos* had, and as expressed by Francisco Núñez Muley.

It has been argued in this project, based on the analysis of primary documents, that using the term “*morisco*” as *metonymy* for all descendants of Muslims (as a homogenous community), for all time-frames and localities, is not appropriate. Although the processes of nominalization and *othering* indeed eventually made the term “*morisco*” static in meaning and use, it has also been reiterated that the completion of these processes historically and historiographically happened after the peninsular expulsions of 1609-1614.

Thus, it has been posited through the analysis of the primary documents that there were language shifts from

“*moro*” (primarily a religious term) to
“*cristiano nuevo*” or “*nuevamente convertido*” to
“*nuevos convertidos*” (phrase unique to Valencia) to
“*morisco*,” and after the expulsion to
“*moro*” again, albeit with a different connotation of

“*moros*,” once again an ethnic term (and related in the *Sistema de Castas* the full

racialization of the term *morisco*).⁸²⁸ Yet, although this is an overall arc or progression, which seems to have coincided with the increased conflation of religion and blood, there are instances where the transitions were not as neat as a model like this would suggest. Just as there were occasions on which *maurophilia* and *maurophobia* coexisted, there were occasions when a variety of these terms or phrases also co-existed and were not co-terminus. All this is to say that there were still exceptions to this model, and yet these very exceptions support the proposal that the term “*morisco*” was not as fixed as has been proposed or in the way that it has been (over)used by historians.

The analysis found in this chapter has occurred at several levels, including a quantitative presentation used for qualitative observations. Overall, there was an analysis of four sets of documents, albeit with difference emphases. The four sets of documents were from Granada, New Spain, Valencia, and expulsion-related. The various sets of documents revealed varying language uses across time and regions. Furthermore, when these sets of documents were compared to one another, conclusions emerged including about how the language used to describe the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims changed in usage and meaning as the century progressed, and was different in different regions. The subtle changes in usage and meaning further revealed that the terminology had a hybrid and non-static quality, thus defying being given a fixed definition, or using any one term as *metonymy* or substitution for another. Furthermore, various meanings and usages coexisted without being co-terminus.

Specifically, it was identified that the term “*morisco*” is problematic for the Granadan context prior to 1568-71, and that “*newly converted*” and “*new Christian*” were more appropriate. The shift identified in the language is summarized in the following table:

“ <i>moro/ Muslim</i> ” prior to 1501 “ <i>new Christian/ newly converted</i> ” (through baptism) and “ <i>morisco</i> ” (n.) from 1501 to 1571, inversely progressing “ <i>morisco</i> ” after 1571 and used for the expulsion and beyond.
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⁸²⁸ In the entry for MORO in volume 7 of *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico del Español* (S. XIV-1726), Real Academia Española, Editorial Arco Libros, S. L. editores Lidio Nieto Jiménez and Manuel Alvar Ezquerra, 6845-6846. It seems that the association of *moro* with *blackness* goes back to the middle of the seventeenth century, well after our period of study.

The shift in language was not completed by the second rebellion, but continued through the 1609-14 expulsions and beyond, yet outside of Granada, and eventually outside the peninsula. Ultimately, the shift in language fixed the term "*morisco*" as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, as *other*, as a fully somatized term.

These conclusions also helped to elucidate questions regarding degrees of difference between the baptized descendants of Muslims from other Christians in the peninsula, and discourses related to these constructed differences. Here the comparison with *Amerindians* in New Spain revealed that the differences were more constructed than actual, or less apparent than assumed, and mostly in the discursive realm. The hybrid language used in the peninsula, including the term "*morisco*" which could not revert to "*moro*" (and later could not move to "*Christian*") implied the possibility of baptism being the first step in a process of conversion which could be completed.

The *newly converted* and *new Christian* was thought capable of becoming a "good and faithful Christian." When for some this became impossible, the hybridity and non-fixidity of the phrases "*newly converted*" or "*new Christian*" had to be changed for another term: "*morisco*." Substituting the term "*morisco*" prematurely or arbitrarily runs the risk of hiding these processes of construction and the changes of language, but also erases the parts of the communities who were not *morisco*, the *new Christians*. These were the processes of nominalization and proliferation of categories.

By understanding the language used in the primary documents to refer to these communities and how it differed from another contemporary community of converts (*Amerindians*); it is also argued that the term "*morisco*" was not initially or always used in a racialized way, as was the case in the *Sistema de Castas*. Again and again, the documents show that in the peninsula at first it was thought that there was a possibility of assimilating or acculturating and integrating into the broader *old Christian* and Castilian culture, or to overcome the *new* in conversion; but the *indios*, baptized or not, remained *indios*, and thus inherently *other*, without the counterpart expectation of acculturation. The racially *other* in the peninsula was a construct, whereas across the Atlantic there was a clearer or more evident initial racial distinction between *Spaniards* and *Amerindians*. Eventually the *Sistema de Castas* functioned similarly to what has been noted for the peninsula, to construct *otherness*, since it became a way of maintaining racial difference (and hierarchy) even when difference was no longer "visible," discernible, or *epidermic*.

This reification or construction in the peninsula was also specific geographically and temporally, but was mostly completed by later historians taking at face value the writings referring to the so-called “*morisco problem*” or “*moriscos*.”

The conclusions in Chapter 3 serve as the foundation for the analysis in Chapter 4. Having looked at the primary documents from Granada and Valencia in various collections of texts, the analysis of the language used by historians in their own analysis of these texts is the focus of the beginning of the next chapter. This analysis shows and uncovers a posited disconnection between the language of the primary texts and the secondary literature. A more in depth analysis then follows, which includes the texts of Rodrigo de Zayas’ tome and the *Memorandum* of Francisco Núñez Muley to demonstrate the disconnection and the missed opportunities. Finally, a theological underpinning of the construction of the *other* is revealed by showing the ultimate impact the dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another had as a discursive justification of the expulsions.

Chapter 4: The Eternal “*Morisco*”

In Chapter 3 there was a presentation and analysis of the referential terminology used to denote the baptized descendants of Muslims in Granada and other places in the peninsula, the language used to describe baptized *indios* in *New Spain*, the different uses of “*morisco*” on both sides of the Atlantic, and an introduction to the changes in terminology gleaned after 1571, primarily in Valencia. For Granada, the referential language most commonly used was that of “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” and “*morisco*.” A principal conclusion from that analysis was that for Granada, the term “*morisco*” in its nominative form was not the best metonymic term or substitution prior to the second rebellion of the Alpujarras. “*Morisco*” at best was a term for only part of the community in Granada, was more significant outside of Granada, for example Valencia, and was even more appropriate after the general expulsions of 1609-14.

Historiographically, prior to the internal displacement of Granadans to other regions of Castile in 1571, using the term “*morisco*” obfuscates some of the opportunities present in studying this Granadan community without an *a priori* bias toward this community as *non-Christian* (and *non-Spanish*). This use works as a retroactive condemnation and justification. As seen in the documents from Valencia and the various expulsion-related documents, there is an understanding that the use of the term “*morisco*” differed in other regions, contexts, and time-frames, and therefore it is not a useful *metonymy*. In the case of Valencia, for example, the term “*morisco*” was used more frequently as a polemical term for what has been referred to as the “*morisco question/problem/affair*.” Moreover, if real rather than discursive, it could only be for a subset of the communities.⁸²⁹

Other findings in Chapter 3 noted shifts and changes in referential language as the sixteenth century progressed, which were part of discursive processes of construction of these communities of Christians, as homogenous or one community, or as different (*other*), which helped to textually justify the expulsions. Difference (initially religious) was somatized on the colonial body and thus was inherent and could not be changed. The colonial body was equally the *Amerindian*, the *African*, and the baptized descendants of Jews and Muslims.

⁸²⁹ See pages 196, 202, 204, 214, 249.

Underlying the analysis of referential language in Chapter 3 was the hypothesis that there was an inherent difference between the way the term “*morisco*” was used in the primary texts and the way historians use the term in their description and understanding of these communities. It was proposed that the historians’ *morisco* is a tacit acceptance of the official construction of this **whole** community as, in reality, *other* (*non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*). This is given a failure, at times, to notice that the very processes of construction and later of justifications of the expulsions necessitated the promulgation and reiteration of the very language (with its changes in usage and meaning) as official propaganda. The propaganda was part of the discourse; the problem lies with the reification of that same propaganda. Put differently, the term “*morisco*” was necessary for the discursive justifications of the expulsions.

In Chapter 2 the historiographical biases were noted and addressed; here in Chapter 4 those historiographical errors can be elucidated and understood as they relate to the context of concern in this project.⁸³⁰ Trevor J. Dadson states this problem in the following manner,

The danger with official propaganda is not so much that those who purvey it end up believing it, which is bad enough, but that those who come later do so. Too much *morisco* historiography in fact has been based on what the government of Philip III and Lerma wanted us all to believe. ...many historians have willingly gone along with that ‘official’ view, rarely questioning the validity or reliability of what they were reading.⁸³¹

In the case of this project this is seen in the use of the term “*morisco*.” Dadson’s observation is in the context of an investigation which shows that there were baptized descendants of Muslims who remained in the peninsula after 1609-14.⁸³² Another aspect of Dadson’s argument is the acknowledgement that this was an expulsion, at least technically speaking, of a community of Christians—something not frequently noted. Many historians do not acknowledge explicitly or implicitly that *moriscos* could be Christian, therefore the fact that Christians expelled other Christians is not narrated, but instead is made invisible or erased.

⁸³⁰ See Section 2.2; footnote 530.

⁸³¹ Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric,” 20.

⁸³² There are research projects that aim to show examples of Christians (descendants of former Muslims) remained in the peninsula after 1609-14. Trevor J. Dadson studies the case of Placencia.

Trevor J. Dadson, in writing about the justifications for the expulsions, writes about “people who had been baptized in the Christian faith” and reminds the reader that “Jews (in 1492) were not baptized Christians.”⁸³³ These two seemingly self-evident phrases are rare among historians of these communities, who prefer the notion that they wholly and completely remained a community of Muslims and thus the difference, in discourse and history, was evident and real rather than constructed.

The historiographical summary in Chapter 2 noted that there has been a prevailing view that

all Muslims who were baptized and their baptized descendants outwardly and publicly practiced Christianity, but privately and interiorly practiced Islam;⁸³⁴

thus, there were *crypto*-Muslims and *non*-Christian. This view was augmented by the dominant assessment that they were also an “inassimilable community,” or *non*-Spanish.⁸³⁵ Celestino López Martínez sees the community “as a homogenous inassimilable group [which was] resistant to any form of integration and deeply anti-Christian.”⁸³⁶ With this as the dominant historiography, the binary opposition of Christian to Moor is carried through to the binary opposition of Christian to *morisco* even if the latter was also, if just theoretically, a Christian.

It is in this context that book titles such as Louis Cardaillac’s *Moriscos y Cristianos, un enfrentamiento polémico, 1492-1640* does not seem out of place.⁸³⁷ Yet, the polemic was not only between those who may have continued to adhere to Islam versus Christianity; there were also polemics, such as that of Francisco Núñez Muley, within different Christian communities (*inter*- vs. *intra*-). Therefore, this community was constructed as incapable and unwilling to be both Christian (through conversion) and *Spanish* (through assimilation or acculturation). However, as noted in Chapter 2 and shown in Chapter 3, the use of the term “*morisco*” was part of *othering* processes which were necessary for the justifications of the expulsions. Yet, there is no consensus or

⁸³³ Both quotations come from Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric,” 2.

⁸³⁴ Quoting from page 149 in Section 2.2 (footnote 500).

⁸³⁵ Quoting from page 156 in Section 2.2 (footnote 530).

⁸³⁶ As presented by Michel Boeglin, “Between rumor and resistance the Andalucían Morisco ‘Uprising’ of 1580,” in *Conversos and Moriscos*, ed. Kevin Ingram, 212.

⁸³⁷ Louis Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos*.

acknowledgment that the terminology itself, and changes throughout the century, were part of these processes.

Section 4.1 of this chapter presents some examples of the historians' *morisco* which are different than the *morisco* of the primary texts: the works analyzed include Vincent Barletta's analysis of Francisco Núñez Muley's *Memorandum*, and Barbara Fuch's study on the transition between *maurophilia* and *maurophobia* (*Exotic Nation*). Building on Section 4.1 and the earlier Section 3.3, in Section 4.2 there is an application of both the quantitative analysis and the disconnect in terminology for the *Archivo Holland* and the *Biblioteca Zayas* found in Rodrigo de Zayas' tome, and Antonio Garrido Aranda's *Moriscos e Indios*. The analysis included in sections 4.1 and 4.2 does not aim to challenge these historians in their scholarly endeavor; their works are all important contributions to the study of the history of these peninsular communities. Rather, the aim is to illustrate the ways that in historiography the processes of *othering* have been missed or obfuscated by the premature or metonymic use of the term "*morisco*," and to show that the final step in the construction of these communities as **the** community of "*moriscos*" was completed and reified in the historiographic realm. Finally, after the analysis of the discursive use of the terminology, there is a presentation of the theological discourse which was used to justify the expulsion. This occurs in Section 4.3, which deals with the dissociation of baptism from conversion.

4.1 The Historians' "Morisco"

The term "*morisco*" may at times be closer to the keyword search of a library catalogue than to the possible reality lived by the so-called *moriscos* in the peninsula. In order to find, in the catalogue of a university library, books relevant to the history of the Granadans in the sixteenth century, the term "*morisco*" would be a useful keyword to search. Many of the results would refer to a "common" group of people (or part thereof) in the peninsula in the sixteenth century and early-seventeenth century that was expelled in the years 1609-1614.⁸³⁸ As a homogenized nominal term, the preponderant definition of "*morisco*" is as a baptized descendant of a Muslim; yet, in the sixteenth century, the term "*morisco*" (in its nominative form, like the phrases "*new Christian*" or "*newly converted*")

⁸³⁸ The homogenizing term is also sometimes used for the diaspora community after 1609-1614.

was a non-stable, hybrid, and constructed term which, in different places and different times fell somewhere between the more static categories of “Moor” and “Christian.”

Moor ← *morisco* → Christian

In this continuum of difference, the term “*morisco*” fell somewhere in between *Moor* (as Muslim) and Christian. Although the word “*morisco*” was used as a noun in some of the documents, the word “*morisco*” was also used as a descriptive term best translated into English as “Moorish.” This was part of a process of nominalization or shift from the less variable descriptive use to the static use of the nominative *morisco*. Whereas the terms “Moorish” and “*morisco*” were used in the same manner when used in a descriptive form, such as Moorish dress or *morisco* dress,⁸³⁹ the same is not true in referring to this group of people as the “*moriscos*” and not as “the Moorish.” Furthermore, the noun form of Moorish (Moor) was not used to describe the community baptized into Christianity, because *Moor* was equated to Muslim in the sixteenth century.⁸⁴⁰ Therefore, the term “*morisco*” is at best a useful keyword but mostly an inaccurate *metonym*, especially for Granada, and before 1571.

Although some historians equate Muslim with *morisco*, as a non-stable hybrid term the word “*morisco*” does not ignore the baptism of these persons, although their Christianity was diminished, but initially it also could not easily revert to *moro* (and did not fully discursively revert to *moro* before 1609-14). More clearly, the phrases “*new* Christian” or “*newly* converted” implied baptism. Before the expulsions, if the Church and the State had legally allowed the *return* to Islam of members of these communities, they would have lost one of their mechanisms of control of these colonial subjects, namely the Inquisition, which required the communities to be under the control of the Church. After 1609-14, the justifications of the expulsions required that “*morisco*” be moved closer and closer to “*Moor*” and eventually even be overtaken by it. Or from a different point of view, the justifications of the expulsions required the impossibility of *morisco*, and prior to it *new*

⁸³⁹ In Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*, “Moorish things” are: “ceremonias moriscas”, 173, 180, 181; “ropa morisca,” 174, 175, 177, 179; “a la morisca,” 175; the use of “Marlotas,” 175; the use of “Almalafas,” 178; the practice of face covering (women), 178, 184, 194. These are referenced also in Appendix 2: 10.5, 10.7, 16.1, 16.4, 17.1, 30.3, 30.9, 37.2, 37.3; 11.1-2, 12.1, 14.1-3; 15.1, 35.1-3, 36.1 (x2), 75.3, 76.8; 12.2, 14.4, 15.1-2, 30.7, 75.4; 29.15-16, 30.12 (x2); 29.28; 32.2; 69.1; 12.2, 69.3; 14.4, 14.6-7, 15.1, 29.18-19, 33.2, 38.3, 75.2, 75.4; 14.4, 14.6, 14.8, 25.1-3, 29.18, 29.20, 75.4, 76.13.

⁸⁴⁰ See Introduction, footnote 6 and page 216.

Christian, to fully progress toward Christian (or toward *Spanish*). The *moriscos* were defined as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

In a 1601 letter to Philip III, Archbishop Ribera wrote,

We know from moral evidence that all of them are moros who live in the sect of Muhammad, maintaining and observing (to the extent possible) the ceremonies of the Quran and disrespecting the holy laws of the Catholic Church: so much that properly speaking, we should call them not moriscos but moros.⁸⁴¹

This comment by Archbishop Ribera was further strengthened by his belief that this community of *moros* was responsible for the military threats faced by *Spain* from England, France, Turks, and Berbers, and even Protestants: a fifth-column.⁸⁴² This statement also confirms that at this late time there was still space between the words “*moro*” and “*morisco*.” The related idea that *moriscos* were indeed *moros* was not only held by Christians who excluded this whole community from the rest of the communities of Christians, but it is one that a variety of scholars have held on to, and thus, whether they have chosen to call this community Muslims or *crypto-Muslims*. Yet, as shown, it could only be a *metonym* for part of the community, not for the whole.

The term “*morisco*” in secondary literature is homogenized to mean only a baptized descendant of a Muslim who remained a Muslim, even though a *morisco* officially could not be a Muslim because of baptism. Then, in historiography from the start *moriscos* have been *non-Christian* or could only be understood as *non-Christian*, with the counterparts to this being *non-Castilian* and *non-Spanish*. The homogenized use of the term loses its hybridity and nuance and helps to complete the processes of construction of the *other* and boundary (re)inscription.

Over a particular period, the term “*moro*” was not equated to “*morisco*” or stopped being related to it; *morisco* now became its own category—neither Christian nor Muslim. (*Non-Muslim* because “*morisco*” in the peninsula is eventually discarded when the community was discursively returned to *Moor*). When seen as part of processes of construction of the *other*, it can be understood that embedded in the use of the term was the inherent bias toward the failure of conversion for this community. This usage becomes problematic especially since this bias was not equally found in the phrases “*newly*

⁸⁴¹ As quoted by Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, 128.

⁸⁴² See footnotes 529, 535.

converted” or “*new Christian*,” in which the possibility of conversion was still implied, or the possibility of completion of the progression toward *old Christian*, before the nominalization process was completed.

In maintaining the religious “*Moorishness*” or “*Muslimness*” of these communities, the writers (including historians) have not dealt with (or addressed) the indelibility of baptism as a sacrament, and the possibility of conversion by making Islam as indelible as Christianity—or by making conversion impossible (the impossible *metanoia*)—something that was needed to expel members of these communities from the peninsula. In fact, there was painstaking care taken to safeguard baptism, even if conversion was not accomplished. Consequently, there was a theological and discursive severing of baptism and conversion from one another.

The insistence on designating this community as “*morisco*” (*non-Christian and non-Spanish*) has therefore diminished the possibility of members of these communities sharing commonalities with other *Spanish* Christians (of non-Muslim background) religiously and in customs, especially practices that were not directly related to religious rites and ceremonies. Any possibility of a *morisco* having been a Christian cannot be narrated and thus is made invisible. Differentiating and bounding customs by prior religious identity does not allow for all *Spaniards* (whether of Muslim descent or not) to contribute to *Spanish* identity: Jews and Muslims were not constitutive of *Spanish* identity, then or now.

Therefore, the insistence on the metonymic use of the term “*morisco*,” even though it is not the predominant term found in primary texts, diminishes the potential of *Spanishness* or *Christianness* for these communities. This ebbing was done by the proliferation of categories and the eventual bounded construction of these communities as “*moriscos*,” and defining a community solely by a *non-Christian* (and prior) religious affiliation—yet, no longer “*Moor*”—and which would eventually be constructed into a racial/ethnic minority community, an *other* (*othering* and *minoritization*).

The sole use of the term “*morisco*” fails to capture the transitional and hybrid quality of language once it is placed on the page. The transitional nature of the language that accompanied processes of construction can be appreciated when the language itself is understood and seen as non-static. Then, through time the term “*morisco*” in the primary texts changed in usage and meaning. It was first related to “*Moor*” (as Muslim), then

became a non-static hybrid term, and then came to be defined solely as a person incapable of converting to Christianity, regardless of baptism and instruction. This latter point then became a weighty historiographical position: the historians' "*morisco*." "*Morisco*" ceases to be a useful category because it is from the start biased toward a particular view of this community as having never become Christian, regardless of baptism.

Vincent Barletta's edited Memorandum

To demonstrate the difference between the texts' "*morisco*" and the historians' "*morisco*," here follows a presentation of a series of specific examples of the dissonance between primary and secondary texts, as it relates to this topic. The first examples come from *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada* by Francisco Núñez Muley, translated and edited by Vincent Barletta. Núñez Muley's *Memorandum* was notable for its use of the term "native" to refer to the community from Granada, as well as being written on the eve of the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, before the internal displacement of Granadans.

Given the nuanced discursive use of terminology by Francisco Núñez Muley, it could reasonably be expected that the secondary exposition of the text be equally nuanced. Yet, the editor and translator used "*morisco*" as the preferred terminology to refer to this community from the moment of baptism (in the first generation).

The result of these mass conversions (which depended as much upon the active participation of constables as it did upon that of priests) was the formation of a large minority community of recent, and mostly unwilling, converts from Islam. These converts came to be referred to as *crístianos nuevos de moros* (New Christians from Islam) and, more popularly, as *moriscos*.⁸⁴³

Although Vincent Barletta italicizes the phrase used in the text "*crístianos nuevos de moros*," he opts for the more "popular" "*morisco*" over "*new Christian*" for what he considers its specificity. The explanation for this choice is found in a footnote of the edited text of the *Memorandum* where there is a reference to a "New Christian woman." The associated footnote states:

The term "New Christian" (*crístiano nuevo*) refers to Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity and their descendants. It is a more general term

⁸⁴³ Vincent Barletta, ed., *Memorandum*, 2-3.

than “*Morisco*” (i.e., Muslim converts) and “*Converso*” (i.e., Jewish converts), and it of course has meaning only in relation to the term “Old Christian” (*cristiano viejo*), or those with no Jewish or Muslim ancestry.⁸⁴⁴

The notion that the term “*new Christian*” only appears as the binary counterpart to “*old Christian*” is problematic in several ways. First, as seen in Chapter 3, although they at times appear together, they are not always together; they can appear independently of each other or with a different counterpart.⁸⁴⁵ Second, it misses the important shift (shown in Chapter 3) from “*new Christian*” to “*morisco*” as part of the processes of differentiation and *othering*. Finally, in the case of the specific text from Francisco Núñez Muley it misses that the use of the term “*native*” outnumbers the use of “*morisco*” or “*new Christian*,” which is a very important rhetorical contribution from the text as discussed in Chapter 3.⁸⁴⁶ Furthermore, “*new*” was not yet static as “*old*” was. Thus, even if the phrase “*new Christian*” was a counterpart to “*old Christian*,” the “*new*” still had transitional and non-static qualities which were eventually lost in the term “*morisco*.”

Barbara Fuchs

Not all researchers, especially those concerned with literary studies and semiotics, (dis)miss the importance of language and changes in language. Some, like Barbara Fuchs, are cognizant of the hybridity of the language and culture of *Spain*, as well as the sixteenth-century emerging construction of *Spanish*-national and imperial-identity. Yet, even though some scholars identify these meta-processes, some have missed the opportunity to enact the findings in the language they use to describe the communities. For example, Fuchs’ use of the terms “*Moorish*,” “*Moor*,” “*Morisco*,” etc. is inconsistent. Fuch’s use of the terms “*Moorish*” and related “*Moorishness*” in English is least problematic, but the level of conflation of other terms is challenging. To put this into context, it is important first to present the aim of her project and then explain the difficulty with the terminology chosen:

Spanish attitudes towards Moors and the Moorish heritage underlie key cruxes in Spain’s development as a nation, touching not only on the obvious

⁸⁴⁴ Vincent Barletta, ed., *Memorandum*, 60n.20.

⁸⁴⁵ Although the new vs. old Christian binary makes sense, it is not universal. In Rodrigo de Zayas (*Spanish*), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, 231-239, there are no uses of old Christian, since Christian (x13) is juxtaposed to *newly converted* (x16).

⁸⁴⁶ See page 216-217, footnotes 701, 702, 703, 704.

question of religious assimilation vs. the racialization of minorities, but also on local vs. national cultures, the tension between centralizing monarchy and regional aristocracies, and the struggles between political exigency and religious policy.⁸⁴⁷

The book *Exotic Nation* is undoubtedly situated in the sixteenth century, yet, without a time or regional reference for the sentence above, it is difficult to ascertain the way Fuchs uses the terms “*Moors*” and “*Moorish*,” and whether “*Moorish*” is being used as the English translation of “*morisco*” in the nominative or descriptive sense. Furthermore, throughout the book Fuchs seems to have made a choice to use the term “*morisco*”⁸⁴⁸ only rarely, especially in Spanish, but by doing so has created problematic phrases, such as “Christian Moors.”⁸⁴⁹

Barbara Fuch’s project is important and offers a study on how the construction of *Spanish* identity in the sixteenth century was a rejection of *Spain’s* hybrid identity and history and an attempt at eliminating its *Moorishness*, which, as is argued here, necessitated (re)inscription and the construction of difference and *othering* of particular communities of Christians.⁸⁵⁰ Yet, as in the analysis of the literary transition from *maurophilia* to *maurophobia*, Fuchs places a limit in reading for representations of the “*Moor*” and does not necessarily read for those of the “*morisco*.” Said differently, the terms “*Moor*” and the “*morisco*” in the sixteenth century were not interchangeable and cannot be fully represented in one figure, even a literary one. Moreover, since Fuchs is focused on representations of the “*Moor*,” these do not necessarily help to identify the “*morisco*” in the “*new Christian*.”

Even though the texts Barbara Fuchs analyzes were written in the sixteenth century, they were dealing with characters (chivalric *Moors*) who no longer officially existed, or were from a bygone era, but who still may be (re)inscribed in those that did exist (the *new Christian* and *morisco*). Fuchs analyzes the *Novela del Abencerraje y Jarifa* (1560s) and writes,

Given the text’s sympathetic depiction of cross-cultural contacts, critics have read Abindarráez’s lament as an oblique reference to the suffering of

⁸⁴⁷ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 2.

⁸⁴⁸ The index is not helpful in understanding her use of *morisco*, since it includes “new Christians” and other references to the community regardless of the term used.

⁸⁴⁹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 3.

⁸⁵⁰ See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 3-10, 24-26, 82, 114, 138.

Spanish Jews and Moors, exiled or persecuted as New Christians. [...] The intense chivalric and homosocial ties between Christian and Moor adumbrate the novella's historical context of border conflict. They also contrast sharply with the situation of the Moriscos at the time of its publication, as the respite from legal persecution which they tenuously enjoyed began to seem increasingly fragile.⁸⁵¹

Yet, technically (after 1492, 1501, and 1526) there were no suffering Spanish Jews or Moors, there were "*moriscos*," "*conversos*," or "*new Christians*," but not "Moors" or "Jews." By mostly equating "*Moor*" and "*morisco*," there is little room for the existence of "*new Christians*," or to allow for these being from the same, or part of the same, communities. Therefore, "*new Christians*" are invisible or not narrated, which may be significant in the analysis of the texts themselves. Barbara Fuchs goes on to criticize an analysis of *El Abencerraje* which indeed makes a distinction between "*Moor*" and "*morisco*," while adding a quotation from the very author she is commenting on.

[Claudio] Guillen refuses any connection between the idealized portrait of the Moor in the text and the historical reality of the Moriscos: "the exaltation of the Moorish knight, always a nobleman, was far from being incompatible with a profound scorn for the morisco, who was always plebeian. The enthusiastic praise of the gallant Moorish knight—who in the final analysis was not different from a Christian noble man—could only intensify everyone's impatience with the stubborn moriscos, who persisted in their faith, their ways, their otherness." Guillen here repeats in an uncritical fashion the vision of the Moriscos propounded by the state: they are unassimilable and undesirable.⁸⁵²

Fuchs is at once aware of the myth of the "inassimilable morisco" and blind to the hybridity of the term "*morisco*" and "*new Christian*" in the sixteenth century, by loosely equating "*Moor*" to "*morisco*." It is curious to note that in this text the *Moor* was a character of the past and a knight or noble; differently, the more contemporary *morisco* was a plebeian. Whereas Fuchs sees the *Moor* as still subversively representing the struggle of the "*Moorish*" within *Spanish* identity, Claudio Guillén sees a gulf between the *Moor* of the past and the *morisco* of the present. What Guillén is perhaps noting was that the *Moor* couldn't exist outside of the literary texts, given the forced/decreed baptisms, because the community that indeed existed when the texts were written was the subjugated (colonial) community of *new Christians* (so-called *moriscos*).

⁸⁵¹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 36-37.

⁸⁵² Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 38.

In the texts Barbara Fuchs analyzes, “Moor” is used at times, to mean “Muslim” and at other times to denote “*morisco*.” In the plays, the *moro* is the chivalric Moor (Muslim knight), but in other texts, like that of Francisco Núñez Muley, the text would require “*morisco*,” although it is known that the preferred term there was “*native*.” Yet Fuchs does not distinguish between “*moros*” who were Muslims and “*moros*” who were “*moriscos*” (e.g. Christians) in the narrative of the texts.

As stated before, a limitation exists in the English-language about the connection of “Moor” and “Moorish” as noun and descriptor, versus the fact that “*morisco*” in the Spanish language can be used as both a noun and as a descriptor, but can only be translated to “Moorish” in the descriptive sense. Barbara Fuchs is further limited by not noticing that the hybrid use of the term “*morisco*” and the phrase “*new Christian*” are part of the very construction of *Spanish* identity she delineates in *Exotic Nation*. This is further complicated by the fact that in the literary tropes of the texts the characters were “Moors,” perhaps behaving in a “*morisco*” way, but not baptized characters; they were Muslims.

The official project of erasing the Moors from Spain is countered by a genre that includes both material artifacts—the monumental Alhambra, but also myriad Mudéjar buildings—and texts, such as the *Abencerraje* or Núñez Muley’s plea, that participate in their memorialization. As the frame of *El Abencerraje* argues, the proper commemoration of a Spanish past that includes many *empresas generosas* between Moors and Christians must necessarily involve an acknowledgment of Moors and their culture. This maurophile genre in itself become a *lieu de mémoire*, writing the Moors all over Spain, from the continuing syncretism of the built environment to the cultural and military struggles of the sixteenth century.⁸⁵³

The construction of *new Christians* and *moriscos* as *other* and their expulsions were part of the processes that aimed to erase the “Moors from Spain.” These processes were a continual reaction to the ever-present hybrid *self* which was denied; the *other*, which was the same as the *self* but constructed as different, was excised.

As discussed in Chapter 2 with respect to the discourses of the “Black Legend,” notwithstanding the (mis)use of the terms “*moro*” and “*morisco*,” where Barbara Fuchs excels is in her clear presentation of how the construction of *Spanish* identity emerged as the sixteenth century progressed and was a reaction to an external construction of *Spain* primarily by the English, a construction which “attempt[ed] to render Spain biologically (if

⁸⁵³ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 59.

not visibly) black” and that this was justified by the historical presence of Jews and Muslims which were also rendered “black.”⁸⁵⁴ The processes identified fit into the processes of construction Fuchs identifies. England’s rendering was a construct since it is noted that in the peninsula skin color was not a distinguishing quality for Muslims or those descendants of Muslims: “Moors were not reliably identifiable in this way.”⁸⁵⁵

Instead, Spanish racial hysteria focused on covert cultural and religious practices...Absent physical manifestations, how could one tell if any given subject was free from Semitic or Moorish taint? This ambiguity suggests the possibility of assimilation, passing, and other challenges to the official rhetoric of essentialized difference.⁸⁵⁶

As agreed and proven in this project, like Barbara Fuchs, other historians agree that there was not a clear *epidermic* difference between *Spaniards*, whether descendants of Christians or Muslims.⁸⁵⁷ Therefore Barbara Fuchs disagrees with and quotes in a footnote the assertions by James H. Sweet that

[e]ven though the Muslims ranged in skin color from white to very dark brown, nearly all were distinguishable from white Christians by their physical appearance.⁸⁵⁸

Sweet makes this assertion because peninsular Muslims are understood to be “tawny-colored Muslims,” “golden brown,” or “yellowish brown,”⁸⁵⁹ descriptions which may not be completely substantiated for Muslims or those of Muslim descent, or may be equally true of other groups in the peninsula, including *old* Christians, and terms as “*white*”: all of these likely constructions. An unknown remains as to what Sweet means by the phrase “physical appearance” and whether it includes the manner of dress, or whether it is strictly about “*skin color*” (the *epidermis*).⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁴ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 117.

