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The Politics of Language in the Western Mediterranean c.1492-c.1669: Multilingual
Institutions and the Status of Arabic in Early Modern Spain

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Claire Morgan Gilbert

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Politics of Language in the Western Mediterranean c.1492-c.1669:

Multilingual Institutions and the Status of Arabic

in Early Modern Spain

by

Claire Morgan Gilbert

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Teofilo Ruiz, Chair

After 1492 and especially after 1571, many Arabic speakers in Spain were subject to imprisonment, forced removal, appropriation of property, and finally expulsion, explained by their persecutors in large part by their language use. Nonetheless, certain individuals, and in some cases, families, were able to use this linguistic skill and identity to protect themselves. As I analyze the hardening ideologies about Arabic and the ways these ideologies were perpetuated, I document the rising status and potential power of translators and interpreters, that is, professional Arabic speakers, readers, and writers. My analysis of how multilingual agents shaped information networks across the Mediterranean begins in the 1490s, following established practices and networks which would

continue to be used for the next centuries. My dissertation begins with a study of these practices in a comparative frame between Granada and Oran, and the representations of multilingual figures and their activities in their own texts as well as texts about them or which they handled. Between the 1550s and 1570s the practices and representations of multilingual agents were affected by the tension over language use and religious identity arriving from Trent and written into the decisions of ecclesiastical and royal councils throughout Spain and especially in Granada. The arguments for and against the use of Arabic that sparked the Alpujarras revolt in 1568 would be repeated as the “*morisco* question,” which was ultimately answered with expulsion (1609-1614). Meanwhile, Spain’s Arabic speakers became ever more successful in the Mediterranean sphere. After the 1580s, an “Atlantic Mediterranean” became the staging ground for imperial, commercial, and religious rivalries between Spain, England, the United Provinces, France, the Ottomans, and the Moroccan Sa’adiens, and Spanish and Arabic were the primary languages used in this polyglot space.

The dissertation of Claire Morgan Gilbert is approved.

Gabriel Piterberg

David Sabean

Kathryn Woolard

Teofilo Ruiz, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

For all of my parents

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Chapter 1 Introduction

A. Historical Context and State of the Question

i. Historical Context:

After the conquest of Muslim Granada in 1492, tension and anxieties about the use and status of Arabic in Spain sparked debate in many different segments of society. My dissertation explores the overlapping domains of Arabic and Castilian in Spain and Spanish territories in the early modern period, focusing on the attitudes that shaped this usage and strategies for preserving or preventing the survival of Arabic as a peninsular language. In the Castilian-ruled kingdoms, the sixteenth century was a period of administrative centralization, programs of cultural homogenization, and imperial ambition. Concomitantly, linguistic ideologies and practices underwent shifts among various groups. There was an increase in codified vernacular philology, especially in Castile, the development of missionary linguistics on a wide scale in the New World but also in the *morisco*, or formerly Muslim, regions of the Peninsula, and the legislation against Arabic use and Arabic materials.¹ My dissertation explores multilingualism and attitudes about language use in the context of a growing global empire, focusing in particular on the mutual construction of language ideologies by actors who used Arabic and Romance dialects. The language ideologies about Arabic in both Christian and Muslim communities in Iberia in the sixteenth century were complex, and not always as rigid as the edicts against Arabic and mandating forced repopulation and the eventual expulsion of Arabic speakers would suggest.²

¹ A classic comparison is Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización de la iglesia en el reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, Siglo XVI*, Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1979.

² See chapter 4 of this dissertation for a detailed review of normative legislation.

The history of Arabic use in the Iberian Peninsula is long and varied. It was adopted as the language of daily life in Muslim regions after the 711 conquest by inhabitants of all religions.³ In addition to being the language of government and scholarship in Muslim-ruled regions, its status as a language of classical learning was firmly established in Christian academic circles during the translation movement in twelfth-century Toledo. By the fifteenth century, Spanish humanists were engaged fully with Renaissance culture and the interest in ancient knowledge and languages, including Arabic. This interest in “original” languages in Spain became part of a debate among philologists over the status of national and imperial languages.⁴ Tension developed in the ideas of various Spanish authors, some of whom saw Arabic as the language of an enemy empire and foreign religion, and some of whom saw Arabic as a prestigious ancient Semitic language which had played an important and honorable role in the history of Spain.⁵

Questions of Spanish empire and identity, including linguistic, became more urgent after the watershed year 1492. Although Muslims had lived under Christian rule since the conquests of the eleventh century, between 1492 and 1526 these Muslim *mudéjar* communities were forced to choose between conversion or expulsion. Those who converted became part of a large and regionally varied community of “new Christians” or *moriscos*, preserving their religious, cultural, and linguistic practices to varying degrees.⁶ Legislation passed under Charles V and Philip II during the sixteenth

³ For an overview of language use across religious communities in medieval Spain see Hanna Kassis, “Arabic Speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.h. 478/a.d. 1085),” *al-Andalus* 15/2 (1994): 401–422 and María Angeles Gallego, “The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension,” *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003): 107–139.

⁴ Kathryn Woolard, “Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44/3 (2002): 446–480.

⁵ Mercedes García-Arenal addresses the question, “Is Arabic an Islamic language?” with her usual erudition and elegance in “The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada,” *Arabica* 56/6 (2009): 495–528.

⁶ *Mudéjar* and *morisco* communities used various languages. Arabic dialects were present in the Peninsula, especially in the south and east. Spoken language outside of Granada and Valencia was most often a Romance dialect. Some communities had scholars who retained a knowledge of classical Arabic, but use of that language was then restricted to an educated elite. See Ana Labarta, “Inventario de los documentos árabes contenidos en procesos inquisitoriales contra moriscos valencianos conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (Legajos 548-556),” *Al-Qantara* 1, no. 2:

century shows the crown's preoccupation with *morisco* acculturation and anxiety about the use of Arabic. Ultimately, this concern about assimilation and fear of the *moriscos* as a "fifth column" for Ottoman power in the Mediterranean led to the mass expulsion of these communities from the peninsula between 1609 and 1614.⁷

During this "*morisco* century," ideas about the use and status of Arabic contributed to violence between religious communities and the creation of long-standing cultural prejudices and identities. The frequent language contact and bilingualism of the late medieval and early modern Iberian Peninsula were portrayed in different lights, some positive, some negative, in imaginative literature, philological texts, and historical chronicles.⁸ Arabic-Romance bilingualism generated various anxieties for bilinguals and for others, such as the anti-*morisco* advocates of expulsion who were concerned with the active creation of a monolingual Spanish identity.⁹ Despite the potential for

152; David Nirenberg, "Bibliographical Essay: The Current State of Mudéjar Studies," *Journal of Medieval History* 24, no. 4 (1998): 381-389.

⁷ See the seminal 1968 article by Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (October 1968): 1-25. While the alignment of Moriscos and Turks is explicit in many contemporaneous sources, the actual degree to which this ideological connection affected everyday ideas and interaction has received more discussion in the intervening fifty years. For example, the American arabist Devin J. Stewart pointed out in 1997 that "Cervantes and other writers of the period are careful to distinguish between local Arabs/Muslims, North African Arabs/Muslims, and Spain's greatest enemies in that period, the Turks." See Devin J. Stewart, "Cide Hamete Benengeli, Narrator of Don Quixote," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 113.

⁸ See the discussion surrounding Sancho and Ricote's reunion in Chapter 54 in Volume II of *Don Quixote*. The narrator registers no surprise at Ricote's ability or inclination of have picked up a new language, and to have mastered it. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote De La Mancha* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). Nebrija's 1492 *Gramatica Castellana*, whose prologue is so frequently cited in any discussion of language in the early modern Hispanic world, devoted the last of the five books of the *Gramática* to a handbook for foreigners learning Castilian as a foreign language, *Libro quinto: De las introducciones de la lengua castellana para los que de estraña lengua querrán deprender*. Revealed in the prologue to this fifth book is the total normalcy of bilingualism in formal education; not only is book five intended for the third *primary* audience of the *Gramática*, "los cuales de alguna lengua peregrina querrán venir al conocimiento de la nuestra," but Nebrija characterizes his motives for writing the grammar: "por que como dize Quintiliano los niños an de començar el artificio de la lengua.... esso mesmo hezimos por exemplo de los que escrivieron los primeros rudimentos e principios de la gramática griega e latina." Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1981). Historian Bernard Vincent also notes the high probability of the Granadan Morisco elites who were employed by the new Castilian institutions being "perfectly bilingual": "Es probable que los Zegrí, Granada Venegas, López Caybona, Palacios..., todos ellos ostentadores de cargos municipales o fiscales, fueran perfectamente bilingües. El hecho es patente para los que sirven de intérpretes oficiales a la municipalidad (son en permanencia cuatro en Granada), a la Inquisición y a otras instituciones, como García Chacón o Zacarías de Mendoza, que vemos intervenir en muchos casos." See Bernard Vincent, "Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss.XVI-XVII)," *Sharq al-Andalus* 10-11 (1993): 739.

⁹ Al-Hajari, a Morisco traveler who participated in the translation efforts of the *plomos* affair (elaborated below), describes his fear when asked whether he knew Arabic by the Archbishop of Granada. Describing his accidental involvement, al-

religious antagonism expressed through ideas about language, Arabic knowledge continued to flourish in different sectors of society, including university scholars, royal officials, evangelizers, and the *moriscos* themselves.

The period of focus for this dissertation begins in the second half of the fifteenth century, marked by the ascendance of the Catholic Kings and increasing debates about language use in both Christian and Muslim circles.¹⁰ I end the dissertation in the second third of the seventeenth century, at which time the Jewish Arabic translators of Oran were expelled once again from the territories of the Hispanic monarchy and the Arabic training of Catholic missionaries in Spain opened a new chapter with a greater focus on evangelization in the Holy Land (*tierra santa*). Within this chronological frame, the most explicit examples of language ideologies surrounding Arabic in the early modern period were the official legislation against the use of that language and the debates that this legislation generated. Most salient were Charles V's 1526 and Philip II's 1566 edicts against *morisco* practices, including and especially the use of Arabic.¹¹ In the early modern context of new political structures, new educational ideologies, increasing religious anxieties and competition, new worlds and new scientific paradigms, language became a crucial emblem of community identity. My

Hajari reports, "I was in their company, but had not show the Christian that I could read Arabic, because of the sentence of punishment they usually passed /f 7v/ upon those who appeared to do so.... the priest looked at me and said: "You know how to read Arabic? Do not be afraid, because the Archbishop is looking for someone who knows something of reading Arabic.... Then he met me another day and told me: "The archbishop has ordered me to bring you with me to his presence". I said to myself: "How shall I save myself, as the Christians kill and burn everyone on whom they find an Arabic book or about whom they know he reads Arabic?" See Aḥmad ibn Qasim Ibn al-Ḥajari, *Kitab Nasir al-Din 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kafirin* = (*The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*) [c1641], Fuentes arábico-hispanas 21, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰ In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Spanish humanists developed a tradition of vernacular philology to which they attached clear ideological principles. The most famous of these is Antonio de Nebrija's declaration to Queen Isabella in his Castilian grammar of 1492, the very first vernacular grammar in Europe, "que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio." This new tradition of vernacular philology directly informs the first efforts to codify Arabic as vernacular for use among Spanish Christians *within* the Peninsula. See Claire Gilbert, "Between the Nation and the New World: Pedro de Alcalá's Arabic Grammar and the Rise of Vernacular Philology," UCLA History Department Working Paper, 2008.

¹¹ One of the best known protests is that of the Morisco Don Francisco Nuñez Muley, protesting what seemed to him an arbitrary prohibition of Arabic use in Philip's 1567 edict. Speaking Arabic, he argued, was in no way fundamentally Muslim. What about the Eastern Christians, he asked, weren't they also good Christians? Francisco Núñez Muley and Vincent Barletta, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, 92.

dissertation seeks to understand the place of bilingualism, diglossia, and multilingual individuals in a “nation” that was (in some quarters) self-consciously undergoing (or undertaking) a process of centralization and homogenization.¹²

a. *Morisco* studies

2009 marked the four-hundred year commemoration of the first edict of expulsion of the *moriscos* from Valencia. In Spain there have been a flurry of publications, conferences, and exhibitions timed to coincide with the anniversary of the 1609-1614 expulsion process. The principal state and regional archives produced collections of essays and new editions and reproductions of documents.¹³ This activity has brought the topic of the *moriscos* into special prominence in the Spanish public sphere, and has also motivated scholars to reexamine the state of *morisco* studies and avenues for future research.¹⁴ Among the most prominent scholars of *morisco* history, Mercedes García-Arenal, has drawn our attention to the coincidence of the anniversary of *morisco* expulsion and contemporary debates. Her own summary of the parallels between the early modern *morisco* question and contemporary fault lines drawn in the media is worth reproducing:

The *morisco* question provokes strong emotions and constitutes a “living problem” for which the purely historiographical approach is not always appropriate. Above all, writing this history cannot avoid being influenced in some way by the current and controversial presence of Muslims in Europe today. It is striking how present-day reactions to this presence and the ways they are formulated in the press—asking whether Muslims can be Europeans, whether they are always Muslims first and foremost, whether they can be assimilated, whether they are going to alter fundamentally the host societies to which they migrate, whether their

¹² Diglossia is the structure of the “functional specialization” of languages or dialects regarded as “High” (H) or “Low” (L) within the same community of speakers. For my understanding of diglossia I rely on Suzanne Romaine’s review “Diglossia and Bilingualism,” pp. 31-38. She, in turn, relies on the work of J. Fishman (1980), “Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and societal phenomena,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 1: 3-17. For Fishman, bilingualism (dual competency in an individual) and diglossia (societal structuring of language use) are not synonymous (35).

¹³ *Memoria de los moriscos: Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010; *Españoles trasterados: Los moriscos*, Exhibition and volume, Archivo General de España, Madrid: Ministerio de la Cultura 2009; *El Perfume de La Amistad: Correspondencia Diplomática Árabe En Archivos Españoles (siglos XIII-XVII)*, Exhibition and volume, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 2009. Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, *Archivos Moriscos: Textos Árabes de La Minoría Islámica Valenciana 1401-1608*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009.

¹⁴ *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora*, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (eds), Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Universidad, 2013.

religious beliefs are compatible with Western cultural and political values, whether they profess a “civilizational hatred” of Europeans, and so on—bear a striking resemblance to the discussions and emotions that were engendered in sixteenth-century Spain and that reached a peak around the expulsion of the early 1600s.¹⁵

Her astute connections between contemporary normative political debates to the past iteration of similar ideologies is an additional motive for returning to the study of language ideologies and their consequences in the early modern period.

The classic and encyclopedic texts of Pascual Boronat y Barrachina (1901) and Henry Charles Lea (1901) are the foundational texts for twentieth-century *morisco* studies.¹⁶ Julian Caro Baroja and Bernard Vincent and Antonio Domínguez Ortíz have written survey texts on the political and social history of the *moriscos*, and Caro Baroja gives special attention to contacts with North Africa.¹⁷

Fernand Braudel himself relies heavily on Caro Baroja, as well as on Spanish archival materials, in his brief overview of *morisco* history in the “Overlapping Civilizations” section of *The Mediterranean*.¹⁸

Other French scholars have made tremendous contributions to *morisco* history, among them Louis Cardaillac, a pioneer in the use of Inquisition records, and Bernard Vincent in numerous works in Spanish and French.¹⁹ Scholarship based on Inquisition sources has long been one of the most

¹⁵ Mercedes García-Arenal, “Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age,” *Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009): 888–920, p. 891.

¹⁶ Pascual Boronat y Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Servicio de Reproducción de Libros, Librerías “Paris-Valencia”, 1901; Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901. A recent review of the historiography is Gregorio Colás Latorre, “Treinta años de historiografía morisca,” in the *Actas del X simposio internacional de mudéjarismo*, Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 643–684. For an extremely erudite and clear synthesis of *morisco* history and its scholarship, see James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013, originally published in Spanish as *Historias paralelas: Judeoconversos y moriscos en la España moderna*, Madrid: Akal, 2011. The Spanish edition includes an extremely valuable and extensive bibliographical essay which, although its presentation is a bit cumbersome, is an indispensable tool for experts and students alike.

¹⁷ Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: ensayo de historia social*, Madrid: ISTMO, 1991; Antonio Domínguez Ortíz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985; Bernard Vincent, *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*, Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1987; Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2006.

¹⁸ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972, 780–801.

¹⁹ Louis Cardaillac, *Les Morisques et l’Inquisition*, Paris: Publisud, 1990. Several of Vincent’s numerous works are cited above, and he and his colleague Jocelyn Dakhlia recently put together a collected volume which placed the *moriscos* into the larger history of Muslims in early modern Europe. See his contribution to the volume, as well as the articles by

important domains of *morisco* studies because the tribunal in records are a good source for information about “books and other written materials impounded as evidence when the accused were taken into custody.”²⁰ The records of the Inquisition courts contain information about the language used by *morisco* defendants and the Arabic-language materials they owned, as well as other ways in which *moriscos* were persecuted or condemned for their language use.²¹ The Inquisition in Spain was a relatively new institution in the early modern period, founded between 1478 and 1483.²² Its jurisdiction was technically only over Christians and not Jews or Muslims, but when the forced baptisms took place between 1492 and 1526, the new populations of *moriscos* suddenly came under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, which was established with its own office in Granada by 1530. Records about the practices, reputations, and material possessions of the *moriscos* who came to the attention of the Inquisition are preserved across several collections at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.²³

Natividad Planas and Fabienne P. Guillen, in *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe: 1. Une intégration invisible*, Jocelyn Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent (eds), Paris: Albin Michel, 2011.

²⁰ One of the earliest works is Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Biblioteca de visionarios, heterodoxos y marginados 5, Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975. This volume, primarily a collection of primary sources, consists almost entirely of edited trial processes. The former is a collaborative volume essays intended to orient the reader in the major issues in the history and historiography, as well as chapters on the regional courts. See also Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. Many of these cases are extant in the Consejo de Inquisición at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.

²¹ There is also evidence about language use in civil courts, as discussed in Claire Gilbert, “Transmission, Translation, Legitimacy and Control: The Activities of a Multilingual Scribe in *Morisco* Granada,” in *Multilingual and Multigraphic Manuscripts and Documents of East and West*, Giuseppe Mandala and Inmaculada Pérez Marin (eds.), Gorgias Press (forthcoming 2014). Issues of property, as given by a contemporary chronicler, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, “The New Christians, lacking a tongue and with no friends, found sentence given against them, their farms taken away or divided up, though they were theirs, purchased by them or inherited by their forefathers.” Quoted and translated in James Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 224. A different but equally interesting example is that cited again by Casey, when the “count of Cocentaina began to insist in the later sixteenth century that the Moriscos of his village of Muro seek his prior authorization before assembling and have some member of the count’s household present who could understand Arabic.” See Casey, *Early Modern Spain*, 102 and notes.

²² See Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict*, Harlow, England: Pearson/Longman, 2005, pp. 40-41.

²³ In addition to having written Arabic materials, Moriscos were persecuted by the Inquisition for using spoken Arabic in prayer. As one Granadan Morisco lamented in correspondence with North Africa: “Anyone who prays to God in his language is inevitably lost; as soon as they have an opportunity, they will send a leader (*aladid*) after him, catch him, and throw him into jail and terrorize him night and day.” This capture is followed by torture and a sham trial. In this passage, the author complains that it is not a difference of religion, which is not mentioned, but rather of language that puts him at risk of running afoul of the Inquisition. The passage in its entirety is quite moving. It was originally written in Arabic verse, and translated by the Morisco translator Alonso del Castillo after the correspondence was captured by a military officer. The Morisco author complains, “Y cualquiera que alaba a Dios por su lengua no puede escaparse de ser perdido, y al que hallan una ocasión, envían tras él un aladid, que, aunque esté a mil leguas, lo halla, y preso, le echan en la cárcel

Mudéjars and *moriscos* living outside of Valencia and Granada did not use Arabic as their language of everyday speech, and many communities also lacked a scholarly elite who could serve as transmitters of Arabic texts.²⁴ The immediate result of this situation was that students of Arabic travelled to Valencia and sometimes Granada for language education, ideally returning to take up the position of *faqīh* (legal scholar) in their home community.²⁵ Jacqueline Fournel-Guerin has demonstrated, based on Inquisition documents, that there was a good deal of movement of literate figures in Aragon in the sixteenth century, and that book circulation may even be said to be thriving among readers, teachers and students, and even illiterate *moriscos*.²⁶ Kathryn Miller, in her 2009 volume on the role of legal scholars in preserving Islamic communities in the late fifteenth century,

grande, y de día y de noche le atemorizan.... métenle en un espantoso palacio.... lo llevan al aposento del tormento, y lo atan para dárselo, y se lo dan hasta que le quiebran los huesos. Después desto, están de concierto en la plaza del Hatabin [la plaza in Granada], y hacen allí un tablado, que lo semejan al día del juicio.... Este enemigo nos ha angustiado en gran manera por todas partes, y nos ha rodeado como fuego; estamos un una opresión que se no se puede sufrir.” See Keith Garrad, “La inquisición y los moriscos granadinos, 1526-1580,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 67 (1965): 77. William Monter, in the conclusion to a recent study of the Aragonese Inquisition in the sixteenth century, notes a hierarchy of language use in that regional court: “One can therefore construct a social model of Habsburg Aragon, with gypsies and Valencian Moriscos at the bottom, both utterly alien to Spanish Catholic society but also relatively immune from serious prosecution by the Inquisition. Above them were Spanish-speaking Moriscos, who remained extremely vulnerable to it. Next came French immigrants, who were at considerable risk because they came from a traditionally hostile kingdom and had usually emigrated from the Midi, where Protestantism was ubiquitous [...] Above all these groups stood the descendants of converted Jews, who now enjoyed permanent immunity from the Inquisition because of their connections to other politically privileged sectors of society in Spanish Aragon.” See William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 324. Note that Valencian Moriscos were among the last populations to use Arabic as their daily vernacular. See Harvey, “The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595.”

²⁴ This education was probably patterned after traditional education in other parts of the Muslim world. This education was founded on the memorization of the Qur’an, which might take place in schools associated with mosques. Higher education, at least in the medieval period, was not institutionalized and was achieved through listening to the spoken lessons of a scholar, in Granada probably a jurist (*faqīh*) associated with the Maliki school. George Makdisi, “Madrasa and University in the Middle Ages,” *Studia Islamica* 32, no. 2 (1970): 260-261.

²⁵ L.P. Harvey relates that the educational system suffered a breakdown in Granada in the sixteenth century, locating this breakdown with the drain of intellectuals fleeing to North Africa, and a long-standing absence of regular cultural correspondence with other parts of the Islamic world. He does not, however, explain what formal education in Granada looked like either before or after this breakdown. L.P. Harvey, “The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595,” *al-Andalus* 36, no. 1 (1971): 82-84.

²⁶ Fournel-Guérin’s examination of the Inquisition documents yielded more than 900 guilty verdicts between 1568-1620, 409 “pour avoir possédé des écrits islamiques.” Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, “Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540-1620),” *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 15 (1979): 243, 250, 256. This article offers important descriptions of the practical aspects of book trade: what professions (as recorded by the inquisition) owned, transported, distributed, and could read books. She also offers a discussion of the meaning of books and writing for these Moriscos, noting that even for those who could not read and for whom a book was a divine and mysterious relic, “Le livre est donc chez les morisques aragonais comme le reflet de leur monde intérieur.” *Ibid.*, 256.

discusses several concrete examples where these networks of traveling scholars and students are revealed.²⁷

In addition to combing archival sources for comments on Arabic use, linguists and philologists have focused on the technical questions of what Iberian Arabic languages looked like.²⁸ Much of this work, in the Granadan case, looks to the grammar and lexicon of Pedro de Alcalá (1505).²⁹ In the last decade, scholars have begun to expand their focus to other sixteenth century *morisco* lexicographers, most notably Diego de Guadix.³⁰ While these scholars have provided invaluable tools for understanding what languages may have actually been like, scholars still wonder to what level Arabic or Romance languages penetrated different communities.³¹

Late Spanish Islam: Literary Studies and Aljamiado

Despite the fears of Castilian authorities, in particular the crown and the Inquisition, many *moriscos* converted in good faith and became practicing Christians.³² However, an entire sub discipline

²⁷ Kathryn A Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), chap. 3-4.

²⁸ Scholars who have devoted themselves to reconstructing the regional Arabic dialects from a formal linguistic and philological standpoint are Ben Nejib, *La langue des derniers Musulmans de l'Espagne : linguistique hispanique* (Tunis: Univ., 1987); F Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1977); F. Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según P. De Alcalá* (Madrid: Universidad de Madrid, Facultad de Filosofía y letras, 1988); F Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según el "Vocabulista in Arabico"* (Madrid: Departamento de Estudios Arabes e Islamicos 2 Universidad Complutense, 1989); P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature* (Leiden: New Rhine Publishers, 1977).

²⁹ Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, "La toponimia en el vocabulista de Pedro de Alcalá," in *Homenaje al profesor José María Fórneas Besteiro*, vol.1, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995, pp. 337-356; Ana Labarta and Carmen Barceló, "La antroponimia en el vocabulista de P. de Alcalá," in *Estudios dedicados al profesor Juan Martínez Ruíz*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991, pp. 105-111.

³⁰ Diego de Guadix, *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y otras muchas cosas*, Madrid: Trea, 2005; Patricia Giménez Eguibar, PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2010. Other examples, like Francisco López Tamarid, are part of the erudite recovery of many figures in early modern Arabic studies in Spain in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español* (2010) and its second edition in English, *The Orient in Spain* (2013).

³¹ Bernard Vincet poses a crucial problem to any study of Arabic in Spain: "¿Cómo y en qué medida el árabe ha penetrado en la sociedad dominante? Esta cuestión, como otras, no ha sido planteada, al menos para el período que nos ocupa. ¿Cómo, en efecto, imaginar que algunos raros cristianos, inmersos en un ambiente morisco, no hayan sido permeables a la lengua localmente más practicada?" Vincent, "Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss.XVI-XVII)," 744.

³² Examples of full or intended assimilation are the northern *morisco* community of Villarubia de los Ojos, detailed in Trevor Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarubia de los Ojos (ss. XV-XVII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada, y reintegrada*, Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007, and the city of Granada itself, in a study to which we shall return frequently throughout this dissertation, Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 2 vols. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

of *morisco* studies focuses on those who did not. This is the study of what Bernard Vincent has called "Late Spanish Islam," and focuses on the accommodations of Iberian Muslims to their minority status beginning in fifteenth-century *mudéjar* communities and continuing with the study of crypto-Islam after the conversions of 1502 and 1525-26. In English, the leading scholar of Islam and Crypto-Islam in Spain has been the British *aljamiado* specialist L.P. Harvey.³³

In addition to educational networks across Mudéjar regions, another result of decreasing Arabic knowledge in Muslim communities was the development of a new kind of language, a hybrid of arabicized Romance written in Arabic script, known as *aljamiado*.³⁴ *Aljamiado* studies as an academic discipline developed along with the interest in Spain's Arabic-language historical documents during the course of the nineteenth century, invigorated by the discovery of a large cache of manuscripts hidden in the walls and floors of a house in northeastern Almonacid de la Sierra. As nineteenth-century scholars plumbed the depths of Spain's archival and library holdings, more manuscript collections came to light, generating a furor of scholarship and cataloguing.³⁵

Vincent Barletta demonstrated in 2005 the crucial role of *aljamiado* texts and their "social-embeddedness" in community life in the self-fashioning of *morisco* identity, in particular in connecting them by virtue of the language and information encoded in those texts across time and

³³ Harvey has been involved with *aljamiado* studies since the beginning of his career, as indicated by his 1958 Oxford doctoral dissertation, "The Literary Culture of the Moriscos (1492-1609): A Study Based on Extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamiado." He has continued to publish on all aspects of Mudéjar and Morisco history, and in his most recent volume, *Muslims in Spain: 1500-1614* he intersperses chapters on the political and social history of Moriscos in Eastern and Southern Spain with detailed chapters devoted to the intellectual and textual histories of these communities. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. This volume is a follow up to his magisterial survey on Mudejar history, which includes information about language use and attitudes in the late medieval period. See L. P Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

³⁴ Gerard Wiegers locates the beginnings of *aljamiado* literature with the work of the *faqih* Iça de Segovia (c. 1454-1462), who wrote religious treatises for Muslim communities who no longer knew Arabic. Gerard Albert Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, Leiden: Brill, 1994.

³⁵ Eduardo Saavedra Moragas and Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *Discursos leídos ante la Real academia española en la recepción pública* (Impr. de la Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, 1878); Eduardo Saavedra Saavedra Moragas, "Índice general de la literatura aljamiada," *Memorias de la Real Academia Española* 6: 140-328; Francisco Codera y Zaidín, "Almacén de un librero morisco descubierto en Almonacid de la Sierra," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 5: 269-276; Francisco Guillén Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de M. Tello, 1889; Mariano de Pano y Ruata and Eduardo Saavedra y Moragas, *Las coplas del Peregrino de Puey Monçón* Tip. de Comas Hermanos, 1897; Pablo Gil, *Colección de textos aljamiados publicada*, Madrid: Tip. de Comas hermanos, 1888.

space to a larger Muslim community.³⁶ Although his work is historical, his project was primarily a close anthropological and philological reading of a limited corpus in order to draw conclusions about language use and community identity and affiliation among crypto-Muslims.³⁷ Barletta identifies two processes, contextualization and traditionalization, that allow modern scholars to analyze and describe the connection between text and community and have been used by anthropologists to approach the problem of what to do when “We have written texts, but no community.”³⁸

Consuelo López-Morillas has also published on notions of language and identity.³⁹ In particular, López-Morillas has taken on Luce López-Baralt’s *Aljamiado* “decline thesis” and argues convincingly that the use of *aljamiado* among Muslim or crypto-Muslim communities must not be taken necessarily as a sign of dwindling cultural heritage, but rather as an innovative way of preserving that cultural heritage, and in particular a linguistically Semitic cultural heritage. López-Morillas argues, “Far from undergoing what López-Baralt terms “este lento proceso de des-semitización” (the slow process of 'de-Semiticization'), *mudéjar* and *morisco* Spanish was in fact becoming actively re-Semiticized, and specifically Islamicized, the better to serve the needs of its speakers.”⁴⁰ Pointing out the prestige of the Arabic script itself, López-Morillas posits that it may be

³⁶ Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, xv, 76, 79-80, 109.

³⁷ See Vincent Barletta, *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 5, “the local institutions that underlie and valorize the production and use of *aljamiado-morisco* narratives--the local *alfakí* (from Ar. *ṣūfī* [sic]) responsible for religious instruction, the semi-hidden Qur'anic school within certain towns, scattered Islamic authorities such as the Mançebo de Arévalo (more and more a scarcity after the first half of the sixteenth century)--functioned and were shaped in ways that have little to do with the highly segmented national and international institutions from which Christian writers and readers sought support and legitimization.”

³⁸ Barletta, *Covert Gestures*, 47.

³⁹ López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam”; Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, “Los manuscritos aljamiados,” *Al-Qantara* XIX, no. 2 (1998): 425-444.

⁴⁰ López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam,” 195. The volume with which López-Morillas is in dialogue is Luce López-Baralt, *Huellas Del Islam En La Literatura Española: De Juan Ruiz a Juan Goytisolo* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1985). She rehearses her “somewhat less optimistic outlook” about the quality of *aljamiado* literature in Luce López-Baralt, “The Legacy of Islam in Spanish Literature,” in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 533. The term “des-semiticization” will be discussed below in the review of literature about the Image of Islam and Arabic in the Spanish Identity.

that the meaningfulness of the script, rather than the language, became the most important linguistic symbol and practice for *mudéjars* and later for *moriscos*, and that “their ability to create a new form of language was a sign of continuing intellectual vigor.”⁴¹ These conceptual tools which literary scholars have found so valuable to understand the development of *aljamiado* Islamicized Spanish may be turned also toward the analysis of Arabic texts produced in Spain, especially beginning in the latter part of the sixteenth-century when most concentrated communities of Arabic speakers had been disbanded. Nonetheless, Arabic texts, translations, or forgeries, resonated with communities across the Christian-Muslim continuum throughout the Peninsula and across Europe.

Maurophilia and Maurophobia

Not all early modern attitudes toward Muslims and Islamic culture were negative, and this assessment extends to the associations with the Arabic language. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed the development of a new genre of the *novela morisca* (moorish novel), which took from the chivalric precedents of the medieval period but was not a continuation of that genre. Rather, literary scholars have argued that the *novela morisca* and forgeries like the *libros plomos* of Granada were meant to demonstrate the unity of the populations that both produced and consumed the works, that is, that Arabic and Castilian speakers together made up a unified cultural sphere.⁴²

The ways of constructing or deconstructing this unified cultural sphere has been labeled by contemporary scholars *maurophilia* or *maurophobia*. The scholarship of *maurophilia* dates at least to the series of early twentieth-century articles by French scholar Georges Cirot.⁴³ Literary scholar Barbara

⁴¹ López-Morillas, relying on the work of Ana Labarta, refers to how “the Moriscos, to cure illness, used to write prayers on scraps of paper, dissolve the words in water, and then have the patient drink the inky brew.” See López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam,” 199. Positing the notion of “intellectual vigor,” López-Morillas cites and translates Mikel de Epalza: “How to designate—with the aid of what nouns, what adjectives, what verbs—in a language so marked by Christianity, Islamic realities whose original and only adequate expression was Arabic?” See *Ibid.*, 203.

⁴² Luce López Baralt summarizes the recent scholarship, especially the pioneering works of Maria Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti, James T. Monroe, and Francisco Márquez Villanueva. See López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 209ff, especially the footnotes.

⁴³ Georges Cirot, “La maurophilie littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 40/2 (1938) - 46/1 (1944).

Fuchs's most recent work on Spanish maurophilism the sixteenth century argues that the texts which gave a positive account of Muslims, *moriscos*, and "moorish" practices were a logical extension of internal debates about the place of Spain's Islamic heritage in the "national imaginary" (the other side of which was Maurophobia).⁴⁴ She posits that the motivation for both maurophilic and maurophobic texts is part of the dual process of exoticization and subsequent "desemitzization." This dual process was connected to the ideologies of *limpieza de sangre*, as well as a response to the "pan-European" development of the Black Legend, especially in Northern European countries.⁴⁵ Throughout this century scholars have debated whether the sixteenth century Spanish imaginary was colored more by *philia* or *phobia*. Alain Milhou also located the process of "desemitzización" in tension and parallel with a concomitant process of "europeización" during the course of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ Milhou's argument was that Christian Spain did not tend to *maurophobia* based on religious fervor, but rather in reaction to aspirations to become a part of the cultural community of Europe, aspirations that were thwarted by the increasing power of the Black Legend. Milhou sees a clear process of unification extending from the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 through the scandal of the Black Legend and until the expulsion of the Moriscos.⁴⁷ Salient in his argument is

⁴⁴ The term "maurophilia" has been used by scholars since at least the 1920s to denote the idealized imagery of the "Moor" in Spanish literature, beginning with border ballads of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This theme persists and is developed in Spanish literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Maria Soledad Carrasco, "The Moor of Granada in Spanish Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 1955, 5-6.

⁴⁵ See Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 8, 20. Fuchs calls the unacknowledged remnants of Muslim cultural practice in regular Christian activities the "Moorish habitus" (5). The Black Legend refers to the propaganda campaign against Spain, in reference to the cruelty of the Inquisition and imperial activities, circulated largely through pamphlets in Northern Protestant countries in the early modern period.

⁴⁶ Alain Milhou, "Desemitzización y europeización en la cultura española desde la época de los Reyes Católicos hasta la expulsión de los moriscos," in *La cultura del Renaixement: homenatge al Pare Miquel Batllori*, Revista d'Història Moderna: Manuscrits I (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1993), 35-60. While Milhou's thesis seems to radically oversimplify (and essentialize as Christian) the actors whose feelings, ideologies, acts, and practices made up the Spanish processes of *desemitzización* and *europeización*.

⁴⁷ Milhou, "Desemitzización y europeización," 37, 60. For Milhou, the tension between Spain and the rest of Europe began with the conquest of Toledo in 1085 and the subsequent efforts of Alfonso VI to orient his court and his populace toward France and French practice (including replacing the Visigothic rite of the Mozarabs with the Roman rite).

the metaphor of the Inquisition as a machine, “fabricando *enemigos de España*.”⁴⁸ Relying to a large extent on non-Spanish accounts of Spain’s “otherness,” Milhou situates the Iberian anxiety of belonging as a self-conscious process of centralization and homogenization that takes place through the actions of the Inquisition.⁴⁹

The tension between *maurophilia* and *maurophobia* is analogous to that which exists in discourses about the Arabic language, which Fuchs discusses in a section cleverly titled “Fighting Words.” She examines the evidence in Cervantes (1615), Nebrija (1492), Juan de Valdés’s *Diálogo de la Lengua* (1535), and Bernardo de Aldrete (1606) to describe some of the ideological reactions available to the issue of Arabic words or pronunciation that had become part of the Spanish vernacular language.⁵⁰ These four texts show how ideas about language contact in turn generate language ideologies about what kinds of words and sounds are and should be part of the vernacular, and how a process of exchange between two discrete communities might be imagined to take place at the level of language. In particular, Fuchs notes in Valdés’s writing that “[he] deplores the Arabic elements of the Castilian vernacular, imagining the effects of the centuries of Moorish presence in Spain as a kind of contagion.”⁵¹ Valdés was not the only writer to use bodily and medical metaphors to pursue the *morisco* question, and this dissertation also analyzes the way that language was used as a means to map metaphors of the human body onto new ideas about the body politic.⁵²

⁴⁸ Milhou, “Desemitzación y europeización,” 36. Italics in original.

⁴⁹ Milhou, “Desemitzación y europeización,” 42. According to Milhou, for the non-Spanish observers, Spain is “infected” by Semitic contact and by the mixing with Jews in particular, a sentiment that is then mirrored in the Spanish ideology of *limpieza de sangre*.

⁵⁰ Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 24-30.

⁵¹ Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, p. 27.

⁵² See Chapter 4 of this dissertation on the overlap of discussions of the human body and the body politic.

b. Early Modern Orientalism: Scholarship, Authorship, Information

i. Islam and Arabic in Spanish Culture

The historiographical tradition of Arabism and its heritage in Spain is well charted in the now-classic work of James T. Monroe, one of the most important and prolific American authors on the subject of the *muwashshahat*, or medieval Iberian Arabic strophic poetry with Romance-language refrains. In his 1970 book *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship* he set aside literary and philological analysis to describe the history of his discipline, which he traces in its modern form to the late eighteenth century.⁵³ Introducing his subject, Monroe gives a brief review of what he considers a less significant tradition of Spanish Arabism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁴ In spite of the recommendation of the Council of Vienne in 1311, Spanish universities did not develop permanent Arabic-language faculties, and through the course of the sixteenth century university instruction in this language nearly disappeared.⁵⁵ Monroe, working from Bataillon, is aware of only two figures who were even in contention for Arabic chairs at this time, one who failed to win the appointment at Salamanca, and an anonymous figure (probably a *morisco*) who did not

⁵³ Monroe is aware of the earlier history of Arabic studies in Spain, and he gives a brief but erudite overview of these at the beginning of his book. He discounts, however, the development of Arabic studies as a full fledged field before the eighteenth century. He seems to ascribe more “scholarly” detachment to the later manifestation of the field, although his own work shows the ideological stances and political affiliations of modern scholars of Arabic as well. “Though that [sixteenth-century] Arabism was largely conditioned by political and religious interests which it in turn served, in the hands of some scholars it began to develop a more detached field of interest which distinguished it from medieval Arabism and presaged what was to come later. Under the impact of Humanism, Arabism became more an independent intellectual discipline and less a product of contemporary circumstances. This tendency, as yet barely outlined, was not to become a full reality until the eighteenth century.” See James T Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (sixteenth Century to the Present)*, Leiden: Brill, 1970, p. 20. As I have argued, Arabic studies in Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—and continuing into the twentieth—remained intimately linked to political interests, as well as cultural and social ones. See Gilbert, “Naturalizing Discourse: Arabic in the Spanish National Identity and Colonial Imagining,” UCLA History Department Working Paper.

⁵⁴ Monroe attributes this hiatus to “isolationism and a general decline in Spanish science.” See James T Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (sixteenth Century to the Present)*, Leiden: Brill, 1970, p. 3.

⁵⁵ López Morillas describes how “Juan Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia in the late sixteenth century, saw Arabic as synonymous with heresy, and was personally responsible for persuading Philip II not to permit publication of an Arabic catechism for the Moriscos nor the founding of a university chair in that language.” See Consuelo López-Morillas, “Language and Identity in Late Spanish Islam,” *Hispanic Review* 63, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 198. It appears that López Morillas is referring to a university chair in Valencia, and the evangelization materials to which she refers appear to be the 1566 grammar of Martín Pérez de Ayala. See Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco: desde otras laderas*, Quibla ensayo 3, Madrid: Libertarias, 1991, pp. 206-207.

remain long in the job.⁵⁶ Luce López Baralt in her 2006 study of Arabic teaching in sixteenth-century Salamanca offers a valuable counterexample which demonstrates the presence of Arabic-language grammars if not Arabic speakers in the faculties.⁵⁷ It is likely that some professors at the university did know Arabic, especially doctors and scholars of medicine.⁵⁸ The Flemish doctor Nicolas Clénard famously traveled to Spain in the 1530s to learn Arabic and further his medical knowledge.⁵⁹ This interest amongst intellectuals in learning Arabic in order to pursue biblical, philosophical, and scientific studies is well documented in other parts of Renaissance and Reformation Europe.⁶⁰

Fernando Rodríguez Mediano showed in a 2006 article that the traditional historiographical view of the decline of academic and other *arabismos* in the seventeenth century is incorrect and has unearthed several names and careers to counter the argument that no Arabic-learning took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶¹ Where Monroe located a centuries-long lacuna, or “eclipse” in Spanish Arabism from the early sixteenth until the late eighteenth centuries, Rodríguez Mediano effectively demonstrated that several bilingual scholars were at work in the Madrid-area royal courts and universities throughout this time. He focused on Arabic knowledge among

⁵⁶ Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (sixteenth Century to the Present)*, 4; M. Bataillon, “L’arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance,” *Hesperis* 21 (1935): 1-17.

⁵⁷ Luce López-Baralt, “*A Zaga de Tu Huella*”: *La Enseñanza de Las Lenguas Semíticas En Salamanca En Tiempos de San Juan de La Cruz*, Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2006.

⁵⁸ “In this way the prestige of medieval Arabic medicine lingered on in Spain even when no one could be appointed to teach the language in its universities.” See Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (sixteenth Century to the Present)*, 4. On the important role of Arabic manuscripts and the *moriscos* in the transmission of medical knowledge, see the work of Luis García Ballester.

⁵⁹ Ultimately he found Arabic education inadequate in Castile, Portugal, and Granada, and traveled to Morocco where he was killed.

⁶⁰ See Bataillon, “L’arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance”; Karl H. Dannenfeldt, “The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 2 (1955): 96-117; John Robert Jones, “Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe: 1502-1626,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation, London University School of Oriental and African Studies, 1988; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996; Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Fragmentos del orientalismo español del s. XVII,” *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 66/222 (2006): 243-276.

⁶¹ The most well-developed example is Diego de Urrea, a former captive who had been raised and educated in North Africa, and who later became an important translator in the *plomos* incident, cataloger and translator for the Royal Library, and who even held the Chair in Arabic and the University of Alcalá de Henares from 1593 until at least 1597. See Rodríguez Mediano, “Fragmentos del orientalismo español del s. XVII,” 248-251.

university members and on the translators and intellectuals who became involved in the discovery, debate, authentication, and challenge of the *libros plumbeos* episode in late sixteenth-century Granada. Rodríguez Mediano argues that these ideologies were not restricted to a rarified intellectual domain, but rather reflect modes of thinking that crucially influenced real life—culminating ultimately with the decisive act of expulsion in 1609.

Universities were not the only sites of Arabic study among Christians in early modern Spain. A crucial branch of Arabic-language learning was undertaken by the clergy who were sent to evangelize the newly conquered Muslims (after 1492) or educate the newly converted Moriscos (after 1526). Following in the tradition of medieval Arabic-Latin missionary lexica, the very first Arabic-Castilian grammar and catechism was written in the late 1490s and published in 1505 in Granada.⁶² This dual work, bound together, included the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauia* and the *Vocabulista arauigo en letra castellana*. The author, Pedro de Alcalá, was a Hieronymite friar working under Granada's first archbishop, Hernando de Talavera, a famous proponent of conversion by persuasion rather than by force. Very little is known about Alcalá or his training in Arabic, aside from what can be gleaned from his own writing in the *Arte* and *Vocabulista*.⁶³ Although it seems

⁶² Pedro de Alcalá and Hispanic Society of America, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga emendada y añadida y segundaente imprimida*, Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505. There are two extant lexical lists from the late medieval period, a twelfth-century lexicon that the arabist Van Koeningsveld argues was in fact designed to help mozarab émigrés learn Latin, and a thirteenth-century vocabulary list probably written with the intent to pursue missionary work in North Africa, attributed to Ramón Martí. See Koeningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*; Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según el "Vocabulista in Arabico"*.

⁶³ Otto Zwartjes, "El artículo en las gramáticas pioneras de Antonio De Nebrija y Pedro de Alcalá y las gramáticas de la tradición grecolatina," *Diálogos Hispánicos* 11 (1993): 261-286; Otto Zwartjes, "El lenguaje en la catequización de los moriscos de Granada y los indígenas de Latinoamérica: las obras de los gramáticos como vehículo entre instrucción religiosa y pensamiento lingüístico," in , 1999; Otto Zwartjes, *Las Gramáticas Misioneras De Tradición Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)*, Portada hispánica 7, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001; Abdelouahab El Imrani, *Lexicografía Hispano-árabe: Aproximación al análisis de cinco diccionarios elaborados por religiosos españoles*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1998. Another Dutch scholar, Gerrit Drost, has also dedicated an article to Alcalá, positing that through the author's changing descriptions of Arabic, it is possible to date parts of the text to before and after the arrival of the intolerant Archbishop Cisneros in 1499. See Gerrit Drost, "El Arte de Pedro de Alcalá y su Vocabulista: de tolerancia a represión," in *Actas del III simposio internacional de estudios moriscos: las practicas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces (1492-1609)* (Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1989), 57-69. Although Alcalá has not been the subject of his own monograph, in addition to the 1929 Facsimile edition, both Federico Corriente and Elena Pezzi have published recent critical editions of the *Arte* and the

certain that the evangelizing friars developed more pedagogical materials over the course of the sixteenth century, only a small amount of evidence of these efforts has been preserved.⁶⁴ One other extant Arabic-Castilian language-teaching manual and catechism was written by the Archbishop of Valencia, Martín Pérez de Ayala was published in 1566.⁶⁵ Another manuscript version of this catechism, in Granadan Arabic is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger. Chapter 6 of this dissertation examines the genre of evangelical pedagogy and its production in the context of overlapping experiences between Granada, Valencia, and North Africa.

In addition to pedagogical materials, the church created schools for the recently converted. Very little has been unearthed in the archives about these schools, with the fortunate exception of the work of María del Carmén Calero Palacios at the Universidad de Granada.⁶⁶ An early modern discourse existed advocating an institutionalized system of language and religious education for Moriscos. Within the discourse of the educators was a debate over whether Arabic dialects should be a means of instruction. This debate continued for nearly a century, as the early waves of evangelization did not prove as effective as hoped, and officials continued to discuss ways to reach the largest population of *cristianos nuevos* most efficiently. By the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuits in Granada had become the most active missionary order in this domestic evangelization and education project, and some of these Jesuit teachers were Moriscos who were able to and who

Vocabulista. See Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según P. De Alcalá*; Pedro Alcalá, *El vocabulario de Pedro de Alcalá*, ed. Elena Pezzi, Almería: Ed. Cajal, 1989.

⁶⁴ Framiñan de Miguel offers five examples of published evangelization materials, spanning the first two thirds of the sixteenth century. Aside from the grammars of Alcalá and Pérez Ayala, Framiñan identifies four polemic manuals for Christian clergy to rhetorically undermine Islam, but these do not contain a component for communicating these arguments in Arabic. See María Jesus Framiñan de Miguel, “Manuales para el adoctrinamiento de neoconvertos en el siglo XVI,” *Crítica* 93 (2005): 25-37.

⁶⁵ See the 1911 facsimile edition: Martín Pérez de Ayala, *Doctrina cristiana en lengua arábica y castellana para instrucción de los moriscos del Ilustrísimo Sr. Dn. Martín Pérez de Ayala [1566]*, 2nd ed. (Valencia: [s.n.], 1911).

⁶⁶ María del Carmen Calero Palacios, *La enseñanza y educación en Granada bajo los reyes austrias* (Granada: Excma. Diputación Provincial, Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1978); María del Carmen Calero Palacios, “La creación de la universidad,” 5, 2008, <http://www.islamyal-andalus.org/control/noticia.php?id=1762>. For a general background to early modern Spanish education, at the primary and university levels, see Richard Kagan, *Students and society in early modern Spain* (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1974).

advocated teaching in Arabic.⁶⁷ Two figures are relatively well known, Juan de Albotodo and his student Ignacio de las Casas, whose treatises have been recovered, edited, and published only in the last decade.⁶⁸

A crucial episode in the history of Arabic and Arabic-Romance bilingualism is that of the *libros plúmbeos* or *plomos*, the forged parchment, relics, and lead books written in Arabic and Romance that were “discovered” in Granada in 1588 and between 1595 and 1599. Ultimately declared forgeries by the Pope in 1682, these texts purported to reinscribe a Christian history of Granada before the Muslim conquest. Dating falsely from the first century AD, the materials referred to a first-century 'Arab' Christian who traveled to Iberia with St. James and became the first bishop of Granada. These forgeries were almost certainly perpetrated by *moriscos* anxious to carve a place for themselves in contemporary Spanish society via the circulation of historical models.⁶⁹ A. Katie Harris in her 2007 monograph on the *plomos* has called attention to the way that these forgeries helped change ideas about the direct relationship between the Arabic language and Muslim and Christian religious identities.⁷⁰ Kathryn Woolard, in her 2002 article about language ideologies of Castilian and Latin, connects the debate over the origin of Spain's language (from Latin or from Babel) to the *plomos* episode, as scholars questioned how these ancient lead tablets could possibly come to be written in what appeared to be contemporary Arabic and Castilian.⁷¹ This episode has garnered much attention in the Anglo-American and Spanish scholarly communities in recent years,

⁶⁷ As an additional point of interest, it will be interesting to consider the technical aspect of educating children not only in two languages, but two scripts. Adams points out that “The acquisition of literacy may have a bilingual dimension (usually neglected in discussions of ancient literacy) in that a learner or speaker of a second language may have to use a second script to write in the second language.” See Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 765.

⁶⁸ Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens : étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006); Youssef El Alaoui, “Ignacio de las Casas, jesuita y morisco,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 14-15 (1997): 317-339.

⁶⁹ What Márquez Villanueva refers to as “cryptohistory.”

⁷⁰ A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science 125th ser., 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 65.

⁷¹ Kathryn A Woolard, “Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 3 (2002): 460.

occupying the bulk of several recent volumes of the CSIC journal *al-Qantara* and generating a thick collaborative volume in 2006, edited by Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal.⁷² The articles in this volume focus primarily on the individuals who participated in the translation efforts or whose writings were connected to debates about the authenticity of the *plomos*.

In their recent and extremely complete study of the *libros plomos* in Granada and the entire context of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Arabic studies in Spain, García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have compiled a tremendous resource on the history of Arabic studies in the *morisco* period and after in their 2010 book, *Un oriente español* and the subsequent second edition, translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, *The Orient in Spain* (2013).⁷³ Together with other recent work by these scholars, especially García-Arenal's 2009 review articles in *Arabica* and the *Journal of Modern History*, these volumes cover much of the state of the question by giving a broad overview of many of the known Arabic speakers active in those centuries.⁷⁴ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, as with other scholars who have worked with them, are highly attuned to the question of the religious identity of the Arabic language, both in the early modern period and as it is represented in modern scholarship.⁷⁵

The current forms and trends of contemporary interest in the Arabic-language heritage of Spain traceable to the work of nineteenth-century Arabists who were interested in connecting the prestige and uniqueness of the Iberian Islamic middle ages to a nationalist historiography that

⁷² Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García Arenal, eds., *Los plomos del Sacromonte : invención y tesoro*: València-Granada-Zaragoza: Universitat de València, Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006.

⁷³ García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano. *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos y El Sacramonte En Tiempos de Contrarreforma*. Marcial Pons Historia. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010; García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano. *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, 2013.

⁷⁴ García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56/6 (2009): pp. 495-528; García-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age," *Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009): pp. 888–920.

⁷⁵ Patricia Giménez-Eguibar and Daniel I. Wasserman Soler, "La mala algarabía: Church, Monarchy, and the Arabic Language in 16th-Century Spain," *Medieval History Journal* 14 (2011): pp. 229-258.

developed the idea of an essential Spaniard.⁷⁶ As the historian John Hillgarth pointed out in a 1985 article in *History and Theory*, the trope of history in the service of the Spanish nation had very old roots, dating to the seventh-century Visigoth saint and scholar Isidore of Seville, and revived throughout the centuries by later medieval Christian writers and early modern historians in the seventeenth century.⁷⁷ The basic argument of this kind of historical nationalism is that Spain has been uniquely and continuously Spanish for all time, and the various Iberian civilizations have not disrupted this ethnic and national unity. Growing competition with France as a European and global imperial power was the unspoken foil for arabists like Francisco Simonet, Francisco Codera y Zaidín, and fin-de-siècle scholars like Julian Ribera y Tarragó and Miguel Asín Palacios.⁷⁸ Although these scholars did not agree whether medieval Iberians were essential Spaniards *in spite of* or *because of* the longstanding presence of Arabic and Islam—presaging the more recent conflict between mid-twentieth century historians Americo Castro and Claudio Sanchez-Albórnos—they shared an anxiety about France’s rising power, and saw furthering Arabic-language education in Spain as the immediate solution.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (sixteenth Century to the Present)*; Manuela Manzanares Cirre, *Arabistas españoles del siglo XIX*, Madrid: Instituto Hispano Árabe de Cultura, 1971; Mayte Penelas, “Hispano-Arabic Studies in the New Millennium: Spain,” *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 16, no. 2 (2004).

⁷⁷ J.N. Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (1985): 23-43.

⁷⁸ Opposite on the ideological continuum are Francisco Simonet (1829-1897) and Julian Ribera y Tarragó (1858-1934). Simonet sought to prove that Iberia had a continuously Christian character—maintained by the *mozarabes*, or Christians living under Muslim rule—in spite of the centuries of Muslim rule and Arabic-language administration and literary traditions. Like Simonet, Ribera insisted on an ethnic continuity in the Peninsula, and above all on the small amount of genetic mixing between Spaniards and Arabs. However, Ribera’s essential Spaniard need not be Christian. In fact, Spanish Muslims represented an apogee of scholarship (in Arabic) for the entire Muslim world, because of their *Spanishness*. He argued that the population of Spain remained ethnically Spanish throughout the centuries of Muslim rule, despite religious affiliation and language use. Francisco Simonet, *Discursos leídos ante el claustro de la universidad literaria de Granada en el acto solemne de la recepción del Ldo. D. Francisco Javier Simonet ... el día 15 de Setiembre de 1862*, Granada, 1866; Julián Ribera Tarrago, *Discurso leído en la universidad de Zaragoza en la solemne apertura del curso académico de 1893 a 1894 : (La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles)*, Zaragoza: Impr. de C. Ariño, 1893.

⁷⁹ Hillgarth calls Castro’s thesis a “Copernican revolution” in Spanish historiography, indicating just to what extent the ideal of unity had pervaded the Spanish national self-conscious until that point (and after in many domains). Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality,” 33. What Castro argued was that the year 711 signaled a fundamental break in Spanish history, and that an essential Spaniard did not survive the period of Muslim rule unchanged from his Roman (or even Celt-Iberian) character. Sanchez-Albornos argued the opposite, defending the idea of an ethnic continuity, despite different periods of cultural influence and religious conversion. Though previous historians had acknowledged a cultural influence of Spaniards from this eight-century period of Muslim rule, what had not been

B. A New Perspective: The Early Modern "Crises of Language"

The development of humanism inspired intensive reflection on the nature of language and the scholarly tools available to analyze it. These reflections on the nature of language also took on a temporal aspect compatible with other humanist philological efforts: what was the history of language(s), and how could that history be used to explain the contemporaneous society? By the sixteenth century these same ideas underpinned the question of how language might be used to effect reform through educational, translation, and editorial projects using sacred and other texts. As these Italian debates over what language was and who should use it in what way circulated across humanist correspondence networks, they ushered in a European-wide crisis in linguistic thinking, or, as Peter Burke prefers, "the discovery of language."⁸⁰

Whether a crisis or a discovery or both, in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a long-term shift occurred in the way that language was imagined and used. This proposition follows well-known ideas about the shift in epistemologies associated with the European encounters with new worlds, what would become known as the Scientific Revolution, new theorizations of the reason of state and the intense debates over language associated with religious reform and late humanism.⁸¹ Literary theorists and linguistic anthropologists have argued that in this period and

addressed was the possibility of large-scale ethnic mixing between the Iberian populations. Castro, a literary historian, took his theory to the extreme to propose that not only was 711 a break in a unified and continuous Spanish ethnic history because of intermarriage and conversion, but that the three cultures had actually lived in what amounted to one society under the scheme of *convivencia*. This concept has been severely criticized as an overly rosy view in recent years by historians, although it is still in use by literary scholars like María Rosa Menocal.

⁸⁰ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 16-17.

⁸¹ On the changes in European ways of thinking after 1492, see Anthony Pagden's classic, *The Fall of Natural Man*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982 and the also-classic work by Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, Chicago: Chicago UP, 1991. On language in the context of the scientific revolution, see Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003, and of course Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, New York: Vintage, 1994. On language and the reason of state, see Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics 1250-1600*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. Ivan Illich located historically a fundamental shift in the properties of language and language use in Antonio de Nebrija's 1492 *Gramática castellana*, that is, in the normative and widely ready linguistics of late-Renaissance Spain, by which the "mother tongue" became a commoditized language that was controlled and produced at the level of the state rather than by the individual in a domestic context. Ivan Illich, "Taught Mother Tongue. Prepared for a Meeting On "The Need for New Terminology to Deal with 'Mother Tongues'" Held at the

within these different discursive spaces language ceased to be imagined as an absolute signifier of ideal forms and in various ways became a representative sign of human thought. The impact of this epistemological shift provided the very foundation for modernity as we define it today. For example, Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs, relying on the work of Bruno Latour and Michel Foucault identify this shift as taking place in English political and scientific discourses in the seventeenth century, and use this example to develop a more general theory about the way language use and ideologies began to be used to structure social inequality across Europe.⁸² At the same time, Bauman and Briggs challenge this narrative by asking their readers to reexamine the way that early modern representations of language use and textual production were used to imagine an idealized modernity from the seventeenth century onward. The framework of language crisis and discovery thus allows us both to interrogate the historical uses and perceptions of language in the early modern period as an age of political and religious reform. Focusing on the self-perception of language use and identity also reminds us to consider the inheritance of the "moderns," which includes our own imagination of modernity, and which conditions the questions and analytical methods available to contemporary historians.

i. Trent and Translation

Questions of language lay at the heart of Reformation Europe's debates over its religious identity. The role of language in the consolidation of the Protestant Reformation(s), in particular questions of the use of the vernacular for spiritual texts, translation of those texts, the intervention of new print technologies, even the role of language in mediating salvation, have received scholarly

Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore," p. 140. See also Ivan Illich, *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.

⁸² Bauman and Briggs, *Voices of Modernity*, p. 8-9.

attention.⁸³ These concerns, however well articulated in Protestant regions and by contemporary scholars of those regions, were in fact shared by Catholic reformers.⁸⁴ The signal institutional event of the Catholic Reformation, the Council of Trent (1545-1563), was also highly concerned with issues related to language, leading at least to a new version of the Vulgate.⁸⁵ Some scholars have even given the council the sobriquet of the "First International Conference on Translation."⁸⁶

David Coleman has discussed astutely the particular influence of Trent on and in Granada, whose own archbishop Pedro de Guerrero would play a pivotal role in the council sessions held between 1551-1552 and 1562-1563. Guerrero was archbishop from 1546-1576, and his interventions at Trent were certainly influenced by his experience ruling over the immigrant and new Christian communities in Granada.⁸⁷ Even before attending the council, Guerrero was, like many of his contemporaries, anxious to reform the local clergy and church administration at the parish level with new norms for *visitas* and preaching that would bring a higher uniform standard of religious practice to his diocese. In particular, the strengthening of episcopal power that was an outcome of Trent would help the bishops and archbishops in *morisco* areas champion policies of assimilation, as did the reform requirement that each diocese support a seminary to train future priests.⁸⁸ This latter requirement, in dioceses with significant *morisco* populations, like Valencia and Granada, meant that the question of preaching in Arabic and creating pedagogical Christian Arabic materials would

⁸³ My entry into this scholarship is the excellent Brian Cummings, *Grammar and Grace: The Literary Culture of the Reformation*, Oxford: Oxford, 2002, from whom I have borrowed the term "crisis of language," which Cumming himself borrows from Montaigne.

⁸⁴ Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, "La Biblia Políglota Complutense y la Biblia de Lutero: el factor lingüístico como motor del protonacionalismo," in José Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez and Igor Sosa Mayor (eds.), *Identidades profesionales y construcciones nacionales en Europa (ss. XV-XIX)*, Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012, pp. 169-180.

⁸⁵ For a synthesis of the scholarship on Trent, see the clear accounts in John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002 and *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2013.

⁸⁶ Julio-César Santoyo Mediavilla, "Trento, 1546: Crónica del primer congreso internacional sobre la traducción," in *Historia de la traducción, Viejos y nuevos apuntes*, León: Universidad de León, 2008, pp. 181-202. Peter Burke also notes that "In the world of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, there was what might be called a 'translation policy,' associated with attempts to make converts from Protestantism or Orthodoxy." Burke, "Cultures of translation," pp. 16-17.

⁸⁷ See David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, ch. 7, "Negotiating Reform," pp. 145-176.

⁸⁸ Coleman credits Guerrero's stringent policies as another motive to the 1568 second Alpujarras rebellion.

become paramount. Guerrero was also instrumental in welcoming the Jesuits to Granada after meeting Alfonso Salmerón and Diego Laínez at Trent, and this order would be one of the most active in Arabic learning and teaching for evangelical purposes.⁸⁹

At Trent Guerrero was accompanied by the bishop of Guadix, an important mountain city of Granada, don Martín Pérez de Ayala (1548-1560, when he was transferred to the see in Segovia). Ayala hosted the synod of Guadix in 1554, and decreed that the basic evangelical and doctrinal materials be drawn up in Arabic.⁹⁰ Pérez de Ayala was later briefly made archbishop of Valencia (1564-1566), where he attempted to bring some of the ideas from the 1554 synod to bear on *morisco* evangelization.⁹¹ Pérez de Ayala's successor was Juan de Ribera, who ruled the archdiocese of Valencia from 1568 until his death in 1611, a tenure which oversaw the program of expulsion which began in Valencia in 1609. While still a bishop in Badajoz (1562-1568), Ribera demonstrated his commitment to Tridentine reforms by sponsoring the printing a number of decrees.⁹² Both Guerrero and Ribera over their long tenures shifted their *morisco* policies from "benign neglect" to draconian reform which helped incite rebellion in Granada and expulsion in both regions.⁹³

The aftereffects of Trent reverberated through Iberia for decades, but the model of conciliar resolutions on language had been current in Spain for centuries.⁹⁴ Castilian church councils were highly concerned in which language children should receive instruction and had debated the topic and promulgated different official catechetical programs throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As I have shown elsewhere, these models both of pedagogy and debate were available to

⁸⁹ The classic and comprehensive study, with many for further research in Jesuit archives, is Francisco de Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545-1614)," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 57 (1988): 3-137.

⁹⁰ Martín Pérez de Ayala, and Carlos Asenjo Sedano, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Guadix y Baza*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994. Antonio Gallego Burín y Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1968.

⁹¹ For an account of Pérez de Ayala's career in Valencia, see Patricia Giménez-Eguibar and Daniel I. Wasserman Soler, "La Mala Algarabía: Church, Monarchy and the Arabic Language in 16th-century Spain," *Medieval History Journal* 14 (2011): 229-258.

⁹² Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, p. 4.

⁹³ Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 150.

⁹⁴ *Synodicon Hispanum*, 11 vols., Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1981.

the first *mudéjar* and then *morisco* evangelizers, and indeed these earlier debates also entered into debates over the status of their vernacular which rose sharply in 1492 with the publication of Nebrija's famous *Gramática castellana*.⁹⁵

a. Print Culture:

Though there were repeated calls for the creation and dissemination of Arabic materials for ecclesiastical purposes, and among the scholarly community there was an increasing interest in reference materials, there was no Arabic printing press in Spain. Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 grammar, catechism, and lexicon had contained a woodblock cut of the Arabic alphabet, but the Arabic materials were all transliterated into the Latin alphabet.⁹⁶ Other early works of what might later be called comparative philology, like Guillaume Postel's 1538 *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum Introductio* also used woodblock alphabets in the absence of Arabic type. Elsewhere in Europe, in particular in the Plantin Press offices in Antwerp, Arabic type was being used for early orientalist reference works like the Arabic lexica of Raphelengius and Erpinus.⁹⁷

Another consequence of the anxieties of language motivated both by reform and from the confrontation with the New World was the rise of non-Latin printing capabilities in Rome itself. Increased desire to implement global Catholic missionary activity focused first not on the New World, however, but the Mediterranean. The Typographia Medicea Orientalis (TMO), active from the 1580s, produced Arabic-language grammars and basic Christian texts.⁹⁸ The TMO only lasted for

⁹⁵ Claire Gilbert, "Converting Power in Pedro de Alcalá's Social Catechism: Vernacular Linguistics in Late Medieval Castile, 1486-1505," UCLA Working Paper, pp. 27-29.

⁹⁶ Alcalá, *Vocabulista* and *Arte*, 1505.

⁹⁷ In general on Arabic printing in Europe see John Robert Jones, "Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe: 1502-1626," PhD, London University School of Oriental and African Studies, 1988. On Raphelengius, Jan Just Witkam, "The Arabic type specimen of Franciscus Raphelengius's Plantinian Printing Office," Exhibition Catalogue, Leiden: University Library, 1997. See also Robert Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic, and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Leiden: Brill, 2007.

⁹⁸ John Robert Jones, "The Medici Orienta Press (Rome, 1584-1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe," in G.A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 88-108.

a couple of decades, but was replaced by the printing press of the *Propaganda Fide* created in 1622.⁹⁹

Arabic type was forbidden in Spain, but the works of the TMO circulated in the Peninsula. As I show in this dissertation, during the very expulsion of the *moriscos* from 1609-1614, hopeful priests in Spain lobbied the king to increase the number of Arabic language and Christian materials in Spain by importing works from the TMO in Rome (see chapter 6).¹⁰⁰

ii. Creating Peoplehood: Origins and Others

The intellectual problem of understanding the relationship between language and people was first articulated as the *questione della lingua* by the fifteenth-century Italian humanists who reflected on the statuses of the dialects used in the Italian peninsula. This reflection about language and its users was prescriptive, for the problem was which language (or dialect) *should* be used and by whom. This normative reflection paved the way for a new set of questions about the intrinsic relationship between a community and its language(s). By the eighteenth century, the identification of a people with a language in nationalist discourse was epitomized by Herder's 1769 association of "language as the genius of a people," when he proposed an equivalence between a *volk* and an essential, national vernacular.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the *questione* went unanswered even as it was posed anew in the eighteenth, and again in the nineteenth centuries, as a problem of the state, of education, and of the construction and maintenance of social hierarchies.¹⁰²

But, if as Eric Hobsbawm pointed out, "It is a truism that the equation of language and nation is not a natural fact but rather a historical, ideological construct," what of the intervening

⁹⁹ Willy Henkel. "The Polyglot Printing-office of the Congregation," in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum. 350 Anni (1622-1672). Vol. I 1622-1700*, edited by Josef Metzler, 335–350. Rom - Freiburg - Wien: Herder, 1971.

¹⁰⁰ Archivo de la Corón de Aragón (ACA), Consejo de Aragón, Legajos 594 and 706, Correspondence from Doctor Quesada (in Rome) to Philip III, 1612-1615.

¹⁰¹ Woolard, "Introduction," *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Oxford studies in anthropological linguistics 16 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 16-17. Woolard notes that "in fact Herder's formulation can be traced to the French Enlightenment and the French philosopher Condillac" (17).

¹⁰² Jonathan Steinberg, "The historian and the *Questione della Lingua*," in *The Social History of Language*, Peter Burke and Roy Porter (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987, pp. 198-210.

centuries between the first formulation of the *questione della lingua* and Romantic philology?¹⁰³ How are we to understand the history of the fifteenth-century *questione* and its eighteenth and nineteenth-century manifestations given the rapidly changing history of textual technologies and techniques, not to mention the innovations and reforms in political and religious cultures, that took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Did new ideas about language inform the development of religious orthodoxy and political ideologies in the early modern Spanish State? If so, what was the role of Arabic and the Iberian Arabic dialects?

In Spain, with its many regional languages, the idea of a national idiom has always been dually mediated by an acceptance of a certain degree of multilingualism within the national identity and the prestige of Castilian as the official language of centralized power. It is not important whether any one language became a true unified and monolithic standard, but rather that the idea circulated that there should be one unique national language, and that this language was an important unifying characteristic for national identity and had a historical legitimacy. In the early modern period Arabic never fostered a competing “peripheral nationalism” as did Catalán, Aragonese, Gallego, and Basque.¹⁰⁴ Instead, Arabic as it was used in Spain contributed to and reinforced a developing nationalism that was becoming indexed by Castilian.¹⁰⁵ Arabic, as it was constructed as a non-Spanish language after 1500, in fact reinforced the hardening linguistic

¹⁰³ See the discussion of peoplehood in language ideologies in Woolard, “Introduction,” pp. 16-17. Hobsbawm also acknowledges this ideological aspect, saying, “the mystical identification of nationality with a sort of platonic idea of the language, existing behind and above all its variant and imperfect versions, is much more characteristic of the ideological construction of nationalist intellectuals, of whom Herder is the prophet, than of the actual grassroots users of the idiom.” See E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 57. In his work, Hobsbawm shows that this association was developed along with nationalism itself, in order to maintain the hegemony of a historically sanctioned, literate, centralized elite against competing nationalisms. *Ibid.*, 59-62, 102-103.

¹⁰⁴ José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman, “Nationalism, *hispanismo*, and monoglossic culture,” in *The Battle Over Spanish Between 1800 and 2000: Language Ideologies and Hispanic Intellectuals*, Routledge studies in the history of linguistics 4, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Kathryn A. Woolard, “Is the Past a Foreign Country?: Time, Language Origins, and the Nation in Early Modern Spain,” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (2004): 57-80. Woolard has demonstrated that it is valid to speak of a certain Spanish national identity in the early modern context. For a discussion of indexical relationships in linguistics and linguistic anthropology, see Kroskrity, “Regimenting Language,” p. 7.

chauvinism and helped set the precedent for controlled multilingualism within Spanish national identity.

Kathryn Woolard, in two articles focusing on the work of seventeenth-century authors Bernardo de Aldrete and Gregorio López Moreno, has elaborated some of the most important themes and actors in the early modern language-ideological debates over Castilian. The later of the two articles, “Is the Past a Foreign Country?: Time, Language Origins, and the Nation in Early Modern Spain,” published in 2004 in the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, takes on Benedict Anderson’s use of Benjamin and Auerbach’s conceptions of time to support his thesis about the emergence of nationalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in *Imagined Communities*.¹⁰⁶ In this work, her analysis offers a crucial model of how to read early modern polemical tracts for language ideologies, and how to connect these ideologies to the larger projects of the construction of a homogenous, centralized, Spanish national identity. Woolard’s astute analysis of the relationship of the debate over Castilian origins and the “Morisco question” reveals just how crucial language was to both the Castilian national project and the attendant problem of whether to assimilate or expel the former Muslim population.

As an example, the work of the Valencian historian Joan Fuster in the 1960s demonstrates that the process of “Castilianization” as against the regional Romance languages of Catalán and Valenciano cannot be divorced from the edicts against Arabic use.¹⁰⁷ Fuster explains the question of motives and justifications behind the expulsion of the Moriscos as a problem of national identity arguing that, “For the men of the sixteenth century language had already acquired a nationalist

¹⁰⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991.

¹⁰⁷ The process of “Castilianization” requires its own ideological work to understand that “Spanish” is one language, and that this language is the primary unifier of the Hispanic world, exists nearly intact in many twentieth-century language ideologies. Indeed, Ramon Menéndez Pidal, the most crucial twentieth-century figure in Spanish philology and a sometimes historian, worked hard to extend the unity of the essential Spanish character into the global realm of the Hispanic world by defining (through comparative philology) the Spanish language as a single linguistic standard. With his philological work, Menéndez Pidal cultivated an interest in traditional songs and verse (which would lead him to his sometimes erroneous work on *El Cid*) through which he used the idea of a historical Spanish language to construct the ideology of linguistic “Spanishness.”

valorization, distinct from what it had for the men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,” and that in particular there existed an ideological undercurrent to activities like preaching to *moriscos* in Castilian that was “a manner of reinforcing the internal unification that the Habsburgs intended to impose.”¹⁰⁸

iii. Early Modern Expertise and the Reason of State

Early modern governments were highly concerned with controlling information, which led to the rise in a professional category of the expert. The role of expertise in the formation and maintenance of the early modern state in general has been the focus of recent scholarship in the history of science.¹⁰⁹ Other scholarship has argued that it was for the first time in the Spanish context of the sixteenth century that the concept of expert or expertise was articulated and became common, and that this new concept and professional category was a result of the inundation of new American information and experiences that had to be managed by a new class of official, the *experto*.¹¹⁰ Rather than only a New-World phenomenon, however, I argue in this dissertation that Mediterranean experiences were no less important to the rise of the expert (see chapters 3 and 5).

While ad hoc intermediaries abounded in the Mediterranean, and both multilingualism and the use of a Romance-based *lingua franca* were common, governments needed official intermediaries to gather and assess information, and to transmit this information back to the central authorities in

¹⁰⁸ Joan Fuster, *Poetas, moriscos y curas*, Madrid: Editorial Ciencia Nueva, 1969, 118, 123. “Para los hombres del siglo XVI la lengua ya tenía un valor—un valor “nacional”—distinto del que tenía para los hombres del XIV y del XV.... Esta convicción, que los castellanos proyectarán, asimismo, sobre los pueblos cristianos lingüísticamente diferenciados dentro de la Monarquía española, quedará unida a la intención absorcionista de tipo religioso. El desdén por las particularidades idiomáticas ajenas enervó e inutilizó las campañas de predicación realizadas de cara a los moriscos: los clérigos castellanos venidos a predicarles lo hacían en castellano, sin pensar si serían comprendidos o no en esta lengua. Pero, más aún que eso existió el propósito diáfano de acabar con la lengua de los moriscos. Era una manera de reforzar la unificación interna que los políticos de los reinados de los Austrias intentaban imponer.”

¹⁰⁹ Eric Ash, "Expertise and the Early Modern State," *Osiris* 25/1 (2010): pp. 1-24.

¹¹⁰ See the work of Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution*, Austin: UT Austin Press, 2010, and Arndt Brendecke, *Imperio e información: funciones del saber en el dominio colonial español*, Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2012

the form of the standard language through recognizable chancellery protocols.¹¹¹ In 1600, for example, the Moroccan government sent one of its chancellery translators, 'Abd Allah Dudar, as part of the embassy to England. There he was charged to treat with Elizabeth in Italian although, a native of Granada, his native language was Spanish and the interactions probably took place in that language.¹¹² In 1611 the Extremaduran immigrant Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī, who worked as a secretary and Spanish interpreter for Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and later his son Zayān in Marrakesh, was sent to France on behalf of a group of Moriscos whose goods had been stolen by the French captain who had ferried them to Morocco during the expulsion in 1609.¹¹³ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Venice called regularly upon its dragoman corps to perform services as diplomatic emissaries.¹¹⁴ French and Ottoman relations provide another scenario on which individuals with linguistic skills created opportunities to travel and increase both their knowledge and their salary,

¹¹¹ Scholarship on the Mediterranean *lingua franca*, "a language of convenience used by speakers of mutually-incomprehensible mother tongues, mainly Arabic, Turkish, Greek, and the Romance vernaculars, in the pre-Modern Mediterranean," which was itself heterogeneous from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean, has increased in recent years. I am borrowing Karla Mallette's definition, from "Lingua Franca," in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita (eds), John Wiley & Sons, 2014, pp. 331-344.

¹¹² "The fourth person ys called Side Abdala Dodar, an Andoluz, who goeth for trudgman or interpreter, who telleth me he will speake Italian to her Ma.tie; butt I take yt he will use the Spanish tonge, beinge his naturall language, before Italian [...]They have in charge to delyver theire embassage, yf they can be permitted, in secrett with her Ma.tie, and in Italian, althoe I knowe he ys farr more perfect in Spanish." Document LVII: Note de George Tomson pour Richard Tomson (1600) in Henry de La Croix Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc: 1ère série. Dynastie saadienne. Archives et bibliothèques d'Angleterre.*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925). Nabil Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Ahmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2009), 224–225. These translators, both of whom were born in Spain, show that native linguistic abilities, were a primary qualification for their appointment as emissary to Europe. Leo Africanus (also born in Spain, but in Muslim Granada) is a counterbalancing example, however, that ambassadors need not necessarily be translators, though they should be able to intelligently handle linguistic hurdles. Natalie Zemon Davis describes Leo's solution when, on embassy to Timbuktu, he was forced to interact with the ruler only through the local interpreter, even though Arabic was a common language, and had to look for alternative route to correspond with and gain information from top officials. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 33.

¹¹³ This recuperative mission was not a strict diplomatic embassy, but al-Ḥajārī's carried letters from the Moroccan ruler, which he gave to chancellery officials of Louis XIII. Aḥmad ibn Qasim Ibn al-Ḥajārī, *Kitab Nasir al-Din 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kafirin* = (*The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels*) [c1641], Fuentes arábico-hispanas 21, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997, pp. 29–31, 108–109, 129.

¹¹⁴ E. Nathalie Rothman, in her analysis of the professional life of the Ottoman-subject and Venetian official Giovanni Battista Salvago, discusses the practice of sending interpreters as official diplomatic representatives. In 1624 Salvago was sent to Algiers, his compatriot Ippolito Parada, while Michel Membré travelled as ambassador to the Safavids in 1539, Vincenzo degli Alessandri in 1570. All four men served as dragomans, albeit Membré and Parada after their missions. E. Nathalie Rothman, "Self-Fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone: Giovanni Battista Salvago and his Affrica Overo Barbaria (1625)," in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler, Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009, p. 129.

including the early European arabist Guillaume Postel in 1534.¹¹⁵ The Ottomans also sent envoys to Venice as did the Mamluk sultans of Egypt before them. A Mamluk dragoman (probably of Valencian origin), Tanghri Bardi, was sent as the official representative of the Egyptian ruler to Venice and to Florence in 1507.¹¹⁶ In her studies of the Venetian dragomans, E. Nathalie Rothman addresses the general dilemma of access that was experienced by the employer and the intermediary.¹¹⁷ These dragomans were able to overcome the ambivalence of possessing linguistic skill and transform that specialized difference into an asset which amplified their professional domain to that of diplomatic representative. It would seem that many of the Mediterranean intermediaries who traveled and translated between Ottoman, European, and Maghrebi spheres of influence were able to make use of the similar strategies.

Related to the question of expertise and the early modern state, in particular its theorization, is the literature of *ragion di stato* (reason of state) and the Spanish reception of this work.¹¹⁸ The development of this literature in its original Italian context, according to Maurizio Viroli, was the

¹¹⁵ He was also supposed to pass through Greece as well for the purpose of collecting manuscripts. José Balagna Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme dans la France des derniers Valois* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1989), 59–60.

¹¹⁶ John Wansbrough, “A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 26, no. 3 (January 1, 1963): 503-530; John Wansbrough, “The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 1971): 20-35. This same Tanghri Bardi acted as translator and guide to Pedro Mártir during his mission to Cairo in 1504. Pedro Mártir de Anglería, *Una embajada de los Reyes Católicos a Egipto (Según la “Legatio Babylonica” y el “Opus Epistolarum” de Pedro Mártir de Anglería)*, trans. Luis García y García, Valladolid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Jerónimo Zurita,” 1947.

¹¹⁷ “Early modern diplomacy was deeply rooted in humanist notions of eloquence. This helps explain why the bailo's forced reliance on the linguistic mediation of dragomans in his communications with Ottoman officialdom came to be seen as such an insurmountable problem. The challenge was certainly compounded by the perceived gap between the prototypical speech styles of the bailo and the dragoman, which are here mapped very clearly onto their distinct “nature,” that is, their status, personhood, and capacity for confident self-presentation.” E. Natalie Rothman, “Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 784. She points out that the dragomans, as highly trained professionals with a great deal of experience in the Ottoman courts, were of course able to present themselves appropriately. In general on the dragomans, see also Rothman, E. Natalie. *Brokering Empire: Trans-imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012.

¹¹⁸ Giovanni Botero synthesized rather than invented some of the major ideas behind the concept *ragione di stato*, but nevertheless it is his work that is most prominently echoed in the writings of the Mediterranean multilingual intermediaries in Spain. Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P.J. and D.P. Waley, New Haven: Yale UP, 1954. Spain's main critic but also disseminator of these ideas was the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira, see *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano para gobernar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolas Maquiavelo y los politicos deste tiempo enseñan* (1597).

product of its own "revolution of politics," a process that was its own crisis of language, the language of politics and governance. Viroli's theory is that there was in Italy, broadly from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, but of particular intensity between the writings of Guicciardini (1483-1540) and Botero (1544-1617), an "intellectual and ideological transition from the notion of politics as art of the republic to politics as reason of state."¹¹⁹ The language crisis that was the real-world adoption of the reason of state, the replacement of the civil philosophy which had flourished in Guicciardini's Florence to the art of the sixteenth-century princes, also influenced the practices and discourses of Spanish politics in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including the reform-minded *arbitrista* discourse to which some translators even contributed (chapter 5). Spanish reason-of-state literature, articulated throughout the sixteenth century in Spain primarily in the framework of anti-Machiavellian writers, developed into a powerful discourse in the early seventeenth century in which some of the translators and multilingual intermediaries on whom I focus participated (see chapter 5).¹²⁰ In addition, however, my research has shown that in the Spanish presidios the very office of the translator was an avatar for competition between republican (local government) and princely (royal and noble representation) power (chapters 3 and 5). Viroli's argument about the revolution in political language and thinking in Italy has allowed me to conceptualize better the social and rhetorical strategies of Spanish translators and interpreters in particular in my comparison of the Granadan and Oranese contexts of local imperial expansion and domination.

¹¹⁹ Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics 1250-1600*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992, pp. 1-10, especially p. 6.

¹²⁰ Donald Bleznick, "Spanish Reaction to Machiavelli in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19/4 (1958): 542-550, 544.

iv. The Idea of the Bilingual Intermediary: Negotiator, Mailer, Soldier, Spy

Building on the work on early modern expertise, my thesis traces the characteristics, activities, and strategies of a particular set of (mainly) men who contributed to the construction of a very particular kind of expertise: the translator. There are many words for this kind of individual, both in historical texts and in contemporary scholarship. The two most common words associated with the act of rendering one language in to another are translator (Sp. *traductor*, Ar. *turjaman* and *mutarjim*) and interpreter (Sp. *intérprete*, (Med Sp. *trujamán*), Ar. *turjaman* and *mutarjim*), a term more closely associated with oral interpretation rather than written translation. In Arabic the words for translator and interpreter are the same, and in the medieval and early modern texts there is a good deal of overlap between the fields of practice and expertise of *intérpretes* and *traductores* as well as *trujamanes* and their later scribal heirs *romançadores* (see chapters 2 and 4).

Translation itself is a term fraught with multiple meaning. The fundamental Latin root, *trans-* invokes movement and exchange. The medieval *translatio* could refer to many kinds of transfer: of power, of knowledge, of objects, and, also of meaning.¹²¹ These *translatii* implied a fundamental change, in space and in some ways in form and possibly contact. The *translatio* was not innocent, and whatever moved through the channels of this process was in some way different after the process of translation. During the Renaissance and into the Early Modern period, at least in romance languages like French and Spanish, *translation* became *traduction*/*traducción*.¹²²

Traduction/*traducción* in not nor was not an innocent process either. It was, however, a specifically linguistic process, and one that was theorized from its beginning, according to Antoine

¹²¹ Zrinka Stahuljak, "Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography," in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (eds), Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012, pp. 147-163, p. 148.

¹²² Antoine Berman makes the point that the Germanic languages, even English with its Romance borrowing, maintained the older sense of transfer, movement, and exchange in E. *translation* and G. *Übersetzung*. Antoine Berman, *Jaques Amyot, traducteur français: Essai sur les origines de la traduction en France*, Paris: Belin, 2012, pp. 22-23. Both English and German, along with the Romance languages, had verbs or verb phrases which meant "to turn one language into another" (G. *verdeutschten*, E. *to make English*, Sp. *volver*, L. *convertere*). See Burke, "Cultures of translation," p. 26 and Covarrubias's definition of *interpretar* in 1611.

Berman, in Renaissance France.¹²³ The appearance of a new word, "*traduction/traducción*," and the concomitant development of a discourse of *traduction/traducción* around the year 1500, were the dual signs of a new approach to both language and translation.¹²⁴ Across Europe, the medieval romance terms (Fr. *translater, espondre, turner, mettre en romançz, enromançhier, traslater*; It. *vulgarizzare, transporre*; Sp. *arromançar, interpretar, trasladar, trasponer, vulgarizar, transferir*, L. *transferre, translatare*) were replaced by Leonardo Bruni's innovation in *De interpretatione recta* (c1424): "*traducere*" to mean our contemporary "translation."¹²⁵ The semantic shift is one that brings the figure of the translator or interpreter to the fore. In the words of Antoine Berman, "Si *translation* ne désigne qu'un mouvement ou passage, *traduction* désigne synthétiquement une activité, l'énergie présidant à cette activité, le sujet de cette activité et le produit de cette activité."¹²⁶ With this lexical shift came a new salience for the translator in early modern Europe.

In Spain, Antonio de Nebrija (an interested reader of the early Italian humanists like Bruni), preferred *trasladar* to the newer *traducir*. In 1505, Pedro de Alcalá, used Nebrija's lexical base to present *trasladar de lengua en lengua, rromaçar, ynterpretar en otra lengua* and *trujamanear*, all four of which were translated into transliterated Arabic as *mitarjâm/tarjâmt/tarjâm*.¹²⁷ By the Covarrubias dictionary in 1611, both *traduçir* and *trasladar* were included, both with secondary definitions referring to linguistic translation, and both with an emphasis on written translation.¹²⁸ The 1611 dictionary included separate definitions for *intérprete, interpretes*, and *interpretar*, the first two which made specific

¹²³ Not long after the Golden Age of *traduction/traducción* came the Golden Age of the pseudo-*traduction/traducción*, epitomized by the pseudo-translation from Arabic of Cervantes's *Don Quijote*. See Berman, *Jacques Amyot*, p. 76. I will discuss the various genres of pseudo-*traducción* in early modern Spain in chapters 4 and 6.

¹²⁴ According to Burke, It. *tradurre* dates from 1420 and Fr. *traduire* from 1480. Burke, "Cultures of translation," p. 26.

¹²⁵ Berman, *Jacques Amyot*, pp. 78-82. The medieval *traductio* had meant not linguistic translation, as Bruni used it, but the transfer of form, in a sense, molding into a form. *Traductio* was opposed to two other words for manipulating form: *informatio* (imposing a form on material) and *educatio* (bringing a form out of a material). Berman, *Jacques Amyot*, p. 83.

¹²⁶ Berman, *Jacques Amyot*, p. 85.

¹²⁷ Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista aráuigo en letra castellana*, Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505. In Classical Arabic, the verbs for translation are *tarjama* and *naqala*. It is the former term (*tarjama*) rather than the latter (*naqala*) that has been borrowed into romance languages, English, and Ottoman Turkish as *trujamán, truchiman, drogman, dragoman* and other variants.

¹²⁸ Sebastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua española*, Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611.

reference to the translation of written texts, while the latter verbal form included the verbal component, *declarar*. In 1611 there was no version of the word *romançar*, despite the increasing popularity of this word in translations from Arabic made in Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century (see chapter 4).

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, thus, the very definition of the translator changed, and the previously *invisible* language worker had new discursive opportunities to assert himself, his fidelity, and his expertise.¹²⁹ However, translators often performed more than one function, just like Stahuljak's "fixers," who "are identified as performing a range of duties in addition to interpretation and/or translations."¹³⁰ Many of the translators we will study in this dissertation also acted as "fixers," while at the same time, intermediaries and other "fixers" often found themselves acting as translators (see especially the examples of frontier crossers in chapters 2, 3, and 5).¹³¹

Scholarly interest in translators and translation (and interpreters and interpretation) is booming. Recent research on translators in the Eastern Mediterranean has provided valuable models for how translators manage their liminal position as trustworthy outsiders were able in many cases to convert linguistic abilities into a patrimony (see chapters 2, 3 and 4).¹³² I have also found complimentary models for a dynastic professional model in work on New-World translators, long a

¹²⁹ On the invisible translator being perceived culturally as the most legitimate and accurate, see the foundational work by Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 1-34.