⁸⁵⁵ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 117; 118: “within Spain Moorishness emphatically does not equal blackness.” James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 170: refers to *morisco* women in Perú as “light-skinned.”

⁸⁵⁶ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 118.

⁸⁵⁷ See sections related to footnotes 372, 449, 757, 758.

⁸⁵⁸ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 170n.5; James H. Sweet, “Iberian Roots,” 150. See also 160: “The concept of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*) based on skin color appears to have been as strong a social and cultural indicator in Iberia as it later became in the Americas.” Israel Burshatin refers to Muslim men as “brown-skinned males” in the article “Written on the body,” 437. Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian,” 120: “Although Muslims, *mudejars* were as indigenously ‘Spanish’ as the Christian population.” 120.

⁸⁵⁹ James H. Sweet, “Iberian Roots,” 149.

⁸⁶⁰ See similar section regarding *moriscas* in Perú as described by James Lockhart: footnote 757.

Given that difference between these Christian communities was not in the *epidermis* but rather more of a discursive construction, it is important to acknowledge the possibility that there were members of these communities, not necessarily termed “*morisco*,” that were unremarkable because of their level of religious and socio-cultural assimilation, and who remained in Granada after 1571, or in the peninsula after 1609-14, as explored in the next sub-section.⁸⁶¹ As Barbara Fuchs and others rightly note, historiography has largely neglected the large class of assimilated Moriscos...perhaps because they do not conform to the ‘clash of cultures’ model⁸⁶²

or because they were not part of the written discourse: they were not the problem. These may perhaps be the *new* Christians who have been erased or not narrated.

For some scholars, the use of the “clash” and even “*convivencia*” models after the decreed baptisms require a (re)inscription of the *tri/bipartite* matrix of study of the peninsula based on religious difference. What this means is that since there have been multiple religions in the peninsula for centuries, any mention of difference in practice attributed to religious heritage or *otherness* could only be understood as being a factual statement and reality of a *de facto* inheritable religious difference.⁸⁶³

The exceptions

As noted before, baptism prior to 1492 or 1501 allowed for some baptized descendants of Muslims to be included in the category of “*old* Christian,” and by consequence perhaps “*Spanish*.”⁸⁶⁴ Marriage to an *old* Christian could also help a *new* Christian attain *old*-Christian status. Similarly, in the *Sistema de Castas* there were ways to buy or prove one’s lineage and receive a legal document (*probanza*) that would state one’s purity or caste.⁸⁶⁵ Those who attained the status of *old* Christian were perhaps using the state and church’s mechanisms of control to their advantage. Some *probanzas* were suspect. In the case of Francisco el Partal (1557), the prosecutor argued that

⁸⁶¹ See footnote 832.

⁸⁶² Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 128. See footnotes 6, 508, 520, 578.

⁸⁶³ See Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric,” 20; see footnote 832.

⁸⁶⁴ See pages 25, 256-57, 267, and footnote 738.

⁸⁶⁵ See Section 3.2 on the *Sistema de Castas* (esp. pages 239 and 244; footnotes 771, 787).

we would find that many of the newly converted of the Moors of the said city of Granada sought through all illicit ways and means to prove that they were old Christians and that their parents and grandparents had converted [before the general conversion].⁸⁶⁶

This court case allows for the distinct possibility that difference was not always completely apparent. In addition to the specific court cases, there are other examples of people remaining in Granada after 1571 and in the peninsula after 1609-14. One such case was that of Juan de Albotodo, a Jesuit descendant of a Muslim, and the subject of several documents from 1573 and 1579.⁸⁶⁷ The documents speak of a bequest to the Society of Jesus, but of further interest here is that de Albotodo had remained in Granada after the internal displacement of 1571. As noted before, those who achieved *old-Christian* status, by marriage or proved that their conversion was before the general conversion, may have been able to remain.⁸⁶⁸

[T]here were important exceptions, born of rank and privilege...[or] former Muslims who could prove that they had converted to Christianity before the generalized forced baptisms could claim the status of Old Christians. These were important exceptions to any racist genealogy used against converts.⁸⁶⁹

As Trevor J. Dadson posits, there were also those who remained behind because other Christians safeguarded them.⁸⁷⁰ There were those who assimilated, culturally and religiously, and were indistinguishable from other Christians (Castilians), and for those reasons were not narrated and were invisible. These are challenges to historians who have bought into the discourses of the “Black Legend” and the constructed official discourse of “essentializing or racist accounts of Morisco difference.”⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁶ María Elena Martínez, “Language, Genealogy, and Classification,” 30, 33: writes about legislations regarding caste in the case of México (footnote 771, 772). In the Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish) documents there is a long document from 1557 referring to a “morisco” (Francisco el Partal) claiming the privilege to carry arms because of his “old-Christian” status, which ultimately hinges on a family lineage that was baptized prior to 1501. See Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish) Document 5 and Holland Document XXII (see pages 569-ff., 313-ff., respectively). The final resolution of the case in favor of Francisco el Partal was in August of 1558, it may be asked whether he would have been successful ten years later.

⁸⁶⁷ See Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), Appendices 8 and 9, 215-222.

⁸⁶⁸ See Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 128.

⁸⁶⁹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 127-28.

⁸⁷⁰ Trevor J. Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence*, 105, Ch. 8: esp. 171, 178.

⁸⁷¹ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 138.

Although the expulsions were real and affected many lives, the idea of a complete expulsion of all baptized descendants of Muslims is more of a construct than a reality. Some of those who remained were erased in the official historical record and therefore by historians who have not noticed their existence. Whereas Rodrigo de Zayas calls the expulsion genocide, implying the systematic and complete success, Trevor J. Dadson goes as far as to argue that “it may well be the case that the only part of the country where the expulsion was at all successful was Valencia.”⁸⁷² Given that Rodrigo de Zayas’ work relies on Valencian documents, both positions may be true (only for Valencia). This gives credence to the idea that the “*morisco problem*” was not a peninsular problem but primarily a Valencian problem, which historians have incorrectly homogenized through *metonymy*.

Rodrigo de Zayas’ Document XLV was concerned with the impact the decree of expulsion for Andalusia, the Kingdom of Granada, and Murcia would have

on the descendants of Moriscos who had been baptized prior to the general repression and who were not participants in the first rebellion of the Alpujarras.⁸⁷³

This is important because their baptism predated both rebellions in Granada (1499-1501 and 1568-1570). *Beatas* and others who had a vow of celibacy or chastity were also exempt from the expulsions.⁸⁷⁴ The fact that there was concern about *moriscos* in the Kingdom of Granada reminds the reader that not all were expelled in 1571, as was seen in the case of Juan de Albotodo. Furthermore, not only had such people converted at the right time, meaning that there was no possibility that their baptism was forced/decreed, they had assimilated into the broader *old-Christian* habits: “they are considered as old Christians in terms of their language, their costume and their religious practices...”⁸⁷⁵ In

⁸⁷² Trevor J. Dadson, “Official Rhetoric,” 23.

⁸⁷³ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 580-581: “au sujet des descendants des Morisques qui s’étaient convertis de leur propre chef avant la répression générale, et qui ne participèrent pas à la Rébellion du Royaume de Grenade.”

⁸⁷⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish) *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 541: “Y así mismo algunas Beatas y personas que dicen tener hecho voto de castidad.”

⁸⁷⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 580-581: “En particulier, au sujet de ceux qui sont considérés comme des vieux-Chrétiens de par leur langue, leurs costumes et leurs pratiques religieuses; ceux qui se confessant, communient, commémorent les anniversaires et autres souvenirs pieux; ceux que se sont mêlés aux vieux-Chrétiens et se sont détournés de ceux du Royaume de Grenade, et ces autres qui affirment qu’ils ont servi dans (la champagne contre) la Rébellion dudit Royaume.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 541: “En particular, de los que se an tratado como Christianos viejos en la lengua, en el ábito y en los actos de Religión; confessando, y comulgando, dexando aniversarios y otras memorias pías, y

this task, the onus on determining whether they would be expelled or not fell to the bishops. Philip charged the bishops in the following manner:

I have resolved that the Moriscos of this kind not be expelled, who the Bishops deem to be good and faithful Christians, and who had lived as such without ever keeping to the food, beverage, nor any other rite of the sect of Muhammad.⁸⁷⁶

At the risk of using the experience of one small sliver of the community of descendants of Muslim converts to say something about the whole, it is noted that there was a minority of this community that tried to elevate itself above suspicion. The main argument they used was that their conversion occurred before the forced conversions and that this could and should overcome any perception of their *otherness*.

To briefly summarize the analysis thus far: the Granadan documents show a preference for the phrases “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” to refer to the baptized Granadans, descendants of Muslims. There were various uses of the term “*morisco*” in the documents; the nominative use of the term “*morisco*” increased after the second rebellion of the Alpujarras, and outside of Granada (particularly Valencia), mostly within the context of the *morisco affair*. Therefore, the process of (re)construction of these communities as a community of religiously *other* was identified. Yet, historians prefer to use the term “*morisco*” regardless of the location or time-frame as a homogenizing term (*metonymy*) for the whole community, even though not all were *moriscos*. This retroactive use of the term is at best a post-expulsion lens and *de facto* perpetuates the (re)construction of this community as indelibly and always *other*, meaning *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

4.2 Application of the approach

In the previous section, several examples emerged that show the disconnection between the primary texts’ “*morisco*” and the historians’ “*morisco*.” It has been posited that this matters because the primary texts’ “*morisco*” was part of a process of *othering* of communities of Christians to justify their ultimate discursive excising through expulsions;

que se an mezclado con Christianos viejos y apartándose de los del Reyno de Granada, y otros, los quales alegan que sirvieron en la Rebelión del dicho Reyno.” See footnote 818.

⁸⁷⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish) *Archivo Holland*, Document XLV, 541: “E resuelto que no se expelen los Moriscos de este género que los Obispos aprobaren ser buenos y fieles Christianos, y aver vivido como tales sin aver guardado en la comida, y bebida, ni en ninguna otra cosa ningún rito de la secta de Mahoma.”

that is, of groups constructed as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. This section is a more in-depth presentation of this disconnect. It presents two books from which primary documents were analyzed and presented in Chapter 3: the Spanish edition of Rodrigo de Zayas' *Los moriscos y el racismo de estado: Creación, persecución y deportación (1499-1612)* and Antonio Garrido Aranda's *Moriscos e Indios*.

Rodrigo de Zayas

Rodrigo de Zayas' *Moriscos y el racismo de estado* includes 64 primary documents (48 from the *Archivo Holland* and 16 from the *Biblioteca Zayas*).⁸⁷⁷ In Section 3.3 there was an introduction to these primary documents. That introduction supported the conclusion that "*morisco*" was a term better suited for after 1571 and outside of Granada, although it was a term still in transition. The following is an analysis of the language found in the documents and the language that de Zayas uses to describe the community of baptized descendants of Muslims.

The title of the book, which, like many others, sets up the idea that the subject matter was a specific, identifiable, discrete community, and subject of study. Furthermore, it starts from the position that *moriscos* were different and in this case considered *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, which is further reinforced by the idea of the "racism of the state" in the title. Rodrigo de Zayas is not egregious in his use of the term "*morisco*" as a homogenizing term; thus, serving as an illustration of the paradigm posited in this project—the opportunities missed for understanding further these communities and texts. This is not to question his conclusions, but to show how the conclusions can be strengthened or challenged based on the use of specific terminology.

Rodrigo de Zayas analyzes the term "*morisco*" to understand these communities as constructed as a community of racially *other*, similar to the stance taken here. The issue here is not whether these communities suffered prejudice, but whether these communities can be studied as Christian communities, and whether there was something relevant in the timing of when these communities came to be called "*moriscos*." And it is precisely in this realm that de Zayas is less clear in his presentation and is limited by using the term

⁸⁷⁷ See footnote 790 comparing the French and Spanish editions of this book.

“*morisco*.” In a sense de Zayas can only see these communities as indeed having been solely *other*.

For example, in his Introduction, Rodrigo de Zayas “names” as “baptized moriscos”⁸⁷⁸ the community that was ultimately deported—a phrase not found in the texts. Later, building on an argument for racism as the appropriate hermeneutical lens through which to study the sixteenth century, de Zayas conflates the possible racial *othering* of these communities with the religious *othering* that was also occurring:

we ought to ask ourselves with all seriousness...if the institutional racism is not purely and simply an old product of our Christian culture. The Jewish and Muslim victims of the Inquisition, the lay laws based on the purity of blood statutes (of religious origin) and the massive deportation of Spaniards of the Jewish and Muslim religions militate in favor of said interpretation.⁸⁷⁹

Although Rodrigo de Zayas’ analysis gets at something important regarding the communities, it misses the nuance because of its lack of clarity regarding the distinctions between the various communities. This is an example of the various communities being distinguished by the *tri/bipartite* matrix; and this matrix not being the right paradigm for the various groups that were “victims of the Inquisition” and deported. After baptism, there were no longer three (religious) communities; there were, in fact, fewer religions, and more communities were constructed—this to prevent movement of some from these communities to *old* Christian ones. Whereas baptism should have led to the reduction of the number of religious categories, instead there was a proliferation of religious categories to close off to these communities the possibility of being truly “Christian.” Furthermore, Jews and Muslims officially could not be “victims of the Inquisition”; only baptized descendants of Jews or Muslims could be.⁸⁸⁰ Although Jews were indeed deported in 1492, and Muslims who did not seek baptism were exiled between 1501 and the late 1520s; Christians were deported in 1609-1614, as noted by Trevor J. Dadson.⁸⁸¹

⁸⁷⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 31 “moriscos bautizados.” This phrase is as problematic as Barbara Fuchs’ “Christian Moors”: *Exotic Nation*, 3 (see footnote 849).

⁸⁷⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 46: “...deberíamos preguntarnos con toda seriedad...si el racismo institucional no es pura y sencillamente un viejo producto de nuestra cultura Cristiana. Las víctimas judías y musulmanes de la Inquisición, las leyes laicas basadas en los estatutos de limpieza (de origen religioso) y las deportaciones masivas de españoles de religión judía y musulmana militan a favor de esa interpretación.”

⁸⁸⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 102, notes that baptism was what made this community fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

⁸⁸¹ See pages 273, footnote 833.

Rodrigo de Zayas notices that something was changing in the treatment of these communities as the sixteenth century progressed; yet, the reliance on the term “*morisco*” obfuscates the discursive processes of *othering*. As key changes in this century, de Zayas notes, as Barbara Fuchs does as well, both a process of *Spain’s* self-definition as a nation and the inability of these communities to truly become Christians.

In this context, the Spanish Inquisition officially adopted the fundamental concept for the future of the moriscos and the racism of the State: that of the “nation.” That concept goes beyond the realm of the religious in order to increasingly enter the realm of lineage, not in the familial sense but the communal sense of the word. In that collective concept fit Moors, heretics from the Moors, apostates and *also* new Christians fully or partially assimilated to the orthodox norms of Spanish Catholicism. Between 1542 and 1609 something new is born, starting from the premise by which the morisco, through the mere fact of being morisco, *cannot* be a Christian of good faith.⁸⁸²

The above statement is factual in many ways. The Spanish Inquisition served as a mechanism of control of communities that were increasingly being *othered*.⁸⁸³ Furthermore, as is shown below, and as noted by Fuchs, this *othering* was part of the development of a *Spanish* national and imperial identity.⁸⁸⁴ There is agreement here that the referential term of “*nation*” also increased as the sixteenth century progressed. Finally, the understanding that the *othering* of these communities, no matter what their actual reality was, prevented them from becoming *Christian* and *Spanish*. Yet, these processes were not completed in one moment; there was a progression, and part of that progression was discursive and emphasized the difference between the terms/phrases “*moros*,” “*new Christians*,” and “*moriscos*.” Again *moros* were not subject to the Inquisition, nor could *moros herejes* be; only the apostates and *new Christians* in this list were.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁸² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 70: “En ese contexto, la Inquisición española adoptó oficialmente un concepto fundamentas para el porvenir de los moriscos y del racismo de Estado: el de ‘nación’. Ese concepto sobrepasa el ámbito de lo religioso para adentrarse cada vez más en el de linaje, no en el sentido familiar sino comunitario de la palabra. En ese concepto colectivo caben moros, herejes de moros, apostatas y *también* cristianos nuevos enteramente y parcialmente asimilados a las normas ortodoxas del catolicismo español. Entre 1542 y 1609 nace algo nuevo, partiendo del principio según el cual el morisco, por el mero hecho de ser morisco, *no puede* ser cristiano de buena fe.”

⁸⁸³ Purity of blood statutes were also a mechanism of control.

⁸⁸⁴ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 138.

⁸⁸⁵ This is interesting since elsewhere de Rodrigo de Zayas is careful to note what falls within the purview of the Inquisition. See footnote 880.

There are other terminology issues in Rodrigo de Zayas' book. De Zayas, still relying on the term "*morisco*," refers to the communities as a "morisco minority,"⁸⁸⁶ "a morisco community," and the "morisco population."⁸⁸⁷ In his Chapter 2, "The creation of the moriscos: the created ones," de Zayas acknowledges that these communities were referred to as "new Christians" in opposition to what they were indeed not, namely "old Christians."⁸⁸⁸ He therefore argues that there was a process by which this community was created as a "morisco community." Yet, as shown here, the different terms or phrases actually matter.

For Rodrigo de Zayas the first step in creating the "morisco community" was baptism and thus changing status from *mudéjar* to *morisco*. Yet, as noted before, even with difficulties with the term "*mudéjar*," baptism did not immediately change *mudéjares* into *moriscos*; before arriving at the term "*morisco*" there were intermediate constructions of members of these communities as "*new Christians*" or "*newly converted*," as was the case with Jews a century earlier. De Zayas writes, "the Granadan mudéjares were being converted into *moriscos*. This phenomenon was entirely new and due to the forced baptisms."⁸⁸⁹ Given the analysis of the Granadan documents, as well as the de Zayas documents, not only is the use of the term "*morisco*" problematic in this case, so too is the use of the term "*mudéjar*" (albeit ameliorated by the addition of Granadan).

Rodrigo de Zayas' insistence on using the term "*morisco*," as a handle of sorts, continues to happen even though he recognizes that this was not the term used, or at least not in the sense that he is using it. De Zayas argues that Archbishop Jimenez de

⁸⁸⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 76-77: "...trato bastante análogo al de la minoría morisca en España..."; "...la *eliminación física* de la minoría morisca..."; and, "Ante la resistencia pasiva—y a veces activa—de la minoría morisca..."

⁸⁸⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 78. "En la represión ejercida contra la comunidad morisca..."; "...los procesos inquisitoriales no alcanzaban al grueso de la población morisca..."

⁸⁸⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 85. "¿Quiénes fueron los moriscos? De entrada, sabemos los que no fueron: cristianos viejos. Se les llamaba 'cristianos nuevos.'" The French and Spanish editions of de Zayas' work differ in their narrative sections (non-primary documents). The Spanish version is shorter and updated. Sections of Ch. 2 in Spanish may be found in Rodrigo de Zayas (French) Ch. 8:194: "La 'question morisque'." The line included above appears this way in the French edition: "...qui sont les Morisques? Nous avons déjà une idée de ce qu'ils sont; les vieux-chrétiens espagnols savent ou croient savoir ce qu'ils ne sont pas, c'est-à-dire des chrétiens."

⁸⁸⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 91: "Mientras tanto, los mudéjares granadinos se estaban convirtiendo en *moriscos*. Ese fenómeno era algo enteramente nuevo y debido a los bautizos forzosos impuestos por Cisneros."

Cisneros begun the construction of this community as *moriscos*, yet in the footnote clarifies that this was not the way the term was used. De Zayas writes,

The direct creator could almost be said the inventor of the *moriscos*—as would from then would be called the ‘new Christians’^{FN}—is perfectly identified: fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros.

In his own footnote 93 states: “In that moment debuts a new *sense* of the word ‘morisco’ but the word itself does not appear, for example...as a synonym of ‘Moor.’”⁸⁹⁰ De Zayas correctly notes the cultural challenges experienced by the Granadans and other Muslims that had to be baptized. It is a colonial process, as he points out. Yet, it is not the “*new Christian*” that should be in quotations, but the “*morisco*” instead.

There are other examples of his problematic use of the term “*morisco*,” which show how Rodrigo de Zayas missed opportunities to notice the nuanced changes in the use and meaning of language. At times de Zayas conflates *morisco* with Muslim, which has an *a priori* stance on the Christianity or not of this community. De Zayas is inconsistent even in presenting the logic of the Crown, that “if moriscos were Christian, and they were in virtue of their baptism, they ought to behave as such and without delay;”⁸⁹¹ in contrast to the logic of the *new Christians*, whom he describes as “heirs to a great and powerful independent civilization, their own: al-Andalus.”⁸⁹² This (over)states the difference between the two communities and does not allow for a shared *habitus* between them. The way de Zayas used the term “*morisco*” in the above quotation is as a deficient Christian (*suspect*), not an outright Muslim.

⁸⁹⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 94: “El creador directo, casi se podría decir el inventor de los *moriscos*—como a partir de entonces se llamaría a los ‘cristianos nuevos’⁹³—queda pues perfectamente identificado: fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros.” FN93 reads, “En ese momento se estrena un nuevo *sentido* de la palabra ‘*morisco*’ pero no la palabra en sí aparece, por ejemplo en la obra de Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch* (siglo XV), como sinónima de ‘moro.’” Earlier on p. 31 Rodrigo de Zayas is clear that “moro” means “Muslim.” “2º La sanción papal otorgada a los estatutos generales de limpieza de sangre, fechada en mayo de 1548. Desde entonces, hubo necesidad *legal* de demostrar la ausencia de antepasados judíos o *moros* (es decir musulmanes), para acceder a ciertos privilegios.... 3º La real decisión del 4 de agosto de 1609 de deportar masivamente a los moriscos, que éstos fueran o no cristianos bautizados y practicantes. Consta que en la mayoría de los casos, los *moriscos* eran considerados culpables de tener sangre contaminada por sus antepasados *moros*; ‘moro’ significando, lo sabemos, ‘musulmán’ en general.” Here Rodrigo de Zayas is very clear that *morisco* and *moro* did not have the same definitions.

⁸⁹¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 100: “Ello no quiere decir que las pragmáticas de Juana la Loca y de Carlos I carecieran de cierta lógica; efectivamente, si los moriscos eran cristianos, y lo eran en virtud del bautizo, debían comportarse como tales y sin más demoras.”

⁸⁹² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 100: “En un principio también, el punto de vista de los moriscos era igual de lógico: generalmente, se sentían herederos de una gran y potente civilización independiente, la suya propia: Al Ándalus...”

A few pages later and referring to the decree of conversion or exile for Valencia, Aragón and Cataluña, Rodrigo de Zayas uses the term “*morisco*” as fully equated to “*Moor*” (as Muslim):

25 November [1525], a general decree of expulsion of the moriscos was signed by the king. All those from Valencia would have to abandon the kingdom by 31 December and those of Aragón and of Cataluña before 31 January 1526. ... The effect was immediate: dozens of thousands of moriscos requested baptism...⁸⁹³

In this text, he incorrectly conflates *morisco* with Muslim when in fact the language would have been either “*Moors*” or “*Mudéjares*.” This is despite recognizing that baptism meant the abrogation of the status of *mudéjar*.⁸⁹⁴

Having noted some of the inconsistent uses of terminology in the narrative analysis of Rodrigo de Zayas’ book, in the next few pages there is a presentation of the language actually found in the primary texts. As was the case with the expulsion-related documents, when compared to the Granadan documents the collections in de Zayas’ book include a greater number of terms and phrases used to name this community or describe the customs of the community than just “*morisco*.” Whereas in the Granadan documents the phrases “*newly converted*” and “*new Christian*” dominated and began to shift toward “*morisco*,” in de Zayas’ other terms and phrases can be found, such as, “*gente*,” “*nación*,” and “*nuevos convertidos*” (rather than “*nuevamente*”). The following table presents the tallies for the terms “*morisco*,” “*gente*,” and “*nación*,” as well as other phrases which include the “*new*” or “*newly*” combinations.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹³ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 104: “El 25 de noviembre, un decreto general de expulsión de los moriscos fue firmado por el rey. Todos los de Valencia debían abandonar el reino antes del 31 de diciembre, y los de Aragón y de Cataluña antes del 31 de enero de 1526. Otro edicto fue promulgado, dándoles a los moriscos hasta el 8 de diciembre para hacerse bautizar y demostrar ser buenos cristianos. La contradicción entre esos dos edictos es evidente y demuestra que la finalidad era presionar a los moriscos para que se convirtieran de una vez por todas o paguen más. El efecto fue inmediato: decenas de miles de moriscos solicitaron el bautizo...”

⁸⁹⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), 104: “Las medidas tomadas por Carlos I tuvieron serias consecuencias. En primer lugar, el estatuto de ‘mudéjar’ quedó definitivamente abolido.”

⁸⁹⁵ The total at the end is for the last part of the table (below the gray).

Table 4.1: Archivo Holland y Biblioteca Zayas

Term/ Phrase	No. of times
<i>Morisco</i>	TOTAL 248
<i>Moros/ Moors</i>	TOTAL 99
<i>Gente/ people</i>	TOTAL 36
<i>Nación/ Nation</i>	TOTAL 24
<i>nuevos convertidos/ new converts</i>	70
<i> cristianos nuevos/ nuevos cristianos</i> new Christians	38
<i>nuevamente convertidos/ newly converted</i>	20
<i> cristianos nuevos moriscos</i> ⁸⁹⁶ new <i>morisco</i> Christians	5
<i> cristianos nuevos de los nuevamente convertidos de moros</i> new Christians of the newly converted of the Moors	3
<i> convertidos de moro/ converted of the Moor(s)</i> ⁸⁹⁷	2
<i> moriscos nuevos convertidos</i> newly converted <i>moriscos</i>	1
<i> moros bautizados/ baptized Moors</i> ⁸⁹⁸	1
<i> cristianos nuevos convertidos</i> new converted Christians	1
<i> moriscos cristianos nuevos</i> ⁸⁹⁹ <i>morisco</i> new Christians	1
<i> moriscos convertidos/ converted moriscos</i>	1
TOTAL	143

⁸⁹⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLVII (4) and Document XLVIII (1).

⁸⁹⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL (2).

⁸⁹⁸ Not “moriscos bautizados.”

⁸⁹⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLIV.

The term “*morisco*” is the leading term found in the documents from Rodrigo de Zayas’ book (248 instances versus 203—without *moro*—for all other terms or phrases as seen above). Yet, based on the conclusions in Chapter 3, although the term “*morisco*” was taking a predominant place, it was not yet as overwhelming as “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” were in the other direction. Put differently, there was still flexibility or possibility for transition in the terminology and the shift toward *morisco* had not yet been completed. Whereas the ratio was one “*morisco*” for every 4.7 or 6.7 instances of “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” as described earlier, here the ratio is one “*morisco*” for every 0.8 instances of other terms or phrases.⁹⁰⁰

This is a place where the approach devised and implemented here becomes helpful in finding more areas of discursive construction of particular communities as *other* or other areas of inquiry into these communities. If the assumption was that everything in these documents referred to a homogenous community of *non*-Christians and *non*-Spanish, the 203 references to the community that were different from “*morisco*” would go unnoticed, or become unimportant, or reinforce a “reality” of difference. Yet, by looking for *all* the ways in which this community was referred to, the processes of *othering* are unearthed, and can be placed into the wider context of some other historical shifts that were occurring in the sixteenth century. Attention to the terminology may, in fact, support and strengthen some of the arguments made by Rodrigo de Zayas and others, or challenge them.

An example on how attention to the terminology allows for new insight has to do with the terms “*nación*” and “*gente*.” It has been asserted that the excision of a communities of Christians from the peninsula in 1609-14 was justified in part by excluding these communities from the emerging (constructed) idea of *Spanish*-national and -imperial identities. The broader context historians mention is that this fits in with the early modern rise of nation-states as well as empires. Until the conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada it is difficult to begin to think of *Spain* as a nation; especially since the various interests of the different kingdoms did not always work in consort with one another. It was perhaps the emerging empire which did more to delineate the nation in the discourse of other nations than did the internal reality of the peninsula, as discussed earlier with respect to the discourses of the “Black Legend.”

⁹⁰⁰ See footnote 657 (page 202).

Most of the documents analyzed generally refer to the various kingdoms by name: Granada, Valencia, Castilla, and so forth. This is perhaps more evident because these documents do not have to be self-referential in terms of “nationhood” since there are no other nations to be differentiated from. Therefore, given this context the fact that the baptized descendants of Muslims were named a “*nación*” or a “*gente*” becomes relevant: an *other* nation within: what so far has been called *alien*. Furthermore, in the *Archivo Holland* there is increasing mention and awareness of the idea of “*España*” and how this community did not fit into that idea or was a threat to it, not just because they were *non-Christian*, but also because they were *non-Spanish*. With the increased use of the terms “*nación*” and “*gente*,” by association the term “*morisco*” increasingly gained both an ethnic and religious *othering*.

Given the earlier chronology of the Granadan documents, the term “*nación*” only appears five times, and two of these in the context of “*cristianos de nación*” (Christians by birth; a different usage).⁹⁰¹ Yet in the *Archivo Holland* there are 24 instances of the term “*nación*” and 36 instances of the community being called “*gente*.”⁹⁰² All of the terms, not just “*morisco*,” contributed to the construction of these communities as *other* and created a greater distance between these communities and the “*Christian*” and the “*Spanish*” ones. The *othering* of these communities was part of the defining of the *self* as *España* (Spain).⁹⁰³ In mentioning *Spain*, usually in relation to the dual salvation of *those* people and Spain,⁹⁰⁴ the impetus for the success of the full conversion of these communities was the idea that *Spain* was being punished for their infidelity,⁹⁰⁵ as well as the idea that they had succeeded in converting in the past.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰¹ See Documents 32.5, 32.9, 44.16, 64.18, 76.1.

⁹⁰² For “*nación*” see Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XXXV (1), XXXIX (13), XL (7), XLII (3); for “*gente*” see Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XIII (2), XXXIII (1), XXXVI (1), XXXVIII (1), XXXIX (5), XL (15), XLI (4), XLII (3), XLIII (4).

⁹⁰³ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XIII (1), XIX (1), XXXIX (1), XL (6), XLII (1), XLIII (5); total of 15 instances.

⁹⁰⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIII (1), 279: “El Señor provea todo de la manera que la salvación desta desdichada gente y seguridad de Spaña lo ha menester.”

⁹⁰⁵ See Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XIX (1), XL (1), XLIII.

⁹⁰⁶ Such as the first conversion of Spain by St. James and the first successful conversions of former Muslims. See Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLIII: 514, 519, 528.

There is a curious phrase which includes both “*morisco*” and “*España:*” “*moriscos de España*”⁹⁰⁷ and occurs seven times in four documents. Here two meanings may be proposed: first, a sense of ownership of this “unique” community or problem (since in Valencia it is the “*morisco problem*”) within the emerging *national* consciousness, while keeping the communities distinct within its borders (an *alien* within). Second, this may be an example of the beginning of a full (re)association of *morisco* with *moro*, both in the religious sense (Muslim, as was used in *Spain*) and in the ethnic sense (*Maurus* from Mauretania, from Roman times), which may be correlated with the increased trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan *African* slave trade.⁹⁰⁸ As mentioned before with regards to the *Sistema de Castas*, as it ethnically or racially relates to “*Moor*” the term “*morisco*” had both connotations, and eventually lost some of its religious connotations.

If the progression of terminology is taken seriously, there is the possibility for other phrases or terms to coexist and be studied. For example, in the Granadan documents the phrases “*newly converted*” and “*new Christian*” transition toward “*morisco.*” Another difference in the Rodrigo de Zayas’ documents was an additional subtle language shift from the adjectival “*nuevamente convertidos*” (“*newly converted*”) to the nominative “*nuevos convertidos*” (“the *newly converted*”), which is not easily differentiated in English. In the *Archivo Holland* there are four documents that use “*nuevamente convertidos,*” as well as one document in the *Biblioteca Zayas*, for a total of 20 instances of the phrase.⁹⁰⁹ Seventeen of the instances occur prior to 1557 and the other three instances after 1600. Similarly, there are 14 documents in the *Archivo Holland* which together include 70 instances of the phrase “*nuevos convertidos.*”⁹¹⁰ All of these occurrences were after 1582 and 19 of them are from Document XL from 1604-09. This seems to be both a halting of the progress toward “*morisco*” and toward “*old Christian.*”

This phraseology shift loses its nuance when translated into English, because the tendency would be to equally translate “*nuevamente*” and “*nuevos*” as “*newly*” because of

⁹⁰⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XIX (1), XX (1), XXXIII (1), XXXIX (4). Document XXXIX, 388, a similar instance: “other similar freedoms that the moriscos in Spain have had...” (“*otras semejantes libertades que los moriscos en España an tenido...*”)

⁹⁰⁸ See footnote 9.

⁹⁰⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document I (13), II (1), XL (2), XLI (1); Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Biblioteca Zayas*, Document 5 (3).

⁹¹⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XVI (1), XVII (1), XXIV (2), XXVII (2), XXVIII (1), XXIX (2), XXX (3), XXXI (6), XXXII (5), XXXIII (10), XXXVI (9), XXXVII (6), XXXVIII (3), XL (19).

the past participle “*convertidos*.” The shift identified is one going from a temporal sense of “*new*” or “*newly*” which presumably were transitional terms, meaning that eventually their conversion would not be deemed recent, to a nominative term as part of a new category of converts and Christians, those that were “*new*” regardless of how many generations they had been Christians, and could not reach “time immemorial”: now a static and non-transitional term. This is similar to what has been noted regarding the *Sistema de Castas* across the Atlantic where the theoretical progression toward *white* after three or four generations was continually retarded, especially for those having any *African* ancestry.⁹¹¹ Both of these are examples of the proliferation of categories that helped to make religious *otherness* indelible: a racist turn.

Use of Moor and Reverting to Moor (as related to the colonial body)

Eight documents of the *Archivo Holland* use the term “*moro*” (60 instances.)⁹¹² This is also the case for 10 of the documents in the *Biblioteca Zayas* (39 instances.)⁹¹³ As with the Granadan documents, in these documents the use of “*moro*” was primarily equated to “Muslim,” such as the religion prior to baptism.⁹¹⁴ Other instances appear to have to do with the *newly* converted living like *moros*⁹¹⁵ or doing things like *moros*—“like” but not “equal to.” The usages are very similar to those of the Granadan documents. Document XL has a curious phrase, not found elsewhere, of “*moros bautizados*.”⁹¹⁶

In the *Biblioteca Zayas*, 20 instances of the term “*moro*” in the first five documents can all be equated to “*Muslim*.” Yet, in Documents 8 and 9 from 1705 and c.1600 respectively there is confusion or conflation of the term “*moro*” with “*morisco*.” Both documents were referring to events in Granada around the second rebellion of the Alpujarras. Document 8 tells of the number of “*moros*” that were to go from the Albaicín to

⁹¹¹ See footnotes 779, 785.

⁹¹² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents I (10), XIII (5), XIV (1), XV (3), XVIII (3), XXXIII (2), XXXIX (4), XL (24), XLII (8).

⁹¹³ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Biblioteca Zayas*, Documents 1 (3), 2 (3), 3 (9), 4 (4), 5 (1), 8 (12), 9 (4), 10 (1), 14 (1), 15 (1).

⁹¹⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 435: see examples such as “after the Moors were baptized.”

⁹¹⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document I, has six mentions of the newly converted living like *moros* after baptism.

⁹¹⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XL (2), 435 and 436.

incite the rebellion: “quinientos Moros sueltos,” “dos mil moros de las Alpujarras,” “los quinientos Moros,” “los Moros del Albaizim,” “tres mil moros,” “quinientos moros,” “el número de Moros,” “dos mil moros,” and two other references to single “moros.”⁹¹⁷

Whereas the uprising and rebellion was of baptized Granadans, by the time this document surfaces (1705) they were no longer *moriscos*, but fully *moros*.

In Document 8 there were also four instances of the term “*morisco*”: “levantamiento de los Moriscos” (uprising of the Moriscos), “dieron señal los Moriscos de su dañada intención” (the Moriscos signaled their bad intention), “moriscos aljamiados,” and “Morisco principal” (Morisco leader). The phrase “moriscos aljamiados” is important here because it refers to *moriscos* who could speak Castilian Spanish and could trick the *crístianos* (perhaps by passing—another example of visible difference being constructed).⁹¹⁸

Second, *Biblioteca Zayas* Document 9 was written by Luis del Mármol Carvajal (c.1600) although it references the time of the second rebellion of the Alpujarras. The document referred to a rivalry between two groups: those of the albaicin were *moros* and the others were *moriscos*. As was mentioned earlier, in the Granadan documents, it seems that at times the term “*morisco*” was used to refer to only part of the communities; here, it seems that the community was *morisco* and that the part that rebelled were the *moros*. This may be a significant shift in language, reverting to “*moros*” from “*moriscos*.”

In the apologetic literature of the expulsion there were some instances where the *morisco* made a full transition back to *moro*. No longer was the *morisco* or *new* Christian behaving like a *moro*—they actually were *moros*. Put differently, in texts, *moriscos* were made back into *moros* so that the expulsion could be the final victory of the Reconquista; the expulsion was “the end of Spain’s subjugation to Muslim tyranny,”⁹¹⁹ however absurd that may have been given that the communities’ descendants of Muslims were colonized communities. For example, as Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón notes, Philip’s legacy was the expulsion of this Christian community as the culmination of the Reconquista and as a triumph of the *gothic* in the Spanish:

⁹¹⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Biblioteca Zayas*, Document 8, 591-594.

⁹¹⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Biblioteca Zayas*, Document 8, 592. Like *ladinos* elsewhere. This is different from a *morisco* who knows the Arabic language in Castilian characters (aljamiado) as seen in Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIII, 271 and 271 n.269.

⁹¹⁹ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity,” 109.

cantando en diferente romance, hazían relación de como su Magestad, siendo otro Pelayo, con esta expulsión restauró de los moros segunda vez a España.⁹²⁰

Moriego and Morisma⁹²¹

In addition to the use of the term “*morisco*” in the *Archivo Holland* and the *Biblioteca Zayas*, other cognates are also used in the texts. In particular, there are seven examples of the use of the terms “*moriego*” and “*morisma*” found in three documents.⁹²² In *Archivo Holland* Document XXXIII, from 1598, the language and costume of the community was referred to as “lengua y trage moriego.”⁹²³ Clearly the use here was the same as the descriptive (and less problematic) use of the term “*morisco*.” Similarly, in Document XXXVII, from 1600, the use of the term “*moriego*” was in the descriptive phrase “vestido moriego.”⁹²⁴

The term “*morisma*” had a different, and more negative, connotation. In Document XLII, from 1600, the term “*morisma*” referred specifically to the retention of *Muslimness* or put differently *religious Moorishness*. Both examples were followed by the expectation that changing external practices would lead them to be “Christians like other Christians.” Two of the occurrences read as follows:

It is also said that many of them know to read and write Arabic, something that helps them much in conserving their *Morisma*. A great thing it will without doubt be to remove any external signs of *moros*, and make them, since they are like us Christians in baptism, to understand that they ought to conform in everything else with the old Christians, in costume and dress, in speaking and writing, common foods, and everything that would be good and Christian customs.⁹²⁵

⁹²⁰ Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Rejection of Hybridity”, 109: “singing in various poetic forms, they described how His Majesty, like another Pelayo, with this expulsion restored Spain a second time.”

⁹²¹ See footnote 8.

⁹²² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Documents XXXIII, XXXVII, and XLII.

⁹²³ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XXXIII, 365.

⁹²⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XXXVII, 378 (3).

⁹²⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII, 496. “También dizen que muchos éstos saben leer y escriben [cinco letras tachadas] arábigo, cosa que mucho les ayuda a conservar en su *Morisma*. Grande cosa será sin duda quitarles toda la figura exterior de moros, y hazerles, que pues son como nosotros Christianos en el Bautismo, entiendan se han de conformar en todo lo demás con los Christianos viejos, en el vestido y trage, en el lenguaje y escritura, manjares comunes, y todo lo que fuere buenas y christianas costumbres.” (My translation and italics).

And because everything that is a barbarous custom and use helps much in keeping them in the fanaticism and memory of their false law, and on the contrary, habituating them to our Christian usage and political treatment, they will come to be domesticated and to forget their *morisma*. It will be convenient that the Lord Bishops exhort the leaders of these, since they are baptized and children of the holy Church that they conform to everything that is good and licit with the old Christians: dress, language, foods, and drink wine moderately, etc., and that they take pride in presenting themselves as Christians in everything...⁹²⁶

As discussed in relation to the *Archivo Holland* in Rodrigo de Zayas' work, these last terms ("*morisma*" and "*moriego*") co-exist in the same documents with other references to the community as "*moriscos*" or "*new Christians*." Although there are fewer of these additional descriptive terms than "*morisco*," it is important to note that there were alternate ways of describing the communities and their practices that the sole use of "*morisco*" would not indicate.

The language found in the Rodrigo de Zayas tome confirms the increased use of "*morisco*." Yet the language usage and meaning had not made the full transition to the eventual static meaning and usage, including historiographically. The preponderance of the term "*morisco*" is found in a multiplicity of terms and phrases. The very array of terminology discursively helped to justify the expulsions, and was part of the *othering* processes, because the one term the community would not be called was "*old Christian*" let alone "*Christian*"; similarly, it could not be *Spanish* as seen with the cementing of the communities as an *alien* nation within its borders.

Antonio Garrido Aranda

As has been noted, some of the primary documents analyzed in Chapter 3 are included in Antonio Garrido Aranda's book *Moriscos e Indios: Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización en México*, first published in 1980 with a second edition appearing in

⁹²⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII, 502: "Y porque todo lo que son Bárbaras usanças y costumbres ayuda mucho a conservarlos en la afición y memoria de su falsa ley, y por el contrario, habituándose a las usanças y trato político nuestro y Christiano, vendrán a domesticarse y olvidarse de su morisma. Convendrá que los Senyores obispos exorten a los principales déstos a que, pues son Bautizados y hijos de la Santa Yglesia, se conformen con todo los que es [palabra repetida] bueno y lícito con los Christianos viejos: trage, lenguaje, comeres y viandas, y beber" (My translation and italics). The third example, Document XLII, 497: "Pues porque no se començara desde luego y en vida de los vivos, se podría ver derecha esta morisma casi sin sentirse."

2013.⁹²⁷ The analysis of the primary texts is fully included in Chapter 3 and in Appendices 1 and 2.⁹²⁸ The purpose here is to contrast the terminology used in the primary texts with the terminology used in the analysis of the secondary texts. Since the primary texts refer to Granada, they primarily include the phrases “*newly converted*” or “*new Christian*” and not the term “*morisco*.”

As Antonio Garrido Aranda’s book title implies, he was attempting to compare the contemporaneous evangelization by the *Spanish* Church of communities on two sides of the Atlantic.⁹²⁹ In its aim at comparison the book is successful, especially in raising questions about the usefulness and limitations of the trans-Atlantic assessment. Garrido Aranda remains one of the few historians that has endeavored to make this particular trans-Atlantic appraisal, yet he has done so in the more typical east to west orientation.

Similar to Rodrigo de Zayas, Antonio Garrido Aranda’s analysis of the documents does not focus on or acknowledge the subtleties in the usage or prevalence of the phrases and term “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” and “*morisco*.” Therefore, by choosing “*morisco*” as the term to describe **the** community, which starts from a *de facto* lens of difference between *moriscos* and *Spaniards*—on the same plane of difference as *indios* (*Amerindians*) and *Spaniards*, or ethnic rather than religious difference—Garrido Aranda tacitly accepts, and erases, the processes of *othering* and construction of difference identified in the language analysis in Chapter 3.⁹³⁰ Put differently, based on the previous language analysis, the contrast of *moriscos* to *Amerindians* confuses religious, racial and ethnic categories (other steps in the meta-narrative proposed), a confusion or conflation which had not yet been completed in the sixteenth century and should not be assumed or taken for granted. The point here is that it was a discursive strategy of *otherness* to

⁹²⁷ Antonio Garrido Aranda. *Moriscos e Indios: Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización en México*, 2nd ed. (Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013.) See footnotes 9 and 626.

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⁹²⁹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 45: “Desde 1927 y merced a la aguda pluma de Leturia se conectó la estructura político-administrativa-eclesiástica de los nuevos territorios americanos con el precedente inmediato de la Iglesia en Granada.” [“From 1927 and as a result of the keen pen of Leturia the ecclesial-administrative structure of the new American territories was connected to its immediate precedent of the Church in Granada.”] To this Antonio Garrido Aranda adds the parallels in the evangelization project (see 51-53).

⁹³⁰ Louis Cardaillac’s book title *Moriscos y Cristianos: un enfrentamiento polémico*, definitely makes “*moriscos*” *other* from “*Christian*” even though it is also mixing religious and ethnic categories.

include in lists the racially *other* with those who were religiously *other* and that a distinction between the two had not always been made (or understood), or had not been completed.⁹³¹

As groups of people both *Amerindians* and the so-called *moriscos* were colonial subjects of imperial *Spain*. Yet the categories of “*indios*” and “*moriscos*” were not parallel to each other, either religiously, racially, or ethnically. Although both communities were evangelized contemporaneously, they were not *other* to *Spanish* or *old Christian* in the same ways. Even though the categories were not analogous, Antonio Garrido Aranda uses the phrase “*moriscos e indios*” in the analysis whenever referring to events or strategies (mostly to do with strategies of evangelization) that were applicable to both communities, or worthy of comparison or contrast.⁹³²

Antonio Garrido Aranda has numerous ways of referring to the Granadan Muslim community prior to the forced baptisms and to the Christian community descendant of Muslims, but he does so primarily using the terms “*moriscos*,” and sometimes “*mudéjares*,” “*neoconversos de moros*,” and “*minoría morisca*.”⁹³³ As is the case with previous examples, the descriptive use of the term “*morisco*” as Moorish is less problematic in Garrido Aranda’s book. The phrase “*neoconversos de moros*” is comparable to “*nuevamente convertidos de moros*” but technically was not a phrase used in the primary documents. Yet, whenever Garrido Aranda directly quotes a primary document, the correct phraseology is used as found in the documents.⁹³⁴ For example, he refers to a manual of instruction for the conversion of *Amerindians* and the proposed legislation to “restrict the movement and lodging for Moors, Jews, heretics and newly converted to the

⁹³¹ See footnotes 771, 772, 773, 787.

⁹³² Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 87: title of chapter “La educación de moriscos e indios como factor de integración cultural”; “dirigidos ambos a la asimilación de los respectivos elementos aborígenes: moriscos e indios”; “Además, la educación como conquista, ya hablemos de moriscos o de indios...”; “Las diferencias entre las comunidades morisca e india eran abismales, tanto por sus culturas como por sus relaciones con los vencedores castellanos.” (101); “dos catecismos dirigidos, respectivamente, a moriscos e indios” (148); “en los dos territorios estudiados, Granada e Indias” “Entre los recursos utilizados por los evangelizadores para dar a conocer los contenidos de la nueva fe que se pretendía inculcar a moriscos e indios están los catecismos” (164); “Entre moriscos e indios, la nueva religión era rechazada por la mayoría.” (166); “Estoy con y por los moriscos y los indios...” (184).

⁹³³ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013): *Morisco* – dozens of uses; *mudéjar* – 51, 68, 71, 124, 151, 152, 156, 157, 158, 162, 166; *neoconversos de moros*, 53, 81, 90, 107, 108, 111, 142, 170, variant *nuevos conversos*, 107; *minoría morisca* 93, 106, 111, 123, 125, 131, 143, 178.

⁹³⁴ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 124-126: six citations where he quotes the phrase “*nuevamente convertidos*.” See footnote below 937.

faith” and shows this to be the phraseology used in the quoted 1501 text.⁹³⁵ Yet later, in quoting and analyzing a travel restriction from 1522, which uses the phrase “newly converted of the Moors,” Garrido Aranda substitutes “*moriscos*.”

En 1522 el Emperador se refería, en su afán de controlar el paso de los viajeros, a los “nuevamente convertidos de moros”. Fue la primera vez que se nombró explícitamente a los moriscos, produciéndose un desplazamiento en las preocupaciones estatales sobre los judíos conversos.⁹³⁶

Continuing with examples of restrictions or anxieties around travelers, on the very next page Garrido Aranda includes three quotations that use the phrase “*nuevamente convertidos*.”⁹³⁷ In a new chapter included in the second edition, Garrido Aranda completes the conflation of “*nuevamente convertidos*” to *non-Christian* in speaking about Archbishop Cisneros’s “conversion” triumph:

Therefore, [Jimenez de] Cisneros acted as a leader of the ecclesial-political apparatus rooted in tradition and opposed to the lay conception of the Modern State; with that, the triumph of the old Christians over the newly converted (crypto-Jews and moriscos).

In parenthetically including “crypto-Jews and moriscos” as the definition of “*nuevamente convertidos*,” Garrido Aranda allows for only one expression or possibility of and for **the**

⁹³⁵ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 124: “legislación restrictiva del paso y estancia de moros, judíos, herejes y nuevamente convertidos a la fe.” In a quote from a primary document included in his text, he italicizes the phrase “*no consentiréis ni daréis lugar que allá vayan moros, ni judíos, ni herejes, ni reconciliados, ni personas nuevamente convertidas a nuestra fe, salvo si fuesen esclavos negros o otros esclavos negros que hallan nacido en poder de cristianos nuestros subditos y naturales.*” [do not consent to or allow for travel to moros, nor Jews, nor heretics, nor reconciled, nor persons newly converted to our Faith, except for black slaves or other black slaves that were born under the rule of Christians subject and natural to us.] (My translation.) In looking closely at this phrase it does not refer to white slaves because presumably these could pass undetected and fit any of the categories highlighted above.

⁹³⁶ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 124: [In 1522 the Emperor referred, in his zeal to control the movements of travelers, to the ‘*newly converted of the moors*.’ It was the first time that the *moriscos* were named explicitly, with the effect of a displacement of the state’s anxieties over the converso Jews. (My translation and emphasis.)

⁹³⁷ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 125: “no pudiesen pasar en estas partes hombres nuevamente convertidos...”; quotes “mandamos que ningún nuevamente convertido a nuestra santa fe de *moro* o de *judío*...” (Antonio Garrido Aranda’s emphasis); quotes “sepades que nos somos informados que a estas partes han pasado y cada día pasan algunos esclavos y esclavas berberiscas, e otras personas libres *nuevamente convertidos de moros*...” (Antonio Garrido Aranda’s emphasis). Earlier (p. 80) he includes a quotation about Martín Pérez de Ayala, Archbishop of Guadix and a manual on Christian doctrine “compuesta por Martín de Ayala para la instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos de este reino” [“Composed by Martín de Ayala for the instruction of the newly converted of this kingdom.” (My translation)]

community, as *non-Christian*.⁹³⁸ Both Garrido Aranda and Rodrigo de Zayas identify the creation of the *moriscos* as occurring at the hands of Archbishop Jimenez de Cisneros.⁹³⁹ Yet, the forced baptisms initially created *new Christians* and *newly converted* not *moriscos*. “*Morisco*” was not yet, even textually, *metonymy*.

Antonio Garrido Aranda’s overwhelming use of the term “*morisco*,” given the analysis in Chapter 3, comes into play when trying to understand the use of phrases such as “*minoría morisca*,” “*moriscos integrados*,” and “*moriscos encubiertos*.”⁹⁴⁰ In the last two examples, only one instance of each, *moriscos* could be integrated or hidden, yet integrated (assimilated or acculturated) to what or hidden from what? Similarly, the phrase “*minoría morisca*” can be interpreted in multiple ways: Moorish minority or minority of the *moriscos*. Does this mean that only part of the community of converts were indeed *moriscos*, or was the whole community a *Moorish minority* different from the *Spanish majority*? This illustrates the concern that one of the problems with using the term “*morisco*” before the expulsions, or for Granada, or for the whole community, is that it cannot account for those members of the communities that were not included in the written historical record, who were “passing” (who were not narrated) and for whom there was in many ways a greater sense of mistrust and anxiety for the rest of *Spanish* society; the very *Spanish* (Castilian) society that aimed to exclude them from the emerging constructed *Spanish* identity. As concluded before, “*morisco*” was not *metonymy*.

In a similar way, given the examples regarding the use of the term “*mudéjar*” found in Chapter 3, Antonio Garrido Aranda’s use of “*mudéjar*” is problematic. Although “*mudéjar*” is the general academic term for “Muslims living under Christian rule,” and Granadan Muslims (formerly Nasrids) lived under Christian rule for the better part of a decade, as seen in Chapter 3, from within Granada the term “*mudéjar*” was predominantly used to refer to Muslims under long-time Christian rule elsewhere, which long predated 1492. For Garrido Aranda, as for others, it is convenient to use “*mudéjar*” as a prior

⁹³⁸ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 152: “Por tanto, Cisneros actuó como un líder del aparato político-eclesiástico anclado en la tradición, opuesto a las concepciones laicas del Estado Moderno; con ello, el triunfo de los cristianos viejos sobre los nuevamente convertidos (criptojudíos y moriscos).”

⁹³⁹ See the paragraph related to footnote 890.

⁹⁴⁰ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013): “*Minoría morisca*,” 93, 106, 111, 123, 125, 131, 143, 178; “*moriscos integrados*,” 95; and “*moriscos encubiertos*,” 138.

counterpart to “*morisco*,” which is used after the forced baptisms.⁹⁴¹ The term “*mudéjar*” substitutes for Nasrid/Muslim/Moro after 1492.⁹⁴² Yet, there are occasions in which he uses the terms “*mudéjar*” and “*morisco*” interchangeably: “The *mudéjar* society was much less uniform. There were *moriscos* descendants of Africans, others from the north of Africa, from Aragon, etc.”⁹⁴³ The implication here is that “*mudéjar*” and “*morisco*” were synonymous; therefore *moriscos* were Muslims. Yet, the term “*mudéjar*” only appears six times in the primary texts included in the volume.⁹⁴⁴

Identifying a meta-process is a fraught historiographical endeavor, especially given the distance the theoretical approach can have from the lived lives of the persons and communities under study. Yet, in this project, a multiplicity of lenses has been used to elucidate some long-term processes that helped discursively to construct certain communities of Christians as *suspect* or *alien* (*non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*), in order to justify discursively the expulsions of Christians, descendants of Muslims from the peninsula in 1609-1614. In positing a series of steps for these processes the reinforced theory is that these processes were not fully completed in the peninsula or at the time of the expulsions, something identified by broadening the methodological lens geographically and chronologically, across the Atlantic, beyond 1609-14, and into historiography. In the sixteenth century the term “*morisco*” was not co-terminus with the phrases “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*,” nor a useful historiographical *metonymy*. The historical *morisco* and the historians’ eternal *morisco* are not the same. There remains, then, one more area where aspects of the processes of *othering* can also be discerned: the theological.

⁹⁴¹ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 124: (1526) “en el reino de Granada se realizaba una lenta pero efectiva asimilación que culminó en 1526 con la visita al territorio, al tiempo que el conflicto social de las Germanías valencianas había convertido por la vía radical a los *mudéjares* en *moriscos*.”

⁹⁴² Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 51: “[P]ara la conversión de los recién vencidos *mudéjares*.” [For the conversion of the recently conquered *mudéjares*. (My translation.)] For an interesting use of *mudéjar* in one of the texts included in *Moriscos e Indios* see current p. 195 and footnote 633 regarding Document 8 of the Granadan Documents.

⁹⁴³ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Moriscos e Indios* (2013), 68: “La sociedad *mudéjar* era todo menos uniforme. Había *moriscos* descendientes de Africanos, otros procedentes del norte de África, venidos de Aragón, etcétera.” (My translation.)

⁹⁴⁴ Document 8(5); Document 30(1). See footnote above 942.

4.3 Baptism, Conversion, and Expulsion

There are repercussions that result from some historians' acceptance that the baptized descendants of Muslims were **wholly non-Christian**: the seemingly *monological* construction and justification behind the expulsions of 1609-1614. First, there cannot be an analysis of these communities as Christian communities and thus the "assimilated" or "acculturated" portion of the communities is erased and not narrated: made invisible or completely absorbed by "*morisco*." Second, by assuming that the exiled persons were *non-Christians* erases both the difference in meaning of "*newly converted*" and "*new Christian*" from "*morisco*," as well as the textual theological gymnastics that had to be done to "safeguard" baptism by dissociating it from conversion, infidelity, heresy, and apostasy.

It is reasonable to assert that any generalized statement regarding the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims will eventually fall short from the all-encompassing narrative it purports. Historians can no longer make any statement that can speak to the whole of a historical context or experience. By paying attention to the referential language, beyond "*morisco*," used for these communities some gaps in the homogenizing narrative were found. This is true both as regards the ethnic or racial *othering* as well as the religious *othering* of the communities. Yet, finding the non-remarkable *new Christian* becomes a challenge. A challenge because it seems to have been lumped into *morisco*, or it was not included in the text at all because it was a living challenge or exception to the polemical arguments being used against the **whole** community. One way of recovering members of these communities may be precisely in paying closer attention to the changes in language usage and meaning in the primary texts. As concluded in Chapter 3, the fact that the term "*morisco*" was referring to only part of the community and not the whole could be a useful starting point for new avenues of research.

Ultimately, whether acknowledged or not, the decreed baptisms changed the matrix of interaction between various communities and its members. The new matrix of interaction had contradictory expectations, and these contrary expectations in the end had the effect of controlling and limiting progress and inclusion of descendants of Muslims in the emerging *Spanish* identity and into Christianity. Some of the contrary expectations had to do with the type of *otherness* different communities were to each other; how to simultaneously maintain control and distance of communities; and how to safeguard the basic theological position and meaning of baptism.

As noted before, there were various arguments regarding the benefit of mixed communities, of *new* and *old* Christians, but most of the evidence suggests that many communities were not mixed along those lines. A stance on whether the communities were generally mixed (or differentiated) or not may dictate how one reads the following passage:

...because the catholics that live among these Apostates, although they keep the faith, grow increasingly cold dealing always with the Moriscos, and continually seeing how their errors are allowed and not punished.... the ordinances of the Church regarding this danger that is too much communication like this between the catholics and the heretics, like these [added word] are and apostates.⁹⁴⁵

If the historiographical view is that the communities were not mixed, it may be clear that there were some in the community who were “catholic” (orthodox), and who noticed that those who were not adhering to the faith were not being punished for it, and because they had contact and communication with that segment of the community (the *moriscos* or *herejes*), they could become tepid in their own practice or belief. The lack of enforcement made heresy or apostasy contagious. On the other hand, if the historiographical sense is that *old* and *new* Christians lived in the same communities, the negative view of descendants of former Muslims would dictate that “catholics” be equated with *old* Christians, and that the *apóstatas* and *herejes* were the *moriscos*. Therefore, the presence of *moriscos*, apostates, and heretics in the community alongside *old* Christians was dangerous for those who were seeing the poor example (*old* or *new* Christians, alike). Therefore, removing the *metonymic* understanding of the terms and adding the transitional, non-static and hybrid nature of the language, could expand the understanding of the various communities and their interactions with each other.

Throughout the analysis of the primary documents the phrases “*newly converted*” and “*new Christian*” and similar phrases have been lumped together. Yet, the two phrases have very distinct connotations and should be addressed in relation to their respective (dis)connections to baptism and/or conversion. At its most basic level the phrase “*new Christian*” was a designation with the temporal and descriptive “*new*” having a non-static

⁹⁴⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 446-47: “...porque los cathólicos que viven entre estos Apóstatas, aunque conservan la fe, se entibian demasidamente tratando siempre con los Moriscos, y viendo continuamente sus errores consentidos y no castigados. ...ordenaciones de la Iglesia cerca deste peligro que es tanta comunicación como ésta de cathólicos con herejes, como éstos lo [palabra añadida] son y apóstatas.”

quality, but Christian nonetheless; and the phrase “*newly converted*” also conveyed a transitional state in both senses given the adverb and past participle. It is argued here that the static nature of Christian conflicted with the non-static nature of convert, albeit both being completed by “*new*” or “*newly*.” Both “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” were categories and designations gained after the decreed baptisms, and eventually for baptized descendants of Muslims in subsequent generations. Yet, what is the relationship of “*new Christian*” to “*newly converted*”? Is there a consequential difference? Moreover, how were the decreed baptisms separated from conversion and from issues of infidelity, heresy, and apostasy?

*Forced Baptisms*⁹⁴⁶

The longstanding historical and theological views on decreed or “forced” baptism, as presented in Chapter 1, informed many of the sixteenth-century arguments in favor of the validity of the baptisms of Muslims. In order not to diminish the indelibility of baptism, theologians had to dismiss the arguments that characterized the baptisms as invalid, since they were a result of a direct or indirect threat of force. The theological arguments not only protected baptism, but, as a mechanism of control, the theological arguments kept these communities within the jurisdiction of the church.

Document XL of the *Archivo Holland* ably summarizes the position taken by the *Spanish Church*: consent in the rite, regardless of the reasons to seek baptism, was tantamount to accepting the contract to live like a Christian. And, after baptism, the mechanism of control to make them behave (and believe) like Christians was the Inquisition.

It is the judgment of all theologians that whether by force, or fear, or threats, one consents to be baptized, that one remains obliged to keep the Christian faith, and rightly is counted by the church among its faithful because by divine law consent is sufficient, and that being so, it is impossible for a man to start a new life and renounce the previous one without the consent of his will.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁶ Introduced in Section 1.1 (starting p. 34).

⁹⁴⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 438: “Que es sentencia de todos los theólogos que el que por fuerça, o miedo, o amenazas, se consiente baptizar, queda obligado a guardar la fe christiana, y justamente es contado por la iglesia entre sus fieles porque de jure divino basta tal consentimiento, y siendo así, que es imposible que un hombre comience nueva vida y renuncie la pasada sin consentimiento de su voluntad.” See also, 464 “Y no es bastante excusa dezir que los bautizaron por fuerça en tiempo de las comunidades.... Pero muchos de los que le rescibieron por fuerça consintieron en

The above statement diminishes the reasons for which Jews or Muslims sought baptism, whether fear or the threat of death or exile, and made consent in the rite the most important element—a longstanding theological stance.⁹⁴⁸ Furthermore, as is stated below, for the waters of baptism to prevail, consent in the rite did not require the full will of the person.

According [to Bleda] to St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure and other important authors, who feel that the lack of disposition of the will does not impede the impression of the character of baptism, with the existence of some will to receive the sacrament.⁹⁴⁹

To further the argument that force leading to baptism did not make the baptism invalid, the text continued with a theological and philosophical distinction between “manners of force and violence”: absolute force versus conditional force.⁹⁵⁰ It is the latter, conditional violence, that leaves room for consent in the rite.⁹⁵¹ Although for many in the

alguna manera, y así fueron realmente bautizados y quedaron obligados a guardar las leyes de la Iglesia, cuanto más que de las veynte partes de los Moriscos que oy viven, las diez y nueve han rescibido el bautismo siendo niños.” (“And it not sufficient excuse to say that they were baptized by force during the *comunero* time.... But many of those who received it by force consented in some way, and were thus truly baptized and were obliged to keep the laws of the Church, even more so since of the twenty parts of Moriscos who live now, nineteen parts were baptized as children.”) See also, 438 “Presupuesto esto, es de presumir, que los moros de la corona de Aragón que primero professaron la fe, lo hizieron de su voluntad aunque precediessen amenazas; lo cual se confirma con que quando fueron bautizados, los sacerdotes les preguntaron: quieres ser bautizado? y ellos respondían: sí, quiero! que es la misma santa y antigua forma y tradición de la iglesia. De donde se colige y convence que hubo en ellos voluntad requerida para que la iglesia les administrases el bautismo.” (“Presupposing this, it can be presumed, that the moros of the Crown of Aragon that first professed the Faith, they did so out of their own will even though it was preceded by threats; this can be confirmed given that when they were baptized the priests asked them: do you want to be baptized? And they responded: yes, I do! which is the same holy and ancient form and tradition of the church. From where it is confirmed and convinced that there was in them the required will in order for the church to administer baptism to them.”)

⁹⁴⁸ In 1391 some Jews sought baptism because of the threat of violence; in 1492, some Jews sought baptism because of the threat of exile; in 1522 some Muslims in areas of Valencia sought baptism because of the threat of violence from the *Comuneros* (on the threats from the *Comuneros* see also, 433-436, 441); in 1526 Muslims sought baptism because of the threat of exile. See Section 1.1.