¹³⁰ Stahuljak, "Medieval Fixers," p. 147. Also see her discussion of a textual or generic "fixer" in Zrinka Stahuljak, "History's Fixers: Informants, Mediators, and Writers in the *Prise d'Alixandre*," in *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut. An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Master*, Deborah McGrady and Jennifer Bain (eds), Leiden: Brill, 2012, 277-292.

¹³¹ Peter Burke advocates referring to early modern translators as "'semi-professional,' since it was common at this time to combine the career of a translator with teaching languages, interpreting, acting as a secretary, [etc.]." See Burke, "Cultures of translation," p. 13.

¹³² E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2012, especially pp. 165-210 and, although focusing on a later period, Christine Philliou, *Biography of an Empire Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. On the ambivalent role and subsequent re-imagining of the translator in the European conquest of the Americas, see Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, especially the last two chapters and his discussion of La Malinche.

topic in studies of encounter and imperial expansion.¹³³ Work on translators in the expansion of the Portuguese empire and its contacts with the Persinate world of Central and South Asia demonstrates how translators mediated empire in the field (or on the seas) and in the national imaginary as they helped transport information back to the metropole.¹³⁴ Medieval translators are once again the focus of scholarly attention, and for Medieval Aragon the studies of Roser Salicrú i Lluç are fundamental.¹³⁵ In Spain, scholars connected with the Escuela de Traductores in Toledo, based on the site of the putative medieval translation workshop through which Arabic texts first passed in to Latin, have generated an impressive bibliography on both the medieval and early modern periods, and especially important is the work of Manuel Feria and Jorge Arias.¹³⁶ In a similar vein is the work of the Murcian scholar Mercedes Abad Merino, who has also connected the figure of the translator to the related medieval office of the *alfaquete* or captive redeemer.¹³⁷ Scholars associated with the

¹³³ Iciar Alonso, Jesús Baigorri, and Gerturdis Payàs. "Nahuatlats y Familias de Intérpretes En El México Colonial," *1611: Revista de Historia de La Traducción/A Journal of Translation History/Revista d'Historia de La Traducción* 2, no. 2 (2008). A unique and very valuable study on the role of captives as interpreters in the context of the Spanish conquest and dominion of the Canary Island, with a truly unfortunate cover photo, is Marcos Sarmiento Pérez, *Cautivos que fueron intérpretes: La comunicación entre europeos, aborígenes canarios y berberiscos durante la conquista de Canarias y los conatos en el Norte de África (1341-1569)*, Madrid: Encasa, 2012.

¹³⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined Histories: *Crónica* and *Tarikh* in the Sixteenth-Century Indian-Ocean World," *History and Theory, Theme Issue* 49 (2010): 118-145; Dejanirah Couto, "The Role of Interpreters, or Linguas, in the Portuguese Empire During the 16th Century," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 1, no. 2 (2003): 1–10.

¹³⁵ Roser Salicrú Lluç, "Crossing Boundaries in Late Medieval Mediterranean Iberia: Historical Glimpses of Christian-Islamic Intercultural Dialogue," *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* 1/1 (2008): 34–51; "Más Allá de La Mediación de La Palabra: Negociación Con Los Infieles y Mediación Cultural En La Baja Edad Media," Barcelona: CSIC, 2004, pp. 409–439; "Translators, Interpreters and Cultural Mediators in Late Medieval Eastern Iberia and Western Islamic Diplomatic Relationships," in *Language and Cultural Mediation in the Mediterranean, 1200-1800*, Florence and Montecatini: Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute, 2009, pp. 1–21. For France, see the recent articles by Zrinka Stahuljak on the "medieval fixer": "Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography," 147-163, in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, eds. Bob Mills and Emma Campbell, Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2012; "History's Fixers: Informants, Mediators, and Writers in the *Prise d'Alixandre*," 277-292, in *A Companion to Guillaume de Machaut. An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Master*, eds. Deborah McGrady and Jennifer Bain, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

¹³⁶ Manuel C. Feria García, and Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Un nuevo enfoque en la investigación de la documentación árabe granadina romanceada," *Al-Qantara* 26/1 (2005): pp. 191–247.

¹³⁷ Mercedes Abad Merino, Mercedes. "'Aquí hay necesidad de persona capaz en muchas lenguas'. El oficio de intérprete en las últimas fronteras de castilla," *Tonos: Revista Electrónica de Estudios Filológicos* 10 (2005); "La traducción de cartas árabes en un pleito granadino del siglo XVI. El fenómeno del romanceado como acto judicial: Juan Rodríguez y Alonso del Castillo ante un mismo documento." *Al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): pp. 481–518. On *alfaques*, see Abad Merino, "Exeas y alfaques: aproximación a la figura del intérprete de árabe en el período fronterizo (s. XIII-XV)," in *Homenaje al profesor Estanislao Ramón Trives*, vol. 1, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2003, pp. 35-50. Other valuable studies are Manuel García Fernández, "La alfaquería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la edad media: Los alfaques

University of Granada, with their enviable access to the archives, have in the last thirty years build an impressive bibliography on the phenomenon of the *romanceamiento* in *mudéjar* and *morisco* Granada (see chapter 3 of this dissertation for the extensive bibliography).¹³⁸ Early modern European translation in general is also a thriving field, as in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia's 2007 volume of *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* shows.¹³⁹ Ingrid Cáceres Würsig has written the only comprehensive history of translation in early modern Spain, and is continuing this history into the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰ Most of these scholars are historians, although a good many of them, especially those working in Spain, work in departments of translation and are involved in the burgeoning sub-field in those departments of the History of Translation.

a. Traducir/Reducir

The transitive meaning of both *trasladar* and *traducir*, of conveying meaning from one place to another, was critical to the actors and processes of language across borders and in frontier spaces, and I will return to the translation as movement and translators as movers in the following section. Translation also means a change from one discursive location to another, and in this there are striking parallels to the concept of conversion. In Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, almost all translation projects related to Arabic were also related in some way to projects of religious conversion. These links and the analogy of translation-conversion are variably legitimate from our

reales," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el reino de Granada en el V centenario de la conquista*, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987 and José José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Consideraciones sobre la frontera marítima," in *Actas del congreso la frontera oriental nazarí como sujeto histórico (S.XIII-XVI)*, Almería, 1997, pp. 391-408.

¹³⁸ Representative of this immense bibliography is Emilio Molina López and María Carmen Jiménez Mata's introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Documentos árabes del Archivo Municipal de Granada*, Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2004.

¹³⁹ The Spanish version of this volume was published in the same year with the important addition of Fernando Bouza's article, "Necesidad, negocio y don. Usos de la traducción en la cultura del siglo de oro," in *La traducción cultural en la europa moderna*, Madrid: Akal, 2007, pp. 269-312. The original English edition is Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.

¹⁴⁰ Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, *Historia de la traducción en la administración y en las relaciones internacionales en España* (s. xvi-xix), Soria: Vertere, 2004; "Breve historia de la Secretaria de Lenguas," *Meta* 49/3 (2004): pp. 609-628; "The jeunes de langues in the eighteenth century: Spain's first diplomatic interpreters on the European model," *Interpreting*, 14/2 (2012), pp. 127-144.

perspective in modern scholarship. Though I will argue (chapters 2 and 4) the translation to Castilian of Arabic property deeds drawn up in an Islamic legal framework to valid legal documents drawn up in a Christian legal framework functions is a part of the process of state-sponsored religious conversion and social discipline, it can be too easy to rely on the metaphor of mutation to render linguistic translation and religious conversion as synonyms when they are not coterminous processes. Nonetheless, in the case of Arabic translation in Catholic Spain, at least one genre of linguistic translations were explicitly part of the project of religious conversion: Christian catechetical and liturgical materials drawn up in Arabic by Castilian-speaking priests (chapter 6). Many of these projects of bilingual religious instruction were closely related to grammatical or lexical materials, "metalinguistic instruments" or works of reference philology. In this case, translations were meant in Berman's sense of *traduction*, for missionaries to lead the reader or hearer from the state of one religion and one language to another. In this context, another process becomes critical, that of *reduction*, or Sp. *reducción*.

Scholars of New World missionary linguistics, most recently William Hanks and Vicente Rafael, have explored the linguistic implications of the Spanish missionary programs of *reducción* in colonial Mexico and the Philippines. This *reducción* was not, as its English cognate would suggest, a program of demographic suppression, but rather of cultural persuasion and civic ordering.¹⁴¹ It was also a means of reshaping indigenous space and daily practice.¹⁴² Though the very specific program of *reducción* was not elaborated or enacted in the *morisco* communities of the Peninsula, there are significant parallels to missionary efforts in Mexico and the Philippines, especially in terms of the concomitant spatial and linguistic reorganization of society (chapters 2 and 4). Hanks has argued that

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the early modern sense of *reducción*, taken from Covarrubias (1611), and its manifestation in the colonial missionary projects of the Franciscans among the Maya, see William F. Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross*, Berkeley: UC Press, 2010, pp. 2-15. The term "metalinguistic instruments" is also Hanks's.

¹⁴² On the resettlement projects of Spanish colonizers and missionaries in the Philippines, see Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, Durham: Duke UP, 2005, pp. 87-91. Amongst the Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula, see Hanks, *Converting Words*, pp. 2-4 and 32-50.

the reshaping of communities that took place during the *reducción* was also enacted on indigenous languages through the philological processes of creating grammars and other prescriptive materials. Those indigenous grammars, when used by the Maya, "functioned as evangelical tracts in the most direct sense," in that the words were brought to the people, made "good" by the prescriptive presentation.¹⁴³ The very language of the colonized had been reshaped and reorganized to be presented according to European grammatical thinking, and this *reducción* proved to be an extremely effective form of dominance.

b. Spaces of Mediation: Borderlands and the Frontier

Where did the intermediaries who translated act and live? Broadly speaking, for most of the sixteenth century translation was a mobile activity that collected in borders or borderlands. The establishment of centralized networks of translation, based on court officials, was developing in this time period as I show through my dissertation. For that reason, the history of borders and frontiers plays a crucial role in my dissertation project. The study of medieval borderlands in Iberia has been well articulated in Spanish and English scholarship.¹⁴⁴ Spanish scholars, in particular have explored the institutions of the frontier between Iberian kingdoms, Muslim and Christian, and I have been able to rely on this work to better understand the practices of border maintenance and crossing that helped shaped frontier professions like the *alfaqueque*, scribes and notaries working at land and sea ports, and the translators that helped facilitate commercial and other exchanges.

In English-language scholarship, the study of early modern Mediterranean Christian-Muslim "borderlands" was resuscitated by Andrew Hess in the 1960s. Michael Brett, in a 1980 review article of recent sixteenth-century North African historiography, compares the opposite approaches of

¹⁴³ Hanks, *Converting Words*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages"; Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350)"; José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier (1369-1482)"; Angus MacKay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier" all in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Hess and Braudel, the former primarily an Ottoman historian with some expertise in Spain, and the latter primarily an Iberian or Mediterranean scholar. Braudel saw incompatible differences between the structural factors governing “Eastern” (North Africa) and “Western” (Iberia) civilizations in ecological and settlement patterns.¹⁴⁵ Hess, however, explained that the frontier closed in the sixteenth century, meaning that it was not the inevitable result of *longue durée* development. He believes that the fundamental break across the Mediterranean was due to the incompatibility between the Ottoman civilization, which relied on religious pluralism as a vital part of its imperial identity and administrative apparatus, and Castilian civilization, which in the sixteenth century deliberately dismantled the vestiges of its frontier society in which religious pluralism—though certainly no rosy *convivencia*—had been a normal part of everyday life.¹⁴⁶ According to both Braudel and Hess’s views, the incompatibility of these systems of religious and state identification created an insurmountable rift between the powers. The frontier itself, as a liminal site for contact and exchange, was forgotten and both North Africa—specifically Morocco, which was *not* under Ottoman rule—and Spain developed identities that were mutually exclusive by definition.

As a counter-argument to these theses of ideological insularity, Middle Eastern scholar Amira K. Bennison notes the analogous trajectories of Morocco and Spain as developing states struggling to define themselves against their perceived “peripheral” situation: Spain on the periphery of Europe and Morocco on the periphery of the Ottoman Mediterranean. Bennison explains that, in both cases, “existence on the periphery paradoxically engendered an internal perception of religio-cultural centrality among both Iberian Christians and Moroccan Muslims.”¹⁴⁷ Unlike Hess’s “forgotten” frontier, Bennison identifies an “imagined” frontier that remained important to self-

¹⁴⁵ This east/west contrast is written over a geographical relationship that is, of course, north/south.

¹⁴⁶ See Michael Brett, “Review: The Maghrib in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Journal of African History* 21, no. 3 (1980): 332-334. Hess provides an extensive bibliographical review of the major scholarship on Spanish, Portuguese, Ottoman North African, and Moroccan history, as well as important published primary sources such as chronicles. See Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 257-.

¹⁴⁷ See Amira K. Bennison, “Liminal States: Morocco and the Iberian Frontier between the Twelfth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Journal of North African Studies* 6, no. 1 (2001): 20.

definitions of Moroccans and Spaniards from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, even if there was not continual military engagement.¹⁴⁸ Although I rely extensively on the scholarship of Braudel and Hess, and in particular their impressive bibliographies, I prefer Bennison's conception of the relationship between frontier, religious homogenization, and state building.

It is along this frontier that we may expect to find bilingual figures other than scholars and students. The Castilian-Granadan border was a site of both contest and collaboration, where Muslims and Christians skirmished, administered justice across jurisdictions, and sent agents back and forth to trade in goods or captives.¹⁴⁹ A rich and ever-increasing literature exists on captivity and captive exchange between Mediterranean Muslim and Christian communities in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The taking of religious captives in Spain before 1492 occurred for the most part along the border between Castile and Granada. Following the conquest, the frontier shifted from a territorial boundary to a maritime frontier opposite the Muslim Mediterranean powers of Ottoman North Africa and the Sultanate of Morocco.¹⁵⁰ The crucial figure in the practice of captive-taking and redemption was the *alfaqueque*, a sort of professional negotiator (Muslim or Christian) who specialized in religious hostages, and who was usually bilingual. The position of *alfaqueque* was institutionalized as a central office in the thirteenth century under Alfonso X in the *Siete Partidas*, but in later centuries was often undertaken by individual agents.¹⁵¹ In some cases, as demonstrated in the notarial records of sixteenth-century Málaga, the office of the

¹⁴⁸ See Bennison, "Liminal States," 25. I would argue that this frontier ideology continued into the twentieth century—if it does not exist still in the present—in the Spanish colonial takeover of a part of Morocco in 1912.

¹⁴⁹ Using chronicles and municipal documentation, Angus MacKay describes the cultural and ideological setting for frontier institutions on the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century border between Castile and Granada, describing the practices of justice in particular as an example of "trans-frontier collaboration." Angus MacKay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 219.

¹⁵⁰ José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Consideraciones sobre la frontera marítima:" 395-408.

¹⁵¹ Manuel García Fernández, "La alfaquería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media: los alfaqueques reales," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987), 38. This article and the work of José Enrique López de Coca Castañer provides an excellent bibliography on the figure of the *alfaqueque*, and an historiography so far realized almost wholly in the form of articles. Kathryn Miller, in her 2009 volume, notes that her forthcoming project will deal with this institution. Miller, *Guardians of Islam*.

alfaqeque could become a family business.¹⁵² Such a long-standing institution and profession that moved from generation to generation begs the question of what skills—including linguistic—and sensibilities about crossing borders were passed down. Most of the secondary literature on the figure of the *alfaqeque* exists in the form of articles, although Kathryn Miller's next project promises to explore the professions and trajectories of these individuals in more detail.¹⁵³

The captives redeemed by the *alfaqeque* could be anyone, although they were often soldiers, traders, and later, fishermen: *les gens de la frontière*.¹⁵⁴ Captive redemption was big business in late-medieval Spain, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also became increasingly linked to the institution of the Inquisition. Once captives had been redeemed and returned, it became important to investigate the strength of their religious faith and practice during the period of "exposure" to Islam. The dominant figures in this field are the husband-and-wife team of Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, who work on a group known as the *renégats*, those European Christians who, for whatever reason—capture, desertion, genuine belief in Islam—converted to Islam while living or spending time in the Maghreb or the Ottoman Empire. These *renégats* are visible to historians largely through inquisition records. Like the *alfaqeques*, these liminal figures provide an interface between the communities, and this interaction is a domain in which bilingualism could not have been exceptional.¹⁵⁵

Along with border-crossers, another liminal figure in the areas of contact between Christian and Muslim communities in Spain is the bilingual notary (Sp. *escribano* and Ar. *kātib*). The notary is

¹⁵² López de Coca Castañer, "Consideraciones sobre la frontera marítima," 407.

¹⁵³ Miller refers to her "forthcoming study," "Business with the Infidel: Christian-Muslim Exchanges of Captives Across the Mediterranean." See note 18 in Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, 236.

¹⁵⁴ Bartolomé Bennassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah: L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1989), 158-159. Braudel describes how soldiers from the Spanish presidios in North Africa were especially prone to potential desertion and apostasy. See Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 799-800.

¹⁵⁵ Perhaps the most famous captive is Cervantes himself, who spent five years in Algeria following the battle of Lepanto, and the Arabic scholar Devin Stewart posits that this experience there probably means that the writer was in fact fairly competent in Arabic. Devin J. Stewart, "Cide Hamete Benengeli, Narrator of Don Quijote," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 114.

internally liminal, acting at the boundaries of contact between Islamic and Christian jurisprudence.¹⁵⁶

By far the most productive scholar in this field is the arabist historian Wilhelm Hoenerbach, who in fact spent much of his career at UCLA. The foundational study is his *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos* (1965), a critical edition of (primarily marriage) contracts drawn up by Spanish notaries using both Christians and Muslim formularies.¹⁵⁷ Hoenerbach has shown that, aside from proving the contact between Muslim and Christian communities from the legal content of the contracts, there is an obvious mutual influence of documentary styles, especially explicit in bilingual Arabic-Latin or Arabic-Romance documents.¹⁵⁸ Hoenerbach noted the surprising fact that “We thus find in Spain Islamic documents in Christian official language and Christian documents in Islamic official language,” a phenomenon I find to be equally true in *mudéjar* and *morisco* Granada.¹⁵⁹ These contracts, formally related and often bilingual, are evidence of the importance of Muslim-Christian trade in the late medieval period, although Christian notaries working in Muslim communities were not only occupied with cross-community issues.¹⁶⁰ Some early modern Christian notaries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries actually specialized in Morisco affairs and conducted their profession entirely in Morisco communities.¹⁶¹ This is evidence of an institutional fluidity not

¹⁵⁶ Wilhelm Hoenerbach, “Some Notes on the Legal Language of Christian and Islamic Deeds,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81, no. 1 (1961): 37-38.

¹⁵⁷ Wilhelm Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1965).

¹⁵⁸ Hoenerbach, “Some Notes on the Legal Language of Christian and Islamic Deeds,” 35-36. The exchange of styles has a long history, beginning when Arabic scribes took on some of the Greco-Latin notarial practices of Eastern Christians as early as the seventh century, noting that “Both religious communities derive their documentary language from related sources and permit the separate streams to meet again at the end.” By “the end,” Hoenerbach was referring to the *mudéjar* and *morisco* periods in Spain. John Wansbrough posits a similar thesis about the long-term mutual influence in vocabulary and textual practice in his sweeping *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996.

¹⁵⁹ See Hoenerbach, “Some Notes on the Legal Language,” 38.

¹⁶⁰ See Wilhelm Hoenerbach, “El notariado islámico y el cristiano: estudio comparativo,” *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 11 (1984): 113.

¹⁶¹ Hoenerbach, “El notariado,” 115. Hoenerbach states unequivocally: “El ejemplo notarial, a nuestros ojos, continúe un capítulo de la fusión hispana” (115-116). Where Hoenerbach's research was primarily focused on Valencia, the work of Amalia García Pedraza helps to complete our picture for Granada in *Actitudes ante la muerte*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

restricted by religious identity or affiliation.¹⁶² The sheer frequency of contact in the quotidian practice of a notary indicates a very promising field for analyzing the interactions of bilinguals, as do the existence of notarial manuals for both Arabic-speaking *kuttāb* and Romance-speaking *escribanos*.¹⁶³

Though scholarship to date has focused primarily on exchanges and influence in the Mediterranean, Vincent Barletta has recently examined some of the same issues, in particular with respect to ideas and ideals that circulated between Arabic and Romance speaking regions across the Mediterranean. His position is as a literary scholar and trained anthropologist and he has been particularly concerned with the circulation of ideas about and in Arabic in Portugal, although well aware of the close connection of Portugal and Spain in particular during the Iberian Union (1580-1640).¹⁶⁴ Barletta makes use of several published documentary collections of Arabic documents in Portuguese archives.¹⁶⁵ These letters displayed normal modes of diplomatic exchange, although the Arabic letters from Moroccan populations under Portuguese control in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used terms and tones which were highly personal. Barletta has read these rhetorical strategies as a symptom of the close quarters in which the Portuguese and Moroccans found themselves on the Atlantic coast of North Africa. Barletta, citing as well the ideas of Josiah Blackmore, notes that these models of interaction were shaped by the contrasting reactions of Portuguese to Moroccans (and presumably vice-versa) of what was "a cultural and religious Other,

¹⁶² Hoenerbach draws a continuity from the practice of Christian minorities using Islamic legal formulae, to the opposite practice in the Mudejar and Morisco centuries. See Hoenerbach, "El notariado," 116.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 117-121. Hoenerbach provides the titles of several of these manuals, but does not indicate whether there are explicit instructions in any volume about dealing with minority communities or bilingual transactions.

¹⁶⁴ Vincent Barletta, *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain*, Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2005; Barletta, *Death in Babylon: Alexander the Great and Iberian Empire in the Muslim Orient*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

¹⁶⁵ *Documentos de Corpo chronologico relativos a Marrocos (1488-1514)*, Coimbra: Universidade, 1925; *Documentos das chancelarias reais anteriores a 1531 relativos a Marrocos*, Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1915; *Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, Archives Portugais (1486-1580)*, 5 Vol., Paris: Geuther, 1934-1953.

as well as a 'closer, more intimate presence'," what Barletta refers to as "vicinal familiarity."¹⁶⁶ These modes of neighborly proximity would inform the way that petitions, orders, reports, and diplomacy were carried out between the Maghreb and Iberia during the time of the Iberian Union, and the Morocco-Portugal paradigm left its mark on the history of Arabic use in Spain also after 1578.

As I demonstrate in chapter 5 of this dissertation, the history of Arabic in Iberia is not only a topic in *morisco* history but a vital part of the history of diplomatic exchange with Morocco and other North African regions and powers. Abdelmajid Kaddouri and others in Morocco have been working on the question of exchange with Europe, in particular the history of embassies to and from Morocco and European countries.¹⁶⁷ This is a historiography that is influenced--as are all historiographies--by contemporary geopolitical dynamics and concerns, but that nonetheless provides a very important viewpoint about Moroccan interaction with European powers in the early modern period, in particular with Portugal. Other Moroccan scholars who have contributed to this historiography of exchange in recent years are Aḥmad Būsharib, working both on the Portuguese presence on the Moroccan coast and the treatment of *mouriscos* in the Portuguese inquisition, Muḥammad Razzūq, who has written about and edited the narratives of Moroccan travellers to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Ḥassan Figuīguī who has written one of the only comprehensive studies of Spanish Melilla beginning in 1497.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Barletta, *Death in Babylon*, pp. 80-81.

¹⁶⁷ Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Le Maroc et l'Europe : problématique du dépassement, XV^{ème}-XVII^{ème} siècles*, Rabat: La Croisée des Chemins, 2013.

احمد بوشرب، وثائق و دراسات عن الغزو البرتغالي و نتائجه، رباط: دار الامان، ١٩٩٧؛ بوشرب، مغاربة في البرتغال خلال القرن ١٦، الدار السادس عشر، رباط: كلية الادب و العلوم الانسانية، ١٩٩٦؛ محمد رزوق، الاندلسيون و هجراتهم الى المغرب خلال القرنين ١٧ ١٦، الدار البيضاء: كلية الادب و العلوم الانسانية، ١٩٨٧؛ رزوق، رحلة افوقاي الاندلسي، بيروت/ابو ظبي/عمان، ٢٠٠٣؛ حسن الفكيكي، المقاومة المغربية للوجود الاسباني بمليلة، رباط: جامعة محمد الخامس، ١٩٩٧.

C. Methods and Sources:

i. Language Ideologies and Linguistic Anthropology:

Many historians in the second half of the twentieth century began to "recognise the need to study language as a social institution, as part of culture," as the cultural historian Peter Burke explained in 1987.¹⁶⁹ Burke proposed to historians that they look carefully at the works of the linguists who had developed the subfield of sociolinguistics in the 1950s and 1960s, and based on that literature he explained a set of descriptive and analytic approaches to doing the history of language in society.¹⁷⁰ Linguists, anthropologists, and historians, among others, who were thinking through the connections between language, society, and identity through much of the latter part of the twentieth century, helped develop the anthropological subfield of *language ideologies*, which was really articulated as a new focus of inquiry in the 1990s.¹⁷¹ In the 1970s, Michael Silverstein first elaborated a more structural focus on the effect of ideologies on language, and vice versa, a subfield known as *linguistic ideologies*.¹⁷² For linguistic anthropologists who wanted to bring society and politics in to the picture, in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s scholarship began to explore *language contact*, *language conflict*, and the *politics of language*. The combination of inquiry into language, culture, politics, and society that informs language ideologies can help provide a theoretical framework for analyzing social and cultural history through language practices and ideas about language as they were expressed or demonstrated by historical actors in written documentation. The term itself, "language

¹⁶⁹ Peter Burke, "Introduction," in *The Social History of Language*, Peter Burke and Roy Porter (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987, pp. 1-20.

¹⁷⁰ Burke, "Introduction," pp. 3-4.

¹⁷¹ For a review of the intellectual programs of the mid and late twentieth century and their influences and dialogues, see Woolard, "Introduction," pp. 14-25.

¹⁷² In 1979 Michael Silverstein made an initial formulation of *linguistic ideologies*, in the sense of the ideological influence on cognitive processes that affect linguistic structure and the feedback of those structures on ideology. Kathryn Woolard concisely explains the Silverstein's thinking and its subsequent developments in Kathryn Woolard, "Introduction," *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Oxford studies in anthropological linguistics 16 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 3-47, pp. 11-14.

For Silverstein's original statements on the developing field, see, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology," in *The Elements: A Parasesion on Linguistic Units and Levels*, Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks, and Carol L. Hofbauer (eds), Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979, pp. 193-247.

ideologies,” invokes “the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and are subject to the interests of their bearers’ social position.”¹⁷³ As such, language ideologies can be deployed to analyze both notions or practices of “peoplehood,” as well as the dynamic relations between language and other more specialized social categories like age, gender, status, or economic position.¹⁷⁴ Language ideologies as an academic domain provides a stable of analytic devices that I use in my dissertation to unpack the complexities of language use in Iberian history within and across religious and other cultural groups. Such analytic devices include the naturalization of hierarchies, the creation of power structures in hegemonic processes that are self-enforcing and self-reproducing, and definition of social and symbolic boundaries and borders.

One academic domain where the interrelated notions of linguistic identity and peoplehood has been best elaborated is the loosely bounded academic genre of colonial linguistics. The conquest and resettlement of Muslim territories in Spain may be seen as a kind of internal colonization, especially as regards the language use and regulation by dominant and conquered populations. As a contemporary cross-disciplinary framework for study, colonial linguistics is in fact highly informed by language ideologies.¹⁷⁵ The colonial linguists were situated ideologically within their own worldviews, and in particular shared a tradition of a certain kind of literacy. One key ideological feature of this shared tradition of literacy, and of the project to generate texts in and about non-

¹⁷³ Judith Irvine and Susan Gal, “Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation,” in *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. Paul Kroskrity, Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2000, p. 35.

¹⁷⁴ Alonso defines “peoplehood” as a new term for scholars to deal analytically with issues of nationality, ethnicity, and race as a unified concept. She asserts convincingly, however, that “drawing analytical distinctions between different forms of imagining peoplehood is methodologically useful,” showing at the same time that a more generalized category of association between these “peoplehoods” is also useful. Ana María Alonso, “The Politics of Space, Time, and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 390-391.

¹⁷⁵ Errington describes the “colonial archive” as a multi-media collection of “History, biography, literature and other kinds of writing” as well as “maps, censuses, photographs, monuments, and a wide range of other materials” (1). James Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2008). As an analytical subject, “colonial linguistics” refers to a “body of linguistic descriptive work” performed across the world from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries in zones of colonial contact.

European languages, is the assumption of linguistic comparability.¹⁷⁶ This assumption of linguistic comparability served a crucial function in the colonial project, that of naturalizing the hierarchies between colonizer and colonized. Linguistic anthropologist Joseph Errington, with reference to work by Judith Irvine and Susan Gal which has also been crucial to my understanding of the field, shows how the colonial linguists' descriptions functioned in tandem with "the 'ideological' work of devising images of peoples in colonial contact," thus "language difference figured in the creation of human hierarchies, such that the colonial subjects could be recognized as human, yet deficiently so."¹⁷⁷ As Vicente Rafael has demonstrated in the case of early Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, this process of translation also "presupposed the existence of a hierarchy of languages."¹⁷⁸ Rafael has shown effectively the ways in which translation and conversion processes did not occur for either colonizer or colonized according to the intended communication and reception, and his book provides a valuable example of how to explore the collaborative development of identities and worldviews in colonial contexts even when the explicit process is one of communities in tension. For historians, understanding that the process of representation as a route to both dominance over and self-assertion of minorities in terms of language and the identities of "peplehoods" is a crucial way to grasp and communicate language ideologies in history.

What is common to many ideas about the link between language and identity is the concept of discrete differentiation, that is, that a people can be identified in linguistic terms because there are other peoples and languages that these are not.¹⁷⁹ This construction of difference by contrast relies

¹⁷⁶ Errington asserts that "linguists worked in zones of colonial contact on the premise that the languages they were describing could be compared with and presented in the image of others more familiar to them." Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁷ Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, 5.

¹⁷⁸ Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, Duke University Press, 1993, pp. 27-29.

¹⁷⁹ Irvine and Gal, in their brief discussion of Frederik Barth's 1969 work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, note his conclusion that it is "Relationships *across* a boundary" that "are thus more crucial to the existence and persistence of the boundary than are any group-internal attributes an anthropological observer might identify." Irvine and Gal, p. 75. Irvine and Gal, "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation," 75. They propose "that what is needed is to shift attention to linguistic differentiation rather than community" (76).

on the assumption that the relationship between groups is one of two discrete entities regarding one another across a boundary rather than along a continuum. However, such boundaries are usually poorly defined even from the perspective of normative institutions and variably imagined, however much the imagining of such boundaries might have real consequences for the lives of minority groups. Understanding the construction, expression, and impact of those imagined boundaries is one of the major occupations of cultural historians, linguistic anthropologists, sociologists, and literary scholars committed to the ideals of new historicism, among many others.

One way to approach the study of boundaries between groups, especially groups who have had some degree of contact over a long period of time, is the definition of terms that address the often-overlapping processes of permeating, crossing, or maintaining those boundaries, processes of cultural borrowing and exchange. Over the course of much of the twentieth century anthropologists, historians, and literary scholars have elaborated, and subsequently critiqued and revised, the concepts of *acculturation* and *transculturation* in order to describe those processes. The concept of *acculturation*, as first elaborated by American anthropologists at the end of the nineteenth century, presumed an inevitable hierarchy at play in cultural contact. This assumption led to a conceptualization of acculturation as a one-way process, only assimilation of the "weaker" to the more dominant. The concept was revised in the 1940s as *transculturation* to accommodate the growing scholarly appreciation of the dual processes of mutual influence during any encounter.¹⁸⁰ The term and concept *transculturation* have subsequently been elaborated and put to extensive use by scholars, and especially literary scholars, working on analyzing the effects and aftermath of the

¹⁸⁰ See the discussion of the development and use of the terms borrowing, acculturation, transculturation, exchange and transfer in scholarly discourse over the long twentieth century in Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, Cambridge: Polity, 2009, pp. 40-42. Burke identifies the work of the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz on the reciprocity of influence over the course of the encounter between Europe and the Americas, p. 41.

encounter between Europeans and Americans after 1492.¹⁸¹ The use of the *trans-* prefix allows scholars to insist on reciprocity and the fact of the multiple perspectives inherent in any encounter.

However, historians and anthropologists continued to use the term *acculturation* in particular with reference to encounters where differences in political and/or military power conditioned the processes of contact. In the 1960s, scholars of the Spanish early modern period redeployed the term as meaning “the meeting and bilateral adjustment of two distinct cultures.”¹⁸² Its advocates, in particular an American historian of medieval Spain, Thomas Glick, and a Catalan anthropologist, Oriol Pi-Sunyer, believed that processes of Iberian *acculturation* were predicated on a history of permeability on the (imagined) boundaries between the cultures and religions of Spain. The defensive process of boundary maintenance in the Iberian context could be characterized as a process of acculturation that relied on a continuum of “rigidity and flexibility.”¹⁸³ The authors of this article used language legislation against *morisco* use of Arabic as one of their key motivating examples of the mechanisms by which cultural boundaries could be actively penetrated and destroyed in a process of contact that develops from the flexible practices of longstanding medieval permeability to the rigid exclusion of language use through the normative policies enforced by political, legal, and religious institutions. In their example, debates about language use did not simply reflect anxiety about difference or the problem of assimilation, rather, “cultural solidarity was weakened through a

¹⁸¹ Most well known is the work of Mary Louise Pratt on both transculturation in later periods and spaces of encounter she terms contact zones. See *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992, and “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991): 33-40.

¹⁸² In the 1960s the authors called for the anthropological theory of acculturation to be used in Spanish history, and in particular to understand the nine hundred years of Christian-Muslim contact, focusing on the medieval period as the crucible of the modern national culture. See Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi Sunyer, “Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 2 (1969): 136-154. They engage with the mid-twentieth century debate between Américo Castro and Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz as to the true character of the Spanish nation, and then demolish the essentialism behind both arguments by proposing an evolutionary theory of cultures by which constant new experiences will change the mental resources of the actors or “carriers of culture.” *Ibid.*, 138. See Hillgarth, “Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality.” for a further elaboration of the way in which the Castro-Sanchez-Albornoz debate is the culmination of centuries of anxiety over the “true” nature of the essential Iberian Man.

¹⁸³ See Glick and Pi-Sunyer, “Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History,” 149.

planned destruction of the institutional supports of Arabic learning.”¹⁸⁴ In this case, acculturation was used to describe an explicit and historical process of assimilation of one group with more political, military, and social power over another. Scholars now argue that this weakening of cultural solidarity was a process of redefining the Iberian sense of community identity, one which explicitly excluded Arabic and Islam.¹⁸⁵

Nonetheless, *acculturation* was a concept that was largely abandoned by anthropologists as a scholarly heuristic that risked amplifying the cultural prejudices of the scholar him or herself, and the revised concept of *transculturation* or of cultural exchanges and transfers became more popular across disciplines.¹⁸⁶ One exception was the use of the concept of acculturation in the parallel historical field of the study of early modern confessional boundaries, *confessionalization*. These concepts, articulated in the 1980s, referred to the normative elaborations of cultural identities by religious institutions during the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and enacted largely in terms of religious and cultural practices, and the enforcement of these ideals by political and legal institutions. The early elaborations of *confessionalization* relied heavily on the concept of acculturation and the power differential that process implied, especially in the relationships described by historians between the processes of *confessionalization*, state formation, and social discipline. *Confessionalization* has been challenged and refined by historians over the decades, and in its revised forms remains a valuable heuristic tool for scholars.¹⁸⁷ Though the hierarchical and normative processes of *acculturation* and *confessionalization* continue to be debated and refined in current scholarship, I have

¹⁸⁴ Glick and Pi-Sunyer characterize this as the second prong of an attack that began with forced baptism. *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁸⁵ See Amelang, *Parallel Histories*, especially chapter 2, "Rise and Fall of the *Moriscos*: A Political History," pp. 10-25 and García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language."

¹⁸⁶ Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁷ For an overview of the history of the concept of *confessionalization* since its elaboration in the 1980s by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, the scholarly debates their formulations inspired, and future directions for research in this field, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe*, Kirksville, MO: Truman State UP, 2008, pp. 136-157.

found them to be of value in the analysis of assimilative language policies in sixteenth century Spain (see chapter 6).

The degrees to which such cultural boundaries are mutually constructed is variable throughout Iberian history, but a recent review article in sociology proposes three concrete methods to approach the study of boundaries between communities: 1) their properties (“permeability, salience, durability, and visibility”), 2) “the key *mechanisms* associated with the activation, maintenance, transposition or the dispute, bridging, crossing and dissolution of boundaries,” and 3) the “theme of cultural membership” that could allow a window for analysis of “how social actors construct groups as similar and different and how it shapes their understanding of their responsibilities toward such groups.”¹⁸⁸ These three methods have a tantalizing promise for elaborating another very practical, even step-by-step, approach to unpacking language ideologies around community boundaries in the case of Arabic- and Romance-speaking, and bilingual, communities in sixteenth century Spain.

ii. Language as a Category for Historical Analysis:

Language itself is not a category of analysis that has yet been formally developed in historical studies, although language has been the object of much attention and debate by historians, literary scholars, and political theorists, among others.¹⁸⁹ From what has become a bibliographic cacophony, a few approaches and concepts stand out as viable methods and tools for analyzing the use and status of Arabic in early modern Iberia.

¹⁸⁸ Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 186-187.

¹⁸⁹ The bibliography is too wide to even attempt to enumerate. Over the course of the twentieth century as linguistics established its own disciplinary and sub-disciplinary paradigms, other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences took what has come to be called a “linguistic turn.” This turn had the advantage of attracting the attention of a wide range of scholarship to the details of language and the potential information therein encoded about the human context in which that language was produced or received, but the marked disadvantage of not offering paradigms by which that information could be interpreted in the different disciplines, leading to a low level crisis in the last quarter of the twentieth century over the degree to which language constitutes reality (or not). An excellent synthesis of the main debates is Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.

When dealing with language in Iberian history, too often the story is told as if language groups were fixed and monolithic entities, usually coterminous to religion. Even relatively transparent characteristics like bilingualism are easily elided.¹⁹⁰ Rather than understanding language use as a stand-in for religious identity, in my dissertation examines the ways in which language and language ideologies contribute to a range of social and cultural identities and practices. With the classical scholar, J.N. Adams, I believe that “bilinguals of different types are often particularly aware of the conflicts of identity determined by their belonging to more than one speech community.”¹⁹¹ These conflicts and identities vary by context, but bilingualism and bilinguals are a promising area of focus for questions about language and identity.¹⁹² Fundamental to understanding the language ideologies surrounding Arabic and the Spanish identity in early modern Spain is the way that bilingualism functioned as individual practice, within social institutions, and as an ideological concept. In that sense, bilingual (or multilingual) individuals developed to some extent their own “political languages,” in the sense described by Pocock in an early essay.¹⁹³ Particularly useful in Pocock's meditations on these political languages are the observations that “language is part of the

¹⁹⁰ In a recent survey article on language in medieval and early modern Spain, María Angeles Gallego has attempted to outline the sociolinguistic landscape. Although she does an admirable job introducing many of the main characters, her article suffers from a common tendency to essentialize language groups as religiously bounded, and she does not propose further work to unpack the complexities. See “The Languages of Medieval Iberia and their Religious Dimension,” *Medieval Encounters* 9 (1): 107-139.

¹⁹¹ See Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 751-752. Scholarly work on historical bilingualism has had to face “the inadequacy of applying to a written text the same methodologies used by linguists investigating modern speech communities.” although for lack of a better phrase or conceptual category, historians can look to that work for potentially analogous methodologies. See Adams, p. xxi.

¹⁹² The value of examining these bilingual figures and their formation and contexts can not be underestimated, and has been neglected in scholarly literature. Historian Bernard Vincent points out: “De hecho, para estudiar la minoría morisca, la cuestión lingüística tiene que plantearse en términos enteramente nuevos. Los pocos trabajos que se han consagrado a este problema lo han abordado casi siempre en el marco del todo o nada, en un enfrentamiento radical entre lenguas inalterables e irreductibles, árabe contra castellano o catalán. La realidad, hecha de intercambios diarios, de préstamos y de erosiones, es muy diferente. Entre el monolingüismo absoluto arábico y el dominio perfecto del bilingüismo, hay sitio para un montón de grados lingüísticos, como bien se sabe en nuestras sociedades contemporáneas. ¿Por qué no sería lo mismo en la España del siglo XVI? Las relaciones de vecindad, las necesidades del trabajo y del mercado, las desiguales modalidades de la evangelización, según los lugares y los períodos, han dejado cada una su huella. Hay que reconocer que no es fácil descubrir estas situaciones intermedias, bilingüismos asimétricos y bilingüismos de intelección, cuando son los más frecuentes, pero esto no es disculpa para renunciar a buscarlos.” See Vincent, “Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss. XVI-XVII),” 739.

¹⁹³ J.G.A. Pocock, “Languages and their Implications: The Transformation of the Study of Political Thought,” in *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*, New York: Atheneum, 1973, pp. 3-41.

social structure and not epiphenomenal to it" and "every paradigmatic language contains a structure of implications concerning time, which can further be shown to embody a mode or modes of conceptualizing political society itself as existing in time."¹⁹⁴ The particular paradigms of "political languages" from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries were both the symptoms and response to the same "crisis in language" that I argue manifested in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain, in particular around Arabic, which include new ways of learning, writing, teaching, and mandating history, language, and political participation. The Cambridge School offers the useful heuristic of "answering the questions to which the text is an answer," a method which requires understanding the range of meanings words or discourse might have, and thus being able to argue why the "agent" or author might have chosen the ones that he did.¹⁹⁵

Pierre Bourdieu explained how the standardization of vernacular, part of the "crisis in language," led to a linguistic market in which agents found (and find) themselves unconsciously collecting and vying for a certain symbolic capital that was based on language:

The recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed, deliberate and revocable belief, or with an intentional act of accepting a 'norm'. It is inscribed, in a practical state, in dispositions which are impalpably inculcated, through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market, and which are therefore adjusted, without any cynical calculation or consciously experienced constraint, to the chances of material and symbolic profit which the laws of price formation characteristic of a given market objectively offer to the holders of a given linguistic capital.¹⁹⁶

Arabic, as one of the daily languages in Granada, Oran, and Valencia, and as a standardized vernacular of commerce and diplomacy became a professional tool by which some agents were able to participate in, or at least enter into dialogue with, the sovereign state and its representatives.

Reciprocally, even languages which were rhetorically linked to heterodoxy in official documents

¹⁹⁴ Pocock, "Languages and their Implications," pp. 38-39.

¹⁹⁵ For a clear description of Skinner's techniques and their foundations in the ideas of, above all, Wittgenstein and Austin, see Holly Hamilton-Bleakly, "Linguistic Philosophy and the *Foundations*," in *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Annabel Brett and James Tully (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006, pp. 20-33.

¹⁹⁶ Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 50-51.

could be incorporated into a centralized administration and used to help that administration execute its control over every kind of vassal-citizen. Focusing on normative language regimes and professional bilinguals like royal translators, inquisitorial interpreters, evangelizing friars, diplomats, and scholars (Christian and Muslim) can offer only a partial picture of multilingualism and language ideologies in the early modern Iberia world, although I hope that this dissertation will provide an important contribution to the growing literature that both accepts and interrogates language as a category for historical analysis.

D. Chapter Summaries and Sources

This dissertation is composed of five principle chapters. Chapter 2 sets up the medieval precedents for the figure of the Arabic translator in Castile which would become normalized in the sixteenth century and codified in the seventeenth as Castile becomes the dominant power among the Iberian kingdoms. I discuss the way in which the multilingual frontier between Castile and Granada was regulated and maintained between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and the way that these traditional practices influenced the shape of frontier administration in conquered Granada and the North African Presidios in the 1490s and 1500-1510s. Here I rely on bilingual treaties, correspondence concerning the treaty negotiation, royal and municipal records of interpreter appointments, and fifteenth-century chronicles. This chapter sets up the varied domains that translators and interpreters were well positioned to control, including commerce, taxation, and legal instruments (from wills to lawsuits).

Chapter 3 discusses the founding of the Spanish Habsburg's bilingual administration in the North African presidios, taking Oran as the main case study. The first part of the chapter concerns the normative establishment of different kinds of interpreters in Oran, using an unstudied legal dispute over the rights to the office of the *trujamán mayor*--primarily a commercial function associated

with the customs house--in Oran between 1512 and 1536. I use published and unpublished correspondence and state papers from a range of European archives to trace the early history of translators from Jewish, converted Muslim, and Christian families, taking a much more comprehensive approach to the history of multilingualism in Oran than previous scholarship has done.¹⁹⁷ I also bring to light new materials for the history of presidio administration from 1509 (the Spanish conquest of Oran) to c1578, a period which is far less well known than the seventeenth-century history of the presidio. These early translators and interpreters were variously employed by or engaged with the municipal council, the noble governor of the presidio, or appointed as royal officials, making an excellent case study in which to examine how competing interests (municipal, seigniorial, royal, and individual) intervened in imperial administration. I discuss the significance of the multilingual official in these overlapping jurisdictions, as well as the influence of these competing powers on the very office of the interpreter.

The second part of the third chapter concerns the period from the end of the 1570s until roughly 1669. I discuss the events which led up to the expulsion of the Jewish community from Oran in 1669 (a decision that was very bound up in worries about who the Oran Arabic interpreter should be and what he should do). This period is better known to scholars thanks to Jean-Frédéric Schaub's work on the Cansino and Beatriz Alonso Acero's masterful overview of seventeenth-century Oran, but I bring in new documents concerning the Jewish families and I discuss an important noble Christian family of interpreters who not only helped engineer the expulsion of their professional rivals, but who used the low-status office of interpreter and the expertise and skill it implied to advance their own ambitions to nobility.

The fourth chapter returns to Granada after 1492 and is also divided into two parts, likewise divided chronologically at the 1570s (in this case in 1571 with the conclusion of the second revolt of

¹⁹⁷ These materials are drawn principally from the Archivo General de Simancas, Real Academia de la Historia, Biblioteca Zabálburu in Madrid, the British Library, and the Bibliothèque Universitaire in Geneva.

the Alpujarras and subsequent expulsion of the *moriscos* from Granada). The first part of the chapter echoes the previous chapter in that it is concerned with the normative establishment of the office of the translator, this time in colonial Granada. I examine the family dynamics which helped shape professional practice and the way that translators functioned at the nexus between royal, municipal, and noble authority as the newly conquered kingdom was organized and politically incorporated into Castile. Using minutes from the Granada municipal council, lawsuits heard in the royal high court (Real Chancillería), and information about appointments and salaries recorded in Crown registers (AGS Registro de Sello), I deal with four examples of *mudéjar* and the *morisco* families (one noble and three non-noble) who managed to control the official appointment between 1494 and the 1550s. I discuss the well-known Alonso del Castillo as a transitional figure between the translator/interpreter as *local* representative of royal--among other--power to the translator/interpreter as part of the centralized court administration.

A short final part of this chapter discusses the place of Arabic and multilingual professionals in Granada in the aftermath of the 1571 *morisco* expulsion. This expulsion was the result of the 1568 rebellion of the Alpujarras, itself sparked by new enforcement of anti-Arabic legislation, a bloody three-year conflict which could be well characterized as a civil war over language. The most significant example of Arabic-Castilian translation is the episode of the *libros plomos* (beginning 1588), and I will discuss the intensive production of recent scholarship on this topic and introduce some of the characters who will return in chapter 5 in a broader Western Mediterranean context.

The narrative arc of chapter 5 is the transition in practices and ideologies regarding Arabic use in the 1570s and the shift of the translator from a local official to a court employee, and the concomitant increase in involvement in scholarly arabism, including the (brief) return of Arabic to the university at Alcalá de Henares and its subsequent transfer to the royal library of El Escorial in the person of Diego de Urrea. I focus on the translations and activities of translators employed by

Philip II and Philip III and their counterparts in Morocco, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and his sons Zaydān and Abū Fāris. I rely on translations of diplomatic correspondence and scholarly texts from Spanish collections and the royal and national libraries of Morocco. I analyze the practices of translation, taking into account the degree of literal translation, the preservation of religious, legal, and chancellery formulae across the texts, the use of geographical terms and royal and noble titles, and whether the translation (and/or oral interpretation) was effected in teams or with different stages of linguistic work. In an echo of chapter 2, I trace how the practices of Spanish-Arabic translation were based in long-standing medieval habits of diplomatic envoys and written correspondence between the Spanish, Muslim Granada, and different kingdoms in North Africa. These practices were then honed during the Alpujarras War in Granada (1568-1571) and in Mediterranean networks connected by the Habsburg presidios in North Africa. I also examine the representations of these interpreters and translators in reports, correspondence, diplomatic ceremonies, and the self-representation of the interpreter (when it is present) in the translations themselves. Although the office of the translator was technically separate from that of either a scribe or an ambassador, certain translators gained the confidence of both the Moroccan and Spanish monarchs, and the lines between offices blurred. Meanwhile, I focus on two case studies of translators who actively cultivated ideals of professional expertise based on language, duty, "*naturaleza*," and religion in order to consolidate their reputations: Jorge de Henin, a Flemish *alfaunque* (captive redeemer) who worked in Istanbul and Marrakesh in the first decade of the seventeenth century before spending two decades trying to find a place in the court of the Spanish Habsburgs, and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, a Spanish *morisco* who fled to Morocco in 1599 and became a royal translator before being sent to Europe where he interacted with French and Dutch arabists. This last chapter also reflects on the overlapping commercial, diplomatic, and intellectual networks which supported bilingual exchange between agents of the Habsburgs in Spain and Portugal, Ottomans, the Sa'adiens in Morocco, and other European powers

who were taking an increased commercial and political interest in Morocco, in particular the English and the United Provinces.

The final chapter of the body of the dissertation, chapter 6, focuses on how individuals charged with multilingual evangelical tasks in Spain acquired the necessary linguistic skills, and what range of activities they participated in. I examine the effects of the Council of Trent on multilingual evangelization in Spain, focusing on secular clergy, the Jesuits, and the Franciscans. I also devote several sections to analyzing the bilingual (Arabic-Romance) *morisco* catechism and situate it in the genres of anti-Muslim polemic, Tridentine instruction, and the literary genre of the *novela morisca*.

My conclusion pulls back the lens to look at Arabic interpreters in the broader context of the development of institutionalized offices of multilingual officials across the polyglot Hispanic Monarchy, including in the New World. I also take up again the question with which my dissertation research began: Is Arabic a Spanish language? I explore whether or not this question refers to a political or religious identity, and how the use and status of Arabic was performed in both fields over the relatively long chronological scope of the dissertation, from c1492 to c1700. I then explore the parallels between thinking about the variation in the use and status of Arabic in Spain in that period with other ways of linguistic thinking, even within Spanish itself, as a means of defense against normative institutions like the church, court, or Inquisition. Did speech represent the intentions of the speaker or the interpretations of the hearer, and how might these debates have influenced the production and reception of Arabic texts and Arabic translations in Spain? The tension between the legitimacy of intention or interpretation was the refracted through the problem of confessionalization, that is, political loyalty expressed or confirmed by knowledge of dogma. Bilingual doctrine or instructional materials thus posed an additional problem to theologians trying to grapple both with the question of the relationship of religion to language across the community, and language to belief within the individual. Lastly, in a brief postface, I consider how Arabic study

and use changed after the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty, and the effect of the subsequent scholarly genealogies on the very questions I ask in this dissertation.

Chapter 2

Multilingual institutions on the Frontier: Commerce and Diplomacy

The royal office of *intérprete mayor* came into being during the reign of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabel. It was an office based on medieval traditions of diplomatic and commercial exchange, especially those traditions forged in the context of the frontier between Christian Castile and Muslim Granada. This figure of the *intérprete mayor* and its corresponding appointment, the *trujamán mayor*, became the subject of special royal attention before and during the *Guerra de Granada* and in the Spanish expansion into North Africa. How this frontier office, influenced by longstanding traditions of minority governance in the Peninsula, was consolidated into a regular feature of the Castilian administration during the reigns of the *reyes católicos* and their grandson Charles V, is the subject of this chapter.

Although the Aragonese interpreter has been studied in some depth, the figure of the interpreter on the Castilian border with Granada has received little scholarly attention.¹⁹⁸ In the last decades, however, as *morisco* studies have flourished, scholars have been drawn to this seemingly enigmatic figure in the context of mudejar and *morisco* Granada, and indeed, the following chapter will take up the question of bilingual administration in a colonial context.¹⁹⁹ Who were the individuals who made

¹⁹⁸ Roser Salicrú Lluch has published several thoughtful pieces on interpreters in the Crown of Aragon in the late medieval period, as part of her greater interest in the relationship between Aragon and Granada. In the last few years, Jiménez Alcazar and his team at the Universidad de Murcia have begun to publish extremely suggestive work about the interpreters who facilitated the intensive captive trade between Murcia (Castile), Aragon, and Granada, turning to the underused but rich municipal archives for the detailed records of appointments, duties, payments, etc. See Salicrú i Lluch, “Intérpretes y diplomáticos. Mudéjares mediadores y representantes de los poderes cristianos en la Corona de Aragón,” in *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, Ana Echevarría (ed), Madrid: CSIC, 2008, pp. 471-496; Salicrú Lluch, “Crossing Boundaries in Late Medieval Mediterranean Iberia: Historical Glimpses of Christian- Islamic Intercultural Dialogue,” *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* 1/1 (2008): 34-51; Salicrú Lluch, “Más allá de la mediación de la palabra: negociación con los infieles y mediación cultural en la baja edad media,” in *Negociar en la edad media*, Barcelona: CSIC, 2005, pp. 409-439; Salicrú i Lluch, “La diplomacia y la embajadas como expresión de los contactos interculturales entre cristianos y musulmanes en el mediterráneo occidental durante la baja edad media,” *Estudios de Historia de España* 9 (2007): 77-106; Jiménez Alcázar, “Relaciones interterritoriales en el sureste de la península ibérica durante la baja Edad Media,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40/2 (2010): 565-602.

¹⁹⁹ Manuel Feria and his frequent collaborator Jorge Arias have contributed greatly to this history, as part of their larger scholarly project about Arabic interpreters in Spain from the medieval period to the present. Manuel Feria García, *La traducción febaciente del árabe: Fundamentos históricos, jurídicos, y metodológicos*, Doctoral Thesis, Departamento de Traducción e Interpretación, Universidad de Málaga, 2001. Manuel Feria García and Jorge Arias Torres, “Un nuevo enfoque en la investigación de la documentación árabe granadina romanceada,” *Al-Qantara* 26/1 (2005): 191-247. For the

a living as translators and interpreters in the late medieval period leading up to the *Guerra de Granada* and its aftermath? Who actually had a sufficient degree of bilingualism to perform the office?²⁰⁰ Only a few specially trained individuals, who had devoted themselves to frontier professions, were bilingual.²⁰¹ After the conquest of Granada, the number of Castilian Arabic speakers increased dramatically, but not necessarily the number of people who knew both languages. And just as surely as only certain Castilians (often mudejars or frontier dwellers) were equipped to serve as Arabic interpreters during treaty negotiations or after the conquest, neither was Granada home to a population of ready-made bilinguals who could be drafted into interpreting duties. Such an assertion is not meant to dismiss the very real culture of exchange that had existed for centuries along the frontier, for indeed the degree of differing levels of bilingualism on both sides of the border was probably higher than most scholarship acknowledges. Nonetheless, interpreters and translators had

contemporary period, see Manuel Fera García and Jorge Arias Torres, *Los traductores del árabe del estado español*, Madrid: Bellaterra, 2013. Mercedes Abad Merino, who is associated with the team of Jiménez Alcazar in Murcia, has made some of the most important contributions to the study of the Arabic interpreter in the *morisco* period. Mercedes Abad Merino, “La traducción de cartas árabes en un pleito granadino del siglo XVI. El fenómeno del romanceado como acto judicial: Juan Rodríguez y Alonso del Castillo ante un mismo documento,” *Al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): 481-518; Abad Merino, “‘Aquí hay necesidad de persona capaz en muchas lenguas’. El oficio de intérprete en las últimas fronteras de Castilla,” *Tonos: Revista Electrónica de Estudios Filológicos* 10 (2005): <http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum10/estudios/A-Abad.htm>; accessed 12/30/2010; Abad Merino, “Exeas y alfaqueques: aproximación a la figura del intérprete de árabe en el período fronterizo (s. XIII-XV),” in *Homenaje al profesor Estanislao Ramón Trives*, vol. 1, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2003: pp. 35-50; Abad Medina and Abad Merino, “El intérprete morisco. Aproximación a la historia de la traducción cotidiana en España en el ocaso de la Edad Media.” Amalia García Pedraza, with her vast expertise in the notarial records of Granada, has contributed many names of the interpreters who were called upon to witness last wills and testaments. Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI: los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, 2 vol., Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2002. Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Mediano Rodríguez have led the way in the study of translation and Arabic use in the episodes of the *plomos*, which will be discussed later in this dissertation, and have provided valuable and previously lacking syntheses of the heritage to those episodes. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacramonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010; in an English translation by Consuelo López-Morillas as *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Numen Book Series 142, Leiden: Brill, 2013. Bernard Vincent, with typical erudition, in 1997 published an aptly titled article that has been the source of many later investigators' research questions. Vincent, “Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss.XVI-XVII),” *Sharq al-Andalus* 10-11 (1993-1994): 732-748. For the large bibliography on the sixteenth-century *romanceadores*, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²⁰⁰ There were some mudéjar interpreters, such as the man of Marbella cited in al-Wansharisi's collection of *fatwas*. See Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 56-58. Other better known examples will be discussed in chapter 2.

²⁰¹ Even the majority of Castilian Jews no longer knew Arabic. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish community in Medieval Iberia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

to be drawn from a limited group who, in the ideal situation, possessed specialized skills, relevant experience, and were personable and trustworthy.

In the medieval period, multilingual intermediaries made their living where they were needed: on the frontiers between the Romance-speaking and also the Arabic-speaking kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. Most opportunities for individuals who knew more than one language well were connected to trade and customs, captive negotiation, the military, and diplomacy, and it is on these professional fields that I will concentrate in this chapter.²⁰² As we shall see, the categories of language workers, political intermediaries, and those involved in commerce overlapped considerably, however, multilingualism emerged as a concrete skill which would define many of these professions. These professions would become permanent fixtures in central and frontier administrations in the early modern and modern periods, though their defining characteristics were forged in the specific medieval context of frontier, crusade, and the personal relationships of subjects to their ruler.

A recent shift in historiographical focus and a new documentary base from local archives is leading scholars to understand the history of the frontier more than as a series of military campaigns as it was described in medieval chronicles and noble reports. A frontier is both a boundary and a site of contact, and in the case of Castile and Granada, the nearly three centuries of border life resulted in intensive and regular contact between the inhabitants of the frontier.²⁰³ This regular contact also

²⁰² By this time in Iberian history the market for translators and interpreters was decidedly on the Castile-Granada frontier. In most late-medieval Mudéjar communities, with the exception of Valencia, Arabic monolingualism was not widespread. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1990. Certain religious leaders (most famously, Iça de Segovia and later the Mancebo de Arévalo) worked on translating important religious and legal texts into romance for their communities, and a relatively important canon of *aljamiado* literature came into being and circulated among mudejar communities. Meanwhile in Valencia, where the regional Arabic dialect continued to be an important language of daily life, mudéjar (and Jewish?) administrators and intermediaries translated when necessary on an ad hoc basis. See the work of Harvey, both *Islamic Spain* and "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595," *Al-Andalus* 36/1 (1971): 81-115, as well as Wilhelm Hoenerbach, "Some Notes on the Legal Language of Christian and Islamic Deeds," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81 (1961): pp. 34-38; "El notariado islámico y el cristiano: estudio comparativo," *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 11 (1994): 103-138; *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965; and Mark Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

²⁰³ Scholars like Angus MacKay have pointed out that Castile and Granada were far more often at peace than at war (he estimates approximately 85% of the years between 1350 and 1460 were peaceful). Quoted in Rodríguez Molina,

gave rise to certain frontier professions (often called institutions) which were designed to facilitate contact when necessary and mitigate conflict.

Such professionals needed a number of skills, among them linguistic proficiency in various Romance and Arabic dialects. The frontier itself was discursively constructed in two languages via the regular Castilian and Arabic treaties signed between the two kingdoms. Translators and other bilingual intermediaries played an important role in the political instruments, like treaties, that made the negotiation of the frontier into a legal reality. Bilingual agents also “enacted” the frontier on a daily basis by facilitating contact between those who crossed it.

1492, that watershed year in terms of political territorialization, heralded the rupture of a long-established frontier, but not necessarily of the long established frontier practices, traditions, and ideologies.²⁰⁴ When scholars consider the history of the conquest of Granada (and in particular when that discussion is conflated with the expulsion of the Jews and the discovery of America), the final events of the long military campaign take on the characteristics of a catalyst for change in cultural and religious life. To be certain, as in any conquest, there were aspects of rupture, like violence and expulsion. However, if we consider the decade-long War of Granada within the much longer history of military, diplomatic, and commercial contacts between Granada and Castile and between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa throughout the high middle ages, we observe well-entrenched practices of communication, negotiation, and collaboration. These two sovereign regions, one whose primary language was Spanish and the other Arabic, had already developed effective methods for carrying out bilingual interaction, as much on the level of individual commerce (which includes the captive trade) as royal diplomacy.

"Convivencia entre cristianos y musulmanes en la frontera de Granada," in *Historia de la paz: tiempos espacios y actores*, Granada: Eirene, Universidad de Granada, 2000, pp. 189-228, especially p. 185.

²⁰⁴ For the concept of territorialization, see *Borders: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 59.

Treaties were negotiated every one to ten years, and commerce was conducted on a daily basis. The frontier was rife with interactions between Arabic and Castilian speakers. Throughout the later middle ages many bilingual agents crossed and re-crossed the frontier at regular intervals: messengers, noble ambassadors, frontier justices and their investigative teams, traders, captive redeemers, etc. The frequent peace treaties between the Castilian and Nasrid kings were produced in bilingual copies, Arabic and Castilian, following negotiations between representatives of both parties, nobles and their interpreters. The municipal councils and large landholders (nobles and the heads of religious orders) hosted numerous cross-border lawsuits, and the negotiations between merchants and captive redeemers, negotiations which required the services of regular and reputable interpreters. In order to understand the development of the bilingual administration in the sixteenth century, we must understand the long traditions of border conflict which shaped the local and royal institutions for controlling trade, warfare, crime, and diplomacy. This chapter focuses on interpreters and translators who forged and depended upon the frontier for their livelihood during the reigns of the Catholic Kings and their grandson Charles V. With the displacement of the frontier after 1492, some of these interpreters adapted their skills and expertise to find work in the colonial administration, while others followed the armies and settlers deployed to North Africa (see below and chapter 3). The officials who operated on the new maritime frontier interacted with agents already living in those kingdoms, some of whom also made their way into the service of the Spanish crown. In this chapter, I will review the historical background to the development of this office in the context of the Granada-Castile frontier, and how it was transferred to the North African frontier. In subsequent chapters, especially chapter 4 (Granada) and chapter 3 (North Africa) I will discuss in much greater detail the personal and family strategies of the individuals who inhabited the office.

A. Forged on the Frontier: Medieval Precedents

The border between Castile and Granada was a frontier centuries in the making. Ferdinand III (1199-1251), later Saint Ferdinand, and Jaume I (1208-1276), known as the Conqueror, conquered much of Muslim Andalucía and Murcia in the thirteenth century. Both kingdoms, perhaps even more than pursuing a specific anti-Islamic reconquest ideology, were engaged in general territorial expansion. Taking advantage of the Almohads' distraction with dynastic issues in Morocco, both the Castilian and Aragonese kings pushed the borders of their realms south. They were not the only Iberian rulers to consider it a propitious moment for territorial expansion and the consolidation of a dynasty: Muhammad ibn al-Ahmar of Arjona, along with his kinsmen the Banū Ashqilūla of Seville, contested the rights of the last Almohad rulers in the territories around Jaén, at times even allying with the Christian kings.²⁰⁵ The upshot of these decades of expansionist opportunism on the part of three dynasties was a frontier that would be revised only minimally over the next two hundred and fifty years.²⁰⁶ Rather than a withering detente that led inexorably to a clash of civilizations, the shape of the Castile-Granada frontier must be understood as a part of a multifaceted dynastic interplay involving all of the realms in the Peninsula.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ For the details of the first Nasrids and their alliances, see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 20–41.

²⁰⁶ According to several scholars, the frontier between Castile and Granada was a “society organized for war.” Despite this claim, actual warfare, especially on a large scale, was relatively rare throughout the late Middle Ages. Manuel Gonzálo Jiménez, “Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350),” in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 49-74, especially p. 50, claims that by 1350 the frontier had basically stabilized, due to the Castilian efforts to induce colonists to settle and defend the frontier territories. In the same volume, José López de Coca Castañer, “Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier (1369-1482),” pp. 127-150, especially p. 127 agrees, claiming that from the rise of the Trastámara in 1369 until the campaigns of the Catholic Kings beginning in 1482, the frontier was “virtually stationary,” at least from a spatial point of view.

²⁰⁷ These dynasties were the Burgundians of Castile and León (newly and permanently united under Ferdinand III), the Counts of Barcelona, also kings of the Crown of Aragón, and the new Nasrids of Granada (Muhammad ibn al-Ahmar would become Muhammad I. These were the three principal dynasties on the Peninsula after the defeat of the Almohads, in addition to the Portuguese branch of the Burgundian dynasty (Casa de Borgonha) which was succeeded by the House of Aviz in 1383, shared the Iberian Peninsula for nearly a century, until different branches of the Trastámaras took over Castile in 1366 and Aragón in 1412.

The dynastic intricacies of the later middle ages are extremely complex, and deserve and have received intensive study.²⁰⁸ For our purposes, what is important is that the frontier between Castile and Granada, though it was a boundary between linguistic and religious groups, was not drawn according to the religious and linguistic affiliations or preferences of existing populations, but rather it was forged as the result of overlapping alliances and conflicts between the main dynasties in the Peninsula, their representatives, followers, and opponents.²⁰⁹ The dynastic determinants of sovereign spaces do not mean that language and religion were not present as factors of difference on the frontier. The use of language and religious practice were very important determinants of daily life and exchange in the borderlands. Although the letter of the law ratified the physical frontier, as articulated in the peace treaties between the Castilians and Granadans, it was the individuals who lived in the frontier lands who actually maintained it.

The primary occasions for Arabic and Romance speakers to come into contact were during the course of treaty negotiations, commercial interactions, and military conflict and raiding. This latter type of contact supported what became a veritable industry of captive taking and redeeming, a kind of commercial contact that over time developed its own institutions along the frontier. Commercial, military, and diplomatic institutions all developed to facilitate this contact, and with them regular procedures and traditional staff were employed to undertake the different steps of various kinds of contact, from interpreting, to generating the correct formulae, to sorting out issues of payment, etc. Before we examine the peace treaties as they were negotiated by the *reyes católicos*, it is important to understand the framework of daily life and cross-frontier interactions as it developed over the medieval period.

²⁰⁸ In English, see Teofilo Ruiz, *Spain's centuries of crisis: 1300-1474*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007 and Harvey, *Islamic Spain*.

²⁰⁹ Again, for a succinct and cogent review of the political and military history of the events of the thirteenth century (though without explicit references to Spanish and French scholarship with which he is clearly familiar), see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 41–54.

i. Amistad and vecindad: Local international relations

In addition to the normative peace treaties, other local instruments of solidarity and alliance were used along the frontier. For one, there were treaties of friendship and alliance between Castilian and Granadan nobles who held land or influence along the frontier, and these dynamics will come into play in our discussion of the peace treaties between sovereigns. Local communities also had a good deal of contact, and frontier municipal authorities corresponded, complained, promised allegiance, and oversaw local--if technically international--lawsuits. The treaty of *vecindad*, about which much less is known, signed between members of neighboring municipalities or rural communities, is in fact another type of bilateral political instrument at work during the middle ages.²¹⁰ In some ways these imitated the format of the sovereign treaty. Like peace treaties, these documents were negotiated and written down, in addition to more informal examples of both noble alliance and *vecindad* the evidence of which has not survived.²¹¹ Where the sovereigns of Castile and Granada had the diplomatic instruments of peace treaties and the noblemen the more personal instruments of letters promising friendship and allegiance, these communities used the concept of *vecindad* to establish municipal solidarity across the border.

The word *vecindad* in the *antiguo regimen* had a very specific set of meanings concerning property ownership, residence, and concomitant rights and obligations. *Vecindad* in contemporary Spanish, however, has taken on a meaning more akin to the English “neighbor” (Sp. *vecino*), and modern

²¹⁰ There are many studies of the dynamics between communities across the border, but almost all are framed as part of the larger picture of general military conflict, discussing patterns of raiding and even the institutions of captive negotiation (of great interest to us in this dissertation). However the instruments of collaboration have received very little attention, and in this and the following paragraph I follow the work of José Rodríguez Molina who, working in the same bibliography of frontier that presumes inherent conflict, has sought out the fascinating examples of what may actually be fairly called *convivencia* (as opposed to a reading of contemporary cultural politics onto a generic idea of a medieval Spain of “three cultures”). For a nuanced discussion of the limits and utility of the concept of *convivencia*, see Rodríguez Molina, “Convivencia entre cristianos y musulmanes en la frontera de Granada.” For his studies of local (sometimes unsuccessful) collaboration and solidarity at the municipal level across the border, see José Rodríguez Molina, “Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén,” *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino* 6 (1992): 81-128; José Rodríguez Molina, “Contratos de vecindad en la frontera de Granada” *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino* 12 (1998): 33-56.

²¹¹ There was also correspondence between Castilian border municipalities and the Nasrid chancellery, as was the case in the letters exchanged between the *cabildo* of Jaén and Granada in 1480. See Rodríguez Molina, “Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén,” p. 126.

scholars normally eschew the modern meaning when discussing the *antiguo regimen*. In the fifteenth century border texts however, the term "*vecindad*" in fact has meaning that is not unlike the contemporary idea of "neighborliness" in the sense of mutual protection and benefit. Neighboring communities, as for example Cambil (Granada) and Huelma (Castile), provided local guides to help visitors from across the border not to get lost. These guides were appointed and employed by the municipal authority, as a courtesy and safeguard to ensure that merchants and other travelers would feel secure. As the leader of Cambil put it, "para esto es la vecindad."²¹²

First among the issues of greatest concern to these frontier *vecinos* was safe passage, a concern which indicates the frequency of border crossings. Border communities were also interested in setting up agreements for international irrigation systems and the right to graze sheep across the border. One of the most common examples of this *vecindad* were the agreements to make common use of no-man's land that straddled the border for pastureland, or to allow Christians or Muslims to make use of recognized pastureland across the border.²¹³ There was a common exchange of agricultural labor, and it was normal to pay for the right to hunt across the border or to be granted the right to cross the border to undertake a religious pilgrimage.

Border communities were in frequent contact, and there were dedicated staff to manage these interactions.²¹⁴ Examples from the *cabildo* archives of Jaén (Castile), from 1479, are instructive. In addition to corresponding with neighboring Granadan municipalities like Colmera, the council of

²¹² "That's what being a neighbor is for." See Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," p. 84.

²¹³ Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," pp. 109–113 and pp. 117–119.

²¹⁴ As was the case of Jaén and Granada. The cities of Valencia (Aragón) and Almería (Granada) also agreed to a private treaty between the communities for peace and commerce. See bibliography in Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," p. 93.

Jaén sent letters and representatives to Granada.²¹⁵ In October 1479, the *jurado* Martín de Espinosa travelled to Granada:

with letters and licenses for the aforementioned city of Jaén, to make understood and to define and conclude certain debates which are pending between the aforementioned city of Jaén and some of the towns and castles of the Kingdom of Granada [...] For which we have already drawn up some notes with the leaders of those towns and castles, before the honored knight Cidi Abdalla Borruqueque, secretary, accountant, and *trujamán mayor* of the Serene and most Excellent King of Granada.²¹⁶

That is, rather than remit the border disputes to the Castilian sovereigns, the local representatives in Jaen brought their disagreements before a mediator in the Granadan court, in what does not seem to be an exceptional example. In this case, the negotiations revolved around problems between local communities and fortified outposts, although the problems themselves are not specified. Captive negotiation was also a frequent motive for this kind of border contact. In November of 1479, the Jaen *cabildo* sent a letter to Abulcasim Venegas, the *alguacil mayor* of Granada, describing the captive negotiations that had taken place in Jaen between the *alfaques* sent by the Castilian and Granadan sides: "Let it be known how Martín de Lara, our *alfaques*, appeared before us and complained to us and recounted how he and Hamete el Majo, your *alfaques*, while maintaining the loyalty and truth of their offices, both Martín de Lara and the aforementioned Hamete, were acting as *trujamanes* and negotiators (lit.: buyers) on behalf on certain Muslims who had been carried off to this kingdom."²¹⁷

The letter from Jaen is, in fact, a complaint about the later duplicity of Hamete el Majo, asking for justice on behalf of Martín de Lara, who had put up all of the money for the transaction, asking

²¹⁵ "Carta de Colmera (August 28, 1479)," in Mata Carriazo, "Relaciones frontizas," p. 245. The letter was transcribed into the council records in romance, so the author notes that it is impossible to know whether it arrived already translated or in an Arabic version.

²¹⁶ "con cartas e poderes de la dicha çibdad de Jahén, para entender y definir e concluir çiertas pendençias e debates que entre la dicha çibdad de Jahén e algunas villas e castillos deste reino de Granada están [...] Sobre lo qual ovo algunos apuntamientos con los alcaides de las dichas villas y castillos, antél honrrado cavallero Çidi Abdalla Borriqueque, secretario y contador e trujamán mayor del serenísimo e muy excelente Rey de Granada." Mata Carriazo, "Relaciones frontizas," p. 261.

²¹⁷ "Facémosvos sober cómo Martín de Lara, nuestro alhaqueque, pareció ante nos e se nos quexó e dixo cómo él e Hamete el Majo, vuestro alhaqueque, guardando la fieldad e verdad de sus oficios, así el dicho Martín de Lara como el dicho Hamete, han sido trujamanes e compradores de çiertos moros que fueron levados a ese Reyno." Mata Carriazo, "Relaciones frontiezeras," p. 254.

Venegas to send Hamete back to Jaén to pay his debts. Although the Jaén municipal records don't tell us in what language the oral negotiations and letters were in, it is clear from the presence of the bilingual staff like the *trujamanes* and *alfaques* that translation and interpretation occurred, and in a habitual forum. In Murcia, whose border and linguistic situation was even more complex, there were dedicated scribes who translated between Castilian, Catalan, and Arabic employed by the local councils, although the most frequent motive for that contact was the captive trade.²¹⁸

ii. Controlling the Frontier

a. The Crown vs. the Nobility

Who controlled and oversaw these frontier municipalities? The ultimate authority was the crown, of course, but the heritage of military conflict led by nobles ran deep along the frontier, and this was reflected in the organization of territory. The frontier was made up of a variety of political organizations (royal, seigniorial, and ecclesiastical lands) in a diverse geography which shaped the evolution of travel routes for merchants, soldiers, and the farmers and ranchers who lived in the borderlands. In terms of political jurisdiction, there were some royal lands on the frontier, but most of the region was divided between several powerful nobles and military orders who had become large landowners in the wake of the thirteenth-century conquests of Ferdinand III and Alfonso X. The Castile-Granada border in the 1470s and 1480s was thus far from monolithic. To the east the Sierra de Ronda abutted the seigniorial lands of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Northeast of the ducal lands, the region of Seville was for the most part under the jurisdiction of the king, though the Ponce de León family, Marquises of Cádiz, Counts of Arcos, and the traditional enemies of the Medina Sidonia, controlled an important territory. Moving northeast, the lands of Priego and Aguilar were controlled by the Fernández de Córdoba family. Branches of this same family wielded power throughout the bishoprics of Jaén and Córdoba. The very eastern part of the border was with the

²¹⁸ Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales en el sureste de la península ibérica durante la baja Edad Media."

Castilian kingdom of Murcia, ruled by the Farjados. Murcia was bounded by Aragon and Granada, who were separated by only a narrow strip of Castilian territory. As Juan de Mata Carriazo has astutely pointed out, much of the shape of border security and conflict had a great deal to do with the territorial and personal conflicts amongst the great nobles of Andalucía, most particularly the Count of Cabra against the Aguilar, and the Ponce de León against the Gúzman of Medina Sidonia, the latter conflict which would be a salient feature during the *reconquista* of 1482 onwards.²¹⁹

These regions were marked by a string of castles erected to defend and oversee the border, many of which were maintained by the military orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Roads were forged along convenient valleys and rivers, and these routes were controlled by a series of inland ports.²²⁰ The frontier was a distinct space, whose geography was organized by border markers and fortresses. The boundaries themselves were listed and described in the peace treaties between the two kingdoms. The imagined boundaries established in those treaties had real-life importance. Merchants and other individuals could travel across the frontier so long as they had a valid safe-conduct, remained within a restricted trading buffer along the frontier, and did not transport forbidden goods, like horses and weapons. Depending on the conditions of the current peace treaty, licit travel days were also limited, meaning that although the frontier was porous and mutually influential, it was spatially and temporally restricted (at least in theory).²²¹

²¹⁹ See Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478," *Al-Andalus* 19/2 (1954): 317-368, p. 342.

²²⁰ Rodríguez Molina, "Convivencia entre cristianos y musulmanes en la frontera de Granada," 202–203.

²²¹ Although some treaties stipulated that cross-border trade must take place only on certain days, municipal records show that trade happened on a daily basis. Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 103.

b. Bilateral Frontier Institutions: Increasing royal control

In this context of defensive and communicative infrastructures, throughout the middle ages regular frontier offices came into being. Military staff with language skills and territorial expertise like *almogavares* were sent as advance troops on raids, and *adalides* functioned as guides. *Alfaqueques*, or captive redeemers, were frequently merchants and sometimes also served as ambassadors.²²² The norms for this office were first laid down by Alfonso X in the *Siete Partidas* and later reaffirmed.²²³ On the whole, the *alfaquería* was one of the most heavily regulated frontier institutions, and *alfaqueques* were required to follow the main roads and identify themselves with flags and drums.²²⁴ Among the most important qualities were physical strength, expertise in languages (the *alfaqueque* was in fact called upon to be at the same time a *trujamán*), sufficient financial means to stake the transactions, and the ability to win trust and friendship easily. Their facility of movement, language, and alliance meant that *alfaqueques* were often suspected of being (and often were) spies. *Exceas* was the more general label for another group of commercial and linguistic intermediaries who served as negotiators, with the important duty of establishing friendly relations.²²⁵ This quality of friendliness or being personable and inspiring trust was also an acknowledged requirement for *alfaqueques*.²²⁶ This same quality would remain an important characteristic among interpreters for centuries to come.

The frontier, as the point of entry for international trade (including the captive trade carried out by the *alfaqueques*), not only embodied a brisk commercial environment where profits stood to be made, but was also a potential source of revenue for the crown through commercial and frontier

²²² López de Coca Castañer, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier (1369-1482)," 137.

²²³ In this, the ideals of the translator echo the ideals of the *alfaqueque* as outlined in the *Siete Partidas*, libro II, título XXX, "De los alfaqueques." Published in Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807, pp. 645-647. Although Alfonso's *Siete Partidas* was composed in the thirteenth century, it wasn't ratified until the *Cortes* of 1390, at which time presumably the regulations outlined in the law codes were still held up as normative standards.

²²⁴ López de Coca Castañer, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier (1369-1482)," 137.

²²⁵ Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 96.

²²⁶ Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales en el sureste de la Península Ibérica durante la baja edad media."

taxation.²²⁷ Although the Castilian kings were forced to establish extremely permissive conditions to attract immigrants to the frontier, including waving most taxes and forgiving crimes as serious as murder, they stood to make back the lost income by taxing trade with Granada.²²⁸ This was the *diezmo y media de lo morisco*. The Nasrids imposed a parallel tax on their side of the border, the *Magran*.²²⁹ To this end, both dynasties set up comprehensive and highly regulated customs administrations along the border. The main commercial routes were marked by *puertos secos* (dry ports) which were agreed upon in each peace treaty.²³⁰ Quesada, Jaén, Alcalá la Real, and Lorca were consistently among the border cities named.²³¹ The customs houses in these *puertos secos* had their own administration, including the *escribanía de lo morisco* (the office of the scribe in charge of *morisco* affairs, in this case, goods coming from the terrain of the "moros" and having nothing to do with the later sense of the word *morisco*), staffed by a royal appointee, often drawn from the nobility.²³² The

²²⁷ Miguel Ladero Quesada and José Rodríguez Molina among others have recognized Alfonso X (r. 1252-1284) as the instigator of these new fiscal policies, which would really take off under the Trastámara beginning a century later. See Miguel Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista: repobladores y mudéjares*, 2nd ed., Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993, and Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," p. 97, along with María Asenjo González, "Actividad económica, aduanas y relaciones de poder en la frontera norte de Castilla en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos," *En la España medieval* 19 (1996): 275-310, p. 277.

²²⁸ Without inhabitants to provide labor, provisioning, and military service, the border could not be defended, and an empty frontier would have been an invitation for the Nasrids to attempt to occupy the land. Thus the *vecinos* of frontier towns enjoyed tremendous privileges in exchange for the risks of inhabiting a frontier where captive raids and military campaigns were a normal feature. Asenjo González, "Actividad económica, aduanas y relaciones de poder en la frontera norte de Castilla en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos."

²²⁹ Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 98.

²³⁰ Asenjo González, "Actividad económica, aduanas y relaciones de poder en la frontera norte de Castilla en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos," map on 291. Although there were fifteen dry ports on the land frontiers between Castile and Aragon and Castile and Navarre, the number of ports along the Castile-Granada frontier was normally fewer and subject to continual revision in the periodic peace treaties. The number of ports along the Granada-Castile frontier was far fewer. The status of these ports was also subject to negotiation and revision, and was determined in the peace treaties, which could take place every year or every ten. Although there were fifteen dry ports on the land frontiers between Castile and Aragon and Castile and Navarre, the number of ports along the Castile-Granada frontier was normally fewer and subject to continual revision in the periodic peace treaties. The number of ports along the Granada-Castile frontier was far fewer. The status of these ports was also subject to negotiation and revision, and was determined in the peace treaties, which could take place every year or every ten.

²³¹ For a discussion of the different ports over the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, see Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 94 and 106–107. In 1439, Juan II designated only four dry ports in Andalucía: Alcalá la Real, Huelma, Antequera, and Zahara, and their status was only good for three years. Amador de los Ríos, *Memoria histórico-crítica*, p. 49.

²³² In Alcalá la Real the position of *escribano de lo morisco* was controlled, along with other collected *mercedes* of the ruler, by a nobleman. In Murcia, the position was held by Çafad Díaz. See Jiménez Alcántara, "«Judío vesino en el alcaçar del castillo de la dicha cibdad de Lorca»: Judería, poder económico y entorno social en una ciudad de la frontera de granada," *Historia*,

actual duties of this position, including receiving and documenting the goods from across the border, could then be farmed out by the office-holder to a subordinate.²³³ As numerous scholars have pointed out, regulating the principal intermediaries was a means of consolidating control over the most important aspect of cross-border contact from the point of view of the Crown: taxable activities.²³⁴

This mutually beneficial system of regulating commerce along the frontier was only one of the features of border maintenance that was re-negotiated regularly in the official peace treaties between sovereigns. The kings of Castile and Granada also agreed—from at least the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards—that frontier justice would be administered by the royally appointed *alcalde mayor de cristianos y moros*, also known as the *juez de querellas*, or the *juez entre los reyes* (*al-qāḍī bayna-l-mulūk*) (chief judge and arbiter of frontier quarrels). This office, and the important role it played in Castilian-Granadan diplomacy on a local scale, would last until 1492 and, as I argue below, lent some characteristics to frontier justice in the presidios. These judges were “*omnes buenos*” (“good men,” almost always high nobles) appointed by the kings of Castile, Granada and Aragón.²³⁵ This

Instituciones, Documentos 38 (2011): 267-289, especially p. 277. This frontier *escribano de lo morisco*, fundamentally an office of the aduana, should not be confused with the *escribano de lo morisco* as it was part of mudéjar administration. See the example of Ali Serrano in Navarra in 1390s. See Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 147-148.

²³³ As was the case in Jaén in 1480, when Juan Çesero was put in charge of holding the goods on which the *diezmo y medio* should have been collected, in effect acting on behalf of Torres, the actual *escribano de lo morisco*. See Rodríguez Molina, “Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén,” p. 103.

²³⁴ Although this frontier was abolished by the conquest, in 1492 they could not afford to abandon the former fiscal policies since the sales taxes traditionally gathered at the frontier constituted a huge percentage of royal revenue. Months after Boabdil’s capitulation of the capital city, many of the traditional *puertos secos* were reaffirmed as collection sites for the *diezmo y medio*, as well as serving as a way to control movement between Castile and Granada. José López de Coca Castañer, “Privilegios fiscales y repoblación en el reino de Granada (1485-1520),” *Baética* (1979): 205-233, especially pp. 213-214. What is significant about this ruling is the continuation of the fiscal frontier. Although the new kingdom had been conquered, borders were not instantly erased. In 1494, two years after the conquest, the *diezmo y medio de lo morisco* was still to be levied at, “Lorca e Tarifa, Caravaca e Quesada e Jahen e Alcalá la Real e Loxa e Antequera, Azara...” Archivo Municipal de Alcalá la Real, *Libro de Actas de 1492*, fols. 7a-8a, quoted in Rodríguez Molina, José. “Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén,” p. 94.

²³⁵ In 1405 the kings of Aragon and Sicily (father and son) signed a peace treaty with the king of Granada in which Martín of Aragón and Muhammad VII of Granada each appointed a judge to oversee frontier complaints: in Aragón the governor of Orihuela, and in Granada the *alcaldes* of Vélez el Mayor and Vera. See Juan de Mata Carriazo, “Alcalde entre los cristianos y los moros en la frontera de Granada,” *Al-Andalus* 13/1 (1948): 35-96, p. 57.

The *alcaldes de cristianos y moros*, on the Castilian side, were generally frontier nobles with large landholdings like the Adelantado Farjado in Murcia (1378-1403) or Alonso Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Aguila, in Andalucía (1381-1420).

was true for both sides of the frontier.²³⁶ These judges were charged with overseeing complaints about raiding, looting, captive-taking, and killing across the frontier in violation of whatever peace treaty was in place. In order to conduct their investigations and execute justice, they employed *rastreros*, or scouts, also known as *fieles de rastro* or *pesquidores* (investigators) whose task was to investigate (*pesquisa*) the allegations of crime and/or breaking the terms of the treaty, and return to the *alcalde de cristianos y moros* with the evidence needed to prosecute, as the *jueces* were fully empowered to do. Evidently, the task of investigating across the border would require language skills and a good knowledge of the other territory. Developing from this system of cross-border justice were the *fieles de rastro*, a sort of border police that resolved disputes between Castilian communities as well as across the frontier, were administered by the *alcalde de rastro* and the *escribano de rastro*, and paid by the municipality in which they were based. Scholars have argued that the rise of these frontier offices—in theory and then in practice—was not designed to eschew frontier violence but rather to control it.²³⁷ That is, establishing frontier justice and a staff of informants allowed both kings to preserve the peace treaties even when provoked by inevitable individual raids along the frontier, and allowed for some flexibility when reprisals were deemed necessary.

See Torres Fontes, "El Alcalde entre moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia," *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 78 (1960): 55-80; Mata Carriazo, "Alcalde entre los cristianos y los moros"; José López de Coca Castañer, "Los jueces de las querellas," *Edad Media: revista de historia* 11 (2010): 173-201; and José López de Coca Castañer, *El reino de Granada en la época de los Reyes Católicos: repoblación, comercio y frontera*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989, pp. 145-147. In Seville, unlike Córdoba and Murcia, the *alcalde mayor* was a lesser nobleman. In Murcia and Córdoba/Jaén, the office was held by high nobility from major frontier lineages (e.g. The Fernández de Córdoba or the Farjado). In Seville and Cádiz on the other hand, the office was held by minor nobility, who held a different configuration of cargos. For example, the last *alcalde mayor de cristianos y moros* in Seville was Antón González de Almonte, who was at the same time an *escribano del rey*, a secretary to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and *veinticuatro* of Seville. Manuel Rojas Gabriel, *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*, Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz, 1995, pp.161-162.

²³⁶ During the fifteenth century, according to Rachel Arié and Seco de Lucena, most of the diplomatic negotiators for the Nasrid parties were members of the al-Amin family (Ali, Sa'd, and 'Abd Allah). In addition to their role in negotiating these treaties, in order to preserve the equilibrium of the border, the kings of Granada frequently named as the frontier justices and emissaries the members of the Banu al-Amin. Rachel Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris: De Boccar, 1990, pp. 127-129. Although in Castile the *jueces de las querellas* or *alcaldes de cristianos y moros* were appointed by region (Murcia and the bishoprics of Jaén and Córdoba), the al-Amin family controlled this office for the entire Granadan frontier. López de Coca Castañer, *El Reino de Granada en la época de los Reyes Católicos*, pp. 145-147.

²³⁷ Mata Carriazo, "Alcalde entre los cristianos y los moros"; Torres Fontes, "El Alcalde entre moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia"; and López de Coca Castañer, "Los jueces de las querellas."