⁹⁴⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 438: “Alega [Bleda] a Santo Tomás, San Buena Ventura y otros graves autores, los cuales dize que sienten que la indisposición de la voluntad no impide la impresión del carácter del bautismo, con que aya alguna voluntad de rescibir el sacramento; como el que por miedo de la muerte, o otros tormentos, se baptiza.” The text continues, “Si ha tenido fe y voluntad, o no, porque aunque en él no aya avido voluntad meritoria, hubo voluntad y el consentimiento necesario.” (“If there was Faith and will, or not, because even if in him there was no worthy will, there was the will and necessary consent.”)

⁹⁵⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 439: “Que según buena theología y philosophía dos maneras ay de fuerça y violencia; una precisa y absoluta, y otra condicional.” (“According to good theology and philosophy there are two manners of force and violence; one that is precise and absolute, and the other conditional.”)

⁹⁵¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 439: “La otra fuerça es condicional quando se pone algo en voluntad del que la padece; no que se baptize quiera o no quiera, sino que elija

fifteenth or sixteenth century, or even today, the choice between death or baptism (death and life), may not be considered a choice, without the theological consensus that consent in the rite was all that was necessary, other theological arguments would fall apart.⁹⁵² In short, “and since taking a vow is done freely, but following it afterwards obligatory, likewise it is in matters of the faith before professing it, and after.”⁹⁵³ Baptism in this sense became a contract.⁹⁵⁴

It is only by problematizing the different uses of the term “*morisco*” that other nuanced uses of other terms come into relief. One such area is the notion that Muslims in the peninsula were thought to be able to become Christians through baptism, yet ultimately were deemed unable to convert despite their baptism. This latter point is what is termed below as the process of the dissociation of baptism from conversion (a Christian way of life).

The presence of a discursive justification or explanation of the validity of “forced” baptism should not be taken as proof that *all* baptisms were sought solely as a solution to exile or death. Instead, it might mean that *some* (which are unremarked upon or not narrated or occurred before the decrees) were undertaken because of a desire to change from one religion to another. In short, care must be taken to not make this into a

quál quiere más, la muerte o ser bautizado, y él elije el bautismo por huyr de a muerte.” (“The other force is conditional when there is some room for the will of the person suffering the force; not that he be baptized whether he wants or not, but that he chooses what he wants more, death or to be baptized, and chooses baptism to run away from death.”) See also 433 “es de la fuerça y el temor que intervino en el bautismo destes christianos nuevos.” (“It is in the [manner of] force and fear that intervined in the baptism of these new Christians.”)

⁹⁵² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 440: FN 411 in Rodrigo de Zayas where he writes “La amenaza de muerte, según el derecho canónico, no es considerada coacción ‘absoluta’ pues existía plena libertad para escoger la muerte en vez del bautismo.” (“The threat of death, according to canonical law, is not considered absolute duress/coercion since there was full freedom to choose death instead of baptism.”)

⁹⁵³ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 441: “Y como el hazer un voto es libre, y el cumplirlo despúes obligatorio, así es en lo de la fe antes que se professe, y después.” See also, 435 “el Papa y el Emperador mandarón que todos los Moros Baptizados se confirmassen y viviessen como christianos.” (the Pope and the Emperor ordered that all of the baptized Moors be confirmed and live as Christians.) This is because there was a period from 1522 (the Comunero forced baptisms) to the 1526 general order, where some of those who were baptized in 1522 had not changed their manner of living. “estos Moros estavan obligados a guardar la fe que avían rescibido en el Baptismo aunque forçados, quanto al juicio de la iglesia, y así se ordenó.” (“These Moors were obliged to keep the faith that they had received in the baptism, although forced, according to the judgment of the church, and so it was ordered.”) Elsewhere in this thesis (Granadan Documents) the argument was that they must live like Christians, because they were, because of their baptism; see also Document XLII, 486.

⁹⁵⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 441.

monological or essentialist narrative.⁹⁵⁵ Put differently, only part of the community may have been justifying their lack of full adherence to Christianity to the manner of the baptisms at the time of the general imposition. Furthermore, this argument would diminish as the number of generations increased since the decreed baptisms. Many of the arguments presented in Document XL were to refute the arguments used by members of the communities of *new* Christians to justify their (perceived) religious deficiencies, or by the church to show how the lack of conversion was not a failure of baptism but a result of the nature of the community—a nature which made them uniquely *other*, unable to convert, and which could not be overcome. As time progressed, the concern was no longer with the decreed (forced) baptisms, but with conversion.

Document XL is emblematic of three of the aims of these polemical narratives and builds the argument at various levels. First, it lists the examples that show that this community was infidel, heretic, and apostate: such as, observing Ramadan, not eating pork or drinking wine, etc. (the lists also functioned as tropes). Second, it refutes the arguments that the community itself uses to justify their lack of full adherence to Christianity, such as forced baptisms and lack of instruction. Finally, it shows how the community cannot be Christian and did not convert, at the same time as it safeguards the validity of baptism and keeps the community under the control of the Inquisition.

Baptism in the minds of some was the clear and tangible way to control a community, by making the waters of baptism the initial moment of acculturation to *Spanish* (Castilian) ways. In addition to ensuring the validity of the baptism, they were ensuring that monitoring the behavior of this population was possible because they were indeed Christians. The dual monitoring of the State and the Church, which as Muslims was only the State. So not only was there an expectation that they would behave like other Christians (*old* and Castilian) because of their baptism, in fact their baptism required them to do so. The coercive nature of their baptisms is summarized in the following passage:

⁹⁵⁵ The use of the term “monological” in this case comes from Lucas Marchante-Aragón and Israel Burshatin. A nuanced example may be found in Rodrigo de Zayas *Archivo Holland*, Document XIII, 272: there is mention of some having converted. “porque si no se lleva una comarca a una, aunque se convierta algún lugar o buena parte del, luego los Moriscos comarcanos tractarán de pervertir a los convertido con industrias y amenazas, como se tiene por experimentado.” (“because if the preaching is not taken from one place to another, even if part of a place or a good portion of it, afterward the neighbor moriscos will try to pervert the converted one with cunning and threats, as has been experienced.” Here it seems that the moriscos are the non-converted part of the community.

It is convenient that Your Majesty reprimand them with other penal laws that can curb the great impudence they have, and do what being a Christian compels, since they are baptized, and therefore they are compelled to follow that which the other faithful of our mother church follow and profess.⁹⁵⁶

Infieles, Herejes, Apóstatas

Given the theological stance that the baptisms of Muslims were valid and even more so that of their descendants, scrutiny of the manner of Christianity of the baptized Muslims and their baptized descendants came under the purview of the Inquisition. Jews and Muslims were not subject to the Inquisition; the “newly converted of the Moors” were. The Inquisition was one of a myriad of mechanisms of control used to suppress this colonized community. The primary concern of the Inquisition was heresy and apostasy; yet, the texts also refer to issues of “infidelity.”

There were lists of items that fell under the categories of heresy and/or apostasy. On the other hand, “infidelity” was a much more difficult thing to manage or ascertain, either because the “infidel” (non-faithful) had been historically thought of as a *non-Christian*, or because “infidelity” could be a sign of heterodoxy, or because “infidelity” could be a catch-all category that proved that this community was indeed *other* rather than being constructed as such. In short, although the “*infieles*” were the subject of many texts, they were not necessarily subject to the Inquisition.⁹⁵⁷ As seen earlier, Deborah Root sees a transition from *infiel* to heretic; a transition which was a technical consequence of baptism.⁹⁵⁸ One version of the infidelity accusation would have required the conclusion that the *new Christians* were not Christians, but in fact Muslims who were the “*infiel*,” but to concede this fully was to acknowledge that the baptism wasn’t valid and that they were not subject to the Inquisition, two consequences the State and the Church were not willing

⁹⁵⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XXXIX, 391: “Combiene...[que] Vuestra Magestad los reprima con otras leyes penales que refrenen los atrevimientos grandes que tienen, y cumplan con lo que el ser christianos les obliga, pues están bautizados, y por ello obligados a lo que los demás fieles de nuestra madre iglesia siguen y profesan.”

⁹⁵⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), argues that “*infieles*” are not subject to the Inquisition and that Jaime Bleda was in error in including “*infidelidad*” alongside “*herejía y apostasía*,” FN 394, 431. The problem may also lie with the fact that earlier Jaime Bleda seems to define “*infidelidad*” as “*herejía*” or “*apostasía*.” The FN reads “Bleda comete un error técnico: la Inquisición no era competente en materia de *infidelidad*, pero sí de *herejía y apostasía*. Según el derecho canónico, la *infidelidad* no es compatible con la *herejía*.” (“Bleda makes a technical error: the Inquisition was not competent in the matter of infidelity, but yes in those of heresy and apostasy. According to canonical law, infidelity is not compatible with heresy.”)

⁹⁵⁸ See footnotes 599, 600.

to allow. Therefore, the way to do both was through the nominalization and proliferation of categories, even if these categories were of *suspect* Christians and *alien* Spaniards.

In Document XL, the term “*infieles*” at times was used to mean “*apóstata*” or “*hereje*.”⁹⁵⁹ For example in the text it reads,

That in the beginning of this treatise it was important to prove that the new converts, living as they did, should be thought of as infidels, and that they have returned to their first sect.⁹⁶⁰

The *newly* converted should be understood as *infieles* because they returned to their “first sect.” Therefore the term “*infieles*” was equated in this case to the term “*apóstata*.” In Document XLII the malady of “*infidelidad*” was because although generations had passed since they had been baptized, there had been a failure of conversion from the beginning.⁹⁶¹

So, although infidelity was not technically an issue for the Inquisition, the (inter)relationship between heresy, apostasy and *infidelidad* in the discourse can be understood as follows:

These reasons that have been offered to them in order to prove that the new Christians of the Kingdom of Valencia, and perhaps from the Kingdom of Aragón, are manifest infidels, and their heresy is Apostasy.⁹⁶²

They were infidels whose heresy was apostasy. Ultimately, they were a particular kind of Muslim, *suspect* and subject to the Inquisition.

⁹⁵⁹ Apostate or heretic.

⁹⁶⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 418: “Que en principio deste tratado le importa probar que los nuevos convertidos, viviendo como suelen, se deve tener por infieles, y que han buuelto a su primera secta.”

⁹⁶¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII, 477: In speaking of impediments to full conversion: “El primero es que el daño de la infidelidad que en esta gente oy día se vee, es derivado de padres en hijos; quiero dezir mal muy viejo. Que como los que al principio se convirtieron eran ya personas de edad, y en su instrucción no se puso el calor que convenía, deixaron (sic) hijos semejantes así, y éstos criaron de la misma manera a sus hijos y aquéllos a los suyos asta los que viven al día de oy. De manera que desde el Principio, nunca se han destruydo en estas almas los mahometanos errores.” (“The first is that the damage of infidelity that can be seen in this *gente* today, it is derived from parents in children; I mean that it is a very old ailment. Since those who converted at the beginning were older persons, and the necessary zeal was not put in their instruction, they left their children in a similar state, and these raised their children in a similar manner, y those theirs until those that live today. Therefore, since the beginning, the Mahometan errors have never been destroyed in their souls.”)

⁹⁶² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL, 439: “Que éstas razones que se le han ofrezcido (sic) para probar que los christianos nuevos del Reyno de Valencia, y quiçá del Reyno de Aragón, son infieles manifiestos, y su heregía es Apostasía.”

*Matters of the heart*⁹⁶³

Although “infidelidad” as related to “infidel” was a clearer description than others, the accusation of “infidelidad” was complicated because it was an accusation about the interior belief of a person. It meant that no matter how much they properly practiced Christianity on the outside and were policed on their practices, they were considered to be Muslims on the inside.⁹⁶⁴ So this was yet another way of preventing movement and progression toward real Christian identity, let alone being a “good and faithful Christian.” It was their hearts and souls that made them heretics or apostates and therefore must be policed. This was another step in the process of somatization of religious *otherness*, that made belief indelible and inheritable.⁹⁶⁵

Different from heresy or apostasy which required an act or pronouncement which was then used as evidence to substantiate an accusation, “infidelidad” could not be proven in the same way. Fidelity could be pretended; infidelity could be dissimulated or hidden. Moving beyond heresy and/or apostasy to infidelity was another necessary step in constructing this community as *other* and preventing it from becoming *old* Christian or (Castilian) *Spanish*. The impossibility of conversion (the unattainable *metanoia*) had to do with adding more and more elements between the *other* and *old* Christians, such as was also shown in the *Sistema de Castas*. There people with any *African* blood at all could never attain *whiteness* or *Spanishness*; here new layers and barriers of (constructed) difference prevented them from becoming *old* Christian or (Castilian) *Spanish*.

Like *purity of blood* statutes, this step was another mechanism of control, and part of the construction of these communities as *other*; their “infidelidad” was eventually deemed innate and inherited, and therefore ever-present, which means interior conversion is impossible. This was a great contrast to attitudes at the beginning of the century, when

⁹⁶³ Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, following the work of Louis Cardaillac much of the interpretation about the interior belief of this community has been looked at through the lens of “dissimulation” (*taqiyya*). Although a valuable insight, it falls in line with the narrative that was being constructed and it is difficult to separate from the actual lived lives of members of this community.

⁹⁶⁴ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XIII (1581), 270: The argument was that their illness was in the heart (“pues estando el mal en el corazón”) and that policing that community based on external action was not the proper cure for the ailment; see also 271.

⁹⁶⁵ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL (1604-09), 464: “me parece que supuesta la gran dureza de corazón que en ellos se halla, pues casi todos (y plega a Dios que no sean todos) son hereges y aún Apóstatas que es peor.” (“it seems to me that given the great hardness of heart which is found in them, since almost all (and may it please God that it is not all) are heretics and even apostates which is worse.”)

Castilian *old* Christians thought that baptism would lead to a change in outward actions which would indicate Christianization and acculturation. And although there was evidence that some people were only outwardly adhering to Christianity,⁹⁶⁶ by the beginning of the seventeenth century the elements of a narrative that would justify the expulsions were in place: the construction of members of these communities as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

Dealing with matters of the heart gets at the issues of true conversion for this community. It was a last-ditch effort to bring this community into the fold. After a century of policing their actions, they tried to change their hearts. After emphasis on the instruction of this community, Document XLIII, about the “conversion of the moriscos,” from the year 1600 summarizes the reasons to seek conversion and the approach and challenges to this conversion.⁹⁶⁷ The conversion of members of these communities was necessary because they were now considered an internal enemy (*alien*), and expulsion would be difficult and inconvenient.⁹⁶⁸ The solution to this threat depended not on policing external acts, which aid in dissimulation or hiding, but on the “true conversion” of this (already baptized) community.⁹⁶⁹ What was meant by true conversion was further explained as “the conversion from the bottom of the heart.”⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁶ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLII: “professando con solo palabras y apariençias ser Christianos, siendo moros en el alma.” (professing only with words and appearances, being *Moors/Muslims* in the soul”) Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland* Document XLIII: “fingirse christianos” (“pretend to be Christians”) see pages 512, 515 and 516.

⁹⁶⁷ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XLIII (1600), 509-ff.: “procurar la Conversión desta gente, porque son enemigos domésticos.”

⁹⁶⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document 43, 548: Because they were perceived as having an alliance with the Turks, they constituted a permanent danger to the Crown (a fifth column).

⁹⁶⁹ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document 43, 549: “La solution de ce problème dépendra de leur véritable conversion...” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, 511: “El Remedio deste inconveniente será procurar le verdadera conversión dellos, no por medios que les obliguen a dissimular su Secta como aora hazen, y fingirse Christianos reconcentrándose el mal dentro del coraçón con doblado odio a los que los tienen oprimidos en cuerpo y en alma...”

⁹⁷⁰ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document 43, 554: “Que je sache, elle n’s pas obtenu depuis quarante ans qu’un seul Catholique abandonne vraiment sa religion, bien que les moyens (employés) et les menaces aient fait que beaucoup se soient plies extérieurement a sa volonté. Il n’est donc pas étonnant que peu de Morisques se soient vraiment convertis ici, même s’ils sont nombreux à feindre d’être chrétiens. Ce n’est pas cela qui leur est demande, mais bien de se convertir du fond du cœur.” Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, 515: “Y como ella en quarenta años me a alcançado que un solo Cathólico que yo sepa dexasse de veras su religión, aunque el miedo y las amenazas an hecho a muchos acomodarse en lo exterior a su voluntad, así, no es mucho que tan pocos moriscos se hayan convertido de veras aquí, aunque muchos se fingen Christianos; lo qual no es remedio que se pretende, sino que se conviertan de coraçón.”

As noted, the idea that the *new Christians* or *nuevos convertidos* were heretics or apostates or infidels was part of the construction of this **whole** community as *other*. In Granada, after baptism *moros* became *new Christians* or *newly converted*; as the century progressed *new Christians* or the *newly converted* became *moriscos*, as seen in the expulsion-related documents. In Valencia, although the term “*morisco*” coexisted with the phrases “*new Christians*” and “*newly converted*,” many additional terms became common, including “*nuevos convertidos*,” “*nación*,” “*gente*,” and as seen above “heretics” and “apostates.” Eventually and in many ways these terms will be discarded, even beyond “*morisco*,” in favor of “*moro*.” The return to “*moro*” was the fuller ethnic, racial, and religious *othering* of the entire community—the so-called racist turn.

The language in Document XL is helpful to understand the *othering* of this community as being *non-Christian*, and in doing so also accomplishing the *othering* of the community as *non-Spanish*. Significant is the fact that this was done without using the term “*morisco*.” The following table (RE: Document XL) helps to illustrate this point:

Table 4.2: Archivo Holland – Document XL⁹⁷¹

Term/ Phrase	No. of times
<i>Moros/ Moor</i>	24
<i>nuevos convertidos/ new converts</i>	22
<i>cristianos nuevos/ nuevos cristianos</i> new Christians	19
<i>Gente/ people</i>	15
<i>Morisco</i>	10
<i>Nación/ Nation</i>	7
<i>nuevamente convertidos/ newly converted</i>	2
<i>Moros bautizados/ baptized Moors</i>	2
<i>moriscos convertidos</i> <i>morisco converts (converted moriscos)</i>	1
<i>neófitos/ neophytes</i>	1
<i>Herejes/ heretics</i>	34
<i>Apóstatas/ Apostates</i>	18
<i>Infieles/ Infidel</i>	8

As methodologically enacted before, the analysis of the tallies indicates that the term “*morisco*” did not have the prevalence, and thus discursive use, as previously seen in other documents. Here the term “*moro*,” qualified phrases with “*new*” or “*newly*” and the designating of the community as a “*gente*” or “*nación*” far outweighed the use of the term “*morisco*.” In fact, the use of “*morisco*” was primarily descriptive or added specificity, and

⁹⁷¹ Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL: *Moros*: 417, 425, 434, 435 (2), 436 (2), 438, 439, 441, 442, 451, 452, 460 (4), 462-63 (6), 465; *Gente*: 413, 416, 424, 427, 428, 433 (2), 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 450, 460, 461; *Nación*: 413, 422, 432, 433 (2), 448, 458; *Morisco*: 425 (2), 427, 433, 443, 446, 452, 456, 464, 465; *Nuevamente convertidos*: 418, 457; *Moros bautizados*: 435, 436; *Moriscos convertidos*: 428. *Neophytes*: 418; *Heretics*: 414, 416, 417 (3), 418 (2), 419, 422, 425, 427 (2), 428 (5), 429 (3), 430, 431, 433, 440, 441, 447, 48, 449 (3), 454 (3), 464, 465; *Apostates*: 412, 417, 418 (2), 419 (2), 422, 429, 431, 433, 440 (2), 447, 441, 446, 454, 464, 465; *Infidels*: 412, 418, 419, 431, 433, 447, 448, 453.

at times is understood as referring to only part of the community.⁹⁷² Furthermore, in looking at the incidence of use of various terms as found in the table above, the presence of the terms “*herejes*,” “*apóstatas*,” and “*infielos*,” diminished the need to use the term “*morisco*” as a synonym for the religiously *othering* of this community. Similarly, the presence of the terms “*gente*,” and “*nación*” diminished the need to use the term “*morisco*” as a metonym for the racial or ethnic *othering* of this community.

The historiography facilitates conceptualizing this community as heretical, apostate, and Muslim—all things that diminish their baptism and support and perpetuate the processes of construction of these communities as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*. Furthermore, if their baptism was not erased, part of the reason for another difficulty in the study of these communities of Christians is that not only did they have to be Christian, they also had to be “good and faithful” Christians, something that even *old* Christians may not have been. Therefore, they could be studied as Christians separately from the real or perceived quality of their Christianity. No doubt there were some in these communities who were apostates and Muslims, but also undoubtedly a portion was Christian. As with other Christian communities, there were different degrees of adherence to Christianity regardless of their Christian lineage or former religious background.⁹⁷³ It could then be argued that the very mechanisms of control, including the Inquisition, purity of blood statutes, etc. in fact undermined the very “notion of the efficacy of conversion.”⁹⁷⁴

When infant baptism becomes normative

Notwithstanding the presence of distinct Jewish and Muslim communities, by the late Middle Ages most of the people of Europe and the British Isles were considered Christians. As presented in Chapter 1,⁹⁷⁵ since the fifth century infant baptism became

⁹⁷² Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, Document XL: Morisco: morisco names 425 (2); morisco houses 427; morisco towns/villages 433; Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia 443; dealing always with the moriscos 446; morisco vassals 452; moriscos 456; of the 20 parts of the Moriscos 464; no Morisco should speak arabic 465.

⁹⁷³ See María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 38: As with the converts of Judaism before them, “As recent studies have convincingly argued, during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some conversos were crypto-Jews and others were fully committed to Christianity, but most, including those who left the Iberian Peninsula, fell in between these two categories and partook in a variety of Christian and Jewish practices.”

⁹⁷⁴ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 50-51.

⁹⁷⁵ See Section 1.1. (see pages 35, 48, 104 and footnotes 65, 128, 127).

normative, meaning baptism was not tied to an individual's actual conversion to Christianity. Therefore, instruction in the faith was done after the rite and was verified in the subsequent rite of confirmation, and monitored through the tools of the penitential system. Infants were born into and participated in a hegemonic Christian society; the primary form of instruction was through catechisms, augmented by household practices, and the content of sermons, art, and rituals. Under the scheme developed before, in addition to religion, these varied *European* Christian groups had some claim to "whiteness." Although that "whiteness" could be contested, outside of the reformation movements, their "christianness" was not.

In the case of the peninsula, as the Christian conquest progressed, much of the peninsula increasingly functioned as a Christian society, with a diminishing subject Muslim population, and after 1238 the only remaining Muslim political stronghold was the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. Notwithstanding this Christian progress, the norm was not adult baptisms; although it is conceivable there were baptized persons who had not participated in the rite of confirmation. Whatever adult baptisms there were, these would not have been *en masse*, and conceivably would have occurred after an experience of conversion, as the impetus for a person to seek out baptism and be instructed in the faith: not by decree. Yet, because of the reformation movements, it was also possible to convert from one form of Christianity to another.

Historically, when infant baptism has been normative, conversion as the impetus for baptism was not required and thus these were dissociated from one another. By this is meant that conversion, as an event, would not necessarily be expected or experienced by the infants that were baptized. Yet, there was an expectation for an ongoing life with moments of conversion, or continually turning toward God (*metanoia*), for all the baptized in society. For a small group, there was the possibility of a different kind of conversion: conversion that lead to a particular kind of life within Christianity: ordained and/or monastic.

In societies where there was a presence of multiple religions, there were opportunities for adult conversion from one religion to another (though this did not necessarily occur in large numbers), as was seen in the early church. Whether sought by the person, or sought by the State, the fact remains that at the beginning of the sixteenth century religious *otherness* was thought to be surmountable. Despite the large number of

baptisms of adults in the peninsula, the catechumenate was not reinstated; adults, after baptism were still expected, and thought capable of leaving behind those prior cultural and religious aspects of life that were antithetical to Christianity. The lack of instruction allowed for a greater distancing of baptism and conversion from one another.

After the decreed baptisms and without adequate instruction (whether fact or a discursive trope), in subsequent generations infant baptism also became normative and may have existed within households of varied adherence to and/or knowledge of Christianity (similarly possible in *old-Christian* households). Therefore, as seen in Documents XXXVIII, XL, and XLI,⁹⁷⁶ some advocated no longer to baptize infants born to families that did not fully adhere to Christianity (whether factually or discursively). Yet, this would have entailed the possibility of having a group of people that would not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition: a *non-Christian* and *alien* element. Some therefore advocated for children to be removed from households for them to be Christianized, yet this suggestion was never fully enacted, although the expulsion decrees did allow for small children to remain in the peninsula and be taken in by Christian households.

Perhaps, since many of these adults themselves were not instructed in the faith prior to baptism nor were born into a solely Christian society, (*res publica Christiana*),⁹⁷⁷ the need arose (in the minds of some) for a dual process of acculturation, indoctrination and instruction, different than the one developed for children. Furthermore, the processes of acculturation for Granadans, who had more recently come under Christian control, were different from the processes of acculturation required of the *mudéjares* (e.g. Muslims in Valencia) or later *moriscos antiguos* (from Castile), who were in many ways already acculturated. They therefore now had to change some of their distinct religio-cultural practices, though for generations these had not been problematic.

Although in the peninsula all Muslims had to seek baptism or be exiled (or be enslaved), across the Atlantic baptism was technically not compulsory and thus baptized *Amerindians* lived among non-baptized persons. This contributed to the oft repeated discursive/tropic frustration found in the primary documents regarding the perseverance of some non-Christian practices (common in the peninsula as well). In the peninsula, this was exacerbated by the deficiencies in instruction and by repeated moments of lack of

⁹⁷⁶ See Rodrigo de Zayas (Spanish), *Archivo Holland*, 384, 465, and 472-73.

⁹⁷⁷ This is clearer in the case of *Amerindians*.

enforcement, and negotiated royal edicts of grace. The longest delay (of forty years) (with further extensions in some regions) also ensured that subsequent generations may have been raised in a cultural and religious milieu that was neither one nor the other—neither completely Muslim nor completely *old* Christian.

These accommodations, exemptions, concessions, or graces may have contributed to a perceived slow pace of acculturation and indoctrination or became a convenient excuse and trope. This is not to say that some of those who chose baptism did not immediately begin to integrate fully into Christian fold, but instead that some may have delayed their full acculturation, and its possibility, to the extent that they could continue to negotiate their autonomy, all of which would not necessarily have been a solely religious decision. These persons were not narrated, yet were/are generally subsumed by the category of “*morisco*.”

After the decreed baptisms of Muslims, the quality of their Christianity varied from full adherence to the faith and doctrine as other *faithful* Christians to outward resistance to the Christian religion. When seen as a spectrum of adherence, our documentary evidence skews to the resistance side, given the preponderance of a negative historical and historiographical narrative about these communities. Yet, the textual narrative does not capture the parts of the communities that probably made few ripples in the historical record, and different hermeneutical lenses would be used that account for this bias, and aim to find other evidence that would supplement the existing and provide a more robust picture of these communities.

Discursively, the zealous concern to safeguard baptism was a factor for this dissociation, and the discursive constructions identified before. Whereas this dissociation could have been remedied through persuasion (the Talavera approach) leading to conversion or instruction prior to baptism (catechumenate), the dissociation was compounded by the aforementioned deficiencies in instruction, decades-long negotiated delays in enforcement or abandoning of prior religious practices, and the raising of children who were, at least discursively, seen to be in households that had deficiencies in instruction and changes in practices. Therefore, just as there was a proliferation of categories between “*moro*” and “*Christian*,” or between “*morisco*” and “*español*” as in the *Sistema de Castas*, there was a proliferation of discursive barriers between baptism and conversion. Whereas in infant baptism there was an inherent dissociation of baptism and

conversion from one another, in decreed baptisms without instruction these were further dissociated. The population in need of Christianization was Christian, thus the discursive need for them to be *suspect* Christians. This tension had to be addressed through the tools (mechanisms of control) of the penitential system.

The penitential system that had been developed because of the increased practice of infant baptism and instruction in the faith after baptism was not used consistently with these communities of *new* Christians. This did not mean that the Inquisition (or threat thereof) was not a significant presence in the lives of *new* Christians in the peninsula, but that this specific part of the penitential system did not uniformly affect the entire community of *new* Christians. Whereas all Christians could participate in the ongoing penitential system through confession, penance, and absolution, not all Christians, and certainly not all *new* Christians, were prosecuted by the Inquisition. Although with exceptions baptized descendants of Muslims were expelled from the peninsula, and this is a wholesale condemnation of this community as *suspect* and *alien* (*non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*), not all of these Christians were prosecuted by the Inquisition for heresy or apostasy. Indeed, as discussed before there is increasing evidence that there were baptized descendants of Muslims who remained in the peninsula. The discursive processes and constructions allowed for this to happen.

The primary purpose of the tools of the penitential system, especially the Inquisition, was to bring repentant heretics and apostates back into the Christian fold; there were also penalties, including death, for the unrepentant. Yet, for a person or community to be determined heretical or apostate, a process had to be undergone, whether through a church council or Inquisitorial trial. The processes undergone with respect to these communities functioned in some ways as those of the penitential system, but were in fact not part of the penitential system: language and discourse as a mechanism of control. Many of the primary documents provide lists of grievances against this community. Yet, not all grievances against this community were capable of being denounced to the Inquisition.

There were two types of grievances: those that fell under the guise of religious practice and thus could be deemed heretical, apostatizing, or Islamizing; and those that were socio-cultural practices that were not shared by other Christians in the peninsula. The socio-cultural practices could be deemed interrelated to religious practices, but need

not be so. The crimes punishable by the Inquisition generally fell under the rubric of “the ceremonies and rites of Islam” such as fasting during Ramadan, attending Friday prayers, and publicly renouncing Christianity or blaspheming. The socio-cultural practices that were related to religious practices included the manner of marriage and burial, as well as circumcision, and abstaining from pork and wine.

Inquisitorial records alone cannot be the primary source to make *metonymic* generalizations about the whole community of baptized descendants of Muslims; and, since not all members of these communities were prosecuted and thus convicted of heresy or apostasy, most of the communities technically remained within the Christian fold. Again, the argument is that the use of the term “*morisco*” would diminish the fact that the violence on these communities was done by co-religionists, not by people getting rid of a threat in the form of people of a different religion, who were all the while making religion indelible.

Therefore, in reading primary documents that refer to instruction, indoctrination, and conversion for this Christian community, the irregularities in the context that led to baptism needed to be remediated by further campaigns of instruction and indoctrination, which would presumably lead to the “true” conversion and thus Christianizing of these Christian communities. The culmination of this theological thought process happened outside of Granada and after 1571. Part of the thought process for the expulsion of the Granadans to Castile was presumably that it was a way to acculturate the *new* Christians (from Granada) to a more Christian society in Castile, given the rebellion, but also the “failure” of acculturation in their own region.

One of the justifications that ultimately led to the expulsions of members of these Christian communities was the dissociation between baptism and conversion (that is, between baptism and living a Christian way of life). This dissociation was also related to the question of how a Christian was to be Christianized. Taking the idea of *morisco* as *non-Christian*, leads to repeated mentions in secondary documents about the Christianization of the *moriscos*. Of course, if *morisco* is historiographically understood as *non-Christian* or less than fully Christian, this Christianization may seem like a reasonable project, but when Christianization was of Christians (even *new* Christians), a further question ensues, namely: what did it (or does it) mean to Christianize *moriscos* vs. Christianizing “*new* Christians”? And, are these questions inherently different?

The primary documents studied do not reflect the idea of “Christianization.” Since the community was primarily referred to as “*newly converted*” or “*new Christians*,” the documents refer to a process of instruction and indoctrination. Illustrative here are the documents from 1595-1600 found in Rodrigo de Zayas’ book (Documents XXIV-XXXVIII).⁹⁷⁸ These documents also show the problems faced by the church when baptism was separated from a Christian way of life (conversion) for generations. In 1595 there was a renewed effort (and mandate from Philip II) to instruct the community of the *newly converted* (*newly* now in the nominative), meaning to change their behavior to a Christian one. These documents repeatedly mention the instruction, indoctrination, and education of the *newly converted*. The phrases “instruction of the newly converted” and “indoctrination of the newly converted” occur dozens of times in these documents. There was also emphasis on preaching as a means of instruction. These same documents not only use the phrase “instruction of the newly converted” but also “instruction of the moriscos.”⁹⁷⁹

In Valencia, after the 1580s, the terms “*morisco*” and “*newly converted*” were used interchangeably in the same documents. This renewed effort at instruction had some success in Valencia, but part of this community continued to adhere to practices and beliefs associated with Islam. Although efforts at instruction and indoctrination continued through the time of the expulsions, the language of the texts changed. The change had to do with how to approach not only the instruction/indoctrination of this community, but also the *true* conversion of this community (both in belief and practice). Of note here was the juxtaposition of *newly converted* and conversion, a pairing that was more prevalent than *new Christian* and conversion, which in itself was another nuanced change in language. Baptism as a ritual had been completely dissociated from living a Christian way of life and this required reversal.

In the end, just as the discursive distance between Muslim and Christian was increased, albeit to keep groups of Christians within the control of the church, the distance between baptism and conversion was also discursively extended and exacerbated by deficiencies in instruction. The theological discourses went along with the *othering*

⁹⁷⁸ Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Documents 24-38, 390-443.

⁹⁷⁹ See for example, Rodrigo de Zayas (French), *Archivo Holland*, Document 26, 393: “a plus importante pour que l’instruction de Morisques soit un succès.”

discourses, as necessary elements for the discursive justifications of the expulsions of many Christians. Although *Spanish* Christians of Muslim descent were expelled, this was accomplished by making them *suspect* and *alien*, all the while safeguarding the rite of baptism.

The analysis done in this chapter yields two overall conclusions. First, there is a disconnection between the historical *morisco* and the historians' *morisco*. Second, a theological strategy that contributed to the justifications of the expulsions required the discursive dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another. Many different discourses were needed to achieve the *otherness* of these communities as *suspect* Christian and an *alien* within: *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

The disconnection between the historical and the historiographical obfuscates the processes of *othering* and differentiation of these communities within Spain, and is biased toward homogenizing this community as solely Muslim, regardless of baptism. Yet, it was these very *othering* processes, eventually discursively reified, which functioned as mechanisms to justify the expulsions of communities of Christians from the peninsula. Historians have perpetuated this constructed discourse. A specific way of showing the disconnection was analyzing secondary works and how these related to the primary texts being analyzed. This analysis was not a critique of the scholarly volumes (since each had its own aim and approach), but an opportunity to see the impact "a language choice" may have in uncovering and understanding additional discourses in the primary texts.

Some of the examples show how authors explicitly dismissed the language from the primary texts in favor of the handle "*morisco*." Although there were a few instances of confusion in the primary texts, "*morisco*" was never equal to "*moro*" nor co-terminus with "*new Christian*." This historiographical dismissal led to the construction of the historians' *morisco* which is an eternal *morisco*. There are many other linguistic choices that historians can make. The use of "*morisco*" as a term of convenience is exacerbated by the difficulty of translating it into English. For example, for those writing in English there are problems with always translating *morisco* as *Moorish*. As shown, this should only be done when it is used as a descriptive term and should be avoided when "*morisco*" is used in the nominative.

By using or actually (over)using “*morisco*” the non-static, transitional, and hybrid qualities of the terminology are overlooked as are the processes (including *othering* processes) encompassed in the changes in usage and meaning of the terms and phrases. The term “*morisco*” was not initially static, neither was “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*.” The difference between *old* Christians and *new* Christians was not as much as has been historiographically believed or discursively created, as we can see from the trans-Atlantic analysis of the term “*morisco*.” Relying on the eternal “*morisco*” erases the people and stories of those that, regardless of the discursive *othering*, gained *old* Christian status or were indistinguishable from *all* Christians. Since these possibilities existed, meaning that the difference was not self-evident, it was necessary to create barriers for progression; further categories were created or obstacles introduced.

Contrasts were made between the analysis (secondary texts) and the texts (primary). The differences revealed further areas where the textual processes of *othering* of these communities occurred. This was not only true in the movement of terms/phrases from “*moro*” to “*new Christian*” or “*newly converted*” or “*nuevos convertidos*” to “*morisco*” and back to “*moro*,” but can be seen in the increased use of the terms “*nación*” and “*gente*” (ethnic *othering*) and the religious terms “*infidel*,” *herejes*,” “*apóstatas*” (religious *othering*). Seeing these communities as solely Muslim and inassimilable buys into the constructed narrative of a group that was *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

The “assimilated” or “acculturated” portion of the community is erased by historians and completely absorbed by “*morisco*.” Attentively (re)reading the texts for changes in language usage and meaning can help to uncover some invisible and non-narrated elements of these communities. Correcting the disconnection between the historical and the historiographical, also brings the study of these communities into the orbit of research on the identity development of *Spain* as a nation and empire as the sixteenth century progressed. Especially, *Spanish*-identity construction at the expense of its Moorish and Jewish constitutive elements.

The external construction of *Spain* as Jewish and Muslim, as in the discourses of the so-called BlackLegend, did not help these communities. The expulsion was required to remove the part of the *self* which was the *other* within. The difference between *old* and *new* Christians was not as great as it was constructed to be. They must have looked very similar if the expectation was that if they changed the externals (clothes, language, and

rituals) they could be just like any other *Spaniard* in the peninsula. When it became evident that this was impossible or was made to be impossible: it was the devious and impure heart and not just a religious stain (*Muslimness, heresy, apostasy, infidelity*) or an ethnic stain (*nación, gente*) that was blamed.

The second conclusion reached in this chapter is about the dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another. The lack of instruction prior to baptism, combined with delays in enforcement, and the manner of the initial baptisms, contributed, at least to the perception of a slow pace of Christianization. This can be seen not only as a willful refusal on the part of this minority community, but also in the incompetence of the church. The church initially failed by thinking that outward changes would lead these communities to being considered Christian and *Spanish*.

Yet at the same time the church wanted to control these communities as much as possible. And to do so, the church could not allow them to be fully *moro*, because once fully *moro* with the approval of the church and state they would no longer fall under the jurisdiction of the church. This then led to the church insisting on theological determinants for the validity of baptisms, and thus to focusing on instruction, conversion, and the heart. The (mis)use of the term “*morisco*” hides this process and prevents studying, at least parts of these communities as Christian. If these communities can be studied as communities of Christians, their expulsion can be seen as aspect of an *intra*-religious struggle, rather than *inter*-religious.

In the end, **why** these Christians were expelled is not elucidated further, since the answers to this question are wrapped in layers of historical, theological, and historiographical discourses that first must be identified. Once these discourses are separated and identified, the language used to justify the expulsions can be better understood. Whether those who were expelled were “good and faithful” Christians or not is yet to be determined, but it is known that through the construction of the *other* as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* (*suspect* and *alien*) and the dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another, the expulsions were justified and enacted. *Spain* removed fully in the imaginary and partially in reality a part of its very *self*.

Conclusion

The preceding pages included the analysis of a series of primary texts, which aided in the identification and elucidation of the language and discourses that constructed sixteenth-century non-monolithic Christian and *Spanish* communities as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*; as *suspect* and *alien*. These constructions were used at the beginning of the seventeenth century to justify historically and historiographically the expulsions of many baptized descendants of Muslims who were formally and theologically Christian but deemed by those in power not to be sufficiently so. Historiographically, this project has been about discerning the difference, to the extent the texts allow, between studying “*new Christians*” and studying “*moriscos*.” The analysis and narrative of this project did not ultimately elucidate **why** these communities of Christians were expelled from the peninsula between 1609 and 1614. It did, however, uncover linguistic process that were used to justify the expulsions for over a century—a **how** this was accomplished question.

In the Introduction, it was proposed that this thesis function at the historical, methodological, discursive, and historiographical levels. This conclusion evaluates the findings and originality at those same levels. Although it is possible that the approaches used for this project will be applicable to other sets of documents and that such an expansion might fine tune the conclusions reached, that is not the purpose here. Thus, a self-reflexive post-colonial and deconstructionist approach.

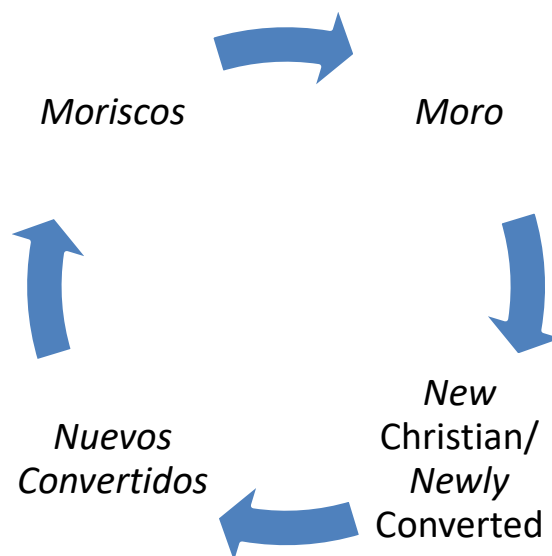
Historical

Chapter 3 enacted the methodology and theoretical approach developed and presented in Chapter 2. It was a quantitative approach used for qualitative conclusions and theories. The “counting” and mapping process revealed a variety of terminology, as well as changes based on time, and regional differences. The quantitative analysis exposed that although **the** community is identified historiographically as the so-called *moriscos*, in the sixteenth century there existed a variety of referential terms and phrases used to name members of the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims. Some of the terms and phrases included “*new Christian*,” “*newly converted*,” “*nuevos convertidos*,” and “*morisco*.” In addition to language changes as the sixteenth century progressed, when primary documents were analyzed from outside of Granada, such as those from Valencia and the expulsion-related documents, regional variations were similarly identified

in the terminology such as “*moriscos mudéjares*,” “*moriscos antiguos*,” and even “*cristianos nuevos moriscos*.”

Based on the Granadan and Valencian documents a schema emerged which generally showed that the language changes progressed along a chronological, yet circular, axis, from the terminology at the time of the final conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in the late fifteenth century to the apologetic texts written after the expulsions in the early seventeenth centuries. The terms or phrases changed from “*moro*” to “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” (after baptism) to “*nuevos convertidos*” to “*morisco*” and ultimately, in the peninsula, apologetically back to “*moro*” (after the expulsions). Although the idea represented in a circular model rather than a linear one may convey that this community “reverted back” to “*moro*” (as Muslim), it is well to remember that some of the connotations of the term “*moro*” themselves changed in the same period. Put differently, the cyclical image should not imply either that members of these communities were discursively and statically considered to have remained Muslim for all times and places during the period under study, or that the changes were solely changes in referential terminology, or indeed that the “Moor” in the seventeenth century was the same as the “Moor” before the decreed baptisms a century earlier. Furthermore, *morisco* does not go back to *moro* across the Atlantic were the *racialist turn* was completed.

Figure 1: Language changes



After baptism, a person becomes a Christian, not a *new* Christian. In the case of persons of Jewish or Islamic religious background, in short, those who were initially religiously *other*, there was the sense that they could become Christians, albeit immediately after baptism considered to be “new” or “recent” in the faith. Being dubbed a *new* Christian or *newly* converted at the beginning, chronologically, was a state that could and would theoretically be overcome. Thus, the terms were initially descriptive and temporal, and falling under the category of *new* Christian was understood as a non-static state. Similarly, the baptism of these persons was thought to bring persons of Jewish and Islamic backgrounds closer to other persons of Christian descent, because they were originally only religiously *other*, not *other* in their “*Spanishness*.” Put differently, Muslims or Jews after baptism were expected to be just like any other Christian in the peninsula. Baptism then was a tool to make some *Spaniards* no longer different (meaning religiously *other*) from other *Spaniards*, or bring relatively similar groups even closer to one another.

Notwithstanding the theoretical possibility of change from one category to another, the phrases “*new* Christian” and “*newly* converted” would become part of a proliferation of referential categories—a differentiation and *othering*—that would ensure that members of these communities could not become *Christian* like all other Christians. Yet, these phrases by themselves do not confirm the existence of a proliferation of referential terms in the sixteenth century. These observations become clearer when one compares the referential language used before and after baptism to the language that refers to *Amerindians* across the Atlantic before and after baptism, where there indeed was initially a more distinctive *otherness* between *Spaniards* and *Amerindians*. Furthermore, hints are seen in these phrases about the increasing conflation of religion and race in the peninsula.

As noted in Chapter 3, across the Atlantic when *Amerindians* were baptized they were still referred to as “*indios*” and very rarely as “Christians,” let alone as “*new* Christians.” After baptism, *Amerindians* were still *indios* and certainly not closer to *Spanish*. Here the idea that *Amerindians* and *Spaniards* were more *epidermically* different to one another than peninsular *old-* and *new-Christian Spaniards* were from each other becomes clear. Therefore, the initial temporal and non-static (descriptive) language of “*new*” in the phrase “*new* Christian” meant that it was initially thought to be possible for Muslims to become like *all other Spanish old* Christians after baptism because initially there was a surmountable religious *otherness*, which then became insurmountable when

those in power made it indelible, understood historiographically as *epidermic*. This supports the hypothesis that the difference between *old* and *new* Christians may in fact have been a mostly discursively constructed *otherness*. As analyzed in Chapter 3, by using the *Sistema de Castas* (also a constructed system) as a barometer for how *epidermic* difference was understood and categorized by *old-Christian Spaniards* (normatively Castilians), the difference between the peninsular communities was posited to be at most 25%. This is theorized given that the category of “*morisco*” in the *Sistema de Castas* was 75% *español* (*white*) and 25% *African* (*black*).

Furthermore, given the identified temporal and regional variations and changes in the peninsula, “*morisco*” cannot be fully naming the whole community of the baptized descendants of Muslims. “*Morisco*” was not then and is not now *metonymy*. The term “*morisco*” may in fact have referred to and be appropriate for only some in the communities, and may not always be an appropriate short-hand for the whole community.

Methodological

The reading of the primary texts revealed a variety of terms and phrases used to name various communities of baptized descendants of Muslims. By reading the texts chronologically and regionally, changes as time progressed were identified, as well as regional variations. The analysis of the texts was approached both quantitatively and in a deconstructionist and catachrestic manner. In short, the changes in historical language usage and meaning identified were further analyzed and posited as corresponding to discursive processes. For example, it was theorized that before reaching the term “*morisco*,” the phrases “*new Christian*,” “*newly converted*,” and “*nuevos convertidos*” had to be nominalized; that “*new*” and “*newly*” were no longer descriptive but referential and defining characteristics—eventually indelible ones. Whereas “*new*” and “*newly*” initially implied temporality as descriptors, as nominative terms they became fixed referential positions.

Like changes in these phrases and terms, as the century progressed there were parallel changes and increased uses of the term “*morisco*.” “*Morisco*” went from being primarily used as a descriptor (easily translatable into English as “Moorish”), to being a term used to name **the** community. Moreover, as “*morisco*” was nominalized, in many ways it increasingly overtook the phrases previously used. During the process of

nominalization multiple terms could co-exist without being co-terminus. The nominalization of the phrases and term “*new Christian*,” “*newly converted*,” “*nuevos convertidos*,” and “*moriscos*” (and others) was part of the discursive processes of differentiation and *othering* which created categories of *suspect*, inferior, or deficient Christians. Put differently, the historical changes noted, seen as discursive processes, show how these changes functioned to construct the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims as different and *other*.

Within the processes of nominalization there were two opposing discursive strategies at work. First, in the arena of progression, there were tendencies toward fixidity, narrowing, and homogenization. Homogenized terms were used as tropes in the primary texts and were understood by some historians as useful metonymies and even “reality” (reified). Although in many ways these tendencies prevailed, they were contra-rested by hybrid moments in the processes in which the terminology was not indelibly settled, or named all in the communities. Put differently, the phrases and terms under study had moments when they were not considered *non-Christian* or equal to Muslim, or even *non-Spanish*. The term “*morisco*” signifying *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* was a result of a series of processes, including the discursive construction of difference and *othering*. These were processes that required movement from possibility to impossibility, from surmountable to insurmountable *otherness*. The discursive *otherness* of the baptized descendants of Muslims made them *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* to justify the expulsions and the imaginary narration of the nation.

Discursive

The referential language shifts that occurred as the sixteenth century progressed constructed the baptized descendants of Muslims as *other*. This *othering* is also part of a *minoritizing* process. One way in which *minoritization* occurs is through the narrowing of referential categories. In this case the categories of “*spanishness*” or “*whiteness*”—as related to the discourses of the so-called Gothic Myth and Black Legend, discussed in Chapter 2—were what was narrowed; *spanishness* because there was another contemporary process of national- and imperial-identity construction for *Spain*; and *whiteness* since *Spain* reacted to efforts by other national- and imperial-discursive narratives to blacken *Spain* morally and racially. The discursive processes of *minoritizing*

were aided by the nominalizing processes in the language used to refer to the communities as discussed above. Combined, these processes helped to justify the expulsions at the beginning of the seventeenth century. To reiterate: the historical expulsions were justified discursively; yet the discourse did not wholly reflect the actual level of difference between the communities. This is an important difference between the historical and the discursive, and the historical and historiographical.

The discursive construction processes worked within specific historical frameworks. Yet at times they have unconsciously been read historiographically within different frameworks. One of the specific historical frameworks was the actual religious *otherness* of Christians and Muslims before the decreed baptisms. At the beginning of the sixteenth century baptism technically erased this religious *otherness*, or at least thought of as being able to be erased; by the seventeenth century it was insurmountable. After the decreed baptisms were enacted, rather than erasing the religious *otherness* baptism (re)inscribed that *otherness*. The categories of “*new Christian*” and “*newly converted*” helped to maintain the previous matrix of difference. They were still *other*, despite baptism. As said before, *morisco* could not be the same as *moro* and was constructed not to equal either *new Christian* nor *old Christian*.

This new religious *otherness* was different because it became an *intra-* rather than *inter-religious otherness*. Although the new *otherness* maintained the groups separate discursively, given baptism, the *new Christians* in this different framework were not dealt with as Muslims; *new Christians* became subjects under the control of the Church and the Inquisition, not just the State. In short, it is termed a (re)inscription because a new boundary was created to substitute for the boundary removed by baptism. This (re)inscription is then often understood historiographically within the *convivencia* and Reconquista paradigms, although the *tri/bipartite* religious matrix (or *bipartite* since 1492/1497) no longer existed.

Since the changes in meaning and usage of the terminology, as well as the nominalization, minoritization, and *othering* are all seen as processes, this project also posited and identified additional steps. There was a further shift beyond the one from *inter-* to *intra-*religious difference, and that was to *non-religious*, or, put differently from *inter-religious* (Christian and Muslim) to *intra-Christian* religious difference to a community of indelibly *non-Christians*, albeit still under the control of the Church, including the

Inquisition, and the State. “*Non*” not in the sense of lack of religiousness, but as indelibly different, thus *non-Christian*, and without the possibility of ever being so, or of also not being able to be Muslim (*moro*).

There were several parallel processes occurring as the sixteenth century progressed, that have been of peripheral yet contributing concern in the analysis found in this thesis. The central processes were those of nominalization, *othering*, minoritization, etc. One peripheral process was the competing and contemporary construction of *Spanish-imperial* and *-national* identity. Another parallel and contributing process was that of the increased *somatization* of religion, perhaps a meta-process that lasted three centuries or more, from the late fourteenth century to well into the seventeenth century. For example, the indelibility of religion was increasingly attached to ideas of racial and/or ethnic difference (*otherness*), whether these existed or not.

Therefore, the idea of constructing a Christian community or communities as *non-Christian* was dependent on tying Islam (and Judaism) to race and/or ethnicity, and in the case of Islam, increasingly to Africa, even sub-Saharan Africa, and the slave trade. Thus, Islam was tied to blood and to Africa, indelibly making the baptized descendants of Muslims both *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, two discursive requisites for the justifications of the expulsions—discursively religious and racially *other*, and therefore both *suspect* and *alien*. Put differently, at least three stages in this process of othering can be identified: from religious *otherness* (*inter-religious*)—which did not strictly correspond to *epidermic* or socio-cultural difference—to a different religious *otherness* (*intra-Christian*), to a racial or ethnic, and *epidermic* and *somatic* indelible *otherness* (*non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*). Deborah Root named these as being shifts from “infidel” (*inter-*) to “heretic” (*intra-*) to “*impenitente negativo*” (*non-*). Another similar process that was posited, as seen in the work of Barbara Fuchs in the literary realm, was the shift from *Maurophilia* to *Maurophobia*, presented in Chapter 2.

The halting of the progression of a community (or communities) from being able to move from Muslim to Christian through baptism—or of Christians becoming truly Christian—was accomplished by the proliferation of categories. The construction, or invention, of “less-than-fully” Christian categories, added obstacles of progression toward the full-Christian (*old-Christian*) status after baptism. This functioned similarly to the *Sistema de Castas*, where progression toward being *Spanish* (*white*) was similarly

complicated. The progression toward the nominalized “*morisco*” (homogenization/fixidity) counteracted the movement toward *old* Christian, and since religious *otherness* was increasingly somatized, also to *Spanish*. In short, more and more categories were added between *moro* and *Christian*, making conversion discursively impossible. Yet, although impossible, to maintain religious control of these communities, they could not be allowed to revert discursively to *moro*.

A clear and thus revealing example was offered of the proliferation of categories and the somatization of religion in the analysis of the *Sistema de Castas* for México and Perú, discussed in Chapter 3, especially along the *Spanish-African* spectrum which included the category of “*morisco*.” The parallel is as follows: baptism was theoretically meant to remove religious *otherness* between Muslims and Christians, yet other categories were inserted that prevented the realization of such a progression. Similarly, the adding of *Spanish* blood to *African* blood, generation after generation, was supposed eventually to lead to *Spanishness*. *Morisco* was supposed to be one step away from *Spanish* as the comparable *castizo* category was (75% *español* and 25% *indio*). Yet, *morisco* was at least four steps away from *Spanish*, given the addition of new categories even to the $1/32^{\text{nd}}$ degree, as seen in Chapter 3.

The eventual discursive construction of these communities as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* had to be done with the theological imperative to safeguard the rite of baptism. This was done discursively by making the problem one with conversion and not with baptism, thus dissociating each from the other. As introduced in Chapter 1, and shown in Chapter 4, this was further aided by the fact that the baptism of infants had been normative for centuries, and that the catechumenate was not restored once a great number of adults were decreed to be baptized in a very short amount of time. The language of the primary texts was overwhelmingly about conversion and not baptism, thus safeguarding the indelibility of baptism. Baptism and conversion also needed to be dissociated from one another to continue to use the “baptized” status as a tool of social control or mechanism of control, by making sure that these communities continued to be under the control of the Church, in addition to the State.

A theological problem arises regarding whether religion is indelible or inheritable or of the “blood,” whether it was thought of as such throughout the sixteenth century, and how the thinking on this changed as the century progressed. Furthermore, how was the

understanding of indelibility impacted by the contemporaneous increased discursive *othering* of groups (in this case descendants of Muslims)? Put differently, whereas at the beginning of the century it was thought that conversion was possible and thus baptism was sought as a means of conversion (in addition to control), by the end of the century conversion was thought of as impossible, regardless of baptism. The possibility of conversion existed at the beginning of the century notwithstanding the recent exile of non-baptized Jews and precursor historical *othering* of Jews. By this is meant that although discursive failures in conversion had been commonly stated regarding the baptized descendants of Jews, the baptisms of Muslims were still sought and thus conversion of Muslims was initially still thought possible, even with baptism being used as tool of control. Another reason to posit that the actual difference between those persons of different religious *otherness* was thought to be surmountable therefore was not inherently apparent.

The contradictions abounded from the onset. Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros treated the non-baptized descendants of Christians, the so-called *helches*, as apostate Christians, although they were not-baptized and perhaps even children of Muslims, and thus arrested them and tried to force them into baptism. Jiménez de Cisneros also pushed the monarchs toward decreeing the baptism of the Granadan Muslims and other Muslims in Castile after the first rebellion of the Alpujarras. Therefore, for Jiménez de Cisneros, Christianity, and not Islam, was indelible and inheritable. By the end of the century, with the discursive racialization of religious *otherness*, although baptism was safeguarded the baptized descendants of Muslims were deemed *non-Christian*. Yet the consequence of this was that the very racialization of religious *otherness* allowed for Islam to be just as indelible and inheritable as Christianity alone was thought to have been. In essence *old Christians* (the Church) chose a closed system over an open system, chose not to have groups of people belong, and justified this by constructing and imposing their indelible *otherness*. *Old Christians* did not want to have these communities be Christian, yet they wanted to control them as Christian communities. Thus, communities of baptized descendants of Muslims could still be controlled because of their lack of conversion, but given their baptism.

Therefore, the discourse of the indelibility and inheritability (*somatization*) of religion supports both the justifications for the expulsions and the narrative of these communities having never converted and thus always having been *crypto-Muslims*. Analyses that take

this discourse as the sole reality lived by members of these various communities miss the ongoing processes of nominalization, *otherness*, and minoritization. Therefore, in identifying the historical shifts in the language used to refer to the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims, and the associated processes, light was shed on the significant difference between the language of the primary texts and the historiographical language of secondary works.

Historiographical

A reality confronted throughout the research and analysis for this project, was that to bring to the fore the historical use of the term “*morisco*,” as well as the other phrases of interest, and the historical changes and associated processes, these needed to be untangled from the historical from the discursive and historiographical, as well as from some overarching historiographical narratives about the history of *Spain* in general, and of the baptized descendants of Muslims in particular. In short, it was concluded that the historical *morisco* may in fact be different from the historians’ *morisco* and the latter is made into the eternal *morisco*. Thus, given this dissonance, the historiographical (over)use of the term “*morisco*” has obfuscated the very discursive processes that led to the construction of the baptized descendants of Muslims as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish* (*suspect* and *alien*), including those done with language (e.g. the term “*morisco*”) as a mechanism of control. The (over)use of the term “*morisco*” becomes an example of the inherent problems with metonymies and homogenous conclusions.

The historians’ (over)use of the term “*morisco*” was identified because the quantitative study of the primary texts revealed how its usage in the primary texts differed from that in secondary works. The analysis verified that the historical *morisco* was different from the historians’, and that the historians’ *morisco* became an eternal *morisco*. This occurred notwithstanding the fact that “*morisco*” was not the only term or phrase used, or statically used, or that it was used always and everywhere. Furthermore, since “*morisco*” was not an instance of *metonymy*, it was shown that it should not always be substituted for the phrases “*new Christian*,” “*newly converted*,” or “*nuevos convertidos*,” etc. For a premature substitution hides the process of nominalization and *othering* discourses, among others. A further problem of using “*morisco*” as *metonymy* or of not understanding “*morisco*” as a trope is that the discursive “*morisco*,” with its negative

connotations, has been read as historical reality, that is, as only being *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*.

The untangling of the historical *morisco* from the historians' *morisco* goes beyond the essential substitution of one term or phrase for another. The untangling requires addressing some of the historiographical impacts of the ideas of *convivencia* and Reconquista, and the veneer of the discourses of the Gothic Myth and so-called Black Legend as paradigms in the study of *Spain*. For example, the fact that there was a proliferation of categories to prevent the baptized descendants of Muslims from being Christians like any other Christians, and the ways this was done discursively at times fits nicely into the *tri/bipartite* religious matrix of the study of *Spain* and its historical multiplicity of religious communities. Yet, this then obfuscates the fact that the dynamics became *intra-Christian* ones rather than *inter-religious* ones. After 1492/1497 there was a *bipartite* religious matrix given the expulsion of peninsular Jews, and after the 1520s there was technically only one religion—Christianity—given the final decreed baptisms of Muslims. Although it is not normative to fit the sixteenth century into the *convivencia* and Reconquista paradigms, the organization of the historical data still orders the history along those lines: animosity between groups and anything said to be “*non-Christian*,” whether factual or not, must fit within the (*inter-*) *tri/bipartite* matrix, and thus belong to Judaism or Islam and not to *Spanish* or Christianity.

As Francisco Marquez Villanueva and others argue, and as presented and discussed in Chapter 2, there are some dominant historiographical errors that complicate the study of the baptized descendants of Muslims. The anachronistic and (over)use of the term “*morisco*” support the tropic historiographical errors (or *a priori* and *de facto* biases) regarding these communities: their *otherness*, irreducibility, inassimilability, lack of conversion, and threat as a *fifth-column*. In essence, the historiography begins from a post-expulsion point of view, thus taking the decreed baptisms as the root cause of the inevitable expulsions, in a teleological, colonial, and modern sense. Underlying this is the wholesale buying into a causation narrative—that the decreed baptisms of the first quarter of the sixteenth century inevitably led to, or could only result in, the expulsions of the beginning of the seventeenth century. An important benefit of trying to overcome these historiographical biases is to better understand how the expulsions were discursively justified.

Some historians have not recognized or noticed that the *othering* of the baptized descendants of Muslims (which required the *somatization* of religion) was a reaction to discursive elements of the so-called Black Legend which had constructed *Spain* as the religious and racial *other* of Europe and England. This was in turn related to the emerging *Spanish*-state and -imperial identities, which were competing with similar identity constructions and claims by other emerging powers, such as the English, Dutch, and French. The more external views of *Spain* *blackened Spaniards* with respect to Europe (thus narrowing the category of *whiteness*), the more *Spain* constructed an identity without those elements which they deemed to be the source of their so-called “*blackness*.”

To sum up, the primary texts of concern for this thesis were analyzed in order to identify the referential language used to name the communities of baptized descendants of Muslims in the peninsula in the sixteenth century. Through the analysis a series of processes including that of nominalization were identified. These processes contributed to discourses of *othering* that constructed these communities as *non-Christian* and *non-Spanish*, thus justifying their expulsions, while still maintaining control of the communities while in the peninsula, given their baptized status. These processes and discourses were part of a broader meta-schema of the *racialization* of religion as it occurred from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries in the *Spanish* realm. In the remaining pages this meta-schema is presented again, as well as a summary of the original contributions of this research as found in this thesis project.

Other conclusions:

There have been several challenges in the approach to and presentation of the findings in this study of primary (and secondary) texts referring to the baptized descendants of Muslims in the sixteenth century. Among the challenges are the inherent problems with the essentializing (*metonymic* and homogenous) tendency in the use of language, combined with the intentional avoidance of using language in the text of this thesis in a stable or static manner. These two polarities are in tension with one another throughout the entire text that results in this thesis.

Another challenge was to avoid using the findings of this research to state that they are applicable to all other data about these same populations. At best, the approach may be transferable; for now, it is only suggested that these conclusions apply to this universe

of texts. Notwithstanding this deconstructionist and catachrestic position, the identification of long-term processes also suggests that there may be some meta-narratives or meta-schemas at work. In this case the meta-schema identified is that of the *racialization* of religion or racialist turn, as specifically related to the *Spanish* referential identity construction. These were all in the pre-Enlightenment; therefore, as a *racialist turn* the meta-schema should not assume all the racial/ethnic connotations that would emerge with the Enlightenment and beyond. In other words, race in this case should not be understood as the construct of race is used today. There are three steps identified here in the racialization of religion, though of course there were many more progressive steps and counter-currents.

The posited first step in the racialization of religion was crystalized and had a genesis with the mass baptisms of Jews at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. With these baptisms a great number of *new* Christians, primarily adults, entered the fold of the Church. As mentioned before, these baptisms occurred without the reintroduction of the catechumenate. Decades after these baptisms, a specific reaction to these communities of Christians emerged in the form of the purity of blood statutes and their proliferation. At this point, although blood was (and is) and may be considered an indelible human characteristic, this blood was not fully attached to race as understood and deconstructed. The issue of blood (interpreted as blood taint) for those descendants of Jews or Muslims, became a continual challenge to the emerging construction of *Spanish*-imperial and -national identity. This is very much a colonial narrative.

Similar to what was later noticed with the referential language of the baptized descendants of Muslims, there had been a proliferation of referential language for the baptized descendants of Jews—language such as “*converso*” and “*marrano*.” It is proposed that that the term “*converso*” should be studied in the same way that “*morisco*” was done here, that is to further strengthen the theorized meta-narrative that the initial stages of the somatization of religion could be traced to the reactions to the mass baptism of Jews and the communities of their baptized descendants. Notwithstanding the expulsion of Jews in 1492/97, the racialization processes continued, and in some ways were transferred to the communities of the baptized descendants of Muslims.

Religion was further somaticized after the mass baptism of Muslims in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the second step. This increased somatization can be seen in the nominalization processes identified before, which made religion increasingly indelible and thus inheritable. The discursive somatization of religion was used as an explanation for the wholesale lack of conversion of **all** baptized descendants of Muslims and thus discursively justified their expulsions. The somatization of religion became the fundamental source of the historiographical mixing of racial/ethnic and religious categories, often without noting this as part of an ongoing discursive process.