Among all of these different kinds of frontier professionals there was also a good deal of overlap. Under the Catholic Kings an appointment of *alfaqueque mayor* or *escribano de lo morisco* could go hand in hand with an appointment as *alcalde mayor de moros y cristianos*, as in the cases of Fernán Arias de Saavedra and Luis de Torres, son of the *condestable* Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (who also had the rights to the *exea*).²³⁸

As the offices developed and became weighed down with the tradition of their practices and practitioners, they were also subject to increasing regulation, culminating under Ferdinand and Isabel. This is most evident in the creation of *mayores*, or institutionalized professional hierarchies, a process that was already underway in the fourteenth century.²³⁹ The first category of frontier professionals subject to this were the *jueces de querellas*, who were from the very beginning a highly articulated judicial hierarchy, staffed at the top only by high-ranking nobles.²⁴⁰ Over the course of the middle ages the crown gained gradual control over the *alfaqueque* guild through the creation of the *alfaqueque mayor*.²⁴¹ The office of a *trujamán mayor* existed in Castile as early as 1439, when Juan Reynal held the title, and was an available term in 1470 when the title was ascribed to Said al-Amin, and again in 1479 when applied to Çidi Abdalla Borriqueque.²⁴² Reynal's primary occupation (and

²³⁸ For the history of increasing royal control over the institution of the *alfaqueques*, see García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media: los alfaqueques reales," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1997, pp. 37-54. The office came firmly under royal and noble control in the fifteenth century, and remained an important profession even after the fall of Granada. In 1514, Juana issued an *Ordenamiento* to Juan de Saavedra, the current *alfaqueque real* detailing the "comportamientos, atribuciones, derechos y obligaciones del cargo" (p. 44 and Doc. II, pp. 52-54).

²³⁹ The *alférez mayor*, *adelantado mayor*, and *almirante mayor del rey* were all examples of "los grandes oficios syn jurisdicción fuera de la casa del rey." García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media: los alfaqueques reales," p. 38 and note 13.

²⁴⁰ This office is a discovery of the twentieth century, and historians are still piecing together the historical record to learn when the office came into being. It was certainly active in the first decade of the fifteenth century, but seems to date to much earlier in the fourteenth. See Mata Carriazo, "Alcalde entre los cristianos y los moros"; Torres Fontes, "El Alcalde entre moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia"; and López de Coca Castañer, "Los jueces de las querellas."

²⁴¹ The normative prescription of how an *alfaqueque* should be was laid down in the *Siete Partidas* and in the latter half of the fifteenth century the term "alfaqueque mayor o real" began to appear in the texts of the *Cortes*. García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media: los alfaqueques reales," pp. 38-39

²⁴² In 1439, John II's *trujamán mayor* was one of many other captive redeemers sent to Granada after the conclusion of the peace treaty, and it is likely that his title came from his activities as an *alfaqueque* rather than as a chancellery translator. See Amador de los Ríos, *Memoria histórico-crítica*, p. 142. "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de

most likely one of the reasons for his expertise and appointment as *trujamán mayor*) was as a military captain on the frontier.²⁴³ Under the Catholic Kings two more offices would be incorporated into the administrative structure, the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas*, an important figure in the control and administration of minority communities to which we will return in chapter 4, and the *intérprete mayor*. These offices came into being in the 1470s, and were officially recognized as a royal appointment for the first time by Ferdinand and Isabel.

There had long been a need for bilingual intermediaries on both sides of the border, in particular to conduct diplomacy and commerce, and to generate the many bilingual texts that crossed the frontier (treaties, safe conducts, letters, etc.). On the Castilian side, however, although there were interpreters, no specialized office arose until the second half of the fifteenth century, as we will discuss in detail below. We have no extant documentary evidence of an Arabic section to the Castilian chancellery as there was in Aragon.²⁴⁴ On the Granadan side, however, a specialized office did develop in order to generate bilingual instruments like treaties and safe conducts. In the 1470s, this office was headed by 'Ali al-Amīn, *trujamán mayor* of Granada, a member of a powerful Granadan family with a long history of service to the Nasrid dynasty.²⁴⁵ Although the al-Amin family held many positions which required experience crossing the border and probably bilingualism, 'Ali al-Amin did not translated the treaties and safe conducts himself. Rather, along with a specialized team of scribes and witnesses, he oversaw the translation. The man who actually rendered the text

Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba," in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, pp. 69-143.

²⁴³ Document LXXXIII and p. 153 in José Amador de los Ríos, *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las tréguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1879.

²⁴⁴ Although Hernando de Baeza claims that John II used interpreters when sending his embassies to Granada.

"Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, p. 4. For the Aragonese Arabic chancellery, see Robert I. Burns and Paul Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain Under James the Conqueror*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, p. 180.

²⁴⁵ The al-Amin family consolidated its power during the rule of Yusuf III, although they were also casualties to the internecine strife between kings and pretenders. In 1417 'Ali al-Amin was executed when his king fell from power. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 224.

from Arabic to Castilian was Almançor de León, whose biography is unknown to modern scholars, who calls himself "secretario de lo castellano."²⁴⁶ These documents are certainly translations (rather than co-texts as in the case of the treaties discussed below), but the Arabic version shows the bilateral nature of these texts. For example, one original Arabic letter called for Diego Hernández de Córdoba and Don Alfonso de Aguilar to appear in Granada on a certain date (to engage in a duel), August 10, 1470, using the Christian calendar (*fī yawm al-'āshir li-shabar Aghusht al-'ajamī 'ām alf wa-arbi'amā'ih wa-saba'īn li-tārīkh al-masīh*). Nonetheless, the document itself was dated with the Muslim as well as the Christian date (*fī awal shabar Allah al-Muharram muftatah 'ām khamsah wa-saba'īn wa-thamānmā'ih waqifah awal yūlīh al-'ajamī 'ām alf wa-arbi'amā'ih wa-saba'īn li-tārīkh al-masīh al-mathkūr*).²⁴⁷ The Castilian translation was almost literal, "el día 10 del mes de Agosto era cristiana, del año de 1470 del Mesías [...] a 1.º del mes de Moharran, que da comienzo al año 875, y coincide con el 1.º de Julio de 1470, era del Mesías," though it is missing the reference to Allah, but most importantly the translation maintained both the Christian and Muslim dates in the Castilian version.²⁴⁸ Thus the original text already contained important content in Arabic but intended only for the Castilian-speaking audience, while the translation still preserved information needed only by an Arabic-speaking Muslim audience.

This is not to say that all Arabic texts were sent to Castile with a ready-made translation. Even those intended for the Castilian monarch could be sent in only Arabic, as in 1439, when the chief Castilian negotiator, Íñigo López de Mendoza, had the letters sent from Sultan Muhammad IX to King John II translated himself. It is not surprising that noble landholders on the frontier would have translators employed in their service or chancellery, especially given the frequent

²⁴⁶ As in the case of the letters sent to Alfonso de Aguilar in 1470, inviting him to travel to Granada to accept the challenge of his kinsman, Diego Fernández de Córdoba. During this episode, safe conducts were translated into Castilian before leaving Granada, and were sent along with the original Arabic. "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba," in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, pp. 69-143

²⁴⁷ Doc. IV, in "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba," pp. 84-85.

²⁴⁸ Doc. IV, in "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba," pp. 86-87.

correspondence between many of those nobles and other high-ranking individuals across the border (including the Sultan). Some nobles acted themselves as interpreters, a practice that remained common on the North African frontier, as we shall see below.

As mentioned above, the Andalucian nobles, in addition to holding lands and interests on the frontier, had strong relationships and even friendships with Granadan nobles and the Nasrid royal household. It is perhaps not surprising that the nobles (themselves virtual princes of large landholdings along the frontier) felt that they had as much in common with the princes of Granada as not: after all, both were technically vassals of the King of Castile.²⁴⁹ As late as the 1470s, there was plenty of cross-border collaboration between the nobles and military elites of both Granada and Castile. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, whose friendship with important Granadan nobles like 'Ali al-Attar and even the Sultan Hassan, employed a trusted messenger named Çeli Haraute who, though not a translator of texts, carried letters back and forth between Castilian and Arabic speakers with accompanying oral messages from his lord.²⁵⁰ Even while serving as chief negotiator for Henry IV or the Catholic Kings, Diego Fernández de Córdoba (d. 1481), the Count of Cabra, maintained his close relationship with the Granadan elite.²⁵¹ In 1490, Diego's cousin Gonzálo had a knight in his personal service named Abu-l-Qasim who served as his messenger to the Catholic Kings while he was on Granada as their ambassador.²⁵² Meanwhile, in 1469, the Marques de Villena was in charge of

²⁴⁹ As to whether or not the Nasrid sultans thought of themselves as vassals, as originally established in the 1246 treaty, see Harvey, *Islamic Spain*.

²⁵⁰ Çeli makes constant appearances in the surviving documentation surrounding the 1470 confrontation between Diego Fernández de Córdoba and Alonso de Aguilar, in which the Granadan Sultan Muley Hassan intervened on the part of his old friends the Fernández de Córdoba. See "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, pp. 69-143. "Haraute," though it seems to be part of Çeli's name, is also the professional term for a kind of messenger or town crier, and appears not infrequently paired with the denomination "intérprete," as we shall see below.

²⁵¹ A rich documentary collection of correspondence has survived which recounts the details of Diego Fernández de Córdoba's challenge to Alonso de Aguilar, in which a duel between the Castilian noblemen is arranged to take place in Granada, requiring that many letters, reports, and safe conducts be sent across the border, many of which were translated from Arabic. See "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, pp. 69-143

²⁵² "Documentos relativos al desafío de D. Alonso de Aguilar y D. Diego Fernández de Córdoba, in Lafuente Alcántara (ed.), *Relaciones de los últimos tiempos del Reino de Granada*, Madrid, 1868, p. 41. This is probably not Abu-l-Qasim al-Malih.

negotiating that year's treaty along the Murcian frontier, and his personal representative E. de Tudela traveled to Granada with the two ambassadors where Tudela served as the official translator of the mission.²⁵³ The frontier noblemen of Castile and their own households and chancelleries thus functioned as a crucial staging ground for correspondence and negotiations between the monarchs, and in particular had access to trusted bilingual agents who could help generate the necessary texts.

iii. The Traditional Treaty: Co-Texts or Translations?

What were these bilingual texts? At last we arrive at the most salient documentary evidence of the bilingual frontier: the peace treaties. The primary political and legal instrument for articulating the frontier was the diplomatic treaty, which in this context was a bilingual genre. The bilingualism of the genre was, however, heterogeneous. A treaty could be written first in one language, then translated, with varying degrees of fidelity. Or both versions could be composed simultaneously by two teams of scribes working side by side. The text could be presented in one language only, but signed in both languages. The official version could be monolingual, with bilingual annotations, presented with both languages on the same support side by side, or even interlinear.²⁵⁴ Each of these techniques suggests the presence of different combinations of multilingual staff and expectations. Such a variation in language use and form also allowed for a high variability in content, as we shall see in the few examples of extant bilingual texts from the later middle ages and sixteenth century.²⁵⁵ A common technique that scholars have recently uncovered in texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are bilingual treaties that present themselves as translations, even when they are

²⁵³ Perhaps a mudejar from Tudela, that northern enclave where Arabic persisted until a late date. See Harvey and García Arenal.

²⁵⁴ There is a relatively rich extant corpus of treaties between the romance-speaking Iberian kingdoms, Granada, and North Africa, at least in comparison with the documents that have been preserved for the Eastern Mediterranean. Burns and Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures*, p. xiv. There are no extant interlinear treaties from Castile, but there are in Aragon. Two that have received special attention are those analyzed by Burns and Chevedden, both dating to the same period as the Jaén treaty (1244 and c.1249).

²⁵⁵ Burns and Chevedden draw out the differences in content in the bilingual thirteenth-century treaties, despite the intimate presentation of an interlinear text. See Burns and Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures*, pp. 24-27.

not.²⁵⁶ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bilingual texts were still presented as translations, and still held significant differences in their content. For example, in the treaties of the late 1460s and early 1470s between Henry IV's representatives and various local leaders in Granada, not only are the Castilian versions much more detailed, but in some examples, such as in 1469, the instructions for Castilian actors are omitted from the Arabic version.²⁵⁷

The basic shape of the Castilian-Granadan border came into being in the middle of the thirteenth century, first by conquest, and then formalized by treaty when Muhammad I signed a twenty-year peace treaty with Ferdinand III in Jaén in 1246, in which he agreed to pay tribute to Castile as a vassal of Ferdinand.²⁵⁸ At this time the basic shape of the Castilian-Granadan treaty also took shape. It even seems that Muhammad also agreed to attend the Castilian *cortes* every year, indicating that this was in fact a true vassal relationship, in which *consilium* as well as *auxilium* was owed to the king. However, everything we know about this pact comes from later chronicles, and it is unfortunate that we do not have a copy of the treaty itself. We are not even sure it was bilingual, and it would be very interesting to see how the status of vassal would have been represented in Arabic, since submitting to a Christian lord could have caused problems with Islamic scholars. L.P. Harvey observes that the later Arabic sources describing the episode do not present Muhammad as a vassal to Ferdinand or Alfonso, and insists that the vocabulary for this political concept was not available on the Muslim side.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ See Robert I. Burns and Paul Chevedden, "Los tratados bilingües de rendición en la conquista de Valencia," in *Sevilla 1248 : Congreso Internacional Conmemorativo del 750 Aniversario de la Conquista de la Ciudad de Sevilla por Fernando III, Rey de Castilla y León, Sevilla, Real Alcázar, 23-27 de noviembre de 1998*, Seville: Centro de Estudios Ramón Arce, 2000, pp. 259-264, p. 260. See also the work of Enric Guinot Rodríguez on the *cartas pueblas* granted to mudéjar communities in Valencia in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, cited by Burns and Chevedden. These *cartas pueblas* were also presented as translations, although they were in reality parallel bilingual texts with significant differences in content.

²⁵⁷ José Antonio García Antón, *Treguas, guerra y capitulaciones en Granada*, pp. 22-25.

²⁵⁸ García Sanjuán, "Consideraciones sobre el pacto de Jaén," 716.

²⁵⁹ Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, 26–28. This can perhaps be fruitfully compared with the much later 1535 treaty of Tunis, where the language of the Arabic treaty invokes more of the concept of vassal than does the Castilian version. See Sadok Boubakker, "L'empereur Charles Quint et le sultan hafside Mawlay al-Hasan (1525-1550)," in *Empreints espagnoles dans l'histoire tunisienne* (Sadok Boubakker and Clara Ilham Alvarez Dopico (eds.), Biblioteca Arabo-Romanica et Islamica, Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2011, pp. 13-81.

Treaties were personal documents in this period. Although they often were negotiated and ratified by representatives of the respective rulers, they were valid only so long as the rulers in whose names they were signed were still alive. Thus in 1254, when Fernando's son Alfonso X came to the throne, Muhammad I renegotiated the peace. Centuries later in 1474-1475, when Henry IV died Isabel and Fernando quickly dispatched negotiators to broker an interim peace, a similar strategy was in effect. In fact, most of the early diplomatic precedents would be repeated until the end of the fifteenth century, although Granada only paid tribute when Castile was able to persuade the Sultan of its military superiority and intent.²⁶⁰ Both Granadan and Castilian rulers and nobles used military activity and diplomacy to interfere in the internal politics of the other kingdom.²⁶¹ Thus the motives for treaty negotiations were more often connected to the dynastic interests of the central sovereign powers and noblemen than to the everyday interests of those who lived and made their living along the frontier from commerce, ranching, farming, or urban trades.²⁶²

The latter part of the thirteenth and the first part of the fourteenth century, which are relatively poorly documented in terms of this diplomacy, seem to have been a time of frequent border conflicts in which territorial gains and losses occurred on both sides, but even so the practice of making treaties continued.²⁶³ Throughout the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, multi-lateral

²⁶⁰ Echevarría, *Knights on the Frontier*, 18.

²⁶¹ For a cogent and succinct review of the civil strife of both kingdoms and their mutual interference, taking into account Arabic sources as well as Castilian, see Echevarría, *Knights on the Frontier*, 24–46.

²⁶² This is not to say that the central powers were not interested in these daily activities, or, more specifically, the revenue generated therefrom. The tax base was of paramount interests and, as we shall see below, the frontier was to become a site of heavy taxation precisely because of its position as an entrepôt between the two negotiating powers.

²⁶³ The extant treaties, of which there are very few, are dated 1331, 1337, and 1344. There are no extant treaties between 1344 and 1406, although it is certain that treaties were conducted in the interim. For an overview of the scholarship, see López de Coca Castañer, "Las jueces de las querellas," especially pp. 176-177 and González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," pp. 49-50. The history of Castilian-Granadan relations, while the subject of numerous detailed articles, has never received the dedicated attention of a monograph or exhaustive study. This is due for the most part to the very piecemeal evidence. Although there is every indication that letters and embassies between the Castilian and Granadan court were not infrequent, and the commercial contact on the frontier was intensive, there is only a handful of extant evidence to document this interaction. López de Coca Castañer, "Las jueces de las querellas," p. 200. López de Coca affirms that the first extant archival documentation about any Castilian-Granadan diplomacy is the treaty of 1310, although there would have certainly been a relationship before this. Evidence of four treaties between the monarchs of Castile and Granada survives from the first half of the fourteenth century, and there is no extant treaty between 1344

diplomacy was conducted between the kings of Castile, Aragon, Granada, and sometimes the Benimerín in Morocco.²⁶⁴ In the fifteenth century, there were almost no major battles, and none after 1418, whereas treaties were signed almost every year until 1481.²⁶⁵ These treaties agreed to peace on land and sea for a set period of time and, depending on the level of violence preceding the treaty, either granted safe passage to merchants of all faiths (although merchants were required to conduct their trade within a certain limited distance from the border), or mandated that the only individuals who could freely cross the border would be the *alfaques*, carrying out their duties as captive redeemers. A truce, once established, was generally written up in Arabic and Castilian and signed copies of each were sent to both Castilian and Granadan chancelleries, and subsequently announced aloud (*pregonado*) in major cities. Since these pacts were meant for public consumption, each ruler must have been careful in the language he used in order not to undermine his legitimacy with his people.²⁶⁶ Under the Catholic Kings, from 1475 until 1481, after which time the reconquista

and 1406. Mata Carriazo, "Alcalde entre los cristianos y los moros," pp. 37, 54-56 and López de Coca Castañer, "Las jueces de las querellas," pp. 175-176. Between 1406 until the final rupture in 1481 that heralded the beginning of the final reconquest, there are only twelve extant texts: from 1406, 1410, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1424, 1439, 1443, 1469, 1472, 1477 [1478], and 1481. López de Coca Castañer, "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier," pp. 132-135. A relatively complete list and narrative review of the treaties from 1246-1482, including those from the 1450s, has just been published in Dolores Pérez Casteñada, *Enemigos seculares: Guerra y treguas entre Castilla y Granada (c. 1246 - c. 1481)*, Madrid: Silex, 2013.

²⁶⁴ For examples of multilateral treaties signed between Castile, Granada, and the Merinids in Morocco in the 1330s, including information about the embassies exchanged, see López de Coca Castañer, "Los jueces de las querellas," 176-179.

²⁶⁵ Rodríguez Molina notes that before the final outbreak of war in 1482, almost 90% of the time in the fifteenth century the two kingdoms were at peace, replacing Angus MacKay's estimate of 85%. Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 90-91.

²⁶⁶ García Sanjuán proposes that it was the news of the 1246 pact which fomented the mudéjar rebellion in Murcia. García Sanjuán, "Consideraciones sobre el pacto de Jaén," 722. Although there are frequent references to the process of proclaiming the treaties, the process is illustrated exceptionally well in a rare extant letter from Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis de Santillana and principal negotiator in the 1439 treaty between John II and Muhammad IX. Once the treaty had been finally concluded on April 11, 1439, Iñigo López began sending the necessary announcements of the treaty to the frontier municipalities, who had a keen interest in the details concerning trade, prohibitions, and the duration of the peace. On April 18, 1439, Iñigo López wrote to the municipal authorities in Seville with the details of the treaty, in particular the routes and limits of mobility for traders. Document LXXVIII in Amador de los Ríos, *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada*, pp. 131-132.

began in earnest, the form and content of the Castilian-Granadan peace treaties followed that of the previous centuries.²⁶⁷

The most important linguistic aspect of these treaties, for our purposes, is that they are *not* translations. Rather, they would be far better described as co-texts, in which the same content was generated simultaneously in Arabic and Castilian. The treaty was not complete without both languages, even if the intended audience would only understand a part of the text. Although the negotiations surely took place with the aid of interpreters, when the treaties were drawn up, at least as they are written, they were written more or less simultaneously by a set of Castilian scribes and another team of Arabic scribes.²⁶⁸

B. Diplomacy with Granada under the Reyes Católicos:

By the time that Isabel and Ferdinand took the throne, the frontier between the kingdoms of Castile and Granada was long established, along with a pattern of maintaining peace and commercial ties along the frontier through a semi-regular schedule of treaty negotiations. In 1474, the Granadan Sultan was 'Ali Abu-l-Hassan (Muley Hassan), who had ascended to the throne in 1464 and who would rule until 1482, the year that the War of Granada really got underway, and in which his nephew Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad XII (Boabdil) took the throne. Two periods of treaty negotiations with Granada took place during the reign of the Catholic Kings, after they had assumed the thrones of Castile and Aragon at the very end of 1474 and before the breakout of total war in

²⁶⁷ López de Coca Castañer, "Los jueces de las querellas," 179. Not very many of these peace treaties are extant, although over the course of the twentieth centuries scholars have made new discoveries. Much of the information about this diplomacy, especially in the fifteenth century, comes from the chronicles. In some cases, letters or other documents pertaining to the negotiation are extant, but the treaty itself is not. Mata Carriazo, in a 1954 article that is still cited as a call for historians to profit from local, noble, and local archival sources to understand the history of the frontier with Granada, first brought to light the extant treaties from 1475 and 1478. The main sources for the history of Castilian-Granadan international relations until that time had been the official chronicles of Hernando de Pulgar and Bernáldez.

²⁶⁸ The best evidence for these co-texts, since only a small minority of the medieval treaties are extant, is the treaty negotiation of 1439, Henry IV's last treaties of 1469 and 1472, and the stopgap treaties engineered by Ferdinand and Isabel in the early years of their reign in 1475 and 1478. Amador de los Ríos, *Memoria histórico-crítica*.

1482. The first negotiations in 1475 produced a treaty to last for three years. The second period of negotiation began in 1476, but lasted until 1478 for reasons we will discuss below. The 1478 treaty stipulated three years of peace, until 1481, and thus the invasion of Zahara at the end of the year was a violation of the truce. Rather than renegotiate, Ferdinand and Isabel were at last ready to undertake a full-scale conquest of the Nasrid kingdom, and satisfied to have a legal excuse to do so. This decision brought an important change in the way that diplomatic relations would be conducted between the two kingdoms, and with this change new developments in the cultivation of multilingual personnel in the Castilian administration.

The first periods of negotiation in the 1470s followed closely the centuries of traditional diplomacy between the two kingdoms. These two episodes of negotiations are described with varying fidelity by the contemporary chroniclers and their followers. Unfortunately the text of the actual treaties has not survived.²⁶⁹ There are, however, in diverse archives, letters from the Castilian and Granadan monarchs referring to the negotiations and the agents sent by each side. On January 30, 1475 the Catholic Kings issued a *carta de poder* for Diego Hernández de Córdoba, Count of Cabra, to travel to Granada and negotiate a peace treaty on behalf of the Castilian monarchs. The Sultan Abu-l-Hassan also left a record of the events in a letter to the count, dated July 28, 1475. Although the Count of Cabra certainly traveled to Granada, no news regarding the outcome of the negotiations reached Castile, and on November 17, 1475, the monarchs were obliged to issue a new *carta de poder* (a kind of power of attorney) to Fernando de Aranda, *veinticuatro* (town councilman) of Córdoba, and Pedro de Barrionuevo, to conduct a new embassy to Granada to ratify the treaty.²⁷⁰ They also sent a letter to the municipal council of Murcia warning the frontier kingdom to be armed

²⁶⁹ Mata Carriazo, “Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478,” 340.

²⁷⁰ Archivo municipal de Sevilla: Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos, vol. 1, f. 61. No. 59 in the Índice del Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos, Claudio Sanz Arizmendi (Revue Hispanique, LXII, 1924, p. 14). Partially transcribed in Mata Carriazo, “Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478,” 341.

and ready in case no agreement was reached.²⁷¹ Ultimately, after all of this waiting and confusion, the treaty was signed in June of 1475, for the period of one year.²⁷² In 1476, Isabel sent an embassy to Granada to propose a five-year treaty, from 1476 to 1481.²⁷³ The treaty was negotiated in Granada by her representatives, again Fernando de Aranda and Pedro de Barrionuevo.²⁷⁴ In this case, however, the best intentions of the monarchs could not guarantee frontier security. In 1477, Muley Hassan sent a force to attack the Murcian town of Cienza, making off with several hundred captives.²⁷⁵ The attack was in clear violation of the 1476 treaty, but from another point of view, could be considered the just retaliation against the *adelantado* of Murcia, Pedro Farjado, who had conducted many raids into Granada during the reign of Henry IV, against whom he had been in a state of rebellion. The Catholic Kings accepted the 1477 attack as, though not legitimate, an understandable parenthesis from their 1476 treaty, and began an inquiry with a view to creating a new peace treaty. The negotiations initially failed, according to the royal chronicler Alonso de Palencia, because of Barrionuevo and in spite of his previous experience.²⁷⁶ Fed up, Isabel reappointed the Count of Cabra, Diego Hernández de Córdoba, to take charge of the negotiations. Fernández de Córdoba in turn dispatched Juan Pérez de Valenzuela and the same Fernando de Aranda who had accompanied Barrionuevo to the earlier negotiations. This time, the Castilian embassy succeeded in forging a treaty, valid for three years, from 1478 to 1481.²⁷⁷

²⁷¹ This kind of military preparation was also a departure from the norm: most of the military campaigns of the fifteenth century under John II and Henry IV had gathered troops and set off from Andalucía and Jaén. Pino García, "Las campañas militares castellanas contra el reino de Granada durante los reinados de Juan II y Enrique IV," 679.

²⁷² Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*, p. 151.

²⁷³ Torres Fontes, "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478," p. 193.

²⁷⁴ According to the royal chronicler Alonso de Palencia, Barrionuevo wasn't up to the task. Mata Carriazo, "Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478," p. 333.

²⁷⁵ Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*, p. 151.

²⁷⁶ Torres Fontes, "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478," p. 215.

²⁷⁷ Published and reproduced in Mata Carriazo, "Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478," pp. 360-363, with a transcription of the Arabic text by Emilio García Gómez, pp. 365-367. The peace treaty itself is not extant, but the agreement about how the treaty was to be negotiated is, in both the Arabic and Castilian versions, and remains in the Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real. The letters were composed in two versions, one each in Castilian and in Arabic. The Castilian version was composed in the name and from the point of view of the Castilian ambassadors, Juan Pérez de Valenzuela and Fernando de Aranda, to Muley Hasan and the Arabic version was issued by the king of

i. Presentations of Power: The translation staff in Granada

What emerges from this review of diplomatic traditions is that, on the Castilian side, there were institutions and families with a long tradition of frontier service who could be deployed to act as negotiators and, if needed, translators. However, a regular staff of interpreters and translators did not exist on the Castilian side. In Granada, the situation was different, and there was a tradition of a Castilian chancellery (*escribanía de lo castellano*). When it came time to negotiate the series of treaties drawn up during the decade of the War of Granada (1482-1492), with some notable exceptions, the sources reveal far more active agents from Granada than from Castile.

As we saw above, in 1470, Sa'id al-Amin was the *trujamán mayor* of Granada, supervising a team of scribes that included Almançor de León, *escribano de lo castellano*. Meanwhile, in 1479 a certain Cidi Abd Allah Borriqueque also served as a "secretario, contador, y trujamán mayor del rey granadino," and seems to have specialized in negotiations specific to the frontier.²⁷⁸ These men were employed by Muley Hassan, and probably continued to act on his behalf after war broke out. During the war, Boabdil also had his own staff of interpreters who intervened in diplomacy with the Castilians. The *alcaide* Abraham de Mora was appointed as his *trujamán mayor* sometime after his release from captivity in c.1486. Abraham de Mora stuck by Boabdil until at least the end of 1493, helping him in some of the last negotiations before his emigration to North Africa.²⁷⁹ The Mora family, originally from Toledo, became part of the municipal elite in Granada after 1492, as we will see in chapter 4.

Granada to the two ambassadors. That is, although the Castilian and Arabic versions contained similar information, neither one was a translation of the other. Each version had two copies, one bilingual copy to be sent to the Castilian court and one to be held in Granada. In this agreement, the king and ambassadors decided that a third knight, from Granada and to be appointed by the king, would accompany them for a period of two months in order to fully investigate the breaches in the previous two treaties (1475 and 1476) and the *daños* (crimes) committed on either side, taking into particular account the actions of Pedro Farjado. The three appointed arbiters had a total of six months to complete their investigations and compile their reports. AGS, Patronato Real, Leg. 11, no. 4, reproduced in Mata Carriazo, "Treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478," pp. 360-363.

²⁷⁸ Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Relaciones fronterizas entre Jaén y Granada el año 1479," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, LXI/1 (1955): p. 270 and 292.

²⁷⁹ AGS Patronato Real (PR) 1113, September 18, 1493.

The Castilian Hernando de Baeza joined Boabdil's service at about the same time that Mora did. Hernando de Baeza one of the few examples of this bilateral recruitment of agents. We know very little about his biography, apart from what he himself tells us in his account, *Las cosas que pasaron entre los reyes de Granada desde el tiempo de el rrey don Juan de Castilla, segundo de este nonbre, hasta que los católicos reyes ganaron el reino de Granada*, written long after the war in the first years of the sixteenth century.²⁸⁰ In this work he narrates how he met Boabdil in Alcaudete after the latter had been released from his Castilian captivity in 1485 or 1486, and when he took over the Albaicín he sent Abraham de Mora to bring Baeza back to serve as his intermediary with the Catholic Kings.²⁸¹ From his position as Boabdil's confidant, Baeza was directly connected to the network of messengers, interpreters, negotiators and other information agents that was deployed across the southern peninsula. Baeza reports having been a close friend of Abraham de Mora, Boabdil's *trujamán mayor* and a messenger trusted as well by the Catholic Kings, and also knew Abraham Robledo, another messenger, who Baeza tells us was Fernando de Pulgar's informant while the historian was working on his chronicle in the camp of the Castilian army in the Vega de Granada.²⁸²

Boabdil spoke fluent Spanish, but still wanted an interpreter to conduct official communication, and when Baeza asked him why, he explained that, "If I speak [Castilian], since I don't know it fluently, I am afraid of making mistakes, and a mistake on the lips of a king is ugly indeed."²⁸³ This detail reveals a significant indication of the important connection of language and the representation

²⁸⁰ This *Relación* is considered to be a prime example of the *cartas de la frontera*, a genre of epic, news, history and romance closely associated with the *romances frontizeros*. See Juan de Mara Carriazo, "Cartas de la frontera," *al-Andalus* 11/1 (1946): 69-130, p. 70. The *carta de la frontera* shares many qualities with the *literatura de avisos* identified by Emilio Sola as a primary feature of literary production generated in or inspired by the Mediterranean frontier. His principal example is Luis de Mármol Carvajal, and we will return to a discussion of this kind of literature in a later chapter. Emilio Sola, "Carlos V y la Berbería. El context de la frontera mediterránea en la época de Carlos V," in *Carlos V. Los moriscos y el Islam*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 2004, p. 444.

²⁸¹ Baeza, "Las cosas que pasaron," pp. 36-37.

²⁸² Baeza, "Las cosas que pasaron," pp. 19-20.

²⁸³ "Si la hablo, mas como no la sé sueltamente, he miedo de errar, y el yerro en la boca de los reyes es my feo." Baeza, "Las cosas que pasaron," pp. 36-37.

of power that caused Boabdil to employ not one but two interpreters, despite his own language abilities.

ii. The Guerra de Granada: The end of the co-text in Iberia

After 1482, once the War of Granada was underway, the instruments of international diplomacy changed. Embassies, messengers, and letters were still the primary means of contact, but the treaties and agreements themselves no longer followed the protocol of the previous centuries of border-maintenance that we have been discussing until this point. This change was largely due to the fact that the primary goal of communication between the two sovereigns was no longer that of negotiating a peace treaty, but rather conducting a successful military campaign, the outcome of which was intended to be a surrender rather than peace treaty. Thus the *capitulaciones* drawn up during the War of Granada witnessed the replacement of the longstanding diplomatic and commercial regime of treaties by another, also ancient, type of treaty: the surrender treaty.²⁸⁴ These surrender treaties were not usually agreed upon with the surrendering sovereign, which in the context of the quasi-civil war between three claimants to the Nasrid throne in Granada between 1483 and 1492, would have been difficult enough. Instead, the treaties were drawn up with local military or municipal leaders.²⁸⁵ This led to a variety of interpersonal dynamics at the moment of writing each treaty, not to mention whether or not the community had surrendered easily or after a long fight. And when, in the case of the final capitulation of Boabdil in 1491-1492, the treaty did not pretend that the Nasrid sovereign become a Castilian vassal, rather instead his subjects. That is, as Angel Galán has put it, the subject of the treaty was not the sovereign, but the community, which was not the normal precedent for the international treaties of the middle ages which had been

²⁸⁴ For a general review of the conquest and the series of capitulations, see Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1967. See also the work of Angel Galán Sánchez, cited below.

²⁸⁵ Angel Galán Sánchez, "Cristianos y musulmanes en el reino de Granada: Las prácticas de negociación a través de una examinación de las capitulaciones de la rendición y de la conversión," in *Negociar en la edad media*, Barcelona: CSIC, 2005, pp. 441. p. 451.

personal documents exchanged between rulers.²⁸⁶ Rather, this new type of treaty was more closely allied with the *mudejar* capitulations, and the later conversion treaties which would become so common at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁸⁷

Once the campaign had begun, the professional opportunities for bilingual frontier dwellers increased. The kings and nobles turned to men of experience, who had already demonstrated their trustworthiness, to serve as interpreters. Throughout the military campaigns, guides (*alamines*) and spies, almost always unnamed, worked assiduously for both sides, as they had throughout the history of border raids along the Granada-Castile frontier.²⁸⁸ A good deal of ad hoc translation must have taken place during the war, in function of whatever individual who had the necessary linguistic skills was available. As each city fell and different capitulations were signed, both the Granadan officials and Castilian kings employed as translators the bilingual individuals they knew they could trust.²⁸⁹ In some cases, the representative from Granada came from the Genovese community, long established in the Nasrid kingdom.²⁹⁰

Although not much is known about the corps of bilinguals who undertook the different stages of each treaty negotiation over the years, a handful of names stand out, some of whose biographies are better known in other contexts. In 1489, the *alfaquí* Abdallah Zuleygi negotiated the capitulations of Guadix and Almería in the name of Muley Abdili, King of Guadix and pretender to his nephew

²⁸⁶ Galán Sánchez, "Cristianos y musulmanes," p. 453.

²⁸⁷ Galán Sánchez, "Cristianos y musulmanes," p. 464.

²⁸⁸ Torres Fontes mentions a "moro tornizado" working for the Cond de Cabra in 1461. Torres Fontes, "Las treguas con Granada," p. 178}

²⁸⁹ Hernando de Pulgar reports that the surrender of Coín in 1485 was accomplished with the aid of an interpreter, and Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera noted similarly that Ferdinand sent an interpreter to negotiate the surrender of Málaga in 1487. Quoted in Crespo Muñoz, "Ynterpretes, trujamanes, romanceadores," p. 228, note 30.

²⁹⁰ Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane*, p. 161. In 1483 Boabdil had been captured, Abu-l-Hasan sent an embassy to Ferdinand to negotiate a trade for Christian captives, "Les négociacions menées par un noble sévillan, Juan de Pineda et par un génois établi à Grenade, Federico Centurion, échourèrent."

Boabdil's throne.²⁹¹ In the same year, Zuleygi negotiated the capitulations of Almuñecar on behalf of the military commander of that town, Muhammad bin al-Hajji.²⁹²

Two Granadan nobles intervened regularly in the negotiations between Boabdil and the Reyes Católicos: the *alcaide* Abu l-Qasim al-Malih and the *alguacil mayor de Granada*, Yuça bin Kumāša.²⁹³ These high-ranking officials exchanged letters with the Castilian kings and, even more frequently, Hernando de Zafra, the royal secretary in charge of the logistics of the conquest. Both of these men were servants of the King of Granada, but along with their master they received gifts and *mercedes* from the Castilian kings throughout the process of negotiating surrender, and after the conquest.²⁹⁴ Beginning at least in 1490, if not before, both al-Malih and Ibn Kumāša were sent to the Castilian court with messages from Boabdil. In the case of the 1490 embassy, al-Malih returned to Granada with Gonzálo de Córdoba and Martin de Alarcón (both nobles), who requested the immediate surrender of the capital to the *reyes católicos*. In his later correspondence with Zafra, al-Malih in particular seems to have developed a particular friendship with the Castilian secretary. Both addressed each other as *hermano* (brother), and they exchanged personal gifts between themselves and their wives.²⁹⁵

Although Ibn Kumāša and al-Malih were important intermediaries, it is not clear whether either one knew how to write in Castilian, since the letters that have been preserved are either *traslados* (a

²⁹¹ Miguel Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*, Granada: Paulino Ventura Traveset, 1910, Docs. XIV and XV.

²⁹² Garrido Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, Doc. XVII.

²⁹³ See Seco de Lucena, "Cortesianos nasrís del siglo XV. Las familias de Ibn 'Abd al-Barr e Ibn Kumāša," in MEAH 7 (1958): 19-28. This family had a long history in the service of the kings of Granada (beginnings s. 14). Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Kumāša, under Yusuf I (1333-1354) was a frequent ambassador to the Castilian court (Seco de Lucena, p. 24) and maintained correspondence with the princes of Aragón. See Doc. 34, "Carta de 'Alī ibn Kumāša al Infante D. Pedro, en que le da cuenta de la llegada de Ramón Boil para negociar la paz y anuncia el envío de un arco de anillo, que le regala, 29 julio de 1335," and Doc. 39, "Carta de 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Kumāša a Alfonso IV de Aragón, sobre las negociaciones de paz que lleva Ramón Boil, y agradeciéndole el regalo de un halcón, cuyo envío anuncia el Soberano aragonés, 5 de agosto de 1335," in Maximiliano Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la corona de Aragón*, Madrid: CSIC, 1940.

²⁹⁴ Garrido Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, docs. XXX, XL, XLVIII. This would lead to conflict in 1492, when the city of Almería sued Ibn Kumāša for trying to occupy certain salinas, accusing him of presenting a false *merced*. AGS RGS 1492 XI, no. 213.

²⁹⁵ Garrido Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, doc. LI.

copy) or *minutas* (a summary). In their role as noble negotiators, they were not in charge of composing the treaty in Arabic, and the actual Arabic scribe was someone else. In the few cases where we know the name of the scribe who was set to compose the diplomatic instruments, the names are Abrahen el Caycique, Simuel, and Xarafi. Of Abrahen we know nothing more than that he had relatives in Toledo, like several other intermediaries, for whom Boabdil later requested a *merçed* from Ferdinand and Isabel. Simuel, a common first name, may correspond to any number of individuals, and it is difficult to draw definite conclusions, although a likely hypothesis is that this Simuel is Simuel Habenatahuel, who worked as *trujamán mayor* for both the Nasrids and then later the Trastámara after the final conquest of Granada.²⁹⁶ Xarafi, like Mora, was a member of a mudejar family in Toledo who had traveled to Granada looking for work as a bilingual intermediary in the service of either the Castilians or the Granadans. There is a relatively large amount of information extant about this family, who were able to successfully integrate themselves into the new mudejar then *morisco* elite in Granada, and I will discuss their case in greater detail in chapter 4.

Al-Malih in particular conducted a frequent and secret correspondence with Zafra.²⁹⁷ To this end both men used several regular and trusted messengers, including Abraham and Yuça de Mora (the first was Boabdil's interpreter), Abraham de Robledo, Ahmed Abu Layla (Hamete Ulayles) and Hamete al-Gazi. Many of these names will reappear in the colonial administration to be discussed in chapter 4. These agents were granted safe conducts and *mercedes* by the Catholic Kings, many of which were recorded and preserved in the *Registro General del Sello*, now housed at the Archivo General de Simancas. Presumably these messengers received compensation from the Granadan

²⁹⁶ In 1488 the Reyes Católicos sent a certain Simuel, who held the title of *intérprete de vuestras altezas* to interrogate an *almojarife* (a kind of tax collector) in Málaga. Simuel Habenatahuel was named in a 1494 document as one of the three *trujamanes mayores* under the Nasrids, now in the employ of the Trastámaras. Manuel Feria also believes that it was most likely Simuel Habenatahuel who was in charge of translating the correspondence between Zafra, al-Malih and Ibn Kumisha. Feria, *La traducción fehaciente*, p. 196.

²⁹⁷ Harvey argues that the need for secrecy was due to the influence of religious leaders in the capital who would have gathered support against Boabdil and his surrender negotiations had they known about them. See Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, 24.

leaders as well, since most are also remembered in the privileges that Boabdil negotiated for his intimates and staff, first during the capitulations and after when he was arranging to leave Granada for North Africa.

This correspondence itself was conducted in doubled texts, but not bilingual texts: the correspondents exchanged official letters, and oral messages as well as *bijuelas*, or small notes sent apart from the principle text, often containing privileged information. The translation of these letters does not seem to have been between Arabic and Castilian, but rather via a mutually agreed cipher, for which there was a dedicated secretary, the *escribano de cifra*. This *escribano de cifra* may well be identifiable with another *escribano* named Simuel, the same scribe who was in charge of generating the Arabic version of the final capitulations, along with Gonzalo Fernández, who presumably was also present to verify the accuracy of the text.²⁹⁸

The upshot of this complicated process of translation and reproduction of texts is that, unlike previous treaties which had been negotiated via in-person discussions and letters in a mix of Castilian and Arabic, which were translated as needed, the final capitulations of Granada were negotiated over several years primarily in coded Castilian. The final capitulations were then drawn up in Arabic, although a translation was made into Castilian (and it is this text which has survived, and to which we owe our knowledge of the content of these capitulations). Gone was the system of co-texts generated by and intended to be preserved in a bilateral chancellery. Only the Arabic version of the final text was only needed in order to be a valid legal instrument of the contracts of conquest. The Castilian translation was made for the reference of the winning administration, but the text which would be announced and circulated was the Arabic version. This version was carried to Granada by don Pedro de Granada, the former ruler of Almería known as al-Najjar before his

²⁹⁸ Most likely Gonzálo Fernández de Córdoba, then alcaide de Ilora and later Gran Capitan and Governor of Orán, who had also served as an ambassador to Granada during the *Guerra. Baeza*, "Las cosas que pasaron," p. 40.

conversion to Christianity, and the father of Alonso de Venegas, soon to be appointed as *trujamán mayor* of Granada, about whose activities we will hear much more in the coming pages.

Over the period of conquest, the role of bilingualism changed between Castilian and Granadan actors. Bilingual negotiations were replaced by coded correspondences, and the bilingual co-texts of the medieval period gave way to Arabic capitulations and Castilian *ordenanzas* which mandated the employment of Arabic-speaking officials in the first half of the sixteenth century (chapter 4). The professional sphere of bilingual language workers was no longer limited to trade and diplomacy. Rather than working along (and maintaining) the porous frontier, in the contexts of Castile and Granada, bilingual officials became the heart of the new colonial administration.

C. The Professional Category of the Interpreter in the reign of the Catholic Kings

Against the backdrop of negotiation, *amistad*, *vecindad*, and conquest that we have demonstrated as being the context and motive of a good deal of bilingual contact and translation over the centuries of the later Middle Ages, it is worth returning to the institutional story that we began in the early pages of this chapter. To this end, we turn to the royal archives. While the *reyes católicos* continued to conduct international diplomacy and its close relative, war, via the traditional channels, they also innovated a position among the cluster of multilingual frontier agents, the *intérprete mayor*.

Before we delve into the history of this office, we need to understand what it meant to have a job or hold a title in the later middle ages, including the first part of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁹ By the end of the fifteenth century, most of the titles which implied frontier authority as well as a certain linguistic dexterity, such as the *jueces de querellas* and the *escribano de lo morisco*, even the *alfaqueque real*, were consolidated in the hands of noblemen who delegated all or part of their office. What are we to make of this concentration of titles, and the treatment of these offices as personal property? This

²⁹⁹ José María García Marín, *El oficio público en Castilla durante la baja edad media*, Alcalá de Henares and Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, 1987.

was paralleled on the Granadan side, where the al-Amin family controlled the offices both or *alfaqque mayor* and *trujamán mayor*, although it was often a subordinate who actually performed the task. In the later middle ages, the concept of a secular public office was aligned with the title and the salary associated with that office, not with the activities performed or expertise used. Thus in the sources it can be difficult to discern whether someone whose office would have required them to provide the services of a bilingual intermediary was simply awarded the *officium* and corresponding *beneficium*, delegating the tasks of the office to subordinates. Many of these subordinates probably functioned in a role that we would recognize as that of interpreter or translator, rendering texts into another language, or delivering oral messages in a different language from the original. The consolidation of these titles for bilingual frontier public office in noble hands was a trend that was gathering strength. Only in the office of interpreter do we see the opposite trend: the preference for minorities to hold the *officium* (which was at the same time an opportunity for them to receive a *beneficium* from the crown). This was especially true in the context of Castile and then Granada, although as we shall see below, the presidio context is somewhat more complex. Although these interpreters were authorized to form teams to perform their tasks, the interpreter who held the office held it because he was actually qualified to perform the job. This did not mean that all interpreters with that title were regularly employed in that function, and Gabriel Israel, the main object of focus of the next section, is the example *par excellence* of this phenomenon. Crudely put, the position of interpreter offered a unique route to social advancement within the Castilian administration, in particular for Jewish and Muslim minorities. As we shall see, this change occurred at the same time that minority life became the target for conversion, assimilation, and eventually expulsion. Interpreters therefore found themselves in the odd position of perpetuating the linguistic frontiers while at the same time ensuring the general social and cultural processes of forced assimilation. As we will see throughout this dissertation, many interpreters in Granada as well as in

North Africa, embedded themselves in patronage networks that connected more or less directly back to the crown.³⁰⁰

i. The Intérprete Mayor:

In the 1470s, the position of royal interpreter began to come into its own as a specialized position, in particular on the Castilian side of the border with Granada, and even more particularly, in the city of Murcia, capital of a region of the same name. Murcia, between Granada and Aragon, was a region made up entirely of borderlands, and also a linguistic entrepôt between Castilian, Valenciano, and Granadan Arabic. The reality of frontier life was one of regular and sustained contacts, in which bilingual individuals played important roles.³⁰¹ According to Angus MacKay, despite this intensive interaction on the frontier, only specialized professionals like *alfaques* and *trujamanes* were normally bilingual.³⁰² However, according to recent research like that of Jiménez Alcázar, it seems that such specialized professionals may have been more prolific than previously accounted for, and part of the reason for this may be that intermediaries often performed more than one function.³⁰³ Murcia was a lively corridor of commerce between Granada and Aragon, and merchants were sometimes disposed to act as messengers and even interpreters.³⁰⁴ Since it was also a corridor for communication between Aragon and Granada, there were interpreters qualified to translate official documents from Catalan into Castilian.³⁰⁵ We may conclude that Murcia provided the particular context of intensive translation activities necessary to breed an institutionalized profession.

³⁰⁰ See Nevot, "Los Granada Venegas," p. 331.

³⁰¹ This is an important part of Jiménez Alcázar's argument. Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales en el sureste de la península ibérica durante la baja Edad Media," 594–595.

³⁰² MacKay, "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," 221.

³⁰³ Jiménez Alcázar and his team have demonstrated that the municipal councils of Murcia and Lorca employed interpreters dedicated to captive mediation. See Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales."

³⁰⁴ Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales," p. 591.

³⁰⁵ Jiménez Alcázar, "Relaciones interterritoriales," pp. 588–589.

Although the office of the interpreter existed throughout the medieval period, there is little evidence for how interpreters along the frontier were officially appointed until the end of the fifteenth century. This may be due to the vagaries of the preservation of historical documentation, but toward the middle and certainly by the end of the fifteenth century, these frontier officials, who for the past two centuries had been appointed as needed by the crown or municipal councils, came under the jurisdiction of new “chiefs,” the *alfaqueque mayor*, the *alcalde mayor* (both the frontier version and the domestic version), and in the 1470s for the first time, the *intérprete mayor*. Frontier intermediaries who took charge of facilitating commercial, captive, diplomatic, and linguistic exchanges had operated on the frontier since it had come into being, and since the fourteenth century the Castilian kings had taken advantage of their position in order to name these offices and thus exert more control over the frontier spaces. Over time, these offices began to be organized into professional hierarchies, which in turn became the focus of the social ambitions of different families. The frontier offices, because of the wide array of expertise they required, were appointments in which skill, expertise, *fama*, and family connections would be crucial.

It is against this backdrop of bilingual frontier institutions and instruments that the figure of the royal interpreter emerged under the Catholic Kings. Although there were always interpreters, and the other bilingual institutions discussed above had been consolidated over the previous decades if not centuries, it was not until 1476 that the *intérprete mayor* was named. This man was Gabriel Israel, whose extremely varied and relatively well documented career will serve as one of the primary case studies in this chapter and the next. Israel was appointed on June 29, 1476 as *yntrepetre y truxaman mayor de las lenguas arabiga e morisca* in the kingdom of Murcia.³⁰⁶ Israel was far from the only officially employed Arabic translator in Murcia, and he had plenty of experience in the captive trade and black market where language skills were an advantage, but he was the only royally appointed interpreter,

³⁰⁶ AGS RGS 1476 VI no. 428

and the only one with the title of *mayor*.³⁰⁷ It was to be a lifelong appointment, “de aquí adelante para en todos los dias de vuestra vida,” and, indeed, Israel would insist on this title throughout his life, even as he suffered lawsuits, expulsion, conversion, and bankruptcy.

There are two versions of his official appointment, one preserved in the Registro General del Sello (RGS), or the royal archive, and one in the municipal archive of Murcia, where the order to effect Israel's appointment was sent and, presumably, carried out. In the document preserved in the RGS, dated two months later than the municipal copy of the royal *cédula*, Gabriel Israel is named as a replacement for Ali Xarafi, “*ynterprete troxaman que fue dela lengua aravuiiga*,” and a member of a prominent mudejar family who will reappear in the next chapter of this dissertation.³⁰⁸ It is likely that Xarafi's appointment and *ynterprete troxaman* may have been part of his function as the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas*, an office in the administration of minority communities whose jurisdiction was decidedly Castilian rather than of the frontier. As we shall see in the next chapter, however, the *alcalde de la aljama*, whether *mayor* or not, often served a scribal and notarial function that included acting as an interpreter or translator, and also had an important fiscal responsibility as a *repartidor*.³⁰⁹ This combination of skills and functions would prevail in the new *mudéjar* and then *morisco* Granada after 1492.

³⁰⁷ In 1485 Israel was caught attempting to pass goods across the border to Granada. AGS RGS 1485 II no. 11. In 1477 he was paid for his part in rescuing certain captives. AMM, Lib. Actas, 1477-8, fol. 38v, Luis Rubio García, VII doc. 943, p. 117. For more information about the municipally employed interpreters, see Jiménez Alcázar, “Relaciones interterritoriales en el sureste de la península ibérica durante la baja Edad Media.” It is worth recalling as well that one of the two interpreters who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his first voyage was Luis de Torres, who had previously been the interpreter of the Adelantado of Murcia.

³⁰⁸ Although Israel does not seem to fill the same function as Xarafi, he was nevertheless only appointed upon the death of the mudejar *alfaquí*, “por quanto es pasado desta presente vida,” as the monarchs specify in the 1476 appointment. AGS RGS 1476 VI no. 428. Why, if the kings ordered Israel's appointment, is document housed in the municipal archive dated before the document in the central royal archive? And why does the later document have more information about the history of the office? This difference might be explained if we suppose that the local authorities corrected the royal chancellery and reported to them that Xarafi had held the office before Israel. However, the Xarafi family was well known to the court and had a long history in royal service in Old Castile, not in Murcia, so it is likely that the absence of mentioning Xarafi in the first document sent to Murcia in April simply means that that information wasn't needed at that time nor in Murcia, while whoever generated the document for the posterity of the Registro in June also thought to include a detail about the history of the office.

³⁰⁹ Abraham Xarafi, the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas* was also appointed as *repartidor* in 1490. AGS Escribanía Mayor de Rentas (EMR), Mercedes Personales, *Jarafi* (1490).

We do not know where Xarafi's jurisdiction lay before 1476. The Xarafi family was from Toledo and played an important role in Old Castile.³¹⁰ It may be that 'Ali Xarafi acted as the royal *intérprete* closer to the family headquarters and that Israel's taking over of the office in Murcia was a way for the Catholic Kings to create a new regular frontier appointment for an interpreter, in a zone that had a reputation for rebellion against the king. I have found no earlier documents that associate any members of the Xarafi family with Murcia, whereas there are other Israels acting as intermediaries throughout the fifteenth century.³¹¹

Israel's appointment seems to have differed in at least one way from Xarafi's. In both versions of the appointment, however, Israel's office is carefully identified as *mayor*, that is, the principal office holder in a professional field. The addition of this term, *mayor*, was an innovation with respect to minority office holders.³¹² It was expected that the *intérprete mayor* delegate work to subordinates, but in a carefully regulated manner. All translations were required to be made either by Israel or by someone "que vuestro poder oviere," (whoever acts on your authority) that is, someone expressly delegated to the task. At the same time, this clause protected Israel's appointment and all of the "honras, graçias e franquezas e libertades, esecuçiones, prerrogativas, y prehemencias" that he was due, "bien así e tan complidamente como gozaron e debieron gozar los otros semejantes ofiçiales de los reyes nuestros progenitores" ("just as and as much as other similar officials of our royal ancestors enjoyed").³¹³ Thus Israel's office was not a total innovation, his payment in particular was to be based on earlier "semejantes oficios," and of course he had at least one predecessor, Xarafi.

³¹⁰ Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Alcaldes y alcaldes mayores de moros de Castille au XVe siècle," in *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIIIe-XVe siècle)*, Madrid: Casa Velásquez, 2007, pp. 147-168; Jean-Pierre Molénat, "La frontière linguistique, principalement à partir du cas de Tolède," in *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval: (siglos XI-XIV)*, Madrid: Casa Velásquez, 2001, pp. 113-122; Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "De cadí a alcalde mayor," *Al-Qantara* 24/1 and 2 (2003): 139-168 and 273-289; Echevarría Arsuaga, "Las aljamas mudéjares castellanas en el siglo XV: redes de poder y conflictos internos," *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III, Historia medieval* 14 (2001): 93-112.

³¹¹ See note 133 and discussion below.

³¹² Other *mayores* had been developing since the fourteenth century, but not until the end of the fifteenth century are there minority *mayores*.

³¹³ AMM, CR, 1453-1475, ff. 255v-256r, Doc 70 of *Colección de Documentos de Murcia*; and AGS RGS 1476 VI no 428.

Israel's official titles were, "*faraute y trujaman mayor y escrivano de la letra araviga y morisca*" (from the April 18 appointment) and "*yntrepetre y truxaman mayor de las lenguas arabiga e morisca*" (from June 29).³¹⁴ Both *faraute* and *trujamán* invoke active roles, according to medieval practices, where the *faraute* was synonymous with a multilingual messenger, and *trujamán* with the *alfaunque*, who was required to know various languages. Indeed, Israel was supposed to play a role in commercial transactions, being responsible for "las cosas y fechos y contratamientos que nacieren y se ovieren de fazer y contratar entre nuestro regno de Murcia y Caravaca y la bailia con el rey y regno de Granada" ("things, deeds, and contracts born in or which must be concluded and treated between our kingdom of Murcia and Caravaca and the *Bailia* [the administration in Valencia] and the king and kingdom of Granada").³¹⁵ "Contratamientos" meant very specifically commercial transactions rather than diplomatic treaties. Nonetheless, some of Israel's mandate in Murcia was very close to the task of a bilingual scribe or notary. That is, he was to *interpretar* and *declarar* "cosas, tratos, e escrituras," and it also fell to him to "dar fe."³¹⁶ In this capacity, Israel's appointment and job description are the precursor to the tasks of the Arabic interpreters who would be named in Granada after the conquest, where Catholic Kings quickly appointed a *trujamán mayor* (Alonso de Venegas), whose actions, as we will see in presently, also are also indicative of a shift from military, diplomatic, and commercial information agent to an agent of municipal and colonial administration. Nonetheless, Israel's primary mandate was to control commercial and, possibly, diplomatic interactions.

In the version preserved in the *Registro General del Sello*, the kings mandated that, "todas las letras escritas, e otras cualesquier cosas dela dicha lengua aráuiga que se ovieron de enviar o traer del dicho reyno de Granada, sean interpretadas e declaradas por vos el dicho Gabriel Israel" ("all written texts, or anything else that appears in Arabic which is to be sent to or brought from the

³¹⁴ AMM, CR, 1453-1475, ff. 255v-256r, Doc 70 of *Colección de Documentos de Murcia*; and AGS RGS 1476 VI no 428.

³¹⁵ AMM, CR, 1453-1475, ff. 255v-256r, Doc 70 of *Colección de Documentos de Murcia*.

³¹⁶ That is, the kings specify that no one *but* Israel or one of his deputies had the right to *dar fe*. AMM, CR, 1453-1475, ff. 255v-256r, Doc 70 of *Colección de Documentos de Murcia*.

aforementioned Kingdom of Granada must be interpreted and pronounced by you, the aforementioned Gabriel Israel").³¹⁷ The same document refers to "quales quier escripturas que fueren escriptas de vuestra mano e las que vos declarades e traducides e ynterpreytades sean validas" ("any texts written by your hand and which you have pronounced and translated and interpreted shall be legitimate").³¹⁸ That is, Israel was in charge not only of translating the correspondence received *from* Granada, but also that which was to be sent *to* Granada, which causes us to suspect that he must have had some working knowledge of the appropriate chancellery formats in Arabic. Later evidence, from a 1509 document that we will examine in detail in chapter 4, indicates that he was not only bilingual but had specialized knowledge of Muslim formulae. In 1509 he and Alonso de Mora (grandson of Abrahen de Mora, Boabdil's *trujamán mayor* and about whom we will hear more about throughout this dissertation) were charged with translating some records of sale for the Dominican monks at the Convent of Santa Clara. According to the document which describes their employment, both Mora and Israel "son personas que saben la xara çuna de los moros, e que saben vien declarar e interpretar las dichas cartas de arábigo en nuestra lengoa[*sic*] e letra castellana" ("are individuals who know the *shari'a* and *sunna* of the Muslims, and who know well how to pronounce and interpret the aforementioned Arabic letters into our Castilian language and letters").³¹⁹ Thus both the former Jew Israel (now Sosa) and the formerly Muslim Mora (who converted to Christianity after the conquest), had a professional reputation as being familiar with Muslim legal formulae. It is likely that this same knowledge is what helped Israel in his early career in Murcia when he had to generate a letter in Arabic to send to the Nasrids. Indeed, even in 1476, Ferdinand and Isabel justified his appointment because "sois persona muy idonia y suficiete y sabidor en ello"

³¹⁷ AGS RGS 1476 VI no 428.

³¹⁸ AGS RGS 1476 VI no 428.

³¹⁹ AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 10, f. 197. Document edited in Antonio Malpico Cuello and Carmen Trillo San José, "Los infantes de Granada. Documentos árabes romanceados," *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino* 6 [Second Series] (1992): 361-421.

("you are the ideal person, with sufficient knowledge of [Arabic]").³²⁰ Could this have been an attempt on the part of the *reyes católicos* to establish an Arabic chancellery?

Gabriel Israel's fascinating career is available for historians to study in part because of what seems to have been a contentious nature, which gave rise to his involvement in various lawsuits and petitions to the crown. Throughout the 1480s and 1490s he was very mobile, as we know from the many lawsuits and complaints filed by him or against him by individuals in the regions of Murcia, Seville, Granada, and Extremadura. He acquired a good deal of property in these years, which makes it somewhat difficult to keep track of him since he is listed variously as a *vecino* of Murcia, of Llerena, of Málaga, of Segovia, and of Ronda, when it should have technically been possible to only be a *vecino* of one place at one time.³²¹ Nonetheless, I believe that it is highly likely that the Gabriel Israel, *intérprete*, who appears across the documents during these decades, is the same person.

With the *Guerra de Granada* well underway in 1485, the Catholic Kings would have needed the services of their *interprete mayor* at the Capitulation of Ronda, where Israel, "nuestro trumajan[*sic*] de arávigó," was granted the sole privilege to remain in the town, although the rest of the Jewish community was expelled.³²² Note that here, as is less common, he is called *trujamán* rather than

³²⁰ AMM, C.R. 1453-1475, fols. 255v-256r, doc. 70 *Colección de documentos de Murcia*

³²¹ The status of *vecino* in the later middle ages and into the early modern period entailed a specific legal and municipal status. It was not the same as being a *morador*. There were various ways of acquiring *vecindad*, including inheritance and marriage, but in all cases being a *vecino* required recognition as such, usually in the form of a tax or parish register, or a *carta de vecindad*. However, the exact means of establishing and recognizing *vecindad* were negotiated throughout the fifteenth century. Since *vecindad* first depended on municipal legitimization, the practices also seem to have varied from place to place. Ultimately, however, the status of *vecino* depended on royal authority: petitions for *vecindad* were approved by the *regidores* of the municipal council, but if a municipality rejected a petition for *vecindad*, the plaintiff could bring a countersuit in the Royal Chancellery. The status of *vecino* moreover was tightly bound to concepts of *naturaleza*, which meant first the place of birth, but at a more profound level, the *natural* relation between that individual and the king, via the ties of *súbdito*. María Inés Carzolio Rossi, "En los orígenes de la ciudadanía en Castilla: La identidad política del vecino durante los siglos XVI y XVII," *Hispania* 62/211 (2002): 637-691, especially p. 643 and p. 686. In the case of Toledo, although the means to achieve *vecindad* was established in the *Ordenanzas* of 1500, the actual definition of the status was not settled until the *Ordenanzas* of 1490. From that time on, the municipal council began to generate on request *cartas de vecindad* that confirmed that the holder of such a letter had complied with all of the requirements of the *Ordenanzas*. Mariano García Ruipérez, "Vecino de Toledo durante la edad media y moderna: Las cartas de vecindad," *Archivo Secreto* (2008): 186-193, pp. 187-189.

³²² Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Asiento de las cosas de Ronda: Conquista y repartimiento de la ciudad por los Reyes Católicos, 1485-1491," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes* III (1954): 371-496, p. 398.

intérprete.³²³ He may well have met his wife at that time, a woman called Judía in the early texts and later Isabel de Sosa, *vecina de Ronda* (an official resident of the town of Ronda).³²⁴ In return for his role in the negotiations for Ronda, he received the rights to certain tax income in the region. He seems to have retained his privileges in that town, since he was still acting as *recaudador* (tax collector) in 1490 and 1495.³²⁵ In 1490 he was named *recaudador de los impuestos de la Serranía y Almería*. It is worth noticing that these locations are not all that close to one another, meaning that Israel was collecting offices across the kingdom. Meanwhile he had acquired property near Jérez de la Frontera, which was taken from him by the Inquisition following the prohibition of Jews in the Archbishopric of Seville.³²⁶ It is in this time period that his name appears in the records as a *vecino* of Llerena, where there had been a Jewish community following the expulsion of the Jews from Málaga after the Castilian conquest in 1487. When he sent one of his servants to Málaga with some jewels, an *almojarife* (another kind of tax collector) of Córdoba requisitioned them, claiming them to be stolen property.³²⁷ In 1490 he engaged in several lawsuits against the Alascar family, another family of Jewish interpreters from Málaga, some of whom were then residents in Llerena. According to Manuel Feria, the Alascar family and Simuel Habenathuel, one of the *trujamanes mayores* from Nasrid Granada, also worked in Murcia.³²⁸ Those lawsuits concerned the rightful possession of gold, silk, and books, which the Alascar accused Israel of having wrongfully kept.

³²³ In February 1485 the monarchs granted him another merced, calling him their *intérprete e escribano de arábigo*. AGS RGS 1485 II, no. 11

³²⁴ AGS RGS 1490 XII, no. 304. Gabriel Israel's wife was called Judía in 1489, and Isabel de Sosa was probably her name after conversion AGS RGS VI-1489 no. 68. The choice of names, Fernando and Isabel de Sosa, can only have been in honor of the *reyes católicos* themselves.

³²⁵ In 1495 a pleito is carried out against Israel for having wrongfully collected 100 reales from a woman in Ronda, ordering him to return to her the money. Manuel Feria, *La traducción febaciente*, pp. 197-198.

³²⁶ AGS RGS VI-1489 no. 68

³²⁷ The kings found in favor of Israel. AGS RGS 1489 VI, fol 80, Published in María Antonia Bel Bravo, *Los reyes católicos y los judíos andaluces (1474-1492)*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, pp. 246-247.

³²⁸ Feria, *La traducción febaciente*, pp. 195-196. The Murcia connection is a tantalizing thesis, but one that Feria does not support with documentary evidence, noting only that both families have connections to Málaga and are allowed to remain after the majority of the Jewish community was expelled in 1491. Whether these Jews were newcomers after the conquest of Málaga in 1489, or whether they had prior links, is not clear from these documents.

Israel certainly had family connections with the kingdom of Granada before the conquest, if not necessarily with Málaga in particular. In 1492, Boabdil requested a *merçed* (a royal privilege) of the Catholic Kings for Ysaque Perdoniel, *vecino* of Granada, also a Jewish interpreter.³²⁹ He also asked that Perdoniel be given a license for his entire family so that they might keep their movable goods, their jewels, money, etc., and that they be granted the rights to emigrate either by land or by sea. Ysaque Perdoniel was, in fact, the son-in-law of “Ysrael de Ronda,” almost certainly Gabriel Israel, the only Jew who had been allowed to remain in Ronda, and who may have also gained the rights of a *vecino* by virtue of his marriage to Isabel. Thus, whether or not Boabdil intended, he requested these privileges on Israel’s behalf as well. Reading these documents, it is even more significant for us to notice that, as we consider the overlaps in the family and professional networks, that Gabriel Israel, as a Castilian subject, had a daughter who married a *vecino* of Granada (before the final Castilian conquest) and who was an a royal interpreter just like her father, only in the service of the Nasrid kings rather than the Trastámara.³³⁰

The Jewish community, which was expelled from Málaga in 1487, was allowed to return in 1491.³³¹ It seems that Gabriel Israel, *vecino* of Murcia, took advantage of the new permissions to change his residency from Murcia to Málaga. Whether he was originally from Málaga, before taking on the post of *intérprete mayor* in 1476, is not clear from the extant documentation.³³² He may in fact

³²⁹ In the same document Boabdil requested mercedes for the mudéjar family of the Mora, Ibn Kumisha and al-Mulih, the primary negotiators of the final capitulations. *CODOIN VIII*, pp. 463-480. We also know that Ysaque Pordovel was a loyal agent to al-Malih, who recommends to Zafra that he be put in charge of the aduana. See Gaspar Remiro, *Los últimos pactos y correspondencia íntima entre los Reyes Católicos y Boabdil, sobre la entrega de Granada*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1910, p. 69.

³³⁰ This detail invites all kinds of novelistic speculation, but it is also indicative of professional and familial networks that ignored political boundaries. The Venegas family that we will study next is another example of this kind of cross-frontier family.

³³¹ Bejarano, *Documentos Del Reinado De Los Reyes Católicos: Catálogo De Los Documentos Existentes En El Archivo Municipal De Málaga*. Biblioteca "Reyes Católicos," Madrid: CSIC, 1961, doc. 20. Hereafter *DRRC*.

³³² Gabriel Israel does appear earlier in the kingdom of Murcia in 1476, making a petition in Lorca. AGS RGS VI, no 414. It seems that other individuals with the same name had ties to both Murcia and Granada, and acted as interpreters and messengers throughout the fifteenth century. In 1427, a Jacob Israel was sent by the King of Granada with a message for the King of Aragón, and he was stopped in Murcia in order to pay certain customs tolls. Jimenez Alcazar, "Relaciones interterritoriales," p. 590, after an example given by R. Salicrú Lluch. In 1450, Murcia commissioned a

have been born in Llerena, and moved from there to Murcia.³³³ Whether or not Gabriel Israel, *intérprete mayor* and vecino of Murcia was related to Gabriel Israel, royal *intérprete* and vecino of Llerena, both men (if they are not, as I believe, one and the same) had strong connections to Málaga.³³⁴ And Gabriel Israel, *vecino* of Llerena, had at least some ties to Murcia, since in 1492 Mayr Abenfo, *vecino* of Murcia, brought a lawsuit against him over a lost *fianza*.³³⁵

Israel's move to Málaga was initially propitious. Despite his involvement in so many complaints, in 1490 the Catholic Kings began the process of appointing him as the *arrendador mayor* (the head tax collector) of the Diocese of Málaga. This appointment was finally approved in 1491, after Israel submitted to the town council the letter from the kings, a guarantee that he had paid various debts incurred, and a declaration of support from the mayordomo of the Bishop of Málaga.³³⁶ In that same year, 1491, his income reached the substantial sum of 2,533,000 maravedies.³³⁷ Between the fall of 1491, from which time the first *Cabildo* (town council) records are extant, and January 3, 1492, Gabriel Israel appeared before the municipal council of Málaga several times in his capacity as the *arrendador de las rentas reales del obispado de Málaga*.³³⁸ Israel, whose penchant for conflict seems to be what has permitted such a strong documentary record to survive, was suspected in September of 1491 of running afoul of the city's rights by bribing merchants.³³⁹ An extensive report and collection of royal and ecclesiastical documentation preserved in the municipal

certain Yusuf Israel to carry a translated letter to the Sultan of Granada concerning captive rendition. AMMU LEG. 4287 N° 77.

³³³ Feria says that Gabriel Israel, vecino of Llerena, where he had been born, was the recaudador de impuestos of that town. He does not offer any clue to evidence he finds that he had been born there. Feria, *La traducción fehaciente*, p. 196.

³³⁴ There were already strong connections between Murcia and Málaga. The presence in 1488 in Málaga of a certain Simuel el Malaquí, also *vecino* of Murcia, demonstrates that there was some circulation between the two cities in this period.

³³⁵ AGS RGS 1492 X, no. 98

³³⁶ 18 diciembre 1491. Archivo Municipal Málaga (AMMa), Libros de las Actas Capitulares, vo. I, fols. 144v y 145 v, document 23 in DRRC, 1961. Incidentally, Israel is called by the monarchs, "*vecino de Llerena*."

³³⁷ María Teresa López Beltrán, "Redes familiares y movilidad social en el negocio de la renta: el tándem Fernando de Córdoba–Rodrigo Álvarez de Madrid y los judeoconversos de Málaga," *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y Su Reino* 24 [Third Series] (2012): 33-72.

³³⁸ IAACCM, doc. 196 [1.035] (August 5, 1491), doc. 205 [1.095-1.096] (September 6, 1491)

³³⁹ IAACCM, doc. 208 [1.113] (September 9, 1491)

archive from December 1491 shows how Gabriel Israel struck back, and what his resources were to do so.³⁴⁰ On December 18, “Izrael” presented himself and his paperwork to the *cabildo*, bringing with him a Royal Cédula attesting to his appointment as *recaudador* in the Obispado of Málaga in 1490, with renewal in 1491. Although there had been some doubt as to whether Israel had obtained the necessary “*fianzas*” in order to perform this office, this problem had been resolved, which is why Israel had come to petition for the *cabildo* to recognize him in his office. This was particularly important because if Israel was unable to collect the necessary rents, it was the *Ayuntamiento* (town government) who was supposed to execute justice and punishment on behalf of the kings. Once Israel had made his case and presented his royal documents, two representatives of the Bishop of Málaga entered the council in order to speak on his behalf. Following this appeal, the council decided to formally recognize Gabriel Israel as the *arrendador mayor* for the bishopric, commanding that the order be announced by town crier throughout the region. This decision was reconfirmed in the new year on January 2 and 3.³⁴¹ On January 3, the *cabildo* indicated that Gabriel Israel was not only to act as the *arrendador mayor*, but also to collect the necessary tolls at different customs houses.³⁴² Thus, despite the shifting requirement for an *intérprete* to fulfill the role of scribe and notary, this *intérprete* found his way back into the fiscal administration that so closely echoed the medieval *escribano de lo morisco* of the frontier.³⁴³ As we shall see in the rest of this chapter, the traditional parallels between linguistic and commercial exchange would survive.

Thus as 1492 began, Israel was still active as a tax collector in the bishopric of Málaga. Nevertheless, after the edict of expulsion of March 31, 1492, Israel was forced to leave Castilian territories (which now included Granada) along with the rest of the Jewish community. Although

³⁴⁰ Bejarano, *DRRC*, doc. 23

³⁴¹ In a historical coincidence, January 2, 1492, is the date of the official meeting between Boabdil, Ferdinand and Isabel to confirm the surrender of Granada.

³⁴² IAACCM, doc. 251 [1.291-1.294]

³⁴³ Once Israel had been ousted from the world of fiscal administration, however, he was still able to find work as an interpreter (1509).

Israel had received a three-year contract as *recaudador mayor*, he must have left with the rest of the community, since a certain Rodrigo de San Pedro held the office in 1492 and 1493.³⁴⁴ He travelled first to Lisbon, and by 1493 he had converted to Christianity under the name Fernando de Sosa. He returned to Castile, where in 1493 he is listed as a *vecino* of Torrelaguna, near Madrid. Wasting no time, he immediately mounted a lawsuit against another *converso* in Segovia. In 1494 one of his financial sponsors, Diego de Santisteban, won a suit against Israel in which the former was listed as a *vecino* of Llerena, and in October he returned to Málaga where he took up his former office as *arrendador de las rentas del Obispado de Málaga*.³⁴⁵ Upon his return, Israel, now Fernando de Sosa, was faced with creditors demanding the return of certain guarantees. His *seguro*, granted by the monarchs, was revoked after a period of forty days, but at the same time his debts, presumably accrued during his absence after expulsion, were erased³⁴⁶

It seems likely that he would have continued in this office indefinitely, however in 1496 new complaints about his activities began to surface, including complaints from Christian community that he collected taxes from them as well as the Muslims. The *corregidor* of Granada, Andrés Calderón, began an investigation, and ultimately Israel, now Sosa, went bankrupt. Throughout 1497 and 1498 many petitions arrived at the desk of the Catholic Kings for Israel to pay back his debts, and his wife was obliged to undertake her own lawsuit against the creditors after her dowry was confiscated.³⁴⁷ After 1498 there are no extant documentary references to the resolution of these complaints. Though the complaints concerned his actions as a tax collector, Sosa is named as an *intérprete de sus Altezas*.³⁴⁸ Though Sosa seems to have been the frequent target of lawsuits, he also

³⁴⁴ Francisco Bejarano, *La industria de la seda en Málaga durante el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1951, pp. 26-27.

³⁴⁵ AGS RGS X 1494, no. 295 and no. 386.

³⁴⁶ Bejarano, *DRRC*, doc. 64; AGS RGS X-1494 no. 295.

³⁴⁷ AGS RGS 1497 X, no. 207; AGS RGS 1496 IV, no. 139; AGS RGS 1498 VIII, no. 214; AGS RGS 1498 VIII, no. 126; AGS RGS 1498 X, no. 272; AGS RGS 1498 XII, no. 271.

³⁴⁸ AGS RGS 1498 VIII, no. 214; AGS RGS 1498 X, no. 272.

knew how to use the system in order to register his own, as he did in Fuengirola and Orgaz in 1498. Throughout his life he retained the title of *intérpete de sus Altezas*.³⁴⁹

In most of the documentation referring to Israel's activities after returning to Castile in 1493 as a Christian, the name Fernando de Sosa is qualified as "que fue antiguamente Gabriel Israel" ("he who used to be Gabriel Israel"). Several historians have attributed the success of the *judeoconverso* community in the new Castilian kingdom of Granada to the fact that "un reino frontizero, donde nadie tiene pasado, donde es much más fácil esconder los orígenes" ("it is much easier to hide your origins on the frontier, where no one has a past").³⁵⁰ However, it seems that in the case of Gabriel Israel we see the opposite tendency: that of making a constant reference to his pre-conversion identity. Despite his professional and personal troubles, he was consistently able to make reference back to his longstanding royal appointment as *interprete de Sus Altezas* in order to secure employment. Even if it was not his desire to constantly make reference to his former name and thus religion, the institutional will of the courts was to constantly reaffirm the Jewish past of their interpreter and tax collector.

Although Gabriel Israel had a documented career of over thirty years of service as an interpreter to the Castilian Crown, the only extant translations that he carried out date from the very end of this period. In 1509, Fernando de Sosa, still calling himself *yntérprete de Sus Alezas*, translated sixteen documents dating between 1430 and 1496 for the Dominican friars at the Convent of Santa Cruz in Granada, who needed the documents to support their lawsuit with a neighbor over a part of the land.³⁵¹ Later that year he translated more property deeds for King Ferdinand and his daughter

³⁴⁹ AGS RGS 1498 VIII, no. 126; AGS RGS 1498 XII, no. 271. For a later example, see María José Osorio Pérez and Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, "Escrituras árabes romanceadas del convento de Santa Cruz la Real (1430-1496): pinceladas documentales para una imagen de la Granada nazarí," *MEAH* 51 (2002): 91-217.

³⁵⁰ E. Soria Mesa, "Nobles advenedizos. La nobleza del Reino de Granada en el siglo XVI," in E. Berengue Cebriá (coord.), *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, V. II, Madrid, 1999, p. 71, quoted in García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, p. 154.

³⁵¹ Osorio Pérez and Peinado Santaella, "Escrituras árabes romanceadas del convento de Santa Cruz la Real," p. 198. Feriá and Arias note the date of the translation, following the same edition of the documents, as 1506. Feriá and García, "Un nuevo enfoque en la investigación de la documentación árabe granadina romanceada," p. 214.

Queen Juana, in tandem with Alonso Hernández de Mora. According to these documents, “que es persona vien esperta en la dicha lengoa(*sic*) arábiga e en nuestra lengoa(*sic*) castellana y son personas que saben la xara çuna de los moros, e que sabren vien declarar e interpretar las dichas cartas de arábigo en nuestra lengoa e letra castellana.”³⁵²

The serendipity of preservation has left us with the record of a life that was full of movement, professional success and disappointment, connections and conflict. Throughout his life he was able to take advantage of his knowledge and experience with Christian and Muslim institutions in order to carry out his professional ambitions. His early training and career was forged in the “total frontier” of Murcia, and with the experience and expertise that he gained there, he was able to take advantage of a unique series of professional opportunities in the newly conquered territories. The date and place of his death are unknown.

ii. Trujamanes:

Although Israel was most often referred to as an *intérprete*, his original appointment was as *intérprete y trujamán*, and the second term was also used from time to time. What is a trujamán? The classic term associated with translation and interpretation activities in Spain, in particular from Arabic, is *trujamán*. This word, itself a loan from Arabic (Ar. *turjama*, to translate), appeared in Nebrija's early 1492 Castilian dictionary. The concept was available long before, as we have already noted, in Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* he mandated that the *alfaqaque* also be a *trujamán*. The term was even eventually borrowed across the Mediterranean, becoming the *dragoman* of the Ottoman Empire. The etymology of the word trujamán, often used as a synonym of intérprete, is of particular interest. According to the second definition in the Covarrubias dictionary of 1611, the word is related to other terms in French, Arabic, and Spanish which all mean “interpreter” (a word which seems to be

³⁵² AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 10, f. 197. Document edited in Antonio Malpico Cuello and Carmen Trillo San José, “Los infantes de Granada. Documentos árabes romanceados,” *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino* 6 [Second Series] (1992): 361-421, p. 376.

a clear loanword from Ar. *turjuman*). However, the first definition is “el corredor de cambios o de compras y ventas,” and is supposedly derived from the term “truecamos” (a handler or, literally, something that changes hands), a term that is tightly connected to the practices of commercial exchange.³⁵³ This same basic double definition, in the same order, has been preserved until today in the official *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* as published by the Real Academia Española.

iii. The Trujamán Mayor of Granada: No longer a frontier office

The office of the *trujamán mayor* was ancient in both Granada and Castile. As early as 1419 local *trujamanes* were active in Murcia, and in the 1430s and 1440s John II had a *trujamán mayor*.³⁵⁴ This was Juan Reynal, a frontier captain put in charge of captive rendition in Granada after 1439 treaty. In Granada, the al-Amin family controlled the office for many generations, though they acted in their capacity as nobles and high-ranking ministers, meaning that they oversaw the scribal team of translator, notary, and witnesses needed to effect a legitimate translation. In addition, they acted as ambassadors and *alfaques*.

When the Catholic Kings completed their conquest and occupied Granada in 1492, there were already *trujamán mayores* working: Said al-Amin, the *alcaide* al-Najjar, and Simuel Abenhatual, in addition to Abraham de Mora and 'Abd Allah Barriqueque, discussed above.³⁵⁵ These *trujamán mayores* had been valued in the Nasrid administration, and the Castilians made use of their services for the first years after the conquest. Soon enough, however, it became important to appoint their

³⁵³ Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* [1611]. Segunda edición corregida. Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica 7. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1995. His knowledge of the Arabic term came from his Arabic informant, Francisco López Tamarid, author of a short lexicon of Spanish-Arabic words, which, it is worth noting, does not include the word “trujamán.” Francisco López Tamarid, “Compendio de algunos vocablos arabigos,” in Gregorio Mayans i Siscar, *Orígenes de la lengua española*, Madrid: J. de Zuñiga 1737, pp. 233-267.

³⁵⁴ See the case of Juan Rodríguez, *truxaman (sic)*, who translated the testimony of certain Muslim captives before the *cabildo* of Murcia in 1419. AMMu, A. cap. 1419, published in the documentary appendix of Juan Torres Fontes, “El adalid en la frontera de Granada,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 15 (1985): 345-366.

³⁵⁵ AGS RGS 1494 II and AGS RGS 1495 VIII. It is tempting to identify the *alcaide* al-Najjar with Yahya al-Najjar, the *alcaide* of Baza, and the father of Alonso Venegas. Given the close relationship of Pedro and Alonso with the Crown, it seems unlikely that the personal document naming Alonso as *trujamán mayor* would fail to mention this fact. We have already heard of Said al-Amin, *trujamán mayor*, in the correspondence between Muley Hassan and Diego Fernández de Córdoba.

own *trujamán mayor*, and the *reyes católicos* chose 'Ali Omar ibn Nasr, son of Yahya al-Najjar, known as don Alonso Venegas. Unlike under the Nasrid administration, when more than one *trujamán mayor* (the Castilian term, in any case) occupied the post simultaneously, under the new Trastámara administration, there would only be one *trujamán mayor*.

Don Alonso, who had converted and received his family crest from Isabel herself in 1490, was named officially as *trujamán mayor* on February of 1494.³⁵⁶ The office was confirmed in 1495 with the normal “derechos y salarios” (rights and salary) held by the previous *trujamán mayores* who worked for the Nasrid kings. The letter of appointment, a short but rich document conserved today in the *Registro General del Sello* of the Archivo General de Simancas, is proof of the processes of transition in the new kingdom, whereby old administrative patterns were adopted whole cloth into the new government. The administrators themselves were adopted. The document clearly indicates that, while Alonso de Venegas is to have the same status as the other *trujamán*s, he is not necessarily replacing them. The three *trujamán*s named are described as working both for the Nasrids and then for the Trastámara after 1492.

In many ways, Alonso de Venegas, embodied perfectly both the cultural and linguistic flexibility needed to be a successful *trujamán*, and the two traditions of *trujamanería*, that is he was both a *trujamán mayor* who acted in the role of minister at the royal court, at the head of a team of subordinates (the Granadan tradition of *trujamanería*) and an active field agent (the Castilian tradition). He also embodied literally the Castilian and Granadan precedents of the office. Alonso de Venegas was the son of the Granadan nobleman Yahya al-Najjar, who after the conquest of Málaga in 1487 converted to Catholicism with Ferdinand as his godfather, and changed his name to Pedro de Venegas. Alonso was the father of Pedro de Granada Venegas, the founding ancestor of the Casa de Granada Venegas, marquises of Campotéjar, a noble Castilian family who has taken great care in

³⁵⁶ AGS RGS 1494 II, f. 20. Also transcribed in José Antonio López Nevot, “Los Granada Venegas,” pp. 351-352.

the *fama* of the family reputation over the centuries. The Granada Venegas were Knights of Santiago and Calatrava, despite the supposed requirements of *limpieza de sangre*.³⁵⁷ The Venegas and later the Granada Venegas came to hold many important government and military offices, and even acted as Granada's representatives in the *cortes* of Castilla. This is one of the most complete examples we have today of the assimilation of Granadan elites into Castilian society. However, this story of sixteenth-century assimilation was in fact a recent reversal of an earlier story of fifteenth-century assimilation. Seco de Lucena has demonstrated that the Granada Venegas were well known not only to have married into families of relatives of the Nasrid family, but their own ancestor was a Christian captive, the son of the Castilian nobleman, the lord of Luque, Egas Venegas.³⁵⁸

Alonso Venegas was named as *trujamán mayor* in 1494 and confirmed in 1495, but he did not begin actively working in this capacity until the municipal council of Granada had been well and truly consolidated, of which he became an *regidor* in 1499.³⁵⁹ The *cabildo* had been functioning since at least 1497 as a bilingual organism, who employed translators and interpreters not only so that the *cabildo* could interact with the residents of the town and countryside, but so that councilmen could interact between themselves.³⁶⁰ Many of the first *regidores*, even as late as 1501, needed the services of an interpreter even to vote on a resolution. This interpreter was often Alonso Venegas, himself one

³⁵⁷ On intermarriage with relatives of the ruling Nasrid dynasty, see José Antonio García Luján, "Geneología del linaje de los Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada (1432), hasta la extinción de la varonía del linaje (1660)," in *Nobleza y monarquía: Los linajes nobiliarios en el reino de Granada, siglos XVI-XIX. El linaje Granada Venegas, Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Huescar, 2010: pp. 13-43. The aspiration of translators to these military orders is a theme we will see again in the case of late 17th-century Oran.

³⁵⁸ Luis Seco de Lucena, "Alamines y Venegas, cortesanos de los Nasrís," *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* X/1 (1961): 126-142, pp. 133-134.

³⁵⁹ Venegas submitted his appointment as *trujamán mayor* to the *cabildo* on May 22, 1500. Document 24 in Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad*, 2005, pp. 349-350. He was named as *regidor* nearly a year earlier on May 26, 1499, while his father did not receive his appointment as *regidor* until November 3, 1500. See José Antonio López Nevot, "Los Granada Venegas, regidores, alguaciles mayores de Granada y procuradores de la ciudad en las cortes de Castilla (siglos XV-XVII), p. 329.

³⁶⁰ □ According to recent historiography, and with good reason, between 1492 and 1500 there were two distinct municipal governments in the capital city of Granada: one Christian and the other Muslim. The years after 1492 witnessed rapid and severe changes in royal policies, culminating in the rebellion of the Albaicín on September 20 1500, after which time, according to historians, the mudéjar city council was eliminated. From that time forward, the *cabildo* (town council) of Granada was reformed with *regidores* and *jurados* who were all Christians, at least nominally, since many were quite recent converts.

of the first *regidores*, who would translated for his colleagues before casting his own vote.³⁶¹ As we will see in Chapter 4, in his office as *trujamán mayor*, Alonso de Venegas headed a team of municipal and regional interpreters.³⁶²

In the Granada context, the *trujamán* was indeed a translator, having shed the closely related activities of the *alfaquete*. As we shall see in detail in the next chapter, the office persisted in Granada until the 1550s, having passed from Alonso Venegas to the *romanceador* Juan Rodríguez in 1532.³⁶³ In contrast, and where we turn in chapter 3, the office of *trujamán* in North Africa retained much of the commercial and oral components that were associated with it in its medieval incarnations.

As the first Castilian *trujamán mayor* to be employed outside of the frontier context, Alonso Venegas still bridged different linguistic and religious communities. We will devote much more attention to him in the next chapter, but it is worth noting here that although Alonso Venegas headed a tradition of Granadan *trujamanería* that evolved to be much more closely tied to the world of textual and legal translation, in his own person connected Granada to the new administrative politics in North Africa. In addition to his duties as a member of the Granada *cabildo* and his work coordinating the translation work of the other interpreters still found time to pursue personal glory in the service of the king, including the conquest of Oran.

³⁶¹ In the particular session to which I am referring, which concerned certain olive presses, two other anonymous interpreters were present who also served as witnesses, and who were paid a *ducado* each for their services. This is yet another precedent for the normal practice of performing a translation as a team, including the presence of witnesses. This latter practice has a particular echo to Muslim notarial and legal practices, as Amalia Zomeño has demonstrated.

³⁶² Most of these officials were Castilian mudejars who had travelled to Granada looking for opportunities after the conquest (Diego de Écija, Lope Castellanos, Mora and Xarafi of course). Some were mudejars from Granada (Fisteli, Leon and the other elite).

³⁶³ José Antonio López Nevot, *La organización institucional del municipio de Granada durante el siglo XVI (1492-1598)*, p. 333.

D) The Language Ideologies of the Frontier

The interpreter has been described in much of the secondary literature as an office for which there were no standard norms and regulations. While it is certainly true that there was a tremendous amount of unregulated, *ad hoc* interpretation that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean, in fact the office of the *interprete*, and in particular the Arabic interpreter, was regulated. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the duties, rights, and obligations of the holders of this office were tested in what from our point of view may be seen as different military, commercial, and colonial laboratories. Not all multilingual interaction occurred via the mediation of these officially appointed individuals, of course, nor did all of the mediation of these individuals necessarily occur under the purview of their royal appointment. Nonetheless, beginning with the *reyes católicos*, the medieval categories of *intérprete* and *trujamán* would begin to be subject to similar processes of administrative consolidation as are usually identified with the construction of a "modern" centralized state that is often credited to Ferdinand and Isabel.