Given the internal displacement and later external expulsions, the trans-Atlantic lens brings into relief the overall somatization of religion, or third step. This is because the use of the trans-Atlantic lens, and *Amerindians* as a control group, revealed the difference and the construction of difference, the ways religious categories became racial categories without religion always attached to them. Studying *Amerindians* showed that the difference between baptized descendants of Muslims and baptized descendants of (those that have always been) Christians was mostly constructed, or at the very least initially thought to be surmountable with the passage of time and for subsequent generations. Alongside this is the fact that the processes toward the full conflation of religion and race/ethnicity—*somatization* of religion—in *Spain*, was truncated by the early-seventeenth century peninsular expulsions, thus necessitating finding the next steps in the process elsewhere in the *Spanish* imperial realm. In this case, it was found in México and Perú and understood as functioning as illustrated in the *Sistema de Castas*.

With the conflation of religious and racial categories a full *racialist turn* was completed. As seen in the *Sistema de Castas* the term “*morisco*” lost its religious connotation and was solely used as a racial or *epidermic* category. It is understood that this was part of the completion of the conflation of Islam with sub-Saharan Africa that resulted from the trans-Atlantic sub-Saharan African slave trade. It was this completed process that existed as the Enlightenment emerged.

Originality

In addition to the manner or style of this thesis, in many other ways also this entire project has been quite non-traditional and original. The non-monolithic peninsular Muslim communities of the beginning of the sixteenth century, their baptized descendants

(technically Christians), and generations later those who were eventually expelled, have been the subject of many studies—as discussed in Chapter 2—and as such fall under the general umbrella of “*morisco*” studies. This project has contributed to that field of study in four ways:

First, an unusual quantitative approach to the study of the texts that is used to reach qualitative conclusions. These conclusions included unearthing changes in meaning and usage of referential language used to name baptized descendants of Muslims, including the varied terminology, and the related *othering* processes that corresponded to these changes, which contributed to the discursive justifications of the expulsions. Although the presence of other terminology beyond “*morisco*” has been noted before in other studies, this had not been done specifically with quantifiable, chronological, and regional foci; or to identify processes and the non-static nature of the use of the term.

A second area of creativity in this thesis is the use of a west-to-east trans-Atlantic lens to posit and ascertain the actual level of peninsular difference, including *epidermic* difference, between *old* and *new* Christians. This is an unusual and catachrestic approach to the subject matter in the peninsula. The contemporaneous baptism of *Amerindians*, and the related referential language, was used to help demonstrate the existence of various *othering* discursive processes about the “*new* Christians of the Moors.” The connection to the precursor baptism of Jews served a similar purpose. Taken together, the full processes of *somatization* of religion can then be seen—from the fifteenth, to the sixteenth, to the seventeenth centuries.

The third area of uniqueness is the identification of the changes and related processes regarding the referential language, which brings to the forefront what is obfuscated by the (over)use of the term “*morisco*” by historians, and the *metonymic* use of “*morisco*” by apologists and in the post-expulsion literature. The preferential use of the term “*morisco*” by historians is revealed to be anachronistic (e.g. with an *a priori* expulsion lens), thus missing the steps through which the language changed before it reached “*morisco*”; to be limited to only part of the communities; and to have been understood historiographically as actual difference rather than as discursive and constructed difference. The way in which the “anachronistic” or “*metonymic*” was noted in this project is not the usual way of proving this charge.

Through the analysis of the primary texts and the noting of sometimes subtle changes in the language meaning and usage, other changes or tropes or language choices were identified, such as the use of “*conversion*” instead of “*baptisma*” language—a change not identified before in the study of these communities and their baptism. The (over)use of the term “*morisco*” then can act as an *a priori* biased stance on the impossibility of conversion. Put differently, the language shifts noted in the third item above also aligned with the progression toward the impossibility of conversion, which was, in part, a theological discursive strategy that relied on the dissociation of baptism and conversion from one another, and thus maintained the communities under ecclesiastical control, and ensured the theological (discursive) indelibility and efficacy of baptism. Put differently, if the baptism was not considered valid, the church could not have continued to control these communities through religion; thus, the (discursive) problem was with conversion, not the context of the baptisms.

In the end, the approach to the subject presented here and the conclusions reached in many ways is limited to this particular set of circumstances. Yet, this approach can be applied to contexts in which the historiography speaks of *binaries*, but the historical reality functioned in processes and spectrums. Any context that has been defined as *us* versus *them* could be studied along these lines to discover previously unnoticed processes and justifications for actions toward particular communities. This does not mean that the processes identified will be the same, but that processes nonetheless can be identified. Perhaps if this is done the historiography will come closer to the historical context in many studies.

Appendix 1: Granadan Primary Documents

Doc. Num.	Date	Reference	Page	Phrase	Ref.
1	3 OCT 1497	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.2, 158</i>	158	[Question regarding when to have the town meetings] a causa de que cuando entraban algunos moros en el dicho ayuntamiento no podían entrar el viernes, e agora no entran ni vienen los moros .	1
2	7 APR 1500	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.3, 158-161</i>	160	[Prohibition in the sale of wine to the new Christians] no vendan vino a los crístianos nuevos para beber en sus casas	1
			160	no le vendan a los dichos crístianos nuevos cueros de vino ni botas	2
3	30 SEP 1500	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.5, 163-166</i>	163	[New Capitulations for Baza] los moros de la morería de Baza	1
			163	los dichos moros de la dicha morería	2
			163	los dichos moros se convertirán a nuestra santa fe católica	3
			163	que todos los dichos moros e moras ...se han convertido e convirtieren a nuestra santa fe católica, que sean libres e francos y exentos, desde el día que se han convertido e convirtieren en adelante para siempre jamás, de todos los derechos moriscos que nos sean obligados a dar	4
			164	libres y exentos ...de los dichos derechos moriscos , con tanto que las tales personas que así se convirtieren hayan de dar e paguen desde el día que se convirtieren en adelante, para siempre jamás, el diezmo e primicia...	5

			164	E que hasta el dicho día de la dicha conversión nos hayan de dar e pagar prorrata los dichos derechos moriscos	6
			164	que en todas las cosas concernientes a la nuestra justicia...según que los otros nuestros vasallos cristianos	7
			165	nombradas por los buenos hombres nuevamente convertidos	8
			165	e partes que solían pacer con ellos en tiempo de los reyes moros	9
			165	sean tratados e regidos e gobernados por la orden e manera que los otros vecinos cristianos	10
			165	[pueden vivir] donde viven cristianos	11
			165	que no sean obligados...salvo según lo son e fueren los otros vecinos cristianos	12
			165	[castigado] cualquiera que dixere a cualquier de ellos o de ellas “moro” o “mora” o “tornadizo” o “tornadiza”	13
			165	matando las carnes según e orden e manera que las maten los cristianos e no en otra manera	14
			165	que en el llevar a sus hijos a las iglesias ...sean tratados por la vía e orden e manera que los otros cristianos	15
			165/ 66	[las casas] les queden libres sin tributo ni censo alguno como las otras casas que tienen los otros vecinos cristianos	16
			166	damos por libres...a cinco moros que se vinieron de allende tornándose luego cristianos , de cualquier derecho que sobre ellos o sobre sus viene tengamos.	17
			166	que los dichos moros ...que se convirtieren a nuestra santa fe católica, sean libres y exentos de pedidos e moneda forera e otros servicios, según que los otros vecinos cristianos	18

4	26 FEB 1501	<i>Sínodo de Guadix,</i> <i>A.6, 166-169</i>		<p data-bbox="997 228 1423 261"><i>[New Capitulations for Huescar]</i></p> <p data-bbox="997 282 1388 315">166 [dichos vecinos] se convertían</p> <p data-bbox="997 336 1797 477">167 que todos los dichos vecinos...que se han convertido y convirtieren...sean libres e francos y exentos, desde el día que se convirtieren en adelante para siempre jamás, de todos los derechos moriscos que nos eran obligados a dar e pagar.</p> <p data-bbox="997 498 1797 639">167 libres y exentos...desde el día que se convirtieren en adelante, e sus descendientes, de los dichos derechos moriscos, con tanto que...[den y paguen]...el diezmo e primicia...[como] los crístianos</p> <p data-bbox="997 660 1719 725">167 [otros pagos] que agora nos pagan los nuestros vasallos crístianos</p> <p data-bbox="997 747 1766 812">167 E que hasta el día de la dicha conversión nos hayan de dar e pagar prorrata todos los dichos derechos moriscos</p> <p data-bbox="997 833 1755 898">167 las cosas concernientes a la nuestra justicia...según que los otros nuestros vasallos crístianos</p> <p data-bbox="997 919 1793 984">168 [castigado] cualquier que dixere a cualquier de ellos o de ellas “moro” o “mora” o “tornadizo” o “tornadiza”</p> <p data-bbox="997 1005 1793 1070">168 matando las carnes según e orden e manera que las matan los crístianos e no en otra manera</p> <p data-bbox="997 1091 1486 1123">168 [pueden vivir] donde viven crístianos</p> <p data-bbox="997 1144 1738 1209">168 [contratos] que tienen en letra arábica...tengan en si tanta fuerza e vigor</p> <p data-bbox="997 1230 1738 1295">168 que no sean apremiados a ningún servicio...según que los otros crístianos</p>	<p data-bbox="1829 282 1850 315">1</p> <p data-bbox="1829 336 1850 368">2</p> <p data-bbox="1829 498 1850 531">3</p> <p data-bbox="1829 660 1850 693">4</p> <p data-bbox="1829 747 1850 779">5</p> <p data-bbox="1829 833 1850 865">6</p> <p data-bbox="1829 919 1850 951">7</p> <p data-bbox="1829 1005 1850 1037">8</p> <p data-bbox="1829 1091 1850 1123">9</p> <p data-bbox="1829 1144 1850 1177">10</p> <p data-bbox="1829 1230 1850 1263">11</p>
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5	28 APR 1501	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.7, 169</i>	169	[Regarding issues arising from the exile of some Granadans] en lo que toca a la ida y despacho de los moros	1
6	15 OCT 1501 ⁹⁸⁰	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.6, 281-296</i>	289	[Regarding the erection of churches in the realm] dicha conversión general de los Moriscos	1
			289	las mezquitas de los mismos Moros	2
7	3 JUL 1505	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.9, 170-71</i>	170	[Regarding the drinking of wine by the new Christians] esa dicha ciudad...poblada de muchos crístianos nuevos , los cuales, a la mayor parte, habían venido en tomar desorden de beber vino	1
			170	e no se haga juntamente de los otros crístianos nuevos	2
8	5 MAY 1511	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.11, 309-311</i> <i>Also in Moriscos e Indios, A.4, 121-123</i>	309	[Letter confirming the privileges granted prior to 1501 to some judges, who then had newly converted] modéjares , que antes herades alfaquíes	1
			309	modéjares , que antes herades alfaquíes	2
			310	Gonzalo Fernández e Alonso Fernández, modéjares...	3
			310	modéjares , que antes herades alfaquíes, e soys nuevamente convertidos a nuestra Santa Fé Católica nuestra merced y voluntad	4
			311	modéjares , que antes herades alfaquíes	5

⁹⁸⁰ *Organización de la Iglesia*, Appendix 6. There may be an error in the date attributed in this document 15 OCT 1501, since later in the document (p. 289) there is a reference to the date 24 NOV 1501.

9	20 JUN 1511	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.10, 171-72</i>	171 171 171	<p><i>[From Queen Joanna re: godparents]</i></p> <p>deseo mucho que los nuevamente convertidos del reino de Granada sean, como deben, muy buenos e fieles cristianos e tengan conversación con los cristianos viejos</p> <p>algunos del mi Consejo e con ciertas personas de los dichos nuevamente convertidos, fue acordado que debía mandar dar esta mi carta.</p> <p>de aquí adelante los padrinos e madrinas que los dichos nuevamente convertidos tomaren para los bautismos...e para sus casamientos, sean cristianos viejos, e que no lo pueda ser ningún nuevamente convertido de moro ni judío.</p>	1 2 3
10	20 JUN 1511	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.11, 172-73</i>	172 172 172 172/73	<p><i>[From Queen Joanna re: meat butchering]</i></p> <p>que al tiempo que algunos de los nuevamente convertidos del dicho reino se convirtieron...les fue mandado...que en el degollar de la carne no tuviesen las ceremonias que solían tener en tiempo de moros, sino que las degollasen según y cómo las degüellan los cristianos viejos.</p> <p>ahora...algunos de los nuevamente convertidos...degüellan algunas veces las carnes como solían en tiempo de moros y no las degüella según y cómo los cristianos viejos</p> <p>e deseando que ellos sean buenos e fieles cristianos</p> <p>[platicado] con algunos del mi Consejo e con ciertas personas de los nuevamente convertidos...fue acordado que, para lo que al bien de los dichos nuevamente convertidos cumple...que de aquí en adelante ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos puedan degollar ni degüellen carne...[sino que] donde viven nuevamente convertidos, sean los cristianos viejos, e ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos puedan</p>	1 2 3 4

			173	degollar no degüellen carne, sino por mano de los dichos carniceros;	
			173	y en los lugares sonde no puedan haber cristianos viejos , las degüelle un carnicero de los dichos nuevamente convertidos sin ninguna ceremonia morisca , sino por la orden y manera que lo hacen los cristianos viejos	5
			173	pongáis carniceros cristianos viejos	6
			173	y lugares sonde no pueda haber cristianos cómo el carnicero que allí hubiere mate las dichas carnes sin ninguna de las ceremonias moriscas , sino por la orden y manera que lo hacen los cristianos viejos .	7
11	20 JUN 1511	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.12, 174-75</i>	174	<i>[From Queen Joanna re: Moorish clothing]</i> al tiempo que los nuevamente convertidos ...se convirtieron...[fue decretado que] dende en adelante no hubiese más memoria de las cosas de los moros y estuviesen y viviesen como cristianos, pues lo eran , no pudieran hacer nuevamente ninguna ropa morisca ...sino [vestir] por la forma e manera que las traen los cristianos viejos	1
			174	todavía han hecho e hacen los dichos nuevamente convertidos ...las dichas ropas moriscas e las traen al uso e según las solían traer en tiempo de moros .	2
			174	platicando con algunos del nuestro Consejo e otras personas, en especial con algunos de los nuevamente convertidos ...[mandar] que de aquí en adelante ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos ...no pueden hacer ni hacerse ropa de vestir a la manera de los moros , sino por la forma que traen los cristianos viejos	3

12	14 DEC 1512	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.13, 175</i>	175 175	[<i>Re: what the newly converted tailors can make</i>] alamín de los sastres nuevamente convertidos ...no les cortasen ni hiciesen ningunas ropas moriscas los dichos sastres pueden hacer...jubones a la castellana ...y toda ropa de hombre, excepto marlotas , e que no corten ni hagan ropa alguna para mujeres a la morisca .	1 2
13	29 JUL 1513	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.14, 176-177</i>	176 176	[<i>From Queen Joanna re: godparents</i>] por parte de los nuevamente convertidos ...me es hecha relación que los lugares e alcarias donde no viven crístianos ...los han de traer de fuera [y ellos no quieren] que deseo que ellos sean... buenos y fieles crístianos ...apremiad por todo rigor de justicia a los crístianos viejos , e, donde no hubiere crístianos viejos , hagáis que los del lugar más cercano vengan	1 2
14	29 JUL 1513	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.15, 177-179</i>	177 177 177	[<i>From Queen Joanna re: Moorish clothing</i>] no se hiciesen ni truxesen por los nuevamente convertidos ...las ropas moriscas ...sino que vistiesen a la manera y traxe de los crístianos para que dende en adelante ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos ...no pudiesen hacer ni hiciesen ropa para vestir a la manera de los moros , sino como la traen los crístianos viejos , e que ningún sastre no pudiese traer ni hacer ropa morisca fui informada que los sastres crístianos viejos e mudéjares cortaban las dichas ropas diciendo que a ellos no se entendía ni extendía la dicha Provisión...[ahora se les extiende] no pudiesen hacer las dichas ropas moriscas	1 2 3

			178	todavía hacen las dichas ropas e se visten a la morisca , en especial las mujeres, que todavía traen las dichas almalafas e andan cubiertas las caras	4
			178	al bien de los dichos nuevamente convertidos ...que me certifican que tienen de ser buenos cristianos	5
			178	de las mujeres de los dichos nuevamente convertidos no puedan traer ni traigan almalafas ni cubiertas las caras	6
			178	que este término les doy para que puedan gastar las dichas almalafas	7
			178	traigan mantos de paño e descubiertas las caras, según que andan las cristianas viejas	8
15	29 JUL 1513	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.16, 179-180</i>		<i>[From Queen Joanna re: Moorish clothing worn by old Christian women]</i>	
			179	he sido informada que algunas mujeres cristianas viejas ...no mirando a lo que generalmente tenemos mandado e proveído que los nuevamente convertidos dexen los hábitos e vestidos moriscos y anden al traxe e manera de los cristianos , ellas se visten a la morisca e se cubren con almalafas y, demás del mal exemplo que dan a los nuevamente convertidos ...	1
			179	que de aquí adelante ninguna cristiana vieja no pueda vestir ni vista a la morisca	2
16	29 JUL 1513	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.17, 180-182</i>		<i>[From Queen Joanna re: butchering of meat by the newly converted]</i>	
			180	que en el degollar de las carnes que mataban los nuevamente convertidos ...guardaban las ceremonias que en tiempo de moros e no hacían como lo hacen los cristianos	1

			180	que era que ninguno de los dichos nuevamente convertidos viejos [<i>sic</i>] ⁹⁸¹ las matasen en esta manera	2
			180	donde no pudiese haber carniceros cristianos viejos , que las degollase un carnicero de los dichos nuevamente convertidos sin ningunas ceremonias, salvo por la orden y manera que lo hacían los cristianos viejos	3
			181	di licencia y facultad a los nuevamente convertidos para que cada uno pudiese matar las aves...con tanto que nos las matase con ceremonia morisca	4
			181	los dichos nuevamente convertidos [asked for clarification]	5
			181	porque en las partes donde no hubiere carnicero habrán por bien que el cristiano viejo les degüelle	6
			181	Que en los lugares do hubiere cristianos viejos , aunque no sea ninguno de ellos carnicero, mando que los dichos cristianos viejos maten las dichas carnes, e si los tales cristianos viejos no quisiesen matarlas	7
			181	en los lugares sonde no hubiere cristianos viejos , que el carnicero de los nuevos las mate en presencia del clérigo del lugar	8
17	9 JUN 1514	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.18, 182-184</i>	182	[<i>Indoctrination and instruction of new Christians in Huescar and Castillejar.</i>] que los cristianos nuevos ...fuesen industriados e doctrinados en nuestra santa de católica e hiciesen e cumpliesen lo que los buenos cristianos deben e son obligados a cumplir y dexen sus malas ceremonias moriscas	1

⁹⁸¹ Seems to be a transcription error in adding "viejos" in this context.

			182	proveyendo algunas cosas que tocan a los nuevamente convertidos , mis vasallos...para que sean instruidos en la doctrina e dexen los usos e ceremonias que solían e usaban siendo moros	2
			182	conviene proveer e remediar para la salvación de las animas de los dichos nuevamente convertidos pues por la conversión y santo bautismo son unidos ya a nuestra santa fe católica	3
			182	mando que guarden los dichos nuevamente convertidos lo que adelante se conviene	4
			182	[que] los hijos de los nuevamente convertidos ...sean enseñados e instruidos	5
			183	los curas les enseñen la doctrina cristiana y sean obligados los tales nuevamente convertidos de aprender e saber	6
			183	que las bodas se hagan entre los nuevamente convertidos conforme y en la manera que los crisianos viejos hacen las suyas	7
			183	ni nombrar a otro, nombre de moro	8
			183	[que en ciertos días] tengan los dichos nuevamente convertidos las puertas de sus casas abiertas	9
			184	que los tales crisianos nuevos se afeiten como lo hacen los crisianos viejos	10
			184	en los nuevamente convertidos ...hay mucho desorden en el beber del vino	11
			184	mando que cualquier de los nuevamente convertidos que se emborracharen	12

			184	salvo cuando alguno de los nuevamente convertidos viniere por vino	13
18	19 AUG 1515	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.19, 185-186</i>	185	[<i>Queen Joanna re: drunkenness of new Christians</i>] he sido informada que algunos de los nuevamente convertidos ...a causa del mucho vino que beben se embriagan...e los cristianos viejos se burlan de ellos	1
19	27 JAN 1517	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.20, 186-187</i>	186	[<i>taxes related to zambras</i>] cómo en tiempo de moros había...un derecho morisco llamado tarcón , el cual dicho derecho se llevaba por razón de las zambras ⁹⁸²	1
			186	dar gracia a los dichos moros que se convirtiesen	2
			186	usando con ellos como verdaderos cristianos , les hicieron merced de les mandar quitar todos los derechos moriscos , que no se usan ni llevan, fue vuelto el dicho derecho tarcón que por razón de las dichas zambras e bodas e desposorios se llevan en tiempo de los dichos moros e asimismo se lleva agora siendo cristianos .	3
20	11 MAR 1518	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.21, 187-188</i> see also, <i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.22, 189, on the same subject</i>	188	[<i>Re: the right to monies from zambras received by Fernando Morales</i>] hicieron merced a Fernando de Morales el Fistelí , nuevamente convertido a nuestra santa fe católica, de ciertos derechos que solían pagar en tiempo de moros los juglares e zambrosos	1

⁹⁸² In *Moriscos e Indios* there is a useful glossary (151-153): zambras, from Arabic zamr, music related to the festivities of weddings, etc.

			188	los derechos e servidumbres que en tiempo de moros se solían llevar nos suplicaron...mandásemos a revocar la dicha merced	2
21	2 SEP 1521	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.23, 189-190</i>	189	<i>[Re: sale of wine]</i> por razón que de causa de venderse el vino...en bodegones, hay muchos inconvenientes, acogiéndose en ellos moriscos e otras personas mal vinientes, donde se emborrachan e riñen e hay cuestiones e los moriscos no entienden no entienden en sus haciendas...	1
22	25 AUG 1523	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.24, 190-191</i>	190	<i>[by Francisco Nuñez Muley on behalf of the newly converted regarding godparents]</i> por sí y en nombre de los nuevamente convertidos ...hizo relación	1
			190	su Provisión por la cual mandaron que no se puedan ser padrino ni madrina de ninguno de los dichos nuevamente convertidos ...salvo cristianos viejos	2
			190	en algunas villas e lugares de las alcarias no hay cristianos viejos , de necesidad han de ir a otras partes a buscarlos, y que los tales cristianos viejos ...no quieren ir a lo susodicho sin que se lo paguen muy bien	3
			191	que en algunas de las dichas alcarias no hay cristiano viejo	4
			191	mandásemos proveer mandando que los dichos nuevamente convertidos e qualque de ellos pudiesen ser e fuesen padrinos...pues que ellos ya eran cristianos e tornados a nuestra santa fe católica	5

			191	e lugares del dicho reino hay falta de cristianos viejos para que sean padrinos en los bautismos e velaciones de los dichos nuevamente convertidos 	6
			191	e si por guardar la dicha orden los dichos nuevamente convertidos reciben algún daño o perjuicio	7
			191	no consintáis ni déis lugar a que...los dichos nuevamente convertidos ni algunos de ellos sean maltratados ni molestados.	8
23	25 AUG 1523	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.25, 192-194</i>		<i>[by Francisco Nuñez Muley on behalf of the newly converted regarding butchering of meat]</i>	
			192	por sí y en nombre de los nuevamente convertidos ...hizo relación	1
			192	[it had been decreed] que los dichos nuevamente convertidos no degollasen la carne e que la matasen como la mataban los cristianos viejos ...	2
			192	no la pudiesen matar salvo delante de algún cristiano viejo 	3
			192	[this is of] gran perjuicio de los nuevamente convertidos .	4
			192	E que algunas veces los alguaciles e otras justicias entran en alguna casa de los dichos nuevamente convertidos ...	5
			192	por miedo...no osan matar res ni carne alguna hasta tanto que algún cristiano viejo esté presente	6
			192	E que algunas de las dichas carnicerías no hay abad ni sacristán ni cristiano viejo 	7
			192	especialmente to lugares e villas más baxas porque en las ciudades principales hay muchos cristianos viejos 	8

			193	mandando que todos los dichos nuevamente convertidos e cualquier de ellos, pudiesen matar en presencio o ausencia de cristiano viejo ...	9
			193	los dichos Reyes Católicos...mandaron que tuviesen los dichos nuevamente convertidos sobre el matar de la dicha carne...	10
			193	hay falta de cristianos viejos	11
			193	si de guardarse la dicha orden viene algún daño e perjuicio a los dichos nuevamente convertidos	12
			193	[do not allow] los dichos nuevamente convertidos de ellos sean maltratados...	13
24	3 JUN 1524	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.26, 194</i>		<i>[Regarding choice of burial grounds by the new Christians]</i>	
			194	Platicóse cómo los cristianos nuevos , sin licencia e autoridad de esta ciudad eligieron e escogieron un sitio cual les pareció para enterramiento	1
			194	peticiones dadas por los dichos cristianos nuevos	2
25	18 JUL 1524 18 AUG 1524 9 OCT 1524	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.27, 194-195</i>		<i>[Three ordinances regarding face covering - not specific to any particular women]</i>	
			194	ir cubiertas las caras las mujeres	1
			195	se ofrecen de andar cubiertas las mujeres los rostros	2
			195	de aquí en adelante cubiertos ni atapados los rostros con los mantos, sino descubiertas	3
26	4 NOV 1524	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.28, 196</i>		<i>[On the occasion of receiving the Very Rev. Francisco de Hervás, who will preach the jubilee newly renewed by the Pope]</i>	

			196	que sea recibido con toda veneración e regocijo, pues es tan provechoso para las ánimas e conciencias de los fieles cristianos...	1
			196	Otrosí que por ser el dicho jubileo cosa que nunca en España se ha visto e tan provechoso para las ánima e conciencias de los cristianos...	2
			196	que se haga mandamiento para que los vecinos e personas que tienen cargo de la zambra en la villa de Caniles vengan con todos los juegos e aderezo de la dicha zambra al dicho recibimiento del jubileo...	3
27	27 FEB 1525	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.29, 197</i>	197	<i>[Regarding burial places by/ for new Christians]</i> fue prohibido e defendido que los cristianos nuevos no se enterrasen en los almocabis, por parecer que hacían lo que hicieron en tiempo de moros , mandando que se enterrasen en las iglesias e monasterios de estas ciudad como cristiano, pues lo eran	1
			197	E porque por arte [<i>sic</i>] de los dichos cristianos nuevos...porque son cristianos... [pero] que nos los quieren acoger en ellas.	2
			197	mandaron que pues estos son cristianos , que como tales sean acogidos e enterrados en las iglesias...	3
			197	[speak with the clergy] para saber si hay tal disposición en las dichas iglesias e monasterios que puedan ser enterrados los dichos cristianos nuevos , y, cuando esto no hubiere, la dicha ciudad proveerá...[para] los dichos cristianos nuevos .	4
28	28 APR 1525	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.30, 197-198</i>	197	<i>[Regarding burial places for new Christians]</i> las quejas de los cristianos nuevos	1

			198	mandaron que así los vecinos de Rabarhidar, como de barrio nuevo, e para todos los otros crístianos nuevos de dicha ciudad, se les da e señala por enterramientos la ermita de San Marcos...para que en ellas se puedan enterrar e entierren, con tanto que los crístianos nuevos cubran e aderecen la dicha ermita...a costa de los dichos crístianos nuevos .	2
29	7 DEC 1526	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.31, 198-205</i> <i>Also in Organización de la Iglesia, A.8, 298-305.</i>		<i>[Implementation of recommendations after the Council called by Charles]</i>	
			198	los nuevamente convertidos de ella [Granada]...habiendo recibido agua del bautismo de Espíritu Santo	1
			199	contra nuestra santa fe católica siguiendo su dañada secta primera de Mahoma	2
			199	para que los nuevamente convertidos de moros no tuviesen ocasión	3
			199	seguían la dañada secta de Mahoma y sus errores y ceremonias	4
			199	los nuevamente convertidos	5
			200	lo que toca a las ánimas de los nuevamente convertidos de moros	6
			200	las causas que tocaren al dicho santo oficio, así contra los dichos nuevamente convertidos de moros	7
			201	los daños que los nuevamente convertidos han recibido	8
			201	vivir algunas personas entre los nuevamente convertidos .	9
			201	que ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos no tengan...esclavos moros	10
			201	que no tengan por esclavos ningún crístiano negro ni blanco	11

			201	que no tengan otros mozos de servicio que sean cristianos viejos	12
			202	continuar los dichos nuevamente convertidos a hablar arábigo	13
			202	 los nuevamente convertidos ni sus hijos e hijas...no traigan...unas patenas	14
			202	[patenas con]... letras moriscas	15
			202	los plateros [no labren cosas con] letras e insignias moriscas	16
			202	 los nuevamente convertidos tienen cartas antiguas [contracts written in Arabic]	17
			202	las mujeres que son nuevamente convertidas traigan almalafas ⁹⁸³ en anden cubiertas las caras	18
			202	no traigan de aquí en adelante almalafas ni sábanas	19
			202	traigan las caras descubiertas	20
			202	que ninguna cristiana vieja ande ensombrerada ni atapada, sino que traiga la cara descubierta	21
			203	 las cristianas nuevas de moras ...no se alheñe	22
			203	tenemos información que son espías de los moros	23
			203	[nadie (cirujano ni medico)] de licencia a los nuevamente convertidos	24
			203	algunos de los nuevamente convertidos han rescatado moros de los que están cautivos	25

⁹⁸³ In *Moriscos e Indios* there is a useful glossary (151-153): Almalafa, from the Arabic al-malhafa is a large cape worn by the women in Granada.

			203	prohibido que los nuevamente convertidos de moros ...tengan armas	26
			203	ni den licencia a ningún <i>morisco</i> , aunque sea su vasallo	27
			203-4	llevan a los nuevamente convertidos de moros farda e otros derechos para consentirles que usen de alguna costumbre morisca	28
			204	los nuevamente convertidos de moros ...no se pueden pasar a vivir de unos lugares a otros	29
			204	los dichos nuevamente convertidos no quieren comer carne si no es degollada por mano de alguno de ellos	30
			204	no degüelle la carne ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos de moros	31
			204	los dichos nuevamente convertidos hacen muchos casamientos con dispensaciones	32
			204	que algunos de los nuevamente convertidos se llaman nombres y sobrenombres de moros	33
			205	tiene agora nombre o sobrenombre que suene a moro , lo quite...y tome otros nombres de cristiano	34
			205	que cualquier de los nuevamente convertidos fuere contra lo contenido de este capítulo, este diez días en la cárcel	35
			205	y hacen a los nuevamente convertidos tomar bulas por fuerza	36
30	10 DEC 1526	<i>Moriscos e Indios, A.9, 139-148</i>		<i>[Implementation of recommendations after the Council called by Charles]</i>	
			139	fui informado que los nuevamente convertidos de él habían hecho y cometido e de cada día hacían e cometían muchas	1

		Also in <i>Sínodo de Guadix</i> , A.32, 206-213 ⁹⁸⁴		cosas graves contra nuestra santa fe católica, siguiendo su dañada secta primera de Mahoma e sus ritos e ceremonias...	
			140	en las causas matrimoniales e otras cosas de importancia tocantes a estos nuevamente convertidos	2
			140	los desposorios y velaciones y bodas que hicieren los nuevamente convertidos , no se hagan las ceremonias y ritos moriscos que hasta aquí se hacían ni algunas de ellas, sino que se haga como se hace entre cristianos viejos .	3
			140	que tengan sus puertas abiertas durante la boda y salgan a misa como lo hacen los cristianos viejos	4
			140	los viernes y vísperas e días de fiestas tengan abiertas las puertas de sus casas como lo hacen los cristianos viejos .	5
			140	...porque diz que no lo hacen por algunos respetos que tienen para no imitar a los cristianos viejos	6
			140	que la partera no haga la ceremonia del <i>guadó</i> en la criatura, no la ofrezca a la morisca , ni se vistan <i>alcandora</i> , ni hagan a la criatura la <i>coça</i> ... ⁹⁸⁵	7
			140	que no se puedan juntar sin que haya cristiano viejo entre ellos.	8
			140	que con la partera morisca este presente...alguna crisiana vieja , porque no se haga alguna ceremonia morisca .	9
			140	se lleven los niños a bautizar...[sin] alheña	10

⁹⁸⁴ There is a discrepancy between the transcriptions of these two documents. Both documents include the same material but in a different order. Starting in the middle of line 2 on page 210 of *Sínodo* and continuing through line 24 of page 211 of *Sínodo* is found starting at the bottom of page 145.

⁹⁸⁵ In *Moriscos e Indios* there is a useful glossary (151-153): *Guadó* comes from the Arabic *wadu*, in this case the purification immediately after birth; *alcandora*, a shirt; *coça*, from the Arabic *qussa*, shaving the head of the newborn, ritually equivalent to circumcision.