What does the development of a professional category for this incarnation of language, the interpreter, tell us about the language ideologies which were in play on the frontier at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries? Throughout the medieval period and the transitional period of the frontier, the attitude toward language appears to have been overwhelmingly pragmatic. There was little or no association of language and religion, and little attention paid to the religious identity of the multilingual agents other than sometimes referring to a *judío* or *moro*. Nonetheless, there was an increasing recognition of language as a special skill, which must be demonstrated in order to perform the job of the interpreter.

The contemporary study of language ideologies is particularly interested in the social position of individuals as they are associated with language. It is argued that this binding of language and social position is a crucial part of the naturalization of hierarchies, one of the primary focuses of the study

of language ideology. From an individual reading of the normative texts of treaties, lawsuits, and appointments, it would appear that social position has little bearing on the standing and linguistic identity of multilingual agents. However, when read together against the context of the shifting Iberian frontier, the ways in which interpreters and translators participate in and are subject to the naturalization of hierarchies becomes clearer. As we will continue to discuss in the following chapter, and with particular attention to the colonial context under analysis in chapter two, at the same time that interpreters performed a vital role as intermediaries and representatives of their linguistic communities as a proxy for different religious communities, they were also crucial agents of control for the state itself.

Chapter 3

Bilingual Administration and Networks of Commerce and Information: The Presidios

A. Iberian Precedents and the Mediterranean Context: Creating and Maintaining the Bilingual Frontier

i. Creating the Bilingual Frontier

a. *Establishing Fronteras: A Presidio System*

At the end of the fifteenth century, there was plenty of opportunity for bilingual interaction and professional advancement within the Peninsula, and during the process of *reconquista* the Castilian kings also conducted trade and diplomatic relationships with Arabic-speaking powers across the Mediterranean, to the east and west.³⁶⁴ Neither did Arabic-language diplomacy cease after Boabdil had been safely bundled off to Morocco. The Catholic Kings continued their commercial and diplomatic relationships with different powers across the Mediterranean, from Egypt in the east to Tlemecen across the Strait of Gibraltar.³⁶⁵

However, the main Mediterranean stage for Arabic-Castilian interaction for the first half of the sixteenth century was the Spanish North African presidios, temporal and spatial extensions of the vanished Iberian frontier between Castile and Granada. In the words of Emilio Sola, "in the sixteenth century, the socioeconomic world of the medieval andalusian frontier seemed to expand across the Mediterranean."³⁶⁶

The establishment of Spanish Mediterranean presidios began in 1497 under the aegis of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Juan de Gúzman commissioned Pedro de Estopiñán to take the

³⁶⁴ For example, in 1483 Ferdinand as King of Aragon signed a treaty alliance with the King of Tunis. Doc. 36. 23-V-1483 in Torre, *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales*, Vol. 1.

³⁶⁵ See the many documents related to correspondence of the Catholic Kings with Arabic-speaking and Muslim kingdoms like Bugia in Torre, *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, v. 1-6, 1949-1951.

³⁶⁶ "el mundo socioeconómico de la frontera andalusí medieval parece expandirse en el siglo XVI al Mediterráneo." Emilio Sola, "Carlos V y la Berbería. El context de la frontera mediterránea en la época de Carlos V," in *Carlos V. Los moriscos y el Islam*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 2004, p. 431.

abandoned North African site of Melilla and this became the first Spanish *frontera*, a term used at the time to denote a military holding in enemy territory.³⁶⁷ The taking of Melilla was the first step in establishing a string of *frontera* presidios, a process that was continued by Ferdinand of Aragón as king and regent of Castile until the taking of Tripoli in 1510.³⁶⁸ The soldiers sent on campaign in the Mediterranean between 1492 and 1510 were the immediate heirs to the experience of the War of Granada, and many participated in both campaigns. As the sites were conquered and the new Castilian outposts established, each presidio would be headed by a member of the Andalusian nobility, whose energies, it may be argued, so effectively deployed in the conquest of Granada, the Crown wished to continue to harness for its own politics of expansion.³⁶⁹ As Gutierrez Cruz has argued, the North African presidios were subject to a new set of royal administrative policies that were directly motivated by the outcome of the *Guerra de Granada*. One of these, I will show, was the establishment of bilingual administrators, which would in turn generate a linguistic oligarchy in the Mediterranean branch of the empire.

Under Charles, Tunis and Bône were occupied in 1535 and Mahdia in 1550, but more of Ferdinand's major conquests were lost than new territories gained. Algiers, conquered in 1510, was lost in 1529 and not retaken in the ill-fated enterprise of 1541.³⁷⁰ Bougie, Mahdia, and Tripoli were all lost between 1550 and 1555. Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, Spain's westernmost holding along the coast of Africa, conquered in 1476, was lost in 1550. The Portuguese holdings in what is now Morocco were similarly depleted.³⁷¹ Of all the Spanish holdings taken during by Ferdinand, and not

³⁶⁷ Zurlo, *Centa et Melilla*, p. 13.

³⁶⁸ Mazalquivir (1505), Caçaça (1506), Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (1508), Oran (1509), Bougie and the peñón of Algiers, along with Tripoli (1510).

³⁶⁹ The presidio captaincies were granted via a contract between crown and nobleman (*asiento*) which stipulated the amount the Crown would pay the nobleman for maintaining the presidio and its garrison, as well as what kind of military force and fortifications would be maintained. Similar contracts were drawn up between the Crown and the Duke of Medina Sidonia (Melilla, 1497-1500), the Alcaide de los Donceles (Mazalquivir, 1505, and Oran, 1509), and the Duke of Alba (Bugía, 1510). Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, pp. 66-78

³⁷⁰ Daniel Nordman, *Tempête sur Alger: L'expédition de Charles Quint en 1541*, Paris: Bouchene, 2011.

³⁷¹ Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978, pp. 40-41.

lost by Charles, only Melilla and Oran survived for any length of time as what can be considered a Spanish “colony,” although the character of both cities was military above all else. The rocky outcrop on the north coast of Morocco known as Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera was captured from corsairs in 1508, lost in 1520, ceded to the Ottomans in 1554, and finally recaptured by the Spanish in 1564.³⁷² By the time of Philip II's reign, the only presidios left in Spanish hands were Oran and Melilla, in addition to the tiny garrison at the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera.³⁷³

b. Bilingual Treaties under Charles V: The return of the co-text

In addition to the municipal needs for a translator on the commercial frontier of the Mediterranean, there was still a diplomatic frontier between Castile and Arabic-speaking Muslim territories. In Charles's reign, many treaties were signed with North African rulers. In their form, the treaties and alliances that were negotiated under Charles V and his agents, and even under Philip II for the first years of his reign, retained the traditional medieval characteristics of treaties of peace, friendship, and commerce. That is, both sides of the negotiation were expected to bring sufficient credentials (*cartas de poder* or *poderes*), which would be translated as needed. The actual instruments of the treaty, signed and sworn out on the Gospels and Quran, were drawn up in multiple bilingual versions, harkening back to the treaty formats that were used before the War of Granada. For example, in 1521, the Castilian representative kept one copy for himself, filed one in the “libros de Sus Magestades” in Oran, and brought one back to the royal court in Castile, while a fourth copy was sent to Tremecen with the ambassador.³⁷⁴

³⁷² The Spanish have held it as a fortress ever since, despite numerous sieges in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yves Zurlo, *Ceuta et Melilla: Histoire, représentations et devenir de deux enclaves espagnoles*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004, pp. 14-16.

³⁷³ On the Portuguese side, more presidios were established along Morocco's Western coast, of which only Ceuta officially passed under Spanish control in 1580.

³⁷⁴ Mariño, *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. ccv. Mariño mentions the normal exchange of *three* Arabic-Castilian instruments, as opposed to the *two* of the medieval period, so that one copy could remain in the nearest presidio. See Doc. 3, “Capitulación (1521),” pp. 23-24.

These multiple copies were generated by a combined process of oral negotiation and written drafting. The reading aloud of the treaties was an important part of the translation process itself, as in the 1535 treaty of Tunis.³⁷⁵ According to the report of the king's secretary Francisco de los Cobos, "the aforementioned King of Tunis, having first listened to the aforementioned capitulations which were written in Castilian by means of the interpretation and pronunciation of the aforementioned interpreters, read the text in Arabic." Charles is said to have listened to the treaty as well to have ratified it, though not in both languages as the King of Tunis did.³⁷⁶ According to Sadok Boubakker, certain mistakes in the Arabic treaty indicate, however, that the Tunisian scribes were not allowed to intervene in the final version.³⁷⁷ The translation was made by Alvar Gómez de Orozco el Zagal, who was put in charge of neighboring Bône at the same time. This treaty was also issued in four copies, two Arabic and two Castilian, all four signed by both parties. In the copies which have been preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas, the Arabic and Castilian versions--though separate documents--are bound together with silk thread to make one volume.³⁷⁸

As was the case along the Castile-Granada frontier, the treaty was announced publicly by heralds, and it seems likely that the announcement was made in both Arabic and Castilian. Although the languages are not specified, the scribe noted that the two official *pregoneros* (town criers) announced the treaty in the main plaza in front of a crowd of Christians, Jews, and Muslims. They announced the peace in the presence of the Castilian and Tremceni representatives, "de berbo ad berbum," (word for word) and "desde el principio e cabo dellos," (from beginning to end) and we

³⁷⁵ The actual content of the treaty is again a reminder of the medieval treaties, with clauses governing the circulation of men and goods, tribute payments, and captive rendition. Unlike the treaties of the medieval Iberian frontiers, however, in this treaty the status of a Spanish consul was also negotiated. Boubakker, "L'empereur Charles Quint et Mawlay al-Hasan," pp. 30-33 and the edition of the Arabic text, pp. 58-72.

³⁷⁶ "el dicho Rey de Túnez, haviendo primero entendido la dicha capitulación scripta en lengua castellana por la interpretación y declaración de los dichos intérpretes y leydo la de aráuigo." Doc. 7, "Capitulación entre el Emperador y el Rey de Túnez, Muley Hazen (Torre de Agua, 6 agosto 1535)" *Carlos V. Norte de Africa*, p. 52.

³⁷⁷ Boubakker, "L'empereur Charles Quint et Mawlay al-Hasan," p. 30. Although scholars debate the level of Charles' interest in North African expansion, it is worth noting that he signed the treaty as "emperador de Africa." See Boubakker, p. 19.

³⁷⁸ AGS PR 1151.

know that the document was bilingual.³⁷⁹ It also seems that it would have been the most pragmatic to publicly announce such a treaty in both Arabic and Castilian. In 1545, the renewed treaties were also announced publicly (*pregonado*), according to the longstanding custom.³⁸⁰ In the 1570s, the same practice was still in place, even in the local treaties between the governor of Oran and the local sheikhs, as in the case of the treaty between Pedro Luis Galcerán de Borja and certain nobles from Tremecén in c. 1571. Once the treaty had been negotiated, and both parties had sworn on their holy books:

["The Maestro de Montesa ordered that each and every one of the twelve chapters and conditions [of the treaty] be written in Castilian and Arabic, so that the aforementioned Muslim chiefs could read it and understand it and confirm it and ratify it publicly, swearing to it before the thirty witnesses: ten Christians and ten Muslim leaders and ten Jews. All of this was ratified before the notary public of the Town Council of Oran and the interpreters of these presidios."]

"Todos estos doce capítulos y condiciones dellos mandó ordenar el Maestre de Montesa en lengua alxamía castellana y en la arábiga, para que los dichos caudillos moros lo leyesen y entendiesen y confirmasen otorgándolo todo públicamente, y jurándolo delante de treinta testigos, diez cristianos y diez moros principales y diez judíos. Todo otorgado ante el Notario público del Ayuntamiento de Orán y de las lenguas é intérpretes de aquellas plazas."³⁸¹

In such a diplomatic regime, the interpreter was of course a crucial figure. Jewish agents played an important role in this setting, as scholarship has long attested, although there were also Christian agents who acted alongside them. Indeed, in the information economy that connected North African kingdoms and presidios with Spanish and Ottoman territories, there were many Jewish agents--some anonymous, some whose biographies are simply unknown to us--who acted as messengers, mail carriers, and ambassadors. Many of these individuals lived or moved all over North Africa, like Salomón Ternero who moved from Tremecén to Orán between acting as the King of

³⁷⁹ Doc. 3, "Capitulación (1521)," pp. 25-26. The use of the phrase "de berbo ad berbum" appears regularly in the negotiations in Charles and Philip II's reigns, and we will return to a discussion of this phrase later in the dissertation.

³⁸⁰ Doc. 25, "Capitulación de los criados y mensajeros del Rey de Tremecén con el Conde de Alcaudete (Orán, 12 enero 1545)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 129. The three interpreters were the Capitán Alvar Gómez el Zagal, who would serve as captain of the neighboring Bône and acted directly as its interpreter, Fray Bartolomé de los Angeles, an important figure in the bilingual evangelization campaigns that we will return to in chapter 3, and fray Diego Valentín.

³⁸¹ Diego Suárez Montanés, *Historia del maestre último que fué de Montesa y de su hermano Don Felipe de Borja, la manera como gobernaron las memorables plaças de Orán y Marzuelquivir, reynos de Tremecén y Ténez en Africa, siendo allí capitanes generales, uno en pos del otro, como aquí se narra*, Madrid: Tello, 1889, pp. 327-332.

Tremecen's ambassador in 1521 and as a resident (*morador*) witness in the 1533 lawsuit discussed below. However, since Orán had the largest population, was a thriving commercial site, had the most elaborated Castilian administrative apparatus, and would retain Spanish sovereignty for more than two centuries, several families in the Jewish community of Oran were able to obtain an official appointment as an interpreter, and hold on to this appointment over generations.³⁸²

B. Commerce and Diplomacy: A Bilingual Administration

i. Maintaining the Bilingual Frontier

a. The Multilingual Administration of the Presidios: The heritage of the medieval frontier

The presidios were administered by nobles, and were overseen by a number of royal officials.³⁸³ Royal oversight was performed in the person of the *veedor* and the lieutenant of the Captain or Governor of the presidio. The king sent occasionally a *juez de residencia* to investigate improprieties as necessary. This was the case in 1516 when the king sent the nobleman Lope Hurtado de Mendoza as the *juez de residencia* to investigate complaints of corruption concerning Martin de Argote, the Alcaide de las Doncelas's lieutenant in Oran. Like the medieval *jueces de las querellas*, discussed in chapter 2, Lope Hurtado was commanded to investigate and execute justice on behalf of the Muslim subjects of the neighboring king of Tremecen, as well as the Jewish communities in and around Oran and Mazalquivir. To undertake this task, Lope made special use of two interpreters (one of whom was in

³⁸² This process is the subject of chapter 4. One of the earliest references to a member of this group acting in an official capacity is the 1537 "Testimonio de las declaraciones de Jacob y Bula Araez (Oran, 5-6 diciembre, 1537), doc. 11 in *Carlos V. Norte de África*, pp. 72-74.

³⁸³ Oran was originally under the command of Pedro Navarro, but the captaincy ultimately went to Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Alcaide de los Donceles, who already held the post in neighboring Mazalquivir. These captaincies imposed no little inconvenience on their holders, as the Count of Tendilla explained his own reasons for not applying for the job, and it was widely held that whoever had Mazalquivir should also be in charge of Oran. See Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, pp. 73-74.

the regular employ of the King of Tremecen) and two scribes, since there was only one scribe active at the time in Oran.³⁸⁴

The *jueꝝ* was not the only former frontier office to be transferred across the Mediterranean. After 1492, the primary captive trade would take place across the Mediterranean, a frontier on which the medieval *alfaqueque mayor* technically had no jurisdiction.³⁸⁵ However, the crown had a keen interest in preserving the office, and in 1511 Juana issued a blanket order to all Spanish personnel in the Mediterranean to respect the activities of the *alfaqueques*.³⁸⁶ These agents were now firmly established on the Mediterranean frontier, although uniformly based in the Peninsula and not in North Africa.³⁸⁷ Where previously those officials had been posted to the principal *puertos secos* along the frontier with Granada, by 1514 they were posted along the coast of southern and southeastern Iberia. The Crown had displaced the longstanding medieval politics of the frontier from the border in the Guadalquivir Valley and Murcia to the Mediterranean sea.

The Mediterranean presidios resembled in many features the medieval frontier communities, the inland *plazas frontizeras* like Alcalá la Real.³⁸⁸ Like the presidios, those medieval *plazas frontizeras* were under the control of a military leader (for example, the tenancy of Alcalá la Real was held by

³⁸⁴ Diego Fernández de Córdoba defended his lieutenant Martín de Argote against Lope de Hurtado's reports to the queen, and Hurtado de Mendoza was accused of being far too permissive toward the Jewish communities and Muslim merchants. Hurtado's party argued that such permissions were for the good of the community, since if the Jews were not allowed to practice their religion they would leave, and take all of the commerce (primarily with Muslims) with them. Although Fernández de Córdoba and Argote's party continued to argue against Hurtado, ultimately the religious permissiveness and institutionalized respect was left as the norm in the presidio. For a description of the episode, see Gutiérrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, pp. 92-99. Hurtado de Medoza's report is reproduced in the documentary appendix, pp. 370-379.

³⁸⁵ The imposition of an *alfaqueque mayor* over the many local *alfaqueques* whose profits benefited the local communities had long been a point of contention, and resulted in many lawsuits against the *alfaqueque mayor* in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Since neither the *Siete Partidas* nor the later law codes had specified that the *alfaqueque mayor* had any jurisdiction outside of the Iberian Peninsula, once the frontier had disappeared, local communities found the imposition of a royal *alfaqueque* particularly offensive. García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor," p. 43.

³⁸⁶ García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor," p. 44.

³⁸⁷ Where they stepped on the toes of local *alfaqueques* and the members of the military and charitable religious orders who also participated actively in captive rendition. In 1514, the *Ordenamiento del Alfaqueque* mandated that these non-royal agents were allowed to redeem captives, but they had to inform the *alfaqueque mayor* and ask for a license to do so. García Fernández, "La alfaquequería mayor," Doc. 2, pp. 53.

³⁸⁸ Unfortunately, no presidio *Ordenanzas* have survived, with the exception of Bugia. These *ordenanzas*, along with the *asientos*, were a way for the Crown to assert control over the governors of the presidios.

different branches of the Fernández de Córdoba family, the same family who later staffed the governorship of Oran for many generations).³⁸⁹ As an incentive to much-needed immigration, the Crown continued to sanction exceptional privileges in frontier communities well into the sixteenth century. Charles V's 1525 *carta puebla* to Oran repeats the privileges and obligations of the medieval Andalusian *plazas frontizeras*, in particular with respect to taxation. Residents of Oran would be exempt from almost all normal taxes, with the exception of the *moneda forea* (a special municipal tax).³⁹⁰ The 1525 privilege was renewed by Phillip II in 1565 and Phillip III in 1611.³⁹¹

In 1512 Juana named an *escribano de los diezmos e aduanas dela çibdad de Oran*. This was Lorenço de Abedano, who held the office until 1534, when he renounced it in favor of Pedro García Camaron.³⁹² As had been the case in the *puertos secos*, this was an office that went to a relatively high-ranking individual.³⁹³ Like the medieval *escribanos de aduanas*, the *escribano* of Oran would manage a team of subordinates, who would "write down all the merchandise, taxed and untaxed, prohibited or permitted, which arrived to the aforementioned city [of Oran] to the customs house, [and] go to see the cargo of that city, and you are invested with the rights to the *alcabala* (sales tax) and other [rights]

³⁸⁹ Gen Liang, *Family and Empire: The Fernández de Córdoba*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

³⁹⁰ For a detailed review of the contracts between towns and the monarch concerning their privileges after conquest from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century, see Francisco Alijo Hidalgo, "Privilegios a las plazas frontizeras con el reino de Granada," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987: 19-35. The privilege of forgiving crimes, present along the medieval inland frontier, was also transferred to North Africa. See Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, "La frontera de allende. Documentos para su estudio. El privilegio de los homicianos de Mazalquivir (1507)," *Crónica Nova* 20 (1992): 343-360.

³⁹¹ AGS, Libros de Privilegios y confirmaciones, Libro 313, article 2, Document CCCXXVI in González, *Colección de privilegios, franquezas, exenciones y fueros concedidos a varios pueblos y corporaciones de la Corona de Castilla, copiados de orden de S. M.*, Tomo VI, Madrid: 1883, pp. 498-502.

³⁹² AGS CCA-Oficios, 23-1 no. 146 [March 20, 1512] and 240 [February 11, 1535] (old foliation). The transfer of office actually occurred several months earlier in November 1534. AGS RGS 1534-XI, s.f. In 1535, Camaron traveled to the court to request the necessary documentation to prove that he held the appointment legitimately in the eyes of the Crown, since Lorenço hadn't been able to give him the right papers.

³⁹³ Pedro García Camaron became a *regidor* in the *cabildo* of Oran before taking over the *escribanía de la aduana*. AGS RGS 1532-III [March 22, 1532].

of your office, conforming with the laws of taxation and customs of my kingdoms."³⁹⁴ It was a highly regulated post, whose rules were based on the medieval practices of dry ports.

There was intensive commercial and diplomatic contact with different rulers in North Africa throughout the reign of Charles V and into that of Philip II.³⁹⁵ Many different agents facilitated this contact, some on a regular basis, some on an ad hoc basis. In Oran, unlike in the other presidios, however, a complex permanent office developed from the very first years of conquest and settlement. The municipal administration of Oran needed a regular professional corps of interpreters to handle commercial transactions and legal proceedings. In the following section, we will examine the initial normative development of this office, and in subsequent sections we will turn to the individuals who inhabited it and their personal, professional, and familial strategies.

ii. The *Trujamán Mayor* of Oran

What was this new frontier to be? A defensive outpost against the non-Christian cultures of the Mediterranean, or an extension of the lucrative frontier which had been lost with the incorporation of Granada into Castile? A close reading of the debates surrounding the office of the interpreter in North Africa indicates that this question was very much up for grabs in practice, and that the crown had work to do to ensure that the frontier coalesced around a lucrative pattern of trade rather than hostility.

³⁹⁴ "escriban todas las mercaderyas dezmeras e nondezmeras o vedadas o non defendidas q viniere a la dicha çibdad a la casa de la aduana della o yr o vieron de cargar dela dicha çibdad e ayays e llevays los derechos de las alcaualas e otras cosas de dicho oficio aveys e pertenesçientes conforme a las leyes de los diezmos e aduanas de mys reynos." AGS CCA-Oficios, 23-1 no 146.

³⁹⁵ Before the crisis of Portugal after the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578, Philip's North African politics of diplomacy were even less intensive than those of his father. In 1557 he opened treaty negotiations with the new Saadien dynasty, and in 1566 he signed a treaty with the king of Tunis. See doc. 41, *Carlos V. Norte de África*, and Ochoa Brun, *La diplomacia de Felipe II*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2003, p. 307. For a synthesis of Philip's North African policy, see Miguel de Bunes Ibarra, "Felipe II y el Mediterráneo: La frontera olvidada y la frontera presente de la monarquía católica," in *Felipe II (1527-1598): Europa y la monarquía católica*, José Martínez Millán (ed), Vol. 1, Madrid: Parteluz, 1998, pp. 97-110.

Very little has been written about the interpreters in the Spanish presidios under Ferdinand, Juana, and Charles V.³⁹⁶ A few names stand out in the documents that were collected and transcribed by French scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although scholars have not pursued analysis of these figures, or done more research to discover who they were or what roles they played.³⁹⁷ The single exception to this is the figure of Gonzálo Hernández, to whom we shall return below, who was the subject of two short biographical essays by Chantal de la Veronne in the Spanish volumes of the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. Even this erudite and thorough historian was unable to provide a complete picture of Hernández, and offered no details about other individuals who held a similar position, such as Gonzálo de Alcántara.

Rafael Gutierrez Cruz, who did indeed write the book on the early presidio experience and the way that the administration of those outposts was organized, drew an extremely vivid picture of those sites from documents in the archives of Simancas and Medina Sidonia. However, even after an exhaustive analysis of available sources, he was not able to offer much information about the role of multilingual agents on the North African frontier. He did draw attention to Ferdinand's 1508 appointment of a certain Miguel de Almenara as *intérprete de las çibdades e villas e lugares de moros de allende que están en la frontera de la villa e fortaleza de Mazalquivir*, an appointment that clearly antedates the conquest of Oran (though not the neighboring fortified port of Mazalquivir, conquered in 1505). Almenara already had a record in Ferdinand's service as a consul in Oran and Tremeçen, and was given his title as interpreter because of the services rendered "en los tratos que ha havido con los

³⁹⁶ More attention has been paid to these interpreters in the reigns of the later Habsburgs, where documentation is more plentiful, and we will return to discuss this later period in chapter 4. Some references to the first Jewish translators in Oran—Rudi Santorra, Jacob Cansino, and members of the Benismerro family—are evoked in histories of the later periods, but without any more description than a mention of their names.

³⁹⁷ Prime examples are F. Élie de la Primaudie, who collected, edited, and published *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique (1506-1574)*, a special issue of the *Revue Africaine* published in 1875, and the Colonel Henri de Castries, who oversaw the immense publishing project of the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, which at the time of his death spanned nearly twenty volumes with documents from France, England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The series was completed with the rest of the planned Spanish and Portuguese volumes in the 1960s.

moros de allende" (the dealings which have taken place with the North African Muslims).³⁹⁸ In February 1512, he also became one of the *jurados* of the Oran city council.³⁹⁹

Also in February 1512, Juana made a change in the position of *intérprete* in North Africa, granting it permanently (*de por vida*) to the *licenciado* Francisco de Vargas, in actual fact the head of the royal treasury. She specified that Vargas's appointment replaced that of Miguel de Almenara, who was no longer authorized to hold the position.⁴⁰⁰ Adding the appointment of *trujamán* and *intérprete* to the résumé of a highly ranked fiscal minister was no accident.⁴⁰¹ As had been the case on the Castilian-Granadan frontier and during the resettlement of conquered Granada, the role of the fiscal manager and the bilingual intermediary continued to go hand and hand.⁴⁰² Gutierrez Cruz concluded that the title must have "eminente honorífico," given the many titles that Francisco de Vargas, *tesorero general*, had accumulated in his prolific career.⁴⁰³ Indeed, Vargas was one of the most famous and wealthiest ministers in Charles V's government and one of the key financial managers of the Oran expedition and subsequent provisioning.⁴⁰⁴ He almost certainly, however, was unqualified to act as an Arabic interpreter.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁸ In 1502, Miguel de Almenar(*sic*) was the consul in Tremeçén. Doc. 48 (20-XI-1502, Madrid), in Torre, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos*, v. 6, p. 316. In 1505, Miguel de Almenara, as a vecino of Almería, was the *consul de Castilla* residing in Oran. In that position, and due to his commercial activities as a merchant, he had accrued debts in Tremeçén and was in trouble with the authorities there, to such an extent that Juana was forced to intervene. Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 108.

³⁹⁹ Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 108.

⁴⁰⁰ The 1512 *cédula*, addressed directly to Vargas, specifies that "vos solo o a quyen vuestro poder ovierree no el dicho miguel de almenara ny otros puede ni podiadan usar el dicho oficio de ynterprete e trujaman en la dicha çibdad de oran e Reyno de tremeçén." AGS RGS 1512-2-no. 185.

⁴⁰¹ As a similar precedent, Alonso Sánchez, treasurer of Valencia, in 1510 had been briefly granted by Juana a monopoly of all trade with Oran and the surrounding territories, a command which the queen undid in 1511. See Chantal de la Veronne, "Les villes d'Andalousie et le commerce avec la Berbérie (1490-1560)," in *SIHM, Espagne*, T. II, p. 15.

⁴⁰² As we shall see in many examples in this dissertation, history repeats itself. In 1420, Alonso Díaz de Vargas, *camarero* of Henry II, established an entailment (*mayorazgo*) in favor of his son in which his venal offices were part of his patrimony: "Mando a Ruy Diaz, mi fijo legitimo [...] toda la renta mia de la exea e meajas de la correduria que pertenesçe a lo morisco desta dicha çibdad de Cordova." ARChG, C. 512, L. 2,370, p. 1, cited in Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada con los Reinos de Córdoba y Jaén," 97. I have not to date found any evidence that Alonso Díaz de Vargas and Francisco de Vargas were related.

⁴⁰³ Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 99.

⁴⁰⁴ Commenting on the professional accumulation of Francisco de Vargas throughout his career, Charles V's *cronista* recorded that "tiene tantos oficios que sólo él tiene de salarios tanto como todo el Concejo." Quoted in Ramón Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros: La hacienda de Castilla*, Tomo II, Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1949, p. 85. For a

Nonetheless, the post of *ynterprete e trujamán de la çibdad de Orán e del reyno de Tremezen* was a critical office, and one that required knowledge of Arabic. The Kingdom of Tremecen abutted the Oranese hinterlands and its sovereign swore regular fealty to the Spanish monarchs via bilingual treaties beginning in 1517, although friendly relations were already underway by 1511.⁴⁰⁶ Although the office had been transferred from Almenara to Vargas in February 1512, in practice Almenara retained control over the position, and was paid 30,000 *maravedíes* per year from Vargas's salary.⁴⁰⁷ Vargas himself confirmed Almenara as his "tenyente" (lieutenant) on April 5, 1512.⁴⁰⁸ It was a common practice, as mentioned above, for nobles or high-ranking functionaries to accrue titles and salaries for various public offices, even if they did not carry out the tasks associated with this office.

Lacking more documentation, we must assume that this division of labor and remuneration continued until November 3, 1521, when Francisco de Vargas renounced his office as *intérprete* of Oran in favor of his son, the *comendador* Diego de Vargas.⁴⁰⁹ Francisco de Vargas lived until 1524, but he began to renounce his many offices in 1522, when he gave up the title of *tesorero*.⁴¹⁰ There seems to have been no disruption--from the point of view of the central authority--in Miguel de Almenara's exercise of the actual day-to-day tasks of the office. In 1531, as a *vecino* of the interior community Baza rather than coastal Almería or even Oran, Almenara requested and was granted an official copy of his legitimate appointment as Vargas's deputy for the widely conceived "oficio de ynterprete

more contemporary bibliography, see Carlos Javier de Carlos, *Carlos V y el crédito de Castilla: El tesorero general Francisco de Vargas y la Hacienda Real entre 1516 y 1524*, Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000, 15–20. David Alonso García, "La financiación de las Guardas de Castilla a principios de la Edad Moderna," in *La financiación de las Guardas de Castilla a principios de la Edad Moderna*, Enrique García Hernán and Davide Maffi (eds.), Madrid: CSIC, 2006, pp. 787-804, 796–798. Juan Carretero Zamora, *Cortes, monarquía, ciudades. Las Cortes de Castilla a comienzos de la época moderna (1476-1515)*, Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1983, 83.

⁴⁰⁵ The royal *cronista* Galindez de Carvajál insisted that his family was *limpia de sangre*, that is, descended from *cristianos viejos*. Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Tomo II, p. 86.

⁴⁰⁶ Mariño, *Carlos V. Norte de Africa*, pp. cxiv-cxxxi.

⁴⁰⁷ March 7, 1512. ARChG, leg. 221bis, Sig. 2, ff. 22r-24r.

⁴⁰⁸ ARChG, leg. 221bis, Sig 2, f. 24v.

⁴⁰⁹ ARChG, leg. 221bis, Sig 2, ff. 9v-10r.

⁴¹⁰ He concluded his career, begun in 1510, at the end of December 1522, though he continued as acting treasurer into 1523. Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Tomo II, p. 70 and pp. 83-84.

de las çibdades e villas e lugares que estan en la frontera de allende" (the office of interpreter for the cities and towns and places which are on the North African frontier).⁴¹¹

Oran became an important node in commercial networks between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa especially after 1525, when the Crown ordered that "all merchandise destined for Algiers or any other place in the land of the *moros*" had to make an obligatory stop in Oran.⁴¹² The Spanish Mediterranean frontier that was embodied by populations along the North African coast was closely tied to communities on the opposite shore.⁴¹³ Provisions came primarily from Spain, as well as trading with the surrounding North African communities. When Charles named Oran as the only legitimate port, a lot was at stake, especially since the livelihood of many cities in Spain, like Málaga, was dependent on the brisk Mediterranean trade.⁴¹⁴ Any position which controlled this now-bottlenecked trade would have had an enormous potential for profit.

The position of *trujamán mayor* was just such a position, and in 1532 when the War Council (*Consejo de Guerra*) confirmed that Oran was the only legitimate port for commerce with North

⁴¹¹ ARChG, leg. 221bis, Sig 2, f. 22r (copy). In fact, this document still referred to Francisco de Vargas as the office holder, although a provision was made for the arrangement to continue with whomsoever took over the office after Francisco.

⁴¹² In 1528 Charles rescinded this monopoly and re-ratified the *cédulas* of 1490 and 1511 that had guaranteed free commerce. Nonetheless, as late as 1532, Charles was still deciding whether or not to establish a wholesale embargo for trade with North Africa. To this end, he circulated a survey to various coastal and commercial cities. There were a variety of responses, ranging from invoking the language of crusade to support isolationism, to insisting worries that if Spain ceased to trade with North Africa, all of those profits would be diverted to the Italian trading cities (the Republic of Venice was of special concern). After this survey, the *concejo de Guerra* decided to prohibit commerce, leaving only Oran as a legitimate port of trade, although it doesn't appear that this embargo really took effect until 1549 Chantal de la Veronne, "Les villes d'Andalousie et le commerce avec la Berbérie (1490-1560), in *SIHM, Espagne*, T. II, p. 16. Also, Doc. V and Doc VII, *SIHM, Espagne*, T. I, pp. 44-52 and 57-60. See also Mariño, *Carlos V. Norte de África*, pp. lxx-lxxii for a discussion on the changing policies of allowing and prohibiting commerce. In 1550, even in Orán commerce with Muslims would be prohibited (though it seems likely that Jewish merchants were able to go about their business). In 1545, the King of Tremecén had agreed to be subject to these constraints and to send all merchandise through Orán. See Doc. 23, "Capitulación de los criados y mensajeros del Rey de Tremecén con el conde de Alcaudete (Orán 12 enero 1545)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 124. In 1552, after many complaints from the Peninsula, especially from Málaga, Charles lifted the commercial ban. Mariño, p. lxxiii.

⁴¹³ In 1514 the crown ordered that the *Fuero de Málaga* be applied in Oran as the *Fuero de Oran*. Gutierrez Ruiz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 102.

⁴¹⁴ It is worth noticing that the control exercised over Mediterranean ports by Francisco de Vargas was not limited to North African ports. Vargas also oversaw the taxation of the goods that left Spain (via Málaga, for example) with the "cristianos nuevos" who were moving "de allende." Bejarano, *DRRC*, doc. 416. He also oversaw the royal payments to the duke of Alba for the tenancy of Bugía. Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 90.

Africa, the competition for offices that controlled this commerce intensified. As a royal appointment, the post of *trujamán mayor* was overseen by the Crown's administrative apparatus, so that complaints or adjustments were first submitted to the Real Chancillería in Granada before reaching the monarchs if higher adjudication was needed.⁴¹⁵ Thus in early 1533, based on reports of abuse of the office of *intérprete e trujamán* in Oran and the Kingdom of Tremecén, one of the *jurados* on the Oran city council, Diego de Castillo, brought a suit against the interpreters.⁴¹⁶ In February 1533, when the lawsuit began, Miguel de Almenara still held the rights to the salary of this position, although in principle it was the *comendador* Diego de Vargas who was the titular *intérprete*, having inherited the position from his father in 1521. In 1531, Miguel de Almenara was still technically in charge of the exercise of the office. However, in 1533, two merchants named Miguel de Onate and Alvaro Hernández actually performed the office, claiming that they did so with the authorization (*poder*) of Diego de Vargas.⁴¹⁷

According to the Oran councilman Diego de Castillo, Miguel de Onate and Alvaro Hernández were guilty of a number of abuses of their position. These agents had apparently set themselves up in the port of Tremecén with a group of enforcers (*guardas*) where they obliged all of the Jewish and Muslim traders who came to port to register their goods and merchandise, charging them a fee to do so, something that was explicitly prohibited in the international treaties signed between Charles and the King of Tremecén in 1521.⁴¹⁸ Whether or not they had a right to this fee

⁴¹⁵ In 1514, via the Real Chancillería, the queen still received complaints that the office was not being paid as it should. AGS CCA, CED, Lib. 34, f. CCXI.

⁴¹⁶ Although dead for more than a decade, this would not be the first time that the management of one of Francisco de Vargas's offices was the subject of *mala fama*. Vargas, perhaps by virtue of having accumulated so much wealth, had a reputation for corruption. Again, according to the contemporary chronicler Galíndez de Carvajál, "nunca venia al Consejo sino cuando quería hacer algún negocio que le tocaba, o a sus amigos u déudos; e como pagava a los del Consejo podía hacer mal en lo que creía poderse. En la hacienda ha sido codiciosísimo y según la poca que él trujo, en poco tiempo ha allegado y gastado tanto que no parece posible poderlo un hombre hacer. De su persona y honestidad dicen que ha soltado mucho en ausencia de Vuestra Majestad." Quoted in Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Tomo II, p. 85.

⁴¹⁷ ARChG, 221bis sig. 2, ff. 14v-15r.

⁴¹⁸ In 1521, it was decided that "los mercaderes moros y judios ni otras personas ni a las mercaderías que fueren del dicho Reyno de Tremeçén o salieren para él, no se puedan detener; ni hazer agravio a los mercaderes," and "si le pidiere

was at the crux of the lawsuit, for Onate and Hernández claimed that it was part of the bundle of rights and privileges they held as representatives of the title-holder, Diego de Vargas. Diego de Castillo and his witnesses claimed, however, that the *trujamánés* had no such right because the office was predicated on the traditions from "tiempo de moros," (the era of Muslim rule) and the previous *trujamánés* had held no such lucrative privilege.⁴¹⁹ To add literal insult to financial injury, Onate and Hernandez were accused of mistreating the Jewish and Muslim traders "de obras y de palabras" (by word and deed).⁴²⁰ In addition to these grievous charges, there were many complaints that neither Onate nor Hernandez could speak nor understand Arabic, one of the most fundamental prerequisites for the position. The lawsuit, tried first in Oran was quickly decided in favor of Diego de Castillo, a coup for the local administration, but Onate and Hernandez brought an immediate appeal to the Real Chancillería in Granada which they won in early 1537.⁴²¹

This lawsuit, whose records are extant today in the Archive of the Real Chancillería de Granada (ARChG), in the city of Granada, to the best of my knowledge has received no scholarly attention. Contained within the nearly 100 folios (divided into two bound signatures, the second containing the original lawsuit and the first the appeal) are a series of documents detailing the administration and expectations of the *intéprete* in Oran from 1512 until the 1530s, and allow us to shed new light on this position.

What do we learn about the norms, regulations, expectations, and actual practices of this office from the 1533 lawsuit? First, that knowledge of Arabic was a fundamental prerequisite for the office is beyond a shadow of a doubt, but this linguistic dexterity was tied up in interesting ways with

o demandare alguna debda que deva, que dando fianças de estar a derecho con la persona que se lo pidiere." See Doc. 3, "Capitulación (1521)," p. 18. This was reconfirmed in 1536, see Doc. 8, "Asiento y capitulación de paz entre el Conde de Alcaudete, en nombre del Emperador, y el Rey de Tremecen, Muley Mohamad (Haste, 17 junio, 1536)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁹ ARChG, 221bis, sig. 1, 4v and sig. 2, f. 29v.

⁴²⁰ ARChG, 221bis sig. 2, f. 30v.

⁴²¹ The lawsuit began on February 6, 1533 and sentence was handed down on April 26, 1533. The appeal was issued on May 19, 1533, and the final resolution was concluded on February 27, 1537. ARChG, 221bis sig. 1 and 2.

commercial expertise. According to Diego de Castillo, the primary function of the *trujamán* in "tiempos de moros" was, as an Arabic speaker, to translate terms between merchants both in language and in merchandise. That is, the *trujamán* could help a Muslim merchant and a Christian merchant talk to one another, but he was also the agent in charge of assessing the transaction of goods to make sure that it was fair. These two kinds of "translation" were in fact the *trabajo* for which the *trujamán* was paid (rather than a fixed salary based on a royal appointment, according to Castillo).⁴²² Thus the *trujamán mayor* had an important commercial function in the customs office (and thus it is not surprising that the office be given to a treasurer, even if it were assumed that he would delegate responsibilities to his subordinates), but the ability to speak Arabic was also of paramount importance.

As had been the case for centuries along the Castile-Granada frontier, the post of *trujamán mayor* in Oran was closely related to commercial exchanges, although in the North African context the office did not have much to do with the still-brisk captive trade. It was thus a post based at the *aduana* (customs house), much like the earlier *escribano del diezmo y medio de lo morisco* and *escribano de sacas* along the inland frontier in the fifteenth century.⁴²³ However, as mentioned above, there was already an *escribano de la aduana* assigned to Oran.⁴²⁴ Given that there was also an administrator in charge of customs duties, the specialized linguistic abilities of the *trujamán* should have held even

⁴²² According to the seventh question in the *interrogatorio* prepared by Castillo, the witnesses were to confirm or deny whether "los trujamanes que a abido en tiempo de moros en esta çibdad eran e fueran de lengua arabiga para entremeterse e ser enterpretes quando eran llamados entre los xpianos que aquy contratavan con los moros e judios que no sabian la lengua de xpianos e para poder entender asy mysmo a los moros e judios tratantes e que el tal ynterprete e trujaman que ansy se hallava conçientar e convenyr e ygualar quales quieres mercaderias e contrataciones con quales quier personas e davan e pagavan por razon de su trabajo de averse hallado presente al ygualar de las tales contrataciones de mercaderias." ARChG, 221bis. sig. 2, f. 29v.

⁴²³ The office who controlled customs duties on the frontier had been institutionalized since the time of Alfonso X, and the regulations had been set down by the Cortes of 1390 in the "Ordenamiento de Sacas." See Rodríguez Molina, "Relaciones pacíficas en la frontera de Granada," 97–99. In the sixteenth century, according to what was set down in the *Novísima recopilación*, this institution was still regulated as it had been under John II, with little or no revision to the norms. See Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, Tomo II, p. 293.

⁴²⁴ On Abendano and García, see AGS CCA-Oficios, "Lorenço de Abendano Escribano de la Aduana de Oran" [March 20, 1512]. Additionally, Juana established the *escribanía mayor de las rentas de Orán* on February 20, 1512, in favor of Pedro de Velasco, who would oversee all of the taxable income in Orán that had to be submitted to the crown. Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 100.

more weight, and their purported rights to collect fees on merchandise, less. What was the relationship between the *trujamán mayor* and the *escribano de la aduana*? Unfortunately, there is no explicit mention made of the *escribanía de la aduana* in the otherwise so rich lawsuit contained in ARChG 221bis. However, Pedro García Camarón, who would become the *escribano de la aduana* in 1534, served as a witness to one of the documents issued by Francisco de Madrid in the name of Miguel de Onate and Alvaro Hernandez, who also signed as witnesses.⁴²⁵ This act as witness may imply a tacit approval of the fee-generating activities of the *trujamanes* at the customs office.

Examining the rest of the witness lists in the lawsuit paints a vivid picture of a closely knit web of agents involved in the circulation of information and commercial exchange. Thus we learn from the lawsuit that, perhaps as to be expected, many of the individuals employed as interpreters and messengers knew one another. Diego de Castillo may have brought the lawsuit, but in response the secretary Francisco de Madrid intervened as the representative (*procurador*) of Miguel de Onate and Alvaro Hernandez, calling as witnesses for the defense none other than Miguel de Almenara, the *jurado* Luis de Hernández, and a Muslim ambassador from the neighboring kingdom of Tremeçen.⁴²⁶ All four, Francisco de Madrid as well as the three proposed witnesses, had direct links to the world of interpreting and diplomacy. Miguel de Almenara was, of course, the first *intérprete y trujamán* appointed in North Africa, while Luis Hernández and Francisco de Madrid served as interpreters in various later treaty negotiations.⁴²⁷ The ambassador was most likely the alcaide Baudila ('Abd Allah)

⁴²⁵ AGS RGS 1536-XI. García Camarón had been appointed as *regidor* on March 22, 1532. AGS RGS 1532-III. ARChG, 221bis, Sig 1, f. 5v [May 19, 1533].

⁴²⁶ ARCG Caja 221bis, Pieza 1, fol. 20v.

⁴²⁷ See Doc. 15, "Capitulación entre el Virrey de Sicilia, en nombre de Carlos V, y el rey de Túnez," in *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 80 This *jurado* Luys Hernández de Córdoba is difficult to identify. He may indeed be Luis Hernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Comares, the *capitán general* and governor of the presidio, although he may have only been part of his household or otherwise associated with him (thus the similarity in name). In October 1534, Luis Hernández renounced his position as *jurado* on the city council of Oran, shortly after the *capitán* and governor renounced his charge on June 1. AGS RGS 1534-X. For a list of governors of Mazalquivir and Oran from 1505-1708, see Primaudie, *DOEA*, pp. 312-318. It is unlikely but not impossible that a Marques and the governor of the presidio would have held a position as *jurado* on the city council (he probably would have been a higher-ranking *regidor*). Even more confusing, there is a record of a Luys Hernández who was absent from Oran in February and March 1533 because he was in Espejo (the estate of the nobleman Luis Hernández de Córdoba) helping negotiate the treaty between Charles and the king of

ben Bogani, the ambassador who had negotiated a new treaty between Charles V and the king of Tremecen in March 1533.⁴²⁸ Although Francisco de Madrid proposed Baudilla as an initial witness for the defense, he seems to have been replaced by Hernando de Alcalá, an *escribano público* who was present at treaty negotiations resulting in the generation of bilingual texts.⁴²⁹ The trial was then put off for 80 days because none of the three defense witnesses were presently in Oran.⁴³⁰

Diego de Castillo was well prepared, however, and immediately discredited Miguel de Almenara as a biased witness, based on the fact that he earned his yearly salary from the income gathered by the agents assigned to perform the duties of the *trujamán*, in this case, the very same Miguel de Onate and Alvaro Hernández. Thanks to this objection, copies of various documents establishing Almenara's credentials have been preserved.

Many of Diego's eighteen witnesses are also a role-call of the world of North African *trujamanería*. The first five witnesses were Muslims from neighboring territories, and all provided their evidence by means of "lengua del capitan Gonzalo de alcantara ynterprete" (the tongue of Captain Gonzalo de Alcántara, interpreter), a trusted municipal and military intermediary to whom we will return in this chapter.⁴³¹ The fifth Muslim witness, Mahamet el Fistelí, *xeque* (sheikh, ruler) of

Tremecen, who is almost certainly the same Luys Hernández who was supposed to be a witness in the lawsuit. In the transcribed document, this Luys Hernández was acting as *lengua* in the negotiations and the exact wording leads me to suspect there is an error in the transcription: "[the Tlemçeni ambassador] dixo lo siguiente por lenguas de Andrea Bives y Luys Hernández, al Marqués de Comares, en presencia de my Francisco de Maçuela, escribano público de la dicha villa." "Al" and "el" frequently are interchangeable in *cortesana*, and the syntax of the sentence leads me to believe that this Luys Hernández, interpreter, was himself the governor of the presidio. See Doc. 5, "Capitulación entre el embajador del Rey de Tremecen y el Marqués de Comares, gobernador y capitán general de Tremecén y Ténez (Espejo, 14 marzo, 1533)," p. 35.

⁴²⁸ This negotiation, however, took place in Spain (in Espejo), where Luis Hernández was also present. It may be that the ambassador passed through Oran on his way to Spain, or this may refer to another ambassador. In any case, the ambassador was not ultimately called as a witness. See Doc. 5, "Capitulación (1533)," pp. 28-37.

⁴²⁹ Doc. 3, "Capitulación (1521)," *Carlos V. Norté de Africa*, p. 7 and p. 26.

⁴³⁰ Their absence, as well as their longstanding position as residents of Oran, was established by two other witnesses. ARChG, 221bis, Sig. 2, ff. 25r-v.

⁴³¹ In the *interrogatorio* those witnesses who did not know Castilian were "preguntado por lengua del capitan Gonzalo de alcantara ynterprete." ARChG, leg. 221bis, Sig. 2, f. 31r.

Mazalquivir, shared his name with a prominent *mudéjar* interpreter in Málaga, whose commercial and linguistic activities we will see more of in chapter 4.⁴³²

The next seven witnesses were Jews, all *moradores* of Oran (residents, though without the status of *vecino*). None of these individuals needed an interpreter, and, in fact, at least two, Jacob Alegre and Salomón Ternero, were employed as multilingual messengers across North Africa between at least 1529 and 1531.⁴³³ The last seven witnesses were Christians, among them Juan de la Para, "lengua vesino dela dicha çibdad de Oran" (interpreter and resident of the aforementioned city of Oran), and the abovementioned interpreter, Gonzalo de Alcántara.⁴³⁴

The prosecution insisted repeatedly that Onate and Hernandez were violating their terms of office because they were not acting as previous *trujamânes* had done in "tiempo de moros" (in the time of Muslim rule). The *trujamân mayor* was imagined from its inception as an extension of the same office as practiced in "tiempo de moros," a phrase used in Francisco de Vargas's 1512 appointment.⁴³⁵ In principle, this was not unlike the *trujamanía* granted to Alonso Venegas in 1494, which was also very specifically meant to imitate the duties and salary of the corresponding profession under the *reyes moros*.⁴³⁶ In Oran, any change in practice would have had a very real and worrying consequence, that the poorly treated Muslim and Jewish merchants "juran de no volver a

⁴³² Although I have no documentary evidence of a link--familial or otherwise--between Mahamat el Fisteli of Mazalquivir and Yahya el Fisteli (later Hernando de Morales) of Málaga, I would argue that it is not improbable that there was some connection between the two men. Their last name is a geographical *nisha*, indicating a common heritage at the inland Moroccan fortress town of Fishtala, nowhere near Oran or Málaga. Meanwhile, we also know that Yahya el Fisteli was put in charge of overseeing North African commercial relations after the Castilian conquest by none other than Hernando de Zafra. See Doc. 1.611 (Nov. 6, 1492) in Esther Cruces Blanco and José María Ruiz Povedano, *Inventario de acuerdos de las actas capitulares del concejo de Málaga (1489-1516)*, Granada: 2004. and the more extensive discussion in chapter 2.

⁴³³ Both Ternero and Alegre were involved in the 1521 treaty between the King of Tremecén and the governor of Oran, Ternero as "judío aljamiado, enbaxador e vasallo del Señor Rey de Tremeçen," and Alegre, "judío, yntérprete aljamiado." Gonzalo de Alcántara was also present in the capacity of principal interpreter. See Doc. 3, "Capitulación entre el Rey de Tremeçén y el segundo Marqués de Comares (Orán, 1 octubre 1521)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, pp. 7-26. Primaudie, *DOEA*, Doc. 43. "Lettre de Jacob Alegre écrite en hebreu." c. 1531.; Emilio Sola, "Carlos V y la Berbería. El context de la frontera mediterránea en la época de Carlos V," in *Carlos V. Los moriscos y el Islam*, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, 2004, pp, 433-434. c. 1529.

⁴³⁴ ARChG, 221bis, Sig. 2, ff. 31r-65v. I have found no other references to Juan de la Para in the documents consulted.

⁴³⁵ AGS RGS 1512-2-no.185

⁴³⁶ AGS RGS 1494 II, f. 20 and AGS RGS 1495 VIII, f. 19.

contratar en esta çibdad" (would swear to never return to conduct business in this city), a threat that would have had serious financial consequences for Spain, especially considering the structure of the trade embargoes at that time in the Mediterranean. Thus, Castillo argued, "Su Magestad es deservido en daño e perjuycio de sus rrentas rreales" ("Your Majesty is given only harm and prejudice against the royal rents").⁴³⁷ In 1520, the anonymous *corregidor* (royal representative) made a similar point regarding the harassment of, in particular, the Jewish community, warning that it would be wrong to chase them from Oran since they were so useful to commercial activity.⁴³⁸

The main complaints issued by Diego del Castillo concerned the improper levying of fees on trade goods, the physical and verbal abuse of the Muslim and Jewish traders, and the inconvenience of *trujamánés e intérpretes* who did not know any Arabic. However, the whole lawsuit in fact represented far more than whether two unqualified agents had overstepped their boundaries. Diego de Castillo undertook the lawsuit in the name of the city of Oran, as a member of the city council, against abuses committed by agents who were, ultimately, royal appointees. The key to understanding what was really at stake in this lawsuit was revealed in the last questions of Castillo's *interrogatorio* (questionnaire). The first nine of fifteen questions dealt directly with the abuses allegedly committed by Onate and Hernandez, but in question 9, Castillo states baldly that "el dicho derecho de la trujamanería es ya sydo contra la dicha libertad e franqueza [granted to the city]" ("the aforementioned right of *trujamanería* is in contravention of the liberties and local enfranchisement that had been granted to the city").⁴³⁹ That is, even if Onate and Hernández were performing their

⁴³⁷ ARChG, 221bis, sig. 2, f. 29r.

⁴³⁸ Doc. VI, *DOEA*, p. 30. In 1516, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza also argued that the Jewish community of Oran must be allowed to practice their religion or else they would leave the city and take their trade with them. Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 96.

⁴³⁹ The "previllegio" to which Castillo refers is most likely the *Privilegio á la ciudad de Orán e á la villa de Mazalquivir*, issued by Charles V on May 5, 1525. Indeed, this privilege promised that "de aquí adelante para siempre jamas los vecinos é moradores que en la dicha ciudad de Oran é villa de Mazarquivir viven é moran, y vivieren y moraren de aqueo adelante con casa poblada, sean francos, é libres, é quitos, y exentos de pagar, é que non paguen alcabala alguna de todas las mercaderías, é mantenimientos, y otras cualesquier cosas que en la dicha ciudad é villa vendieren é trocaron en cualquier

duties as they should have been, they were still in violation of the local rights that had been granted by Charles in 1525. Castillo also objected to the fact that neither Vargas nor his subordinates had presented any documentation of their appointments or rights to the city council. Finally, he explained what could happen if Charles would only intervene on the city's behalf: "If Your Majesty orders that the such rights not be collected in the manner in which they have been collected until the present [that is, falsely, by Onate and Hernández] he will be well served as will be this city and its public good (*res publica*) and all the other individuals who live there and conduct business there will receive great benefits."⁴⁴⁰ What was truly at stake was the balance of power between the "republican" powers of the city council, itself still dependent on the royal hierarchy, and the jurisdiction of royally appointed officials active in the presidio.⁴⁴¹ In an unexpected twist, the position of Arabic interpreter became the site of this contention between local and central powers on the newly forged frontier. This lawsuit is only the first example of how the position of Arabic interpreter in Oran would become a site of contention between royal, noble, and municipal powers.⁴⁴²

Much was at stake in the appointment of the *trujamán e intérprete* in Oran, and although so much trouble was taken to decide who would and who could hold the position in the 1530s, we have no more evidence about this particular commercial and linguistic office in the history of the Oran presidio. Nonetheless, the lawsuit gives us valuable insight into the norms in place for interpreters who were active in the 1530s and who were subsequently appointed. And although the

manera." Published in *Colección de privilegios, franquezas, exenciones y fueros concedidos a varios pueblos y corporaciones de la Corona de Castilla, copiados de orden de S. M.*, Tomo VI, Madrid: 1883, pp. 498-502.

⁴⁴⁰ "si su magestad manda que no se cobre el tal derecho de la manera que hasta agora se ha cobrado el sera servido y esta çibdad e rre publica della e todas las otras personas que en ella abian e rresyden e contratan rreçibiran gran bien e merçed." ARChG, 221bis, sig. 2, ff. 30v-31r.

⁴⁴¹ Diego de Castillo often referred to Oran as a *res publica*, and since 1514, on the precedent of the *fuero de Málaga*, the council members were chosen from, literally, out of a hat (*insaculación*). However, by the 1530s, some of the *jurados* were chosen instead by *elección*: Gonzálo de Alamos (AGS RGS, 1532-XII), and Alonso Villollos (AGS RGS 1535-XI).

⁴⁴² As we will examine in detail in chapter 4, the appointment of the head interpreter of Oran would become a pawn in the family competition between the Cansino and Sasportas clans in the middle of the seventeenth century, as well as between the noble governor of Oran and the king as to who held the power to appoint the official interpreter.

royal officials were ultimately successful in their appeal in 1537, the sparse documentation shows that although Vargas and his consorts won the battle, it was the *cabildo* of Oran that won the war.

C. A Linguistic Oligarchy: Translator Dynasties in the Oran Presidio

For the historian of language use and ideologies in the early modern Mediterranean, Orán is a perfect laboratory. The largest Spanish presidio, as well as one of the longest lasting (1509-1708 and 1732-1792), it was the only site which took on a truly municipal rather than purely military character in the sixteenth century. Very early, the presidio shifted from military garrison and node in the mail and commercial networks that crisscrossed the Mediterranean to becoming a Castilian town, albeit one that never lost its rough military character. Located in present-day Algeria, it was a relatively easy journey from the important port city of Algiers, which was under Ottoman control from 1529 until the French occupation in 1830. In the sixteenth century it was an important node for all kinds of exchanges--commercial, diplomatic, even military--between Spain, the Ottoman regencies, and the independent kingdoms of Tlemçen and Morocco. In this position, multilingual intermediaries were indispensable. Much of the population was bilingual, and there was certainly a good deal of ad hoc interpretation.⁴⁴³ Nonetheless, recognized professionals were necessary. As evident from the acrimonious debates about the *trujamán mayor* of Oran, there was a good deal of interest in and competition for these positions.

In the early modern Mediterranean, innumerable multilingual figures had the potential to and did use their abilities and experiences moving between languages to gain employment, trade information, and otherwise transform their linguistic assets into part of their livelihood. Although there was a great tension surrounding the reliability and reputation of the interpreter, in some cases

⁴⁴³ There was some degree of bilingualism among the Spanish inhabitants of the presidio, as evidenced in the report of the anonymous *corregidor* to Charles V in 1520, who made the point that the soldiers who were being drawn from Oran to fight in Charles's European armies would be better off staying in the presidio, since they had been raised there and knew the language of the *moros*. These soldiers were to be preferred to new troops sent from the Castilian mainland. Charles approved the suggestion. See doc. VII, *DOEA*, pp. 28-29.

in the early modern Mediterranean this profession was a route to security and prestige, even nobility. The royal interpreters of Spanish Oran achieved high social status by virtue of their profession and preserved this status and their livelihoods for multiple generations. Family members used a series of rhetorical and interpersonal strategies that converted the linguistic skills governing the letter of their office into a patrimonial virtue that was subsequently transferred from generation to generation.

In particular in Oran, official translators navigated the professional requirements of being a royal official on the frontier, answerable to the king, while at the same time embedded in local networks of influence and information. They aided in diplomatic missions, negotiated and liaised with surrounding kingdoms and tribal territories, and maintained a vigorous network of informants. Like many other royal officials throughout the Spanish monarchy, these offices were unofficially passed from family member to family member. And as was the case in other diplomatic offices, over the centuries of the early modern period, the credentials of family, race, religion, and technical skill (in this case, language), became more elaborate and demanding. For the families of Arabic interpreters in Oran, the pressures to maintain family control over a given office increased, as did competition and the stringency of these qualifications. Translators and their supporters solved this problem through developing powerful connections that allowed them to elaborate a discourse of legitimacy based on an inheritable cultural and linguistic capital.⁴⁴⁴ That capital, as much as their financial capital and the local social capital of their ethnic and socioeconomic groups, was passed inherently to the next generation. What was originally a skill derived largely from the frontier context became a natural virtue and right (*derecho*) to the office of translator.

⁴⁴⁴ Here of course I rely on the ideas developed in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in particular that of linguistic capital, although I mean it here in a cruder sense that is in fact more analogous to economic capital. Not only did the translators have to understand, reproduce and produce the appropriate level of language among different usages, from different interlocutors and to different audiences, but their ability to do so converted the astute management and deployment of linguistic capital into a cultural capital that could pass from father to son.

The office of the Arabic interpreter in Oran--on the frontier of Spanish dominion in the early modern Mediterranean--was hardly a newly created professional category. I have discussed above the ways in which the office might be understood as the heir to the medieval *alfaqneque* (which also ultimately proved to be hereditary) and the *adalid* and *almocadén*, three frontier intermediaries whose qualifications were laid out in the thirteenth century in King Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, the first major codification of Iberian law.⁴⁴⁵ Leaving aside the technical skills needed for negotiation, these men were required by law to be intelligent, strong, and loyal.⁴⁴⁶ For those intermediaries working in the eastern peninsula in the late medieval period, local connections and references, rather than religious identity, were the primary concern.⁴⁴⁷ Indeed, the requirements for the office resemble

⁴⁴⁵ Mercedes Abad Merino, "'Aquí hay necesidad de persona capaz en muchas lenguas'. El oficio de intérprete en las últimas fronteras de Castilla," *Tonos: Revista Electrónica de Estudios Filológicos* 10 (2005), <http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum10/estudios/A-Abad.htm>. Segunda Partida, Título XXII, laws 1 and 5. On the family connections between alfaqueques, see Manuel García Fernández, "La alfaquería mayor de Castilla en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media: los alfaqueques reales," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987).

⁴⁴⁶ Of course, this prescribed ideal can only shed so much light on how the individuals who operated in these jobs were actually esteemed, and practice must have been more nuanced. *Siete Partidas*, Segunda Partida, Título XXII, Ley I: Que consa deue auer el Adailid en si, e qual deue ser, e por que son assi llamados: "Quatro cosas, dixeron los Antigos, que deuen auer en si los Adalides (1) La primera, sabiduria. La segunda, esfuerzo. La tercera, buen seso natural. La quarta, lealtad." *Siete Partidas*, Segunda Partida, Título XXII, Ley V: Que cosa deue auer en si el Almocaden, e que deue fazer ser que lo fiziere: "Enstonce deuen llamar doze Almocadenes, e fazerles jurar, que digan verdad, si aquel quiere ser Almocaden (1) es ome que ha en si quatro cosas. La primera, que sea sabidor de guerra, e de guiar los que con el fueren. La segunda, que sea esforçado, para cometer los fechos, e esforçar los suyos. La tercera, que sea ligero [...] Et ortosi, para saber guarescer, quando fuesse gran menester. La quarta, que deue ser leal, para ser amigo de su Señor, e de las compañías que acabdillare"

⁴⁴⁷ The Christian kingdoms of the eastern Iberian Peninsula had the most intensive contacts with Muslim territories in the late medieval period: Aragon conducted regular trade with Egypt and the Levant, while Valencia and what is now Murcia both abutted the Muslim kingdom of Granada, and of course were home to large population of arabophone, Muslim *mudéjares* (Muslims living under Christian rule with the right to practice their religion). Roser Salicrú Lluç proposes three main categories of diplomatic intermediaries in this earlier period, Christian officials working along the frontier, Christian merchants, or *mudejar* Muslims living under Christian rule. Muslims from outside the Christian realm are explicitly not used. Roser Salicrú Lluç, "Translators, Interpreters and Cultural Mediators in Late Medieval Eastern Iberia and Western Islamic Diplomatic Relationships," in *Language and Cultural Mediation in the Mediterranean, 1200-1800* (presented at the Ninth Mediterranean Research Meeting, Florence and Montecatini: Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute, 2009), 7. Salicrú Lluç, one of the few scholars working on the issue of diplomatic intermediaries and interpreters between Christianity and Islam in the late-medieval Mediterranean, discusses the challenge for historians when looking for information about the social and cultural background of the interpreter. See Roser Salicrú Lluç, "Crossing Boundaries in Late Medieval Mediterranean Iberia: Historical Glimpses of Christian- Islamic Intercultural Dialogue," *International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 36. Salicrú Lluç, who works mainly with the archives of the Crown of Aragon, notes that although historians have been able to make use of the documents to study and understand commercial and diplomatic networks, "hitherto no special attention has been paid to the individuals who made it possible to achieve these links, nor to their

those later listed for the Arabic interpreter in the Spanish presidios, though not necessarily with the same order or emphasis. It is worth highlighting, however, that all of these frontier professionals were required to demonstrate some degree of physical strength or military prowess.⁴⁴⁸ Their offices were carried out as much in the field, in combat or reconnaissance, as in their own houses or the Governor's palace (including the Governor's prison). The field in both the late medieval Peninsula and the early modern Mediterranean was a frontier between Muslim and Christian territories that could be both porous, collaborative, and antagonistic by degrees.

The most drastic change between the medieval frontier officials and their early modern counterparts was the explicit privileging of trust as the most essential qualification, as well as the qualities that trust took on. It was both an individual characteristic which had to be demonstrated and performed, and a transferable quality which could be guaranteed by family relationships or other personal connections in addition to personal performance. Skill was also a crucial component, and in many ways impossible to disentangle from trust in the way that the interpreters themselves imagined these qualities and their source. In all of the *memoriales* composed by or concerning the translators of Oran, the common theme is the heritage and succession of the family. The services and qualities that are highlighted are first the contributions of military service and knowledge, then linguistic skills and information networks, and success in trade.⁴⁴⁹

helpers and assistants as translators and interpreters.” Salicrú Lluç, “Translators, Interpreters and Cultural Mediators in Late Medieval Eastern Iberia and Western Islamic Diplomatic Relationships,” 1.

⁴⁴⁸ Beatriz Alonso Acero has also noted the relationship between the offices of the interpreter and the guide or the spy. Although guides and spies employed as such were normally separate agents, the interpreter was often sent out with the soldiers both to translate and to provide knowledge of the peoples and territories. He also had the task of invigilating prisoners who did not know Castilian. Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Oran-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639 : una sociedad española en la frontera de Berbería*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000, 214. This is certainly the case even in 1555 when the Governor asked for special permission not only for Gonzalo Hernández to translate the captured letters, but to visit the captured Jewish and Muslim prisoners.

⁴⁴⁹ This latter achievement, in the case of the Cansino and the Sasportas families, provided the financial base which allowed them to show goodwill and charity by supplying essential goods and making contributions to Christian causes like ransoming captives and giving alms to monasteries, which in turn guaranteed their reliability as committed members of the local community in Oran. Jacob Cansino, “Relación de los servicios del traductor,” in *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco Martínez, 1638.

It is perhaps no surprise that the theorization of the office of the Arabic interpreter took place during moments of conflict in the presidio, when the qualities and qualifications of specific interpreters were called into question. In the history of this office in Oran from 1512-1669, there were three major episodes when the legitimacy of the interpreter as a reliable servant of the crown was questioned. The interpreters reestablished their legitimacy through declarations of personal and family merit and were supported by important members of the community, especially past and current governors of Oran. This process of losing, requesting, proving, and gaining or being denied legitimacy was couched consistently in the language of trustworthiness and skill.

i. Municipal Translators

When the first municipal council (*concejo*) was established in Oran on April 22, 1510, there was no interpreter named as such.⁴⁵⁰ However, that doesn't mean that there were no interpreters on the council. The most frequently employed Christian interpreter in Oran after the 1509 conquest was Gonzálo de Alcántara. Alcántara, a soldier who participated in the conquest of Oran, was one of the city's first *jurados*, named along with four others and four *regidores* in 1512.⁴⁵¹ In 1518 he, along with Miguel Lazcano, to help the lieutenant Martin de Argote interrogate an Arabic-speaking captive.⁴⁵² Before moving to Orán, Alcántara lived and worked in Málaga, where he was granted territories near Velez Málaga.⁴⁵³ Once in Oran, he intervened regularly as an interpreter *and* translator

⁴⁵⁰ Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 102. There were appointed, however, a *pregonero* (town crier) and *verdugo* (executioner) offices, it is perhaps worth noting, that were divided by language in the *Ordenanzas* of 1500 in Granada.

⁴⁵¹ AGS RGS 1512-2-n.179 [February 18 1512]. See nos. 180-183, 191, and 197-202 for the other appointments. It is of note that these eight council members, all named within days of each other and using nearly identical chancellery formulae, almost every appointment was explained as a reward for services rendered in the "a guerra de los moros de africa enemygos de nuestra santa de catolica." Only Gonzalo de Alcántara and a certain Pedro de Rico were rewarded for services rendered in the *toma de Oran* tout court. Given Alcántara's linguistic abilities, we may guess that he was of a *morisco* background (perhaps leading to the royal scribe's eschewing the potentially offensive "enemygos" tag). There are two Alcántaras, *caballeros moriscos*, who received payments from the Crown (as early as 1468?). One was Fernando de Alcántara, "que llamaban cuando moro Yuça Mondejar," and the other Juan de Alcántara. See AGS EMR, Quitaciones de Corte, Legajo 1, 41 and 62.

⁴⁵² Doc. VI, *DOEA*, p. 24.

⁴⁵³ AGS, CCA, Personas, Leg. 1, f. 447 (s.f., but before his participation in the conquest of Oran, of which there is no mention).

in the many treaty negotiations between Charles V and different North African rulers in the 1520s and 1530s. A possible relative, Juan de Alcántara, worked alongside Gonzálo as an interpreter in the 1535 treaty negotiated between the king of Tlemecen and the new governor of Oran: "Todos los quales dichos capítulos y escritura que de suso va aquí escrita y declarada por los yntérpetes[sic] Gregorio de Alcántara y Estevan Martín y Juan de Alcántara, que ahora se dize Yahya, secretario del señor Rey."⁴⁵⁴ What are we to make of Juan becoming Yahya, a name change that could imply a religious conversion, and entering the service of the Muslim king? Unfortunately there is total documentary silence on this episode.⁴⁵⁵ Gonzálo de Alcántara, meanwhile, was taken prisoner by a different king of Tlemecen in 1536, but since he was of more value to both sides as a free agent, he was released to Oran with a message for the governor, and instructed to return with the governor's response.⁴⁵⁶

a. The Hernández: Muslim Converts and Confidants

Gonzálo Hernández was another *jurado* (town council member without voting privileges) who was also employed as an official municipal interpreter.⁴⁵⁷ Named as a *jurado* in October of 1534, he

⁴⁵⁴ "Capitulación entre Muley Baudila, ben Reduan y el Conde de Alcaudete (1535)," Doc. 6, in Mariño, *Carlos V*, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁵⁵ It seems highly likely that Gregorio de Alcántara and Gonzálo de Alcántara are in fact the same person, since Gregorio and Gonzálo would be abbreviated in a very similar manner in the *cortesana* hand (G°). Thus the references to "Gregorio de Alcántara" I believe should be read as in fact "Gonzálo de Alcántara." Doc. 6, "Capitulación entre Muley Baudila, ben Reduan y el Conde de Alcaudete (Campo cerca de Orán, 24 junio, 1535)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 40. "The same is true of two references to "Gregorio Hernández, intérprete," which I am certain should actually read, "Gonzálo Hernández." See Doc. 11, "Testimonio de las declaraciones de Jacob Cansino y Bula Araez (Orán, 5-6 diciembre)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 73.

⁴⁵⁶ Primaudie, *DOEA*, Doc. 83, "Lettre de Moulai Mohammad au Comte d'Alcaudete (Tlemcen, 12 juin, 1536)," p. 224.

⁴⁵⁷ On June 14, 1536, the new governor the count of Alcaudete interviewed certain representatives sent in an embassy from Ben Redouan to negotiate for certain hostages who had been left in the city some time previously. The four interpreters who were present to facilitate the negotiations were Gonzálo Hernández, *jurado*, Alonso de Cabra, Juan de Medina, and Juan de San Pedro, *lenguas intérpretes de la dicha ciudad*. The count of Alcaudete, in addition to being the *capitán general de Tremeçen y Tenez*, was also the *justicia mayor*, and in this capacity he thought it would be prudent to send a complete scribal and notarial team to oversee these negotiations, noting that "porque podría ser que lo que se platicase allá conviniese que pareciese asentado por escrito para si fuese necesario informar de ello á Su Magestad y por otros justos respetos, mandó al licenciado Rodrigo de Contreras, su teniente de la justicia de la dicha ciudad, se hallase presente a lo susodicho, y á nos los escribanos publicos del numero de la dicha ciudad que diesemos por testimonio, lo que, cerca de la negociacion susodicha, sucediese y se platicase y concertase con el dicho señor rey su abuelo y los dichos xeques y caballeros alarbes." Doc. LXXIV, *DOEA*, pp. 225-226.

received the position because Luis Hernández de Córdoba renounced it in his favor before leaving his post as *capitán general* of the presidio to make way for don Martín de Córdoba y Velasco, the Count of Alcaudete.⁴⁵⁸ Both Gonzalo de Alcántara, who has already been mentioned in connection with the 1533 lawsuit, and Gonzalo Hernández were members of the municipal council, in parallel with the establishment of a bilingual administration in Granada that was headed up by the *trujamán mayor* Alonso Venegas and his agents, alluded to above and to be discussed in great detail in the next chapter.

Gonzalo Hernández, whose grandfather was one of the Muslim intermediaries at the capitulation of Oran in 1509, served as official interpreter to the Governor of Oran, the Conde de Alcaudete, since soon after the latter's appointment in 1534. In 1555, however, Gonzalo was denied permission by the Spanish court to travel to Fez as Charles V's representative.⁴⁵⁹ The object of the mission was to establish an anti-Ottoman alliance with the new Wattasid ruler of Morocco, Muhammad al-Shaykh, who had requested that Gonzalo be sent to conduct the negotiations. The reasons why Gonzalo failed to win royal approval as an official representative are not clear. Chantal de la Véronne has proposed that Charles V did not consider him to be sufficiently trustworthy because his ancestors included not only the noble family of the Fernández de Córdoba, but also the kings of Tlemecen, who controlled Oran before the Spanish conquest and who still ruled over a large territory to the south.⁴⁶⁰ Instead, the Conde de Alcaudete sent to Fez Jacob Cansino and

⁴⁵⁸ AGS RGS 1534-X.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1536 at a captive exchange Gonzalo Hernandez, Alonso de Cabra, Juan de Medina, and Juan de San Pedro are all named as "lengua y intérprete" of Orán, though it is Gonzalo who is recorded as doing all of the active work between the parties. "Procès-verbal de la conférence qui a eu lieu entre le comte d'Alcaudète et les cheikhs arabes du parti de Ben Redouan, pour la reddition des otages (14 Juin, 1536) in Élie de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique (1506-1574)*, *Revue Africaine* 110 (Alger: A. Jourdan, 1875), 224–229.

⁴⁶⁰ Gonzalo's rather convoluted parentage is given in the governor's report: his grandfather was a Zayyanid noble who married the daughter of the Marquis of Comares, Don Diego Fernández de Córdoba sometime soon after the conquest of Orán in 1509. The second Marquis of Comares, son of Gonzalo's grandfather, was the father-in-law of the Conde de Alcaudete, current governor of Oran and Gonzalo's boss. AGS, Estado, Legajo 479, fol. 191. The lineage is clarified and explained in Chantal de La Véronne, "Gonzalo Hernández," in *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc: 1ère série, Dynastie saadienne (1530-1660). IV. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne.*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956), 364-367.

another agent, Miguel Lazcano, who negotiated for several months before leaving without having come to an agreement.⁴⁶¹ Meanwhile, there was a continued need for Arabic-Spanish translation in Oran, both of written materials and oral interrogations. In Cansino's absence Gonzalo Hernández was the obvious choice, despite the shadow cast by Charles's decision.

In May, at exactly the same time that the Oranese translators Lazcano and Cansino arrived in Fez, a shipment of mail arrived in Oran by way of Ottoman-controlled Algiers. Among the letters carried by the Jewish and Muslim passengers two were intercepted that caused suspicion that some among the travelers were Ottoman agents. Although a preliminary translation was done by the slave of a resident of Oran, the Governor required an official translation before reporting the evidence to the crown.⁴⁶² In an attempt to rehabilitate his interpreter--who was also his great nephew-in-law--he wrote to the royal court describing the incident and the need for an official translation by a sanctioned translator. Perhaps because Gonzalo had fallen out of favor, the governor requested a special license for him to make a translation and to interrogate the prisoners who were captured with the letters. Although there were doubtless other members of the Cansino family in Oran at the time who could have performed the office, the Conde de Alcaudete was anxious to reinstate his relative as a legitimate bilingual agent of the crown, and so pled on Gonzalo's behalf that he be given the commission.

According to his report, the Conde de Alcaudete advocated for Gonzalo first and foremost because of his experience with confidential matters, in which he had displayed both skill and trustworthiness. These qualities as a skilled linguist and "hombre de confiança" are repeated throughout the memorial, and the governor even went so far as to say that Gonzalo would be a

⁴⁶¹ The details from Lazcano and Cansino's mission were preserved in Lazcano's report, and provide very interesting information about the diplomatic protocols of Morocco at that time, which I discuss in a forthcoming paper.

⁴⁶² Juan de Peña, *vecino de Oran*, found the letters and had his *esclavo turco* translate them. It is important to note that the denomination *turco* need not have meant Ottoman or Ottoman speaking, as indeed the letters turned out to be written in Arabic. This kind of ad hoc interpretation occurred all the time, but it was not considered sufficient to enter into the official correspondence. AGS, Estado, Legajo 479, f. 187

more reliable choice than the absent Jacob Cansino, characterized as *el judío*, although he was quick to reassure his audience that Jacob was perfectly reliable: "a seruido fielmente" (he has served loyally). The Conde de Alcaudete also gave a detailed outline of Gonzalo's parentage on the Muslim side, emphasizing the crucial role of his ancestors in facilitating the transfer of the city to the conquering Cardinal Cisneros and insisting on Gonzalo's relation to a lineage of reliable and effective intermediaries. Following the conquest, the governor pointed out that both Gonzalo's grandfather and father had married into Christian families, and his father had converted and served the King of Spain as an officer in Oran.⁴⁶³ It was these family connections, rather than the relatives he shared with the noble governor, that the Conde de Alcaudete relied upon to demonstrate Gonzalo's loyalty.⁴⁶⁴

It seems that Gonzalo was ultimately returned to royal favor, as he was finally sent as the royal representative to Morocco once the question was turned over to Philip II in 1556. In 1557 Gonzalo spent the better part of a year negotiating in Fes, reaching an agreement with the Moroccan ruler that would crumble later in the year through no fault of his own. When he was captured at the Battle of Mostagem in 1558 he was ransomed by Philip II himself and sent back to Oran to continue working as a soldier and interpreter, which he did faithfully if not always correctly, being taken in at least once by two Ottoman spies.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Gonzalo's father, Francisco, also worked as an interpreter, sometimes alongside his son up until the 1570s. AGS, GA, Leg. 81, no. 85, ff. 317 and Diego Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro último que fue de Montesa y de su hermano don Felipe de Borja: La manera como gobernaron las memorables plazas de Orán y Mazalquivir, reinos de Tremecén y Ténez, en África, siendo allí capitanes generales, uno en pos del otro, como aquí se narra*, ed. Beatriz Alonso Acero and Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2005).

⁴⁶⁴ Montañés, *Historia del maestro*. In Diego Suárez's chronicle of the reigns of the Borgia governors from 1567-1573, Luis and Felipe Galcerán de Borja, published in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Gonzalo Hernández is a regular character, and he and his family members are almost always introduced into the narrative with a reminder of the contributions of their Muslim ancestors in the capitulation of Oran.

⁴⁶⁵ Chantal de La Véronne, "Nouvelle note sur Gonzalo Hernández (1566)," in *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc: 1ère série, Dynastie saadienne (1530-1660). IV. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne.*, vol. 3 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1961), 146. Issac Cansino was also present and fought at this battle. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Legajo 1154, año 1627, núm. 49. Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro*, 182.

Gonzalo's reputation, and thus his activity as an interpreter was based upon his family connections, to the ultimate benefit of the next generation. In addition to his father Fernando, who worked with Gonzalo as an Arabic interpreter but without an official title, in 1570 Gonzalo's son Luis was named as the captain and interpreter ("cabo y lengua") of a troop of Spanish soldiers. Though Luis, who Suárez identified by his North African parentage, was almost certainly bilingual, the Governor also appointed a "judío de los de Orán" in order to assist him as "lengua."⁴⁶⁶ Although the Hernández dynasty of interpreters may have only lasted three generations, it set the framework for thinking about the qualities and qualifications of the interpreter, be he selected by the King or by the Governor.⁴⁶⁷

Philip II decreed that Oran should always employ two interpreters, one Christian and one Jewish.⁴⁶⁸ Knowledge of Arabic and other non-Spanish languages that were essential to maintaining the Spanish presence in North Africa was not, however, strictly indexed to religion, be it Christian, or Jewish, or Muslim. That there were qualified Christians early on in the history of the presidio is shown by a letter in 1520 from the *corrégidor* of Orán, who opposed the idea that Charles should send soldiers from Oran to the Netherlands, arguing that "it would be best if they were retained here,

⁴⁶⁶ "Nombró el Maestre por cabo y lengua de esta gente al capitán Luis Hernández, natural de Orán, hijo del capitán Gonzalo Hernández, nieto del moro alcaide de una de las puertas de la ciudad de Orán, el que hizo el trato con el alcaide de los Donceles y de Mazalquivir para entregar a Orán al rey de España." Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestre*, 341. Later in Suárez's chronicle he describes this "judío" as part of Luis's regular entourage. Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestre*, 350. Suárez again invokes Luis's family service when he observes that, while on a mission to return Christian captives to Oran, although sick and in a dangerous territory, he was able to rely on networks of Muslim friends. This reliance, however, did not mitigate his loyalty as a Christian citizen of Oran. "Y se fiaba más de los moros quien más se había de recatar de ellos por ser, como era, nieto del que había entregado a Orán a los cristianos, y su padre, Gonzalo Hernández, haber sido siempre lengua e intérprete de aquellas plazas, enemigos de los turcos y moros de guerra de todo el reino de Tremecén." Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestre*, 359.

⁴⁶⁷ If more members of this Hernández family held the position as Arabic interpreters in this presidio, the documentation has not survived or has not yet been recovered.

⁴⁶⁸ "Un judío es siempre lengua intérprete de la arábica con un cristiano. de la Arábica una es Cristiano otra de esta Nación por dictamen de la procedencia del gran Monarcha Phelipo Segundo y porque entran en la Berbería y tienen mucha comunicación y correspondencia con los moros recien de ellos mas auisos que el Cristiano y del mismo oficio ambos son de mucha confianza y estimación y de interese." Fernando Jiménez de Gregorio, "Relación de Orán' por el vicario don Pedro Cantero Vaca (1631-1636)," *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 22, no. 85 (1962): 102. Here Cantaro Vaca repeated the argument made several decades earlier in 1601 by the governor, at that time the third Conde de Alcaudete, don Francisco de Córdoba y Velasco, that "por las mismas causas que no ocurren en los cristianos que aunque se supone mayor fidelidad en ellos no pueden tener las ynteligencias que los judíos." AGS, Guerra, Leg. 586, s.f. Quotation and citation given in Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*, 212.

since they were raised in this country, they know and speak the language of the Moors, and can render more useful services than the recruits coming from Spain.”⁴⁶⁹ The ability to speak Arabic did not, of course, mean a concomitant ability to read or compose in that language.⁴⁷⁰ For this reason the administration looked for the professional qualification of literacy, which greatly narrowed the eligible multilingual population. Reading and writing were crucial skills for the official interpreters, who made translations of received and intercepted correspondence, as well as writing their own correspondence to their networks of informants in Arabic, Castilian, and Hebrew. The official interpreter was also in charge of composing the Arabic translations of peace treaties and bilingual passports for safe conduct.⁴⁷¹

b. The Cansino and Sasportas

Many multilingual agents all across North Africa were Jewish and number of Jewish interpreters were indeed employed in the city. At the time of conquest, in 1509, the small community had been permitted to remain in the city for the specific purpose of acting as translators.⁴⁷² Ferdinand granted them an official title as early as 1514, although until 1589 it was a position that had no corresponding salary.⁴⁷³

In addition to the Castilians who acted or were appointed as *trujamán mayor* in Orán, a cadre of bilingual Jewish intermediaries also worked as translators in the presidio. The first to be granted a

⁴⁶⁹ See “Mémoire du Corréridor d’Oran sur la manière don’t cette ville est administrée (1520),” 153-157, in Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l’histoire de l’occupation espagnole en Afrique (1506-1574)*, 155.

⁴⁷⁰ In 1601, as part of his support for Hayan Cansino to take over the office of interpreter that was vacated by Issac's death in 1599, the Governor, at that time the third Conde de Alcaudete, wrote a memorial arguing that it was better to have a Jewish than a Christian translator, since of all the Christian Arabic-speakers, none could write in Arabic, and in any case the fidelity that would be gained by religious solidarity was undermined by the fact that the Christians did not have access to the same information networks that the Jews did. He seems to have ignored entirely the history of service of the Hernández de Sotomayor and Hernández families. Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*, 212.

⁴⁷¹ See the discussion below in note 162 of Gil Hernández's passports in 1570.

⁴⁷² The first extant name is that of Rudi Santorra, who supposedly served as interpreter to the Spanish to negotiate the city's surrender. Almost nothing is known about his biography, although a likely guess is that he may be identified with another "Çatorra" who was impaled by Barbarroja sometime between 1516 and 1518. See the letter from Antonio Rico to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza from February 27, 1518. Doc. VI in *DOEA*, p. 24. "Zatorra" was still alive in 1516, according to Hurtado de Mendoza's report in 1516. Gutierrez Cruz, *Los presidios españoles*, p. 96.

⁴⁷³ RAH Salazar y Castro K-64, ff. 93r-95r (September 23, 1633).

royal appointment and title were the Santorra and Cansino families. Rudi Santorra was the head of the only Jewish family allowed to remain in Oran following the Spanish conquest in 1509, and the Cansinos were one of two additional families invited back by royal cédula in 1512 to serve as tax collectors to the surrounding communities.⁴⁷⁴ Though the Cansino were not originally named as interpreters, they moved quickly into this role and held on to the office until 1666, and what happened to the Santorra between 1512 and 1551 when Jacob appears as a fully invested and official *intérprete lengua* has not survived in the existing documentation.⁴⁷⁵

Much of the way we think of this family comes from their better-known activities in the seventeenth century. The Cansino family held the most prominent position as royally named Arabic interpreters in the presidio. They were joined in the office of the *intérprete lengua* by the Hernández de Sotomayor y Navarrete family, and threatened professionally by the Sasportas, another Jewish family with whom the Cansino regularly intermarried and competed with for royal favor and status within the presidio community. The story of the Arabic interpreters of Oran and in particular the history of the Cansino family has been told almost exclusively within the historiography of the Jewish communities of Oran. The most detailed documentary studies are those of Jonathan Israel and Jean-Frédéric Schaub, while Chantal de la Veronne and Beatriz Alonso Acero give well-documented accounts of the Jewish populations and the activities of the interpreters as part of their work on Oran and the interactions between Spain and North Africa.⁴⁷⁶ Indeed, this historiographical focus makes sense in view of the fact that the religious identity of the translators of Oran was part of their professional role from the very beginning of the office. They were marked by religion, the physical

⁴⁷⁴ Caro Baroja reports, from Sotomayor y Valenzuela, that three "moros" were brought back specifically to perform the function of tax collector, along with the Cansino and Benismerro. Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Arion, 1962), 215–216.

⁴⁷⁵ Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1999; Alonso Acero, *Oran-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*.

⁴⁷⁶ Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*; Alonso Acero, *Oran-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*; Jonathan I Israel, "The Jews of Spanish North Africa," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 26 (1979): 71-86; Jonathan I Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World of Maritime Empires (1540-1740)*, Brill's series in Jewish studies v. 30 (Boston, MA: Brill, 2002).

space which they occupied in the Jewish quarter, and their language skills (as well as dress, customs, etc).⁴⁷⁷ Caro Baroja and Schaub have situated the Cansino's power, especially as personified in the Jacob Cansino who offered advice and loans to Philip IV, as part of the proposed agenda of Philip IV's prime minister, the Conde-Duque de Olivares, as to whether to bring Jewish populations back into the Peninsula.⁴⁷⁸

The question was raised throughout the sixteenth century as to whether it was beneficial or threatening to maintain the community of Jewish translators in Oran. The third Conde de Alcaudete complained in 1601 that no Christian in Oran knew how to write in Arabic, nor could have comparable information networks to those controlled by the Jewish interpreters.⁴⁷⁹ In 1636 the Pedro Cantero Vaca, during an official ecclesiastic *visita*, commented at length on the Jewish community, its relationship with the Christians, the reliability of the translators, and determined ultimately that "it is debatable whether the Jews should be allowed to live in this presidio, and there are arguments on both sides."⁴⁸⁰ That there was room for debate in the mind of the supervising religious official indicates that religious identity, while certainly important, was a secondary consideration to the reliability and usefulness of the community. The question of the interpreter's religion as a professional disqualification was not seriously raised until 1656, when the idea of expelling the Jewish community from the Spanish territory of Oran was advanced by the then-Governor the Marquis de San Roman.⁴⁸¹ This debate was latent until the Marquis de los Veléz lobbied the Queen Regent Mariana de Austria to expel the Jewish community of Oran in 1669. He motivated his recommendation to expel the community, along with anti-Semitic language, on the

⁴⁷⁷ Jiménez de Gregorio, "Relación de Orán' por el vicario don Pedro Cantero Vaca (1631-1636)." Note, Jacob eventually adopts a different dress. Israel, "The Jews of Spanish North Africa."

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.; Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 1:216.

⁴⁷⁹ Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*, 212.

⁴⁸⁰ "El punto sobre si conuiene que los judíos estén en aquellas plazas es disputable y no faltan motiuos por una y otra parte." Jiménez de Gregorio, "Relación de Orán' por el vicario don Pedro Cantero Vaca (1631-1636)," 102.