			140	que en el bautismo se le pongo nombre y sobrenombre de cristiano e no otro	11
			141	[no patenas] con ciertas letras morisca ...ni con otras letras e insignias moriscas , ni otra cosa de la que los moros solían traer	12
			141	[clérigos] que dan mal ejemplo a los nuevamente convertidos de moros	13
			141	hacen vejaciones a los nuevamente convertidos , prohibidles la granjería [que les distrae]	14
			141	[agravios] que me han dado los nuevamente convertidos es que los clérigos les lleven derechos ⁹⁸⁶ por administrarles los santos sacramentos y doctrinarlos	15
			141	Pero no se descuiden de trabajar como todos los cristianos, así nuevos como viejos e sus hijos e hijas concurran a la misa...	16
			141	tengan cuidado de saber si los cristianos viejos van a misa, e no se haga diferencia en la pena de los unos a los otros.	17
			142	y provean que los moriscos , cuando murieren, no los entierren otros moriscos , sino que los entierren cristianos viejos ...	18
			142	E que en sus enterramientos no haya ni se haga ninguna ceremonia, e los entierren como cristianos	19
			142	que ningún <i>gazí</i> , ⁹⁸⁷ hombre ni mujer, pida para su rescate en este arzobispado...porque su conversación con los	20

⁹⁸⁶ payments

⁹⁸⁷ In *Moriscos e Indios* there is a useful glossary (151-153): gazí, from the Arabic *gazi*, meaning freed or captive Muslim slaves (associated with North Africa and Turkey)

				nuevamente convertidos de moros trae grandes inconvenientes.	
			143	hagáis [el prelado] llamar ante vos a todos los cristianos viejos e cristianos nuevos de judíos e mudéjares que vivieren en los lugares que visitaren, e sepáis [de] dónde son e a dónde se bautizaron e cuándo a qué vinieron a este reino y con qué licencia.	21
			144	que especialmente tengan cuidado de predicar la doctrina cristiana llanamente, e cosas morales, e doctrina tocante a la fe y contra la secta y ceremonias de Mahoma...	22
			145	sean enseñados en las cosas de la fe los dichos nuevamente convertidos . E póngase en ello todo lo que han de creer e saber, e lo que han de hacer como cristianos , e las cosas que no han de hacer porque son ritos o ceremonias de moro ...	23
			145	los doctrinen a todos	24
			145	en la predicación de ellas [bulas] se hacen engaños a los nuevamente convertidos	25
			145	e que no sean los cristianos nuevos compelidos para las tomar por fuerza ni por repartimiento, sino que las tomen de su voluntad los que quisieren.	26
			147	para mejor doctrina e enseñamiento de los cristianos	27
			147	en lugares sonde hubiere cristiano viejo que quiera degollar carne, no se consienta que la degüelle ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos , e donde no hubiere, que la degüelle la persona que el clérigo de tal lugar aprobare...pues veis cuánto importa vedar esto que los nuevamente convertidos hacen.	28

			147/48	por el beneficio que se recibirá en que los nuevamente convertidos tengan deudo e comunicación con cristianos viejos , procurad con mucho cuidado y diligencia que se casen cristianos viejos con nuevos , e que algunos de los cristianos viejos vayan a vivir entre cristianos nuevos , porque los vean hacer señales e obras de cristianos .	29
31	7 DEC 1526 (1506?)	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.9, 305-307</i>	305 305 305 305 306 306	<i>[Implementation of recommendations after the Council called by Charles]</i> ha muy poco tiempo que se ganaron e tomaron de los moros para que informen a los fieles cristianos , mayormente a los nuevamente convertidos en lo que han de hacer y obrar donde los hijos de los cristianos , especialmente de los nuevamente convertidos ...sean enseñados e doctrinados en las cosas de la fé y otras loable costumbres. que los primeros que en ella se pusiesen sean los hijos de los dichos nuevamente convertidos que los religiosos de ellos anden predicando y enseñando la doctrina evangélica e instituyendo en ellas los cristianos, mayormente los nuevamente convertidos , que tienen necesidad dello la mucha ocupación y ejercicio que por agora doblemente han de tener en predicar y enseñar y mostrar e doctrinar los cristianos especialmente los dichos nuevamente convertidos	1 2 3 4 5 6
32	n.d. prior to 1507	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.10, 307-309</i>	307	<i>[This entire document is addressed to the newly converted and to all the practices they should follow; here follow only the references that explicitly specify a Christian comparison.]</i> de saber y hacer lo que los buenos cristianos son obligados	1

		Also in <i>Moriscos e Indios</i> , A.3, 117-119 Also in <i>Sínodo de Guadix</i> , A.4, 161-163	307 308 308 308 308 308 308 309	olvidéis toda ceremonia y toda cosa morisca que vuestras criaturas sean bautizadas a los ocho días Que hagan los testamentos y obras pías como católicos cristianos que sean y seáis sepultados ...según que lo hacen los cristianos de nación Que sean desposados...y cuando se casaren recsiban las bendiciones en la iglesia que, entre los cristianos , se llaman velaciones. Que tengáis cofradías como tienen los cristianos ayunar los ayunos de los cristianos para que vuestra conversación sea sin escándalo de los cristianos de nación y no piensen que aun tenéis la secta de Mahoma en el coraçón, es menester que vos conforméis en todo y por todo a la buena y honesta conversación de los buenos y honestos cristianos y cristianas en vestir, calçar y afeitar y en comer y en mesas...	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
33	25 JUN 1529	<i>Sínodo de Guadix</i> , A.33, 214-215	214 214 214	<i>[Letter reminding clergy that the orders of the 1526 Congregation must be kept and to correct some misconduct of clergy regarding testaments of the newly converted.]</i> <i>[In 1526]</i> se ordenaron y acordaron muchas cosas necesarias y provechosas para la doctrina y enseñamiento de los nuevamente convertidos de ese reino excepto en lo que toca a las almalafas al tiempo que algún nuevamente convertido hace su testamento	1 2 3

			214	conocerán los nuevamente convertidos que tienen ellos libertad para ordenar su testamento...	4
			215	ven algunos agravios que diz que reciben los nuevamente convertidos	5
			215	avisaren de agravios que se hagan a los dichos nuevamente convertidos , en lo que toca a personas eclesiásticas...	6
34	1529	<i>Epistolario Gaspar de Ávalos, A.2. 209-210</i>	209	<i>[Writing about the many threats to the kingdom]</i> Mucho se debe temer salir a coyuntura que quedan en estos reynos <i>[sic.]</i> más de cincuenta mil personas para tomar armas de los nuevamente convertidos de moros , andando los de África...	1
35	22 FEB 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.34, 215-216</i>	215	<i>[Regarding newly converted women who had been wearing old Christian clothing but have begun wearing Moorish clothing.]</i> que las mujeres e hijas de los mudéjares nuevamente convertidos ...siempre anduvieron en hábito de cristianos viejos , trayendo sus tocas e sayas e mantos de paño, en lo cual daban buen exemplo a los otros nuevamente convertidos , han tomado el hábito morisco por conformarse con las moriscas de esa ciudad	1
			215	los cristianos viejos que las compraron, las traxeron a estos reinos de Castilla y las convirtieron a nuestra santa fe y les mostraron la doctrina cristiana, e las mujeres en habito de cristianas viejas , y después acá todas se han rescatado y vuelto a los dichos lugares, en los cuales han estado en hábito de cristianas viejas hasta que, de poco tiempo a esta parte, lo han dexado y se han vuelto a poner el morisco , y de la	2

			216	conversación que del dicho hábito tienen con las otras moriscas , han olvidado la doctrina cristiana... mandando que dexasen el dicho hábito morisco e traigan el hábito de cristianas viejas como antes.	3
36	22 FEB 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.35, 216-217.</i>	216	<i>[Regarding newly converted women who had worn old Christian clothing but are going back to Moorish clothing]</i> las mujeres e hijas de los mudéjares de esta ciudad nuevamente convertidos e las mujeres que fueron cautivas en Guejar cuando el lugar se reveló. Agora treinta años, habían dexado el hábito de cristianas viejas que traían, e traen el de las moriscas ...porque, so color del hábito morisco , cometen y hacen muchos delitos	1
37	20 JUN 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.36, 217-218</i>	217	<i>[zambra prohibition]</i> que no se hiciesen ceremonias de moros en zambras que se solían hacer en las bodas de los nuevamente convertidos	1
			217	han dado licencia para que se hagan dichas zambras, son tanto que no hubiese en ellas las dichas ceremonias, y que agora que vos la habéis hecho quitar del todo...los dichos convertidos diz que tienen mucho descontento, diciendo, que, no haciendo en ellas ninguna ceremonia morisca ...	2
			217	se pudiesen hacer las dichas zambras sin perjuicio de nuestra fe e sin que en ellas interviniese ninguna ceremonia morisca	3
38	1 JUL 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.37, 218-220</i>	218	<i>[regarding the reform of the customs of the newly converted]</i> proveerse para enderezar y encaminar la salvación de las ánimas de los nuevamente convertidos ...	1
			218	que los cristianos nuevos no hablasen la lengua árábica...	2

			218	En lo que decís de las almalafas ...que no se truxesen	3
			219	que para animar a los nuevamente convertidos y atraerlos a nuestras santa fe, sería bien que el cristiano nuevo que se casase con crisiana vieja fuese libere de farda o que pudiese traer armas, y que el cristiano viejo que se casase con crisiana nueva asimismo fuese libre de la farda de la hacienda que hubiese con su mujer...	4
			219	que no se dé lugar que los cristianos nuevos se casen por dispensaciones...	5
			219	que todos los mudéjares, mujeres e cristianos nuevos que fueren a ese reino, traigan hábito de cristianos viejos .	6
			219	que trabaxáis con las mujeres moriscas para que dexen el hábito...	7
			219	haced llamar a esos dos cristianos nuevos ...	8
			220	Yo escribo a los nuevamente convertidos de ese reino...encargándoles que muden el hábito...	9
39	1 JUL 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.38, 220</i>	220	<i>[Regarding abandoning Moorish clothing]</i> Honrados vasallos nuestros, nuevamente convertidos	1
			220	quitar las cosas que os dan ocasión a que os acordéis de la mala secta y errores pasados...los hábitos y vestidos que traéis del tiempo que no érades cristianos ...	2
			220	que dexéis el dicho hábito y de aquí adelante os vistáis e traigáis vosotros e vuestros hijos los vestidos e hábitos de la manera que los cristianos viejos de ese reino visten y los traen...	3

40	28 JUL 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.39, 221</i>		<i>[Regarding change in marriage in prohibited degrees in the Crusade Bull]</i>	
			221	[anteriormente] se mandó que los nuevamente convertidos ...no pudiesen casar estando en grados prohibidos...	1
			221	parece que algunos de los dichos nuevamente convertidos quieren usar de la dicha facultad. <i>[lifting of the restriction of the 3rd and 4th degrees by the Pope]</i>	2
			221	porque en negarles la dicha facultad que es concedida generalmente a todos , parece que podrán decir que se les hace sinrazón...	3
			221	que todas las dispensaciones que se hubieren de hacer con los dichos nuevamente convertidos de ese reino, vos las hagáis...	4
41	29 JUL 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.40, 222</i>		<i>[Regarding change in marriage in prohibited degrees in the Crusade Bull]</i>	
			222	las dispensaciones que se han de hacer de matrimonios con los nuevamente convertidos del reino de Granada por virtud de la dicha Bula de la Cruzada...	1
			222	damos poder e facultad a vuestra Señoría para que pueda dispensar y dispense con los nuevamente convertidos ...en lo tocante a los matrimonios en los grados...	2
42	23 SEP 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.41, 223-224</i>		<i>[Regarding use of Arabic and Moorish dress by new Christians; incentive for the marriage between old and new Christians; zambras]</i>	
			223	que se provea sobre el hábito y lengua que los dichos nuevamente convertidos traen...	1

			223	el premio y gracia que se debía hacer a los cristianos nuevos que se casasen con cristianas viejas y a los cristianos viejos que se casasen con cristianas nuevas , y no se determinó merced ni gracia...	2
			223	En lo que toca a los de las zambras, que se ha mandado que no se tañan...[para que] se evita que los dichos nuevamente convertidos no tengan ocasión de pecar.	3
43	6 NOV 1530	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.42, 224-225</i>		<i>[Regarding the incentives that were given for new and old Christians who intermarried.]</i>	
			224	[3 males] nuevamente convertidos ...Francisco de Santafé es casado con Luisa, hija de Iñigo López e de su mujer, que son cristianos viejos , y su padre, Hernando de Santafé, se convirtió a nuestra santa fe católica muchos años antes de la conversión general de los moros ...[1501]	1
			224	y el dicho Bartolomé de Priego es hijo de cristiana vieja y casado con Juana de Vivar, cristiana vieja , hija de Francisco de Zamora, cristianos viejo ;	2
			224	y el dicho Miguel de Andaxire, casado con Leonor de Vargas, cristiana vieja .	3
			224	...han y deben gozar de todas las honras, gracias, preeminencias, prerrogativas e inmunidad de que ven y gozan los cristianos viejos ...	4
			224	E por haberse juntado e casado con cristianas viejas se les ha de dar las tierras que Nos les prometimos...pues sus obras eran de servirnos e juntarse con cristianos viejos ...	5
			224	e por haber hecho son maltratados algunos nuevamente convertidos ...	6

			224	mandase que les fuesen guardadas las dichas honras...que se guardan y deben guardar a los cristianos viejos ...	7
			224/25	y como cristianos viejos mandase que no se les reparta farda ni otros servicios de los que se reparten entre los cristianos nuevamente convertidos , en que no pagan ni contribuyen los cristianos viejos ...	8
			225	se daría causa que todos los cristianos nuevos se casen con los cristianos viejos , y cesaría la comunicación de <i>moriscos</i> y se les olvidaría su secta y ceremonias...	9
			225	que porque muchos cristianos viejos pobre se van a las alquerías a vivir entre los <i>moriscos</i> y es vezan nuestra santa fe católica y se quieren casar con las hijas de los cristianos viejos , mandásemos que los dichos cristianos viejos gocen de rozas y montes y otras cosas...	10
			225	que se debía conceder a los cristianos nuevos de este reino que se casasen con hijas de cristianos viejos , e a cristianos viejos con hijas de cristianos nuevos ...que se hará mucho fruto para el aumento de nuestra santa fe católica...	11
44	1530 ⁹⁸⁸	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.43, 226-234</i>		<i>[Instructions given by Archbishop Gaspar de Avalos to Canon Núñez as a result of the recent visitation]</i>	
			226	salud de estas ánimas que me fueron encomendadas...	1
			227	la grande diferencia que hay de las cosas que son menester y hay acá a las que hay y son menester en Castilla.	2
			228	para que miren mucho lo que conviene proveer para la salud de las ánimas de los de aquel obispado y el señor obispo,	3

⁹⁸⁸ The text editor attributes this date to the text based on mention of Canon Esteban Núñez. See Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, 226.

				<p>porque están en gran peligro y perdimiento: los cristianos viejos, por estar divididos a causa suya de unos contra otros; los nuevos, por estar oprimidos y pechados y extremadamente escandalizados de lo que ven y oyen de continuo en quien les había de dar santo y buen ejemplo; y los clérigos deshonestos y altivos y tiranizadores y dexados en sus propios vicios y pecados...</p>	
			228	cómo están aquellos cristianos nuevos muy peores con nuestra santa fe que cuando eran moros ...	4
			229	porque no crezca esta pestilencia para las ánimas que será dificultosa de curar si se arraiga en ella.	5
			229	En lo que toca a los <i>moriscos</i> conviene ante todas las cosas, porque esta gente de su natural es liviana y cualquier cosa les altera...[se añade una munición de artillería y se complete la cerca]	6
			229	no osaría ningún cristiano nuevo ponerse a peligro	7
			230	de los cuales al presente hay muchos u huelgan con pensamiento de pagar dos veces la farda y los otros derechos, una vez en los lugares donde son naturales y otra en los que agora residen.	8
			230	esta gente en lo que toda a nuestra santa fe católica está muy dura...en todas las cosas que hacen por su voluntad, sin ser apremiados a ello, pecan, y, por el contrario, siendo forzados no; y así que su todos, dexándolos de apretar, tornaría su secta maldita...han de ser castigados con algún más rigor...	9
			230	...porque nunca ellos estuvieron con tanta libertad, ni en tiempo de moros ...	10

			230	Y si quisieren saber en qué están más dignos y pertinaces contra nuestra santa fe católica, diréis que especialmente en los que toca al misterio de la santísima Trinidad...[la pasión, los sacramentos]	11
			230	si no hay cristiano viejo alguno a quien haya temor...	12
			230	error acerca del sacramento del matrimonio	13
			230	error en el sacramento de la penitencia	14
			231	están herejes los más de ellos en lo de la predestinación	15
			231	esta nación se gobierna más por temor que no por amor, y como han visto que la inquisición se hace con ellos más benignamente...muchos de ellos están peores que de antes...	16
			231	tienen ellos por muy mayor pecado dexar a sus hijos pobres e inhabilitados que ser moros ...	17
			231	esta gente sigue mucho a sus mayores y le son muy obedientes, que algunos alfaquís, y otras personas de edad a quien ellos tienen por sabios, en los cuales hay grandes señales de moros , porque, aunque no hagan manifiestas ceremonias ni ritos de ello, en la poca muestra que tienen de cristianos y en no conversar con ellos ni ir a la iglesia ni hacer los que son obligados ni son forzados a ello, descubren lo que tienen en el corazón, aunque no hubiere tan bastantes probanzas contra ellos...	18
			231	muchas señales que ayunan el ramadán y que se nombran nombres de moros y que matan la carne con ceremonia...	19
			231	parecería muy bien que a las personas de ellos que se casaren con cristianos viejos se les hiciese gracia...	20

			231	y que los padres o hermanos de las nuevas cristianas , que por el semejante se casasen con cristianos viejos , gozasen del mismo privilegio	21
45	10 MAR 1532	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.44, 234</i>	234	<i>[Regarding the music, song, and dances of the newly converted.]</i> Por parte de los cristianos nuevos ...que los días pasados fue por Nos mandado que no se juntasen a tañer y cantar y bailar...a causa de que cantaban algunos cantares que nombraban a Mahoma...	1
			234	poner pena a los que cantaren cantares a Mahoma	2
46	12 NOV 1532	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.45, 235-237</i>		<i>[That only old Christians can work in the baths; and restrictions on Sundays and Feast days for new Christians]</i>	
			235	que los bañadores y bañadoras que hubiese en los baños que hay en ese reino fuesen cristianos e cristinas viejas e no hubiese en ellos ningunos cristianos nuevos ...	1
			235	e todavía diz que van los cristianos nuevos los domingos antes de misa...	2
			235	persona ninguna fuese los días de fiesta a los baños antes de misa...	3
			236	mandamos que las personas que hubieran de servir en los dichos baños sean cristianos viejos, e cristianas viejas para las mujeres, y que ninguno de los nuevamente convertidos ...	4
			236	...que en los baños que en ese reino hubiere ni en ninguno de ellos sirvan cristianos nuevos ni cristinas nuevas ...	5
			236	mandamos que ninguno ni algunos de los nuevamente convertidos , así hombres como mujeres, no vayan a los baños los domingos ni fiestas de guardar antes de misa...	6

			236	...e bien de las ánimas de los cristianos nuevos	7
47	1532	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.4, 214-216</i>	215	<i>[Instructions to the Abbot of Ugíjar]</i> Yren direys a su magestad como viven muchos de los cristianos nuevos ...y los yndiçios evidentes que ay para creer que en sus coraçones se estan moros como antes ...	1
			215	para remedio de tanto mal convenía sacar de entre esta gente los alfaquies que fueron en tiempo de moros y otras personas sabias en su seta...	2
			215/ 6	[even if not punished in the kingdom]...sino mandalle salir desta tierra	3
			216	los que quedasen que tenemos por cierto que en quinze o veinte años no se acordaran desta mata seta y serían mejores cristianos que los cristianos viejos	4
			216	que se sigue grande perjuicio a las personas que compran hacienda destes nuevamente convertidos	5
			216	paresçen los moradores moros sin rey	6
48	Early 1530s	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.46, 237-243</i>	240	<i>[Instructions given by Archbishop Gaspar de Avalos to the Reverend Doctor Utiel; first half is all about the Diocesan needs including the founding of a university, absent clergy and the newly converted, etc.]</i> [para el colegio] dexó Su Magestad los quatrocientos mil maravedís de juro, en recompense de los habices que lleva, que estaban en tiempos de moros dedicados para enseñar a los niños en su mala secta...pues, aquello estaba aplicado para enseñar niños moros , se convirtiese en enseñarles lo que tocaba a nuestra santa fe católica...	1

			241	...que estos nuevamente convertidos no se diferencien de los cristianos viejos en el hábito y lengua, como hasta aquí, porque es causa que no se comuniquen con nosotros, donde se les podría pegar nuestras costumbres...	2
			241	...proveer que hablasen nuestra lengua y vistiesen como nosotros.	3
			241	que Su Majestad gratificase a los que se casasen con cristianas viejas o a las moriscas que se casasen con cristianos viejos , y esto se podría hacer con que el <i>morisco</i> que lo hiciese fuese libre de la farda, él y sus sucesores...porque de esta manera se mezclarían.	4
			241	para seguridad de este reino y para la quietud de muchos...convenía que las galeras invernasen en esta costa	5
49	6 FEB 1534	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.11, 228</i>	228	[Regarding the latest sentences from the Inquisition] un acto en que quemaron ocho destos cristianos nuevos y penitenciaron más de setenta	1
50	28 NOV 1534	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.13, 231-233</i>	231	[Requesting funds for a school] los primeros sean hijos de nuevamente convertidos ...que los enseñen y doctrine en las cosas de la santa fee catholica y en otras buenas y loables costumbres...	1
			231	para ayudar a los gatos que se hacen contra los moros e turcos ... [remaining references to the students are as <i>niños</i>]	2
51	1534	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.15, 235-237</i>	235	[The Bishop connecting his work to the King's front in Africa] lo qual acreçiente nuestro señor muy mucho en esta Africa...començando su magestad la Guerra en ella de que	1

			236	ganaría toda esta gente nuevamente convertida porque se les quitaría la esperanza de pasarse allá...	
			236	El segundo que no ternan los moros de la tierra pensamiento de pasarse en barcos hurtados...lo qual les estorva que no sean tan buenos cristianos como serian o a los menos procurarían de parecerlo sino tuviesen esperanza de pasarse.	2
			236	y todos aquellos lugares que están despoblados se poblarían de cristianos viejos ...	3
52	7 AUG 1535	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.47, 243</i>	243	<i>[Calling for a zambra after the fall of Tunis]</i> para que se vengan las zambras a esta ciudad...	1
53	15 DEC 1535	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.17, 239-246</i>	240	<i>[The Bishop connecting his work to the King's front in Africa]</i> porque espero que allende de ser el camino y fundamento por do se a de conoçer de todos estos convertidos nuestro señor y todos los de Africa que esperamos que ha presto con su sancta graçia de ganar...	1
			240	que las personas della [Granada] estén más honestas y honrradas, más paçificas y desenbargadas	2
54	9 AUG 1536	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A. 19, 247-248</i>	248	<i>[Instructions for Canon Vélez to take to a meeting in Toledo]</i> para ayudar a que se salve este pueblo nuevamente convertido	1
55	1536	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.24, 256-257</i>	257	<i>[Instructions for Juan de Aranjuez on his visitation to the Alpujarras]</i> Tratara con amor y caridad a los nuevamente convertidos ...	1
56	1537	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.27, 262-264</i>		<i>[Further instructions on the visitation to the Alpujarras]</i>	

			266	Ynformaros del procurador de los christianos nuevos de Alpujarra que agravios son los que dizen que reciben los dichos christianos nuevos	1
57	10 FEB 1538	<i>Epistolario de Gaspar de Ávalos, A.29, 267-271</i>		<i>[Gaspar de Avalos writes to the bishops of México and Antequera]</i>	
58	4 FEB and 4 MAR 1539	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.48, 244-248</i>		<i>[Resolutions regarding the newly converted and the Inquisition]</i>	
			244	...de los nuevamente convertidos de moros ...sobre cosas tocantes al santo oficio de la Inquisición...	1
			244	[Q.]...que los capítulos que tienen los reverendos inquisidores de ritos y ceremonias tocantes a los nuevamente convertidos de moros , sean divididos de los crístianos nuevos de judíos ...y que no queden en capítulos de Inquisidor más de las cinco ceremonias conocidas tocantes a la secta de los moros ...	2
			244	[A.]...no vayan mezcladas las ceremonias de moros con las de los judíos ...	3
			245	...que no se reciba testificación de ceremonias de judíos contra los crístianos nuevos de moros ...	4
			245	...demás de las cinco ceremonias que dicen, se debe proceder contra otros delitos de la secta de Mahoma, como contra sospechosos de nuestra santa fe católica...	5
			245	[Q.]...haga merced a los dichos nuevamente convertidos de moros de concederles perdón general de todo lo pasado, sin ninguna condición de confesión ni otra cosa, por las dificultades y poca habilidad que tienen.	6

			245	[A.] se les han dado dos términos de gracia...se les podría conceder de nuevo otro término de gracia [but only after confession]	7
			245	[Q.] atento las dichas dificultades y poca habilidad y experiencia de negocios que los dichos nuevamente convertidos tienen... [<i>Petition not granted</i>]	8
			246	[Q.] [que los herejes] no pierdan sus bienes [porque] quedan sus cargas de los servicios con que sirven a Vuestra Majestad los dichos cristianos nuevos ...[y hay un daño general] y que vengan e hayan los tales bienes los hijos y herederos de los tales delincuentes. [<i>Petition not granted</i>]	9
			246	...que algunos que recibieren reconciliación con cárcel y hábito, los destierren...	10
			246	...para que los moriscos se abstuviesen de cometer errores contra la fe.	11
			246	[Q.] que a las personas de los dichos nuevamente convertidos que les fuere puesto el hábito de penitencia...les sean quitados libremente sin ninguna limosna...	12
			246/47	[A.] dixeron que los hábitos que se ponen a los moriscos por tiempo limitado, pasado el dicho término, se les quiten sin que den cosa alguna...	13
			247	[Q.] a causa de la poca habilidad de los dichos cristianos nuevos tienen temor a los jueces...que si algunos pecados cometen, es más por ignorancia que por malicia.	14
			247	[Q.] que en lo de las zambras declare no ser pecado...antes entre los moros tienen por pecado oír zambras y estar en ellas los que se tienen por buenos moros...	15

			247	[A.] Que si en las zambras que los cristianos nuevos de moros hicieren ni interviniere herejía ni apostasía ni sospecha de ella ni otra cosa que sea contra nuestra santa fe católica, que los inquisidores no procedan contra ellos; pero si en las dichas zambras se cantaren loores de Mahoma u otra cosa que sea en ofensa...	16
59	c. 1539 ⁹⁸⁹	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.49, 248</i>	248	<i>[Summarizes requests from the newly converted discussed in the previous document]</i>	
60	c. 1539 ⁹⁹⁰	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.50, 248</i>	248	<i>[The financial benefits to the Crown of offering the concessions requested above in A.48]</i> con ceder a los confesos que sus bienes no fuesen confiscados...y librarlos de llevar el sanbenito...[y los confesos fuera del reino] puedan repatriarse...	1
61	n.d. c.1539	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.51, 249-250</i>	249	<i>[Letter from the Marquee of Mondejar regarding the newly converted; it refers to some of the recommendations from 1539 (see A.48 above)]</i> Lo que parece que se podría conceder en lo que piden los nuevamente convertidos es:	1
			249	Que, atenta la manera de su conversión y la poca doctrina...se les perdonase generalmente todas las culpas...sin que preceda confesión ni reconciliación...	2
			249	Que los bienes de los que de aquí adelante fueren condenados, no se confisquen...	3

⁹⁸⁹ Folio adjacent to the previous document.

⁹⁹⁰ Folio adjacent to the previous documents.

			249	y porque los cristianos viejos anden y contraten más libremente con ellos...	4
			249	Que se haga diligente examinación de las cosas que son de ley de moros , y aquellas se pongan en los edictos, y no las otras que no son de la ley de moros ...	5
			249	Que lo susodicho gocen todos los que se convirtieron después que se ganó Granada y sus descendientes, y que todos, sin exceptuar ninguno, contribuyan y paguen en este servicio.	6
			250	...que se haga lo mismo con los cristianos nuevos de mudéjares que viven fuera del reino de Granada...	7
62	n.d. c.1539	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.52, 250-251</i>		<i>[refers to some of the recommendations from 1539 (A.48 above), especially regarding concern over false testimony against the newly converted]</i>	
			250	que los nuevamente convertidos pretenden asegurarse, no solamente de los crímenes y delitos que han cometido, más de aquellos de que podrían ser falsamente acusados...	1
			250	...no se levantara falso testimonio confesando lo que hicieron generalmente y diciendo que siempre han sido hasta aquel día moros y que nunca fueron cristianos , como se sabe que lo han hecho algunos.	2
			250	en el segundo capítulo de confiscarles solamente la mitad de los bienes por término de 25 ó 30 años [c.1565-1570]	3
63	n.d. c.1539	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.53, 251-252</i>		<i>[Inquisition response to the recommendations of 1539]</i>	
			251	en lo que se ha pedido para los nuevamente convertidos de moros ...	1
			251	...les parece que sería harto pequeño servicio que los dichos nuevamente convertidos de moros sirviesen a Su Majestad	2

			251	con los ciento veinte mil ducados por su parte ofrecidos, con que se les hiciese remisión general de todos los delitos por ellos cometidos hasta aquí, confesándolos por escrito...y sean por ellos absueltos sin imponérseles pena alguna temporal...	3
			251	<i>[about not confiscating property for heresy or apostasy]</i> ...porque de ello se seguiría ocasión y atrevimiento por ellos y todos sus hijos sin temor cometiesen los dichos delitos y fuesen moros ...	4
			251/52	se les confiscasen sino la mitad de sus bienes, aplicándose la otra mitad de que se les hiciese remisión a los hijos y descendientes católicos , porque ellos hubiesen algún temor y los hijos se animasen a ser buenos cristianos .	5
			252	por manera que los dichos nuevamente convertidos sean absueltos y recibidos...	6
			252	dando a entender las personas que intervinieren es esto a los nuevamente convertidos la gran merced y piedad...	7
			252	En el tercero capítulo se podrá apartar lo que toca a la secta de los moros de lo que toca a la ley de los judíos ...	
64	1540	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.54, 252-259</i>	252	<i>[Response from the Inquisitor General regarding the recommendations of 1539]</i>	1
			252	los capítulos que se dieron...por parte de los nuevamente convertidos ...	2
			252	[Q.] atenta la manera de su conversión y la poca doctrina...se les perdonase generalmente...sin que preceda confesión ni reconciliación...	

			253	[A.] no ha lugar remisión del pecado, no precediendo confesión...se les podría conceder de nuevo otro término de gracia, dentro del cual, los que viniesen a confesar...	3
			253	los capítulos no se dieron por parte de los nuevamente convertidos ...	4
			253	...la seguridad y pacificación y conservación del reino de Granada...	5
			253	se pidiese lo mismo por parte de los nuevamente convertidos ...	6
			253	...considerar que, como es notorio, la conversión de éstos , o fue con fuerza y premía y no voluntaria, y que hasta el año [mil quinientos] veintisiete hubiera gran falta de doctrina y corrección...	7
			253	...procediendo por vía de rigor contra ellos, se ha visto y ve que hace muy poco fruto...	8
			253	...que se juntasen con ellos...[los Turcos]	9
			254	...podría ser causa que los cristianos viejos no quisiesen tomar deudo con ellos, lo cual sería muy provechoso para su conversión...	10
			254	[Q.]...porque los cristianos adeuden y contraten libremente con ellos...	11
			255	[A.] y parece que está en manos del hereje e ganar al católico cada vez que quiere; que los cristianos viejos osarían comprar bienes raíces de ellos, lo cual no hacen, de que se sigue que el reino de Granada se pueble menos de cristianos viejos ...	12
			255	[A.] Que, no habiendo confiscación, holgarían los cristianos viejos de su casar de con sus hijas y tomarlos por yernos, lo	13

				cual sería harto importante para su conversión y doctrina, y es de creer que los hijos y nietos tomarían muy mejor doctrina de los padres y madres cristianas .	
			255	[Q.] que se haga diligente examinación de las cosas que son de ley de moros y aquellas se pongan en los edictos y no las otras, que no son de ley o secta de moros ...	14
			255	[A.] ...no se pongan cosas y ceremonias de la ley de los judíos ni de otra infidelidad...	15
			256	[A.] ...se proceda contra ellos por las cinco ceremonias conocidas tocante a la secta de los moros ...y que, demás de las cinco ceremonias que dicen, se debe proceder contra los que cometieren otros ritos de la secta de Mahoma...	16
			256	...no poner en los edictos cosa que no sea ceremonia o rito de moros ...	17
			256	...las costumbres de cada nación son muchas y asimismo las de los moros, y es cosa dificultosísima y casi imposible desarraigarlas y hacérsela de todo punto olvidar, por lo que parece que sería mejor no hacer caso de aquellas pocas que se ponen en los edictos, y hacerles entender que, si no los castigan, es porque no son ceremonias sino costumbres...	18
			256	En la primitiva Iglesia, viendo la dificultad que había en quitar a los gentiles sus costumbres , no solamente se las dexaron, mas toleraron algunas cosas que más manifiestamente parecían ceremonias gentílicas, las cuales con el tiempo se han hecho costumbres cristianas y agora se tiene por buenas y católicas y por tales las ha la Iglesia recibido.	19

			257	si lo que se pide es justo y bueno y cosa que conviene al servicio de Dios y la conversión de los de aquel reino y a la seguridad de él...	20
			258	...todos los que se convirtieron después que se ganó Granada...	21
			258	decir que del perdón gocen los que se convirtieron después que se ganó Granada y sus descendientes...[pero sería injusto] habrán algunos que se convirtieron antes que se ganase Granada [y sus descendientes]	22
			258	[Q.] que se haga lo mismo con los cristianos nuevos mudéjares que viven a fuera del reino de Granada...	23
			258	[A.] Que visto lo que resultare con los dichos cristianos nuevos de moros del reino de Granada, se podrá mejor entender en lo que toca a los mudéjares de estos reinos de Castilla.	24
			259	hacer en esta coyuntura para aquietar y pacificar los ánimos de los de aquel reino...	25
65	11 JAN 1544	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.55, 259-260</i>		<i>[Response of Marquee of Mondéjar to the items of 1539 and the responses by the Inquisition and Royal letter]</i>	
			259	sobre el negocio de los nuevamente convertidos	1
			259	es cosa justa y que se puede conceder y de ellos se seguirá gran seguridad para aquel reino y quietud para las conciencias y enmiendas para la vida de los nuevamente convertidos ...[se concede una gracias de 25 ó 30 años sin confiscación ni penas pecuniarias]	2

			259	lo que pienso que se podrá acabar con los <i>moriscos</i> concediéndoles lo que el Consejo de la Inquisición ha apuntado...	3
			260	En lo que toca a los mudéjares del reino de Castilla...	4
66	1469-1470 1553	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.58, 267-</i>		<i>[Copy of a dowry from 1469-1470, reviewed in 1553; family of Pedro de Granada Venegas]</i>	
			268	emperador de los moros	1
			268	gobernador de los moros	2
			268	emperador de los moros	3
			268	gobernador de los moros	4
			268	rey de los moros	5
			269	costumbre de moros	6
67	c.1554	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.56, 260-263</i>		<i>[Preparation for the Synod of 1554]</i>	
			261	...estatuir para el buen gobierno de todo nuestro obispado y de estos nuevos cristianos que están a nuestro cargo...	1
68	5 OCT 1556	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.57, 263-267</i>		<i>[Accusation of innovations from the Synod of 1554, especially re: tithing]</i>	
			264	que los Católicos Reyes...ganaron de los moros enemigos	1
			264	y por la administración de los sacramentos y doctrina de los nuevamente convertidos los prelados...	2
			266	ha visto, al diezmar los cristianos nuevos de esta ciudad, que diezman y han diezclado conforme su escritura y capítulos...	3
			266	...con los vecinos y cristianos nuevos de esta ciudad...	4
			266	y el testigo ha ido muchas veces con cristianos nuevos ...	5

69	7 NOV 1556	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.59, 270-272</i>	271	[Regarding the dowry for María Medina] almohadas moriscas	1
			271	almohadas labradas de sedas castellanas	2
			272	marlota	3
			272	un macho negro	4
70	1559	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.7, 296-298</i>	297	no pueden cobrar blanca de los cristianos viejos que mejor pagan los <i> moriscos </i>	1
71	n.d. Refers to Trent	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.12, 311-313</i> <i>Also in Moriscos e Indios, A.5, 125-127</i>	311	[About the indoctrination of this community] se procura ayudar los nuevamente convertidos de moros para su bien, instruidos en la religión Cristiana...	1
72	Omitted	<i>Omitted</i>		Omitted	
73	12 SEPT 1561	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.14, 324-325</i> <i>Also in Moriscos e Indios, A.6, 129-130</i>	325	en el dicho Albaicín ay gran número de vecinos de los descendientes de cristianos convertidos de moro , a nuestra santa fé católica los cuales tienen gran necesidad de ser instruidos	1
			325	y en cuanto a la limpieza del linaje de las personas en quien siempre se proveyere	2
			325	esta ordenado cerca de las calidades... limpieza de sangre 	3
74	1565	<i>Concilio Provincial de Granada de 1565</i>		[The Council documents include a process of indoctrination/ catechism for Christians, with some specific references to new Christians, otherwise referring to all Christians]	

			121	Las cosas con que en este Reyno de Granada se procuran ayudar los nuevamente convertidos de moros para ser bien instruidos en la religión christiana...	1
			123	aya un colegio seminario conforme al concilio destos naturales...	2
			123	esto en los pueblos y parrochias de christianos viejos , y en la de las de naturales...	3
			123	...en las parrochias asi de christianos viejos como de naturales...	4
			129	...los curas amonestaran a todos christianos nuevos	5
			132	esto en los pueblos y parrochias de christianos viejos , y en la de los naturales	6
			132	las parrochias asi de christianos viejos como de naturales	7
			133	...los curas amonestaran a todos christianos nuevos	8
			157	la regla sea que a los que se da el sanctissimo sacramento de la eucaristia, se da también este de la sancta unction, aunque sea de los christianos nuevos .	9
			192	Quando los tales fiscales y alguaziles fuere necesario que saquen prendas a los nuevos cristianos , no les fagan violencias	10
			208	Este mismo sea interprete de la lengua arauiga para los negocios de los nuevos cristianos y quanto sea posible se procure que sea christiano viejo y no nuevo...	11
			229	Lo que los nuevos christianos deuen hazer en el oyr os diuinos officios...	12

			257	Tengan...padrones cumplidos de todos sus feligreses, ansi christianos viejos como nueuos y de sus hijas, hijos, criados y criadas de doze años arriba...	13
			257	e por el llamen los curas a los christianos nueuos los dichos días	14
			259	Si entre los cristianos viejos o mudéjares ouiere algunos rebeldes...los escriban y llamaran en padrón como a los cristianos nueuos	15
			262	Los curas visiten a los christianos nueuos sus parrochianos, que estuieren cercanos a la muerte...	16
			262	Hallense presentes en los testamentos de los nueuos christianos sus parrochianos	17
			263	Llamen por padrón y requieran de doctrinas y las casas (<i>sic</i>) y en las ceremonias que se hacen con christianos nueuos , y tracten en todo como a tales a los que dellos se conuirtieron antes de la toma de Granada e a sus decendientes, que dicen son christianos viejos , si se tuieren en habitos de christianos nueuos o hablaren su lengua o en las costumbres los imitaren y ansi mismo a los christianos viejos que truxeren habito de christianos nueuos o estuieren casados con ellos, si traxeren el tal habito, por la sospecha que por ellos se tiene de su religion e christiandad.	18
			263	No den licencia por alguna causa o color para que los nueuos christianos dexen de venir a misa los domingos y fiestas	19
			263	No consientan a los pobres que van a pedir limosna en esta ciudad o otros lugares entre christianos nueuos ...	20

			263	No consientan que algun christiano viejo de veinte años abaxo biua a soldada ni more con christiano nuevo , ni les permita comprar moro cautiuo	21
			275	assi mismo a de mostrar a los christianos nuevos las ceremonias de la missa como esta en su instruccion.	22
			277	No an de hazer extorsiones ni malos tratamientos a los nueuamente conuertidos	23
			342	Lo que los nueuos christianos an de mandar en sus testamentos...	24
			345	Lo que toca a los enterramientos de los nueuos christianos se contiene en el titulo “De su instruccion”	25
			346	por quanto estos nueuos christianos usan dellos como de ceremonia de moros ...[mandamos] todos assi christianos nuevos como viejos se entierren dentro de las iglesias.	26
			354	e si fuere christiano nuevo que pague donde pagare la farda de los veinte mil ducados.	27
			385	Item statuimos y mandamos que en las iglesias de christianos viejos como se leyere padrón...	28
			386	mandamos a los christianos viejos que offrescan siempre en las missas...y en los lugares y parrochias de christianos nuevos sean los primeros, para que de ellos tomen exemplo...	29
			386	...ni compella a persona alguna, aunque sea de los christianos nuevos que ofresca...	30
			389	[Bautismo]...que dentro de los ocho días que los niños nacieren los lleuen a la iglesia a baptizar no auiendo justo impedimeento, excepto los niños de los christianos nuevos , los quales no de baptizen en 3, 5, 8, ni trezeno día, si no fuere	31

				caso de necesidad, por ser días sospechosos de ceremonia, y pueden los demás hasta el trezeno inclusive bautizarse.	
			391	Y para semejantes necesidades encargamos que en los lugares de christianos nuevos donde no ay christianos viejos este siempre presente el cura...	32
			391	Los tales padrinos mandamos, sean por lo menos de edad de diez y seis años, christianos viejos ...	33
			392	Mandamos a los curas que si algun christiano viejo , siendo llamado...no quisiere hazer el dicho officio...	34
			392	Item mandamos que ninguno de los christianos nuevos en el bautismo o confirmación pongan a sus hijos nombres o sobrenombres de moros ...	35
			392	Y mandamos a los christianos nuevos quando lleuaren a bautizar sus hijos...	36
			393	Ningun cirujano ni medico de licencia a los nuevos christianos ...para cortar el prepucio...	37
			393	Mandamos a las mujeres christianas nuevas que si en su parrochia o lugar uuiere partera christiana vieja , no paran con christiana nueva ...	38
			393	Y el cura dentro de dos días que alguna criatura de los christianos nuevos uuiere nascido la vaya a visitar...	39
			393	suelen algunos de los nuevos christianos hazer cierta ceremonia que ellos llaman coça ...que parece que tienen color de ceremonia y rito de Mahoma en lugar de circunscion, y a las madres recién paridas les ponen aquellos días alcandoras ...	40

			395	A los christianos neuos se les dara este sacramento con parecer de sus confesores...	41
			396	donde uuiere de seys casas de christianos viejos arriba aya sacramento	42
			426	Item mandamos a todos los curas y beneficiados que en las velaciones de los christianos neuos no lleuen mas de sus derechos ni otro por ellos lo pida...	43
			428	Item mandamos que no velen a alguno de los christianos neuos si no vinieren vestidos a la castellana .	44
			428	Item las velaciones dellos ni de christianos viejos no se hagan antes del dia	45
			428/29	Item mandamos a los dichos christianos neuos conformándonos con lo que su Magestad mando...que de aquí en adelante las cartas de dote que se hizieren las otorguen ante scriuanos o notarios christianos viejos y a la forma y modo de christianos viejos , y no auiendo en su lugar scriuanos o notario christiano viejo ...testigos, los cuales si se pudieran hallar sean christianos viejos , so pena que si de otra manera las hizieren o ante escriuano de los christianos neuos serán castigados como personas que siguen los ritos de la seta de moros .	46
			429	Item mandamos a los curas que no desposen a los dichos christianos neuos sin que sepan...	47
			429	y ninguno de los dichos resciba de los dichos christianos neuos dineros ni gallinas...	48
			430	Los abusos y ceremonias sospechosas que se deuen aduertir y quitar en los matrimonios de los christianos neuos ...	49

			430	No bivan los christinaos nuevos apartados de sus mujeres sin licencia...	50
			430	Pogase esta constitución general a christianos viejos y con pena, y particularmente hable con christianos neuuos ...	51
			443	No consientan que los beneficiados o curas hechen penas por su propia auctoridad y las executen a los crístinos nuevos ...	52
			443	Informense si los nuevos cristianos guardan las ceremonias...	53
			454	Mandamos...no impingan nuevas impussiciones a sus feligreses, en especial a los crístinaos nuevos que les dan dadiuas...	54
			463	Los curas no permitan que las mujeres de los christinos nuevos o otra gente, quando fuere a confessar, lleuen almuerros o meriendas a la iglesia.	55
			468	Si los nuevos cristianos estando descomulgados, fueren a oyr missa a otras parrochias...	56
75	1566	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.60, 273-274</i>		<i>[portion from Luis del Mármol who wrote a History of the Rebellion.]</i>	
			273	dentro de tres años de como estos capítulos fuesen publicados, aprendiesen los moriscos a hablar la lengua castellana...	1
			273	Cuanto al hábito se mandó que no se hiciesen de nuevo marlotas, almalafas, calzas, ni otra suerte de vestido de los que usaban en tiempos de moros , y que todo lo que se cortase e hiciese, fuese a uso de cristianos .	2
			273	Y porque no se perdiesen de todo punto los vestidos moriscos ...	3

			273	las mujeres que anduviesen vestidas a la morisca , llevasen las caras descubiertas...dexarían las almalafas ...	4
			273	Cuanto a las bodas se ordenó...no usasen de los ritos, ceremonias, fiestas y regocijos de que usaban en tiempos de moros ...[sino] de la manera que los fieles cristianos hacían...	5
			274	puertas abiertas	6
			274	no hiciesen zambras	7
			274	tuviesen ni usasen nombres ni sobrenombres de moros	8
			274	que las mujeres no se alheñasen	9
			274	baños	10
			274	gacís...que los moriscos no tuviesen esclavos gacís	11
			274	Cuanto a los esclavos negros	12
			274	por estar los moriscos tan casados con sus costumbres	13
76	1567	<i>Sínodo de Guadix, A.61, 275-279</i>		<i>[Portions of the plea by Francisco Núñez Muley on behalf of the natives of Granada to the Royal Audiencia]</i>	
			275	los naturales de su nación	1
			275	que la conversión de los naturales había sido por fuerza y contra lo capitulado...que habían de quedar en su secta y en todo lo que tocaba a los provechos y situados de sus mezquitas, y que quedasen con sus armas...	2
			275	se prohibió matasen la carne como acostumbraban, y que los sastres...	3
			275	y que no hubiese padrinos ni madrinas de los naturales ...	4

			275	...mandó que cualquier Cristiano viejo que descubriese la cara a cualquier morisca o su almalafa...fuese condenado...	5
			275	no habían querido cobrar los veintiún mil ducados con que los naturales de este reino [se] habían obligado a pagar por el servicio ordinario...	6
			276	[pagos] cuya obligación habían hecho los naturales por quedar con sus hábitos y costumbres y calzado, sin perjudicar a la santa fe católica.	7
			276	se les dejase su usanza del hábito morisco 	8
			276	había los naturales de este reino cincuenta mil vecinos.	9
			276	se trató y despachó el perdón general a los naturales ...	10
			276	Expresando que el motivo de haberse levantado el Albaicín de esta ciudad había sido el haber muerto al alguacil Barrionuevo, porque llevaba una mujer asida para volverla cristiana contra su voluntad...	11
			276/77	no guardándose los privilegios y libertades hechas en favor de los naturales ...	12
			277	Siendo de gran inconveniente el que las moriscas trajesen las caras descubiertas, sin que pudiese serles descargo a los dichos naturales ...	13
			277	[zambros]...certificando lo expresado de que los instrumentos de este reino no eran como los de Fez ni otros pueblos de Berbería ni Turquía, pues de unos a otros eran diferentes, lo que siendo rito de su secta, debían ser todos unos.	14
			277	y que los naturales la pidiesen en lenguaje arábigo...	15

			278	alheña... no era ceremonia de moros , usándola solamente sus naturales...en poner las mujeres de los naturales en sus cabezas...	16
			278	alheña...poniéndola en cocimientos, lo que asimismo usaban los cristianos viejos ...	17
			278	...trasquilar las cabezas de las mujeres de los naturales y rasparles la alheña de sus manos...	18
			278	las puertas de las casas de los naturales ...	19
			278	la pragmática que los gacés y alárabes saliesen del reino por los inconvenientes de la conversación con los naturales ...	20
			278	que debían reputarse por naturales	21
			278	Y en lo que se mandaba que ninguno hubiese por esclavo ningún natural negro ...	22
			279	Y privándose la lengua árábiga...tenía el inconveniente de que estando las escrituras y contratos en dicha lengua...	23
			279	...de 1502, que empezaron los naturales a contribuir con el dicho servicio...	24
77	19-26 APR 1569	<i>Iglesia de Granada, A.26, 157-165</i>	157	<i>[Ecclesial meeting to assess damages from the rebellion]</i> ...tocante a los daños hechos por la rebelión y levantamiento de los moriscos	1
			158	...tocante a los daños que este reyno ha rescibido por la rebelión de los moriscos .	2
78	22 MAY 1570	<i>Iglesia de Granada, A.27, 166-169</i>		<i>[Response from Guerrero to the information requested by the King]</i>	

			167	En el arzobispado ay vacos quasi todos los beneficios...por muerte de los que los tenian a quien los moros mataron en el alzamiento general...	1
			168	Pero las que mas an perdido por averlas los moros robado sus casas y...	2
			169	...y también los estan [desiertos] los de los lugares de la vega y sierra que eran de <i>moriscos</i> .	3
79	1571	<i>Iglesia de Granada, A.28, 170-172</i>		<i>[Letter from the Cabildo of Granada to the president of Castilla]</i>	
			170	se pueden comutar las azienda reyes de moriscos tasadas en precio moderado...	1
			171	ni cogido los frutos y los ganados los robaron y destruyeron los moros .	2
			171	que se diçen habiçes que eran de la mezquita mayor de los moros ...	3
			171	Y en las demás haçienda de habiçes, por averse llevado los <i>moriscos</i> que la abran arrendado y no averse podido cultivar las heredades...	4
80	1 JUL 1574	<i>Iglesia de Granada, A.29, 173-174</i>		<i>[Letter regarding the economic status of the churches in Granada after the rebellion]</i>	
81	1579 1573	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.15, 326-330</i> <i>Also in Moriscos e Indios, A.7, 131-135 and A.8, 137-138</i>		<i>[Regarding the donation by Juan de Albotodo to the Jesuits]</i>	
			329	[los Albotodos] son descendientes de los naturales deste reyno y han bivido siempre como christianos viejos así en sus costumbres, vestidos y trato...	1
			329	ni ser culpados en el trato de la rebelión y levantamiento	2

			329	todos los demás que eran de los moriscos revelados y llevados deste reyno no los pueden tener suplicándonos	3
			330	de los naturales dese reybo. Avemos tenido por bien que los que de los sobredichos estuviesen en él, que hasta agora no se an sacado queden por agora en el dicho reyno con sus mujeres e hijos	4
82	25 JAN 1585	<i>Iglesia de Granada, A.34, 187-188</i>	187	<i>[Letter from the Cabildo to the church treasurer]</i> Sobre el otro medio que vuestra merced yntentaba de los moriscos ...	1
			188	...sino estar a la mira de que los moriscos negociaren y avisar de ello...	2
			188	...y a lo uqe parece que le inclinaron las razones que a tenido para sacar deste reyno todos los naturales del.	3
			188	En lo que toca al negocio de los moriscos ...	4
83	24 MAY 1586	<i>Organización de la Iglesia, A.13, 313-324</i>	313	los gastos dessa dicha ciudad son grandes y excesivos especialmente después del levantamiento de los moriscos dese dicho Reyno	1
			316	Después que por raçón del levantamiento y rebelión de los moriscos fueron sacados deste Reyno	2
			316	así por no ser tantos los nuevos pobladores, como por no tener industria, como los moriscos tenían	3
			317	después de la saca general de los moriscos que está todo casi al doble de los que antes solía valer.	4

Appendix 2: Phrase Tallies

Phrase	Tally	Num. of Docs.	Brief Notes (Ref.)
NEWLY CONVERTED			
Newly converted - nuevamente convertidos	120	39	3.8, 8.4, 9.1-3, 10.2, 10.4(x5), 10.5, 11.1-2, 11.3(x2), 12.1, 13.1, 14.1-2, 14.5-6, 15.1, 16.1-5, 17.2-7, 17.9, 17.11-13, 20.1, 22.1-2, 22.5-8, 23.1-2, 23.4-5, 23.9-10, 23.12-13, 29.1, 29.5, 29.8-10, 29.13-14, 29.17-18, 29.24, 29.30, 29.32-33, 29.35-36, 30.1-3, 30.14-15, 30.23, 30.25, 30.28(x2), 30.29, 31.2, 31.4, 33.1, 33.3-6, 35.1, 37.1, 38.1, 38.4, 38.9, 39.1, 40.1-2, 40.4, 41.1-2, 42.1, 42.3, 43.1, 43.6, 46.4, 46.6, 47.5, 48.2, 50.1, 55.1, 58.8, 58.12, 61.1, 62.1, 63.5, 63.6, 64.1, 64.4. 64.6, 65.1-2, 68.2, 74.23
Newly converted of Moors - nuevamente convertidos de moros	17	7	29.3, 29.6-7, 29.26, 29.28-29, 29.31, 30.13, 30.20, 34.1, 58.1-2, 58.6, 63.1-2, 71.1, 74.1
People newly converted - gente nuevamente convertida; pueblo nuevamente convertido	2	2	51.1, 54.1
TOTAL	139	43	

NEW CHRISTIANS			
New Christians - cristianos/ as nuevos/ as	95	20	2.1-2, 7.1-2, 17.1, 17.10, 24.1-2, 27.1, 27.4(x2), 28.1, 28.2(x3), 30.26, 30.29(x2), 38.2, 38.4(x2), 38.5-6, 38.8, 42.2(x2), 43.9, 43.11 (x2), 44.7, 44.21, 45.1-2, 46.5(x2), 46.7, 47.1, 49.1, 56.1(x2), 58.9, 58.14, 67.1, 68.3-5, 74.5, 74.8-12, 74.14-17, 74.18(x3), 74.19-22, 74.24-25, 74.26(x2), 74.27, 74.29-32, 74.35-37, 74.38(x2), 74.39-41, 74.40-41, 74.43-44, 74.46(x2), 74.47-56
Christians newly converted - cristianos nuevamente convertidos	1	1	43.8
New Christians of Moors - cristianas/ os nuevas/ os de moras/ os	4	3	29.22, 58.4, 58.16, 64.24
The new ones - los nuevos/ as	4	3	16.8, 44.3, 74.11, 74.13
TOTAL	104		
New Christians of Jews - cristianos nuevos de judíos	1*	1	*Ommited from the total 58.2
Christian converted from Moor - Cristiano convertido de moro	1	1	73.1
indoctrinate all - los doctrinen a todos	1	1	30.24
Faithful Christians...newly converted - fieles cristianos...nuevamente convertidos	1	1	31.2
Children of the Christians...of the newly converted - hijos de los cristianos...de los nuevamente convertidos	1	1	31.3
The Christians...the newly converted - los cristianos...los nuevamente convertidos	1	1	31.5

The Christians...newly converted - los cristianos...nuevamente convertidos	1	1	31.6
MUDEJARS			
Newly converted Mudejars - mudéjares nuevamente convertidos	2	2	Specifically using Mudéjar to refer to non-Granadans. 35.1, 36.1
New Christians of Mudejars - cristianos nuevos de mudéjares	2	2	61.7, 64.23
Mudéjares (used as Muslim)	8	4	8.1-5, 14.3, 38.6, 64.24, 65.4
Mudéjar (used as Christian)	1	1	74.15
OLD CHRISTIANS			
Old Christians - cristianos viejos	118	25	9.1, 9.3, 10.1-2, 10.4, 10.5(x2), 10.6-7, 11.1, 11.3, 13.2(x2), 14.2-3, 14.8, 15.1-2, 16.3(x2), 16.6, 16.7(x3), 16.8, 17.7, 17.10, 22.2, 22.3(x2), 22.4, 22.6, 23.2,23.3, 23.6-9, 23.11-12, 19.12, 29.21, 30.3-6, 30.8-9, 30.17-18, 30.28, 30.29(x2), 35.2, 38.4(x2), 38.6, 42.2(x2), 43.1, 43.2(x3), 43.3-4, 43.5(x2), 43.7, 43.8(x2), 43.9, 43.10(x2), 43.11(x2), 44.3, 44.12, 44.20-21, 46.1(x2), 46.4(x2), 48.2, 48.4(x2), 51.3, 61.4, 64.10, 64.12(x2), 64.13, 74.3-4, 74.6-7, 74.11, 74.13, 74.15, 74.18(x2), 74.21, 74.26, 74.28-29, 74.32-34, 74.42, 74.45, 74.46(x4), 64.51, 76.5, 76.17, 81.1
Not newly converted of moor nor jew - no nuevamente convertido de moro ni judío	1	1	9.3

Our other Christian vassals - los otros nuestros vasallos cristianos	3	2	3.7, 4.4, 4.6
The other Christian neighbors - los otros vecinos cristianos	4	1	3.10, 3.12, 3.16. 3.18
Other Christians - otros cristianos	1	1	4.11
Faithful Christians - fieles cristianos	2	2	26.1, 75.5
Good Christians - buenos cristianos	1	1	32.1
Catholic Christian - católico Cristiano	1	1	32.4
Cristiano de nación	2	1	32.5, 32.9
Good and honest Christians - buenos y honestos cristianos y cristianas	1	1	32.9
Christian - Cristiano	17	10	Generic references, at times referring to the New at others to the Old, but sometimes non-specific 3.11, 3.17, 4.3, 4.10, 10.7, 13.1, 16.1, 26.2, 30.23, 30.27, 30.29, 32.6-8, 64.11, 64.13, 76.11
CHRISTIAN LIKE ANY OTHER CHRISTIAN			
live like Christians, since they were - viviesen como cristianos, pues lo eran	1	1	11.1
since through the conversion and the holy baptism are joined already - pues por la conversion y santo bautismo son unidos ya	1	1	17.3
Like true Christians - como verdaderos cristianos	1	1	19.3
now being Christians - agora siendo cristianos	1	1	19.3
They were already Christian - ya eran cristianos	1	1	22.5

like Christians, since they were - como Cristiano, pues lo eran	1	1	27.1
new Christians...because they are Christians - cristianos nuevos...porque son cristianos	1	1	27.2
since these are Christians - pues estos son cristianos	1	1	27.3
they would be better Christians than the old Christians - Serian mejores cristianos que los cristianos viejos	1	1	62.2
REFERRING TO NEW CHRISTIANS			
Natives - naturales	26	5	44.8, 74.2-4, 74.6-7, 76.1-2, 76.4, 76.6-7, 76.9-10, 76.12-13, 76.15-16, 76.18-21, 76.24, 81.1, 81.4, 82.3
Said neighbors - dichos vecinos	1	1	4.2
Good and faithful Christians - buenos y fieles cristianos	3	3	9.1, 10.3, 13.2
Good Christians - buenos cristianos	4	4	14.5, 17.1, 51.2, 63.4
These people - esta gente	2	1	44.9, 44.18
The said converted - los dichos convertidos	1	1	37.2
These converted ones - estos convertidos	1	1	53.1
The confessed - confesos	2	1	60.1(x2)
Catholic descendants - descendientes católicos	1	1	63.4
OLD AND NEW CHRISTIANS			
los cristianos, así viejos como nuevos	1	1	30.16
todos los cristianos viejos e cristianos nuevos de judíos e mudéjares	1	1	30.21
cristianos viejos con nuevos	1	1	30.29

CHRISTIAN PRACTICES			
Christian name - nombre de Cristiano	2	2	29.34, 30.11
Manner of the Christians - manera de los cristianos	7	6	3.14-15, 4.8, 14.1, 75.2
costume of old christians - hábitos de cristianos viejos	5	2	35.1, 35.2(x2), 35.3, 36.1
NEW CHRISTIANS ARE MOORS			
worse with our faith than when they were Muslim - muy peores con nuestra santa fe que cuando eran moros.	1	1	44.4
many are worse than before - muchos de ellos estan peores que de antes	1	1	44.16
They have little of Christian to show - poca muestra que tienen de cristiano	1	1	44.18
Their hearts are as Muslim as before - sus corazones se están tan moros como antes	1	1	47.1
They seem as Moor citizens without their king - parecen los moradores moros sin rey	1	1	47.6
They have always been until that day Moors and were never Christians - que siempre han sido hasta aquel día moros y que nunca fueron cristianos	1	1	62.2
MOROS			
Moors - moros/ as	22	16	Moor is primarily used as Muslim 1.1, 3.1-4, 3.17-18, 5.1, 6.2, 17.2, 19.2, 29.23, 29.25, 30.12, 31.1, 44.17, 48.1, 50.2, 51.2, 58.15, 63.3, 68.1
Things of the Moors - cosas de los moros	1	1	11.1
Law of the Moors - ley de moros	4	2	61.5(x2), 64.14(x2)

In the manner of the Moors - a la manera de los moros	2	2	11.3, 14.2
Name or nickname of Moor - nombre o sobrenombre de moro	6	5	17.8, 29.33-34, 44.19, 74.35, 75.8
Sect of the Moors - secta de los moros	4	4	58.2, 63.7, 64.16, 74.46
Signs of the Moors - señales de moros	1	1	44.18
General conversion of the Moors - conversion general de los moros	1	1	43.1
Rites and ceremonies of the Moors - ritos y ceremonias de moros	6	6	30.23, 37.1, 58.3, 64.17, 74.26, 76.16
Customs of the Moors - costumbres de los moros	1	1	64.18
Moro as <i>morisco</i>	4	2	78.1-2, 79.2-3
Time of the Moors - Tiempo de moros	15	11	Refers to a time before 1492 or when they were still Muslim; Compare with Doc. 66 (dowry) from 1469 3.9, 10.1-2, 11.2, 16.1, 19.1, 19.3, 20.1-2, 27.1, 44.10, 47.2, 48.1, 75.2, 75.5
clothing...from the time that you were not Christians - habitos...del tiempo que no érades cristianos	1	1	39.2
Moorish Fees - Derechos <i>Moriscos</i>	8	3	Refers to Moorish fees (rights/ exemptions or responsibility of the Moors). After baptism they no longer have these “derechos <i>moriscos</i> ” 3.4-6, 4.2-3, 4.5, 19.1, 19.3
SLAVES			
Captive Moor - moro cautivo	1	1	74.21

no black or white Christian slave - por esclavos ningun Cristiano negro ni blanco	1	1	29.11
macho negro	1	1	69.4
esclavos gacís	1	1	75.11
esclavos negros	1	1	75.12
natural negro	1	1	76.22
MORISCO AS A NOUN			
<i>Moriscos</i>	29	16	21.1 (x2), 29.27, 30.18(x2), 43.9-10, 44.6, 48.4, 58.11, 58.13, 65.3, 70.1, 75.1*, 75.11*, 75.13*, 77.1-2*, 78.3*, 79.1*, 79.3*, 81.3*, 82.1-2*, 82.4*, 83.1-4* *written after the rebellion
General conversion of the <i>moriscos</i> - conversion general de los <i>moriscos</i>	1	1	6.1
Moriscas (f.)	7	5	30.9, 35.1, 35.2, 38.7, 48.4, 76.5, 76.13
MORISCO AS MOORISH (DESCRIPTIVE)			
Moorish rites and ceremonies - ceremonias y ritos <i>moriscos</i>	8	5	10.5, 10.7, 16.4, 17.1, 30.3, 30.9, 37.2, 37.3
Moorish clothing - ropa morisca	6	3	11.1-2, 12.1, 14.1-3
Moorish clothing - hábitos e vestidos <i>moriscos</i>	8	5	15.1, 35.1-3, 36.1 (x2), 75.3, 76.8
In the Moorish way - a la morisca	6	5	12.2, 14.4, 15.1-2, 30.7, 75.4
Moorish letters and symbols - letras e insignias moriscas	4	2	29.15-16, 30.12 (x2)
Moorish custom - costumbre morisca	1	1	29.28
All Moorish things - toda cosa morisca	1	1	32.2

Moorish pillows - almohadas moriscas (in a dowry)	1	1	69.1
TOTAL	35		
Marlotas	2	2	12.2, 69.3
Almalafas	10	6	14.4, 14.6-7, 15.1, 29.18-19, 33.2, 38.3, 75.2, 75.4
Face covering	10	5	14.4, 14.6, 14.8, 25.1-3, 29.18, 29.20, 75.4, 76.13

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