⁴⁸¹ Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, 126–127. This same Marquis de San Roman continued to employ many Jewish interpreters. See various documents in British Library, Additional MSS, 28, 441.

logic that there were enough Christians in the presidio who could perform the office of interpreter.⁴⁸² Based on this attitude, historians have supposed that the Christian interpreter, pulled from the ranks of the garrison, was always supposed to be a kind of check and balance on the Jewish interpreter. In fact, the Christian interpreters gained access and perpetuity in this office on their own merits and connections, and did not serve as an alternate, more-trustworthy-though-less-skilled medium for translating correspondence and gathering documentation. The Jewish and Christian interpreters worked in tandem, travelling together to reconnoiter in surrounding territories, composing and signing reports together, and alternating as interrogators for prisoners.⁴⁸³ Though religious identity shaped the social relationships and professional lives of these men, it was far from the most important factor until the mid seventeenth century crisis and expulsion.

The ideologies about skill and reliability, articulated apart from religious identity, are most clearly laid out in a series of documents written around the succession of Jacob Cansino to the office of *intérprete lengua* between 1633 and 1634 following the death of his brother Aaron. In these documents the legitimacy of familial appointments was tested and ultimately affirmed, as was the king's privilege to appoint the interpreters of Oran rather than deferring to the advice of his governor. The question of whether skill and fidelity are transferred through family ties or obscured by these connections was argued from both sides, and Jacob Cansino ultimately lobbied successfully for his reinstatement as the *intérprete lengua* based on the way he was able to transform the evidence of his family's long service into the natural quality that made him the best candidate for the job.

⁴⁸² He argued that the Jewish population was installed originally based on their linguistic competence in Arabic, and that now "despues de naturalizados ya los Españoles en el Pais y comerciando con los Moros se hicieron practicos en el hablar, y escriuir la lengua Arabiga; y deuiendo cesar la asistencia de tan dañosa gente, auiendo cesado la causa de su introducion [...]." See Fernando Díaz Esteban, "Una vacante de intérprete de lengua arábiga en Orán y dos versiones de los sucesos a que dio lugar en 1669," *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 11 (2000): 261–262. Jonathan Israel also discusses this episode and its relationship to the second expulsion. See Israel, *Diasporas Within a Diaspora*, 163.

⁴⁸³ See, as examples, Biblioteca Zabálburu, ALTAMIRA, 287, GD. 2, D. 19; Real Academia de la Historia, Salazar y Castro, K-64, ff. 156-157, 221r-v; K-65, ff. 178r-v, ff. 193r-195, ff. 214r-215v.

The Cansino enjoyed a high status and regular employment and remuneration in Oran throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁸⁴ The family, headed at that time by another Jacob Cansino, had been expelled from Seville in 1492, at which point they had moved to the kingdom of Tremecén and then to Oran once invited by the Spanish monarch in 1512. Isaac Cansino, Jacob's son, held the office from 1558-1599, and was even invited to Madrid in 1580. His son Hayam was sent for several months to San Lucar in 1608 to work with the Duque de Medina Sidonia on negotiations with Morocco over the port of Larache.⁴⁸⁵ These interpreters, no doubt through their frequent contact with the Spanish administrators for whom they worked, were well integrated into the mechanisms of Habsburg imperial bureaucracy from the beginning.⁴⁸⁶ Jacob in particular showed a great aptitude in how to best present their family and service in order to insist upon various privileges, even going so far as to sponsor the publication of an account of his family's merits in 1638 (as the prologue to a translated description of Istanbul), ensuring a large readership in the Peninsula.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ The Cansino salary vacillated between 25 and 30 escudos per month, while the Christian interpreters sometimes went without pay, and never made more than 15 escudos per month. Yaho Sasportas, on the other hand, while serving as acting *intérprete lengua* between 1633 and 1636, was issued 45 escudos a month. Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor"; Prieto Valenzuela, "Informe sobre el oficio de intérprete de la lengua árabe en Orán. Por Felipe Prieto Valenzuela", 1633, Salazar y Castro, Real Academia de la Historia. K-64, f. 93-95. Israel notes that the interpreter salaries were "equivalent to that of a senior officer in the garrison." Jonathan I Israel, "The Jews of Spanish Oran and their Expulsion in 1669," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (1994): 240. The king took an interest in making sure that his interpreters were well paid. In 1655, most likely following complaints that payments were being issued in the cheaper vellón rather than in silver, he ordered the governor of Orán, at that time the Marquis of San Roman, to supervise the payments issued by the presidio's *thesorero*. He held that the interpreters should be paid in the same fashion as his other soldiers, and insisted that even the younger members of the interpreter's family had a "right" to be paid: "por la pr[ese]nte declaro, que de hoy mas cobren los Interpretes los derechos q[ue] les tocan el la misma specie de moneda que conra la gente de guerra las partes que les toca de las presas; y en quanto a no deber ser reputados por muchachos solo los que estan al pecho de su madre, y no andar por pie, es mi voluntad declarar que los niños de siete años arriba deben ser comprehendidos en la paga del derecho que pretenden los Interpretes." "The King to San Roman about Interpreter Salaries", October 4, 1655, Additional MSS, 28, 441, f. 302, British Library.

⁴⁸⁵ Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor"

⁴⁸⁶ Mercedes García Arenal, et al, have noted that the role of Jewish intermediaries in financial, diplomatic, and court functions far predates the 1492 expulsion. They propose that this "serie de saberes" transcended the expulsion and the collective knowledge European administrative and commercial practice was retained by successive generation. García-Arenal, Rodríguez Mediano, and El Hour, *Cartas marruecas*, 19.

⁴⁸⁷ This is the prologue to his transliterated (from Ladino) edition of Moses Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*, Francisco Martínez: Madrid, 1638.

When petitioning the king for money or permissions, the Cansino asked for letters of recommendation from nobles and other important officials. They recorded and reported the exact dates of these letters and all of the royal decrees issued in their favor, demonstrating an aptitude working within the bureaucratic apparatus gained from generations of service. This paper trail allowed them to insist on the legitimacy of their hereditary service as a reason to request remuneration and job security. This practice served Jacob well when, following Aaron Cansino's death in 1633, he was unable to step into his place as the *intérprete lengua* of Oran. The only other Cansino eligible for the office was Hayan's brother and Jacob and Aaron's uncle Brahim. Brahim was deemed unsuitable, not only due to his advanced age, but once it was discovered that he was only literate in Hebrew and had no knowledge of Latin letters.⁴⁸⁸ As a solution, Yaho Sasportas was appointed as interim interpreter, with his son Jacob Sasportas as his official lieutenant, since Yaho was himself quite elderly. The office might have passed in this generation to the Sasportas family, who already enjoyed a prestigious reputation as loyal servants of the Spanish crown and reliable and capable translators, were it not for a vigorous campaign launched by Jacob Cansino to win back his rightful office. In 1636, after two years of lobbying in Madrid, Philip IV issued a royal *cédula* (order) reinstating Jacob over Yaho, citing his family's long service as the source of Jacob's rights to the office.

In 1633 Jacob Cansino, who had annoyed the current Governor by appearing not to support his appointment, found himself in prison in the Governor's castle in the Spanish presidio of Oran, and thus unable to succeed to the post of *intérprete lengua*.⁴⁸⁹ His activities before his imprisonment would have seemed to indicate a promising career as both a member of the Spanish service in Oran--as soldier, translator, captive negotiator, and grain supplier--as well as an important member of the

⁴⁸⁸ Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, p. 65 and pp. 85–86.

⁴⁸⁹ Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, p. 66.

small Jewish community in the presidio.⁴⁹⁰ As he reported to the king in 1626, he had been extensively trained by his father Hayan and, although the official post had gone to his older brother, he had assisted his father for more than a decade by translating important letters, and intervening with timely information in military campaigns, which led to the death and captivity of "ynfinidad de enemigos."⁴⁹¹ His training included, at his own expense, the ability to read and write in "castellana, hebrea, caldea, araviga y cetenia."⁴⁹² In short, Jacob Cansino painted a picture of a family that was totally integrated into all aspects of the presidio life, and who contributed tremendous support to its administrative, military, religious, and social activities, in addition to ensuring the continued supply of grain to the community, one of the most severe concerns of the history of this presidio. Throughout his report he insisted on the quality of reliability and trustworthiness that was demonstrated in each generation. He built a case for an inheritable service record, which he would invoke even more strongly when his livelihood and personal freedom were threatened.

Jacob's competition was real. Yaho held an exceptional place in the presidio administration. He had been granted the title of *xequie* (sheikh) and was the acknowledged head of Oran's Jewish community.⁴⁹³ He was also, in 1626, granted a special privilege to send and receive mail without

⁴⁹⁰ As early as 1626, while his brother Aaron still held the post that had been passed to him by their father Hayan, Jacob submitted a successful appeal to the king to allow him a license to trade, a frequent appeal made by other Jewish families in North Africa. Jacob Cansino, "Memorial expediente de Jacob Cansino Hebreo, vezino de Oran," AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Memoriales, September 31, 1626; Israel, "The Jews of Spanish North Africa." An interesting point is that a prominent part of his argument for why he should be granted the license to trade was that a similar license had been given to his cousin, Yaho Sasportas. By 1627, according to documentation he cited in his 1638 *Relación*, Philip IV granted him a place in the cavalry of Oran. Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor."

⁴⁹¹ Cansino, "Memorial expediente de Jacob Cansino Hebreo, vezino de Oran." These interventions might involve trickery. For example, he once misinformed and diverted a hostile group of soldiers, insisting that his brother and the accompanying troops were setting out to visit allies rather than to attack enemies, which of course they were. Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor."

⁴⁹² Cansino, "Memorial expediente de Jacob Cansino Hebreo, vezino de Oran." He repeated this catalogue of expertise in the later *Relación*, though in a different order: "las lenguas y letras Castellana, Arabiga, Cenetia, Hebrea y Caldea." The last language is probably a corruption of *veneti*, the name of a Moroccan tribe, a branch of whom had settled in Granada in the time of the Almohads and whose descendents became part of the *morisco* population of the *marquesado* of Cnete, near Guadix.

⁴⁹³ Jiménez de Gregorio, "Relación de Orán' por el vicario don Pedro Cantero Vaca (1631-1636)." According to Sotomayor y Valanzuela, who documented the debates around the 1669 expulsion in great detail, the "xequía de los de su nación (que es una tacita dignidad de gobernador della en quanto a sus constituciones. He is speaking of the

passing through the censorship of the interpreter, whose job it was to intercept suspicious correspondence. The idea was, in fact, that Yaho maintain an unsupervised network of informants among Ottoman and North African communities who were not loyal to the Spanish, on the principle of keeping one's enemies closer. This license was renewed in 1654 by the Governor the Marquis de San Roman, who reaffirmed Yaho's service and credibility, and ordered that his freedom to correspond without supervision continue without contradiction.⁴⁹⁴ When Yaho became acting interpreter in 1633, he in effect controlled the majority of communication in and out of the presidio.

Jacob's predicament in 1633 launched a flurry of letter writing between Oran and Madrid, leading to Jacob's release and permission to visit Madrid in 1634. Philip IV, who had ordered Jacob's freedom, ultimately issued an encomiastic nomination for him to return to Orán in the official capacity of *intérprete lengua*, on the merit of his family service beginning with his grandfather, also Jacob, in the 1550s. Jacob was granted an official license to publish this decree, including his praise of the Cansino family.⁴⁹⁵ The king's official approval was printed and circulated among the reading public of Spain. The problem of the Cansino succession in 1633, however, also opened the floor to debate as to what the most important characteristics were for the Arabic interpreter of Oran to possess, perhaps setting the foundation for the anti-Semitic schemes of the 1650s and 1660s. Though the Cansino had the support of important Christian officials, the Sasportas enlisted their own advocate to argue that the office should be filled without reference to the family of the applicant and only in function of their demonstrated skill in language and reliability as a loyal Spanish agent. This episode reveals a tension between central and local authority, and whether the King or the Governor should appoint this particular office, a tension which dated back to the original litigation between the town and royal officials in the 1533 lawsuit heard in the Real

appointment of Samuel Sasportas to the position in 1668. Cited in Israel, "The Jews of Spanish Oran and their Expulsion in 1669," 239.

⁴⁹⁴ Israel, "The Jews of Spanish Oran," 242.

⁴⁹⁵ Mosé ben Baruj Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla* (en la Imprenta de Francisco Martínez, 1638), f. 8.

Chancillería of Granada. In 1633, just after Aaron Cansino's death, a report was submitted to the king entitled *Causas que se dan para que el oficio de lengua Arauiga: La selección del General, y puede promoverlo por delito del infidelidad que es conuiniente al servicio de Su Magestad y a los asiertos de la suçesion destas plaças y seguridad dellas*.⁴⁹⁶

Although much of this report is a history of the office, which the author dated from 1514 rather than 1509 or 1512, and included a record of the salaries earned by each generation, it was in fact a piece of pro-Sasportas propaganda.⁴⁹⁷ The author provided a rather circumscribed definition of the duties of the interpreter, which is that only a qualified and discrete person with knowledge of Arabic should act as interpreter, by which he means that the intermediary should report faithfully what the "moro" has said in Arabic only when asked to do so by the governor.⁴⁹⁸ In other words, that the mediation was controlled by the Governor, not the subordinate interpreter as a royally appointed official. The translator was not to be a proactive information agent, but to perform the mechanical process of converting speech only when commanded to do so. According to the report, none of the previous interpreters, Jewish or Christian, had worked in an official capacity, an assertion which the author supported by claiming that the interpreters went long years without salary. This recharacterization of the sixteenth-century office of the interpreter as purely ad hoc and unpaid was meant to undermine the dynastic legitimacy of the Cansino as hereditary and royally

⁴⁹⁶ Prieto Valenzuela, "Informe sobre el oficio de intérprete de la lengua arábica en Orán. Por Felipe Prieto Valenzuela." RAH, Sálazar y Castro, K-64, ff. 93-95. I have not been able to find more biographical information about Prieto Valenzuela. Other historians who have made use of this document have characterized it as anonymous and undated, although it is referred to in the preceding document (f. 92) from 1633 as Prieto Valenzuela's *discurso* being sent from Oran to Madrid in order that it may be read to the king.

⁴⁹⁷ Prieto Valenzuela records that a Royal Cédula of 1514 gave permission to "vezindar" the Cansino and Benismero, with the Cansino in charge of "seruir de lengua." He ignores the Santorra. It is interesting both that this cédula is invoked as the authority by which the Jewish families were allowed to live in the Spanish territory, which implies that this foundation myth was well-known, and also that he got the details wrong, which implies that this knowledge was current enough not to be regularly checked. RAH, Sálazar y Castro, K-64, ff. 93-95.

⁴⁹⁸ "El oficio de lingua Yemtrepete[sic], Propía Cosa es Ynterpretar de Vna lengua a otra. Y si remirase a este fin solo qualquiera que supiese hablar La arauiga, lo puede, ser Y el general valerse de quien mexor le pareçiese en qualquiera Ocasion suponiendo que siempre elixirías para esto la persona demas Secreto que enq[ue] lo a la interpretación Vasta para dezir lo que el moro, En arauigo, Y responder lo que el general mandare, siendo fiel ala interpretación." Prieto Valenzuela, "Informe sobre el oficio de intérprete de la lengua arábica en Orán. Por Felipe Prieto Valenzuela." RAH, Sálazar y Castro, K-64, ff. 93-95.

appointed office holders. The anonymous author of the 1633 report addressed directly the competition between the incarcerated Jacob Cansino and the available Yaho Sasportas, asserting that if Jacob were to in the office it would be because his father had the support of nobles like the Duque de Maqueda (who also wrote in support of Jacob's petition for a trading license in 1626), but not because of his actual qualifications. It was, rather, Yaho who possessed the necessary ability, intelligence, and reliability, as well as the experience of information gathering gained over 30 years of service to the Spanish monarch. The author of the report insisted that Jacob Cansino had shown himself to be unfaithful, as demonstrated by his current accommodations in the Governor's prison.⁴⁹⁹

In response to these kinds of accusations and as a further tool to promote his legitimacy, in 1638 Jacob published a translated version (actually transliterated from Ladino) of the *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla* by Moses Almosnino, along with a fourteen-folio piece of pro-Cansino propaganda: *Relación de los servicios de Iacob Cansino (Hebreo de nacion), vezino de Oran, Lengua y Interprete del Rei nuestro Señor en las plaças de Oran y Maçarquiuir; y los de su padre, abuelo, y bisabuelo, y otros deudos, y ascendientes suyos*, which repeated many of the qualifications enumerated in the report he had submitted on his own behalf in 1626, namely that he and his family had provided invaluable services in times of war, had ensured the supply of basic goods, and traveled in the service of the king: Jacob the elder as a royal emissary in 1555 to the king of Morocco, Isaac to the court in Madrid in 1580, and Hayan in 1608 to assist the Marquis of San Lucar with delicate diplomatic arrangements between Spain and Morocco.⁵⁰⁰ On top of all of this, with their impressive linguistic skills, they had translated faithfully many important documents. He insisted repeatedly on his double service as soldier and interpreter, noting that a previous governor had written a positive report in 1630, noting "que ha seruido con aprobacion, assi en la campaña, como en todo lo tocante al exercicio de

⁴⁹⁹ RAH, Sálazar y Castro, K-64, ff. 93-95.

⁵⁰⁰ Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor"; Israel, "The Jews of Spanish Oran and their Expulsion in 1669."

Lengua" ("he had served with approval in military campaigns as well as in everything concerning the office of the interpreter"). Jacob and Aaron's father, Hayan, was wounded in battle by a shot to the arm, and Jacob cited this valor and sacrifice as a crucial part of his father's merit, by extension his family's merit and his own. Having reported his father's military valor and contributions, however, Jacob was also sure to insist that his family had only ever fought in the name of peace and the prosperity of the presidio.⁵⁰¹ Jacob himself claimed to have participated in battles as a soldier, and on at least one occasion to have collected the wounded and tended to them in his own home, an image of hospitality and charity that is repeated by other petitioners to the king.⁵⁰² The men of the interpreter's family, including the interpreter, thus were required to act as soldiers, meaning that they paid to outfit themselves for war with arms and horses, and offered their services in battle. In fact, once tallied from the documentation, a not insignificant number of Cansino had died in while on campaign.⁵⁰³

Over and over Jacob Cansino noted the quality and reliability of his family members as they performed, and sometimes gave their lives for, their office. That they often paid their own salaries, or propped up the prices of grain or firewood, or bribed with their own money crucial villages to return to the Spanish orbit was a consistent theme but not a refrain. Jacob allowed this information about their financial support underlie his insistence on the linguistic and military service.

Throughout all of these aggrandizements ran the theme of an inheritable trust and skill, an idea which was crucial to the Cansino family remaining in power. The Conde de Alcaudete had invoked a

⁵⁰¹ "Siempre ha procurado la quietud y concordya del rreyno y que los vasallos cumpliesen con sus obligaciones y trujesen la provisión de la gente de guerra a muy moderados precios." Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor."

⁵⁰² The military aspect of the Cansino's service was probably made more important by the nature of the contact between Arabic and Spanish speakers in North Africa, although the translator dynasty of the Gracián also use this strategy when asking for privileges based on family service in the 1630s. RAH, Sálazar y Castro, E-21, ff. 64-65v.

⁵⁰³ In addition to Aaron, Jacob the elder lost three of his nephews, "sirviendo en la campaña en este ministerio de lengua," as their service was characterized by Jacob *el sabio* in his 1638 *Relación*. Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor."

similar theory of the office of the interpreter in 1555, and the idea was tested and soundly reaffirmed in the discourses surrounding the 1633 interpreter succession problem.

The *Relación* concluded with a reproduction of Philip IV's 1634 *nombramiento*, in which the king made reference to the right Jacob had demonstrated to office.⁵⁰⁴ He ordered Cansino to take charge of the so-called "ministry of languages" (*ministerio de lenguas*) that was run from the presidio, and which by the 1630s served as a crucial node in the networks of information exchange--official, secret, stolen--between the Spanish territories and the Ottoman regencies to the south and east and Morocco to the west. Jacob employed the term *ministerio* to refer to his family's activities since the 1550s, and it was repeated by Philip IV in his *nombramiento*. In fact, Jacob described the death of two of his relatives at the 1558 Battle of Mostagem as occurring in the service of the *ministerio de lengua*, implying that the system of family apprenticeship is what he imagined when he characterized the "ministry."⁵⁰⁵ He again conflated military service and translation service. By 1636, Jacob had succeeded in converting Ferdinand's 1512 cédula, which had mandated only that one out of the three Jewish families permitted to reside in Oran would be an interpreter (an office which, as mentioned above, was not even assigned to the Casino family) into a regular institution, to be controlled in perpetuity by his descendants, the natural heirs to the office of the Interpreter.⁵⁰⁶ This ideology of the profession, however, though powerful enough to get him out of prison--and later out of exile--and establish his authority as a translator and advisor on North African affairs to the king and courtiers, could not be sustained after Jacob's death.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ "Iacob Cansino[...]vino a esta Corte à cosas de mi seruicio, me ha representado el derecho que tiene à este officio, por auer continuado en su familia de mas de cien años a esta parte sucesivamente de padres à hijos, auiendo muertos algunos en mi seruicio." Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor."

⁵⁰⁵ He did not mention the work of any of the Hernández, Hernández de Sotomayor, or Navarrete, although it is clear from field reports throughout the seventeenth century and other sixteenth-century documentation that the Cansino and Hernández de Sotomayor, in particular, worked together.

⁵⁰⁶ As cited in Alonso Acero 2000: "solamente se dieron tres [casas] una a la lengua [Santorra], y ds a los sobre dichos cansino y a Benesmerro; este es (señora) el principio de esta judería." Alonso Acero, *Oran-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*, 207.

⁵⁰⁷ Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, 119.

Once reinstated, Jacob exercised his office until he died in 1666. It seems that there was another interlude in 1659-1660 when he found himself again in prison and subsequently exiled, for reasons that have not survived, and his son Abraham acted in his stead. In 1660, however, Jacob was back at his post, having gained again the good graces of Philip IV by virtue of a *memorial* that restated his services and contributions, especially to Christian causes.⁵⁰⁸ He even sent a documented petition to the king, asking for a *merçed* for each of his sons, Hayan and Abraham, who served as his assistants, and reminding the monarch that he had agreed to let him name his successor.⁵⁰⁹ The Sasportas, as well, continued to serve as interpreters, albeit without an official title, and as important agents in gathering information from their contacts with the Ottomans.⁵¹⁰

When Jacob died in 1666 his sons Hayan and Abraham were named as principle and assistant interpreter.⁵¹¹ The Sasportas, however, objected and once again tried to take over the office, a contest which caused the exasperated *Consejo de Guerra* (War Council) to request the Governor to recommend three suitable candidates. The Governor, the Marquis de Vélez, found this a good opportunity to recommend instead that the crown consider appointing another Christian as interpreter. He used this possibility as a springboard from which to argue that the Jewish community was a dangerous and unnecessary presence in Oran, and that they be expelled as soon as possible with no possibility of return.⁵¹² Luis José de Sotomayor y Valenzuela, a captain in the garrison at Oran, wrote a detailed chronicle of the expulsion, including copies of the letters exchanged between

⁵⁰⁸ Chantal de La Véronne, "Interprètes d'arabe a Oran au XVIIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Magrebine* 17, no. 59-60 (1990): 118.

⁵⁰⁹ Since the original *nóbramiento* of 1636 had not specified the right to name his successor, Jacob included a copy of the 1640 *cédula* in which the king referred to "haviendole yo echo m[e]r[ce]d de que nombrasse dos hijos suyos, para que le ayuden en el exerciçio de su oficio, lo hizo a Hayan y Ysac Cansino, suplicandome sea seruido de mandar, que el hijo mayor que ha de seruir sus ausençias, y enfermedades, goze de ocho escudos, y el otro de seis." "Sobre aclarar a Hayen Cansino el goçe de 8 escudos de sueldo al mes que auia goçado en estas plaças", April 26, 1666, 133r-v, Bibliothèque de Genève. Coll. Éd. Favre, Vol. LVII, ff. 129-135v

⁵¹⁰ La Véronne, "Interprètes d'arabe à Oran au XVIIe siècle," 119; Israel, "The Jews of Spanish Oran and their Expulsion in 1669," 242.

⁵¹¹ La Véronne, "Interprètes d'arabe a Oran au XVIIe siècle," 119. BUG, Coll. Éd. Favre, Vol. LVII, ff. 129-135v.

⁵¹² Luis Joseph Sotomayor y Valenzuela, *Brève relation de l'expulsion des Juifs d'Oran en 1669*, trans. Jean-Frédéric Schaub, Éditions Bouchène, 1998, 37-45.

Mariana of Austria, Philip IV's widow and the queen regent, and the Governor of Oran.⁵¹³ Luis José de Sotomayor y Valenzuela was almost certainly a close relative, either by blood or marriage of the current Christian interpreter, Francisco Fernández de Sotomayor, whose family history will be discussed in the next section. Francisco was probably the son or brother of the previous interpreter, Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, who had been granted the habit of Santiago in 1643 and the Governorship of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera, a small fortress presidio.⁵¹⁴

The Cansino or the Sasportas might have been able to launch their own letter-writing campaign, as both were doing in the 1650s, and succeed in gaining the favor needed for the appointment.⁵¹⁵ Attitudes toward the Jewish community of Oran in the 1660s were, however, much different than they had been in the 1630s, and the campaigns launched by both sides inspired no less than the Consejo de Estado to examine the legitimacy of inheritance of the office.⁵¹⁶ This official inquiry contributed directly to the ultimate decision was brought about through the energies of the Governor the Marquis de los Vélez, who believed passionately that the Jewish community of Oran should be expelled. He wrote profusely to the government in Madrid and scoured the city archives of Oran for evidence he could use to show that the Jewish families did not naturally hold the right to live in Oran. He came up with Ferdinand's 1512 cédula, which granted the right of citizenship to the Santorra, Cansino, and Benismerro families, and used this document to argue for the illegitimacy of the current community.⁵¹⁷ By late 1668 the Governor had convinced the queen regent, who issued

⁵¹³ Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 1:215–219; Sotomayor y Valenzuela, *Brève relation de l'expulsion des Juifs d'Oran en 1669*.

⁵¹⁴ Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, son of Don Fernando de Navarrete y Sotomayor and Leonora Anna María de Valenzuela. “Expediente de Prueba de Caballeros de la Orden de Santiago Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, Capitan de Caballos-lanzas españolas en Orán y Gobernador de Peñon”, April 1643, AHN, OM-Caballeros_Santiago, Exp. 2997.

⁵¹⁵ La Véronne, “Interprètes d’arabe a Oran au XVIIe siècle,” 118. This correspondence of the 1650s also invoked the legitimacy and service of the Cansino and Sasportas ancestors, which indicates that the rivalry which flamed in the 1630s had not been forgotten, and that both families were establishing the documentary record and reputation of service that they would need when the competition opened again at Jacob's death.

⁵¹⁶ Caro Baroja situates this in the context of the converso persecutions taking place in the Peninsula in the 1640s. Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, vol. 1.

⁵¹⁷ Israel, “The Jews of Spanish North Africa,” 82.

the order for the expulsion of the community, promulgated and effected to the surprise and distress of that community in 1669.

All of the interpreters cultivated, and usually paid for, a wide network of informants across linguistic, ethnic, and religious boundaries. These associations were what allowed the interpreters to gather such valuable information, but it could also bring them under suspicion.⁵¹⁸ Concomitantly, when a translator was actually found to have done something subversive and punished, the crown struggled to discipline its agent without breaking the ties of informants he had cultivated. Even in the debate over the expulsion of the Jewish community of Oran, conducted between 1666 and 1669, Mariana of Austria worried that the community could not be expelled without consequences. She was concerned that expelling the Jewish community would leave the presidio without bilingual intermediaries, that the expelled intermediaries would take with them valuable information, and, perhaps of most concern, that expulsion would mean dishonoring the "royal word" as given by Fernando in 1512.⁵¹⁹

The far ranging networks of the translators served another purpose as well. Since the treaties between Oran and neighboring territories were frequently elaborated in terms of a personal contract between the governor and the local ruler, when the governor was replaced--which could happen after a year or after a decade--those treaties needed to be reconfirmed.⁵²⁰ Consistency in the intermediaries could help smooth this transition. It may have also proved a source of tension between governors and interpreters, as between Jacob Cansino and the Marques de Flores de Avila when he was first appointed. Some governors may not have appreciated the power of the interpreters, and this may have contributed to the undercurrent of tension between local

⁵¹⁸ "Estuc Cohin, Judio," October 4, 1577, AGS, Guerra y Marina, Legajo 82, f. 148; "Denunciacion de Issac Cansino, lengua ynterprete of Orán, espía del rey de Argel y de España," 1591, AGS, Guerra y Marina, Leg. 339, núm 178.

⁵¹⁹ Caro Baroja describes this uncertainty based on the Sotomayor y Valenzuela manuscript. Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, vol. 1, p. 217; Sotomayor y Valenzuela, *Brève relation de l'expulsion des Juifs d'Oran en 1669*, 47.

⁵²⁰ See the *Estudio preliminar* of Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro*.

gubernatorial and central royal power in the contest between Jacob Cansino and Yaho Sasportas and their various supporters.

c. The Language of Nobility

The Hernández, Sasportas, and Cansino families provide examples of the ways in which the interpreters of Oran navigated the channels of power in local and royal networks in order to secure status and employment for their descendants. A fourth family also dedicated several generations to the office of Arabic interpreter in Oran. These were the Hernández de Sotomayor and Navarrete, who came to Oran from Baeza in the early sixteenth century.⁵²¹ In 1563 Gil Hernández de Sotomayor was named as *capitán ordinario* by the king, and traveled to Madrid to be invested with the office in front of the *secretario de Guerra*.⁵²² According to Diego Suárez's chronicle, he held the official title of *intérprete mayor* by the late 1560s, working already in tandem with the Cansino family.⁵²³ Gil was also responsible for writing and issuing passports for safe-conduct, which followed a specific formula. The passports were written by Gil himself, in the name of the *Capitán General* of Oran and the King of Spain, and had to carry an official stamp (*estampa de bula*). They were composed in identical Castilian and Arabic, with the Castilian (called *aljamiado* in Suárez's description) always occupying the top half of the folded page.⁵²⁴

After Gil Hernández de Sotomayor died, the dual office of captain and interpreter was passed to his son, also named Gil Hernández de Sotomayor. This second Gil Hernández is the individual most commonly thought to have been the first Christian interpreter of Orán, probably

⁵²¹ Alberto García Carraffa and Arturo García Carraffa, *Diccionario heráldico y geneológico de apellidos españoles y americanos*, vol. 59, Salamanca: Imprenta Comercial Salmantina, 1947.

⁵²² “Nombramiento de Gil Hernández de Sotomayor como capitán ordinario,” AGS, Guerra y Marina, Libro-Registro 28, ff. 69v-70v. August 9, 1565.

⁵²³ See the episode described above in note 51. Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro*, p 340.

⁵²⁴ Suárez seems to have considered this protocol significant, or was particularly interested in questions of bilingual practice, since he promised to expand more on these practices in his *General Historia*, which was never finished or published. Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro*, 390. Also, it is worth noting that in other parts of the chronicle he uses the term *aljamiado* in a way that seems that he intends Hebrew. Suárez Montañés, *Historia del maestro*, 340.

without a salary for that office. When he died in 1612 his brother, Fernando de Navarrete, took over from 1612 to 1618 and was paid a nominal 15 escudos per month for his duties as an interpreter.⁵²⁵ He passed the office on to his son, again Gil Hernández de Sotomayor, who may not have received an official appointment until 1629, although he was working as an Arabic interpreter before that time, learning Hebrew in 1626.⁵²⁶

This family rose in status over the century, and in 1643 the *intérprete mayor*, Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor, was made a member of the Order of Santiago, with the supporting testimony of 22 witnesses and the then Governor of Oran, the Marquis of Visso.⁵²⁷ Many of the witnesses, whose main task was to answer a set series of questions establishing the supplicant's lineage, standing in the community, and *limpieza de sangre*, reported knowing personally Gil Fernández's father, Fernando Navarrete, and his grandfather, Gil Hernández de Sotomayor, and that all three generations were *intérprete lengua de su Magestad*, or the official royal interpreter. This office, however, was only listed in a secondary position to the several military titles of each man, and there is no elaboration or description of these men's linguistic skill, although physical skills like horseback riding were mentioned specifically. The secondary placement of this office was strategic. Knowledge of Arabic did not seem to be at all problematic for the *Consejo de Ordenes* from the standpoint of *limpieza de sangre*, contrary to what we might expect following the acrimonious anti-Arabic discourse

⁵²⁵ Fernando apparently ended his life as the Governor of Larache. "Expediente de Prueba de Caballeros de la Orden de Santiago Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, Capitan de Caballos-lanzas españolas en Orán y Gobernador de Peñon."

⁵²⁶ This lineage is sketched out in Prieto Valenzuela, "Informe sobre el oficio de intérprete de la lengua arábica en Orán. Por Felipe Prieto Valenzuela." Beatriz Alonso Acero cites a memorial from the Governon the Marquis de Velada in 1626, in which--in addition to describing the "necesidad de persona capaz en muchas lenguas," referring to the work done by Aaron and Jacob Cansino--notes that "El Capitan Gil de Navarrete, también lengua de V.M. en estas plaças aprende aora la hebrea y sabe mucha parte della." From Biblioteca Zabálburu, Carpeta no. 256, fol. 74r-v, cited in Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639*, 213.

⁵²⁷ "Expediente de Prueba de Caballeros de la Orden de Santiago Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, Capitan de Caballos-lanzas españolas en Orán y Gobernador de Peñon"; Gil Fernández de Navarrete, trans., "Traducción de una carta en árabe, escrita por Lajadar Benbumediem, cabeza de la parcialidad de Ulad Garrab, que escribió a los de parcialidad aconsejándoles lo que deben hacer frente a los españoles. Original firmado por su traductor Gil Fernández de Navarrete, caballero de Santiago e intérprete mayor de la lengua arábica por Su Magestad." (Oran, n.d.), Salazar y Castro, Real Academia de la Historia. K-65, f. 85r.

of the "Morisco Question" that was debated in print and in public in the early seventeenth century (see chapters 4 and 6).⁵²⁸ Where linguistic knowledge might have been problematic, however, was in its association with a technical or mundane office. Since many of the ordinary avenues for noble advancement were closed to the officers of Oran, they had to prove their nobility on the strength of their military service.⁵²⁹ In order to achieve a place in one of the military orders, it was crucial that neither they nor their ancestors have engaged in trade or other "vile" (*vil*) or low-status professions. In order to allay any doubts, linguistic skill was pushed firmly into the more readily noble category of military prowess.

The reports submitted by and on behalf of the Arabic interpreters of Oran during these crises of succession are examples of the process of theorization that took place around this office from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, a process whose roots were already present in the tensions between royal and municipal officials between 1512 and 1533. It is clear that the office of the interpreter in 1555, which required various licenses and the *nombramiento del rey* (royal appointment), was already conceived of as a formal office, both from the point of view of the crown, who ultimately controlled the appointments, and from the point of view of the occupants of the office. It required linguistic skills that were part of a military prowess and experience. Those experiences were a way to achieve nobility (*nobleza*): either the literal *nobleza* of the habit of Santiago, or virtue that could function like *nobleza*, transferable only through family connections. By the 1630s the office had even taken on the ideological characteristics of a "ministry" in the eyes of the interpreter and his patron, the King of Spain. Because of their religion, the Cansino could never have been ennobled or granted membership in a military order, but they were

⁵²⁸ Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56, no. 6 (2009): 495-528.

⁵²⁹ "Como en estas plazas no ai officios anales ni otros q en q se pueden haçer a estos patronos de hijo dalgo sino los de jente de guerra en q se an ocupado el Pretendiente y sus pasados." "Expediente de Prueba de Caballeros de la Orden de Santiago Gil Fernández de Navarrete y Sotomayor y de Valenzuela, Capitan de Caballos-lanzas españolas en Orán y Gobernador de Peñon." AHN, OM-Caballeros_Santiago, Exp. 2997.

able to create this professional site for their family in which service was transferred into virtue that functioned as a hereditary nobility. Similarly, the "old Christian" Hernández de Sotomayor family used their linguistic skills to support their claims to actual nobility.

D. Interpreters across the Mediterranean

a. *Melilla:*

In Melilla, the other long-lasting Spanish North African presidio, the need for interpreters was likely less since there was a smaller Arabic speaking population. Nonetheless, in 1549, Miguel Ruiz was named as *intérprete de la lengua árabe* along with Francisco Gómez, *alcaide de la puerta* of Melilla, acted as the interpreters in the interrogation process of three *moros* who had arrived in the city with information about the military strategies of the Sultan of Morocco.⁵³⁰ Miguel Ruiz was paid in 1550 the substantial sum of 7,194 *maravedies* for his work as an interpreter, in addition to another 1,394 *maravedies* plus 18 *reales* reimbursed to him for the expenses of housing the three informants for a total of six days.⁵³¹ There is no mention of a special payment to Francisco Gómez. Both these men were clearly known for their linguistic abilities and trustworthiness, but interpreting between Arabic and Castilian was not the primary occupation of either one. Gómez was indeed the *alcaide de la puerta* (Port Chief), in charge of a team of *escuderos de la puerta* (Squires of the Port), and whose bilingualism would have stood him in good stead for any occasional commercial interactions. Miguel Ruiz was an artilleryman.⁵³² We learn from these examples that, although a distinct administration of interpreters did not develop in Melilla, there was a staff of ready individuals who could take on the role. In addition to the 1549 episode with Gómez and Ruiz, in 1556 one of the leaders of Taza petitioned the Melilla administration to send him an interpreter to undertake negotiations.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ Document LVI, *SIHM, Espagne*, Tome I, pp. 183-187.

⁵³¹ Doc. CXLVII, *SIHM, Espagne*, Tome I, p. 432.

⁵³² Doc. XXIX, *SIHM, Espagne*, Tome II, p. 79.

⁵³³ Mariño, *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. clxxv.

The Melilla presidio was, however, linked to the world of *trujamanía* in Spain. Two of the governors of the presidio, Bartolomé Dorador and Pedro Venegas de Córdoba, would be closely linked to two important translators who will return later in our story, in chapters 6 and 5, respectively. The first, Bartolomé Dorador, grandson of the North African governor and translator of two important catechisms in the 1550s, almost certainly learned his Arabic while spending time with his grandfather in the presidios (chapter 6).⁵³⁴ Pedro Venegas de Córdoba was sent as the Spanish ambassador to Morocco after Sebastian's defeat in 1578, and he was accompanied by the well-known translator Diego Marin (chapter 5).

Much later, just before the expulsion of the Jewish interpreters from Oran in 1669, a family of Jewish interpreters, the Parientes, established themselves in this Moroccan outpost. This family was more connected, however, to the networks of Jewish families in Morocco who served as commercial and diplomatic intermediaries for the Sa'adien dynasty throughout Europe.⁵³⁵

b. Other Presidios and Noble Intermediaries

There are no indications that any of the other presidios, all of which were occupied for far less time than Oran and Melilla, ever developed a regular office of interpretation. Instead, interpreters were drawn as needed from the peripatetic merchants, friars, and soldiers. In some cases, the interpreting staff was drawn from the noble and military elite. We have already discussed how Gonzálo Fernández de Córdoba, *alcaide* (military leader) of Illora and later *Gran Capitán* and Governor of Orán, drew up the Arabic capitulations for Granada in 1491 with the help of another interpreter named Simuel. His son, Luis Hernández de Córdoba, became governor in Oran after him, and also actively involved in bilingual diplomacy, serving as the interpreter in the negotiations

⁵³⁴ See María Paz Torres Palomo, *Bartolomé Dorador y el árabe dialectal andaluz* (Resumen de Tesis Doctoral), Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1971 and Carlos Javier Garrido García, "El uso de la lengua árabe como medio de evangelización-represión de los moriscos del reino de Granada: nuevos datos sobre Bartolomé Dorador, intérprete y traductor de Martín de Ayala, obispo de Guadix" *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos: Sección Árabe-Islam* 57 (2008): 123-137.

⁵³⁵ *SIHM*, France, Tome III, p. 675.

he hosted on his Andalucian estate with the King of Tremeçen. Gen Liang has argued that the third governor of Oran, Martín de Córdoba y de Velasco, the brother-in-law of the previous governor Luis Hernández de Córdoba, all but conducted his own diplomacy with the local chiefs.⁵³⁶ There is no evidence that Martín himself acted as the interpreter, depending instead on his trusted agent Gonzalo Hernández. However, he did host many negotiations in the same manner as his kinsmen, and during his long tenure as governor of Oran, from 1534 until his death in battle in 1558, he effectively managed the relations between Spain and North Africa in his personal relationships with local powers. This model of diplomacy, run by a team of interpreters, intermediaries, and informants who answered first to the noble governor, who then mediated the information in his own reports back to the central court, would be followed for many years in Oran, leading to friction in the mid-seventeenth century about the king's relationship to these interpreters.

That the governor intervened as interpreter and chief negotiator was not only the case in Oran, although we have less information about the other presidios. In some cases, like that of Alvar Gomez de Orozco, el Zagal, the governor of Bône, a high ranking official who knew Arabic took personal charge of negotiations.⁵³⁷ Though Alvar Gómez was a soldier and a commander, he was well aware that using his language skills in an official capacity had a very specific reward within the royal administration, and in 1537 Alvar Gómez asked to be paid in the capacity of *intérprete de la lengua arauiga*, among other *mercedes*, including that his son be made a page in the royal household.⁵³⁸ In many cases of local negotiations, that the royal representative was the same person as the principal negotiator, and who knew Arabic, eschewed the need for actual translations.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ Liang, *Family and Empire*, especially pp. 157-163.

⁵³⁷ Doc. 25, "Capitulación de los criados y mensajeros del Rey de Tremeçen con el Conde de Alcaudete (Orán, 12 enero 1545)," *Carlos V. Norte de África*, p. 129.

⁵³⁸ AGS, Estado, Leg. 30, doc. 26.

⁵³⁹ See Fernando Mediano Rodríguez, Mercedes García Arenal, Rachid El-Hour, and Isabel Boyano (forthcoming), *Cartas tunecinas*.

Conclusion: The Nobility of Language

The experiences in Oran of the Hernández de Sotomayor and the Cansino, and to a lesser extent the Sasportas and Hernández, mirror the rise of another dynasty of translators in early modern Spain, the Gracián. The Gracián were based at the royal court and translated principally between Spanish and French, Italian, Latin, and Greek. More than any other family, the Gracián helped shape the Spanish institution of the official translator and interpreter, which they held from the 1520s until well into the eighteenth century, during which time the office of interpreter went from a royal appointment that was passed informally from father to son, who worked together in much the same way as the Cansino trained and assisted between generations. By the mid-eighteenth century the office held by the Gracián since 1527 had become a "*Secretaría de las lenguas*," by which time the office was a fully developed institution, with employees and management, an archive, and the ability to grant certifications legitimizing the work of other interpreters.⁵⁴⁰ Though by the mid-eighteenth century the Gracián no longer headed the *Secretaría*, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the Gracián maintained their control over the office of the interpreter in exactly the same way as did the interpreters of Oran. They petitioned for appointments and *mercedes* for themselves and their sons, they submitted gifts (usually translations from Greek or Latin), enlisted important individuals to write to the king about them, and published self-promoting panegyrics that listed the services and achievements of the Gracián family, beginning in the reign of the *reyes católicos* Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Gracián placed many family members in the administration of the monarchy, especially Diego Gracián de Aldrete, who held the original appointment from 1527, and who had fifteen children, thirteen of whom survived to adulthood.⁵⁴¹ Three of his sons became royal secretaries:

⁵⁴⁰ Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, "Breve historia de la secretaría de interpretación de lenguas," *Meta* 49, no. 3 (n.d.): 609-628.

⁵⁴¹ Milagros Ezquerro, *Diego Gracián de Aldrete*, [Toulouse]: Université de Toulouse Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Toulouse, 1968, 64.

Antonio, Lucas, and Tomás; Antonio (1567) and Tomás (1576) would also succeed their father in turn as the Interpreter of Languages and Crusade (*intérprete de lenguas y cruzada*). In the 1630s his descendent Francisco Gracián de Berruguete submitted to the king two versions of his family's credentials--one handwritten and one printed--most likely to support his petition for a pay raise or monetary reward.⁵⁴² Most striking in these documents are the way that similar qualities and services are invoked that we saw in the *memoriales* submitted by the interpreters of Oran and their supporters: language skills, military service, continuity of family in the office.

The problem confronted and, to a large extent, solved by these interpreters and by their competitors, was how to transform a record of service into a natural (and thus inheritable) virtue that would guarantee their continued employment. By the mid-seventeenth century the King considered this virtue as a *derecho* (right) to payment of a certain kind and quality.⁵⁴³ Although the interpreters had achieved a certain amount of legitimacy and power, their supervisors (especially the noble governors) remained concerned about the problem of control, in the sense of vigilance over their actions and information, which they hoped would be free from outside interest.⁵⁴⁴ This concern was voiced by various governors, and answered, letter by letter and report by report, by the interpreters and their supporters.

Indeed, over the course of the histories of these families the office of the Arabic interpreter became considerably specialized, and may be said to have become in a way more circumscribed, certainly in comparison to their contemporaries in Venice and Istanbul. As the interpreters defended

⁵⁴² “Don Fran[cis]co Gracián Verruguete interprete de lenguas. Sup[pli]ca a V[uestra] M[agesta]d en considera[ci]on de sus seruios y los de sus passados. Se sirua V[uestra] M[agesta]d de hazerle merced de honrrarle con un titulo de Secretario de V[uestra] M[agesta]d”, May 11, 1636, AHN, Consejos de Gracia, leg. 4426, exp. 1634; “Relación de los servicios de don Francisco Gracián Dantisco Verruguete, intérprete de las lenguas de todos los Consejos y Tribunales de su Magestad y de su padre, y passados” (1642) RAH, Salazar y Castro, E-21, ff. 64-65v.

⁵⁴³ Cansino, “Relación de los servicios del traductor.”

⁵⁴⁴ In 1626 the governor of Oran, the Marques de Velada, approved of Aaron Cansino, for his careful and diligent work, and his indifference to special interests: “tengo al referido aron cansino lengua oy de V.M. por cuidadoso y travaxador, y no muy (...) entrometido, raras cualidades en esa gente ambas muy convenientes al servicio de V.M.” Biblioteca Zabálburu, Carpeta 256, ff.74 r-v, as given in Abad Merino, ““Aquí hay necesidad de persona capaz en muchas lenguas”. El oficio de intérprete en las últimas fronteras de Castilla.”

their local legitimacy in Oran, they became legitimate only as local intermediaries. To be sure, the Cansino were still be called upon to render special service in international diplomatic issues, and Jacob Cansino's reports on North Africa were read at court and beyond, but after the 1550s they were never again called upon to travel as royal representatives, although the record of that service was an important detail in their family narratives.⁵⁴⁵ The theorization of the office of the Arabic interpreter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not extended into Spain's diplomatic service as it developed during the early modern period.

For individuals working for the Spanish monarchy, without an actual certification of nobility--which only the Hernández de Sotomayor were able to achieve--access to diplomatic service was barred. Although the fact of having an ancestor who had served as a kind of ambassador helped the Cansino maintain their position, in general the interpreters of Oran, while still a crucial force within one of the main diplomatic nodes of the Western Mediterranean, were increasingly confined to their local networks. Part of this is due to the fact that the latter part of the sixteenth century saw the rigidization of Mediterranean diplomacy and that by the seventeenth century, more regular diplomatic channels were established between Iberian and North African rulers, and even between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman capital.⁵⁴⁶ With greater institutionalization in the diplomatic apparatus, regular linguistic functionaries, ambassadors and other representatives could be chosen based on new criteria as dedicated peripatetic officers. By the time of Philip II's reign, the ambassador, as a high-ranking messenger, and the interpreter as his lower-ranking aide, were becoming highly differentiated offices. Across the Mediterranean the office of the interpreter took various forms, and the way in which these institutions or systems of information gathering were developed and perpetuated had as much to do with the form of the central power to whom the

⁵⁴⁵ Schaub situates Jacob Cansino and his writings on North Africa that circulated in court within the literature of the *arbitristas*. Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne: Oran 1509-1669*, p. 60.

⁵⁴⁶ María Rodríguez-Salgado, *Felipe II, El "paladín de a cristiandad" y la paz con el turco*, Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, Universidad de Valladolid, 2004.

interpreters ultimately answered as with the local conditions of contact and exchange. What is worth considering for future comparative studies, however, is the extent to which interpreters and other intermediaries in various administrations took advantage of similar strategies--like family networks, insisting on linguistic skill as a part of military preparation, demonstrating prestige and goodwill by contributing to the financial stability of the community--as mechanisms for advancement in the face of the dual challenge of proving ability and reliability.

Chapter 4 The Politics of Language in *Morisco* Granada: Translation and Transition

A. Language Laws in Colonial Granada: The Normative Framework

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the longstanding medieval precedents for Arabic-Castilian bilingualism in diplomacy, commerce, and the daily life of borderlands survived the eradication of the political boundaries in the Castilian conquest of Granada from 1482-1492. The practices of exchange and negotiation were translated to the new Mediterranean borderlands staged by the Spanish presidios of North Africa, where diplomacy, commerce, and peace between neighbors remained issues of paramount interest. The medieval precedents of bilingual institutions were also brought to bear on the design of the colonial administrations of *mudéjar* and *morisco* Granada during the period which ran from roughly 1492 to 1571.⁵⁴⁷

The periodization of the *mudéjar* (minority Muslims) and *morisco* (new Christian) periods after 1492 remains a complex task for the historian.⁵⁴⁸ Nominally, the capital of Granada surrendered on the condition of religious freedom on January 2, 1492, after many months of intense negotiations.⁵⁴⁹ However, the relatively lenient terms of the treaty of Granada, the capital city, were not the same as

⁵⁴⁷ On the colonial practices in Granada, and their parallels with earlier models practiced in thirteenth-century, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vo. 2, pp. 786-792. On medieval colonial practices within Europe in the middle ages, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994, and on the Valencian model, Robert Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Medieval Valencia*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975. David Coleman, in his excellent book on the frontier society that was forged in sixteenth-century Granada, prefers the term "postcrusade" to "colonial," but I will use both in this chapter. David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2003.

⁵⁴⁸ The study of the Castilian Mudéjars has generated considerable scholarly interest in the past half century. This flourishing of mudéjar studies has advanced considerably our knowledge of the social composition, material life, and cultural practices of these communities. The sub-discipline of *mudéjar* studies came into its own in 1975, when the first Symposium of Mudéjar Studies was convened in Teruel, Spain. Since that time, the conference and its published proceedings have continued to appear every three years. For an early review of the literature, see David Nirenberg, "Bibliographical Essay: The Current State of Mudéjar Studies," *Journal of Medieval History* 24/4 (1998): 381-389. For a relatively recent review of the ample literature on *morisco* topics, in the very forum of *mudéjar* studies I just alluded to, see Gregorio Colás Latorre, "Treinte años de historiografía morisca," in *Actas del X Simposio Internacional del Mudejarismo, Teruel, 14-16 septiembre 2005*, Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 643-684.

⁵⁴⁹ The final version was agreed upon in late 1491, though the act of surrender was not performed until January 2, 1492. AGS Patronato Real, Legajo 11, 207, November 25, 1491. Reproduced in Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*, Granada, 1910, pp. 257-268.

the terms which had been issued to other principal towns like Ronda (1485), Málaga (1487), and Almería (1489), whose populations had held out against the armies of the Catholic Kings and who were punished for that resistance after they surrendered.⁵⁵⁰ Thus we may look to the *Capitulations of Granada* as a guide to what the conquered population might expect, but the region as a whole experienced different degrees of religious assimilation, resettlement, repossession of goods and lands, and even expulsion. Secondly, even in the city of Granada, which has been taken to represent the entire province, the tolerant terms of the 1492 treaty were variably enforced according to different interpretations during the decade of mudejarism that concluded in 1502.⁵⁵¹ The beginning of the end for medieval precedents was the series of forced conversion that nullified the existence of Muslim minorities in the peninsula, and which followed on the precedents of expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon in 1492 and both Jews and Muslims from Portugal in 1497. Resistance to the increasing restrictions on their lives and cultural practices led the *mudéjares* of the Albaicín hill neighborhood of Granada to protest in 1499, and this unrest spread quickly to become the first revolt of the Alpujarras. As the rebellion was quelled, the *mudéjares* were given the choice of expulsion or conversion, culminating in 1502 when all non-converted *mudéjares* were expelled from Castile on the order of Queen Isabel.⁵⁵² Cardinal Cisneros, the Archbishop of Toledo, was put in charge of implementing the conversion and his infamous bonfire of Arabic books in Granada's main

⁵⁵⁰ The capitulation of Ronda is reproduced in Juan de Mata Carriazo, "Asiento de las cosas de Ronda: Conquista y repartimiento de la ciudad por los Reyes Católicos, 1485-1492," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes e Hebraicos* 3/3 (1954) and the capitulation of Almería and surrounding cities is doc. XV in Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*, pp. 185-188.

⁵⁵¹ As per the 1492 treaty, in the first years after conquest Muslim institutions were set up and a bilateral and bilingual administration seems to have functioned relatively smoothly. See Galán Sánchez, *Los mudéjares*, pp. 139-152. As Coleman has demonstrated, however, the increasing immigration of Christians from throughout the Peninsula and increasingly blatant violations of the 1492 treaty throughout the 1490s led to frustration, resentment, and eventual revolt in 1499. See Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁵² A very useful review of the political context of the evangelization efforts in Granada and their relationship to rebellion and expulsion, especially the connection of the "morisco problem" to the "converso problem," see Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 6. The three-way conflict between the famously tolerant Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, Cisneros, and the visiting inquisitor from Córdoba, Diego Rodríguez de Lucero, is discussed in Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56 (2009): 495-528, pp. 503-505.

plaza has become the symbol for the end of tolerance--tenuous in any case--for Arabic in Granada, and in all Spain.⁵⁵³

What actually happened between 1492 and the edict for Muslim expulsion in 1502, however, was far from uniform or constant.⁵⁵⁴ In some sense, the *mudéjares* of Granada had every reason to expect to be left to their faith, language, dress, and foodways, since minority communities of Muslims and Jews lived throughout Iberia and were in contact with Muslim Granada before the conquest.⁵⁵⁵ The practices of minority administration, including bilingual and bilateral legal structures and fiscal regulations were thus available to be mapped on to the new *mudéjares* (Muslims living under Christian rule) in Granada. For the first ten years, this process is what the administrators tried to effect. However, traditions of medieval pluralism eventually broke down and after the total conversion of the province the former Muslims of Granada are referred to by scholars as *moriscos*, and in the documents from the period as either *moriscos*, *moros*, *nuevos cristianos de moros*, or *los nuevamente convertidos*.⁵⁵⁶ Across Castile, following the new precedent of Granada, the historically *mudéjar* communities underwent forced conversions so that by 1502 there were no more Muslims

⁵⁵³ Cisneros has been long credited with the order for a public burning of all Arabic books, destructive act has been taken to read a uniform attitude toward Arabic texts. The order was, in fact, from the monarchs to Cisneros to review all Arabic books and determine which were religious texts. AGS EGS 1501-X-13, October 12, 1501. Only religious texts were to be burned, and Cisneros ordered all other books to be taken to his new university in Alcalá de Henares. Arabic texts had the potential to have great intellectual value, especially philosophical or medical books, as evidenced from the library inventory at Alcalá de Henares, which lists works of Arabic medicine and history. AHN Universidades, Libro 1091, ff. ff. 15v-16v.

⁵⁵⁴ One representative conversion treaty is that of the "newly converted" of the Lecrín Valley and Alpujarras region, AGS Patronato Real, legajo 11, 98, July 30, 1500. Also see that of Baza, dating from September 30, 1500, and Huescar, from February 26, 1501. Docs. V and VI in Gallego Burín and Gamir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, pp. 163-169.

⁵⁵⁵ Classic works on the complicated *mudéjar* period in Granada, including the precedents which shaped expectations on both sides, see Miguel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid: Instituto "Isabel la Católica" de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969 with its valuable documentary appendix and the articles gathered in Ángel Galán Sánchez, *Los Mudéjares Del Reino de Granada*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991.

⁵⁵⁶ Many scholars have assumed, not without reason, that the conversions in Granada were wholly ineffective, and that the *moriscos* remained for all intents and purposes faithful Muslims. See for example one of the leading scholars of Muslim and *morisco* Spain, L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006. While Muslim beliefs and practices certainly were maintained, the actual religiosity of the *moriscos* is difficult to assess, and the degree of assimilation into Castilian Christian normative practices was higher. On, for example, the high number of *morisco* wills and testaments in which dying as a good Christian was an important concern (some in Arabic), see Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 2 vols, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

living legally in that kingdom. The program of conversion did not extend out of Castile until Ferdinand's death in 1516, after which time the *mudéjares* in Valencia and Aragon were converted following clashes between municipal and royal authorities, ostensibly motivated by the "morisco question," culminating with the conversion of the Aragonese Muslims in 1525.⁵⁵⁷

The next year, in 1526, the now-Emperor Charles V traveled to Granada to celebrate his wedding to his cousin Isabel of Portugal.⁵⁵⁸ While in Granada he met with a council of regional church and secular leaders to receive advice about what had become known as the "morisco problem." Charles was advised to mandate assimilation in language, dress, ceremonies, and foodways, enforcing orders which had been given by Ferdinand and his daughter Juana (Charles's mother) over the preceding decades.⁵⁵⁹ When he issued his *Real Cédula de la Real Capilla* in 1526, however, representatives of the *morisco* community convinced him that those changes would be too difficult to make, and negotiated for a 40-year extension in return for a sizeable payment of 90,000 *ducados* and subsequent yearly payments of 21,000 *ducados*.⁵⁶⁰ The details of this agreement would be the subject of debate and negotiation throughout Charles's reign, but the forty-year term was never rescinded.⁵⁶¹

In 1566 the extension ran out, and the new King, Charles's son Philip II, had other pressures facing him. The last sessions of the Council of Trent had concluded in 1563, but the influence of the

⁵⁵⁷ The small but tenacious community of *mudéjares* in Navarre were converted in 1516. Mercedes García-Arenal, "Los moros de Navarra en la baja edad media," in Mercedes García-Arenal and Béatrice Leroy, *Moros y judíos en Navarra*, Madrid: Hiperion, 1984. The *mudéjar* population of Valencia was not converted until 1525. AGS, Estado, Leg. 329, núm. 1. For the distinct attitude of Ferdinand to the Valencian *mudéjares*, see Mark Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

⁵⁵⁸ On the stay in Granada of the emperor and empress, see Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, *La emperatriz: Isabel y Carlos V. Amor y gobierno en la corte española del Renacimiento*, Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2012.

⁵⁵⁹ For examples of the decrees concerning dress and animal slaughter from 1511-1514, see documents. XI-XVII in Gallego Burín and Gamir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, pp. 172-182. *Morisco* representatives had pleaded for stays of implementation and had even offered payments. For the record of the 1522 payment of 60,000 *ducados*, see AGS, Estado, legajo 27, núm. 318.

⁵⁶⁰ Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 7.

⁵⁶¹ For example, *Parecer de la Inquisición sobre algunos capítulos presentados por los moriscos a Carlos V*, AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Diversos de Castilla, 8, núm 85, February 4, 1539, *Españoles trasterados: Los moriscos*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Cultura, 2009, pp. 83-84.

ideas and decisions from the Council had been making themselves felt in Granada for over a decade, as I will discuss below.⁵⁶² In 1566 Pope Paul III instructed Philip, via the Tridentine representative and Archbishop of Granada Pedro de Guerrero, to see to the "*morisco* problem" (chapter 6).⁵⁶³ What commenced was a two-year process of negotiation and supplication between vassals and crown, in which both sides articulated very clear stances on the relationship of language, religion, and the relationship of subject and sovereign. This time, the arguments against immediate cultural conversion went unheeded, including financial incentives, and in response to the orders to immediately assimilate, some *moriscos* staged a rebellion.⁵⁶⁴ This rebellion began in the mountainous Alpujarras region from which the conflict takes its name, leading to a bloody and protracted war.

As the rebellion was quelled over the years 1568-1571, most *moriscos* were expelled from Granada, bringing an abrupt end to the question of whether Arabic could be spoken in Granada by forcibly removing the Arabic speakers.⁵⁶⁵ Some *moriscos* were given license to remain, and in any case many expelled *moriscos* returned to their homes after the expulsion.⁵⁶⁶ As I will show at the end of this chapter, however, the post-Alpujarras period was in fact a particularly rich age for Arabic interpreters in Granada (a market, scholars have discovered, the interpreters most likely made for themselves). The shape of this later translation scene, however, was shaped totally by the language ideologies that were articulated in blood on both sides during the War of the Alpujarras. Before turning to those questions, however, it is worth pausing to review how Arabic was used and

⁵⁶² David Coleman has argued cogently for the influence of the Granada context on some of Spain's representatives at Trent, not the least Pedro Guerrero. I will argue that the connection of these individuals to Granada also ensured that the currents of reform had a special effect on that region. See Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 145-176.

⁵⁶³ Luís de Marmól Carvajál, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada*, Libro II, Cáp. VI.

⁵⁶⁴ Though the rebellion was far from a majority movement, the military presence deployed to quell it was significant, and even those *moriscos* who did not participate in the conflict were irredeemably suspect of collaborating with the rebels, and Ottoman soldiers sent from North Africa. For perhaps the most succinct and clear review of the events of the "colonial war of Granada," see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. II, pp. 790-792.

⁵⁶⁵ Between 1570, with the creation of the *consejo de población*, and 1571, the *moriscos* were expelled from Granada, although the military conflict went on through 1571. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Cédulas, libro 259, 28-29, and AGS Cámara de Castilla, legajo 2161, núm 66, *Instrucción para la salida de los moriscos granadinos*, December 3, 1571.

⁵⁶⁶ Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*.

perceived from 1492 until 1571. This is a period that most scholarship collapses into one homogenous story of crypto-Islam, persecution, and failed assimilation, the fuel for an essentially religious conflict that would break out in 1568.⁵⁶⁷ I argue, however, that the debates over Arabic that began in 1526 and culminated in 1566-1568 were not solely part of a rhetoric of religious difference and we have missed many of the details of the processes by which the bilingual administrations of Granada supported the journey of Castilian to become the Spanish language.

Despite the way that subsequent events have colored our reading of the rupture that took place in 1492, at the "toma de Granada" (lit., the taking of Granada) on January 2, it was not at all obvious that the use of Arabic or any other traditional practices would be problematic for the remaining *mudéjar* population, those Muslims who remained in Granada to live as vassals of the Spanish kings. Significantly, none of the surrender treaties drawn up between 1482 and 1492 said anything about language use.⁵⁶⁸ The final treaty, which was drafted and redrafted throughout 1491 and promulgated on January 2, 1492, the permissive attitude toward Muslim law and legal expertise was a tacit permission for the continuation of an Arabic legal discourse. Indeed, so long as there were Muslims in Granada, the use of Arabic was accepted. The *mudéjar* community of Granada was, however, the shortest lived of all the minority communities of the peninsula. With the radical religious assimilation brought about by the Cardinal Cisneros from 1499-1502, the formerly Muslim vassals of the Spanish kings took on a new legal status. In 1502 Ferdinand and Isabella decreed that their newly Christian vassals could *only* be indoctrinated in Castilian or Latin.⁵⁶⁹ For the first time under the Catholic Monarchs, language began to become part of the set of qualities which defined both the vassals and the relationship of subject to sovereign.

⁵⁶⁷ I agree with and build on David Coleman's arguments about the complexity and variability of processes and outcomes in the construction of Granadan society in the *morisco* period.

⁵⁶⁸ Many of the Granadan communities who were conquered prior to 1492 had resisted the Castilian army, leading to expulsion or captivity for the bulk of the Muslim and Jewish populations, conditions which made it far preferable for them to emigrate to the shrinking Nasrid territory around the capital city. As we go forward in this chapter, it will be important to keep this heterogeneity of the initial Granadan *mudéjar* experience in mind.

⁵⁶⁹ Doc. XX in Gallego Burín and Gámir Sandoval.

Despite centuries of religious and other tensions that were formulated in terms of language, the 1502 edict was the very first official royal language policy.⁵⁷⁰ Prior to 1500 normative linguistics had been the reserve of the church, and indeed the question of whether religious services and education would be conducted in Latin or in Castilian was one of the primary debates in the late medieval synods in Spain.⁵⁷¹ The motives behind this debate were the question of dogma vs. pragmatism, and whether it was better to learn the forms of the church or to understand them. In these debates the relationship of language use and community membership were articulated. The tension between sacred and vernacular languages which began to be articulated in religious discourse, was adopted into Spanish political discourses by the end of the fifteenth century. The influence of humanistic explorations of language were also important to how a politics of language began to develop in the late fifteenth century in Castile, Nebrija's famous 1492 conflation of language and empire being the most emblematic example.⁵⁷² Though the languages in question in both the religious and political discourse prior to 1492 were Latin and the romance vernaculars, as I have shown elsewhere, initial attitudes toward Arabic were also shaped by these debates about managing diglossia, and not just a symptom of a medieval "clash of civilizations" between Muslim Arabic and Christian Castilian.⁵⁷³

Nonetheless, religion was a central part of the formation of language ideologies about Arabic in this period, and the ambivalence in church attitudes toward Arabic is nowhere more clear than Hernando de Talavera's instructions to the newly converted in an undated manuscript from c1500.

⁵⁷⁰ Certainly language was not absent from the rhetoric of religious difference in the middle ages, as illustrated by the well known example of Alvarus and Eulogius, two of the ninth-century Christian martyrs of Córdoba, who lamented the adoption of Arabic by the Christian *mozarabes* living under Muslim rule, effectively converting cultural practices into religious signs. See Charles Tieszen, *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 94-97.

⁵⁷¹ For a review of the normative precedents debated in the ecclesiastical synods José Sánchez Herrero, "La enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana en algunas diócesis de León y Castilla durante los siglos xiv y xv: catecismos, catequesis y predicación," *Archivos Leoneses* XXX, no. 59-60 (1976): 145-183.

⁵⁷² Eugenio Asensio, "La lengua compañera del imperio: Historia de una idea de Nebrija en España y en Portugal," *Revista de Filología Española* 43 (1960): 399-413.

⁵⁷³ Claire Gilbert, "Converting Power in Pedro de Alcalá's Social Catechism: Vernacular Linguistics in Late Medieval Castile, 1486-1505," UCLA History Department Working Paper.

Talavera, the Archbishop of Granada from 1492 until his death in 1507, was famously tolerant of Arabic in Granada, and even attempted to learn some phrases himself to use while preaching. Fernando Núñez Muley, the *morisco* leader who as a young boy was Talavera's page, remembered more than sixty years later Talavera's use of Arabic phrases in the Christian mass.⁵⁷⁴ Talavera is also credited as the sponsor of Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 Arabic grammar, lexicon, and catechism, a work which I will discuss in greater detail in chapter six. Talavera's instructions of c1500 reveal, however, the competing ideas about language as cultural practice and as an indication of religious adherence. This short text, which covers only a folio, enjoins the newly converted to "forget" all of their "moorish customs and celebrations."⁵⁷⁵ The bulk of the subsequent instructions are positive in the sense that they call for the *moriscos* to learn or perform something rather than forget or not perform something. These instructions include learning the sign of the cross, attending mass and confession, adhering to the sacraments, participating in Christian-style *cofradías* or religious guilds, and sending children to the church schools for instruction. About halfway through this list of "positive" prescriptions comes the command, "to those who can read, make sure you have all the Arabic books of prayers and psalms which will be given to you, and a copy of these instructions, and that you use them [the books] to pray in church." In this short command is the promise of a campaign of translation and publishing--by manuscript or print--of Arabic Christian materials, and some idea that Christianity could be performed in Arabic as well as in Castilian or in Latin. Notwithstanding this flexibility, the instructions conclude with the following injunction:

"However, so that your conversion will be without scandal for the natural Christians [xpianos de naçion], and so that they don't suspect that you still hold the sect of Muhammad close to your hearts, it is essential that you conform in everything to the good and honest

⁵⁷⁴ Nuñez Muley, in the original manuscript of his *memorial*, claimed that Talavera not only incorporated *zambra* music and dance into Christian ceremonies, but that "dezia en la misa algunas palabras en arábigo--en especial quando dezía "Dominus Bobispon"[sic], dezía "Ybara figun." Garrad, "Original Memorial," p. 215. That is, rather than saying, "may God be with you," *dominus vobiscum*, he said "may the blessings of God be with you," *yatabarak fikum*.

⁵⁷⁵ "Lo primero es que oluideys toda çeremonia y toda cosa morisca en oraciones en ayunos en pasquas y en fiestas y en nascimientos de criaturas y en bodas, y en baños, en mortuorios y en todas las otras cosas." Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1964, p. 761

practices [conversación] of the good and honest Christians, men and women, in your dress and shoes and your ways of shaving, and eating and at table. Make your meat stews as they are most commonly made, and conform in how you walk and in how you give and receive objects, etc., and more than anything, conform in your speech. You must forget as much as you are able of the Arabic language, forcing it to be forgotten, and never speak it in your houses."⁵⁷⁶

This paragraph, which is the second to last of the entire set of instructions, seems to be in direct contravention of the earlier command to keep Arabic prayer books at home.⁵⁷⁷ However, this latter command is not to be taken as one of the literal instructions for how to conduct oneself as a new Christian, rather it is a warning and a predication of the regime of assimilation to come. Indeed, Talavera's set of instructions about dress, food, and interpersonal interaction were nearly exactly replicated in Charles's decree of 1526.⁵⁷⁸

The 1526 decree was motivated by the *visitas*, or ecclesiastical reviews, across the villages of the province, which determined that the evangelization project that had become a high priority since the blanket conversions of 1500 had been ineffective. In 1526, with the memory of the *comuneros* revolt of the early 1520s still immediate for Charles, the *moriscos* were able to invoke their loyalty during that episode and protest the gap between religious identity and cultural practice to convince Charles to forestall the implementation of the *Pragmática* for a generation, or forty years. Forty years later, in 1566, the memory of the *comuneros* rebellion had faded, however, and the *moriscos* were themselves incited to rebellion by Philip's decree of January 1567. Linguistic norms were articulated

⁵⁷⁶ "Mas para que vuestra conversión sea syn escandolo a los xpianos de naçion y no piensen que aun teneys la seta de Mahoma en el coraçon es menester que vos conformeys en todo y por todo a la buena y onesta conversacion de los guenos y onestos cristianos y xpianas en vestir y calçar y afeytar y en comer y en mesas y viandas guisadas como comunamente los guisan y en vuestro andar y en vuestro dar y tomar y mucho y mas que mucho en vuestro hablar olvidando quanto pudieredes la lengua arauiga y faziendola olvidar y que nunca se hable en vuestras casas." AGS Diversos de Castilla, libro 8, fol. 114. I use the edition in the documentary appendix of Tarsicio de Azcona, *Isabel la Católica*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1964, pp. 761-763. I have been more *ad sensum* than *ad verbum* in my translation, as I attempt to convey the sense of the phrases "cristianos de nación" and "conversaciones."

⁵⁷⁷ The final paragraph is a warning that these instructions will be enforced by the king and queen.

⁵⁷⁸ For the text of the royal cédula, dated December 7, 1526, see doc. XXXI in Gallego Burín and Gamir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, pp. 198-205.

within the Castilian legal framework by these royal edicts and ecclesiastical instructions.⁵⁷⁹ As with many normative decrees concerning cultural practices, enforcement was tremendously difficult, and perhaps not even wholly desired. The first decrees of 1500 began a process of negotiation between the crown, the church, and the local populations, which culminated in Philip's pronouncement from Madrid in 1566, in which the *moriscos* of Granada were enjoined to abandon Arabic, first and foremost, in addition to other forms of cultural practice like dress, education, and foodways.

B. Arabic Interpreters in *mudéjar* and *morisco* Granada

Against this tense normative backdrop of royal and ecclesiastic legislation, language came to be one of the most important sites of contention for participation in the body politic. At the same time, the institutional design of that participation and its control was effected through bilingual officers and even a bilingual textual regime. The job of the bilingual administrative agents was to convert Arabic acts and texts into legible information for the Castilian institutions of governance. Nonetheless, Arabic texts continued to be produced in Granada after 1492, and after the conversions of 1500 Arabic speakers, readers, and writers were employed not only to translate but to create Arabic texts within Castilian institutions.

All Arabic texts are not the same, of course, and different kinds of texts were produced, publicly and illicitly, in the *mudéjar* and the *morisco* periods. Between 1492 and 1499, *mudéjares* continued to have the right to produce Islamic legal documents in Arabic.⁵⁸⁰ Arabic deeds and other legal texts were perfectly legitimate after 1492, although since most of those that are extant were drawn up for the purposes of establishing a record of ownership and sale as lands and buildings changed hands to immigrant Christians from emigrating Muslims.⁵⁸¹ As Amalia Zomeño has shown,

⁵⁷⁹ I will discuss the ambivalent attitude of the church toward Arabic, including the establishment of *morisco* schools and training an Arabic-speaking clergy, in both Valencia and Granada in greater detail in chapter 6.

⁵⁸⁰ Garrido Atienza, *Capitulaciones*, doc. LX, pp. 257-268.

⁵⁸¹ Many of the *romanceamientos* done in Granada after 1492 were bills of sale. The secondary literature on *romanceamientos* is already quite large and is growing as more and more documents are uncovered in the archives of Granada, both the

the last Arabic Islamic text drafted in Granada dates from 1499, just before Cisneros began the wave of forced conversions and the Catholic Kings rescinded the legitimacy of legal documents drawn up in Arabic.⁵⁸²

Though in 1500 the monarchs revoked the privilege of using Arabic in Islamic institutions, and instructed the clergy to avoid Arabic religious instruction, the reality of colonial Granada was that it had a significant Arabic-speaking population.⁵⁸³ In fact, the *Ordenanzas* (municipal ordinances) of Granada that were promulgated for the new Christian city in 1500 still required the employment of four Arabic interpreters, an Arabic-speaking town crier, and an Arabic-speaking executioner.⁵⁸⁴ In Málaga, the principal port of the former kingdom of Granada, there was a far smaller local Arabic-speaking population since most of the Arabic-speaking Jews and Muslims had been expelled after 1487 conquest.⁵⁸⁵ Nonetheless, as a port city facing North Africa, Málaga hosted merchants from around the Mediterranean, and the longstanding tradition of commerce conducted in Arabic was initially uninterrupted, though an official office of translation was not set up in Málaga until 1501.⁵⁸⁶

city and the province. For a relatively up to date bibliography, see Emilio Molina López and María Carmen Jiménez Mata, *Documentos árabes del Archivo Municipal de Granada (1481–1499)*, Granada: Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada, 2004.

⁵⁸² Amalia Zomeño, “From Private Collections to Archives: How Christians Kept Arabic Legal Documents in Granada,” *Al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): 461–479, p. 475.

⁵⁸³ According to Coleman, the city of Granada had a population of about 50,000 Muslims and Jews in 1492, and approximately 15,000 *moriscos* in 1561 when the first census was conducted. Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 58–60.

⁵⁸⁴ The original ordinances from 1500 are reproduced in the later text of the *Ordenanzas de Granada de 1552 [Facsimile Edition]*, Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2000. On the official interpreter in Granada, see José Antonio López Nevot, *La organización institucional del municipio de Granada durante el siglo XVI (1492-1598)*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994, pp. 310–312.

⁵⁸⁵ Where Granada ultimately negotiated a peaceful surrender, Málaga had held out in a long siege (brought to an end finally by the work of none other than the future Pedro de Granada, Yahya al-Najjar). As punishment, most of the Muslim and Jewish population was expelled from Málaga early on, making a comprehensive bilingual administration unnecessary on the scale of the capital. Nonetheless, there was a need for some bilingual mediation, and the young *cabildo* of Málaga employed Arabic interpreters to proclaim the edicts of expulsion in the mosques and synagogues. *Actas del Concejo de Málaga (ACM)*, April 6, 11, 15, and 16, 1491. This figure may correspond to Hamet al-Gazi, who accompanied Yuçuf de Mora from Granada to the Castilian court in 1488. AGS RGS 1488-05-15 Murcia, no. 170 He also served the Catholic Kings throughout the *mudéjar* rebellion of 1500 and 1501. Esther Cruces Blanco and José María Ruiz Povedano, *Inventario de acuerdos de las actas capitulares del concejo de Málaga (1489-1516)*, Granada: 2004, pp. 168–169.

⁵⁸⁶ In 1492, after the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Málaga, the port still received Muslim merchants from North Africa. The royal secretary Hernando de Zafra assigned Yahya al-Fisteli to make sure that these visitors had the necessary documents to conduct their business, a native *malagüeño* who at that time had secured several important offices

The *escribanía de letra y lengua árábica* was occupied between 1501 and 1513 by Alonso de Serrano. Serrano's Muslim name was Muhammad al-Gazi and he had been a trusted intermediary of both the Trastámara and Nasrids during the war, whose services were rewarded with a permanent office in the new colonial administration.⁵⁸⁷

Although the Arabic linguistic community dwindled in the decades after conquest and conversion, as Amalia García Pedraza has shown in her detailed inventory of notarial records in Granada, *moriscos* requested help from interpreters to draft their last wills and testaments, significantly requesting assistance to perform *Christian* acts like leaving bequests to a Church or receiving extreme unction.⁵⁸⁸ At no time in the decades after conquest through the second war of the Alpujarras (1568-1571) was Granada without an officially employed and paid corps of interpreters, who took on specific and specialized tasks of written translation and oral interpretation and who were described with the title *lengua* or *intérprete* in official records.⁵⁸⁹ These men, for unlike other sites in the Hispanic monarchy, the records only tell of male interpreters, were the source of official Arabic documentation in Castilian institutions until 1571. In the section that follows I will examine the institutional precedents for these positions, the social and rhetorical strategies of the men occupied them, and evidence of language ideologies which were generated and maintained in Granada's bilingual administration.

in the bilingual administration in the capital city. ACM Libro I, 1492, noviembre 6 martes, doc. 1.611. Cruces Blanco and Ruiz Povando, *Inventario*, p. 333.

⁵⁸⁷ AGS, CCA, Céd, 5,46,2.

⁵⁸⁸ It was more likely that a *morisco* resident of the Alpujarras or suburban farms need an interpreter, as there was a relatively high degree of Castilian knowledge in the city itself. Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte: Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, vol. 2, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002, pp. 457-485.

⁵⁸⁹ Assignments and payments to municipal interpreters pepper the regular accounts from the Granada town council, which date from 1497 and are held in the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada (AHMG). These records are unfortunately incomplete, and the existing *libros de actas* from the *mudéjar* and *morisco* periods are Libro I (1497-1502), Libro II (1512-1516), Libro III (1516-1518), Libro IV (1518-1522), Libro V (1555-1557), and Libro VI (1565-1566). The next extant tome is Libro VII (1603-1604).

i. *Mudéjar* Precedents

The conquest of Granada which was carried out on the command of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, from roughly 1482 until the beginning of 1492, has been written into the historical narrative as a period of rupture. The Castilian conquest of Nasrid Granada was a rupture, as is any conquest, however, this period was yet another chapter in the centuries of military, diplomatic, and commercial relationships between the two kingdoms, and well-established practices of communication, negotiation, and collaboration continued to be employed throughout the conquest. As I have demonstrated in chapter 2, these two kingdoms, Arabic-speaking Nasrid Granada and Romance-speaking Castile, had an arsenal of available practices, procedures, and even agents with which to carry out bilingual interactions, as much at the local scale of captive redemption as the dynastic scale of diplomacy between the monarchs and their representatives. Throughout the late medieval period, messengers, noble ambassadors, "frontier judges" (*jueces de frontera/qudā' bayna-l-mulūk*) and their investigative teams, captive redeemers (*alfaqueques*), merchants, and others crossed and recrossed the border that stretched from the Guadalquivir Valley to Murcia.⁵⁹⁰ The frequent peace and commercial treaties between the Nasrid and Trastámara dynasties and their representatives were drawn up in bilingual Arabic-Castilian copies, following negotiations that were often facilitated by interpreters. Town councils and landholders at the frontier heard lawsuits and petitions from across the border, and in some cases, especially in Murcia, had a regular bilingual staff (see discussion in chapter 2).

Bilingual institutions did not, however, exist only in the borderlands. Communities of Muslims had lived under Christian rule for centuries, dating back at least to what Ladero Quesada calls the foundational act of Castilian neo-mudejarism: the conquest of Toledo in 1085.⁵⁹¹ In the

⁵⁹⁰ Please excuse the missing Arabic diacritics in transliteration. For the final draft I am obtaining the correct plugin.

⁵⁹¹ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los mudéjares de Castilla en la baja edad media," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 5 (1978): 257-304, p. 266. There was well-documented bilingualism before 1085, which disregarded the boundaries of

northeastern Crown of Aragon, which included the Kingdom of Valencia, there was no less a tradition of mudejarism. The reality of the presence of *mudéjar* communities in both Castile and Aragon, Father Burns has argued, created a "parallel society" throughout the high middle ages in which there existed, "in effect a second established religion in the realm, protected in its liturgies, subject to its separate law and courts, enjoying its local officers of rule, conducting its schools, living by its proper calendar, and in general standing apart carapaced in limited autonomy and alien cultural forms."⁵⁹² This theoretical creation of social silos was, of course, more porous in practice. Burns again has noted the primary characteristic of the style of Iberian minority administration, that "Mudejarism is an acculturative phenomenon," and that this process of acculturation was bilateral even if the politically dominant population won out institutionally in the end.⁵⁹³

The long history of mudejarism in the Peninsula is complicated by the fact that the organization and governance of *mudéjar* communities across Iberia was highly diverse, as were their relationships with local Christian and Jewish neighbors and the crown.⁵⁹⁴ The execution of law and

religious identity. For example, bilingual practice extended to naming patterns, meaning that even Christian *mozarab* clerics had Islamic names like Muhammad. See Kassis, "Arabic-Speaking Christians in al-Andalus," p. 413.

⁵⁹² Robert Burns notes that the *mudéjar* treaties of Jaume I's thirteenth century conquests, which established, "the pattern by which Aragon-Catalonia absorbed and administered subject Moors, [...] reflected the general Mediterranean experience and had analogies in Islamic and Byzantine lands." Jaume's practices "readily fell in with the concept of parallel societies that Alfonso VI, conqueror of Toledo [1085], had styled himself 'ruler of two religions,' while King James's crusading colleague St. Ferdinand III of Castile was to flaunt on his tombstone inscriptions in Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, and Castilian." Burns and other scholars have noted the difference between the more segregated urban communities and the more mixed relationships between Christians and Muslims in rural areas. Robert I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁹³ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, p. 11. The final dominion of majority institutions took quite a long time to accomplish, however, even after the decline of mudejarism in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Wilhelm Hoenerbach's inventory of Muslim notarial and legal documents from Valencia runs from the mid fourteenth century to the late sixteenth (1595/6). See Wilhelm Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, Berkeley: University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies, 1965. L.P. Harvey has also discussed the late 1595 Valencian document and its meaning for the late survival of Arabic among Valencian *moriscos*. See Harvey, "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595," *al-Andalus* 36/1 (1971): 81–115. On the fifteenth century precedents for the Muslim legal scholars who generated Arabic texts while performing as interlocutors to the Aragonese and Castilian administrations, respectively, see Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities in Late Medieval Spain*, New York: Columbia UP, 2008 and Gerard Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden: Brill, 1994.

⁵⁹⁴ Harvey 1990, pp. 51-52. On language, Harvey notes that, "We cannot be certain what language they used within their own homes, although the presumption is that it was Castilian. However, since in the mid-fifteenth century the writings of Castilian Muslims frequently contain some laments at the decline of Arabic, we must assume that Arabic had at some time in the past had some status, at least as a language of community organization and written record"

fisc were the primary focus of interest, and the heads of the mudéjar communities (*aljamas*) were the *alcaldes* and the *repartidores*, that is, judges and tax collectors.⁵⁹⁵ At the end of the fifteenth century, Isabel gathered the various Castilian *mudéjar* leaders into one administrative hierarchy, headed by the *alcalde mayor de los moros*, who oversaw the *aljamas* (minority settlements) across the realm.⁵⁹⁶ The head of this administration from the 1480s was none other than Abrahan Xarafi, part of the same Toledo family who had provided interpreting and notarial services to the Castilian crown since the fourteenth century, the predecessor to Gabriel Israel's appointment as *intérprete mayor* in Murcia in 1476.⁵⁹⁷ Although the *mudéjar* administration, like the Jewish administration that was headed by the *rab mayor*, helped to enforce spatial and material restrictions and aimed to control the lives and interactions of the different religious communities, the minority communities were also subjects of the Castilian (or Aragonese) crowns and these communities operated within legal and fiscal norms that were distinct from those governing the Christian majority but which still fit into the broader system of governance.⁵⁹⁸ Thus in Granada there was a precedent for managing information and texts in Arabic, taking well into account that the bilingual institutions of minority governance were Castilian (or Aragonese) institutions, not autochthonous minority institutions, even if their purpose was the controlled permission of Muslim and Jewish cultural and religious practice.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ The *alcaldes mayores* for the *mudéjar* and Jewish communities had other regular professions in addition to their royal appointments as *alcaldes*, including that of *repartidor*. Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, pp. 87-88. Wieggers gives the example of Yuça de Segovia, who in addition to being a master builder, was appointed as *repartidor*, while Farax Alçadafi was both *repartidor mayor* and *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros de Castilla*. Wieggers has proposed that there existed a five-member council of Castilian mudéjar *repartidores* in the mid-fifteenth century.

⁵⁹⁶ Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (I)," *Al-Qantara* 24/1 (2003): 139-168 and "De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (II)," *Al-Qantara* 24/2 (2003): 273-289.

⁵⁹⁷ AGS RGS, XII-1484, f. 45. For the 1347 translations in Toledo, see F. Fita, "Majadraque según el fuero de Toledo," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 7 (1885): 371-376. Israel's appointment is discussed at length in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

⁵⁹⁸ On the connections, overlaps, and parallels between the *alcalde mayor* and the *rab mayor*, see Ana Echevarría, "Los mudéjares de los reinos de Castilla y Portugal," *Revista d'Història Medieval* 12 (2001): 31-46.

⁵⁹⁹ Echevarría points out that the social hierarchies of the different mudéjar communities may be analogous to the models in medieval society as a whole: political elites who live and work close to the king, urban and economic elites who were the motors of commercial activity, and intellectual elites—conflated in some measure with the religious

The organization of the *aljamas* in the medieval period was oriented toward one primary goal from the Crown's perspective: effective taxation. Effective taxation relied on good information and a working system of collection, both of which required someone with the linguistic skills necessary to communicate with both the tax base and the Crown. The *mudéjares* of Castile owed to the crown various kinds of taxes at different times, predicated on their minority status. The most frequently collected were the *pecha* and *servicio y medio servicio*.⁶⁰⁰ Taxation was assessed based on property inventories that were generated in the process of *repartimiento*, literally, division. These inventories, and the later tax rolls, were often drawn up in bilingual co-texts.⁶⁰¹ In *mudéjar* Granada the tax burden would be augmented by the *farda*, but the system of assessment and collection would echo the medieval practices.⁶⁰²

ii. The Office of Translation in Granada, 1492-1571

In 1492, the experiences of minority government, borderlands interaction, and wartime translation and negotiation all colored the way that bilingual institutions were set up in colonial Granada. Firstly, the means, experience, and even the staff of experts needed to establish a bilingual administration in conquered Granada was readily at hand. Though the surrender treaty of 1492 promised that the *mudéjares* be governed by their own laws and officials, the crown needed its own

elites—who were the custodians of religious tradition and, in the case of the *mudéjares*, the Arabic language. Echevarría, "Los *mudéjares* de los reinos de Castilla y Portugal," p. 44

⁶⁰⁰ For a review of the different kinds of taxation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Ladero Quesada, "Los *mudéjares* de Castilla," pp. 258-260.

⁶⁰¹ Many *repartimientos* have been edited and published in recent years, in particular those of the Granada region, of increasing interest to historians. On medieval precedents and a discussion of their application in Granada, see Thomas Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995, pp. 127-144. On the production of bilingual property inventories as late as 1549, see Claire Gilbert, "Transmission, Translation, Legitimacy and Control: The Activities of a Multilingual Scribe in *Morisco* Granada," in *Multilingual and Multigraphic Manuscripts and Documents of East and West*, Giuseppe Mandala and Inmaculada Pérez Marin (eds.), Gorgias Press (forthcoming 2014).

⁶⁰² An example of a *farda* co-text Juan Martínez Ruiz, "Escritura bilingüe en el reino de Granada (siglo XVI), según documentos inéditos del archivo de la Alhambra," in *Actas del primer congreso internacional de hispanistas*, Oxford: The Dolphin Book Company, 1964, 371–375. On fiscal management in Granada, see the work of Ángel Galán Sánchez, who introduces his team's project in "Hacienda y fiscalidad en el reino de Granada: razones para su estudio," *Cronica Nova* 31 (2005): 11-22 and further conclusions in "Poder y fiscalidad en el reino de Granada tras la conquista: Algunas reflexiones," *Studia Historica: Historia Medieval* 20 (2012): 67-98.

institutions to oversee the population. The Catholic Kings had only to look at the former frontier for a pool of potential employees, and to the individuals who had been carrying out bilingual negotiation for years, and in the case of some families, centuries.

In chapter 2 I discussed the intermediaries who were active in the Castilian-Granadan frontier, and who brokered the diplomatic interactions and treaties throughout the ten-year *guerra de Granada*. Several of these intermediaries found regular positions and secure social status in the *mudéjar* administration in Granada. The translators and interpreters of the new colonial administration, however, did not limit their activities or professional and social networks to the *mundo de trujamanería*, but were intimately involved in shaping the multilingual and multi-confessional character of Granada in the *mudéjar* period between 1492 and 1502. Although these agents also served as representatives of their communities to advocate for *morisco* rights before the crown, they also collaborated with the new hierarchies of power they concomitantly represented. The terms "collaborators" and "collaboration" have become popular in recent Spanish scholarship, usually meaning the elites who converted early and integrated themselves into the Castilian aristocracy.⁶⁰³ However, aristocrats were not the only collaborators. Translators and interpreters in particular had the capacity and opportunity to manage many different kinds of information, and learned how to use this information within different institutions of power, royal, municipal, and ecclesiastic, allowed them to create networks in which professional skills and experience became part of the family patrimony. Through their strategic professional placement in the articulations of the new administrative bodies, certain formerly Muslim families succeeded in the creation and consolidation of a linguistic oligarchy that was made not only of the cultural and intellectual elites but also the scribal and notarial classes, who by the nature of their work had strong connections to other

⁶⁰³ "Poder cristiano y 'colaboracionismo' mudéjar en el reino de Granada (1485-1501)" in José López de Coca Castañer (ed.), *Estudios sobre Málaga y el reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987, 271-289.

networks of power: judicial, municipal, royal, noble, and ecclesiastical. Those interpreters who were able to find a professional status and security in the new colonial society based on their experience did their best to transfer the symbolic capital of this experience, along with training in skills and techniques, to the next generation. Those who had the most success were those who understood how to best take advantage of moments of transition in order to integrate themselves into the joints of the new administrative bodies, especially royal and municipal institutions. From these nodes, they were able to use their linguistic knowledge and skills along with personal and professional networks in order to control access to information. Thus they made themselves indispensable to the new government and social organization.

After the conquest, the Catholic Kings appointed a new head official to oversee regular bilingual administration in the capital of the new Castilian province. This was don Alonso de Venegas, whose biography I have outlined in chapter 2. Don Alonso, as the descendent of Nasrid Muslim and Castilian Christian nobles, and as an early collaborator with the Catholic Kings, was an ideal appointee from the perspective of the Catholic Kings.⁶⁰⁴ After 1492 there was an exodus of Nasrid elites, as most of the higher ranking officials or wealthy citizens fled to North Africa rather than live under Castilian rule. However, the Castilian administration still needed prestigious figures, if possible with genuine local connections, to represent them and help mediate with the newly subject population.⁶⁰⁵ The appointment of don Alonso, who had converted to Christianity in a politicized gesture in 1491, was in fact a significant sign of a new strategy of governance and a

⁶⁰⁴ On the Nasrid and earlier Castilian noble lineages of the Granada Venegas, see Seco de Lucena Paredes, "Alamines y Venegas, cortesanos de los nasries," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 10 (1961): 127–142.

⁶⁰⁵ A figure like the Jewish Gabriel Israel, would have been far from ideal despite his experience, since part of the surrender treaty determined that Jews would not be placed in positions of administrative authority over *mudéjar* Muslims. See Garrido Atienza, doc. LX. Indeed, this was the source of one of the major lawsuits against him in Málaga. AGS RGS IV-1496, no. 139.

departure from mudejarism, a strategy in which religious uniformity would play a much greater role.⁶⁰⁶

Alonso Venegas was appointed to the office of *trujamán mayor* on February 15, 1494, in the place of, "Çayde Alamin e el alcaide Nayar e Syninte Atanel trujamanes mayores que fueron delos dichos Reyes moros de Granada e nuestros."⁶⁰⁷ In the first years after conquest, the Catholic Kings retained the former office-holders and paid them their traditional salaries. In 1492, however, the Jewish Simuel would have been forced to give up the position and leave Spain.⁶⁰⁸ It is uncertain what happened to the al-Amin family, though they may have decided to emigrate in 1493 with the rest of the royal family and many of their officials.⁶⁰⁹ This would have left Alonso's father, Yahya, later Pedro de Granada after his conversion in 1500, who had the contacts to manage an office of bilingual officials but may have wished to pass the office to his son. When Ferdinand and Isabel appointed Alonso in 1494 and confirmed his appointment in 1495, their choice was an effective combination of professional tradition and pragmatic administration. Alonso was himself a Nasrid noble, with an extensive local network and the respect of both Christian and Muslim inhabitants of Granada. Alonso, whose son Pedro Venegas de Granada was the progenitor of a Castilian noble lineage, the Marquises of Campotéjar, is the paradigmatic example of "collaboration" for historians

⁶⁰⁶ On don Alonso's conversion from Islam and his former name, 'Ali Omar bin Nasr, see José Antonio López Nevot, "Los Granada Venegas: Regidores, alguaciles mayores de Granada y procuradores de la ciudad en las cortes de Castilla (siglos XVI-XVII)," in García Luján (ed.), *Simposio nobleza y monarquía: Los linajes nobiliarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX: el linaje Granada Venegas, marqueses de Campotéjar*, Huescar: Asociación Cultural Raigadas, 2010, pp. 325-360, p. 330.

⁶⁰⁷ AGS RGS 1494 II f. 20, also transcribed in López Nevot, "Los Granada Venegas," pp. 351-352. The confirmation is AGS RGS 1495 VIII fol 19. In 1500 don Alonso submitted the appointment to the municipal council. AHMG Libro I, May 22, 1500. Doc 204 in María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad: El primer libro de actas del cabildo de Granada (1497-1502)*, Monumenta Regni Granatensis Histórica, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005. The identity of these three interpreters seems most likely to be Sa'id Al-Amin, a member of the noble family of Nasrid ministers who had long headed up the office of translation from the court in Granada, Yahya al-Najjar, alcaide of Baza and Guadix and Alonso's father, and Simuel Habenatahuel.

⁶⁰⁸ Even Gabriel Israel, another Jewish translator who enjoyed royal favor, had to leave after the edict of expulsion of March 31, 1492. See chapter 2.

⁶⁰⁹ AGS Patronato Real, legajo 11, 3, 2

working on *mudéjar* Granada.⁶¹⁰ Alonso was also an early Christian convert, and although religion plays no factor in the texts of his appointment and confirmation, his identity as a Christian signaled an important if not necessarily planned shift in the way that longstanding practices of translation and mediation would be carried out.⁶¹¹

Don Alonso was *trujamán mayor* from 1494 until he renounced his title in 1536, but he did not bring his appointment to the attention of the municipal council until May 22, 1500.⁶¹² In the fall of that year the new *cabildo* (municipal council) was established, with its official scribal corps, the *escribanos de número*. In Granada, there were a limited number of *escribanos de número*, the highest scribal rank, and in 1500 three of these were recently converted and fully bilingual officers: miçer Ambrosio Xarafi, Alonso de Mora, and Juan de Morales, the underage son of Yahya al-Fistelí, recently converted as Fernando de Morales. A number of other bilingual officials were named, including the town criers (*pregoneros*) Francisco de Talavera and Mahomet Henton, the latter of whom was surely Arabic-speaking.⁶¹³ There were also four official interpreters, Diego de Écija, Lope de Castellanos (formerly Suleyman de Valladolid), Pedro García de Castillo, and Luis de Luque.⁶¹⁴ These four men,

⁶¹⁰ Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 76-86.

⁶¹¹ Alonso was not, after all, the only Castilian vassal in Granada with longstanding service to the Trastámara and the necessary language skills and experience as a mediator. Gabriel Israel, who had served so faithfully during the conquest, or even Simuel Habathuel, who was also called *intérprete de sus Altezas* and had the added qualification of having worked in Granada could have filled the post. However, presaging the expulsion which would be enacted in March of 1492, the earlier surrender treaty of Granada had stipulated that Jews would not be able to hold high positions in the administration.

⁶¹² López Nevot, *La organización institucional*, p. 311.

⁶¹³ The single record naming Henton dates from November 27, 1498, but the entry describes a regular activity: "Pregonóse este dicho día en los lugares acostunbrados de Granada, pregoneros Alonso Hernández, e en aráuigo lo pregonó Mahomá Henton, pregoneros públicos de la çibdad." AHMG Libro del Cabildo I, f. 105v, doc 123 in Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad*, pp. 267-269.

⁶¹⁴ Lope de Castellanos was a recent convert, whose Muslim name was the intriguing Suleyman de Valladolid, who acted as the prison provisioner (*procurador*) in 1498. Once converted in name and religion, Lope de Castellanos received 2,000 maravedís in November of 1500 for his work as the prison interpreter, *trujamán de los presos de la carcel*. Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad*, Doc. 213, f. 162v, pp. 364-366 and SNAHN BORNOS, C. 113, D. 1, fol. 72-75. Note that Lope was not the only interpreter to double as *procurador*, a legal representative.

along with Diego Fernández de Jaén, *procurador de la ciudad*, performed regularly as *lenguas* and *intérpretes* in the first extant *libro de cabildo* (1497-1502).⁶¹⁵

After 1502 there no council records are extant until 1512.⁶¹⁶ From 1512 until 1522, there were always at least four interpreters employed, as mandated by the 1500 *ordenanzas*. In 1512, two new interpreters were taken on: Hernando de Talavera, doubtless named for the former Archbishop of Granada, and Antonio de Aguilar. Aguilar was a particularly active agent, and seems to have specialized in the detailed activity of *repartimiento*.⁶¹⁷ He received approval for his nomination directly from Alonso de Venegas, the *trujamán mayor*.⁶¹⁸ In 1516, Lope de Castellanos ceded his post to Juan de Baena.⁶¹⁹ Aside from the fees they collected for specific commissions, *cabildo* (town council) interpreters received annual salaries of 2,000 maravedíes.⁶²⁰ Through the gradual appointment of these agents, their regular salaries, and assignments across different specialized areas (prisoners, field work with tax collectors, etc.), the *cabildo* interpreters came to form a professional corps, headed by Venegas and governed by administrative norms. A generation later, in 1567, according to Francisco Núñez Muley, only one interpreter would remain regularly employed by the city.⁶²¹ This later evidence has lead scholars to believe that there was a persistent lack of official interpreters in *morisco* Granada, though a careful look through the patchwork of extant *cabildo* records shows that an active

⁶¹⁵ AHMG Libro de Cabildo I (1497-1502). Moreno Trujillo, *La memoria de la ciudad*, pp. 24-35 and passim.

⁶¹⁶ Libro II (1512-1516), Libro III (1516-1518), Libro IV (1518-1522). There is an edition of Libro II in the series Monumenta Regni Granatensis Histórica: María Dolores Guerrero Lafuente, *La memoria de la ciudad: El segundo libro de actas del cabildo de Granada (1512-1516)*, Granada, 2007. An index of the first four books (1497-1518, with a lacuna 1502-1516) facilitates the consultation of the manuscript copies: Hortensia García Valenzuela, *Índices de Los Libros de Cabildo Del Archivo Municipal de Granada: 1497-1518*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988.

⁶¹⁷ Libros II-IV, passim.

⁶¹⁸ Venegas “dyxo quel commo ynterprete mayor desta cibdad lo avya por bien,” that is, in his capacity as the chief interpreter he approved Aguilar's appointment. AHMG Libro de Cabildo II, f. 26v January 7, 1513. Guerrero Lafuente, *La memoria de la ciudad*, doc. 24, pp. 134-136

⁶¹⁹ AHMG Libro del Cabildo II, f. 352 r, doc. 349 in Guerrero Lafuente and doc. 736 in García Valenzuela.

⁶²⁰ This was a similar salary to that received by other relatively low-ranking but important administrative roles like that of the *almotacén* (regulator of the market) or the *majordomo* who kept the council itself running smoothly. For comparison, Alonso Venegas received 20,000 maravedíes to travel to the court on behalf of Granada in 1517.

⁶²¹ Almost certainly Alonso del Castillo.

bilingual corps was a high priority for the original colonial bureaucracy.⁶²² These agents formed part of a system of social organization enforced by the management of information.

The *cabildo* interpreters were not the only official translators in Granada. Alonso de Venegas held the royal title of *trujamán mayor*, and in this capacity also managed the municipal translators. The *Real Chancillería*, one of two royal appellate courts in all of Castile, was moved to Granada in 1505 from Ciudad Real. The other was housed in Valladolid. This move was meant to symbolically include Granada as one of the major cities of the realm, and also insured a regular influx of officials, plaintiffs, and defendants to Granada from the entire southern half of the Peninsula.⁶²³ Along with regional suits, this court oversaw many local suits, many of which concerned property in the Granada province and thus relied on documentary evidence--texts or interviews--in Arabic. The translators who were called upon to perform these technical translations, which required a deep competence not only in both languages but both Muslim and Christian legal traditions were drawn from the scribal and notarial elite already present in the city, in particular the Xarafi and Mora families.

The Moras and the Xarafi had the confidence of both the Trastámara and the Nasrids, the latter of whom requested favors for both families in 1493.⁶²⁴ Both came from Muslim families from Toledo, and the Xarafi in particular had a long tradition of collaborating with the crown in minority governance.⁶²⁵ The Xarafi and Mora in Granada, the *alfaquí* Hamete Xarafi and Abrahan and Yuça

⁶²² In 1555 and 1556 the Mora family was still working as *cabildo* interpreters.

⁶²³ Coleman has made the very intelligent point that the presence of this institution in Granada ensured a regular flow of newcomers to Granada. Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, p. 77.

⁶²⁴ *Capitulacion de los Reyes Católicos con Muley Babdali Rey de Granada, año 1493*. AGS, Estado, Leg. 1, "Capitulaciones con moros y caballeros de Castilla," in *CODOIN VIII*, pp. 439-457.

⁶²⁵ In 1473 Isabel, still a princess, named Abrahen Xarafi as the *alcalde de las aljamas de Avila y Aranda*. This Abrahen Xarafi was also an *alfaquí* and doctor (*fiyyo*), in this case to the Archbishop of Toledo, Alonso de Carillo, her uncle. ARCV, Ejecutorias, caja 39/7, edited by T. de Azcona in *Isabel la Católica*, p. 193. This document has been discussed by Molénat, "Alcaldes y alcaldes mayores de moros de Castille au XVe siècle," in *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIIIe-XVe siècle)*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2007, pp. 147-168 and Echevarría, "De cadi a alcalde mayor." Just two years later, in 1475, Isabel, not yet queen, granted a merced to Abrahan Xarafi, now called the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de los moros destos nuestros reynos*.

de Mora, worked as intermediaries during the war.⁶²⁶ Both went to work immediately after the final conquest in administrative positions. Mora as an *alcalde mayor* of the *mudéjares*, an analogous position to that of Castilian medieval minority governance, and as *alamín de la alcaicería*. In his appointment he was called, "a good man for the job, since he knows both languages, and since he is a man who can be trusted." Xarafi by 1499 held the title of *escribano de la Xarra de Granada, fiel de sus altezas* (scribe of Shari'a law in Granada, loyal servant of Their [Catholic] Majesties), an expert in Islamic law in the service of the Catholic monarchs. Both Yuça and Hamete, sometimes together and sometimes separately, translated property deeds to be used in legal disputes (though the *Real Chancillería* had not yet been moved to Granada), and both were employed as interpreters for Muhammad el Pequiñí, the Castilian-appointed head of the *mudéjar* community in Granada.

In the aftermath of the 1499 rebellions and forced conversions, the *alfaquí* Hamete Xarafi and Yuça de Mora became miçer Ambrosio Xarafi and Alonso de Mora, respectively, and were appointed to the scribal elect of the town council.⁶²⁷ Using their specialized legal knowledge, both men found work translating in the *Real Chancillería*, and Alonso de Mora became a specialist in collecting and reporting on information witness testimony. Both Xarafi and Mora brought their sons into the family business.⁶²⁸ Xarafi in particular was the head of a family translation workshop in which his sons Bernardino and Iñigo helped him with the technical legal processes of reading and witnessing as part of textual translation. His son Bernardino took over his father's position in 1510. Bernardino's brother Iñigo, also an *escribano del rey* (scribe of the king), was poised to take over, having trained alongside his father and brother as a witness to the translation until the family

⁶²⁶ AGS RGS 1488-V-15, no. 170.

⁶²⁷ Scholars have speculated that Xarafi had a Genoese *padrino* in his baptism (patron; godfather). There was a longstanding Genoese merchant community in Granada, many of whom were bilingual and could act as ad hoc translators

⁶²⁸ The Mora line was particularly long lived in the office of translation, and in 1556 Alonso de Mora and Iñigo de Mora collected their salaries from the town council for work done as *lenguas e intérpretes* in 1555. AHMG, Libro V, f. 73r.

practice was suspended in 1521.⁶²⁹ This practice of witnessing, along with being an important part of legitimating the translation, was a symptom of the practical apprenticeships through which professional skills and experience became part of the family patrimony. Not only did witnesses serve an important function in the very process of translation, for their presence and signatures were also needed, but their presence was an opportunity to teach the next generation of professionals as they witnessed the formulae and procedures they might be expected to carry out were they to take over the job of the scribal translator. A relatively large quantity of the translated Arabic texts in Granada before 1520 were processed by the Xarafi workshop. The Xarafi were specialists in a certain genre of translation, legal texts and notarial formulae, which translation historians Manuel Feria and Juan Pablo Arias have labeled *traducción febaciente*.⁶³⁰ This is the same kind of translation the other Xarafi of Toledo had practiced for centuries and it was a field in which the experts needed a firm foundation in Muslim and Christian legal traditions and textual protocols. This made the position of translator a unique site for experts in Islamic law to continue to use their knowledge and legitimately train new generations of experts after the conquest and the conversions of 1500-1502.

By 1500, when Ambrosio Xarafi and Alonso de Mora were appointed as *escribanos de número*, along with other significant bilingual officials, as scribes of the municipal council, the way Arabic translation was conducted in Spain had changed. Where don Alonso de Venegas had moved smoothly into a position that had been established in the Granada of his ancestors, "with the same rights and salaries," in 1500 he became the head of a scribal office.⁶³¹ The interpreter no longer shared his qualities and duties with the *alfaquete*, an official whose professional category had slipped in any case into the new Mediterranean borderlands between Christian and Muslim powers who

⁶²⁹ In 1521 Ambrosio's papers were deposited into the collection of another notary by his wife, doña Mayor de Mendoza Xarafi, indicating that the line had died out. Feria and Arias, "Documentación árabe granadina romanceada," p. 223.

⁶³⁰ Manuel Feria García and Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Un nuevo enfoque en la investigación de la documentación árabe granadina romanceada," *al-Qantara* 26/1 (2005): 191-247.

⁶³¹ AGS RGS 1495 VIII, f. 19.

engaged in the ancient tradition of captive-taking.⁶³² In Granada, this administration, which spanned the Castilian institutions in Granada, was run by Alonso de Venegas, and it intervened in the transactions of all levels of society. The translator had become a specialized position in the Castilian administration, whose position was managed in a professional hierarchy, and whose tasks were often carried out in teams.⁶³³

Alonso de Venegas was frequently called away from his family home in the Albaicín neighborhood of Granada, for example as a captain in the campaign against Oran in 1509, as a representative of Granada to the court in 1517 and 1520, among other stays at court. He was also busy planning strategic alliances for his family in order to better incorporate them into the Castilian nobility, and his son Pedro de Granada Venegas was progenitor of the marquises of Campotéjar. With his father, Pedro de Granada (the former Yahya al-Najjar), he founded an important literary salon. Nonetheless, he attended the majority of the council meetings, and intervened frequently, setting a precedent for his son Pedro de Granada Venegas, to whom he ceded his seat as a *regidor* (voting alderman) in 1534.⁶³⁴ He retained his position as *trujamán mayor* (a royal title) until 1536 when he ceded the title to Juan Rodríguez, with the provision that once both he and Rodríguez had died

⁶³² After 1492, the *alfaqquería* became a centralized royal office. See Manuel García Fernández, "La alfaqquería mayor de castilla en andalucía a fines de la edad media: Los alfaqueques reales," in *Estudios sobre Málaga y el reino de granada en el v centenario de la conquista*, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987.

⁶³³ In a lawsuit from 1506, Alonso de Mora and Hernando de Sosa (formerly Gabriel Israel) were tasked to translate one part of the Arabic evidence, while the other part of the evidence in the same lawsuit was translated by Alonso Venegas, miçer Ambrosio Xarafi, and Miguel de León, another former mudéjar who sometimes acted as a translator in the *cabildo*. An edition of the document, pertaining to the goods of Boabdil's sons Sa'd and Nasr, who had converted and become wards of the Reyes Católicos with the names don Juan and don Fernando de Granada. The suit which established and divided their territories and possessions is held in two parts in Simancas, one part, studied by López de Coca Castañer in 1988, in AGS Patronato Real, 11, 123, also had evidence by Ambrosio Xarafi and Alonso Venegas, as witnesses rather than as translators. It is worth noting that most of the witnesses who were deposed did so with the aid of an interpreter, probably Xarafi and Venegas, who were at hand. Despite their personal connections to the case, they were called on to act as translators in the documents held in AGS Casas y Sitios Reales, leg. 10, which is studied and edited in Antonio Malpica Cuello and Carmen Trillo San José, "Los infantes de Granada: Documentos árabes romanceados," *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 2nd series, 6 (1992): 361-421. José López de Coca Castañer gives the full context of the Nasrid princes, their conversions, and lives in Castile in "Granada en el siglo XV: Los postrimerias nazaries a la luz de la probanza de los infantes don Fernando y don Juan," in *Andalucía entre oriente y occidente*, 1988, pp. 599-641.

⁶³⁴ López Nevot, "Los Granada Venegas," p. 338.

the position would return to the council for them to make the appointment.⁶³⁵ That is, he effectively blocked the possibility of the position of interpreter becoming a family patrimony as it had become in the previous generations. Whether intentional or not, don Alonso's decree was an effective breaking of the pattern of holding the office of translator within the family (a practice that was common with many other administrative offices) or the creation of family workshops as were thriving in Spanish Oran.

By inscribing the requirement that the right of appointment redounded on the council, he also made another important strategic move by returning that right to the council, rather to the king or any other institution. With Venegas and Rodríguez would die the position of *trujamán mayor*, which was, after all a royal appointment. The date of Alonso Venegas's death is unknown, but Juan Rodríguez had passed away by the fall of 1556.⁶³⁶ Not until 1583 would there be another royally appointed interpreter (*romançador*), not coincidentally Alonso del Castillo, Rodríguez's successor to the municipal position in 1556.⁶³⁷ However, neither in Castile nor in the Spanish presidios would the term *trujamán* ever be used again as an official royal title.

⁶³⁵ Very little is known about Juan Rodríguez's life and activities, despite the relatively high number of extant translations done by him in his capacity as *escribano romançador*. See the documents dating from 1531-1561 in María José Osorio Pérez and Emilio de Santiago Simón, *Documentos Árábigo-Granadinos Romanceados*, Granada: Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino, 1986. On his activities in the *marquesado* de Cenete between 1549 and 1550, see Gilbert, "Transmission, Translation, Legitimacy and Control."

⁶³⁶ According to the minutes of the town council, the Granada Venegas ordered that a new translator of Arabic texts be named in place of the deceased Juan Rodríguez ("cabildo se llame por nombre un romançador de escritpurar arabigas en lugar de Juan Rodriguez falleçido"). AHMG Libro V, f. 270r.

⁶³⁷ Alonso del Castillo, probably the best-known figure in the history of Arabic translation in Granada if for nothing else than the wide range of translation activities he participated in, has only recently been identified as a *cabildo* interpreter in the 1560s. See Manuel Espinar Moreno and María Dolores Quesada Gómez, "Documentos árábigo-granadinos traducidos por Alonso del Castillo en 1565-1566," in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, second series, 10-11 (1996-1997): 229-255. Castillo also translated for the *Real Chancillería* in the 1550s. See the document recently discovered in Mercedes Abad Merino, "La traducción de cartas árabes en un pleito granadino del siglo XVI. El fenómeno del romanceado como acto judicial: Juan Rodríguez y Alonso del Castillo ante un mismo documento," *al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): 481-518.

C. The Second Alpujarras Revolt: A War of Language (1566-1571)

From 1492 to the 1560s normative discourses about multilingualism in Granada had been constructed primarily in terms of religious identity. Meanwhile, the practices of multilingualism in Granada revolved not around religious practice but around property and legal acts and performances. Legal actions and religious practice could certainly be connected, since the word *ley* (law) was sometimes used to indicate religious affiliation, but everyday legal and notarial procedures did not need to have a religious aspect and religion was not a central aspect of the conversion process enacted by the professional translators in Granada, for whom Arabic knowledge was more than anything else something which brought vassals and sovereigns closer together in institutional unity.

In the 1560s there was an increasing anxiety among sovereigns across Europe, and Philip II in particular, about the uniformity of their realms. Indeed by 1566, at the very same moment though for different historical causes, Philip II was faced with the prospect of rebellion in the Low Countries and in Granada.⁶³⁸ Both regions included areas which were religiously and culturally heterogeneous, and from Philip's perspective potentially heterodox or at least suspected of being so. The Council of Trent had inspired Philip to order ecclesiastic reform in both the Low Countries and in Granada, and when the Council concluded in 1563 the Pope sent a personal appeal to Philip to take care of his "*morisco*" problem. There was not a direct link between the two revolts, other than the understaffing of Philip's army in Castile since most troops were with the Duke of Alba in the Netherlands, which caused great anxiety when news of the Alpujarras began to circulate.

⁶³⁸ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza commented on the division of military might following the "pacification" of the *Estados de Flandes* by the Duke of Alba. Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. 8. Throughout his history of the Alpujarras revolt he discusses the context of the other military enterprises around Europe which affected Philip's ability to deal with the *moriscos*.

John Elliott in 1969 called for historians to recast their theories of seventeenth-century crisis in the context of the European revolutions of the 1560s.⁶³⁹ Fernand Braudel had previously made a similar argument, situating the Alpujarras war not only within the story of European revolution but in a Mediterranean ambit in which war and revolt threatened from all sides.⁶⁴⁰ Though Braudel used the language of a clash of civilizations to describe the Alpujarras conflict, he and Elliott had both effectively demonstrated that the revolt in Granada was symptomatic of broader currents of civil unrest and tenuous sovereign power, all of which were forcing vassals and sovereigns to reconsider the bases of their relationship to one another. Coupled with the reverberations from the Council of Trent, these currents ran underneath the discourses which were produced at the outbreak of the war.

Modern scholarship on European revolutions has written the *morisco* rebellion into the story of provincial rebellions as an integral part of the narrative of early modern state building.⁶⁴¹ These early modern conflicts are characterized by historians as being profoundly conservative, unlike the later revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, revolutions that manifested for abrupt and total social change.⁶⁴² Language was increasingly perceived as one of the most natural, or original, attributes of a people, and became an inherent part of the conservative discourses of conflict and revolution and one of the most powerful metaphors for both sovereignty and the body politic. Even prior to the outbreak of conflict, however, tensions were increasingly articulated in

⁶³⁹ Elliott points out the confluence of revolts in Europe: Scotland, Savoy, France, Corsica against Genoa, the United Provinces against Spain, the *moriscos*, Northern England, and Sweden. John Elliott, "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present* 42 (1969): 35-56, especially pp. 37-38.

⁶⁴⁰ Braudel described the economic context of the tensions between *moriscos* and their old Christian neighbors which lead up to the Alpujarras revolt and subsequent expulsions between 1569 and 1614; later he reviewed in detail the military history of the war as well as its motives and effects in the entire Mediterranean theater leading to Lepanto. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 2, New York: Harper and Row, 1973, pp. 785-802 and 1055-1082. The first French edition appeared in 1949.

⁶⁴¹ Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1600*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁴² Elliott discusses the way that later innovative ideologies of revolution have shaped our own perspective on early modern revolutionaries, "men who themselves were obsessed with *renovation*--by the desire to return to old customs and privileges, and to an old order of society." Elliott, "Revolution and Continuity," pp. 43-44. See also the discussion in Perez Zagorin, whose definition is that "A revolution is any attempt by subordinate groups through the use of violence to bring about (1) a change of government or its policy, (2) a change of regime, or (3) a change of society, whether this attempt is justified by reference to past conditions or to an as yet unattained future ideal." See Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982, p. 17.

terms of language and, indeed, the foundation document of the Alpujarras revolt was the 1566 royal decree which outlawed *morisco* language, dress, and foodways.

i. Language and Peoplehood: The Arabic Christians of Granada

The first priority of the text of the 1566 *pragmática* was the eradication of Arabic. It prohibited spoken or written Arabic in Granada and deprived all Arabic texts of their legitimacy:

[1] Firstly it was ordered that, within three years of the publication of this decree, the *moriscos* must learn to speak the Castilian language and from then on no one will be able to speak, read, nor write, neither in public nor in secret.

[2] [It was then ordered] that all there be no more contracts or writings drawn up in the Arabic language, and that they have no effective validity, and that they [the texts] not be taken as security (*fe*) in a court of law nor out of it, and neither many anyone use [those texts] to ask for or request anything, and they have no [legal] force whatsoever.

[3] [It was then ordered] that all books that may be in the Arabic language, no matter their subject nor condition, be brought to the president of the Royal Court of Granada within thirty days so that he can order them to be seen and examined; and those that have nothing inappropriate may be returned for the period of three years, but no longer,

[4] As for the order that [the *moriscos*] must present themselves in order to learn the Castilian language, the president and the archbishop of Granada have promised, with the advice of persons of practical experience (*personas prácticas y de experiencia*), to provide [the funds and facilities] which seem to them to be the best for the service to God and for the good of those people (the *moriscos*).⁶⁴³

There were a total of ten articles, of which the first four were dedicated to Arabic. The seventh article prohibited "*nombres de moros*," that is Islamic Arabic names. Thus fully half of the decree was dedicated to the articulation and writing of Arabic, and the possession and preservation of Arabic

⁶⁴³ "[1] Primeramente se ordenó que, dentro de tres años de como estos capítulos fuesen publicados, aprendiesen los moriscos a hablar la lengua castellana y de allí adelante ninguno pudiese hablar, leer ni escribir en público ni en secreto. [2] Que todos los contratos y escrituras que de allí adelante se hiciesen en lengua árábica fuesen ningunos, de ningún valor y efecto, y no hiciesen fe en juicio ni fuera de él, ni en virtud de ellos se pudiese pedir ni demandar, ni tuviesen fuerza ni vigor alguno. [3] Que todos los libros que estuviesen escritos en lengua árábica, de cualquier materia y calidad que fuesen, los llevasen dentro de treinta días ante el presidente de la Audiencia real de Granada para que los mandase ver y examinar; y los que no tuviesen inconveniente, se los volviese, para que los tuviesen por el tiempo de tres años, y no más, [4] Quanto a la orden que se había de dar para que aprendiesen la lengua castellana, se cometía al presidente al presidente y al arzobispo de Granada, los cuales con parecer de personas prácticas y de experiencia, proveyesen lo que les pareciese más conveniente al servicio de Dios y al bien de aquellas gentes." *Capítulos acordados en la Junta de la villa de Madrid sobre la reforma de las costumbres de los moriscos de Granada (1566)*, in Luís de Marmol Carvajál. Original in Simancas, AGS RGS 1566, legajo 11, núm 17.

texts.⁶⁴⁴ The anti-Arabic edicts were specific and comprehensive, iron-clad after decades of evasion and payoff. Unlike earlier decrees which focused on the expropriation of Islamic texts in Arabic or effecting Christian education in Latin or Castilian, the range of proscribed linguistic practice, however, was unconnected to religion. Nowhere, in fact, in the 1566 decree, was Islam or religion mentioned. The letter of the law of 1566 was not a reprimand for crypto-Islam or a call for conversion. It was a series of normative cultural reforms designed to remake the population to *seem* as Christian as possible. Though Tridentine Catholicism was highly concerned with internal sincerity and complete understanding of religious doctrine (thus the emphasis on instruction), the legal expression of religion--in this case assessed through cultural practice and observation--was just as important to the bureaucracy of state power.

The edict was drawn up in secret in Madrid on November 17, 1566. It was then sent to Granada, where it was promulgated on January 1, 1567, the eve of the politically freighted anniversary of the "*toma*" (taking, possession) of Granada. The choice of date was a symbolic repossession of cultural practice.⁶⁴⁵ The *moriscos* of Granada could scarcely believe that such drastic measures, so often threatened, would actually be effected. They sent an experienced representative to negotiate with the president of the Royal High Court, Pedro de Deza. This was don Francisco Núñez Muley, who had been present at previous negotiations when Juana and Charles's edicts against traditional Granadan language, dress, and ceremonies were staved off with extraordinary payments.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁴ Article five concerns dress, article six the customs for weddings and other celebrations, article eight public baths, article nine the *gaçis*, or captives from North Africa, and article ten the rights of *moriscos* to own black slaves.

⁶⁴⁵ Keith Garrad, "The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley," *Atlante* 4 (1954): pp. 199-226, p. 199. Garrad explains the significance of the date, and the re-representation of this symbolic assertion of dominion in the subsequent historical descriptions of the decree in the seventeenth century, from Marmól Carvajal to Bleda (1618) and Bermúdez de Pedraza (1639).

⁶⁴⁶ Garrad, "The Original Memorial," p. 201 and L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500-1614*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, p. 212. See also documents XXI and XXIV in Antonio Gallego y Burín and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada según el sínodo de Guadix de 1554*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1968. Nuñez Muley's evidence rests on his own eyewitness experience of having been present at the negotiations of 1508, 1511, 1513,

The *memorial* of don Francisco is one of the most evocative documents from the *morisco* period. Summed up in his frank criticisms and palpable outrage were the anxieties and hopes of the entire *morisco* population. The fundamental disagreement was over which treaty governed the *morisco* population: the original surrender treaty of 1492 (which Núñez Muley claimed took precedence) or the treaties of conversion of c1500 and subsequent edicts governing cultural practices like dress and language (the stance of the Castilian administration). Núñez Muley's strategy was to review in detail the history of treaties, agreements, and payoffs concerning the cultural practices of the *moriscos*, rehearsing the location and legitimacy of all documentation pertaining to the events, participants, and records of those treaties and payments. He then took on the articles of the 1566 decree one by one, beginning with dress, privacy, baths, celebratory ceremonies, veils, names, and slaves, leaving for the very end the question of language.⁶⁴⁷ This item was perhaps the most important, for which reason Philip II began his edict with it, and Núñez Muley ended his *memorial* with its discussion.

Countering Philip's prominent prohibitions of Arabic in particular, Núñez Muley's first point was that, "the Arabic language has no direct relation whatsoever with the Muslim faith."⁶⁴⁸ He described the use of Arabic by Eastern Christians, including the inhabitants of Jerusalem who knew no Castilian, to undermine the argument that the *moriscos* needed Castilian to be good Christians. Then he turned to pragmatic arguments, noting that even if the will to forget Arabic and learn Castilian was strong, immediate linguistic conversion would be impossible since it would simply be too difficult for most of the inhabitants of rural Granada to learn a new language when, Núñez

1518, 1532, and 1540, and knowing where (and where *not*) the written records of the agreements were preserved and whether or not the decrees were ever promulgated publicly. Garrad, "The Original Memorial," pp. 204-208.

⁶⁴⁷ The *memorial* is a well-studied text, but so rich and relevant that it is worth reproducing at length his arguments about the nature of language here. Luis de Marmól Carvajal, one of the earliest historians of the Alpujarras war, whose text has been fundamental to historians since its publication in 1600, was the first to reproduce Núñez Muley's speech. Keith Garrad in 1954 brought to light for the first time the original manuscript, a much more extensive text than Marmól Carvajal's summary, in the article cited above. In 2007 Vincent Barletta translated the text into English for the first time, with a valuable introductory essay. *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. I use Barletta's translation here with some small modifications using the text in Garrad, "The Original Memorial."

⁶⁴⁸ Barletta, *Memorandum*.

Muley explained with revealing prejudice, they had not even been able to learn their own well. Thus, through no intention to disobey, most *moriscos* would inevitably fail the requirements and be punished, leading Núñez Muley to claim that, "It is very clear that whoever has ordered [the decree] wishes the destruction of this kingdom and its natives." The true destructive force of the decree, however, lay in the dismantling of the archive of Arabic legal documents which underlay the legitimacy of most individual and collective claims to properties and rights. Núñez Muley warns:

Watch out! We are now beginning to see the extreme (and well known) damage that is caused by those who wish to see the abolition of all documents, land titles, books, or anything else written in Arabic, as the natives now have an extreme and urgent need for their legal documents and land titles in their legal suits [...]. Let us say that it is possible to translate all of these materials into Castilian. How long would it take to do so, and how many translators would be needed to translate all of the kingdom's documents? Currently there is only one such translator, and it is thus inevitable that Arabic documents will be lost, and after three years these documents would be worthless, as the decree stipulates. What will be lost in terms of property and records, given that there will be no original documents [*ius antiqua*] by which we might know who owns what?⁶⁴⁹

Taking away Arabic was not understood as furthering the project of religious assimilation, then, its intent was instead to hobble the inhabitants of Granada by effectively destroying their legal tradition, an act which, Núñez Muley would go on to show, would ultimately harm the Crown.

For the true danger of the decree, however, was much more insidious than cultural repression of one region. Not only would *moriscos* be deprived of their ability to rely on the past, but they will be forced to totally remake the way in which they interact, conduct business, and record transactions in the future, something that would have severe and broad-reaching economic repercussions for the sovereign as well as the vassals. Since all transactions, Núñez Muley explained, with the exception of "the records of the tax collector and the customs agent," were conducted in Arabic, without Arabic the economy of the realm would collapse since producers, consumers, and middlemen would be unable to carry out what was, fundamentally an economy of texts. Núñez

⁶⁴⁹ Barletta, *Memorandum*. Similar arguments are put into the mouth of one of the relatives of the *morisco* leader of the rebellion in Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's account of the war. *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. 7.

Muley explained, "They [the *moriscos*] conduct business not on the basis of any obligation or personal acquaintance; rather, they rely on written accounts and records of who owes what to whom that they keep in their registers."⁶⁵⁰ Prohibiting the future use of Arabic and depriving existing Arabic texts of their legitimacy would bring the entire system of production to a halt. Rendered mute, dyers and merchants would be unable to carry out any exchange, whether linguistic or commercial. The threat that went unsaid, but that Núñez Muley certainly meant to be clear as an occasional tax collector, was that the stagnation of the *morisco* economy because of something as absurd as linguistic policy would prevent the *translation* of revenue into Castilian coffers. As a postscript to his *memorial*, perhaps worried that the threat might have been too subtle, Núñez Muley added that, "The most important issue with respect to the writing of Arabic in this kingdom are the tax assessment registers." He explained the bilingual system which had obtained for eighty years, by which, as we have seen above, bilingual teams of scribes interviewed Castilian and Arabic speakers and recorded the inventories of lands and properties, and concluded with what must have been intended to be the most convincing argument of all:

Must the king lose his tax income and his vassals along with it? These registers and other written records are kept in order to determine and effect the aforementioned tax payments. And if this requirement of the aforementioned decree should be put into practice, His Majesty will not be paid, and the kingdom will be made blind and will lose its natives.⁶⁵¹

As had been so often the case from the *mudéjar* period onwards, the realities of language use were far more tightly connected to financial and commercial practices than religious ones. From the perspective of Núñez Muley and those he claimed to represent, the bilingual agent was in fact the engine of the economy that supported the health of the state, using Arabic texts and their exchange as fuel. Without Arabic, the engine would cease to run, and the body politic would be irredeemably crippled, left idle, blind and mute.

⁶⁵⁰ Barletta, *Memorandum*.

⁶⁵¹ Barletta, *Memorandum*. Cleverly, Núñez Muley used the same argument to return to the more personally problematic question of Arabic names, noting that, "if we are to cease using Morisco surnames, to whom will they send the tax bill?"

Núñez Muley's pleas went unheeded, and on Christmas Day, 1568, after a year of failed negotiations back and forth between Granada and the court, the *moriscos* of the Albaicín in Granada were incited to rebel.⁶⁵² The instigators, however, were not from the Albaicín but had traveled to Granada from the Alpujarras mountains outside the city, and indeed the Alpujarras would be the primary theater of war during the rebellion.⁶⁵³ The consequences of the conflict, however, would affect the entire kingdom, as all *morisco* communities throughout the region were forcibly uprooted and resettled in small groups across Castile beginning as early as 1569.

The second war of the Alpujarras was not only a war over language, but one in which language was deployed as a strategic and symbolic weapon, and this is seen no where better than in the work of the Arabic translators of Granada who remained loyal to the crown. Though according to the minutes of the town council, the Mora family continued to work on *cabildo* business and Arabic interpreters must have still been needed for notarial transactions, the interpreter who has left the greatest impression on the documentary record was Alonso del Castillo. Castillo began to work for the *Real Chancillería* just after the death of Juan Rodríguez in 1556, and was in some cases called upon to redo some of his predecessor's translations.⁶⁵⁴ Castillo was, at least in his own self-identification, first and foremost a medical doctor, but he is best known to scholars because of his long and well documented career as an Arabic translator in many different domains. In his known working life, Castillo translated legal documents, ancient inscriptions, Inquisition testimony, scientific manuscripts, diplomatic correspondence.⁶⁵⁵ Castillo effectively embodied the trajectory of

⁶⁵² Marmól Carvajál, Libro III, Capitulo IV.

⁶⁵³ Braudel, using Hurtado de Mendoza and Marmól Carvajal as well as archival documents, in *The Mediterranean*, vol. 2, pp. 1060-1061.

⁶⁵⁴ Mercedes Abad Merino, "La traducción de artas árabes en un pleito granadino del siglo xvi. El fenómeno del romanceado como acto judicial: Juan Rodríguez y Alonso del Castillo ante un mismo documento," *al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): 481–518. This was hardly the first example of a re-translation, and the question of why and how multiple translations of the same document occurred is worth its own study. See also the example of Rodríguez's re-translations of Xarafi texts in the SN-AHN, Osuna collection.

⁶⁵⁵ The definitive work on Alonso del Castillo remains the biography by Dario Cabanelas, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1965. Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have

Arabic translation in Spain for nearly the entire sixteenth century, including the transition that occurred over the course and due to the war of the Alpujarras. One of the collections of documents that has been preserved is his own workbook from precisely this period, *A Summary and Compilation of Everything Translated from Arabic to Castilian by the Graduate Alonso del Castillo, Translator of the Inquisition, beginning before the war of the kingdom of Granada, during the war, and after it concluded, up until today, the day of the completion of this compilation on January 8 of this year 1575, drawn up and compiled on the order and request of the Illustrious and Reverend Lord don Pedro de Deza, President of the Royal Audiencia of this city of Granada, and the General of this realm, 1575.*⁶⁵⁶

In this collection Castillo revealed his important role in the war, not only as a translator of intercepted rebel correspondence, but as the producer of strategic Arabic texts. The majority of the collection, more than thirty translations of Arabic letters preserved in manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, are Castilian versions of letters exchanged between *morisco* rebel leaders, some with Ottoman agents from Algiers, from 1569-1572.⁶⁵⁷ The first five letters, however, are Castilian translations of Arabic letters written by Castillo on the order of different Castilian generals and royal officials. These letters, written in 1570 and 1571, were used to circulate disinformation among rebel troops and persuade them to surrender. According to Castillo, the subterfuge was so effective, that "these letters were the principal motive which caused the moors to surrender."⁶⁵⁸ This success was achieved through a set of rhetorical

dedicated two chapters to him in their recent books, which update Cabanelas's thorough treatment and give a clearer picture of his role in the affair of the *libros plumbéos* that I will discuss at the end of this chapter. See *Un oriente español* and *The Orient in Spain*.

⁶⁵⁶ *Sumario é recopilación de todo lo romançado por el licenciado Alonso del Castillo, romançador del Santo Oficio, desde antes de la guerra del reyno de Granada, y en ella y después que se acabó hasta oy día de la conclusión desta recopilación, ocho días del mes de benero deste presente año de mill e quinientos e setenta e cinco, fecha e recopilada por borden e mandado del Illustrísimo e Reverendísimo Señor don Pedro de Deza, Presidente de la Real Audiencia desta ciudad de Granada e General deste reino, etc., 1575*, in *Memorial Histórico Español* III (1852): 1-164.

⁶⁵⁷ Castillo informed Deza in his prologue that the Arabic originals had gone with a version of the same collection, presented to Philip II the year before and held in the archive of the Consejo Real, a manuscript which seems today to have been lost. Castillo, *Sumario*, p. 10.

⁶⁵⁸ Castillo, *Sumario*, Prologue to the first letter, p. 14.

strategies by which Castillo disguised the letter, which was written as if from a learned Muslim leader to cast doubt on the possibilities of success for the revolt and the known perfidy of the Ottoman Algerians who the *moriscos* were counting on for aid. Castillo disguised his (apparently well known) Arabic handwriting, peppered the text with quotations from the *sunna* and Quran, and Muslim dates. Castillo was also commissioned by some of the generals to write Arabic letters on their behalf to negotiate the surrender of the rebels. Castillo's rather officious self-presentation in the remaining letters was, according to him, just as effective in inspiring the rebels to surrender. He used language to establish a bond of solidarity between himself and Hernando el Farrá, one of the rebel leaders, stepping back from the content of the letter to note that, "I took up my pen to write this letter to you in clear and correct Arabic (*bien xuclada*), which you know very well." He continued, linking their own solidarity as two speakers of Arabic to their position with respect to Philip, "so that you may read in it [the letter] and profit from the good which his Majesty is happy to do for you." This good was, of course, the reception of the rebels back into the fold of Philip's vassals. Castillo could not guarantee that the reception would be without punishment for the rebels' misdeeds, but he promised it would certainly be preferable to the total destruction promised by the continuation of the conflict, and in any case, "it's better to have only one eye than to be blind."⁶⁵⁹ Continuing rebellion, promised Castillo using the same language as Núñez Muley with very different intent, would leave the body politic blind. The body was injured, but would survive in submission.

The role of language in the discourse of war went beyond disinformation campaigns, and Castillo himself demonstrated the powerful metaphor that language had become in Granada at the time of the Alpujarras war. The *Sumario recopilación* was a formal collection, presented by Castillo to his patron and primary connection to the royal administration, Pedro de Deza, president of the royal court in Granada, later to become Cardinal Deza. As such, Castillo provided the collection with a

⁶⁵⁹ "Mas vale tuerto que ciego." Castillo, *Sumario*, pp. 25-26.

dedicatory letter, "To the Illustrious and Reverend Lord don Pedro de Deça, President of the Royal Audiencia and General of this kingdom, etc. [From] the *licenciado* [Bachelor] Alonso del Castillo, his servant. A brief prologue about the reasons for, effect, and representation of these writings." His description of the conflict, its participants, and its outcomes were laden with explicitly expressed language ideologies and linguistic metaphors. He thanked his patron, declaiming that, "Every Christian tongue (*lengua xpiana*) should give thanks to Your Lordship for such a good and great victory, against such capital enemies, who spoke that evil language." Of course, Castillo aligned himself as one of those *lenguas xpianas*, as well as the "thankful people [of Granada] who have always been content to recognize the *mercedes* that are done for them," meaning the subdued, and nominally expelled, and probably Arabic-speaking, *moriscos*. Implied by the author of five key Arabic letters and over thirty Arabic translations was that one could speak that "evil language" and still be a *lengua xpiana*. Castillo cast the rebel enemy as a "horrible monster, who spoke that fierce and ugly language," which was battled in its present manifestation by the brave captains of the Castilian army. He continued, evoking the image of those captains who "committed themselves by their natural forces to battle the evil whose own natural forces welled up from its evil entrails (*diabolicas entrañas*) and spewed from its mouth infernal flames and a fierce roar." The monster attacked and insulted, but was beaten back by Castilian forces, "who protected themselves with the antidote and bezoar that such a mortal rage required, until subduing the beast and killing it." This process of confrontation, attack and defense, protection and slaughter, "All of which is represented in these writings of mine here," including "the poisonous flower (*aconita*) that the demon would have disgorged, and the language in which it spoke when it thought to put an end to this kingdom."⁶⁶⁰ For all his loyalty to the crown, Castillo was no enemy of his people, and most likely believed with Núñez Muley that Arabic was a part of regional rather than religious identity. As an Arabic translator

⁶⁶⁰ Castillo, *Sumario*, pp. 11-12.

and *morisco* advocate in Castilian service, he had to tread a fine path. This vivid depiction of a charging, poisonous, Arabic-speaking demon, for whose destruction the people of the realm (the *moriscos*) were grateful, played on the hostilities about Arabic while at the same time insisting that *moriscos* were part of the body that had been defended.

ii. A *Postscriptum* to the Alpujarras: Alonso del Castillo and the Forged *Libros Plomos*

Ambivalence toward Arabic was already expressed in Talavera's *Instructions* of c1500, discussed above. The tension between using Arabic to effect evangelization or for the scientific knowledge it expressed and eradicating it to unify the population of Granada with all of Castile mounted throughout the *morisco* period, and so it is no surprise that by the second half of the sixteenth century Arabic as signifier and as signified were no longer comprehended by the same sign. The ambivalent representation of Arabic and Arabic speakers in Castilian Granada was also apparent in Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 publication of his *Arte para ligeramente saber la lingua arábigo*. In his prologue to this early Arabic grammar and catechism, Alcalá also evoked images of a diabolic Muslim beast, "vomiting error and heresy" over the people of Granada.⁶⁶¹ However, Alcalá's Arabic would be the means by which this people would be incorporated into the Christian body, that is, Arabic was a perfectly viable route to and expression of Christian doctrine. Castillo made a similar move in the preface to his *Sumario e recopilación* for Pedro de Deza, in which the people of Granada, who were grateful to their sovereign and his agents in their *lenguas xpianas*, had been terrorized by an Arabic-speaking devil, that is, the rebel fighters of the Alpujarras.

This project, of acknowledging an evil Arabic threat while at the same time representing Arabic as a viable Christian language which could be legitimately spoken in Granada, culminated in

⁶⁶¹ Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lingua arábigo*, Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505. A second volume, published at the same time, is the *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505. I will return to a discussion of the catechetical materials in chapter 6. For a more detailed discussion about the context in which Alcalá's grammar, catechism, and dictionary were produced, see Claire Gilbert, "Converting Power in Pedro de Alcalá's Social Catechism: Vernacular Linguistics in Late Medieval Castile, 1486-1505," UCLA History Department Working Paper.

the aftermath of the Alpujarras war in Granada. The result were the discoveries between 1588 and 1599 of forged parchment, lead books (*libros plomos*), and other relics, which included purportedly ancient Christian texts written in a stylized Arabic. These forgeries purported to date from the sixth century, that is, before the Muslim conquest of the peninsula, making Arabic the autochthonous and Christian language of Granada.⁶⁶² The local *morisco* population of Granada, which had dwindled but not disappeared since the edicts of expulsion enacted during the Alpujarras war, clearly benefitted from these discoveries which provided a bridge between Arabic language and even ethnicity (one of the supposed authors of the texts, St. Cecilio (Caecilius), the purported first-century bishop of Granada, was an ethnic Arab). However, the Arabic relics, which helped prove Spain's claim about the early presence of St. James in the Peninsula, were also championed by the Church in Spain and the King until 1682 when the Vatican definitively declared the *plomos* to be forgeries.⁶⁶³

The historiography of the *plomos* is a particularly vibrant field in current scholarship.⁶⁶⁴ Many questions remain about the *plomos*, but scholars agree that Alonso del Castillo is a likely candidate as at least one of the engineers of the forgeries, along with his fellow *morisco* doctor, Miguel de Luna, about whom I will say more below. The discovery and analysis of the *plomos* provided new opportunities for Arabic translators, of which Alonso del Castillo and his contemporaries took

⁶⁶² Katie Harris has shown how these forgeries became an important focus for re-writing the city's religious and ethnic identity. A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

⁶⁶³ For a review of the main events of this highly heterogenous episode, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 13-33, on which I rely for this and the next paragraph.

⁶⁶⁴ This scholarship is represented in the essays collected in the volume edited by Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los plomos del Sacromonte: Invención y tesoro*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006. For the most recent, and very comprehensive contribution to this scholarship, see Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, which is a revised edition and translation of their also very complete *Un oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacramonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010.

advantage. Castillo and Luna were the first translators who worked on translating the 1588 discoveries, with Francisco López Tamarid, an Inquisition interpreter like Castillo.⁶⁶⁵

Between 1594 and 1599 a series of "lead books" (really small round lead tablets bound with wire) were discovered by amateur treasure hunters-cum-archaeologists, who submitted their finds to the ecclesiastical authorities for review. As García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have pointed out, the real textual production of these *plomos* was the mass of translations and reports they generated over the next decades, a collaborative project performed by translators, theologians, and historians.⁶⁶⁶ Despite the enthusiasm of the Archbishop of Granada, for whom the discovery of such ancient Christian relics was undoubtedly a coup for his see, the later discoveries received as much criticism as the earlier ones. Nonetheless, some experts remained convinced of the authentic Christian value of the discoveries, in particular several advisors close to the new king Philip III.

Throughout it all, the redemption of Arabic was at stake. According to one of the books discovered in the 1590s, "the Arabs are among the most excellent of peoples, and their language among the most excellent of languages. God chose them to support his religious law in the end times, after they had been his greatest enemies."⁶⁶⁷ It is hardly a coincidence that the same decades of discovery in the aftermath of the Alpujarras witnessed the rise of scholarly interest in Arabic. Nonetheless, though the language may have been redeemed in its textual form, the living speakers continued to face discrimination and persecution. In the same years that Arabic teaching was resuscitated in the universities of Spain, Philip III undertook a draconian policy, physically excising all native Arabic speakers from his kingdom in the final expulsion of 1609-1614.

⁶⁶⁵ The Archbishop of Granada also requested reports in 1593 from well-known historians Luis de Marmól Carvajál, about whom more below, and Benito Arias Montano. Both translators and historians found inconsistencies in the texts which belied their supposedly ancient origin.

⁶⁶⁶ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 24.

⁶⁶⁷ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 25.

D. Representation and the Body Politic: The Civil Wars of Granada

i. Uses of Arabic in the Historiography of the Alpujarras

By the end of the sixteenth century the question of whether Arabic texts from Spain could be used to write "national" history was coming into prominence.⁶⁶⁸ The choice of whether Arabic historical evidence was legitimate fueled a debate over whether the history of Muslim Spain was an integral part of "Spanish" history, a debate which would be carried on right up until the twentieth century, when it culminated in the scholarly feud between Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Americo Castro.⁶⁶⁹ Following the wars of the Alpujarras, a new chapter opened in the writing and representation of Spanish history as authors began to incorporate Arabic sources into their works.⁶⁷⁰ Writers also grappled with the more immediate history of the sixteenth century, and in particular the history of the Alpujarras revolt, rebellion, or civil war. Three works are considered to be the canonical triumvirate of Alpujarras historiography, all of whose authors claimed Arabic knowledge and used Arabic in different ways in their texts. The three works are Luis de Marmól Carvajál's *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada* [History of the Rebellion and Punishment of the *Moriscos* of the Kingdom of Granada] (1600), Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada, que hizo el rey don Felipe II contra los moriscos de aquel reyno, sus rebeldes* [The War of Granada, which King Philip II waged against the *moriscos* of that kingdom, its rebels] (1610), and Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Segunda parte de las Guerras civiles de Granada, y de los crueles vandos entre los convertidos moros y vezinos cristianos, con el levantamiento de todo el reyno y última reuelion, sucedida en el año 1568, y assí mismo se pone su total ruina y destierro de los moros por toda Castilla, con el fin de las Granadinas Guerras por el rey nuestro Señor Don Felipe Segundo deste nombre* [The Second Part of the Civil Wars of Granada, and the cruel conflicts between the converted moors and the Christian inhabitants, with the revolt of the entire kingdom

⁶⁶⁸ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁹ For a review of the twentieth-century debate and its earlier origins, see J.N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24/1 (1985): 23–43.

⁶⁷⁰ See the works of Esteban de Garibay, Ambrosio de Morales, Jaime de Bleda, Juan de Mariana, etc.

and the expulsion of the moors throughout Castile, putting to an end the wars of Granada by our lord don Philip the second of that name] (1619).

Marmól Carvajál and Hurtado de Mendoza's works were written in the near aftermath of the conflict, after which time they circulated widely in manuscript before relatively late printing in 1600 and 1610, respectively.⁶⁷¹ Pérez de Hita wrote the first part of his *Guerras civiles*, which dealt with the much earlier history of Granada and published it in 1595, but did not compose the second part, which concerned the Alpujarras until 1610, after which time publication stalled until his death in 1619. Although each of these works was printed for the first time long after the conclusion of the war, all three authors were eyewitnesses and sometime-participants in the conflict. Additionally, all three texts incorporated Arabic using three prominent discursive strategies: 1) a scholarly reliance on Arabic historical texts, 2) the humanist use of Arabic vocabulary with commentary, and 3) the incorporation of translated Arabic into the narrative to provide support and examples.

The way that each author made use of Arabic words, knowledge, and texts is indicative of the way Arabic knowledge could be used across a range of social positions. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was a younger son in a family with a long and illustrious tradition of humanist erudition.⁶⁷² Diego's father, Íñigo López de Mendoza, second Count of Tendilla and first Marquis of Mondéjar was the captain of Granada (a military governor) and lord of the Alhambra. Diego was born in Granada, where he was reputed to have learned Arabic, and studied at the University of Salamanca before becoming a diplomat and representing Spain both at Trent and in Venice and Rome.⁶⁷³ He returned to Granada in 1568, having been ejected from Philip II's court for fighting with another

⁶⁷¹ Hurtado de Mendoza's text was certainly concluded before his death in 1575, and Marmól Carvajál had obtained a license to publish his work in 1580. See the editor's biography in the 1767 edition, p. v.

⁶⁷² Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350-1550*, Rutgers University Press, 1979.

⁶⁷³ For Hurtado de Mendoza's diplomatic career, see Michael Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2005. See also the editor's biography in the later edition of *Guerra de Granada*, Valencia: Benito Monford, 1776, pp. v-lvi. In his role as diplomat, like others in similar positions, he collected Greek manuscripts and sent them back to Spain (pp. xii-xiii). At Trent he coincided with Martín Pérez de Ayala. He is the putative author of the early picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes* (p. viii), a rumor that dates from at least the 18th century but continues to circulate today. See Blanca Berasátegui, "El Lazarillo no es anónimo," *El País* 5/23/2010.

noble, and dedicated himself to the study of "Arabic antiquities."⁶⁷⁴ He was in Granada for the duration of the Alpujarras conflict, and he wrote his account based on his own eyewitness testimony and on information he heard or received in writing. He died in 1575, leaving his more than 400 Arabic codices to Philip II.⁶⁷⁵ His Arabic collection in fact made up part of the initial Escorial Arabic collection which would be inventoried not long after by Alonso del Castillo.⁶⁷⁶ Part of the *Guerra de Granada* was printed for the first time by Luis de Tribaldos in Madrid in 1610, and a more complete version in Lisbon in 1627. Missing pages of the manuscript were discovered in 1628 and printed privately for Philip IV, but the entire work was not publicly published until the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁷

Don Diego, as a well travelled polyglot who had translated Aristotle's *Mechanics* from Latin, was highly attuned to language use.⁶⁷⁸ He noted throughout the *Guerra de Granada* differences in Arabic and Castilian place names and the Greek, Arabic, or Latin roots of proper names and other terms. Though he modeled his *Guerra de Granada* rhetorically on the Roman histories of Sallust and Tacitus, the content came from either his own experience, informants, or what he had read in Arabic books.⁶⁷⁹ The work commences, "I propose to write the war (*escribir la Guerra*), which the Catholic king don Philip of Spain, son of the never-conquered don Charles, had in the kingdom of Granada against the newly converted rebels, part of which I saw and part of which I heard from people who had a hand in it."⁶⁸⁰ Like Marmól Carvajál, Hurtado de Mendoza began his history of the war with a history of the medieval kingdom of Granada, based on Arabic texts. He informed his readers that:

⁶⁷⁴ "Antigüedades arabes," the information about which he shared with the historian Ambrosio de Morales, who would publish his own *Antigüedades de las ciudades de España* in 1575. See *Guerra de Granada*, 1776, p. L for the correspondence between Hurtado de Mendoza and Morales

⁶⁷⁵ He also shared information from these books with the Aragonese *crónista* Jerónimo de Zúrita. *Guerra de Granada*, 1776, pp. l-li.

⁶⁷⁶ The Arabic collection was founded in 1571 with the books of the *crónista* Juan Paéz de Castro, inventoried by Ambrosio de Morales. AGS Cámara de Castilla, Libros de Cédula, 146, ff. 347-347v.

⁶⁷⁷ Printer's preface to the 1776 edition, p. iii-iv.

⁶⁷⁸ *Guerra de Granada*, 1776, p. xxx.

⁶⁷⁹ *Guerra de Granada*, 1776, pp. liii-liv.

⁶⁸⁰ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. I.

so that you will better understand that which is to come, I will say something about the founding of Granada, what people were there at the beginning, how they were mixed with others, how it takes its name, and who first ruled it. It is a given that what I write may not accord with others, but it is what I found in the Arabic books of this land, and those of Muley Hacen, King of Tunis, and that which has been preserved until today in the memory of men, which lends veracity to what the authors of the books have said.⁶⁸¹

Hurtado de Mendoza, whose personal ties to the city were strong, described the aftermath of the 1492 conquest and conversions of 1500 in a extremely collapsed account in just a pages, where Marmól Carvajál would devote his entire first book of ten to that history. Hurtado de Mendoza depicted the decades after conquest as period in which the population was united for their mutual good. The eventual division of the Alpujarras was not a result of longstanding religious or cultural conflict, but the built-up resentment of petty disagreements within the high administration:

The Catholic Kings threw themselves into the restoration of the city, bettering Granada in terms of religion, government, and architecture. They founded the city council (*cabildo*), the baptized the moors, the brought in the *Chancillería*, and after a few years the Inquisition arrived. The city and the kingdom governed itself as one between residents and compatriots (*pobladores y compañeros*) with a justice of free will (*justicia arbitraria*) that was united in their thinking and whose every resolution was directed to the common public good. This concluded after the first generation had died.

Thereafter, Hurtado de Mendoza recounted, the jealousy of different administrative factions ripped the city's will toward common good apart. Bureaucratic backbiting, and the misuse of administrative functions "was the principal cause of the destruction of Granada, as it has been among many nations." Hurtado de Mendoza cast blame on the legions of *letrados* who made the city the battleground for their own agendas.⁶⁸² Meanwhile, "the New Christians, a people without a language (*gente sin lengua*), constrained in their circumstances without favor, with the demonstrated volition to serve, had already been condemned, their properties and goods divided, their complaints

⁶⁸¹ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp II. Mendoza begins with the flight from Damascus that culminated with the invasion of Visigoth Spain. A very condensed version of the history of Muslim Spain and the conquest of the Catholic kings completes the first book.

⁶⁸² For his general critique of the *letrados* (non-noble, university-educated bureaucrats), see Hurtado de Mendoza, Lib. I, Cáp. IV.

unheard."⁶⁸³ The resentment from this mismanagement acted as fuel to the *morisco* bandits (*salteadores*, *monjes*), on whom Hurtado de Mendoza places the primary blame for directly inciting the conflict, noting that these bandits were the minority whose attacks scandalized the general populace (*parecía al comun cosa escandalosa*).⁶⁸⁴ The upshot of the actions of these miscreants was increasing persecution by the Inquisition and Philip's 1566 *Pragmática*.⁶⁸⁵

That the *moriscos* were a *gente sin lengua* was certainly a rhetorical flourish from a man who knew Arabic and had grown up in Granada. They may have been without the correct tongue, but even so they were not responsible for the rebellion. What is clear is that the source of the conflict was not the incompatibility of the *moriscos* to the Spanish *bien público*, but rather the mismanagement of that common good, which had also given the *monjes* the motive and opportunity. These bandits, later rebels, eventually elected and rallied behind a new king, don Fernando el Valor who became Ibn Humeya. As such, the rebels divided themselves from the body politic of loyal vassals, which had up until that time included Arabic-speaking *moriscos*. From that point on in his narrative, Hurtado de Mendoza's characterization of the enemy was as of an outsider, with foreign traditions and Arabic names taken on in the place of Castilian names. Hurtado de Mendoza was able to thus portray the conflict as neither the inevitable result of incompatible cultures, nor was overly sympathetic to the *morisco* rebels.⁶⁸⁶ Language, despite his personal experience with Arabic, was the dividing line by which rebels divided themselves from the *gente sin lengua* who were willing Castilian vassals.

Though Hurtado de Mendoza made reference to many documents (*cartas*) exchanged or read throughout the war, he did not include any of them in his text. Luís del Marmól Carvajál, on the

⁶⁸³ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. III.

⁶⁸⁴ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. V.

⁶⁸⁵ Hurtado de Mendoza paraphrases both the *pragmática* and Nuñez Muley's objections without citing either directly *Guerra de Granada*, Libro I, Cáp. V.

⁶⁸⁶ The majority of Hurtado de Mendoza's text describes in close detail the military maneuvers of both sides.

other hand, featured Arabic documentation prominently, interpolating documents which had been translated from Arabic. Ginés Pérez de Hita also included the direct text of letters, both in the Arabic of Algiers and the Granadan dialect, as well as conversations between rebel leaders, given in Castilian but imagined in Arabic.⁶⁸⁷ There may have been more than a small degree of invention in Pérez de Hita's texts, as we shall discuss below, while Marmól Carvajál did his best to demonstrate the authenticity of his evidence. Pérez de Hita's direct citations added to the romance of his text, Marmól Carvajál's identical technique underpinned the historical authenticity of his account.

Marmól Carvajál incorporated whole passages of originally-Arabic text and speech, beginning with passages from the first *guerra de Granada* (1482-1492), taken most likely from one of the Trastámara *crónistas*.⁶⁸⁸ He also incorporated the text of contemporaneous Arabic prophecies (*jofores*), discovered by the Inquisition, and captured rebel correspondence which "his friend" Alonso del Castillo had translated.⁶⁸⁹ In one of these letters was the lament, from the rebel leader Daud to the Ottomans in Algiers, "The Christians have forced us to give up our Arabic tongue, and whosoever loses Arabic loses his faith."⁶⁹⁰ From Marmól Carvajál's perspective, including these texts not only lent authenticity to his history, which was supported by eyewitness testimony, but also to Philip's claims in 1566 and thus to the legitimacy of the war. From the very mouth of the enemy came the identification of religion, language, and loyalty that Philip's decree had mandated against.

Luis del Marmól Carvajál had long wished to portray himself as reliable as possible. The illegitimate son of a jurist, he made his living as a soldier and later a military provisioner (*veedor*) and tax collector. He was also able to use his experiences in North Africa and Granada to launch a career

⁶⁸⁷ For example, Pérez de Hita, p. 51, Cáp. VIII, p. 554.

⁶⁸⁸ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. I, Cáp. XIII-XX.

⁶⁸⁹ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. III, Cáp. IX.

⁶⁹⁰ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. III, Cáp. IX. This lament has been cited many times in recent scholarship about the use of Arabic in early modern Spain. See as one example, Bernard Vincent, "Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss. XVI-XVII)," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 10-11 (1994 1993): 732-748. This particular letter is not included in Castillo's *Sumario y recopilación*, although other captured letters from Daud are.

as an historian, publishing several successful histories including *La historia del rebelión y castigo*.⁶⁹¹

Marmól Carvajál had learned Arabic during seven years of captivity and twenty-two total years of service in North Africa, and spent much of the rest of his life trying to parlay that knowledge into professional advancement.⁶⁹² Like Hurtado de Mendoza, Marmól Carvajál claimed to base his early history of Granada on *libros árabes*, in particular the work of one Aben Raxid. However, his first sources were from the tradition of Castilian historiography, including the works of Hernando de Pulgar, Alonso de Palencia, and Luís Galindez de Carvajál.⁶⁹³ He also cited his own readings of the Arabic inscriptions throughout the city and the eyewitness testimony of living *moriscos*.⁶⁹⁴ Like Hurtado de Mendoza, he provided frequent commentary about the Romance or Arabic origins of place names and other vocabulary.⁶⁹⁵ Where Hurtado de Mendoza had ascribed an Arabic origin to the name Granada, Marmól Carvajál, invoking the royal *crónista* Esteban de Garibay, claimed that the name actually had a Hebrew origin.⁶⁹⁶ Though Marmól Carvajál was overall less sympathetic in his descriptions of the causes and blames of the Alpujarras war, his narration of the history of Granada past and present was far more hybrid than Hurtado de Mendoza's. He used both Muslim and Christian dates in his narration, explained the former, and the connected architectural, social, and

⁶⁹¹ Marmól Carvajál was the illegitimate but acknowledged son of a jurist in Granada. He joined Charles V's army in the enterprise against Tunis in 1535, during which time he was captured and lived in North Africa for 7 years. He made use of this experience, among others, to write the work for which he is best known, *Descripción de África*, a work which also borrows heavily from the earlier book by Leo Africanus. Freed from captivity, he was in the Spanish *tercios* in Italy until 1569, when he returned to Granada with his unit and observed the Alpujarras war firsthand. In Granada he was under the command of don Juan de Austria. For a biography of Marmól Carvajál, see Valeriano Sánchez Ramos, "El mejor cronista de la guerra de los moriscos: Luis del Marmól Carvajál," *Sbarq al-Andalus* 13 (1996): 235-255.

⁶⁹² He described his services as a translator of a captured Algerian flag in the prefatory materials to the first volume of his *Descripción de África* (1573), and even angled to be appointed as ambassador to Morocco based on his Arabic knowledge and experience in North Africa, a post which was ultimately granted to the minor nobleman Pedro Venegas de Córdoba (see chapter 3).

⁶⁹³ All chroniclers who lived during and wrote of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Aben Raxid is most likely not Averroes (d. 1198), since the latter is not known to have written a historical description of Granada, which is what Marmól Carvajál relies on this author for.

⁶⁹⁴ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. I, Cáp. V.

⁶⁹⁵ Including a disquisition on the words *moro* and *mudéjar*. Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. II, Cáp. I.

⁶⁹⁶ Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Lib. I, Cáp. I. Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. I, Cáp. IV. Where Hurtado de Mendoza creates the spurious idea that the original name of Granada had something to do with a woman of loose morals, Marmól Carvajál claims that the semantic origin was connected to the concept of pilgrimage.

political forms he observed in Granada to those he knew of from North Africa.⁶⁹⁷ When describing the origins of the second Alpujarras conflict, he depicted a very different context than that of Hurtado de Mendoza. Rather than describing a "nation" of willing if speechless and powerless *moriscos* whose rights and property were being abused within Castilian institutions, Marmól Carvajál described how by the 1560s Philip II was made aware that the *nación morisca* was a threat and growing larger every hour.⁶⁹⁸ Marmól Carvajál included a fairly faithful rendition of the text of the 1566 *pragmática* of Madrid and Núñez Muley's response.⁶⁹⁹ According to Marmól Carvajál, the outcome of the debates and discourses following the *pragmática* was that "what His Majesty desired of them was that they [the *moriscos*] be good Christians, similar in everything to his other Christian vassals."⁷⁰⁰ The Count of Tendilla, the military governor of Granada and don Diego's father, appealed to the *moriscos'* sense of duty as vassals, asking the inhabitants of the Albaicín neighborhood that they comply with the *pragmática*, "as you are obligated by service to His Majesty, who will grant you many rewards."⁷⁰¹ These *moriscos*, though rebels, were subjects of the king who were obligated to reform themselves in the image of the majority.

The last historical account of the Alpujarras to be written and published was the second volume of Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*. Ginés Pérez de Hita was another a soldier who, like Marmól Carvajál, found fame in writing. Little is known about his biography, other than his self-proclaimed origins as a shoemaker in Murcia, his employment as a soldier in the Alpujarras war under the Marquis of Velez, Luis Farjado, and his later fame as the pioneer of the *novela morisca* in Golden Age Spanish literature. He was also part of the literary circle that congregated around the

⁶⁹⁷ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. I, Cáp. VII-XI.

⁶⁹⁸ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. II, Cáp. III. The *morisco* population was certainly growing smaller due to emmigration and a falling birthrate, but *moriscos* were still allowed to own slaves and Philip and his advisors were worried that these slaves would become faithful Muslims.

⁶⁹⁹ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. II, Cáp. VI.

⁷⁰⁰ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. II, Cáp. XI.

⁷⁰¹ Marmól Carvajál, *Historia del rebelión*, Lib. III, Cáp. VI.

Granada Venegas family, whose progenitor Alonso Venegas had been the original *trujamán mayor* of Granada.⁷⁰²

For although Pérez de Hita used his own testimony and experiences in his account of the Alpujarras war, and other techniques in order to convey a sense of realism (quoted speech, interpolated documents, etc.) he included the history of 1568-1571 in a project with a more ambiguous literary agenda. The *Guerras civiles* is actually two entirely separate "histories," the first concerned the last decades of Nasrid rule and the Trastámara conquest and was published in 1595 and the second detailed the events of the second Alpujarras war but was not published until 1619 though it was probably completed by 1610. Collectively the work is known as the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, or the *Civil Wars of Granada*.⁷⁰³ The first *Guerras civiles* was a prose romance which told the fictionalized account of the dynastic and marital strife of the last Nasrid sultans of Granada against the backdrop of the final war with Castile, culminating in Boabdil's surrender to Ferdinand in 1492. Published in 1595, it was a product of the heyday of the late sixteenth-century "moorish novel," a Golden Age genre which began to flourish nearly a century after the final conquest of the Muslims in Granada.⁷⁰⁴ Though it dealt with historical events of relatively recent memory, it was a work of

⁷⁰² García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 160. On the Granada Venegas *tertulia* and academy, see González Vázquez, "La academia Granada-Venegas."

⁷⁰³ The full title of the first 1595 Zaragoza edition was *Historia de los vandos de los Zegries y Abencerrages Caualleros Moros de Granada, de las Guerras Civiles que buuo en ella, y batallas paraticulares que buuo en la Vega entre Moros y Cristianos, hasta que el Rey Don Fernando Quinto la ganó. Agora nuevamente sacado de un libro Aráuigo, cuyo autor de vista fue un Moro llamado Aben Hamen, natural de Granada. Tratando desde su fundación. Traduzido en castellano por Gines Perez de Hita, vezino de la ciudad de Murcia* [History of the Zegri and Abencerraje Parties, Moorish Knights of Granada, of the Civil Wars which took place there, and particular battles which took place in the Vega between Moors and Christians, until it was conquered by King Ferdinand V. Now newly brought out from an Arabic book, whose author seems to have been (*de vista fue*) a Moor called Aben Hamen, born in Granada. [The history covers topics] dating from its foundation. Translated into Castilian by Gines Pérez de Hita, resident (*vecino*) of the city of Murcia.] The second volume, also called the *Guerras civiles* and published ever after jointly with the first volume, is titled *Guerras civiles de Granada y crueles bandos entre los convertidos moros y vecinos cristianos* [The Civil Wars of Granada and the Cruel Conflicts between the Converted Moors and Christian Inhabitants] (1619).

⁷⁰⁴ That is, it is not a genre which represents a continuity of literary tropes and traditions from the fifteenth century through to the sixteenth, though Carrasco Urgoiti, among others like Francisco Marquez Villanueva and Juan de Mata Carriazo, have noted the parallels with the medieval *romance frontizero* or frontier ballad. The "moorish novel," however, did not exist until at least 1560 with the publication of *El Abencerraje*. Maria Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada en la literatura*, Madrid: Revista del Occidente, 1956, pp. 47-69. Barbara Fuchs argues that the connection between the

fiction, a status ambivalently underscored by Pérez de Hita's literary conceit of claiming to have discovered and translated an unknown Arabic manuscript history.⁷⁰⁵ The second volume was Pérez de Hita's own eyewitness account of the Alpujarras war, written in response to Philip III's edicts of expulsion which had begun to take effect in Valencia in 1609.⁷⁰⁶ Though Pérez de Hita may have elaborated some of his account using other histories, the second volume was neither a novel nor a translation (false or otherwise), although some passages were imagined or borrowed from other histories.⁷⁰⁷ María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti, the leading literary scholar of the twentieth century of the works of Pérez de Hita and the "moorish" Golden Age genre altogether, argued that his insistence on using a common title and publishing the volumes together is "an indication that in his mind they deal with the same entity: the people of Granada."⁷⁰⁸ Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have advanced the convincing thesis that one of the purposes of the first volume of the *Guerras civiles*, the false translation from an Arabic history of the Nasrids, was "to defend the noble lineages of Granada, and to convince its readers that the expulsion of 1570 was wrong."⁷⁰⁹ The second volume, written during the second expulsion, was also intended to advocate against such a drastic measure.

As if a middle ground between Hurtado de Mendoza and Marmól Carvajáls' texts, Pérez de Hita's second volume began by referring to the chain of events by which the Catholic kings remade the city and incorporated it. The very first paragraph ranges from King Pelayo's resistance and the eight hundred-year Muslim "occupation" through the conquest detailed in the first volume and the

romance frontizero and the "moorish novel" is indicative of a longer hybrid continuity. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, pp. 102-116.

⁷⁰⁵ The conceit of Arabic translation was not exceptional. Ten years later Cervantes would use the same strategy in book VIII of the first volume of *Don Quijote*. In 1603, another Arabic "translation" was published, the *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* by Miguel de Luna, to which we will return momentarily.

⁷⁰⁶ AGS, Estado, legajo 2638, (impreso), *Bando de la expulsión de los moriscos, publicado por el marqués de Caracena, virrey de Valencia*.

⁷⁰⁷ See the introduction to the reproduction of the 1619 edition, Paula Blanchard-Demouge (ed.), *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1915, pp. viii-xxiii.

⁷⁰⁸ María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *The Moorish Novel: "El Abencerraje" and Pérez de Hita*, Boston: Twayne, 1976, p. 124.

⁷⁰⁹ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 161.

efforts of the Catholic kings to "adorn [Granada] with all of the great attributes which were due to a city of its stature," including the court (*real chancillería y corte*) and a "sumptuous royal chapel."⁷¹⁰ Over the few next pages, Pérez de Hita sketched the history of rebellion and conversion, culminating with a description of the requirements in Philip II's 1566 *pragmática* and the reaction to its proclamation. Like Marmól Carvajál he included the putative text of the *morisco* correspondence with the Ottoman rulers in Algiers.⁷¹¹ All three authors were clearly aware of the important role played by Philip II's 1566 *pragmática* and by extension how ideas about language use supported civic identity. Literary scholars have argued that the moorish novel and forgeries like the *plomos* were meant to demonstrate the unity of the populations that produced and consumed the works, that is, that Arabic and Castilian speakers made up together a unified cultural sphere.⁷¹² Nowhere was that hybridity more clear than the incorporation of Arabic texts into Spanish language histories, fictional, factual, or a combination of the two.⁷¹³

Also significant is the way that the conflict was portrayed in the contemporaneous historiography: as either a rebellion or a civil war. The conflict was not a conquest or a war between neighbors, but a rebellion, a conflict which can only take place within a sovereign body, or a civil war. As David Armitage has recently pointed out, the distinction between revolution and civil war can be hard for historians to articulate. From a perspective of a genealogy of the term, and one which would have resonated as well in late humanist Spain, the source of the very concept of civil war was the Roman *bellum civile*, a war against the *cives*, or fellow citizen, within the *civitas*, or city, that is Rome.⁷¹⁴ The *civitas* of Granada was not, however, the city or even the region bounded by the

⁷¹⁰ Gines Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975, p. 93.

⁷¹¹ Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles*, pp. 95-102.

⁷¹² Luce López-Baralt summarizes the recent scholarship, especially the work of Maria Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, James T. Monroe, and Francisco Márquez Villannueva, in *Islam in Spanish Literature: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 209ff, especially the footnotes.

⁷¹³ Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

⁷¹⁴ David Armitage, "Civil War and Revolution," *Agora* 44/2 (2009): 18-22, p. 20.

former Nasrid territories. It was the sovereignty of Philip's state, in which both the *moros convertidos* and *cristianos vecinos* were *civis*. It was after all the inclusion of all inhabitants of Granada and the mandate for uniform practice across the *civis* that had sparked the war in the first place.

ii. Creating and Curing the Tolerant Prince: Caring for the Body Politic

The next generation of Arabic-speaking *moriscos* in Granada lived in a much different community than their ancestors had before the second Alpujarras war. Although some *moriscos* received dispensation to remain in Granada after the edicts of expulsion, and enough returned to cause the crown to re-issue an edict of expulsion in 1584, after 1571 Granada was no longer a bilingual region.⁷¹⁵ Aside from the group of specialists convened around the *plomos* and Alonso del Castillo's work from afar on Moroccan diplomatic correspondence, which I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, there was no more need for Arabic translators in Granada. The Alpujarras did not signal the end of Arabic translation, however, and after 1571 most Arabic translations in Castile were made for the king or for the reading public.⁷¹⁶

At the same time that the market for Arabic translation changed drastically from the Castilian *morisco* bureaucracies, the motives which underpinned translation were altered. Where previously the translators had enacted the daily process of conversion and control over the newest Castilian population, after the second Alpujarras war and the first edicts of expulsion against the Granada *moriscos*, assimilation was no longer a matter of adhering to administrative norms but became an argument for a legitimately plural body politic, one whose regional differences did not render co-existence impossible. Núñez Muley's *memorial* had been the rallying cry for this position, and the *plomos* were the most elaborate effort to write those ideas into the physical texture of the past. One *morisco* translator who was able to take particular advantage of the two new markets for

⁷¹⁵ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 63.

⁷¹⁶ I will discuss the exception of Inquisition translators and the evangelization policies in *morisco* Valencia in greater detail in chapter 6.

translations (pseudo or actual) and who did his best to advance the project of acceptance and assimilation was Miguel de Luna.

Miguel de Luna, along with Alonso del Castillo, is one of the better known figures in the history of Arabic translation in early modern Spain. Also a medical doctor and a graduate of the medical faculty of the University of Granada, Luna worked with Castillo on translating the parchment and lead books that were discovered in Granada beginning in 1588.⁷¹⁷ Many scholars believe that he, and probably Castillo, had a hand in creating the forgeries in the first place. He was also the author of a best-selling "translation," *La verdadera hystoria del rey Don Rodrigo, en la qual se trata la causa principal de la perdida de España y la cõquista que della hizo Miramamolin Almaçor, rey que fue del Africa*, first published in 1592 in Granada, and a second volume in 1600. This purported historical work, really a fabrication by Luna, was supposedly his translation of an Arabic-language historical account of the conquest of Spain from the Visigoths that was housed in the library at El Escorial.

This false *historia verdadera* fit neatly into a long tradition of romantic histories in Spain, of which Pérez de Hita's own 1595 text would be one more in the same mold.⁷¹⁸ Luna was also writing and arranging for the publication of this work at the very same time he was translating the first parchment discovered in 1588. Luis Bernabé Pons has demonstrated how the "discovery" and "translation" of this early Arabic chronicle helped to underpin the message behind the *plomos* translations, namely that *cristianos arábigos* (Arabic-speaking Christians), of which Luna was one, had inhabited the Peninsula since before the Muslim invasion of 711. In this project, which tacitly

⁷¹⁷ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have concluded that Luna may well have been the principal actor in the forgeries project. Also according to García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *morisco* doctors "were a true educated elite in the Morisco community, as well as a bridge to Christian society." See *The Orient in Spain*, p. 155 and p. 190.

⁷¹⁸ It was not until the end of the seventeenth century, at the very same moment that the *plomos* were finally declared by the Vatican to be forgeries, that Luna's text was discovered to be his own composition rather than a translation. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 159.

undermined the expulsion of *moriscos* based on their "foreignness," Luna tried to extend the ideas first articulated by Núñez Muley in his *memorial*.⁷¹⁹

As López-Baralt points out, Luna's *Historia verdadera* (true history) of the conquest of Spain by the Umayyads, though a false history of the eighth century, was in some ways a true mirror for the history of the sixteenth century.⁷²⁰ If not a true reflection of the events of the *morisco* age, it was intended to be, at least in part, a mirror for princes. This is nowhere more clear than in the excursus at the beginning of the second volume which describes the character and style of rule of Jacob Almansor, a Muslim ruler whose defining characteristic as a good prince is his religious tolerance, especially of princes.⁷²¹ By incorporating a prescriptive genre based on the normative model of a Muslim prince, with the assumed historical legitimacy of being a translation from an Arabic manuscript, Luna was attempting to literally write religious tolerance into the panorama of political possibilities for himself and other *moriscos*.

The imagery which underpinned Luna's depiction of the best prince and healthiest body politic in his forged translation were the same which informed his work as a medical doctor, although until very recently much less has been known about his work in the field of medicine. A letter to Philip II written in May 1592 and promoting the construction of public baths for health reasons was recovered in the early 2000's in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.⁷²² This letter advocated reopening the public baths as a counterweight to the popular curative method of bloodletting and purgation. According to Luna, bathing upheld what should be the primary

⁷¹⁹ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 157.

⁷²⁰ López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature*, pp. 214-215.

⁷²¹ On the second volume of *La verdadera historia* as a mirror for princes, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 161-162, Luce López Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature*, pp. 213-215 and Gioia Kerlin, "A True Mirror for Princes: Defining the Good Governor," *Hispanofila* 156 (2009): 13-28, all of whom follow and expand upon the work of Francisco Márquez Villanueva. See *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1998, pp. 45-97.

⁷²² Reem Iverson, "El discurso de la higiene: Miguel de Luna y la medicina del siglo XVI," in *Morada de la palabra: Homenaje a Luce y Mercedes López Baralt*, San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2002, pp. 892-907 and Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Médico, traductor, inventor: Miguel de Luna, cristiano arábigo de Granada," *Cronica Nova* 32 (2006): 192-231, with a reproduction of the manuscript on pp. 226-230.

physician's principle, preventive medicine, by allowing toxins to escape bathing bodies gradually via the pores, without the drastic purges of the Spanish surgeons who, unable to tell the healthy fluids from the infected ones, drained them all and left the patient weaker than ever.⁷²³

This vision of healthy purification as against pernicious purgation is a clear metaphor for the menace of expulsion over the *morisco* portion of Spain's body politic.⁷²⁴ This was another tactic for expressing the moral of *La verdadera historia*, and even the entire project of the *plomos* forgeries: that indiscriminate expulsion is more harmful than good and that the just ruler "must seek remedies against such ills."⁷²⁵ Luna, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano point out, never mentioned Islam in his letter. However, he did include the Arabic saying (*profecia*), "داء الجراح على الماء يجري بالشفاء" (Call the infirm to water to free them [from illness] by means of this cure). In addition to supporting his medicinal recommendation with an Arabic, but not Muslim, piece of wisdom, which he explained but left untranslated, Luna historicized the use of baths by Muslims in Spain and the Ottomans who were not weakened but strengthened by their use. When Muslims used baths it was a medical, not a religious, technology which helped keep their princes and soldiers strong and allowed them to further their imperial grasp (*ensanchar sus estados*) to the detriment of Christendom. Re-adopting baths in Spain for medicinal use would prevent the self-destructive medicine that had deprived Philip of his potential fighting force, since the current state of affairs meant that even the slightest headache was cause for bloodletting, leaving perfectly healthy men weakened and unable to bear arms.⁷²⁶

⁷²³ "Tambien tienen el principado entre estas medicinas las que sacan del cuerpo los malos umores sin diminucion de la sustancia y umedo radical y no las que enflaquecen y gastan la virtud: por cuya causa aunque las sangrias y purgas que usan los medicos en nuestra España hazen prouecho al parecer de presente, son malas y dañosas por ser venenosas medicinas." BNE MSS 6149, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, "Medico, traductor, inventor," p. 226.

⁷²⁴ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano elegantly unpack all the ways in which Luna uses the physical body as a stand in for the body politic in this letter in *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 166-170.

⁷²⁵ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 168-169.

⁷²⁶ "auerlos quitado de España ha sido causa que apenas le duele a un ombre la cabeça quando le mandan sangrar 5 y 6 vezes: por que no ay otro remedio en caso necessitado: y quedando tullido de los braços para no poder mandar las armas

Scholars have always noted that both Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna were also university educated medical doctors.⁷²⁷ As such they had privileged access to Arabic texts and across all strata of society. Luna in particular was able to take advantage of the increasingly popular printing technology to disseminate the linguistic and medical metaphors he hoped might rewrite not just the *morisco* past, but also their future. Unfortunately, neither his personal connections to the court nor his popular printed texts made any difference, and in 1609 Philip III finally purged his nation, ejecting nearly 300,000 of his subjects whose threat had been created not through actions but through words.

y tan flaco y debilitado el cuerpo que no es para seruirse asi en los días de su vida." BNE MSS 6149, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, "Medico, traductor, inventor," p. 228. Arabic translation my own.

⁷²⁷ On *morisco* participation in sixteenth-century medicine, see the work of Luis García Ballester, especially *Los moriscos y la medicina: Un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI*, Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1984.

Chapter 5 Language and the Atlantic Mediterranean: The Centralization of Expertise, c1571-c1640

"Un consejo de Estado, para ser perfecto deve ser compuesto la mayor parte de hombres graves, porque quanto mayor es[sic] en estado y sangre, tanto mayor interes les sigue en la conservacion del estado Real, pero una partecita de este Consejo ha de ser de hombres de mediano linage y edad, que la virtud les aya hecho dignos del cargo de Consejero, para que los tales expertos, en las materias mayores y menores, lleven la mayor parte del trabajo en las examinaciones y averiguaciones de los negocios."

"To be perfect, a Council of State must be primarily composed of important men, since the greater the members are in their status and bloodline, the greater will be their personal interest in conserving the Royal state. Nevertheless, a small part of this Council must be composed of ordinary middle-aged men, whom Virtue has made worthy of the title of Councilor, so that those experts, versed in topics of major and minor importance, can bear the bulk of the work in the examining and verifying of issues [of state]."

Don Jorge de Henin (1620)

A. Translating Local Expertise: Courtly Networks in the Aftermath of Lepanto and Alqazarquivir

Recent scholarship has emphasized the development of the idea of the expert and expertise in the early modern period and in particular its connection to the rise of the modern state.⁷²⁸

Although the word "expertise," which even today doesn't have an exact translation in Spanish, was absent from the early modern lexical range, the concept of expert, or "*experto*" existed as a noun or adjective.⁷²⁹ In the Western Mediterranean, especially in Spain and Morocco, translators and interpreters were called on by the state as experts in information.⁷³⁰ Part of their expertise, from the perspective of the Habsburg and Sa'adien dynasties, depended as well on personal relationships that had been cultivated during the experience of translators and other intermediaries.⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ For an overview of this literature and forthcoming work, see Eric H. Ash, "Expertise and the Early Modern State," *Osiris* 25/1 (2010): 1-24.

⁷²⁹ The contemporary English word expertise translates to Spanish *experiencia* or *pericia*, the former of which means experience and the latter, skill. It was precisely this combination of qualities, experience and skill, that were united in the *experto*.

⁷³⁰ For a complete and erudite synthesis the attitudes and justifications of the Spanish state vis-a-vis Morocco, as well as other Muslim kingdoms in North Africa and the Ottomans and Ottoman regencies, see Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y del norte de África en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII: Los caracteres de una hostilidad*, Madrid: CSIC, 1989.

⁷³¹ There is at least a temporal motive for comparing the neighboring dynasties: Habsburgs ruled in Spain from 1516-1700, while the Sa'adi began their rise in 1511 and rule in Morocco from 1554-1670.

All translators working officially in the service of the Spanish and Moroccan monarchies had to prove their qualifications as capable and trustworthy intermediaries.⁷³² Their linguistic skill, their control of local information networks, their role as filters when selecting information, and their capacity to transmit their knowledge in intelligible chancellery formats transformed the services of individual interpreters into an attribute of prestige that they could rely on for professional advancement or continuity. An individual's language skills and ability to access and verify information became as liquid as currency, and were even transferrable within family relationships. This linguistic currency, I argue, was a particular kind of early modern expertise founded on ideas of experience, virtue, and different categories of nobility, not as a social class but as a kind of recognizable social capital conferred over time.

In this chapter, I will discuss the way in which translators, interpreters, and other intermediaries cultivated and represented their experience and expertise. In the latter half of the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth, the constellation of skill, experience, and virtue which made up early modern expertise became increasingly present as a component of the rhetorical strategies and self-representation of Arabic translators in Spain and Spanish translators in Morocco. These professionals (*hombres de profesión*) had to find a way to establish the very professional categories without a "comprehensive credentialing system."⁷³³ Throughout this period, one could obtain a license to be a translator, which was an important part of representing legitimacy, but at the same time, one could perfectly well be an official and royal translator without a license.

The development of these professional categories had begun earlier in the century, at the same time that that diplomatic networks across Europe and the Mediterranean extended, both between royal courts and at territorial boundaries. Beginning in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth

⁷³² Alonso del Castillo and Ahmad Ibn Qāsim al-Hajarī, whom I will discuss below, both highlighted their official licenses from the Spanish king.

⁷³³ Ash, "Early Modern Expertise," p. 3.

centuries, regular officers were deployed both as diplomats and informants and to populate the frontier regions of these respective spheres of influence.⁷³⁴ Diplomacy itself took on new forms. As I have shown in chapter 3, bilingual diplomacy in the first half of the sixteenth century followed the models practiced in earlier centuries. The treaty was a co-text and the ambassadors, negotiators, and other emissaries who crafted and legitimated it were often noblemen with frontier experience that provided them with the necessary linguistic skills. Arabic-Castilian diplomacy changed during the reign of Philip II (r.1556-1598), as international correspondence with Morocco intensified, especially after 1578, setting a precedent for the next generations of Habsburg and Sa'adi rulers.

In the case of diplomacy between Spain and Morocco, because of the particular dynastic rivalries--local and international--of both monarchies, and the complicated patterns of trade that overlapped the Mediterranean and Atlantic systems, Arabic-Spanish correspondence came to involve a host of agents and activities from England, the Low Countries, and the Ottoman Regencies, among others. Indeed, the reign of Ahmad al-Manşūr (r. 1578-1603), a contemporary and frequent correspondent of both Philip II and Elizabeth I, may be said to have inaugurated a new space of commercial and diplomatic activity: the Atlantic Mediterranean. The reality of the Atlantic Mediterranean is that it was polyglot. The primary *linguas francae*, however, were Arabic and especially

⁷³⁴ Garrett Mattingly, in his classic work of renaissance diplomacy, noted that the European origins of the office of the diplomatic ambassador were the medieval emissary, who functioned--rank and mission aside--either as a messenger (*nuncio*) or as a representative (*procurator*). Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Cosimo, 2009, 26–27. The office of the ambassador, primarily a royal representative, but who held a crucial role as procurator of information and a node of transmission, spread through Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Daniel Goffman has shown that some of the key concepts in the developing system of ambassadorial exchange, which grew out of the dynastic competitions of Europe from foundations in networks between the Italian city states, may have been influenced by the forms of peripheral control used by the Ottomans in their empire. Since the Ottomans and the Venetians were in constant contact, he argues, the influence in forms--particularly extraterritoriality--may trace their genealogies to the rights granted by Ottomans to Venetian consuls and short-term visitors. Daniel Goffman, "Negotiating with the Renaissance state: the Ottoman Empire and the new diplomacy," in *The Early Modern Ottomans*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 61-74.

Castilian, and these became important linguistic way-stations to other languages in the complicated and multifaceted processes of translation that took place in and about the activities in that space.⁷³⁵

Part of the reason for the increased intensity of correspondence between Spain and Morocco was the shift in attention of the Spanish crown from the Ottoman eastern Mediterranean to the Sa'adian western sphere after the Battle of Lepanto (1571) in Greece and the Battle of Alqazarquivir (1578) in Morocco.⁷³⁶ The battle of 1578, in which King Sebastian of Portugal, 'Abd al-Malik, and his nephew and rival al-Mutawakkil were all killed, paved the way directly for a new kind of Spanish-Moroccan relationship, one characterized by very frequent diplomatic exchange which took on a very particular set of linguistic characteristics, based on the skills and experiences of the individual agents who actually carried out these exchanges. It is on these characteristics and these agents that I will spend much of this chapter.

The beginning of the reign of Ahmad al-Manṣūr after the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578 signaled the dawning of an age of what may be called the Atlantic Mediterranean. Morocco, the only Mediterranean power to have an Atlantic coastline, and beginning in the 1580s Morocco hosted many foreign agents from all over Europe, Ottoman territories, and other African powers. Although Arabic was the medium of choice for contact with other Muslim powers, almost all of the European agents--from England, France, and the United Provinces--used Spanish as the intermediary step between Arabic and the language they used in crafting their reports back home. Morocco--on both its Mediterranean and Atlantic fronts--became a major player in the *petite guerre* of piracy that had

⁷³⁵ On the status of Spanish as a Mediterranean diplomatic lingua franca, in the vehicular sense of the term, and in contrast to the use of the Mediterranean *lingua franca*, in the linguistic sense of the term, see Jocelyne Dakhlia, *Lingua Franca*, Arles: Actes Sud, 2008, pp. 242-255. See also Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Ahmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XVI^e siècle*, 224. Mouline predicts a chain of translation performed both in an out of the Moroccan chancellery: Arabic-Spanish-other European language, and vice versa. This certainly is borne out in English documents which were received from Morocco in Arabic and Spanish versions, and only once in England translated into English. For example, from Zaydān to James I, National Archives (NA) SP 71/12 Part 1 f. 270.

⁷³⁶ Dahiru Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Patterns in African Foreign Policy*. London: Longman, 1981; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur and the Beginnings of Modern Morocco*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2009.

been sustained for centuries in the Mediterranean and now had an Atlantic dimension with ships returning from African and American expeditions.

Meanwhile, another outcome of the Battle of the Three Kings was the sixty-year union of the Iberian crowns. The last ruler of the house of Avis, King Sebastian, had been killed at Alcazarquivir in 1578 in his disastrous campaign to aid al-Mutawakkil in his pretensions to reclaim the Moroccan throne his uncle 'Abd al-Malik had taken from him in 1576. After long months of resistance in Portugal, Philip II of Spain took over the Portuguese crown, becoming Filipe I of Portugal. The rocky transition from war to peace, and an increasing focus on Atlantic opportunities rather than Mediterranean conflict brought new kinds of agents onto the scene, as well as new linguistic parameters. Castilian would not become a true *lingua franca* among Iberian, Moroccan, Ottoman, and Northern European agents until the following generation. During the latter reign of Philip II, in 1580 also Filipe I of Portugal, and his Sa'adi counterpart Ahmad al- Mansūr, however, both Atlantic Mediterranean powers developed institutionalized practices of diplomatic exchange-- which included linguistic translation as an important step. Part of the goal of this chapter is to explore to what extent these practices influenced each other mutually, as John Wansbrough and Wilhelm Hoenerbach have proposed was a characteristic of Mediterranean exchange for centuries if not millennia.⁷³⁷

B. Bilateral Chancelleries and International Translation Networks

Many regions and powers in the Iberian Peninsula had had longstanding traditions of contact with various regions and powers in North Africa for many centuries, as alluded to many times in this dissertation. The second half of Philip II's rule in Castile, however, coincided with the

⁷³⁷ John Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996, in particular chapter 2. Wilhelm Hoenerbach, "Some Notes on the Legal Language of Christian and Islamic Deeds" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81, no. 1 (1961); "El notariado islámico y el cristiano: Estudio comparativo," *Cuadernos de Historia Del Islam* 11 (1984): 103–138.

rule of a Moroccan ruler who would, among other positions, cultivate a specific and strategic set of European policies. This was Ahmad al-Manṣūr. That al-Manṣūr was in intense contact with Philip, Elizabeth, and their agents is well known, but what is less well understood is the daily professional practice of those multilingual officials who wrote, copied, and translated royal foreign correspondence. Letters, commercial agreements and guarantees, and safe-conducts and passports were frequently generated in the Moroccan chancellery and often with an accompanying Romance-language translation. Where were al-Manṣūr's letters sent?⁷³⁸ Ultimately, letters from al-Manṣūr were given to Philip with a Castilian translation made by Alonso del Castillo, a *morisco* physician from Granada who worked either under the supervision of the head magistrate in Granada or in the royal library at El Escorial itself.

i. The Office of Translation at El Escorial: Consolidating Granadan and Mediterranean Expertise

In the previous chapter I discussed the significance of the late 1560s to the articulation and enactment of anti-Arabic language ideologies in Spain. Nowhere is this more clear than Philip II's 1566 *Pragmática* prohibiting Arabic use, among other cultural practices, and the *Memorial* of Nuñez Muley that was circulated in response. These ideas about Arabic, which I have shown in chapter 4 to be so clearly related to the tensions of the second generation of *morisco* Granada, led to rebellion, war, and expulsion. There could be no more dramatic enactment of an ideology of peoplehood related to language and identified with religion.

The principle Arabic translator in that theater of war was Alonso del Castillo, a local doctor and inquisition interpreter who had taken over Juan Rodríguez's position as court translator of legal

⁷³⁸ Almost all royal correspondence from Morocco traveled via the estates of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. See below for informal networks of exchange that developed along these routes involving the translators, the Duke, and al-Manṣūr.

and fiscal documents generated in the jurisdiction of the Real Chancillería.⁷³⁹ Castillo's work in this period, which I have discussed in the previous chapter, was preserved in his own records, namely the *Sumario é recopilación de todo lo romançado por el liçenciado Alonso del Castillo*.⁷⁴⁰ Castillo received special permission to remain in Granada after the expulsion and repopulation programs of 1571, and the last letter translated in his first collection dates from 1572. He was summoned to the court in 1573 to present a summary of his war work to the king, and at that time he was also commissioned to inventory the Arabic materials at El Escorial. He then revised his workbook until 1575 to present it as an official record to Pedro de Deza, the chief magistrate in the *Real Chancillería*.⁷⁴¹

After the Alpujarras war, the scope of pragmatic Arabism within the Peninsula became far more limited, as Arabic speakers were repopulated throughout Castile. Only in Valencia, where there was a significant Arabic-speaking population until the expulsion which began in 1609, did the vestiges of a bilingual administration remain, and many of these interactions were informal.⁷⁴² Official Arabic use retreated to the central court and from there to the royal library, high above the capital in Philip II's rural palace-monastery, El Escorial. As active Arabic speakers were phased out of the local law courts and even universities, where Arabic had been an important teaching language in particular in the medical faculties, Arabic knowledge became the personal domain of the king who engaged in a serious program of book and manuscript collection.⁷⁴³ Philip II is even supposed by

⁷³⁹ For a discussion of the passing of the torch, in which Castillo was called upon to reevaluate Rodríguez's work, see Mercedes Abad Merino, "La traducción de cartas árabes en un pleito granadino del siglo XVI," *al-Qantara* 32/2 (2011): 481-511.

⁷⁴⁰ *Sumario é recopilación de todo lo romançado por el liçenciado Alonso del Castillo romançador del Santo Oficio desde antes de la guerra del reyno de Granada, y en ella y después que se acabó hasta oy día de la conclusion desta, ocho días del mes de henero deste presente año de mill e quinientos e setenta e cinco, fecha e recopilada por borden e mandado del Illustrísimo Reverendísimo señor don Pedro de Deza, presidente de la Real Audiencia desta Ciudad de Granada e general deste reyno, etc., 1575*, published in the *Memorial Histórico Español* III (1852): 1-164.

⁷⁴¹ The comprehensive and still definitive biographical account of Castillo's life is Dario Cabanelas, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1965. See pp. 165-184 for Castillo's career in Granada after the rebellion and before being summoned to El Escorial.

⁷⁴² Harvey, L.P. "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595," *al-Andalus* 36, no. 1 (1971): 81-115.

⁷⁴³ Luce López-Baralt, "*A zaga de tu buella*": *La enseñanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de San Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2006.

some scholars to have studied Arabic, or at the very least to have had Arabic books as a child.⁷⁴⁴

Even well-known Arabists like Benito Arias Montano were full-fledged royal agents, who hunted for Arabic-language books and manuscripts for El Escorial in his diplomatic travels. It would seem that the question of administering the Arabic-speaking province of Granada had been resolved by the violent ruptures of war and forced repopulation, and Arabic use in the Spanish monarchy was poised to settle into the remove of the king's library and the scholars it attracted.

The dynastic and diplomatic events in the Western Mediterranean, in which Arabic-language diplomatic materials were becoming more common, ensured that Philip's administration would not limit itself to scholarly Arabic studies. After 1578 and the ascension of Ahmad al-Manṣūr to the Moroccan throne, the need for an official royal Arabic translator arose again. Castillo's skilled and faithful service in the Alpujarras, in the *Real Chancillería*, and in the royal library, in addition to his connections with important court officials like Deza, Castro de Quiñones, and Zayas, ensured that he would be a primary candidate for the job. Castillo, then, could function as a privileged expert, whose local knowledge of Granada would prove to be an asset to the international range of the forthcoming diplomacy. Between 1578 and 1588, Philip II and Ahmad al-Manṣūr corresponded copiously. In Spain, the Arabic correspondence was translated by Castillo. In Marrakesh, the Spanish correspondence was translated--most likely *interpreted* rather than translated--by the also-*morisco* priest from the Granada province, Diego Marín.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴⁴ Henry Kamen, *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010. Beatriz Alonso Acero and José Luis Gonzálo Sánchez-Molero, "Alá en el corte de un príncipe cristiano: El horizonte musulmán en la formación de Felipe II," *Torre de los Lujanes: Boletín de la Real Sociedad Económica Matritense de Amigos del País* 35 (1998): 109. For more about Philip II's childhood and education, see the magisterial biography by Geoffrey Parker, *Felipe II: La biografía definitiva*, Madrid: Planeta, 2010, pp. 31-72.

⁷⁴⁵ An official ambassador to Morocco was not assigned until 1579. This was the minor noble Pedro Venegas de Córdoba, who had previously served as the Governor of Melilla. Venegas, who was not Philip's first choice, went as the noble member of an ambassadorial team that included the Granadan priest, Diego Marín. Venegas's was a position for which Luis de Marmól Carvajal, author and *veedor* of Granada, pleaded with Philip to grant him, on the basis of his loyal service and especially his skill in translation. Having acquitted himself well in the service of the Spaniards in North Africa and Granada, he sent three letters to the king reminding him of his services to his country and asking for various rewards. In particular, in 1575, having recently published his *Descripción general de Africa* in 1573 out of his own pocket, he

For the Spanish, the fallout of the battle of Alcazarquivir was an opportunity to re-think their policies and representatives in the Mediterranean theater, as well as to put to use the collective Mediterranean and Granadan experiences of the previous eighty years.⁷⁴⁶ Both the administration and experienced individuals like Castillo and Marin saw an opportunity. Philip and al-Manṣūr had every reason to approach some kind of alliance, which they justified alongside their respective positions as defenders of the faith mainly in terms of anti-Ottoman solidarity and mutually convenient access to Atlantic trade.⁷⁴⁷ Even if this alliance may seem like it was a foregone conclusion, its construction and maintenance took considerable effort and was forged, in fact, via the personalities and personal relations of several key intermediaries, among them Alonso del Castillo and his friend Diego Marin. This case is yet another example of the way in which intermediaries constructed sovereign relationships as the majority of this particular diplomatic correspondence was filtered through a very small group of translators, interpreters, and messengers, all of whom were part of overlapping personal as well as professional networks.

asked that the King include a copy of the work in his royal library at El Escorial, reminding Philip of some battlefield translation he had done, “hizo traducción de las letras Arabes que estan en el Estandarte que se ganó en la batalla naual.” See “Memorial de Luis de Marmol a Felipe II pidiendo diferentes Mercedes” (1575), in Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion general de Africa. Reproducida en facsimil*, 37. Although Philip was inclined to give Mármol the posting, his advisor Juan de Silva talked him out of it, based on the argument that the ambassador should be a person of more “*calidad*.” See *CODOIN*, vol. XLIII. The letter in question is “Copia de cara de don Juan de Silva á S.M., fecha en febrero de 1579” (pp. 128-129). For more on Marin, see the review of his biographical details and actions, as well as a bibliography, in García-Arenal, Rodríguez Mediano, and El Hour, *Cartas marruecas*, 47-61. Also, “se ha mandado a P[edr]o Venegas de Cordoua mi Criado que os lo declarara por medio de Diego Marin q[ue] por Vuestra orden Va en su compania” AGS Estado Legajo 206, s.f.

⁷⁴⁶ King Sebastian of Portugal's death at this battle was the direct impetus for the “Iberion Union” of 1580-1640 in which Philip II became Filipe I of Portugal.

⁷⁴⁷ For an excellent discussion of al-Manṣūr 's flexible politics of self-representation vis-a-vis the Spanish and Ottomans, see Stephen Cory, *Chosen by God to Rule: The Caliphate and Legitimacy in Early Modern Morocco*, Ph.D Dissertation, UC Santa Barbara, 2002.

a. Translating Granadan and Ottoman Experiences in Morocco

The first decade of Spanish-Moroccan diplomacy, from 1578 to 1588, was carried out by these two Granadan *moriscos*, who as it happens knew one another quite well.⁷⁴⁸ For both men, their skills and experiences as linguistic intermediaries had been principally formed in the context of *morisco* Granada before and during the Revolt of the Alpujarras, which concluded in 1571 with a program of forced repopulation from which both Castillo and Marin were explicitly exempted. Both men had also figured out independently how to make themselves to a certain extent exempt or immune from anti-*morisco* prejudice and legislation by insulating themselves in an administrative system. Marin has done this by enrolling in the clergy, Castillo by enrolling the municipal administration.

These particular translators offered not only their linguistic expertise, but a range of other contacts and experience. Whatever al-Manṣūr's actual intentions in his Spanish alliance might have been, he was eager to receive certain luxury and prestige items from Spain, and translators played a very important role in acquiring such goods. In fact, they not only facilitated the transactions, but actively fostered them. One of Castillo's earliest translations from his Moroccan period, made in 1579, was a safe-conduct from al-Manṣūr, carried to Spain by Marin and translated there by Castillo.⁷⁴⁹ The recipient was Francisco Barredo, a *morisco* merchant and close friend of both Marin and Castillo. In 1583, al-Manṣūr bought a quantity of jewels and precious cloth from Barredo, and

⁷⁴⁸ The most recent synthesis of scholarship on both men is the recent re-edition and translation of García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano. *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, 2013. Earlier work which is still very useful is that of the same Dario Cabanelas cited above, especially Dario Cabanelas, "Diego Marin, Agente de Felipe II en Marruecos." *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXI, no. 1 (1972): 7–35; Cabanelas, Dario. "Otras cartas del sultán de Marruecos Ahmad al-Manṣūr a Felipe II." *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* VII, no. 1 (1958): 7–17. Cabanelas, Dario. "Pedro Venegas de Córdoba, Embajador de Felipe II en Marruecos." *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXII, no. 1 (n.d.): 129–144.

⁷⁴⁹ BNE MS 7453, Castilian summary f. 11r; Arabic text f. 270. Excerpts from these texts are discussed in Cabanelas, "Cartas del sultán de Marruecos Ahmad al-Mansur a Felipe II," *al-Andalus* 23/1 (1958): pp. 19-47.

wrote to Marin to have him act as the bank for this transaction.⁷⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the letter was passed along to Castillo who dutifully transcribed it among the lunatic but formulaic negotiations concerning Spanish goals to possess the port of Larache.⁷⁵¹ Although it was common enough that additional objects move through diplomatic channels, since this purchase had nothing to do with al-Manṣūr's negotiations with Philip, its presence in the official diplomatic register shows the ways in which private transactions and patronage were incorporated into the official political correspondence between Philip and al-Manṣūr.

This patronage is what helped Diego Marin play an even more important part in the negotiations than his superior the noble ambassador Pedro Venegas de Córdoba.⁷⁵² Ultimately Marin was left in Marrakesh to negotiate the trade of Larache with the Sa'adiens, and after his return to Spain in 1582, the Sultan al-Manṣūr wrote three letters in Arabic directly to Marin. Once again, these personal letters traveled on public diplomatic channels and were incorporated into Castillo's *cartulario*.⁷⁵³ In these letters al-Manṣūr indicated clearly the value he placed on the talents and trustworthiness of the Spanish priest.⁷⁵⁴ There is no question that Marin was a valuable intermediary,

⁷⁵⁰ The episode is described in Cabanelas, "Diego Marin," pp. 15-16.

⁷⁵¹ Only Arabic text is extant in Castillo's *cartulario*, which Cabanelas published with his translation in "Diego Marin," p. 16 and p. 29. The negotiations over potential Spanish possession of the Moroccan port of Larache occupied the bulk of Philip's attention with respect to Morocco. For a detailed description of the negotiations during the reigns of Philip II and his son Philip III, when Spain would gain possession for a period, see Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, and Rachid El Hour, *Cartas marruecas: documentos de Marruecos en archivos españoles (siglos XVI-XVII)*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002.

⁷⁵² According to Matias Venegas, Diego Marin rode at the left-hand side of Pedro Venegas in official ceremonies. See F. Guillén Robles, "Una embajada española en Marruecos en 1579," *Mauritania: Revista Ilustrada* 17, no. 195 (1944): 54. Marin's role in the embassy was not at all that of subordinate or functionary. As Dario Cabanelas says in slightly different ways in various articles, Marin benefited from "las ventjas que le confería su conocimiento de la lengua árabe y de las costumbres musulmanas, cualidades que llegaron a hacerlo tan imprescindible para el monarca español como estimado por los sultanes 'Abd al-Malik y 'Abd al-Mansur." See Dario Cabanelas, "Pedro Venegas de Córdoba, Embajador de Felipe II en Marruecos," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXII, no. 1 (1973): 135.

⁷⁵³ Although Marin is not regularly called on to do written translation (Alonso del Castillo translated this correspondence from Spain), it is clear that he knew how to read Arabic. When Marin was loaned to the Duque de Lisboa in 1580, the Duque reports that he received a letter pertaining to the question of the Moroccan princes in Portugal, and that "Hésela dado a Diego Marin para que la traduzca." CODOIN XXXII, p. 543, reproduced in Dario Cabanelas, "Diego Marin, Agente de Felipe II en Marruecos," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* XXI, no. 1 (1972): 11.

⁷⁵⁴ In one letter al-Manṣūr gives a playful reproach that Marin's *compañeros* have come without him. Since their letters are in Castilian, and al-Manṣūr has no trusted translator without Marin, they must send one of the representatives back to

and he made a fortune in this position.⁷⁵⁵ The best evidence for how indispensable he became is found in a letter transcribed by Castillo in 1585, when al-Manṣūr wrote to Philip to inform him that he had found out about Marin's death, poisoned by a rival translator, Jacob Rute.⁷⁵⁶ The sudden vacancy left by Marin's death caused al-Manṣūr to reach out to Philip for a very peculiar kind of alliance. The proposition was to train Diego Marin's nephew to replace him as the primary intermediary for *both* monarchies ("our common service").⁷⁵⁷ Marin had managed to carve out a very special place as a mutually trusted agent, to such an extent that only a family member could take over some of that intangible capital. In effect, the proposition was that Spain and Morocco would not only have had a mutual means of correspondence, but the actual chancelleries would overlap in the person of Marin the younger as a Spanish translator stationed in the court at Marrakesh. The younger Marin seems to have established himself as a kind of Spanish consul after the assassination of his uncle, but in 1588 English merchants stormed his house in celebration of the news of the defeated Armada, and Marin lashed out and killed three men.⁷⁵⁸ He was jailed for almost twenty years, although the Spanish crown continued to maintain him in relatively comfortable conditions by sending payments to Morocco.⁷⁵⁹

When Marin was imprisoned he was removed from the possibility of inhabiting his uncle's position. What, then, happened after 1588? Alonso del Castillo, though he lived until 1610, was not

Spain to get the translations from Marin, holding the other representative until the safe return of the letters in both languages. Passages are translated by Cabanelas in *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁵⁵ For more information on the profits made by Marin, and other priests, as facilitators in the slave trade after the war of the Alpujarras, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 123.

⁷⁵⁶ Rute first arranged for Marin to be shot, but when this failed, poisoned his rival. See García-Arenal, Rodríguez Mediano, and El Hour, *Cartas marruecas*, 61. Both Marin and his merchant friend Barredo were poisoned to death within a couple of years of one another--Marin supposedly by a rival translator and Barredo by rival merchants. This kind of fatal rivalry may be another indication that these positions were institutionalized enough to support professional rivalry.

⁷⁵⁷ "[P]ues ciertamente comprobareis su eficacia en nuestro común servicio y la natural habilidad con que se desenvuelve." Translated by Cabanelas in "Diego Marin, Agente de Felipe II en Marruecos," 27. There is theory that this nephew could be a son. See Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacramente en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Marcial Pons Historia (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010). Al-Manṣūr always refers to the younger Marin as a nephew, *walad akhik* or *ibn akhik*. See BNE MS 7453, f. 64r.

⁷⁵⁸ This event is recorded in several accounts.

⁷⁵⁹ "El Consejo de Estado a 6 de Ag[os]to 1600 por Diego Marin, que esta preso en Marruecos," AGS Estado, Legajo 2471.

recalled to El Escorial or asked to do any more diplomatic translation after 1588. From that point on he was, in any case, engrossed in the affair of the *libros plomos*, which began that same year, 1588.⁷⁶⁰ To take Castillo's place, Philip II sought the services of a former renegade, Diego de Urrea, who had been recently captured and redeemed in Sicily.⁷⁶¹ Ensnared in El Escorial by 1591, Urrea inaugurated a new trend of the Castilian court translator with Mediterranean experience. Although Italian origin and employed for over a decade by the Ottomans, he was educated in Tlemecen, a neighboring kingdom to Morocco, and was in fact in the very same classroom as one of al-Manṣūr's sons (whom he would recognize many years later when that son fled to Spain as the outcome of the civil war between the brothers). In addition to being educated alongside the Sa'adien princes, Urrea, whose Ottoman name was Morato Aga, had been sent as an Ottoman ambassador to Marrakesh where he certainly met and interacted with Diego Marin.

Urrea continued to manage Mediterranean correspondence in Arabic until his long-sought retirement to his hometown Naples in 1616.⁷⁶² He was able to manage correspondence from the entire Mediterranean, and styled himself as *Intérprete de las lenguas Árábica, Turquesca y Persiana*.⁷⁶³ When he arrived initially in Castile, however, he divided his time between translating Moroccan correspondence in the king's library at El Escorial and teaching Arabic as the newly created chair of Arabic at the University of Alcalá de Henares. He was appointed to the latter position in 1597, and

⁷⁶⁰ See introduction and chapter 4. And although I will not review here the fascinating and well-studied phenomenon of the translation movement which sprung up around the discovery of the *libros plomos* in detail here, in that episode we once again find Castillo at the heart of the action, translating again as part of a team, in Granada, and in the service of the Real Chancillería.

⁷⁶¹ On Diego de Urrea's career between Constantinople, Ottoman Algiers, Sicily, and Castile, see García-Arena and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 225-244. His own account of his biography is found in various letters to the *Consejo de Estado*, including one dating from September 11, 1601 and another from November 6, 1603. AGS Estado, Legajo 2741.

⁷⁶² Simancas is full of petitions from Urrea to be allowed to leave the cold winters of Castile and retire to Mediterranean Málaga, or better yet, his hometown of Naples, for health reasons. AGS, Cámara de Castilla (Memoriales), Leg. 1068, doc. 36

⁷⁶³ AGS Estado, Legajo 2471 (17 de Mayo 1601), and elsewhere. Palacio Real Madrid (PRB) II/2154 .-- doc. 27 (1603).

given a raise that same year for his extraordinary language abilities.⁷⁶⁴ In 1598 his salary was raised again, and his teaching position was moved to El Escorial, where he was supposed to train others to work as diplomatic translators and librarians for the Arabic materials.⁷⁶⁵ In the first decade of the seventeenth century he remained in the direct service of the Castilian king, now Philip II's son Philip III, translating correspondence and other materials, including a book of Arabic magic spells sent in 1603 by the king of Bône to be bound and subsequently returned.⁷⁶⁶ Urrea even ended up involved in the *plomos* translation project, and his drafts are still held in archives in Granada.⁷⁶⁷ Thus his Mediterranean experience was refashioned in order to participate in a wholly new kind of Granadan translation.

If Urrea took over for Castillo, as Mediterranean experience became more important than Granadan networks, who took the place of the deceased Marin, once his nephew had been imprisoned in 1588? There was, in fact, another agent with both Granadan and Mediterranean experience waiting to take Marin's place. This was 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Kattani, a *morisco* from Granada who had spent several decades in Ottoman service, in particular in Algiers where he already

⁷⁶⁴ AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Personas, Libro 28-1; AGS Estado, Legajo 1701, Sin Foliación. The raises kept coming, see throughout AGS Estado Legajo 2471 for the year 1601. This didn't stop him from complaining about being paid too little: see the letter of September 10, 1602 in the same legajo.

⁷⁶⁵ AGS Estado, Legajo 1702, Sin foliacion; AGS Estado, Legajo 2741, letter from September 11, 1601 he also refers to this training. He again, asked for permission to leave the court, having trained replacements at least for Arabic: "antes de Usar de la liçençia [to return to Naples] dexara en San Lor[enz]o algunos frayles que podrán seruir a Vmd en los papeles arauigos pero no en los Turquescos y Persianos."

⁷⁶⁶ Certifico y hago fe yo Diego de Urrea criado del Rey N.S. Interprete de los papeles Arabigos, Turquescas, y Persianas, que por mandado de su M.d he visto el libro intitulado, Luz resplandente, compuesto por Ahmed natural de la Ciudad de Bona en Africa. Trata muy doctamente todo lo que es arte magica, hechicerías, y otras suporsticiones; y el dicho libro es tal, que no hallo pueda aprovechar para ninguna cosa, sino es para un a chimenea, pues todolo que trata son hechicerías, arte magica, y supersticiones, que hazen con palabras del Alchoran[sic]; y para que se sepa lo que contiene, y cumplir con lo que su M.d me manda, he puesto parte de las cosas, q trata, que son las siguientes [...]Esto, y otras cosas se mejantes a estas es lo que contiene este libro, y por la verdad lo firme de mi nombre. En Valladolid a diez y siete días del mes de Julio de mill y seiscientos y tres años. Diego de Urrea [firma]" (PRB) II/2154 .-- doc. 27, ff. 27v-30r

⁷⁶⁷ Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARCG), Expedientes del Real Acuerdo, 2424, pieza 1, *Estudios y Borradores sobre los aparecidos en la Torre Turpiana informes del Marques de Estepa, Alonso del Castillo, Interprete de arabe del rey, vecino medico de Granada, Diego de Urrea, catedrático de Arabiga de la Universidad de Alcalá; Don Miguel de Luna, medico y interprete de lengua arabiga, vecino de Granada, y Lorenzo Hernandez, vecino de Baeza, perito en lengua Arabe. Libros plumbeos del sacromonte. Cotejos de OJOS(ellos borradores del Padre Ignacio de las Casas Grabados Impresos Memoriales, etc.*

had regular contact with the Gasparo Corso, Spanish agents whom I will discuss below.⁷⁶⁸ Not long after 1578, al-Kattani was sent to Morocco as an Ottoman representative. Al-Kattani must have preferred working for al-Manṣūr, because he fled his Ottoman employers and served in Morocco for the next two decades. He last appears in a 1609 receipt for his services as a spy for the Dutch agents in Morocco against the Spanish.⁷⁶⁹

The Portuguese knight Antonio de Saldanha (captive in Marrakesh from 1592-1602) noted that a short time after al-Manṣūr entered Marrakesh as its new ruler in 1579, a certain "Abderaman Catanho" arrived from Algiers with letters from the ruler of that city, 'Alī Pāsha. Catanho/Kattani was put under house arrest. The chief judge in the Marrakesh *abkām* ordered that Catanho's "imprisonment" be in a house that abutted his own and the physical site of the court. Catanho remained in Marrakesh for eight months, and quickly made himself indispensable to the Moroccan foreign office during that time.⁷⁷⁰ Saldanha describes Catanho as partially filling the vacancy left by Diego Marin while he was in Madrid negotiating with Philip over Larache and captives from the Battle of Alcazarquivir.⁷⁷¹ Saldanha reported that Catanho was ultimately sent back to Algiers, but his ties with his employer there were forever severed by the new loyalties he had demonstrated in Morocco, and he was forced to flee from execution to Constantinople.⁷⁷² At this point in Saldanha's chronicle Catanho disappears, but we may guess that he eventually made his way back to the *abkām*

⁷⁶⁸ See AGS Estado, Legajo 487 for a wealth of unpublished documentation concerning the activities of Andrea and Francisco Gasparo Corso, Catania, and Chiaya in Algiers in 1569-1570.

⁷⁶⁹ *SIHM PB I*, pp.654-655.

⁷⁷⁰ "Estava Abderaman Catanho em Marrocos havia já mais de oito meses e como se lhe não dava reposta nem [from Algiers] o dexavam ir [back to Algiers] começou ele a fazer, como requerente, muitas lembranças por o *aquele* que o havia aposentado e por Abrahen Sofiane, alcaide dos alcaides, e tinha à sua conta todo o meneio da casa real e só dele e dos arrenegados, que eram já muitos, fiava <o xarife> sua pessoa e bens." Antonio de Saldanha, *Crónica de Almançor, Sultão de Marrocos (1578-1603) de António de Saldanha*, ed. Antonio Dias Farinha, trans. Léon Bourdon, Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1997, 29.

⁷⁷¹ At the end of Chapter 28 Saldanha remarks that al-Manṣūr had waited for news of Marin's arrival before sending Catanho away. *Ibid.*, 76–77. A casual comment at the beginning of chapter 34, reiterating al-Manṣūr's joy at Marin's return and the simultaneous dispatch of a well-paid Catanho could show that Saldanha assumes the functional capacities of these men in the *abkām* to be roughly equivalent.

⁷⁷² Perhaps this news reached Marrakesh, perhaps al-Kattani himself reported this when he returned to that city after his flight first to Constantinople.

in Marrakesh since he wanted to make his move a permanent one and a fluent Spanish speaker named Abd al-Raḥman al-Kattani reappeared to take over Marin's vacancy in 1588.

After 1588 al-Manṣūr began a more open diplomatic policy toward Elizabeth and England. Although this diplomacy was focused on England, linguistically the correspondence still took place between Arabic and Spanish. All the extant al-Kattani translations are forms of permission or safe-conduct for Spanish or English subordinate agents.⁷⁷³ To a great extent, al-Manṣūr's correspondence with both Philip II and Elizabeth I followed Moroccan chancellery protocols of content and address. Even within standard protocols, however, forms of address could of course be highly strategic, depending on whether al-Manṣūr wished to assert his status or position himself more humbly if making a petition.⁷⁷⁴ In the correspondence carried out via al-Kattani, al-Manṣūr, or rather, his secretary (perhaps al-Fishtālī, see below), deliberately situated the prestige and relative position of the monarchs in the address and signature.⁷⁷⁵ The al-Kattani translations are short (ranging between one and three folio sides) and are more pragmatic than ceremonial and are designed for European as well as Mediterranean consumption.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷³ The genre of the safe conduct and the fact that it is primarily for secondary agents is important here. These are missives that do not require the same extensive protocols as letters concerning matters of state.

⁷⁷⁴ Mouline notes that al-Manṣūr's secretaries always put al-Manṣūr's name first, unless he sought a favour or privilege, in which case the order would be reversed. See Nabil Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Abmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2009), 229. One Moroccan scholar has asserted that the language of correspondence between al-Manṣūr and European rulers was limited largely to asserting the superiority of Islam and the inferiority of polytheistic Christianity, and terms to regulate activities in peace and war. See Tāhir Tuwāt, *Adab al-rasā' il fī al-Maghrīb al-'Arabī fī al-qarnayn al-sābi' wa-al-thāmin*, Algiers: Dīwān al-Maṭbu'āt al-Jāmi'īyah, 1993, 268–269. Based on my own reading of the letters I am not convinced that the rhetorical formulae and content were so restricted, though they may have been formulaic.

⁷⁷⁵ Jocelyne Dakhliā identifies similar diplomatic hierarchies (in the technical, textual sense) in the later seventeenth-century correspondence between France and the Deys of Algiers. *Le divan des rois: Le politique et le religieux dans l'Islam*, Paris: Aubier, 1998, pp. 52–56.

⁷⁷⁶ Though of course we can assume that they all contained the minimum formal requirements of al-Manṣūr's royal chancellery, perhaps the most important of which was his personal 'alāma, which, indeed, is in the prominent position at the head of the folio in the extant 1602 original [NA SP 102/2 Part 1 f. 59 (no. 29)]. See Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Abmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XVI^e siècle*, 231–233. Mouline notes that Castries had incorrectly interpreted the highly stylized sign as the hamdala, and notes that al-Fishtālī claimed that al-Manṣūr's special sign was in fact "son illustre nom, beni de Dieu" (232). See also E. Lévi-Provençal, "Alāma," *EI*, 2nd edition. Note that Mouline would disagree with Mouline's positive evaluation of Castries's 1921 article in *Hesperis* where he identifies the 'amāla with the hamdala. Independently, Stern sees a clear Ottoman influence in al-Manṣūr's (and Zaydān's) 'amālat, not surprising

Al-Kattani's texts demonstrate that it was possible for translators to intervene in significant ways in royal diplomatic correspondence through the act of translation by adding certain ceremonial keys of royal representation to the original text. These interventions, in and of themselves, emulate certain ceremonies of royal reception of foreign agents. Al-Manṣūr, like all of his fellow early modern rulers, was very interested in the theater of monarchy especially during the reception of foreign embassies and agents. In these ceremonies the interpreter played a special role, at the side of both the sultan and the foreign royal representative.⁷⁷⁷ Examples of this kind of accompanied representation are the often-cited 1579 embassy of Pedro Venegas de Córdoba and Diego Marin, as well as Henry Robert's longer-term visit of 1585-1588.⁷⁷⁸ In al-Kattani's translations a parallel strategy is evident. In the very text of his translation, he performed much the same function as a diplomatic interpreter, textually accompanying the representative of his monarch (the letter) into the destination court.

The most salient aspect of al-Kattani's translations is that they include more text than the originals: namely the translator's introduction to his translation ("preface") and his concluding assurance of authenticity ("seal"). These extra textual pieces are not always present in translations of correspondence between Moroccan and European rulers, which is one reason the al-Kattani corpus, however small, is of such great interest.⁷⁷⁹ Al-Kattani physically re-positioned the corresponding

given al-Manṣūr's probable biography. S.M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London: Faber and Faber, 1964, 141.

⁷⁷⁷ Mouline includes more stationary patterns of royal representation like buildings, regular parades. See Part I, Chapter 3, *Le cérémonial sultanien et la consecration de l'état-théâtre* in Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Abmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XVI^e siècle*.

⁷⁷⁸ From Richard Hakluyt in SIHM *Angleterre* II, pp. 543-546.

⁷⁷⁹ Well worth exploring in greater detail are the strategies of other Spanish translators working in the Moroccan chancellery, in order to draw out al-Kattani's particular language ideologies. For example, one of al-Kattani's successors in Muley Zidan's court in Fez in 1614 translated a letter to James I of England in a much more reportorial style, with a clear European and Christian bias (his self reference seems to place Islam and Moroccans as the les familiar). "Escriviouse esta carta y ordenamiento real por el mandamiento supremo, enaltezido del rey Zeyden el victorioso, favorezcedor, descendiente de la casa mahometana, a cuya obdencia estan sujetos los reynos de los Moros, y siguen sus reales mandamientos y ordenanças en todas las partes y provincias del Poniente [...] Y despues de las alabanças a Dios, aquel que a puesto y predenado que aya entre las naciones, aunque sus leyes sean diferentes, ajuntamiento considerado por el buen gobierno y preceptos del rejimiento de los reyes y gobernadores y gente principal, y se le aifirma y aclara la verdad

monarchs through the very process of translation both by rehearsing territorial claims, and he provided an official legitimization which ultimately seems to serve both the translation and the original document, and he established a textual and linguistic hierarchy for the Arabic and Spanish languages as a special signal for Philip in letters to Castile.

Al-Kattani's translator's "preface" functioned to physically situate the letter. The original text claimed the letter as royal (*batba al-kitāb al-kaṛīm al-madrūj al-'alī al-jasīm*),⁷⁸⁰ as from al-Manṣūr in his high court (*ṣadara 'an al-maqām al-'alī al-mawlawy [...]*), as destined for either Elizabeth or Philip, and the translation echoes this positioning.⁷⁸¹ Al-Kattani, however, also used the preface in the process of integrating the letter (or, quite literally, "translating" it in the sense of moving it physically) into the discourse of the foreign chancellery for which it was intended. His first strategy for incorporating the translation into the discursive traditions of the Spanish or English chancellery was to invoke the physical situation of the respective rulers, in particular in terms of their territorial possessions and royal titles. Although in the Arabic originals, the formulae of representation situated the Moroccan ruler's court literally higher than the destination court (*al-maqām al-'alī*), his own titles and those of his correspondent were articulated in terms of inherited religious legitimacy, military prowess, or royal lineage, rather than territory.⁷⁸² In all four prefaces, however, al-Kattani described Ahmad al-Manṣūr as *emperor*, and in three he was also described as *rey* (king), along with his various territorial possessions, always including Fez but also Morocco, Ethiopia, Ceuta, and Sus. Neither

en todo lo que se tratare de palabra y por escrito y embaxadas, en los casos de estima y consideracion." The original Spanish translation, made in Fez, is preserved in the National Archives and printed in SIHM Angleterre II, pp. 484-485.

⁷⁸⁰ Al-Kattani's English translator renders "al-jasīm" as "corroborated" while Castries favors the perhaps more modern "substantiel." I think that this term must refer to the royal sanction for the text, rather than it's incorporated importance.

⁷⁸¹ The introduction of both the translation and the original first declare the quality and status of the text itself, meaning that al-Kattani's translation (as then rendered into English) is introduced first as a translation and then as an exalted royal text: ""This is a copy[sic] well and faithfully translated, of a letter missive written in the Arabian tongue and letter [...]. This high, corroborated, and exalted letter Royal proceedeth from the conquering and victorious Estate, whome[sic] the Moors of the State of Mully Hamet, Chareife Hacene, do follow" (SIHM Angleterre, II, p. 214). Note, this last is also interpolated with explanatory material for a European audience.

⁷⁸² "*al-maqām al-'alī al-mawlawy al-imāmī as-sultānī al-abmadī al-manṣūrī al-ḥasani*" vs. "Mullely Hamett, Emperour of Moroco, Kinge of Fesse, Susse, Cyuta"

Philip nor Elizabeth were accorded an imperial status, but Philip was situated as "rey de las españas" (1598) and Elizabeth as "rreina de ingallterra" in 1601 and "Queen of England and Fraunce" in the contemporaneous English translation of al-Kattani's Spanish translation of 1602.⁷⁸³ The rhetorical practice of defining monarchs by their territorial possessions and using these titles to situate the hierarchy of correspondence is a commonplace in European diplomatic correspondence--as in any number of letters from Philip and Elizabeth--but not in Moroccan correspondence, where the king's titles were expressed instead in terms of family lineage and majesty, and his situation as a religious ruler and representative.⁷⁸⁴ Al-Kattani, by literally re-inscribing the territorial position of the monarchs in his interventions, also rendered the translations compatible in the target chancellery discourse and *re-represented* al-Manṣūr in European terms of territorial rather than religious dominion.

The "seal" which concludes each translation was essentially an extended signature, in the sense that it was an authentication.⁷⁸⁵ There would have already been a signature in the Arabic original: that of the Sultan's *'alāma*. In the translator's "seal," however, al-Kattani provided an

⁷⁸³ Also important to notice is the different in al-Manṣūr's far more submissive self positioning in Castillo's 1579 translation and the "imperiousness" granted to him by his translator in 1598.

⁷⁸⁴ The 1602 letter from al-Manṣūr to Elizabeth is a particularly apt example. Al-Kattani (via the contemporaneous English translator) introduces the text as, "a copy, well and faithfully translated, of a letter missive written in the Arabian tounge[sic] and letter, written by Mully Hamett, Emperour of Moroco, Kinge of Fesse, Susse, Cyuta, directed to the Ma[rges]tie Royall of Queen Elizabeth, Queen of England and Fraunce, and whose tenour, being translated *verbatim*, is this that followeth [*sic*]." Neither al-Manṣūr nor Elizabeth has these specific territorial titles in the Arabic original. Al-Manṣūr, or rather his court as the source of the letter, is referred to only as "*al-maqām al-'alī al-manḥuy al-imāmī as-sultānī al-abmadī al-mansūrī al-ḥassanī*" (his name and basic titles of majesty, as nisbas), and Elizabeth referred to with general titles of nobility (*as-sultāna al-jalīla al-aṣṭīya al-mathḥīya al-atḥīra al-kbatīra ash-shabīra as-sultāna Iṣḥābīl*). Each ruler is situated in space--al-Manṣūr from his high court, Elizabeth in her *malah masīḥīyya* (Christian community)--but not in terms of dynastic territorial claims, as was the European practice Al-Kattani clearly thought it expedient to include more specific territorial referents, on the European model. Not only did this bring the international correspondence into an intelligible format of territorial claims, but it allowed him to assert his employer's recent imperial claims in interior West Africa (today's Mali), and flatter Elizabeth's pretensions to claims to France. This latter move, given that al-Kattani would have had little reason for doing so, may actually be the result of a second level of interference by the English interpreter who would have had a powerful motive for flattering his employer. Nabil Matar, who has examined exhaustively the correspondence between al-Manṣūr and Elizabeth, has noted that while the Moroccan monarch was eager to trade with England and keep her as a potential ally against Spain, he never accorded her any special dignity or regard in their letters outside the most formulaic (the above descriptors are representative). See Nabil Matar, "Queen Elizabeth I through Moroccan Eyes," *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2008): 55-76.

⁷⁸⁵ S.M. Stern gives an overview of the form and practice of the ruler's signature on chancery documents from the beginning of Islam through the Fatimid period with which he is concerned (he focuses on the development of the *'amāla*), and also provides details from the late medieval Maghreb, in which both signature and "motto" can be found. (133-135).

additional level of guarantee and authorized his translation, offering his own reputation, via his name, as a guarantee. It is a version of the concept of the *traducción fehaciente* (authorized juridical translation) that Manuel Ferial and Juan Pablo Arias have elaborated in the context of the municipal translations in post-conquest Granada.⁷⁸⁶ This seal is a part of the translator's work that, in its position both inside and outside the translated text, renders the new text authentic and legally valid. It is, like any kind of oath, although written, a performative utterance.⁷⁸⁷ The primary characteristics of al-Kattani's "seals" are his use of his name as a signatory guarantee, the translation of calendar dates, and the explicit description of the technical process of translation as literal, that is, "*de verbo ad verbum*."⁷⁸⁸

Aside from the extremely interesting aspect of incorporating a short Latin phrase into a Spanish translation of an Arabic text, al-Kattani's method stands out as a similar strategy to that used by his corresponding predecessor, Alonso del Castillo in Granada and El Escorial.⁷⁸⁹ Just as noteworthy is the fact that Castillo only began to use this phrase after beginning to translate the Moroccan correspondence in 1578.⁷⁹⁰ The practice of insisting on literal translation was not new in

⁷⁸⁶ They define the concept, which they carry through to contemporary translation practices although they situate it in sixteenth-century Granada as well, "Por traducción fehaciente entendemos, en sentido lato, la traducción e interpretación autorizadas cuya función es crear efectos jurídicos o institucionales, generalmente inmediatos. Se caracteriza, aunque no siempre en la misma medida, por ser remunerada, estar sujeta a régimen disciplinario y disfrutar su artífice de un nombramiento o contrato que lo habilite para ello o, cuando menos, haber éste cumplido los requisitos formales de los procedimientos instituidos a efectos de habilitación para una actuación concreta" (207). Manuel C. Ferial García and Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Un nuevo enfoque en la investigación de la documentación árabe granadina romanceada," *Al-Qantara* XXVI, no. 1 (2005): 191-247.

⁷⁸⁷ The idea of performance in speech, associated with J.L. Austin's Speech Act Theory, has been criticized as a tool in language ideologies as a too specifically grounded in Western language ideologies, but scholars have also use the idea of performance in ideological terms, a "performative aspect of ideology in its constative guise: ideology creates and acts in a social world while it masquerades as a description of that world." See Woolard, "Introduction," for the language ideological uses and critiques of parts of Speech Act Theory, p. 11 and p. 14.

⁷⁸⁸ RAH, Salazar y Castro, F-33, ff. 33r-34r, "Copia de una carta del Rey de Marruecos al Rey don Phelipe segundo en rrecomendaciõ de Blas de Prado Pintor" (1598).

⁷⁸⁹ BNE MS 7453, f. 5r, and *passim*. Alonso refers to translating several letters from the *Xerife* (al-Manşūr) in the "*secreto*" of the future archbishop of Granada.

⁷⁹⁰ Nowhere in the *Sumario y recopilación* (1569-1575) does Castillo use this phrase or anything like it, meaning that while he insists on his care and skill as a translator--describing the books and informants consulted to ensure accurate translation--he never guarantees that the translations are *word for word*. In fact, he more than once elides passages, either to provides a more efficient translation or to avoid repeating offensive phrases. After 1578, however, he appears to have adjusted his philosophy of translation. In the preface of the *Cartulario* (BNE MS. 7453), which comprises Alonso's translation work

the latter part of the sixteenth century, and indeed some of the earliest literary translations into Castilian (from either Latin or Greek or French) had been guaranteed either "de verbo ad verbum" or "palabra por palabra" (1428, 1440).⁷⁹¹ Although most sixteenth-century translators in Europe favored an *ad sensum* rather than the literal *ad verbum* approach, in diplomatic correspondence, as in the translation of sacred texts, it was more important to (at least expound) a literal approach.⁷⁹²

Throughout this period, the primary mode of diplomatic interaction was the letter. From the first period of diplomacy (1578-1588), many copies or summaries of these letters and their translations are preserved in Alonso del Castillo's second workbook, known to scholars as the *Cartulario*, MS 7453 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Later letters, including those processed by al-Kattani and Urrea, were dispersed, and more may come to light as scholars are increasingly turning their focus to the figure of the intermediary.⁷⁹³ From Morocco, most correspondence was sent in Arabic. This was an assertion of sovereign power, just as was the Spanish correspondence that was sent back. However, from the point of view of the recipient, a text in a language that was

between 1578-1587, with reference to the letters that have arrived from the Moroccan sultan, does he insist on the preciseness of his process, conducted alongside the supervision of Pedro de Castro: "De manera que son once cartas las que en todo el dicho tiempo romançé, y de todas ellas saqué diez hojas de borrador, y en limpio ocho hojas, después que, *de verbo ad verbum*, con ayuda del señor Presidente, las corregí." See Cabanelas, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*, pp. 141-142. It seems that sometime after 1580 this phrase was introduced into the Moroccan-Spanish diplomatic correspondence (it does not appear in the first letter between al-Manşūr and Philip, in 1578, but in what Alonso describes as an extensive translating session of eleven letters in 1580).

⁷⁹¹ This phrase was used to authenticate Castilian translations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in published texts from the Peninsula and the Americas, as part of the increasingly common process of commenting upon translation within the translated text itself. As a general rule, practices of textual translation were the subject of much debate and self-reflection in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when translators began to reflect on their activities and defend their choices in prologues and dedicatory letters. Most non-diplomatic translators in the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries considered themselves followers of Saint Jerome, who insisted upon literal, *ad verbum*, translation for sacred texts, but for all others advocated an *ad sensum* translation that privileges the content and meaning of the text. See Julio-César Santoyo Mediavilla, *Teoría y crítica de la traducción: Antología*, Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1987, 7-10. Also see Peter Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la península ibérica (1400-1550)*, Barcelona: Bellaterra, 1985, 43.

⁷⁹² What is fascinating to notice here is how the vocabulary developed to describe humanistic translation activities, including ways of assuring the legitimacy of the translation and the translator's fidelity to the "word," also entered the jargon of diplomatic translation as a way of rendering the translations more official. This influence was not limited to Spain, but it seems to have crossed (and perhaps recrossed?) the Mediterranean.

⁷⁹³ Other letters not copied into the *cartulario* can be found in various Spanish collections, including Simancas (AGS), the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), the British Library Altamira holdings (BL), the Bibliothèque de Genève Altamira holdings (BUG), and the collection of the archive of the Dukes of Alba, held in Palacio Liria (ADA-PL). I believe there are other letters held in the Arcadian Library in London but I have not yet been able to consult this collection. See Alistair Hamilton, *The Arcadian Library: Western Appreciation of Arab and Islamic Civilization*. London: The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2011.

non-sovereign was in some ways "secret" from the point of view of the recipient, and could only become valid when the appropriate "key" was waiting to unlock it.⁷⁹⁴ That key was the translator.

Both al-Manṣūr and Philip used codes and ciphers in political correspondence and there was a tremendous weight given to the idea of the "secret" in both chancelleries with respect to international correspondence (these are not state secrets, they are secrets held between states).

Translators had access to secret knowledge, and also embodied the means to unlock it. Alonso del Castillo constantly referred to the "secret" he preserved in performing his task as translator, while one of the top Moroccan chancellery officials was in fact, *kātib al-asrār*, or the scribe of secrets.⁷⁹⁵

C. The *Makḥẓan* of Ahmad al-Manṣūr: Precedents and Practices

Al-Manṣūr is credited for organizing the administrative bureaucracy of Morocco.⁷⁹⁶ He certainly consolidated administrative practices that would be perpetuated by his sons during their rules and taken up by the succeeding Alawites. As Mercedes García-Arenal has pointed out, the heritage of his personal rule as a peripatetic king can be seen even today in the rule of Muḥammad VI.⁷⁹⁷ Al-Manṣūr's practices were based on those of his brother 'Abd al-Malik, who instituted reforms based on his Ottoman experiences, in particular with regard to the army and king's guard.

Both of these early Sa'adien rulers, however, based the bulk of their institutions on those developed

⁷⁹⁴ Secrecy was a key component in the negotiations over Larache, which was the Atlantic port over which Philip was trying to negotiate for control. Al-Manṣūr of course did not want to cede control of one of his ports to the Spanish, but he did want them to think that he might, especially when the Ottomans seemed a more present threat. Whenever that threat disappeared, so does the promise of Larache. Al-Manṣūr became quite paranoid about these negotiations, which he didn't want the Ottomans or his own people to find out about. At one point in 1583, he received a letter from Diego Marin (senior) in Spanish and his response was to refuse to read it, because this would have meant asking someone he did not trust to serve as a translator. Instead, he held one of Marin's messengers hostage and sent the other one back with the original Spanish letters and instructions to keep them safe, and to send the same information back in Arabic. He refused release the hostage until he received the Arabic version. Cabanelas, "Diego Marin," 1972.

⁷⁹⁵ See Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari, *Rawdat al-'As*, Rabat: al-Maktabah al-Mamlikiyyah, 1983 (2nd edition), p. 112.

⁷⁹⁶ On the scholars who assisted and participated in the Sa'adian (Sharifian) bureaucracy, see Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa: Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XV^e au x^{XXe} siècle*. Paris: Émile Larose, 1922; and Mohammed Hajji, *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque sa'dide*, vol. 1, Rabat: Dar El Magreb, 1976.

⁷⁹⁷ She speaks of the practices of Hassan II, the father of Muhammad VI, who continues the practice of regular visits, ceremonies, and personal intervention throughout his kingdom. García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, p. 140.

in the two-hundred years of Marinid rule from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (incidentally, nearly coterminous with the Nasrids in Granada) which had used also by the intervening Wattasids.

Under the Marinids, a sophisticated information agency functioned with a spy network and hierarchized system of reporting that led directly to the Sultan. There was also an office of interpretation and translation connected with the court. These were specialized interpreters who worked on diplomatic and military missions, and not on commercial interactions.⁷⁹⁸

As in late medieval Castile and Aragon, discussed in chapter 1, for Marinid Morocco there is evidence of a regularly appointed official who could serve simultaneously as diplomatic representative and bilingual intermediary.⁷⁹⁹ In the sixteenth century there continued to be a necessity for such an official in times of war and peace, and most importantly at the juncture between the two during the negotiation and signing of treaties. In many ways the history of translation and translators in the Maghreb parallels that of Iberia. Likewise in the 1580s, this office of translator took on a new cast. Like Castile, where the office of Arabic interpreter was reformed in the 1580s based on the *morisco* (and other) experiences (in peace and war), in the 1580s in Morocco the office of interpreter underwent reform to become a regular and more fully staffed professional hierarchy.

The primary eyewitness to al-Manṣūr's *makhzan* was Abd al-'Azīz al-Fishtālī, who began working for al-Manṣūr as his historiographer, with the additional title of *wazīr al-qalam* (chief minister of the pen), in 1585. The historian al-Maqqarī refers to al-Fishtālī also as *ṣāhib al-turjama*

⁷⁹⁸ Ahmed Khaneboubi, *Les institutions gouvernementales sous les Mérinides (1258-1465)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008, pp. 367-371. Although it does not appear that Khaneboubi and Feria and Arias, the authors of the conceptualization of *traducción febaciente* discussed in chapter 3, know one another's work, there are very interesting parallels between them. Feria and Arias published their article in 2005, though Ferial already had synthesized some of the principle ideas in his PhD dissertation in 2001. Khaneboubi, who's book was published in 2008, gives a definition of the Marinid *drogman* that is highly complimentary to the early conceptualization by the Spanish authors: "Le drogman est un diplomate qui sert d'intermédiaire dans les transactions entre chrétiens et musulmans. C'est un interprète assermenté à l'instar d'un témoin instrumentaire. C'est pourquoi, sa traduction que est un témoignage sûr, comme celui du 'adl, est digne de foi."

⁷⁹⁹ Much of the evidence for their activities comes from the documents preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon. Dufourq, *Espagne catalane*, Paris 1966 (cited in Khaneboubi); Alarcón Santón; *Perfume de la Amistad*, Fancy 2013.

(literally, master of translation), although this probably refers to al-Fishtālī's position as royal historiographer, that is, the curator of representing al-Manṣūr's image and reign in writing since *turjama* can also mean something like biography. As *kātib al-asrār* (scribe of secrets) and *waṣīr al-qalam* he was also probably *ṣāhib al-mutarjimīn*.

As *kātib al-asrār*, however, al-Fishtālī was in a unique position to mediate the reception of texts. Like many early modern monarchs, al-Manṣūr used a system of ciphers to keep some information private. Al-Fishtālī was the translator of these ciphers, and held the only key.⁸⁰⁰ Whether he also translated across languages, translators used the code as well. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, translator to al-Manṣūr and his son, also used a system of ciphers. Although scholars have not been able to identify al-Manṣūr's particular code, it may be that al-Ḥajarī learned his code or was inspired by the practices he observed in the *makhzan* after his arrival in 1599.⁸⁰¹

Another reason for the shift in multilingual practices in the Moroccan chancellery in the 1580s was the massive influx of Portuguese and Spanish speaking captives after the Battle of Alcazarquivir. Thousands of captives were held after the battle, and although some were ransomed, many continued to live in the Sa'adian capital of Marrakesh and were integrated in various capacities into the Sultan's service and administration. Many of al-Manṣūr's personal guard were non-Moroccan *renegados*, along with other key officials.⁸⁰² The *makhzan* was housed in al-Manṣūr's palace, al-Badī, whose construction was concluded in 1594.⁸⁰³ This palace in Marrakesh, modeled in some aspects on Philip II's El Escorial, also housed an important royal place of worship, and a royal

⁸⁰⁰ al-Fishtālī, *Manāhil al-Ṣafā*, pp. 207-208.

⁸⁰¹ Nabile Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Ahmad al-Mansur*, Paris: PUF, 2009, pp. 224-229.

⁸⁰² Outsiders to Moroccan society, namely Christian renegades, *morsicos*, and Jews, were used in the Sultan's administration across a variety of positions, from fiscal management to the military. Mercedes García-Arenal argues that these three marginalized groups were particularly desirable for these positions *because* they were outsiders, and that "dynasty officials were not meant to represent society." García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, p. 59. See also Saldanha.

⁸⁰³ H. Gaillard, "Le Makhzen," *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* (1909): 438-470; Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire d'Ahmad al-Mansur: Pouvoir et diplomaties au Maroc au XVI^e siècle*. Mouline seems to rely on the short chapter on administration (*al-nihāyya al-idariyya*) in Abd al-Azīz al-Fishtālī's *Maānihil al-Ṣafā*, Rabat, 1984, pp. 197-209 in which al-Manṣūr's daily routines are described.

crypt.⁸⁰⁴ Al-Manṣūr did not model his administration on that of Philip II, but nonetheless the routes of exchange made possible the circulation of information and practices, in both directions, allowed for mutual emulation.

D. Arabic Routes and Roots: Between Spain, Morocco, the Low Countries in the Early Seventeenth Century, From Henin to al-Ḥajarī

The precedents that were established during the reigns of Philip II (d. 1598) and al-Manṣūr (d. 1603) paved the way for a subsequent generation of intermediaries who circulated not only between Spain and Morocco, but throughout Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Two multilingual intermediaries who embodied the new routes of diplomacy, commerce, and scholarship are don Jorge de Henin and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. These men, who probably never overlapped despite their decidedly parallel trajectories through Europe and the Mediterranean, incarnate the possibilities for the professional intermediary in the first decades of the seventeenth century.

i. Jorge Henin: Language, Experience, and the Reason of State

Don Jorge de Henin, was a Flemish intermediary and self-proclaimed "*hombre de estado*" who lived and worked in Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and Morocco at the very end of the sixteenth and first third of the seventeenth century. He lived and worked against the backdrop of the Eighty Years War between Spain and the Low Countries, the beginning of the European-wide Thirty Years War, and the Civil War between al-Manṣūr's sons in Morocco. At this same time, European

⁸⁰⁴ Both al-Manṣūr and his contemporary Philip II undertook major building projects in which they invested their hopes for the preservation of their respective dynasties. In Philip's case this was, of course, the grand palace-monastery at El Escorial, just outside Madrid, which was constructed between 1563 and 1584. When al-Manṣūr came to the throne in 1578, he was well aware of Philip's project, and sought out as much information as possible about the palace plans. Antonio de Saldanha, the Portuguese captive whose extensive chronicle provides a lot of information about the activities of translators and ambassadors in the Moroccan court, described al-Manṣūr's fascination with El Escorial as one of the "*obras heróicas*" on which he wanted to model his own architecture of power. Saldanha, *Cronica de Almançor*.

merchants battled for trade supremacy in the Atlantic from factories in Morocco, and brought with them the antagonisms cultivated in the European conflicts, so that victories and losses in Europe were celebrated or reenacted by merchants and other travelers living abroad. Henin witnessed and participated in many of these activities as they played out in Morocco, living through and sometimes making a profit from the bloody mix of economic, mercantile, religious, and military rivalries.

Henin was born in Spanish Flanders and thus, as he later claimed repeatedly, a lifelong vassal of the Habsburgs, though also one with a unique perspective on Spain's most rebellious subjects in the United Provinces.⁸⁰⁵ We know nothing of his early life until he set out from Flanders in 1597 and traveled to Istanbul, where he worked for four years as a captive redeemer from 1599 to 1603.⁸⁰⁶ That year, for unknown reasons, he set out for Morocco. There he spent nearly a decade working, ultimately becoming part of the Moroccan royal administration.⁸⁰⁷ Henin was in Morocco between 1603 and 1612, coinciding nearly exactly with the period of civil war between the sons of al-Manṣūr, the powerful contemporary of Philip II and Elizabeth who had come to the throne after the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578. Al-Manṣūr's reign had been one of relative stability, but his unexpected death by the plague in 1603 left the matter of succession unresolved. Henin arrived that same year and went to work as a captive redeemer, the same profession he had pursued in Istanbul since 1599. He found himself in tremendous debt, and to redeem his own financial burdens he entered the service of Abū Fāris, one of the claimants to his father's throne. Abū Fāris was finally defeated by his brother Zaydān, and died in 1608. Zaydān was the only brother left standing, though his rule was still contested by other relatives and from other pretenders from outside the dynasty.

⁸⁰⁵ There is a town called Henin, now in France, which had at the time close ties to Spain. Henin may indeed have been from this town, though there is no current proof. *Descripción*, 17.

⁸⁰⁶ Henin, *Descripción*, p. 196

⁸⁰⁷ Abdelouahed Akmir, "Estado, economía y sociedad en Marruecos del Siglo XVII, según el manuscrito de Jorge de Henin," in *El siglo XVII hispanomorroquí*, Mohammed Salhi (coord.), Rabat: Universidad Mohammad V, 1997, pp. 149-158, p. 150.

This period of civil war would have been complicated enough to navigate, but by the early seventeenth century there were many other players on the scene. During al-Manṣūr's 25-year reign, he had cultivated trade and diplomatic relationships with several European powers, and never ceased to entertain overtures of alliance from the Ottomans. This meant that when Henin arrived in 1603, and until his departure in 1612, he was one of many European agents who represented competing European powers whose own dynastic and diplomatic quarrels were played out on the Moroccan stage. While in the court of Zaydān, Henin entered into a network of informants and informers, who fulfilled their duties in the administration, but who also cultivated informal relationships with foreign agents for their own gain. Al-Kattani was still active when Henin arrived in Abū Fāris's court, and both were recruited into the service and network of the Dutch agents in Morocco. Henin's linguistic abilities and heritage would have made him an invaluable contact, although in his 1614 account he did his best to portray his activities in Morocco as uniformly pro-Spanish and anti-Dutch.⁸⁰⁸ In fact, in July of 1609, Henin, along with several other European agents present in Marrakesh signed in testimony of Coy's good behavior during his stay. The names are a mixture of Spanish, Dutch, French, and English, and as such the document was drafted in the lingua franca, Spanish, from which it was later translated in Amsterdam.⁸⁰⁹ In the *Descripción* that he submitted to Philip III, Henin's descriptions of the Dutch agents (he focuses on Martin Rysbergen, the captain who arrived in 1610 after Coy's departure) are unfavorable, but the Dutch archives tell a different story. Not only did Henin sign his name to Coy's letter of reference, but he also negotiated Coy's departure directly with Zaydān. On August 5, 1609, Coy paid Henin for his intercession, noting that

⁸⁰⁸ Henin, *Descripción del reino de marruecos*.

⁸⁰⁹ This was a document that Coy had caused to be written with the express purpose of submitting it to his home government for reimbursement of expenses. For that reason, more than a character reference, the testimony talks about Coy's spending of his own funds to further the Dutch agenda. *SIHM, Pays-Bas*, I, pp. 346-350. It is worth noticing in this document that the procedures of translation and testimony are much the same in the legal and administrative setting of the Hague, where the notary's translation work was compared with the original by other officials, who testified to the accuracy of the translation. These officials were not only competent in the languages needed, but were for the most parts commercial agents who had spent time in Morocco where, we may presume, the practiced Spanish and had an occasion to observe or hear about Coy's activities.

Henin was someone who saw the king very frequently. It is a happy coincidence for the historian that Henin's entry in Coy's account books comes directly after payments made to al-Kattani and "the secretary and scribe of the king," most likely al-Fishtālī.⁸¹⁰ Those payments were made on July 30, and are not direct evidence of collaboration between Henin, al-Fishtālī, and al-Kattani. Nevertheless, the proximity of dates and services indicates that their paths probably crossed, and their involvement with the Dutch ambassador that they may have even collaborated.

In 1612, as Zaydān was ousted, Henin was taken captive and deprived of his treasure.⁸¹¹ He managed to escape to Spain, where he set about trying to make himself an indispensable advisor to the Habsburgs.⁸¹² For two years he wrote and submitted reports to different councils, none of which ever made it to the king. Finally, in 1614, he wrote an extensive account of his experiences in Morocco, directed to Philip III, and demonstrating his expertise in the history and politics of the region. This was the *Descripción de los Reinos de Marruecos (1603-1613)*, held in the national library of Spain.⁸¹³ The report, as much as it was a handbook on Moroccan politics, society, and economy, was also a petition for employment. As such, Henin had to establish his credentials and expertise, and the strategies he used for this shed light not only on his experience as a foreign agent and translator in the Moroccan court, but the way in which this experience was received in the Habsburg court. Henin's report is 350 folio pages long, and in these pages he covered in detail the recent civil war in Morocco, as well as the social and economic background of those political and military activities.

⁸¹⁰ *SIHM, Pays-Bas*, I, p. 644

⁸¹¹ Abdelouahed Akmir, "Estado, economía y sociedad en Marruecos del Siglo XVII, según el manuscrito de Jorge de Henin," in *El siglo XVII hispanomorroquí*, Mohammed Salhi (coord.), Rabat: Universidad Mohammad V, 1997, pp. 149-158, p. 150.

⁸¹² According to Akmir, during the course of this civil war many of the *renegados* who had managed to establish themselves in privileged positions over the previous decades lost their status and many began to make their way back home. Akmir, "Estado, economía y sociedad," p. 154. During the civil war, during which time waves of the plague also afflicted the country, many of the European agents and factors, worried by the instability, also began to leave Morocco. See p. 156.

⁸¹³ The manuscript itself has had an international trajectory, held by a British baronet, and then purchased by Pascual de Gayangos, who ultimately willed it to the BNE along with much of his Madrid collection. Pérez de Cuzmán, "Introducción," *Descripción de los reinos*, pp. 25-26.

Along the way he recounts much of his own experience, in particular his observations of the agents and ambassadors from France and the United Provinces. He insisted throughout the work on his status as a subject (*sujeto*) and vassal (*vasallo*) of the Habsburg king, as indeed his probably origin in the Spanish-controlled Netherlands would have made him. He presented his autobiography, including his experiences in Istanbul and Morocco, as part of an intentional professional formation with the constant goal to serve Philip III, leaving out any possible personal ambition or motivation in his Mediterranean journey. As he describes himself toward the end of the report:

I am well born and well intentioned and very eager to serve my King. For this God has given me a special aptitude as well as the opportunity. I have found myself in the courts of Christian princes, as well as many Muslim princes. I know many languages and I have held honorable positions in the service of [those] princes. Even the Muslim princes were impressed with me and my service. However, as I am well aware of the obligation of a vassal to his lord, I have disregarded the offers of those princes and I have now come to offer to my lord King the fruit of my work and experience, acquired during many long years of traveling.⁸¹⁴

To support his future project of becoming the king's advisor, Henin invoked the past. After complaining about being made to wait for two years, he invoked the frustrated Christopher Columbus who struggled to convince the Catholic Kings of the merits of his proposal, which would ultimately prove so fortuitous for the Spanish Habsburgs. Unlike Columbus, Henin insists, his scheme is hardly a risk. Rather, he proposes the conquest of a known territory (*un Reino conocido*), one which the kings of Spain practically overlook (*a la vista de España*).⁸¹⁵ What's more, the key to that conquest, which lay in understanding the politics, economy, and society of the territory, was literally

⁸¹⁴ "Yo, señor, soy bien nacido y de buenos pensamientos, y muy deseoso de servir a mi Rey y señor, para lo cual me ha dado Dios habilidad. Y se ha ofrecido la ocasión. Me he hallado en las cortes de los príncipes cristianos y demuchos mahometanos, sé muchos lenguajes y he tenido cargo honroso en servicio de príncipes; y hasta los Reyes mahometanos hicieron caso de mi persona y se contentaron de mis servicios. Pero considerando la obligación que un vasallo tiene a su señor, he menospreciado los buenos partidos que dichos príncipes me hacían; y ahora que he venido a ofrecer a mi Rey y señor el fruto de mis trabajos y experiencia que en tan largos años de peregrinación adquerí...." Henin, *Descripción de los reinos*, p. 165 [ff. 273-274].

⁸¹⁵ Like Portugal, Spain had an ambivalent relationship with Morocco characterized by "vicinal familiarity" (Barletta) and suspicion.

in Henin's hands, in the text which he offered to Philip.⁸¹⁶ Several folios later, Henin warned that the North African *alarbes* were not to be underestimated, as they had done a good enough job with the help of don Julian, vassal to Roderic, the visigoth ruler who lost the Iberian Peninsula to the Arab and Berber invasion of 711. According to Henin, Julian offered his knowledge of Christian Hispania to the Muslims, and helped them lead a small expeditionary raid which ultimately resulted in the conquest. Using this image as his warning to the king to heed his expertise, Henin offered to do much the same but for Philip III. He asked for six ships and a thousand men to do an eight-day reconnaissance in which he would use his contacts and relationships with the local tribesmen and their leaders (*alarbes y sus jeques*) to win them over to Philip's cause before the main invasion.⁸¹⁷ He did his best to convince the king of the value of his linguistic skills and interpersonal experiences to a future military campaign, characteristics that Philip already knew to be valuable assets in his Oranese interpreters (see chapter 3).

There were two main components of Henin's expertise: language skill and experience. These could be of service to Philip's Mediterranean policies, and could even benefit Prince Philip (the future Philip IV). His argument was that his experience and linguistic capabilities made him uniquely qualified to be a princely tutor. He justified the proposition in the following manner:

"It seems to me that I might provide his Highness (*Su Alteza*) with some activities in his leisure time, since in addition to knowing Spanish, Italian, French, German, Flemish, English, and Arabic, I could also inform his Highness about the many foreign kingdoms where I have been and in each of which I have studied their mode of government, military organization and tactics [...]."

He went on to advertise his experience in military and civil architecture, gained firsthand, that is, by sight, and his ability to build models for Prince Philip to study and learn from. He could also tutor the Prince in horsemanship and jousting, and chemistry, and other subjects to numerous to mention.

⁸¹⁶ "Pero, señor, yo propongo la conquista de un Reino conocido y a la vista de España, cuyo gobierno ha estado en mis manos." Henin, *Descripción de los reinos*, p. 165 [f. 274].

⁸¹⁷ Henin, *Descripción de los reinos*, pp. 189-190 [ff. 327-328].

The underlying message of this first *memorial*, and, indeed, all subsequent writings was summed up in the title of his second to last chapter: *Los Reyes suelen hacer caso de hombres de experiencia*. "Kings are wont to listen to men of experience."⁸¹⁸ Throughout his career, Henin insisted on the importance of experts and expertise (for which the closest contemporaneous term is *experiencia*), in particular those who had *experiencia de vista*. Though the nominal requirements for officials and especially official intermediaries to be wise and battle tested is not new--requirements like this can be found even in the *Siete Partidas*--Henin's particular depiction of expertise and its relationship to senses like sight and hearing, was part of a novel set of representations of expertise as senses that could be controlled by the state or sovereign power. Experts became the eyes, ears, and even tongues of the sovereign they served.

Henin's own confidence in his valuable status as expert does not seem to have been reciprocated. Henin did not win either appointment, as councilor or tutor, and was banished from the court to a low-paying position with the Armada. He spent the next 15 years traveling all over Europe, following the Habsburg court, and trying to write his way to a better position. Despite Henin's enthusiasm and expertise, and his gradual integration within the networks of influence in the palace, his 1614 report went unnoticed, both by Philip and by generations of historians until its serendipitous rediscovery in the 1990s.⁸¹⁹

He continued to use his skill as a writer (and his ever-improving Castilian) to look for a place in the Habsburg administration. In 1616 he wrote the *Discurso sobre la monarquía española*, encouraging Philip III to create private companies like those of the English and Dutch. In particular he

⁸¹⁸ "Y si Vuestra Majestad me empleara en negocios graves, echará de ver que soy idóneo para gobernarne en ellas. Los reyes suelen recoger a sí a las personas que tienen experiencia del mundo y de sus motivos. Si Vuestra Majestad fuera servido [en] ampararme, aunque me ponga de mozo de su caballeriza, me tendré por más dichoso que no ir a buscar Reyes o Príncipes extraños a quien servir, por mucho beneficio que me pudieran hacer, como me han hecho en ocasiones en muchas partes del mundo."

⁸¹⁹ The manuscript, BNE MS 17645, as been edited and published by Torcuato Pérez de Cuzmán, *Descripción de los reinos de Marruecos: (1603-1613), Memorial de Jorge de Henin*, Rabat: Universidad Mohamed V, 1997. The edition was published with an Arabic translation of the text by Abdelouahed Agmir.

advocated one company focused on Baltic trade, and one focused on Atlantic trade.⁸²⁰ This report was published in 1620, and was one of the first of a growing body of reports and recommendations that looked at Dutch and English models as possible remedies for the economic decline of the Hispanic monarchy. After the death of Philip III in 1621 and his son's rise to the throne, other writers, including merchants and noble advisors, began to weigh in and advocate the creation of merchant companies for trade with the Americas.⁸²¹ Henin was, however, one of the very first to propose merchant companies of this kind, based on his contacts with English and Dutch factors in Morocco. Campomanes would discuss Henin's recommendations in his own *Reflexiones sobre el comercio español a Indias* (1762).

The result of these reports and advice was a diplomatic career. In 1621 he was sent to England to help negotiate Danish affairs.⁸²² In 1625 he was supposed to travel to Poland on behalf of Olivares's predecessor Zuñiga, although according to the 1628 report he was unable to make the journey. Nevertheless, in 1627 he wrote another manuscript concerning the necessary qualities of an ambassador to that kingdom.⁸²³ At about the same time he claims to have submitted a report to Zuñiga on Franco-Spanish affairs, and he may have corresponded with the minister regularly.⁸²⁴ In 1628 he composed another report on his home region, the *Descripción de los Países Baxos y otras consideraciones de estado según las presentes ocurrencias y conveniencias de la monarquía de España*, directed to none other than the Conde-Duque de Olivares.⁸²⁵ In the few extant texts which span his career in

⁸²⁰ Pere Moltas Ribalta, "La compañía como proyecto (siglos XVII-XVIII)," *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* 50 (2004), pp. 607-623, p. 609. In 1628, after much advocacy by certain Portuguese merchants, a Portuguese company for the *Indias Orientales* was created. P. 611.

⁸²¹ J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1986, pp.154-156. At the end of 1622 the *Junta de Comercio* was created, which received reports from experienced agents from a variety of backgrounds, including the exiled Englishman Sir Anthony Sherley (against whose brother Robert Henin had dedicated no less than two *memoriales*), the Portuguese councilor Mendo da Mota, and merchants like Manuel López Pereira, Francisco de Retama, and Duarte Gómez Solís. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*, pp. 144-145.

⁸²² Brants, p. 60.

⁸²³ From the Gayangos manuscripts in the BNE. Pérez de Cuzmán, "Introducción," p. 17. Brant, p. 61.

⁸²⁴ V. Brants, "La description des Pays-Bas de don Jorge de Henin (1628)," *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques et de la Class des Beaux-Arts* (1907), pp. 57-72.

⁸²⁵ This is held in the Royal Library of Belgium (KRB, MS 5167).

the service of the Spanish Habsburgs, he consolidated an idea of the *hombre de estado* based on ideas of the organization of government, princely obligation, and the virtue of expertise. His texts fall somewhere between the genres of *relación*, *arbitrio*, and a discussion of the reason of state. It is clear from Henin's writing that he was influenced by the *reason of state* debate and in particular Botero's *Ragion di Stato* which was concerned with understanding government function and reform and the heterogeneous *arbitrista* literature which focused on fiscal, economic, and demographic reform.⁸²⁶ Despite his shrill insistence in 1620 that he *not* be slandered with the name *arbitrista*, his texts are an intervention in both discourses.⁸²⁷

What was it exactly that Henin thought he could contribute to the Spanish state (and why)? Though Henin began his peripatetic career with at least a decade as a captive redeemer in Istanbul and Morocco, in the latter part of his life he meant to make his fortune in a different profession: as an *hombre de estado*. For Henin, this was a professional category, and he referred continually to "hombres de mi profesión." *Hombres de estado* were *hombres pláticos* and *práticos* employed in the service of the state (a version of the "fixer" referred to in chapter 1, who could also act as a translator, as did Henin).⁸²⁸ These men were masters of information, and their job was to translate that information from their own experience, networks of informants, and study, into useable material for their ruler.

Henin's idea of the *experto* was based on two kinds of experience: the experience of study and the sensory experience of sight, *de vista*. His understanding of expertise, as *experiencia de vista* (of an

⁸²⁶ Juan Gutiérrez Nieto, "El pensamiento económico, político y social de los arbitristas," en *El siglo del Quijote (1580-1680): Religión, filosofía, ciencia*, Historia de España Menéndez Pidal Vol. XXVI (1), Espasa Calpe, Madrid, 1986, pp. 235-354.

⁸²⁷ Lastly, once in the service of the Habsburg kings after 1612, Jorge de Henin began to contribute to the literature of reform of the *arbitristas*. This is nowhere more clear than in his 1620 *memorial* to Philip III, in which he pleaded anxiously for the king to prevent him from being slandered with the name of *arbitrista*: "Suplica a V.M. no permita que yo sea infamado con el nombre de aruitrista, pues no leuanto poluareda de quimeras, sino nuestro medios Reales, prudentes, justos, y suaues, y [...] mis razones con las leyes diuinas, y humanas, y acontan con las de toda policia, y gouierno recto."

⁸²⁸ Henin 1620, ff. 3r-4v. On "fixers," see Zrinka Stahuljak, "Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography," in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, eds. Bob Mills and Emma Campbell, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012, 147-163.

hombre plático y práctico) and *experiencia de estudiar*, were echoed in the models and representation of experts and other agents charged with managing information in the service of the state.

One contemporaneous Moroccan depiction of *experiencia de vista* is that written in a history of al-Manṣūr's reign by 'Abd al-Azīz al-Fishtālī, the chief secretary and historiographer of al-Manṣūr, a man who Henin may very well have met and worked with.⁸²⁹ Al-Fishtālī's description of the network of information agents that al-Manṣūr relied on was a literal model of translating expertise. Al-Manṣūr's expert agents, *aṣḥāb al-akhbār*, operated in a network and in a hierarchy.⁸³⁰ Among those informants, only the brightest, the experts, were charged with *translating information* back to the sharifian court:

"And as for being informed about the news of distant places and far-off regions and learning of the intelligence about those kings who were against him (al-Manṣūr) and their allies, information experts (*aṣḥāb al-akhbār*) sent information from countries near and far, and the sharpest eyes traveled to all parts of (al-Manṣūr's) kingdoms, from his house to the farthest reaches of the Maghreb, including the Western Sudan [...] and he had his most industrious men posted on every watchtower and at every mountain pass [...] and the brightest of them were charged with translating what was happening in terms of news and stories, and to make the rounds of informants (lit. tongues). He (al-Manṣūr) had every kind of sleepless eye and attentive ear in an organized vanguard of informants, and for that reason news always reached him early [...] (al-Fishtālī, *Manābil al-Safā*, p. 207)"⁸³¹

⁸²⁹ *Descripción de los reinos*, p. 46; p. 52, Azus seems to be in Bufaris's employ, and is sent on his behalf to negotiate with Zidan; p. 61, casa de Azus; Azus has son, Said; p. 137-138. An alcaide "Sidi Mahamete ben Ali Fistali, alcaide de Muley Hamete," on p. 141--this is probably al-Fishtālī's son. Though al-Manṣūr died in 1603, al-Fishtālī lived nearly another two decades, and continued working in the administrations of al-Manṣūr's warring sons. We may even be able to identify him with the figure of the minister *Azūs* in Henin's text. According to Henin, *Azūs* was the highest of al-Manṣūr's ministers, and the name could possibly be a mistranscription of 'Abd al-Aziz. Both *Azūs* and Henin were originally in the service of Abū Fāris and then later Zaydān, so doubtless saw much of each other. Regardless of whether or not we can definitively identify *Azūs* with Abd al-Azīz al-Fishtālī, reading al-Fishtālī on the management and organization of al-Manṣūr's chancellery sheds light on bureaucratic and princely practices and ideals that Henin might have observed, since both Abū Fāris and Zaydān were trained in their father's makhzan.

⁸³⁰ Henin was also likely exposed to the Saadien system of managing information. According to al-Fishtālī, al-Manṣūr had a wide network of informers (*aṣḥāb al-akhbār*) whose timely reports ensured that the king was always the first to receive new information--sometimes days or even months before anyone else. It was not enough, however, to have this information. Al-Manṣūr, and al-Fishtālī as his chief secretary (*waṣīr al-qalam*), were highly preoccupied with how to maintain that information as the private property of the sultan. Al-Fishtālī, who al-Maqqarī described as *kātib al-asrār* a generation later, described the system of ciphers used in the chancellery, whose key was held by al-Fishtālī himself in order to make the translations from coded documents.

و اما معرفة اخبار الافاق الشاسعة واقطار التعبده و الاعطلاخ على انباء الملوك اضداده واوليائه وبت اصحاب الاخبار في البلاد دانيها وقاصيها اذكاء العيون في سائر جهات ممالكه من داره الى اقصى المغرب بل و الى قاصية السودان [...] فله (المنصور الذهبي) من رجاله المصطنعين على كل مراقبة رصد و على ثنية نقيب [...] اذكاها موكلين بنقل ما يحدث من خبر او قصة او يدور على الالسنه و له كل صنف عين كالنه و اذن واعية و طلائع مرتبة فكانت الاخبار لذلك تسبق اليه [...] (الفشتالي، مناهل الصفا، ص. ٢٠٧)

This model of a network of informants posted far and wide, whose observations and interviews were collected by the expert who reported them back to the sovereign in a privileged dispatch was exactly the same model that Henin himself adhered to in his work for the Habsburg kings. Henin had collected a network of "honrables correspondances" who he paid to keep him supplied early with information, which he used to create his own reports. *Experiencia de vista* for Henin meant his own sight, and the carefully controlled network of eyes and ears, modeled on other state informant networks he had seen or participated in in Morocco.

Henin was also influenced by European models of information in the service of the state, in particular the idea of Reason of State. Reading Henin's 1620 text in conjunction with Botero makes it clear that he was influenced by the Italian's ideas, whether or not he read *Ragione di Stato* or received the ideas in other readings and discussions. Even more similar to Henin's idea of how information should be integrated into the reason of state is on display in the 1613 version of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (originally published without engravings in 1593):⁸³²

"Ragione di Stato: A warlike Woman, arm'd with a Helmet, and Cimitar; a green Petticoat sprinkled with eyes; a staff in her left Hand, laying her right hand upon a lion's head. Arm'd to shew that he who acts by politick reasons, looks upon all others as indifferents. The Petticoat with Eyes and Ears, represents Jealousie, that would hear and see everything for its own ends. The Staff denotes Command. Leaning upon the Lion, shews that Grandees seek to bring us all under their *Reason of State*. A book at her feet, her motto JUS."⁸³³

Ripa's description of *ragione di stato* highlights the importance of sensory information, in the eyes and ears that make up the very garments of the Athena-like figure. The equation of the use of the senses and the service to a state power, which was certainly not new in practice, received a new image in this depiction of the reason of state. Ripa's even more famous emblem of the Spy, takes on new significance when combined with the Reason of State:

⁸³² Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Siena: Florimi, 1613.

⁸³³ English translation from the London Tempest edition of 1709.

"A man in a noble habit, hides most of his face with his hat; his Cloak woven with eyes, Ears, and tongues: a Lantern in one hand; his feet winged; a Spanial by him on the ground; his nose in full scent after his game. His Clothes shew that he practices amongst noblemen, as well as Vulgar; his face, that he ought to pass incognito, never discovering their designs. The eyes, etc., are the instruments they use to please their patrons. The lantern, that they spy night and day. The dog, smelling out Men's action, and their inquisitiveness."

Additionally, in the 1613 engraving (though not in all subsequent editions), the Spy is flanked by the figures of Athena and Mercury. The Spy is clearly meant to be associated with the messenger god, as both have winged feet. The position of Athena is less obvious, unless the image is read with the Reason of State engraving. That figure shares Athena's stance, helmet, and staff, and her lion is in an analogous position to the Spy's dog. Henin doesn't think much of spies in his texts, nonetheless this particular image of the spy could easily be an *hombre plástico de estado* on Henin's model, one in particular service of the same *reason of state*.

Reason of state discourse, as well as images, relied not only on classical imagery but also contemporary political references. Botero, for example, like Henin, in the 1589 book that really intensified this debate, *Ragion di Stato*, vaunted the supposed meritocracy of the Ottoman *devshirme* system to show that recruiting talent was effective statecraft.⁸³⁴ In fact, Henin also argued, expertise from unexpected areas (in his case, Flanders) could increase the virtue of the state. While he admitted that most of the virtue would be found in the noble classes, experts demonstrated their virtue *by virtue* of their expertise, and so increased the virtue of the state and, by their work and wisdom, the public good.⁸³⁵ For this work, according to Henin, these experts deserved to be paid,

⁸³⁴ Giovanni Botero synthesized rather than invented some of the major ideas behind the concept *ragione di stato*, but nevertheless it is his work that is most prominently echoed in the writings of the Mediterranean multilingual intermediaries in Spain. Botero, *The Reason of State*, translated by P.J. and D.P. Waley, New Haven: Yale UP, 1954. Spain's main critic but also disseminator of these ideas was the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneira, see *Tratado de la religion y virtudes que debe tener el príncipe cristiano para gobernar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolas Maquiavelo y los políticos deste tiempo enseñan* (1597).

⁸³⁵ See the epigraph to this chapter, p. 1. "Un consejo de Estado, para ser prefecto deve ser compuesto la mayor parte de hombres graves, porque quanto mayor es en estado y sangre, tanto mayor interessese les sigue en la conservacion del estado Real, pero una partecita de este Consejo ha de ser de hombres de mediano linage y edad, que la virtud les aya hecho dignos del cargo de Consejero, para que los tales expertos, en las materias mayores y menores, lleven la mayor parte del trabajo en las examinaciones y averiguaciones de los negocios (1620, f. 9v)"

and were certainly more deserving than the hangers on who contributed nothing but were sucking the state treasuries dry. Henin insisted that the king was *obligated* to pay experts both for their services and for their ennobled status.⁸³⁶ This insistence on mutual obligation may also have its source in Henin's experience in the Moroccan court, in which the princely obligation for services rendered manifested itself in 160,000 *ducados*.⁸³⁷

Ultimately Henin's European career could never match the monetary success or position of expert that he achieved in his Moroccan experience. He ended up finally in Brussels, blinded in one eye, bereft of all assets, without friends, and submitting repeated reports to Olivares concerning the conditions of the Low Countries and proposals for how to strengthen the Spanish position there, though none of these reports passed muster with the Conde-Duque. The tone in his 1628 report has a desperation and frustration that is a far cry from the enthusiasm of his 1614 report on Morocco where he offered to take charge of the education of the Crown Prince. The rhetoric of poverty and misused qualities is not uncommon in texts like Henin's, which were petitions for employment that was both need and merit based, so writers hedged their bets by presenting themselves as uniquely qualified and uniquely poor. We don't know if Henin suffered as much as he claimed, but I would argue that his declaration of his own loss of sight and the collapse of his network of informants in 1628 is a sign that he was truly close to giving up: without his own eyes and ears, how could he be an effective expert in the service of the king?

The ideal prince and the ideal councilor was a common topic in discourses about governance in the early modern period, most likely because of the growing number of officials who had reason

⁸³⁶ Henin 1620 ff. 44-45

⁸³⁷ The Sharifian/Sa'adian court under al-Manṣūr did not function on the same conciliar model as did the Habsburg government of Philips II-IV. Nonetheless, al-Manṣūr had ministerial councils from whom he received advice and information. As a king, modeled on the earlier Marinid example whose influence is still felt today, his style of rule was personal, and he had an obligation to be available to hear different groups on different days. This style of immediate rule, in which the monarch had an obligation to dispense justice and favors, is invoked in Henin's arguments to Philip III in 1620 that his princely obligation is to attend to his subjects, especially his experts-- both with attention and with pay.

and liberty enough to engage in either panegyric (like that of al-Fishtālī) or reform literature (like that of *arbitristas* like Henin) that imagined a perfect state. One reason that Ahmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī has such a golden reputation is the very fact that he burnished that reputation in the historiographies he commissioned from his councilors during his own lifetime and which were copied by subsequent generations of Moroccan historians.⁸³⁸ Similarly, one of the reasons that seventeenth-century Spanish decline has remained a powerful narrative is the amount of anxious reformist literature that was produced and remains extant. What bears more thinking about, especially with highly mobile examples like Henin who worked in various contexts with different models of the reason of state, is how the developing concept of the expert supported both laudatory and critical representations of rulers. Both celebrations of good governance and calls for reform needed experts to legitimate them. On the other hand, some scholars working on early modern expertise have posited that expertise needs legitimation, that is, an expert cannot exist by himself, without recognition of his expertise.⁸³⁹ In the case of the frustrated, blinded don Jorge de Henin, who could never make the right people *see* the value of his knowledge and council, despite his experience he was never able to adequately translate his experience into expertise that could be rendered into the status he sought.

ii. A *Morisco* expert in the Mediterranean

Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī is known in Moroccan historiography as al-Fuqqay and as Diego Bejarano in recent Spanish scholarship.⁸⁴⁰ European and American scholars normally refer to him as al-Ḥajarī, and I will do so here. Al-Ḥajarī has left a partial autobiography, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā-l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, which was edited and translated in the 1990s by Van Koningsveld, Wieggers, and al-

⁸³⁸ See Stephen Cory, *Chosen by God to Rule: The Caliphate and Political Legitimacy in Early Modern Morocco*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, UC Santa Barbara, 2002, and the recent *Reviving the Islamic Caliphate in Early Modern Morocco*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013.

⁸³⁹ Ash, "Early Modern Expertise," p. 9.

⁸⁴⁰ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 139.

Samarrai.⁸⁴¹ In addition to his autobiography, copies of several of al-Ḥajarī's translations from Spanish and Latin into Arabic are extant in the royal and national libraries of Morocco, the Khinzānah al-Mamlakiyyah and the Maktaba al-Waṭaniyyah.⁸⁴² Al-Ḥajarī was originally from Spain, and thus a native Arabic and Castilian speaker. Before he left Spain in 1599, al-Ḥajarī was in the ambivalent position of having special skills, and a forbidden knowledge. According to his own account, he learned spoken Arabic in his hometown of al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, where he also learned to read and write in Spanish. He also probably learned to read and write in Arabic in his hometown, using Islamic materials, but he refused to admit this to the archbishop, lying to him and saying that he had learned written Arabic in Madrid from a Valencian physician.⁸⁴³ As he told his readers, "the reading of Arabic [books] which had no connection with the Islamic religion was permitted to the inhabitants of Valencia, whereas this was forbidden to the other people of al-Andalus."⁸⁴⁴

Al-Ḥajarī talked about language constantly in his autobiography, presumably because the topic was not only of great interest to him but to his Tunisian and Egyptian audiences for whom he narrated his account in the 1630s.⁸⁴⁵ He happened to be traveling in Granada during the years after the discovery of the *plomos* (1588-1595), when translators were being called in to examine and verify the materials that had been discovered. The program of translation and analysis was being carried out by the archbishop of Granada, and as such was heavily controlled by the Catholic church. Al-Ḥajarī was loath to admit his ability to help, since "the Christians kill and burn everyone on whom

⁸⁴¹ Al-Ḥajarī, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Ala 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn = (The Supporter of Religion Against the Infidels) [c1641]*, Fuentes Arábico-hispanas 21, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997.

⁸⁴² KhH MS 2646 and MS 6772.

⁸⁴³ On learning Arabic in Madrid from a Valencian physician, see al-Ḥajarī, pp. 73-74. A newly discovered manuscript from the al-Azhar university in Cairo has an extra chapter about al-Ḥajarī's youth in which he claims to have been taught to read and write in his own village by his father's cousin. The new manuscript, as yet unpublished, is being studied by Wieggers and Van Koeningsveld, and is cited and described in García-Arenal and Mediano Rodríguez, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 139-140.

⁸⁴⁴ Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, pp. 73-4. As Wieggers and Van Koeningsveld comment, and as L.P. Harvey has shown, the prohibitions against Arabic use in Granada in the first two thirds of the sixteenth century do not seem to have applied to Valencia. See note 21 on p. 74 and L.P. Harvey, "Arabic Dialect in Valencia (1595)."

⁸⁴⁵ Wieggers, et al., *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 17

they find an Arabic book or about whom they know he reads Arabic."⁸⁴⁶ Once he had been convinced to help, other *moriscos* he encountered could not believe that the dangerous anti-Arabic ideologies had simply vanished, and his report of their fearful reaction sheds light on the tremendous anxiety about religious identity and language ideologies that made some crypto-Muslims fear for their lives.⁸⁴⁷ For these *moriscos*, as al-Ḥajarī depicted them, Arabic *was* Islamic, and not even the Christian content of the texts he is working with could save him from the anticipated punishment for knowing that language.⁸⁴⁸

The al-Ḥajarī text is divided into roughly three episodes, although much of his actual autobiography is missing from this summary and the longer version has not survived. These episodes are 1) his experience in Spain before emigrating to Morocco in 1599, told primarily around the narrative of his participation in reading and translating the *libros plomos* in Granada, 2) his long journey into France and the Netherlands, during which he recounts his encounters with European orientalist Hubert and Erpenius, as well as the reactions of ordinary individuals he meets along the way to his customs and language, and 3) his work translating Spanish and Latin texts North Africa. He recounts episodes of this North African experience sporadically throughout the text, with only one chapter dedicated to his arrival in Morocco. Throughout the thirteen chapters of the text, references to language are constant. He often notes what language he is speaking, reading, or listening in, and has many of his interlocutors--especially Europeans--state what languages they know and use.

⁸⁴⁶ Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 73.

⁸⁴⁷ Al-Ḥajarī describes the reaction of other *moriscos* who learn that he is openly translating Arabic and their fear that he will be seized by the Inquisitions. He explains, "Driven by their extreme fear, the Andalusians used to be afraid of each other [as well]. They only spoke about religious matters with someone who was "safe," i.e. someone who could be trusted completely." al-Ḥajarī, p. 81.

⁸⁴⁸ For one *morisco* tried by the Inquisition, who was part of al-Ḥajarī's circle of friends, Latin had been invented by the Christian church, "so that the reality--which is in Arabic, from the mouth of God--would not be known." Cited from the inquisition trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, a student of the exiled Moroccan Ibn Tuda, also a friend of al-Ḥajarī. See García-Arenal and Mediano Rodríguez, *The Orient in Spain*, p.141.

Al-Ḥajarī began to work as a secretary and translator for al-Manṣūr shortly after his arrival in Morocco in 1599.⁸⁴⁹ He was also employed by al-Manṣūr's sons and their descendants before his retirement in the 1630s, when he began to travel and compose his autobiographical account.⁸⁵⁰ Like Marin, al-Kattani, and probably Henin, al-Ḥajarī was employed by the Moroccan chancellery to translate correspondence between the Sa'adiens and Europeans.⁸⁵¹ Some evidence of this activity are extant, although his role as a diplomatic translator has not been analyzed to the same extent as his religious and scholarly translations.⁸⁵²

The single known extant translation, made on November 21, 1619, is decidedly *ad sensum* rather than *ad verbum*. Unlike al-Kattani's careful rendering of the Sharifian and Habsburg titles, al-Ḥajarī ignored entirely the normal chancellery Muslim formulae: "*sadara batha al-makṭūb al-'alā al-amāmī* [...]" *'an al-amr al-nabawī al-sharīf al-'alawī alathī thāṭ al-ta'a al-kaṛīma mamlakībi al-islāmiyya*" is rendered "*Por el mando supremo del rrey Muley Zeidan, subcesor de la casa prophetica mohemetana, a quien los subditos reales obedescen sus rreales mandamientos [...]*." The recipient, the Estates General, was in Arabic "*al-jamī'a aletī wukkīla tadbīr al-mamlaka al-flamankiyya*" became "*la congregación a la qual se encomienda el gobierno de los Provincias-Unidas de Flandes*."⁸⁵³ This is indeed the gist, but it is remarkably less precise than the work of other translators. Al-Ḥajarī's translation elides the full majesty of the royal letter that is being sent by Zaydān, ignoring all reference to the solemnity of the missive, and at the same time averts a potential gaffe by translating "*al-mamlaka al-flamankiyya*" (lit. the Flemish kingdom) as "*Provincias-Unidas de Flandes*" (lit. the United Provinces of Flanders). Al-Ḥajarī would have been able to intervene in the translation to make the title of the recipient government more appropriate. This

⁸⁴⁹ García-Arenal and Mediano Rodríguez, *The Orient in Spain*, p.142. I have not seen any actual primary source evidence for this and al-Ḥajarī himself does not mention working in this capacity in 1599. There are letters from a later period.

⁸⁵⁰ Wieggers, et al., *Kiṭāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 42.

⁸⁵¹ When al-Ḥajarī traveled to Amsterdam, his intermediary was Pieter Maertenszoon Coy, the same Dutch ambassador who had been stationed in Marrakesh between 1608 and 1611, and who had paid al-Kattani and Jorge Henin for their services rendered (see above).

⁸⁵² *SIHM Pays Bas* III 1620s

⁸⁵³ *SIHM PB* III, p. 105 (Arabic) and p. 107 (al-Ḥajarī's Spanish).

same flattery is written into the translators preface, "Ynterpretación de la carta rreal que el rrey Muley Zeidan, mi señor, que Dios solace, embia juntamente con esta a los poderosos Estados-Generales de los Pais-Baxo," literally that the text (acknowledged as royal) is a letter from al-Ḥajarī's master, to the *powerful* Estates General. Al-Ḥajarī wishes upon Zaydān the blessings of God, but he doesn't situate him highly in relation to his interlocutor. The entire translation is more flattering to the Estates than the original text, which is perfectly polite.

The content of the text is innocuous, introducing a French merchant working in the service of the Moroccan sultan, and informing the Estates General of a recent shipwreck near Safi, from which the Flemish survivors were being well cared for nearby. Ultimately, Zaydān wished to contract a new peace treaty, and for this reason al-Ḥajarī may have thought it prudent to expand the niceties. Unlike Castillo or al-Kattani, he made no pretensions to literal translation, noting only that the letter had been translated on the order of the king and by signing his name.

Whether or not he subscribed to the *ad verbum* theory of translation, his professional identity was important to him, and a source of status throughout his life. While traveling in France he informed one of his hosts:

"You should know that I am the interpreter of the Sultan of Marrakesh. He who occupies that post must study the sciences, as well as the books of the Muslims and Christians, in order to know what he is saying and translating in the court of the Sultan."⁸⁵⁴

As a professional translator, who found himself called on to make translations even while traveling, al-Ḥajarī also made notes of details like licenses, appointments, and salaries.⁸⁵⁵ Although al-Ḥajarī reflected little on his employment in the Sa'adien court in his autobiography, European reports

⁸⁵⁴ Wiegiers, Van Koningsveld, p. 133, English text; p. 74, Arabic text.

⁸⁵⁵ He specifies that one of the other translators in Granada, al-Ukayhil (Alonso del Castillo), had received a license to translate (*ḵāna turjuman bi-l-ijāza*), p. 16, Arabic text. The archbishop of Granada was so pleased with al-Ḥajarī's work that he also gave him written permission to continue, although not an official license as in the case of al-Ukayhil: "*wa aṭani thalath mī'a riyyalān wa aydān ḵitābān bi-l-ithbīn li-l-turjama min al-'arabi ʾila al-'ajamī wa bi-l-'aks*," p. 21, Arabic text. Wiegiers and Van Koningsveld translate both as "license," although it strikes me that al-Ḥajarī's paper had a much more limited mandate.

portray him as a well-regarded and connected court official in the 1620. Once he returned from his European travels, he reintegrated into the Moroccan chancellery and seems to have filled the special position as primary intermediary with European, particularly Dutch, visitors. As the king's secretary, he also helped to draft treaties in *Spanish* and their *Arabic* translations.⁸⁵⁶ His particular set of language skills and diplomatic experience in travel made him uniquely qualified for these activities.

For al-Ḥajarī, however, as he represented himself to a Muslim audience at the end of his life, language was fundamentally a religious identifier. Unlike Nuñez Muley, who drafted his petition in 1566 dismissing the links between language and religion right around the time that al-Ḥajarī was born, for the later *morisco* author, language *was* religion.⁸⁵⁷ Part of the difference between the two men's expressed language ideologies was, in fact, the very idea of what religion is. For Nuñez Muley, religion and especially Islam, was a fundamentally internal and solitary experience and practice. For al-Ḥajarī, religion was a community experience that depends on shared language, texts, and debate, and anxieties, as his representation of *morisco* fear in Granada made clear.

Nonetheless, al-Ḥajarī made friends across confessional lines, including some of the most notable early modern orientalists, like Jacob Golius, Etienne Hubert, and Thomas Erpenius, the latter two who also traveled to Morocco for a period. While in France in 1612 he even made a copy of Ibn Malik, a thirteenth-century Andalusian's grammarian's *Qasīda fi anbiyat al-af'al*, which included a story about Jesus discussing the Arabic alphabet as a young man. Al-Ḥajarī added his own notes about Arabic use in Jesus's time.⁸⁵⁸ Al-Ḥajarī was also one of the few authors to leave an account of his language learning experiences, first Arabic and later, French. His account of learning to write

⁸⁵⁶ The journal of Albert Ruyl in 1623, mentions calls al-Ḥajarī the secretary of the king, who helped to draft and translated a new commercial and peace treaty (p. 423 and p. 430), pp. 396-435. In this incident, the Pallaches appear to have lost much of their credibility with both the Dutch agents and the Moroccan ruler.

⁸⁵⁷ See chapter 4, above, and Muley, Francisco Nuñez Muley (Trans. Vincent Barletta), *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, University of Chicago Press, 2007.

⁸⁵⁸ J.R. Jones was the first to analyze this manuscript in his 1988 dissertation, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe*. Both Wieggers and Van Koeningsveld and García-Arenal and Mediano Rodríguez refer to this manuscript as well. Wieggers, et al., *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 36 and García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 143.

Arabic in one day was probably inflated, although he does seem to have had a gift for languages. He also discusses what he did as a language teacher with Hubert and Erpinus.

Al-Ḥajarī was an expert in many fields: linguistic, religion (though he would have ceded to a religious scholar), diplomatic, expertises which allowed him to have a long and productive career among many communities throughout the Mediterranean and Europe. Much of the value of al-Ḥajarī's text comes from his eyewitness experiences. Since it was nearly impossible for Muslims to travel freely in Europe, al-Ḥajarī's *riḥla* (travel account) is supposed to have been commissioned by curious scholars in Cairo and Tunis.⁸⁵⁹ In addition to bringing his experiences before the eyes of his readers or the ears of those who might listen to the text, al-Ḥajarī also incorporated the translation of a Spanish text that he made for Zaydān. This text (incidentally, translated into Dutch in 1609) was no random example of his skills and services, but in fact a copy of the 1609 edict of expulsion of the *moriscos* from Valencia.⁸⁶⁰ This translation was given with an explanation of the situation of the *moriscos*, and is addressed to the second person, indicating that this translation was included as a response to a particular request for information. The original explanation was, al-Ḥajarī reported, given to the Prince of Orange, but he also included it for the benefit of his Muslim, Arabic speaking audience.⁸⁶¹

The Atlantic Mediterranean Expands: *Experiencias Marruecas* and Early Modern Expertise

Common to the profiles which made up the expertise of many of these intermediaries was experience with Spain, Morocco, and the Low Countries (Flanders or the United Provinces).⁸⁶² Even Alonso del Castillo is said to have studied fuṣḥa to compliment his native Granadan with the

⁸⁵⁹ Wieggers, et al., "General Introduction," *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 51.

⁸⁶⁰ Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 206.

⁸⁶¹ Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, pp. 204-210.

⁸⁶² A recent collected volume with a plethora of vital case studies connected to such figures is *Les musulmanes dans l'histoire de l'Europe. II. Passages et contacts en Méditerranée*, Jocelyne Dakhlia and Wolfgang Kaiser (eds), Paris: Albin Michel, 2013, especially the contributions of Mercedes García-Arenal, Natividad Planas, Guillaume Calafat, and Daniel Hershenzon.

Flemish Nicolas Clenardus, who stopped in Granada on his way to Morocco in the 1530s.⁸⁶³ As we consider the history of the Western Mediterranean at the turn of the seventeenth century, scholarship on figures like Henin, the Pallaches, and al-Ḥajarī is making it increasingly clear that there was a logic of unity between Europe and the Mediterranean, and not only Iberia and the Maghreb. Through these intermediaries, rivalries or alliances between European dynasties were played out in the theater of the Moroccan court, while Moroccan or Ottoman experience and connections were used in Europe.

From the 1580s onward Morocco served as a kind of staging ground for the tensions and competition that was being acted out in bloody detail across Europe during the wars of religion and in the battle for global mercantile supremacy. Morocco was hardly the mere setting for these tensions, but in fact an active participant and a viable (especially in the eyes of al-Manṣūr) competitor.⁸⁶⁴ The 1580s saw the rise of an "Atlantic Mediterranean," and this was a world in which the most important languages of commerce and diplomacy, for all the international actors, were Spanish and Arabic. Those local agents who were best placed to foster and take advantage of this linguistic landscape, however, had gained most of their experiences in a Mediterranean dominated by Ottoman-Habsburg tensions and the management of the *morisco* populations—inside and outside of Spain. Thus, although the scene after the 1580s was geared toward Atlantic Mediterranean interests, the practices of contact were those of the previous decades—even centuries. Thus, rather than the forging of a new set of longstanding and mutually profitable alliances, the previous ideas about the relationship between Arabic and Spanish, as antagonistic and antithetical, were reinforced.

⁸⁶³ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 105.

⁸⁶⁴ On al-Manṣūr's ambitions to integrate Morocco into Atlantic trade routes with the New World, see García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*, p. 77.

Chapter 6 Conversion and Communities: Translation and Evangelization across the Mediterranean

A. Introduction:

In this final chapter the focus turns to a parallel administrative apparatus to that of the state: the church. The ecclesiastical administration fostered its own bilingual genres, including the bilingual *morisco* catechism. In early modern Spain, state and ecclesiastic institutions overlapped as much or more than they clashed, and it is impossible to understand the actions of one without the other, or, as one scholar has put it, "at this moment, Church and State were one."⁸⁶⁵ This mutual interdependence, however, did not prevent tensions in the various church and state institutions and their administration. For centuries, the monarchy had had its own politics of religion to promote, one that was tightly connected to a pragmatic crusading zeal couched in an anti-Islamic rhetoric and intended to justify territorial expansion and foster political unity. Beginning in the reign of Charles I (later V), the politics of religion adopted a new set of priorities in which dynastic sovereignty took sides with different Christian reform movements and orthodoxies, although this alignment of temporal powers and religious agendas could and did position the Catholic monarchs of Spain in direct competition with papal power. Meanwhile, the European-wide institution of the Catholic Church was no less caught up in debates over religious, and political, reform. Against this broader backdrop, the Spanish church had its own, and not always uniform, agenda in *morisco* areas, in the presidios, and in the commercial and diplomatic networks of the Western Mediterranean.⁸⁶⁶

Local *morisco* policies notwithstanding, in Spain the organization of ecclesiastical administration after the Western Schism had taken place in such a way that episcopal appointments

⁸⁶⁵ Antonio Garrido Aranda, *La organización de la iglesia en el reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, siglo XVI*, Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1979, p. 93.

⁸⁶⁶ As will be discussed throughout this chapter, the Iberian ecclesiastic administration, that is, the Spanish and Portuguese churches, would together engage in a peculiar revival of the rhetoric of crusade in the Mediterranean, in particular in the form of influential first-generation Jesuits who circulated between Lisbon, Valencia, Rome, and other cities, after 1540. There was no concomitant Portuguese Church *morisco* policy, however, since both Jews and Muslims had been expelled *en masse* from Portugal in 1497.

were subject to overlapping municipal, royal, and ecclesiastic jurisdictions--both local Iberian and papal--, a situation bound to cause tension and inspire reform.⁸⁶⁷ These overlapping jurisdictions would, however, affect the domestic evangelization programs in the first part of the sixteenth century. Indeed, clarifying and enforcing episcopal and pastoral obligations was one of the major goals of the reformers at Trent, several of whom held important ecclesiastical appointments in Spain, and in *morisco* Granada in particular.⁸⁶⁸ In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the international order of the Jesuits took up a prominent position in the evangelization efforts geared toward the *moriscos* in Granada and Valencia.⁸⁶⁹ The arrival of the Jesuits, whose missionary ambitions were first tested in the Mediterranean and soon to be established across the globe, linked the Iberian missions to the larger project of European expansion.⁸⁷⁰

Both the ordinary ecclesiastical administration and the missionary orders sought complete conversion among *moriscos* in Iberia, and adoption both into Christendom and the Spanish body politic.⁸⁷¹ Anxiety about the sincerity of *morisco* conversion, heightened in view of the forced and rapid nature of the mass baptisms and the persistent fear that unfamiliar cultural practices belied crypto-Islam and potential disloyalty to the Spanish state, was only fueled by the potential heterodox influential of the European reform movements against whom Spanish theologians and the head of state battled with pens and swords. This politics of reform, enacted through intellectual and military confrontations across Europe, meant that the mission of local conversion was also twofold:

⁸⁶⁷ Garrido Aranda, *La organización de la iglesia*, pp. 27-29.

⁸⁶⁸ In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Hieronymites and then the Franciscans were tasked with the instruction of the newly converted. Mikel de Epalza, *Los Moriscos antes y despues de la expulsión*, Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992, pp. 52-53.

⁸⁶⁹ For the most comprehensive and well documented history of the Jesuit missions to the *moriscos*, see Francisco de Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545-1614)," *AHSI* 57 (1988), 3-136.

⁸⁷⁰ See the *MHSI* series *Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu* especially *MHSI* vols 136, 145, 147, and 150 (*Monumenta Proximi-orientis*) for the early Jesuit missions in North Africa and the Levant.

⁸⁷¹ An example of this sentiment is articulated in the prologue to Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón's *Libro llamado Antialcorán* (1532), addressed to the "magnificos señores, los señores canónigos, Rectores, Vicarios, y qualesquier personas Ecclesiasticas, que tengan administración de los nuevamente convertidos de Moros a la fe Christiana en el Reyno de Valencia, Aragon, y Granada," who observed that "todos somos miembros del cuerpo mystico dela Iglesia, cuya cabeça es Iesu Christo nuestro Redemptor, con quien estamos unidos por la charidad," f. 4v of the 1595 edition.

instruction and enforcement. Within these two domains, Arabic translators were needed just as they were in the contemporaneous development of bilingual legal and fiscal institutions that have been discussed throughout this dissertation.

a. Trent and the politics of language in the Hispanic Monarchy:

Throughout the sixteenth century the activities of the church as an administrative organization of power was dominated by discourses of reform. One of the primary events around which these discourses focused was the long-running Council of Trent (three sessions from 1545-1563). Of the many reforms that were debated and decided at Trent, one was the use of language in preaching and, most crucially in the instruction of the faith. This latter resolution would have far reaching consequences among the *morisco* parishes in Spain. Near the conclusion of the Council, it was decided that preachers must adapt their prayer and instruction:

to the mental ability of those who receive [the sacraments] [...] and in the vernacular language, if need be and if it can be done conveniently, in accordance with the form which will be prescribed for each of the sacraments, by the holy council in a catechism, which the bishops shall have faithfully translated into the language of the people and explained to the people by all parish priests. In like manner they shall explain on all festivals or solemnities during the solemnization of the divine offices, in the vernacular tongue, the divine commands and the maxims of salvation, and leaving aside useless questions, let them strive to engraft these things on the hearts of all and instruct them in the law of the Lord (Session 24, Chapter VII).⁸⁷²

This order led to the composition of the *Roman Catechism* or the *Catechism of Trent* (1566) in Latin as the official handbook of for religious instruction, a reference that was soon translated into various languages, including Arabic.⁸⁷³ The *Roman Catechism* was far from the first comprehensive sixteenth-century catechism, as theologians and priests had responded to the pressure of reform in the mid sixteenth century by generating a new corpus of catechetical texts, and the fruits of their labors

⁸⁷² *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Rev. H.J. Schroeder (trans.), Charlotte, N.C.: TAN Books, 2011, pp. 199-200.

⁸⁷³ The first Arabic translations were carried out in Rome by the Jesuit Gianbattista Eliano Romano in 1564 and 1566. These were translations intended to promote Catholic doctrine among the Copts and Maronites. For a full bibliography, see Aurélien Girard, "Giovanni Battista Eliano," in *Christian-Muslim Relations*, Brill Online (forthcoming).

reached unprecedented diffusion thanks to the new print technologies that also underpinned the wide reach of Protestant ideas.⁸⁷⁴ Spanish authors were particularly active, spurred on not only by the winds of reform in Spain, but also by the demand for new materials to carry to the New World.⁸⁷⁵ The *Roman Catechism* was, however, in addition to being the first synthesis of the Tridentine reforms, one of the first "large catechisms," or *catecismos amplios*, that is, an extended set of doctrinal materials designed as a reference work for priests who wanted more theological, patristic, biblical, or conciliar backgrounds to the basic instructional materials. It was no portable manual of confession (*catecismo breve*), which were normally brief dialogues or scripts for the priest to carry with him into the field or to memorize.⁸⁷⁶ Both of these trends would influence the production of *morisco* catechisms to which we will turn in the next section, since the call for vernacular materials at Trent led to the publication of manuals of instruction in the faith in a variety of vernaculars, including different Peninsula Arabic dialects. Though the call for vernacular catechisms was not recorded in the decrees of the Council until 1562, it was certainly a topic of discussion in the earlier sessions. One of the principle Spanish representatives to the Council, Martín Pérez de Ayala, Bishop of the Granadan See of Guadix, enacted this reform upon each return to Spain from Trent, first in 1554 and again in 1566 as the Archbishop of Valencia. The translation of the new catechetical materials into Arabic was thus a

⁸⁷⁴ As Luis Resines, the Spanish author who has written perhaps most widely on the topic of the history of catechisms in Spain, points out, the first in this corpus are the two catechisms published by Luther in 1529. Luis Resines, *Historia de la catequesis en España*, Madrid: Central Catequística Salesina, 1995, pp. 41-43. See also the introduction to the collection edited by Mark A. Noll, *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, Leister: Apollos, 1991.

⁸⁷⁵ Among the most influential to be published in Spain, Felipe de Meneses, *Luz del alma cristiana contra la ceguidad y ignorancia*, Seville: Martín de Montedoca; Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1555, and Martín Navarrus, Bartolomé de Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el Catechismo*, Antwerp: 1558, Peter Canesius, *Summa doctrinae christianae*, 1555, Gaspar Astete, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Christiana*, 1576. Resines notes the abundance of Spanish catechisms published in this period, noting no less than 111. Resines, *Historia*, p. 43. For the abundant number of early catechisms written for a New World audience, see Luis Resines, *Catecismos americanos del Siglo XVI*, Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1992.

⁸⁷⁶ Resines, *Historia*, pp. 46-47.

strategy that came out of the ideas that he had learned and debated in the decidedly international context of Trent, the so-called "First International Conference on Translation."⁸⁷⁷

Tridentine reforms were directed to all Christians, an audience which, in Spain, included the *moriscos*. Scholars are of course aware of the temporal coincidence of the Council and the *morisco* period, and have worked on *morisco* topics in the context of other Counter-Reformation topics, especially the establishment of the Jesuits in Spain.⁸⁷⁸ Much of this scholarship is excellent, but there is a strange reticence to taking seriously the *morisco* problem as a *Catholic* problem, with a preference instead for framing the contemporary "*morisco* question" as another chapter in a "clash of civilizations" between Christendom and Islam, despite the strong influence of the conciliar movement on the *moriscos*.⁸⁷⁹ This seems in large part due to the preeminence in contemporary scholarship of the same ideas about *moriscos* as irredeemable heretics or crypto-Muslims that would be developed in anti-*morisco* writings from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, that is, the same discourse that ultimately supported the total expulsion from 1609-1614.⁸⁸⁰

Some fifty years earlier, however, the rhetoric of the "*morisco* problem" took at face value the ultimate goal of instructing and incorporating the *moriscos* into the Spanish Christian body politic, to which they were already legally bound by the contracts of conquest and conversion of the turn of

⁸⁷⁷ Santoyo identifies the importance of language and translation to the debates of the Council as early as 1546. See Julio César Santoyo, "Trento, 1546: Crónica del primer congreso internacional sobre la traducción," in *Historia de la traducción: Viejos y nuevos apuntes*, León: University of León, 2008, pp. 181-202.

⁸⁷⁸ From the foundational work of Henry Charles Lea to the most recent and erudite contributions of scholars of the status of Antonio Gallego y Burín and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, Julio Caro Baroja, Louis Cardaillac, and Bernard Vincent, Catholic reform and Trent merit barely a footnote, and no dedicated or extended discussion, with the exception of some chapters on the Jesuit missions to the *moriscos*.

⁸⁷⁹ One important exception is the masterful two volume study of Amalia García Pedraza, based on painstaking work with the Granada notarial archives, *Actitudes ante la muerte: Los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002. Another partial exception, and one of the best recent works on *morisco* topics, is the 2010 edition of Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un oriente español*, whose telling subtitle is, *los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrareforma*, a subtitle which did not make the transfer to the 2013 English translation and second edition, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, The Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*. These two works, which uncover to unprecedented detail the intellectual, cultural, and political context of the lead books of Sacromonte (chapter 4), take very seriously the Catholic as well as Islamic discourses around and available to the authors and first audiences of the lead books.

⁸⁸⁰ See Antonio Feros, "Retóricas de la expulsión," in *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora*, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (eds), Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Universidad, 2013, pp. 67-101.

the sixteenth century. This is nowhere more evident than in the writings of the Spanish Tridentine reformers who connected their experiences in Trent to their *morisco* policies, and the two most important of these reformers were the Archbishop of Granada (1546-1576), Pedro de Guerrero, and the Archbishop of Valencia (1564-1566), Martín Pérez de Ayala, who had previously been the Bishop (1548-1560) of the important Granadan province of Guadix.

Ayala and Guerrero had nearly opposite policies for their *morisco* flocks. Ayala, convener of the 1554 Synod of Guadix upon his return from the second session of the Council of Trent, actively promoted bilingual instruction and religious materials, sponsoring at least two different Arabic catechisms, which will be analyzed in detail below. Guerrero, on the other hand, was the senior church official who put the most pressure on Philip II to mandate the eradication of Arabic in 1566, pressure which led directly to the promulgation of the edict of 1567 and the subsequent second War of the Alpujarras (chapter 4).⁸⁸¹ Both politics of language, however differently they were enacted, were motivated by shared experiences at Trent, which formulated for the first time a specific theory of language, orthodoxy, and the relationship of the subject to the state. Thus the 1560s were, just as they had been a decade of rebellion (chapter 4), were also a decade of reform, in which the ideas and experiences of the previous half century were synthesized, opening the door for a revised politics of language that would ultimately become the domestic preserve of the state.

B. Mission to the *Moriscos*: Evangelization in Iberia in the Sixteenth Century

The Tridentine theory of language and political participation was, perhaps paradoxically, one of both accommodation and assimilation. That is, the targets of instruction and inclusion, *morisco* Christians, were expected to become part of the orthodox and uniform Christian body (as it was conceived of and represented on the local scale, rendering adequate materials propagated from a central authority all the more necessary), and to this end some accommodation to a recognizably

⁸⁸¹ Luís de Marmól Carvajál, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada*, Libro II, Cáp. VI.

heterogeneous Christian community was made. This accommodation was made above all in the question of language choice, which, as we have seen, was firmly decided in favor of the vernacular by 1562-1563. However, the question of language, and the policies of accommodation had been circulating and debated throughout the middle ages, becoming a special topic of the Spanish councils in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸⁸² The effects on *morisco* communities were felt primarily through the evangelical efforts of the parish priests and missionaries who attended to them. The *moriscos* were Christians, however, at least in name and law, despite the multiplicity of spiritual commitments among the different communities and individuals to which the historian has very little access. Thus these missions or evangelical programs were in some sense quite different than the missions to Muslim communities, in the Middle East and North Africa, or in Iberia and Iberian territories in the middle ages. A fruitful parallel might be a comparison between the *morisco* missions and those directed toward the Protestant communities in roughly the same period.⁸⁸³ Nonetheless, the association with Islam permeated attitudes toward the *moriscos*, since their language and cultural practices were imagined to be coterminous with Islam.⁸⁸⁴ This meant that, for the priests who undertook missions to and who drafted the materials for evangelization, the *morisco* was simultaneously a heretic Christian and an infidel Muslim, categories with a very different legal and ideological status, which nevertheless came together in the "*morisco* question."

i. Medieval Precedents:

Although the *mudéjar* communities of Valencia, Aragon, Navarre, and even Castile, had lived under Christian rule in some cases for centuries, they had not been the target of a uniform or widespread program of evangelization. Despite the rhetoric of religious crusade that constantly

⁸⁸² For the earlier medieval background to the development of the polemical discourses, see Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic*, Philadelphia: UPenn Press, 2013.

⁸⁸³ For example, Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008.

⁸⁸⁴ Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56/6 (2009): 495–528.

underpinned the territorial expansion of medieval Iberian rulers--Christian and Muslim--conversion was never the priority of conquest for the political rulers. Similar to the earlier iterations of crusading ideologies in the Levant and across the Mediterranean, political and military control of "Christian" sites and territory was the priority, and any population gains for Christendom were an additional bonus. In fact, since religious minorities were subject to extra taxation, there was little incentive to enforce conversion from the perspective of the royal fisc. By the second half of the thirteenth century the bulk of Castile and the Crown of Aragon (which included the Balearic Islands of Mallorca and Minorca), and the entirety of Portugal were under Christian rule.⁸⁸⁵ In Castile, Alonso X included a provision in his foundational law code, the *Siete Partidas*, which prohibited forced conversion, decreeing clearly that, "Christians should work to convert the Muslims by means of good words and attractive preaching, in order to make them believe in our faith and bring them to it, neither by force nor by bribes."⁸⁸⁶ Meanwhile, in the Crown of Aragon, the rhetoric of crusade that underpinned the territorial expansion unfolded alongside the ideological process of what Father Burns has aptly named the "dream of conversion."⁸⁸⁷

Beginning in the early thirteenth century, representatives of the newly founded mendicant orders began to undertake programs of conversion and instruction that included the composition of instructional materials in Romance and Arabic languages. The movement was never widespread, but there were several medieval missions to the Muslims, in particular in the Balearic Islands and Valencia. In this small-scale missionary movement, the "dream of conversion" was institutionalized within the mendicant and especially the redemptive orders, in the form of organized missions or commercial embassies (the commerce being captives), language schools, and materials for language

⁸⁸⁵ A.R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, vol. I, New York: Cambridge, 2009, pp. 82-83.

⁸⁸⁶ "Por buenas palabras, e conuenibles predicaciones deuen trabajar los Christianos de conuertir a los Moros, para fazerles creer la nuestra fe: e aducirlos a ella." Partida VII, Título XXV, Ley II. Quoted in Medina, *La compañía de Jesús*, p. 12.

⁸⁸⁷ Robert I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, New York: Cambridge UP, 1984 p. 80.

learning and religious instruction.⁸⁸⁸ Though this movement would not be sustained for more than a generation, and very few manuscript materials relating to the bilingual efforts and necessities of the project are extant. Thus it is not possible to trace a direct genealogy between the bilingualism of the thirteenth century missionaries and their sixteenth century counterparts.

Nonetheless, the thirteenth-century Aragonese dreams of conversion and expansion have significant parallels in the process of religiously justified territorial expansion and political consolidation, which Ferdinand and Isabella undertook against the kingdom of Granada from 1482-1492 and after in the subsequent incursions into North Africa, and the aftereffects in ideologies of religious orthodoxy that were elaborated and enforced throughout the sixteenth century. The rhetoric of crusade of the Catholic Kings was either supported by or gave way to a new "dream of conversion."⁸⁸⁹ Either way, in the case of the last Trastámara, the process was accelerated in large part due to the influence of fifteenth-century conciliar reform and its aftereffects.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the evangelical zeal of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century Mediterranean missionaries had waned, to be awoken anew in an age of Reform. This process would be inevitably tied to the reforming trends born in the later medieval councils, enforced by a newly established Inquisition--an ancient institution that became an early expression of modern state conformity, and articulated most clearly in the decrees of the Council of Trent. First

⁸⁸⁸ The Franciscans employed bilingual preachers in Spain and Morocco in the mid-thirteenth century, but this tradition of bilingual preaching would wane in the later middle ages and sixteenth century, to be resuscitated with new missionary intensity to the Levant and North Africa in the seventeenth. See Ramón Lourido Díaz, "El estudio del árabe entre los franciscanos españoles: Colegio trilingüe de Sevilla-Colegio árabe de Damasco," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 66 (2006): 9-240, pp. 22-23 and the conclusion to this chapter. Among the many mendicant orders which formed in the thirteenth century and after as an alternative to monastic life, the most significant for the missions in the Mediterranean--whether missions of proselytization or of captive redemption--were the Franciscans (founded 1209), the Dominicans (founded 1216), the Mercedarians (founded 1218), and the Trinitarians (founded 1198). The mendicant orders were supposed to play a primary role in late-fifteenth century *mudéjar* conversion programs, as decreed by a papal bull in 1486. See Lourido Díaz, "El árabe," p. 27. On the Dominicans, see Abdelouahab el Imrani, *Lexicografía hispano-árabe: Aproximación al análisis de cinco diccionarios elaborados por religiosos españoles*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1998, pp. 3-4

⁸⁸⁹ Cardinal Cisneros promoted Franciscan preachers who knew Arabic to evangelize among the *mudéjares* before the forced conversions of 1500-1502. See Lourido Díaz, "El árabe," pp. 26-28.

in the Mediterranean, then in Iberia, and ultimately across the globe, Catholic evangelization took place as a multifaceted project of instruction and enforcement, accommodation and assimilation.

ii. Evangelization in an Age of Reform:

Instruction in the faith was one of the most important duties of the Christian clergy, and was a process that required a good deal of attention to language.⁸⁹⁰ As I have shown elsewhere, the elaboration of a scholarly vernacular grammatical tradition in the universities at the end of the fifteenth century, associated primarily with the growing humanist influences in Spain, developed in parallel with an intense discussion over the place of the vernacular in religious instruction. This ecclesiastic discourse of the vernacular, elaborated primarily in the rulings of Spanish synods in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, debated in concrete terms how language, and which language, was to be used to teach, communicate, and express the most intimate articles of faith.⁸⁹¹ Before the *morisco* conversions of c1500-1525, the primary tension in the question of Christian instruction was between Latin and the romance vernaculars. Though there were Arabic-speaking Jewish and Muslim minorities in Castile and Aragon, before their conversions, the church was not highly preoccupied with their conversion or instruction.⁸⁹²

With the *morisco* conversions, however, the ecclesiastic administration in Spain found itself facing a new challenge: how to accommodate the incorporation of Arabic vernaculars into the Hispanic body politic, of whose spiritual care and cure the church was in charge? The responses of church administrations in Granada and Valencia, where the largest populations of Arabic-speaking

⁸⁹⁰ For an overview of these debates in the sixteenth century, see Kathleen M. Comerford, "Clerical Education, Catechism, and Catholic Confessionalism: Teaching Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Early Modern Catholicism*, Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (eds), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001, pp. 241-265.

⁸⁹¹ Luis Resines, *Historia de la catequesis en España*, Madrid: Central Catequística Salesina, 1995, pp. 22-31.

⁸⁹² The exception to this rule is the precipitate efforts of the Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, who launched his evangelization campaign in 1495 (Sigüenza) on the principle that accommodation and a gentle assimilation would be the best route to true and permanent conversion. Garrido Aranda, *La iglesia de Granada*, pp. 106-107.

moriscos lived, were heterogeneous.⁸⁹³ Common to both regions was the problem of how to develop a successful program of religious instruction. The principal solutions were to train an Arabic-speaking clergy, or to enforce intensive education in Castilian or Valenciano. Both projects required significant resources, time, and a corps of experienced teachers, not all of which was always available. In the 1490s, Hernando de Talavera had tried to found a school to instruct *morisco* children in Granada, and he was perfectly willing to use Arabic-speaking clergy to accomplish this goal.⁸⁹⁴ Also in Granada, in 1526, Charles V ordered a school be founded for *morisco* children to teach them both Castilian and Christianity.⁸⁹⁵ The school suffered from enrollment problems, and primarily came to serve the "old Christian" community. In 1554, the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Guerrero, himself recently returned from Trent, called upon the Jesuits to found a college for *moriscos* in Granada.⁸⁹⁶ Even in the uprisings of 1568, Philip II still hoped that the *colegio de niños moriscos* might continue to function, though now with a full program of cultural and linguistic assimilation.⁸⁹⁷

The church was not only concerned with instructing children, however. With a large population of adult converts, the issue of religious instruction at different levels became very important, as did the problem adult baptism without the proper instruction (exactly what had happened during the *morisco* conversions of 1500-1526).⁸⁹⁸ Several scholars have noticed the parallels between the evangelization of the *moriscos* in Iberia and the initial missionary efforts in the New

⁸⁹³ See Garrido Aranda, *La organización de la iglesia*; Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1980; Barceló y Labarta, *Archivos moriscos*, 2009.

⁸⁹⁴ José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, vol. 2, Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000, pp. 331-334.

⁸⁹⁵ ACG Reales Cédulas, Libro 11 duplicado, fol. 70 printed in Gallego Burín and Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*, 198-205; Miguel López, "El colegio de los niños moriscos de Granada," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 25 (1976): 32-68; and María Carmen Caleros Palacios, *La enseñanza y educación en Granada bajo los reyes austrias*, Granada: Excma. Diputación Provincial, Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1978, pp. 120-121.

⁸⁹⁶ See Borja Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca," and Kathryn Camp, *A Divided Republic: Moriscos and Old Christians in Sixteenth-Century Granada*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001, pp. 119-120

⁸⁹⁷ *Provisión real para que esta Ciudad informe qué casa de doctrina había en ella, el año que se fundó, qué niños hay en ellas, qué edificaciones y rentas, quien los enseñan, que utilidad y provecho se sigue y si dicha casa es propia de ellos* (1568). AHMG, C. 884, núm 5.

⁸⁹⁸ Mikel de Epalza, *Los Moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992, pp. 51-52.

World.⁸⁹⁹ One of the primary sources for this comparison are, in fact, catechetical materials. Though there were only a handful of *morisco* catechisms, the sixteenth century was in many ways the age of the catechism in Spain, and Luis Resines estimates that no fewer than 100 different catechisms were published in Spain in that century, with another hundred published in the Americas for American audiences of Europeans and indigenous peoples.⁹⁰⁰

Morisco evangelization in the first half of the sixteenth century was administered from the most local levels, that is, from the Archbishops of Granada and Valencia. In the first years after conquest, the Hieronymites and the Franciscans engaged in programs of bilingual preaching and instruction.⁹⁰¹ With the arrival of the Jesuits in Valencia in 1543 and in Granada in 1554, a new administrative structure for evangelization was constructed. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the Jesuits came to dominate *morisco* evangelization.⁹⁰² Bilingual secular priests, or of other orders, however, like the Franciscan lexicographer Diego de Guadix (chapter 4), still participated actively in the Inquisition, captive trading, and translation, as will be discussed below. At the same time, as I will discuss in the second part of this chapter, Jesuits and Franciscans began initiating missions to European communities of slaves and soldiers in North Africa, as St. Francis and Ignacio de Loyola had advocated doing from the founding of their respective orders, in the thirteenth and in the sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁹ Garrido Aranda, *La organización de la iglesia en el reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, siglo XVI*; Epalza, *Los Moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, pp. 52-53; Mercedes García-Arenal, "Moriscos e indios. Para un estudio comparado de métodos de conquista y evangelización," *Crónica Nova* 20 (1992): 153-172; Youssef el Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens : étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas*, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006; Luis Resines, *Catecismo del Sacromonte y Doctrina Christiana de Fr. Pedro de Feria: Conversión y evangelización de moriscos e indios*, Madrid: CSIC, 2002.

⁹⁰⁰ Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, p. 33.

⁹⁰¹ The Hieronymite Pedro de Alcalá's well known dictionary, grammar, and catechism will be discussed at length in this chapter. On the early and short lived Franciscan *colegio de la albambra*, see Lourido Díaz, "El árabe," pp. 31-32.

⁹⁰² Though there were Franciscans who had been engaged in bilingual preaching, like Fray Jorge de Benavides, who asked for an *ayuda de costa* in 1554 for his services preaching in Arabic in the Alpujarras, but the Franciscans did not establish as intensive or regular a presence as the Jesuits. AGS, Cámara de Castilla 356, quoted at length in See Lourido Díaz, "El árabe," p. 29.

⁹⁰³ The Franciscans were active in Morocco in the thirteenth century, and then again in the seventeenth. On the somewhat more irregular sixteenth-century presence, see Ramón Lourido Díaz, ofm, "El estudio de la lengua árabe entre

iii. Confessionalization and Social Discipline:

What I have been referring to as the sixteenth century age of reform, and its preoccupation with accommodation and assimilation, has been conceived of by some scholars as the age of confessionalism or confessionalization, a term coined by German scholars in the 1980s.⁹⁰⁴ Although the concept was first articulated in the German context, scholars of France, England, and other parts of Europe have found it to be a productive concept to explain the interactions of ecclesiastic and political powers as the modern state was forged. Tijana Krstic has also shown recently that a comparable process may be observed in the Ottoman and Safavid worlds.⁹⁰⁵ For the Hispanic Monarchy, confessionalization is used as an heuristic device, but it has not had the same historiographical impact as in the scholarship of other parts of Europe. Spanish scholars associate any actual historical process of confessionalization with the reign of Philip II (r.1556-1598) in contrast to what is characterized as the "humanism" of his father Charles (r.1516-1556).⁹⁰⁶ This is more or less compatible with the chronologies of confessionalism as elaborated by German scholars, who see the early sixteenth century until the 1560s as period of establishing the confession in its canonical form(s), whereas the actual processes of applying confessionalization begin in the 1570s and intensify until the early seventeenth century.⁹⁰⁷ This chronology fits in to the various periods of *morisco* administration that we have looked at in the legal, fiscal, and literary realms in this

los Franciscanos de Marruecos (siglos XIII-XVIII)," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 60 (2000): 3-34. On Ignatius's plans for North Africa, see Emanuele Colombo, "'Even among the Turks,' Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705) and Islam," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 44/3 (2012): 1-41 and Louis Charles, *Les jésuites dans les états barbaresques: Algérie et Maroc*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1914.

⁹⁰⁴ See the overviews in Robert Bireley, "Early Modern Catholicism" and Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," both in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe*, Kirksville, MO: Truman State UP, 2008, pp. 57-79 and 136-157, respectively.

⁹⁰⁵ Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford: Stanford UP, 2011, pp. 12-16 and pp. 98-120.

⁹⁰⁶ José Martínez Millán, "Del humanismo carolino al proceso de confesionalización filipino," in *Andrés Laguna: humanismo, ciencia, política en la Europa renacentista*, Yuste, 2001, pp. 123-160 and Eduardo Torres Corominas, "El *Abencerraje*: una lección de virtud en los albores del confesionalismo filipino," *Revista de literatura* 75 (2013): 43-72.

⁹⁰⁷ Ute Lotz-Heumann, "The Concept of 'Confessionalization'," pp. 95-103.

dissertation, and will continue to be compatible with the discussion of programs of religious instruction in this chapter.

As part of its inquiry into the twin processes of the extension of state power and the hardening of identity markers, scholars have also used the idea of confessionalization to explain social discipline and its connection to the development of the state and its administrative power in the early modern period.⁹⁰⁸ Part of the way that the concept of confessionalization is used by scholars, both those who adopt the original development by Reinhard and Schilling and those who challenge their original formulations, is to discuss the bureaucratic processes that developed and became widespread in the early modern period and which are understood to be part and parcel of the rise of the modern state.⁹⁰⁹ These bureaucratic processes and their consequences are seen being motivated by the religious ideologies articulated in the different confessions that were being established in the early and mid sixteenth century as part of the response to the challenge of reform, in both Protestant and Catholic orbits. That is, because confessionalization is premised upon the uniform acceptance of doctrine and practice as established in a *written* text, that written text is also the standard by which orthodoxy or heterodoxy were measured. The "measurement" took place through interviews, observations, or tests related to the canonical confessional text, and was enacted by institutions like the ecclesiastical visit or the inquisitional trial.

In the case of the *moriscos*, the legal and social controls which were exercised over the many different communities that we have been exploring throughout this dissertation are not unlike the drive to uniformity and assimilation and the accompanying mechanisms of assessment and discipline associated with confessionalization. The concept remains an heuristic device in the present work,

⁹⁰⁸ See for example Wieste de Boer, "Calvin and Borromeo: A Comparative Approach to Social Discipline," in *Early Modern Catholicism*, Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (eds), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001, pp. 84-96.

⁹⁰⁹ See the discussion of the original formulations of the concept and the challenges and revisions of recent decades in Ute Lotz-Heuman, "The Concept of 'Confessionalization': a Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute," *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): 93-114.

rather than an explanatory principle. Nevertheless, the ambivalence of instruction and social control would have been familiar to both the *moriscos* and those charged with their assimilation into the body politic. For example, the sixth chapter of Ayala's 1556 *Sínodo de Guadix* was in fact entitled, "De la doctrina y disciplina del pueblo," and included instructions for new-Christian congregants at mass and in their religious practice. It was not only a manual for indoctrination and ensuring doctrinal homogeneity, but included methods for controlling and punishing political as well as religious deviants, as in *constitution V*: "de la cuenta que se a de tener con los mudejares o Christianos viejos que fueren rebeldes en el venir a missa" ("What must be done with the mudejars or old Christians who were rebellious when it came to attending mass"). The culmination of the chapter was then the catechism, or the *Doctrina cristiana* for the instruction of the newly converted, to which we will return below. Rules like this were one of the mechanisms of confessional enforcement in Spain, and another was the Inquisition.

a. The Arabic Translators and Interpreters of the Inquisition:

The Spanish Inquisition was founded on Isabel's initiative in the last part of the fifteenth century (c. 1478-1484). The initial targets of the Inquisition were Jews and Judaizers or crypto-Jews, the former despite the actual mandate of Inquisitorial jurisdiction only over baptized Christians. The persecution of the Inquisition helped motivate the sudden order for expulsion on March 31, 1492, and for the next decades the primary targets continued to be *conversos* ("new Christians" of Jewish descent) or heterodox "old" Christians, not Muslims or the "new Christian" *moriscos*. Nonetheless, at about the same time that the forced conversions of Muslims were completed across the Peninsula, that is by 1525-1526, the Inquisition began to turn its attention to the *moriscos* of Valencia and Granada.⁹¹⁰ The Inquisition was, technically, an ecclesiastical institution, but two factors made it a

⁹¹⁰ Although there is some data about the early Inquisition, materials regarding *moriscos* in both Granada and Valencia are much richer for the period after 1560. The historiography of the Inquisition is vast, beginning with Henry Charles Lea's

particularly effective tool for state policies. The first, that ecclesiastics were prohibited from shedding blood, meant that there had to be a secular arm to enact any capital punishments. Those prisoners who received a death sentence, as opposed to the confiscation of property, fines, or public humiliation, were "relaxed" to a state-employed executioner to carry out their sentence. Secondly, at the inception of the Spanish Inquisition in 1474, the pope had accidentally granted a far greater degree of control of the institution to the Spanish monarchs.⁹¹¹ Though he and his successors did their best to correct the mistake and retrieve the authority of the Spanish Inquisition for Rome, they were never successful and it remained an important part of the tools for surveillance and control of, in particular, the Castilian state.

Many people worked on short-term bases for the inquisition, including the translator and physician Alonso del Castillo (chapters 4 and 5), among others, in Granada.⁹¹² The Inquisition had been active in Granada since 1499, when Diego Rodríguez Lucero was appointed as the first inquisitor of the city by the Catholic Kings.⁹¹³ This initial tribunal helped spark the First War of the Alpujarras (1499-1500), which led to the mass conversions of the *mudejares*-then-*moriscos*. Thereafter, the Inquisition was active but principally interested in the Jewish *conversos*, so that the first generation of *moriscos* received little institutional attention. The focus on Judaizers changed after Charles V's

four-volume *A History of the Inquisition in Spain* (1906-1907) and *The Moriscos in Spain* (1901). Braudel also treated the subject briefly in volume II of *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Focus on the *moriscos* of Granada was advanced by Keith Garrad in 1965, in his short article, "La Inquisición y los moriscos granadinos, 1526-1580," *Bulletin Hispanique* 67/1-2 (1965): 63-77. The 1970s and 1980s saw a flourishing of interest in the Valencian side, with the works of Jaqueline Fournel-Guérin, "Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540-1620)," *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 15 (1979): 241-259; Ana Labarta, "Los libros de los moriscos valencianos," *Avraq* 2 (1979); Ana Labarta, "Inventario de los documentos árabes contenidos en procesos inquisitoriales contra moriscos valencianos conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (Legajos 548-556)," *Al-Qantara* 1/1-2 (1980): 115-164; Ana Labarta, "Notas sobre algunos traductores de la Inquisición Valenciana (1565-1609)," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid* XXI (1981-1982): 101-133. In 1990 a comprehensive collective volume was published, *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*, Louis Cardaillac (ed.), Paris: Publisud, 1990.

⁹¹¹ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, New Haven: Yale, 1998, pp. 48-49.

⁹¹² Castillo often used the professional qualification of "Romançeador del Santo Oficio," as in 1575, the Sumario e recopilación de todo lo romançado por Alonso del Castillo [...], *MEH* III (1852), p. 1. For more information about Castillo's career and his use of professional titles, see chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, and the classic biography of Dario Cabanelas, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo*.

⁹¹³ Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language," pp. 502-504.

visit in 1526, during which time he asked for reports from the ecclesiastic administration and learned that the new Christians were engaged in either crypto-Muslim or heterodox activities, some as part of their adherence to conflicting religious beliefs, some from lack of instruction in their newly administered Christian faith.⁹¹⁴ As part of the institutional reforms of the province that were motivated by and articulated during the 1526 visit, a permanent tribunal was established in Granada in 1526 and the first *auto-de-fé* was celebrated in 1529.⁹¹⁵ From 1526 until roughly 1580, the extant records show that while the *moriscos* were the primary target of the Office (780 of 998 individuals who were condemned to an *auto-de-fé*), the vast majority of *moriscos* and non-*moriscos* had their goods confiscated as the main form of punishment (609 *moriscos* and 88 non-*moriscos*), while some 40 people were burned at the stake (14 *moriscos* and 19 non-*moriscos*).⁹¹⁶ The regime of persecution and confiscation in the lead-up to 1568 had also primed at least some parts of the *morisco* population for rebellion (see chapter 4). Confiscation of *morisco* goods, on which the former owners were still taxed, proved to be an extremely lucrative enterprise for the state. Among these goods there could be Arabic books or texts, and these were transferred to the capital for examination.⁹¹⁷

The Granadan Inquisition relied on several individuals as translators, all of whom had a vested interest in language itself: the translator Alonso del Castillo (chapters 4 and 5), and two of the

⁹¹⁴ The records of the meetings and edicts of the Capilla Real in 1526 mention the information from ecclesiastical visits, but there is very little detailed information about these visits from the first period. The first extant records of the ecclesiastical visits begin in 1560, and have been recently published as part of the *Monumenta Regni Granatensis Historica* series. See *Visitas de la Inquisición al reino de Granada*, José María García Fuentes (ed.), MRGH *Actas* 3, Granada: University of Granada, 2006.

⁹¹⁵ The Inquisition was established in 1526 with a three-year grace period, which is why the first trials and punishments were delayed until 1529. Keith Garrad, "La Inquisición y los moriscos granadinos, 1526-1580," pp. 63- 65.

⁹¹⁶ See the table on p. 68 of Garrad, "La Inquisición," which covered 1550-1580, since there is not enough documentation to include the earlier years. The documentary base of the Granadan Inquisition is far less rich than the other tribunals, since most of the documents were destroyed in the nineteenth century. See Vincent, "Le tribunal de Grenade," in *Les morisques et l'inquisition*, p. 199.

⁹¹⁷ Ron de la Bastida, "Manuscritos árabes en la Inquisición granadina (1582)," *Al-Andalus* 23/1 (1958): 210-215 and Mercedes García-Arenal, "La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos," in *Memoria de los moriscos: Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010, pp. 57-71.

most well known early Arabic lexicographers, Diego de Guadix and Francisco López Tamarid.⁹¹⁸

All three men were in fact involved in the best-known early works of Arabic lexicography by men from Spain. In the second half of the sixteenth century, López Tamarid created a relatively extensive lexical list of about twenty pages, which was corrected by none other than Alonso del Castillo.⁹¹⁹

López Tamarid, in fact, described his lexicographic project in much the same way as had Pedro de Alcalá in 1505, including a reference to using the work of Antonio de Nebrija as a precedent and as a reference, one of whose descendants published López Tamarid's book.⁹²⁰ Diego de Guadix's work was much longer and is not a lexicon of Arabic and Romance, but an etymological Castilian dictionary that focused on words whose origin was Arabic.⁹²¹ Both the lexicons of López Tamarid (revised by Castillo) and Guadix were used heavily by Sebastian de Covarrubias in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, the first definitive Castilian dictionary, which was published in 1611.⁹²² Thus the budding field of lexicography as part of Spanish philology, a discipline gaining a new historicized framework of its own at this same time, grew within the same institutional and social frameworks, and included some of the same individuals, as the Inquisition.

Although there was less direct link to royal philological projects, in the Valencian Inquisition the close institutional link between educative and enforcing institutions also existed, as well as the

⁹¹⁸ The Tribunal of Granada was also a bilingual administration, and the ecclesiastic visits even after the expulsion of the Granada *moriscos* in 1568-1571 needed an Arabic interpreter to help them conduct interviews and gather information throughout the Granada province. One of the most frequently employed was García Chacón. See the several records in García Fuentes, *Visitas de la Inquisición*, and Bernard Vinet, "Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los *moriscos* (ss. XVI-XVII)," pp. 731-748.

⁹¹⁹ Francisco López Tamarid, *Compendio de algunos vocablos arábigos*, in *Orígenes de la Lengua Española compuestos por varios autores recogidos por don Gregorio Mayans i Siscar*, Vol. 2, Madrid: Juan de Zuñiga, 1737, pp. 235-264. Compare with the etymological list drawn up a few decades later by Bernardo Aldrete, *Vocablos arábigos que ai en el Romance*, which precedes López Tamarid's list in Mayans y Siscar (pp. 225-234). On López Tamarid, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 126-127. On López Tamarid's 1582 inventory of Arabic books for the Inquisition, see Ron de la Bastida, "Manuscritos árabes."

⁹²⁰ Francisco López Tamarid, "Compendio de algunos vocablos arabigos," in Gregorio Mayans i Siscar, *Orígenes de la lengua española*, Madrid: J. de Zuñiga 1737, pp. 233-267 and Juan Martínez Ruiz, "Visita a las imprentas granadinas de Antonio de Nebrija, Hugo de Mena y Rene Rabut en el año 1573," *Revista de la dialectología y tradiciones populares* 24, no. 1-2 (1968): 75-110.

⁹²¹ Giménez Eguibar and Wasserman Soler, "La mala algarabia," pp. 20-22.

⁹²² Sebastian de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua española* (1611).

crossover in personnel. There the Jesuits Jerónimo Mur and Ignacio de las Casas helped the Holy Office determine the level of danger posed by different Arabic texts that were confiscated and/or brought to bear on trials.⁹²³ As in Granada, between 1478 and around 1530, the primary focus of the Inquisition was the Jewish or formerly Jewish *conversos* rather than the *moriscos*.⁹²⁴ Only in later decades did the focus shift to the *morisco* communities, in particular after the Cortes of Valencia prohibited the use of Arabic in 1564, just three years before Philip II would make the same law in Castile. Once again, the 1560s opened a new normative chapter in attitudes toward Arabic which became ever stricter until the edict of expulsion of 1609.⁹²⁵

According to Ana Labarta, the principle translator in that branch of the Holy Office was Jerónimo Mur, who was active from 1575-1601.⁹²⁶ This is the very same Jerónimo Mur who is the likely translator of Ayala's 1566 catechism, to be discussed below, and whose five-year mission to Oran will also be discussed in greater depth below. There were likely plenty of Arabic speakers in *morisco* areas and in particular in Valencia.⁹²⁷ However, the pool of translators who were *sanctioned by the state* was small, which is why the same individuals used their expertise and experience to engage in a wide range of linguistic projects. The primary concern of the Inquisition was Islamic texts, and indeed Arabic Qurans or parts of Qurans were the most common confiscated text.⁹²⁸ Mur also examined Arabic medical recipes and charms, as well as commercial and social texts, from merchant inventories to marriage contracts, all of which could have religious meanings in their choices of

⁹²³ Ana Labarta, "Notas sobre algunos traductores de la Inquisición Valenciana (1565-1609)," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos de Madrid* XXI (1981-1982): 101-133, pp. 103-112.

⁹²⁴ Ana Labarta, "Notas sobre algunos traductores," p. 101

⁹²⁵ More testimony to the close attention paid by the crown to Arabic use in Valencia, especially in the aftermath of the upheavals of the 1560s and the threat of a Valencian *morisco* uprising in the early 1580s, is an extensive 1580 report on all of the villages of the province of Orihuela that lists in detail all local *morisco* community leaders and the details of their oral, written, and reading Arabic skills. BL Egerton MSS, 1511, ff. 154-158.

⁹²⁶ On Mur's Inquisition career, Labarta, "Notas sobre algunos traductores," 103-107.

⁹²⁷ L.P. Harvey, "The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595," *Al-Andalus* 36/1 (1971): 81-115

⁹²⁸ One of Mur's most detailed translations is in fact a description of an Islamic text, the *Comentario sobre una oración mahometana llamada de Guesen*. BNE MS 12694, núm. 57.

words, stated intent, or legal formulae.⁹²⁹ One category of texts that had to be examined by Inquisition translators were Christian materials written in the Castilian language but in Arabic script, an uncommon example of Valencian *aljamiado*.⁹³⁰ These transcribed Christian prayers, probably copied by or disseminated to *moriscos* in direct contact with the active missionary program in Valencia, have little in common with the Christian Arabic texts authored and disseminated by official church institutions.⁹³¹ Mur used his experience with the Arabic texts he encountered as an Inquisition interpreter in order to compose his own dictionary and other language reference works for use in his mission to the *moriscos* and to train other priests in Arabic (see below).

In both Granada and Valencia, then, analyzing language for pedagogical or scholarly purposes became closely linked to the normative institutions of church and state. Outside the realm of scholarly endeavor, the Inquisition began to engage with some of the same problems as had the Tridentine reformers, namely, what is a valid program of religious instruction, and how may its efficacy be assessed? Not only did Inquisition interpreters draw up linguistic reference materials based on a corpus of confiscated texts, materials that were of interest to learners of Arabic, a potential audience made up of priests as much as scholars, but concomitantly, the Inquisition might test a defendant on his or her knowledge of the catechism, in the end a linguistic rather than religious exercise. The normative institutions of power, like the Inquisition, thus kept a hand in even the most accommodating and basic educational institutions.

⁹²⁹ See the edited texts throughout the documentary appendix in Carmen Barceló and Ana Labarta, *Archivos moriscos: Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana (1401-1608)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2009.

⁹³⁰ On these exceptional Christian Castilian (in Valencian) texts in Arabic script, see Labarta, "Inventario de documentos árabes," pp. 154-155 and Ricardo García Carcel, "L'Inquisition de Valence," in *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*, 153-170, p. 162. *Aljamiado*, which is the name given to Castilian or Aragonese written in Arabic script, was primarily a phenomenon in Muslim communities who no longer spoke Arabic itself, but used the Arabic script to write their native romance languages. It was particularly common in the Muslim communities of Aragon and Castile, but not common in Valencia or Granada, where most *mudéjares* and *moriscos* spoke and wrote Arabic only, and if they learned Castilian they also learned Latin letters. On *aljamiado* in *mudéjar* and *morisco* communities, see Gerard Wigers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden: Brill, 1994; Vincent Barletta, *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, and Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*, New York: Columbia UP, 2008.

⁹³¹ Labarta, "Inventario de documentos árabes," p. 155.

iv. Translating Religions in Spain: *Morisco* catechisms

There are only a handful of what we might characterize as *morisco* catechisms, three of which had an Arabic version. All of these *morisco* catechisms were related in content and form to catechisms directed to so-called "Old Christians." The three Arabic *morisco* catechisms under study in this chapter are: 1) the collection of Christian texts and priestly instructions which follow Pedro de Alcalá's thirty-three chapters on Arabic grammar in the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lingua[si] arábiga* (1505/6); 2) Martín Pérez de Ayala's catechism, published in 1556 in Castilian with the decrees of the Synod of Guadix and translated into Granadan Arabic by Bartolomé Dorador two years *earlier* (1554) when the catechism was first composed,⁹³² *Ta'lim wa qira' naṣṣraniyya līhawlak alathīn ya'arifū wa yafhamū aktharan bi-ashwāy 'al ashiyyah alathīn yata'ālim bi-hum al-tarbiyy 'amm* [sic] and 3) Martín Pérez de Ayala's revised catechism for the Valencian *moriscos*, *Doctrina cristiana en lengua arábiga y castellana para instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos del reino de Valencia*, which was translated into Arabic and published with a literal interlineal Castilian translation in 1566.

These pre-Tridentine and Tridentine texts may be usefully compared with two other, later, *morisco* catechisms produced near the end of the sixteenth century. The drastic changes in content and structure of these latter catechisms, produced in contexts that were closely related to or sometimes overlapping with the earlier catechisms, show the extent of the language ideological shift with respect to Arabic that took place between the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Granada between 1569-1571 and the final expulsion of all *moriscos* from Spain between 1609-1614. The earlier of these two later *morisco* catechisms, both of which were written down in Castilian, is an anonymous manuscript held in the Abbey of Sacromonte. The work is without a date of composition, but was

⁹³² The date given in the translated Arabic version is 1554, and this is the date given for the translation in the little scholarship on the work, although it may be that it was the date of original composition that was then simply translated into Arabic at a different date (though most likely in the sixteenth century).

written by a Jesuit in Granada in or after 1588.⁹³³ The latest known *morisco* catechism was composed by Ayala in Castilian in the 1550s or 1560s, but revised and published by his successor, the Archbishop Juan de Ribera, who published in both a Castilian and a Valencian version several decades later. This is the *Catechismo para instrucción de los nuevos convertidos de moros* (Valencia, 1599).

All of these *morisco* catechisms were produced in a specific context of normative debate over the use of vernaculars in the instruction of the faith, and the relationship of the *morisco* populations to the rest of the body politic. However, the effect of the Second War of the Alpujarras on the programs of assimilation that were supported by the relatively accommodating prescriptions from Trent was ultimately very significant. The *morisco* catechisms produced after 1571 have a very different tone, content, and, I will argue, audience, than the earlier works, and represent a termination of the project of assimilation of the earlier period, to be replaced by a politics of defense, polemic, and expulsion.

a. The First morisco Catechisms: Conversion and Reform

The first Arabic catechism published in the *morisco* context was presented as part and parcel of Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 Arabic grammar, *Arte para ligeramente sauer la lingua aráuiga*, of which a second revised edition was published in 1506. Although the thirty-three chapters of Arabic grammar and the manual for Christian instruction are in fact different works, together with the much longer lexicon, they made up one educational and intellectual project. This intellectual project, Alcalá stated very clearly, was principally in line with the rise of vernacularism championed by his contemporary Antonio de Nebrija. I have argued elsewhere that Alcalá's text is an Arabic embodiment of Iberian vernacularism in the colonial context of Granada.⁹³⁴

⁹³³ Resines, *Catecismo del Sacromonte*, pp.44-47. Resines concludes that the best candidates for authorship are Juan de Albotodo or Ignacio de las Casas.

⁹³⁴ Claire Gilbert, "Converting Power in Pedro de Alcalá's Social Catechism: Vernacular Linguistics in Late Medieval Castile, 1486-1505," UCLA Working Paper.

Notwithstanding its place in the growing corpus of vernacular grammars, Alcalá's composite linguistic and religious text was also created in the very local context of postconquest Granada. Gerrit Drost has argued that the local context was by far the most important, as the bulk of the lexical entries were the vocabulary of daily use rather than of religious ceremonies or practice, that would facilitate actual interactions between new neighbors of different linguistic communities.⁹³⁵ Nonetheless, though the lexicon may have favored the vocabulary of the marketplace, there was a great deal of Arabic religious vocabulary included in the catechism and manual for confessors.

Scholars are undecided as to whether these religious materials were composed by Pedro de Alcalá or by his superior, the Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, to whom Alcalá's work is dedicated.⁹³⁶ There is little overlap with Talavera's other well-known catechetical materials, aside from the standard content, but Talavera's patronage of the text is representative of his longstanding commitment to the use of the vernacular in religious instruction. In any case, it is impossible to disentangle Alcalá or his superior from the trend to vernacularism, as Hernando de Talavera was also the patron of Nebrija's first vernacular text, the *Gramática castellana* (1492), the grammarian and lexicographer who Alcalá in turn cited as his own inspiration.

In the mid-sixteenth century another bishop (and later archbishop) would sponsor the production and publication of bilingual Arabic-Romance evangelical materials directed toward the *moriscos*. This was Martín Pérez de Ayala, Bishop of Guadix (Granada) and future Archbishop of Valencia. Ayala wrote a number of catechisms, two of which were expressly intended for *morisco* flocks, and which were translated into Arabic in 1554 in Granada and in 1566 in Valencia, respectively.

⁹³⁵ Gerrit Drost, "El Arte de Pedro de Alcalá y su Vocabulista: de tolerancia a represión," *Actas del III simposio internacional de estudios moriscos: las practicas musulmanas de los moriscos andaluces (1492-1609)*, Zaghuan: Publications du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information, 1989, pp. 57-69.

⁹³⁶ Antoine Lonnet, *Les textes de Pedro de Alcalá (Edition Critique)*, Paris and Louvain: Editions Peeters, 2002, pp. 5-6 and 8.

In both cases, the *author* of the Arabic text was explicitly given as the Bishop or Archbishop Pérez de Ayala. The translator is technically anonymous although scholars have identified prime candidates, Bartolomé Dorador from Granada and Jerónimo Mur from Valencia.⁹³⁷ Ayala relied on local translators in order to render each text into the specific Arabic dialect of the region. Each Arabic *Doctrina* was published in the aftermath of conciliar debate about language and religious instruction where such local vernacularism would have been likely supported. In fact, the important influence of the Tridentine language debates on the local *morisco* catechisms should not be underestimated. In 1554, Ayala was freshly returned from attending the second convocation of the Council of Trent (1551-1552), and a tour of Italy in the company of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the later author of the *Guerra de Granada* (see chapter 4).⁹³⁸ Ayala's first order of business in 1553, as he finally took up residency in his diocese, was to tour the region on an extended ecclesiastical *visita* and then to hold a local council, modeled on the reforms he learned about and contributed to in Trent.⁹³⁹ This was the Synod of Guadix in 1554, which focused primarily on the evangelization and instruction of the *moriscos*. The argument which underlay this synod was the idea that the *nuevos convertidos* could not fully assimilate into their new body politic until they had learned new laws, both of religious and cultural practice. To this end, he implemented the trends from Trent which

⁹³⁷ Although originally from Andalucía, he did not know Arabic himself, and in 1548 when Charles V made clear his intention to name Pérez de Ayala as bishop of Guadix and Baza, Pérez de Ayala demurred that he did not, in fact, know Arabic or *morisco* customs. *Autobiografía* cited in María Paz Torres Palomo, "Don Martín de Ayala y la catequesis de los niños moriscos," in *Homenaje a Darío Cabanelas*, pp. 509-517, p. 510. Even before he was able to take up his episcopal residency, he requested in 1550 that Charles grant him two benefices for Arabic-speaking clergy. See Carlos Javier Garrido García, "El uso de la lengua árabe como medio de evangelización-represión de los moriscos del reino de Granada: nuevos datos sobre Bartolomé Dorador, intérprete y traductor de Martín de Ayala, obispo de Guadix," *MEAH* 57 (2008): 123-137, p. 127. Ayala continued to mandate the use of Arabic among his clergy throughout the Synod: "Mandamos que estas dos ciudades Guadix y Baça, se junten todos los nuevos Christianos los domingos de los aduientos y delas quaresmas / o alguna fiesta que ocurriere entre semana, en vna yglesia la que fuere mas acomodada para que todos ellos puedan conuenir y juntarse, y tengan sermon en arauigo acerca dela doctrina y evangelio que ocurriere, no auiedo en todas las parrochias hombres doctos y arauigos que los puedan enseñar. y esto hagan los prelados con interprete / o pongan quien lo haga, porque nunca lo an tenido hasta nuestro tiempo, y es gran daño delas almas delos dichos nuevamente convertidos no auerlo" (Titulo I, Constitución II).

⁹³⁸ C. Gutierrez, *Españoles en Trento*, Valladolid: CSIC, 1951, "Dominus Didacus Hurtado de Mendoza/Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza," pp. 264-279, and "Dominus Martinus Pérez de Ayala/Don Martín Pérez de Ayala," pp. 774-793.

⁹³⁹ Carlos Asenjo Sedano, "Estudio preliminar," in Martín de Ayala, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Guadix y Baza*, (facsimile edition), Granada: Archivum, 1994, pp. vii-xlvi, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

encouraged instruction in the vernacular, advocating the use of Arabic, and sponsoring the translation of the Catechism of Guadix, intended for the *niños moriscos*, (which was published in Castilian in 1556 as part of the articles of the synod in Alcalá de Henares) into Granadan Arabic. For this task he commissioned a member of the secular clergy in Granada, the *clerigo beneficiado* of Lanteyra, Bartolomé Dorador.⁹⁴⁰

Though little is known about Bartolomé Dorador, what is known is enough to paint a portrait of an ambitious individual who was able, and certainly willing, to trade on his linguistic abilities in order to advance personally. Dorador was the grandson, on his mother's side, of Bartolomé Dorador, a relatively high-ranking Spanish officer in the North African presidio of Melilla. The younger Dorador took the name of his maternal grandfather for the prestige associated with it. The few scholars working on Dorador agree that he almost certainly learned his first Arabic, not in Granada, but in North Africa where he was sent to spend several years as a child with his grandfather.⁹⁴¹ Dorador may have been one of the two Arabic-speaking *beneficiados* that Ayala had requested of Charles in 1550, although there were certainly others working in the villages of the region. Shortly after the composition of the 1554 catechism, Ayala commissioned Dorador to make an Arabic translation.

The only known version of Dorador's catechism, itself a copy, is currently held in the Bibliothèque Nationale d'Alger, and its presence there has not been explained.⁹⁴² It is, ultimately, a surprising text. Unlike the bilingual and often interlineal texts of Pedro de Alcalá and the translator

⁹⁴⁰ Garrido García, "El uso de la lengua árabe," p. 129. Lanteyra was one of the villages held in the *señorío* of the Marquis of Cenete. For more on the bilingual priests in Cenete, see Claire Gilbert, "Transmission, Translation, Legitimacy and Control: The Activities of a Multilingual Scribe in *Morisco* Granada," in *Multilingual and Multigraphic Manuscripts and Documents of East and West*, Giuseppe Mandala and Inmaculada Pérez Marin (eds.), Gorgias Press (Forthcoming 2014).

⁹⁴¹ Torres Palomo, *Bartolomé Dorador*, pp. 15-16. We will below that this reasonable assumption may be complicated by a new identification of the priest in Ribera's 1599 catechism. Sources pertaining to the activities in 1549-1556 of Bartolomé Dorador, *grandpère*, are throughout the *SIHM*, France, v. IV.

⁹⁴² In the absence of evidence it is certainly unwise to speculate, but I will note that as more research is done on the relatively un-studied evangelical efforts in Maghrebi North Africa and from the Spanish presidios we may learn of an opportunity for the catechism to have arrived in what is now Algeria.

of the 1566 catechism (on whom more below), Dorador's translation appears to be a literal translation of the 1554 *Doctrina christiana* and Ayala's prologue to his clergy. That is, what is translated into Arabic was *not* designed so that a priest without Arabic or very little of that language could read from the text and hope his audience was able to understand him. Both the 1505 and 1566 catechisms were both much simpler, and designed as practical manuals for confession, some basic prayers, and in the case of the former, administering some sacraments and a few potted masses. The 1554 Arabic catechism translated text and information that would have been useful to any priest, but not that he could have simply read out loud. The *Doctrina christiana* that was published in 1556 and which María Paz Torres Palomo claims was the source text for Dorador's translation is a shorthand review of several dialogues which were to be used in the instruction of the faith, but not without some more explanation by the priest than what was physically on the page. Even more puzzling is the translation of the prologue, which was directed at the Castilian-speaking priests of the Bishopric of Guadix, presumably an audience that did *not* need to have an Arabic translation of that particular part of the text.⁹⁴³ Until future research possibilities make it possible to consult the original manuscript, however, much of the story of its production, circulation, and use remains a frustrating mystery. Nonetheless, we may look at the structure, lexical choices, and discussion of language use from the Arabic preface in order to compare it with the choices and ideologies of the other *morisco* catechisms, an analysis which will be carried out below.

Since the only extant copy of the Arabic version of the catechism is in Algiers, we have little idea how the text was used in Granada during or after Ayala's tenure as the Bishop of Guadix (1548-1560). In 1564, Ayala, having spent several years as Bishop of Segovia, became Archbishop of Valencia. In 1566 he published a new bilingual catechism, using the Valencian rather than Granadan

⁹⁴³ Reproduction in Torres Palomo, "Don Martín de Ayala," with a summary of the chapters of the catechism, which reproduce exactly the *Doctrina* set out in the *Sinodo* (1556), Título VI, Constitución LI.

dialect, that scholars have nonetheless assumed was also translated by Dorador.⁹⁴⁴ However, recent archival work has shown that Dorador did not move to Valencia with Ayala, but rather remained in Granada and was given a new benefice in the Iglesia Parroquial de Santiago in Guadix. During the second war of the Alpujarras he participated actively in the slave trade of captives taken during the conflict, and he remained in Guadix where he died sometime after 1598.⁹⁴⁵ Thus the 1566 catechism was a different project, both of its author and its translator, than the 1554 work had been.

Pérez de Ayala's second bilingual catechism was no less a product of conciliar debate than the 1554 work. Ayala's second bilingual catechism was published in Valencia in 1566, in this same year appeared the *Roman Catechism* of the Council of Trent,⁹⁴⁶ sponsored by Pope Pius V, and the *Enchiridion*, or *Manual de confesores y penitentes* of Doctor Navarrus, Martin de Azcuelpetá. Both of these latter influential works were what have become known as "large catechisms," certainly a Counter-Reformation genre modeled on the extended catechism of Peter Canisius (*Summa doctrinae christiana*, 1555).⁹⁴⁷ Ayala's bilingual catechism, at 24 folios, had very little to do the model of the reference catechism, but was to be a manual for priests working in Arabic, in particular with the *moriscos* of Valencia. As such it answered the earlier Tridentine call in 1562 for vernacular catechisms (Session 24, Chapter VII), in which it was determined that preachers--whether bishops or parish priests--were to adapt their instruction according to the languages of their flocks.

Ayala's bilingual catechism of 1566 is an artifact in stark opposition to the new ecclesiastical language politics put into place in Granada by Ayala's colleague at Trent, the Archbishop of

⁹⁴⁴ Torres Palomo, *Bartolomé Dorador*, p. 15, though she notes that this conclusion is "atrevido."

⁹⁴⁵ Garrido García, "El uso de la lengua árabe," p. 129-130. Torres Palomo made use of an *expediente de limpieza de sangre* from 1587 housed in the Granada Cathedral archive which reconstructs his family history, but had left a lacuna between 1554 and 1587 which Garrido García has been able to fill using the archives in Guadix. See Torres Palomo, *Bartolomé Dorador*, pp. 14-16.

⁹⁴⁶ The Tridentine *Profession of the Faith* was translated itself into Arabic by Gianbattista Eliano Romano in 1564. José Balagna Cousou, *L'imprimerie arabe en occident (XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1984, pp. 27-30.

⁹⁴⁷ John O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2013, pp. 263-263.

Granada, Pedro Guerrero.⁹⁴⁸ In 1565, Guerrero's response to the debates he had engaged with in Trent was not an adoption of the vernacular (Arabic), but rather its prohibition.⁹⁴⁹ That is, Guerrero, like Ayala, believed that his flock—including *moriscos* and neophytes—should be instructed in the vernacular, but the vernacular of Granada was, in fact, Castilian, and not Arabic, in his normative rather than descriptive view.⁹⁵⁰ The ecclesiastical proscription, which invoked Charles V's 1526 edict from the *Capilla Real*, which had been avoided with a payoff from the *morisco* community, was the immediate precursor to Philip II's decision in 1566 to promulgate a new edict against the use of Arabic in Granada, which was published in 1567 and helped spark the conflict of the second war of the Alpujarras (see chapter 4).

b. The Later Morisco Catechisms: Polemic and Defense

Although the 1560s saw a quickening in the production of vernacular catechisms, including in Arabic, for most *morisco* parishes the implementation of reform-style evangelization was short lived. Any immediate implementation of the reforming ideals of the Council of Trent among the *moriscos* of Granada was interrupted by the Second War of the Alpujarras, which erupted in 1568 and whose effects were felt in Valencia as well.⁹⁵¹ This war, as Antonio Feros has argued, is what "permitted the introduction into the debate over the *morisco* problem a possibility of looking for definitive solutions, alternative to assimilation," that is, expulsion.⁹⁵² Thus, at the very same time that the technologies of assimilation, in the form of bilingual catechisms and instructional manuals, were being established and fine-tuned, the outbreak of war introduced a new discursive opportunity

⁹⁴⁸ Both Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, and Ayala, Archbishop of Valencia, celebrated provincial councils in 1565-1566. *Synodus dioecesisana Valentiae celebrata, praeside Martino Ayala Archiepiscopo Valentino*, Valencia: Ioannis Mey, 1566.

⁹⁴⁹ The record of the Provincial Council of Granada (1565), quoted at length in Wasserman Giménez Eguibar, pp. 238-239. A copy can be found in IVDJ, E1, TIII, 32.

⁹⁵⁰ Luis de Marmól Carvajál, *Rebelion y castigo de los moriscos de Granada*, Libro II, Cáp. VI.

⁹⁵¹ Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, p. 24. Emilia Salvador Esteban, *Felipe II y los moriscos valencianos: las repercusiones de la revuelta granadina (1568-1570)*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1987.

⁹⁵² Feros, "Retóricas de la expulsión," pp. 75-76.

which would have drastic real-world consequences in the series of *morisco* expulsions that began in 1569 and continued until 1614.

Though the Alpujarras war may have disrupted the social reforms of the Church in Spain, as I have argued in chapter 4 and reiterated above, this war was partially a repercussion of the debates held at the Council of Trent itself. Archbishop Guerrero of Granada had interpreted the mandate of reform received at Trent as an opportunity to encourage Philip II to enforce a program of cultural homogeneity, and it was upon this encouragement, couched in terms of papal wishes, that Philip issued the Edict of 1567 that set off the war.

Thus the extant *morisco* catechisms which date from the aftermath of the Second War of the Alpujarras are also in many ways a product of Trent, but of a wholly a different genre than the pre-Alpujarras catechisms as they were written in the midst of a discursive shift around the *morisco* question from assimilation to polemic.⁹⁵³ Even more broadly speaking, throughout the church, a more polemic tendency was beginning to appear.⁹⁵⁴ In the face of these discursive pressures, the catechisms after 1568 could never be the same as those produced before that date. Most significantly, none were technically written in Arabic. The differences in form, content, and presentation between the earlier and later catechisms demonstrate the extent of the shift in language ideologies and politics of language regarding the *moriscos* between the reforming aspirations leading up to and during Trent and the years preceding the final expulsion.

Perhaps the most salient difference in form, aside from the shedding of bilingual elements, was the shift in the structure of the catechism from a collection of prayers and instructive annotations (variously for priest or parishioner) to a larger doctrinal reference in the form of a

⁹⁵³ There were earlier examples of anti-*morisco* polemic, namely the works of Juan Andres (*Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética*, c1515) and Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (*Antialcorán*, c1532), both of whom had been educated in a Valencian *mudéjar* rather than a *morisco* context. These works enjoyed renewed publishing popularity at the end of the sixteenth century.

⁹⁵⁴ Comerford, "Clerical Education, Catechism, and Catholic Confessionalism," pp. 241-265.

polemical dialogue. The previous catechisms had included practical and detailed instructions for engaging with the priest during prayer or mass, primarily in moments of call and response during the liturgy. Later *morisco* catechisms were couched firmly in a discourse of polemic that included direct engagement with and criticism of Islamic beliefs and *morisco* cultural practice, almost always based on the direct experience of the authors with the *moriscos* of Granada. Though these later catechisms were compendia of doctrine and explanation, they were not exactly built on the model of the large catechisms of Trent or others, like Canisius, etc. Among the later *morisco* catechisms are works like the relatively early *Catechismo provechoso* of Alonso de Orozco (1568), the *Catecheses mystagogicae pro advenis ex sexta Mahometana* of Pedro Guerra de Lorca (1586), the so-called anonymous *Catecismo de Sacromonte* (1588), and the *Catecismo para la instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos de moros* (1599), whose ambiguous authorship I will discuss in detail below.⁹⁵⁵ As expressed by the anonymous Sacramonte catechism, written sometime around 1588, the purpose of these later catechisms was not simply to target *morisco* instruction, although formally they were scripted as conversations between priests and Muslim neophytes, but to launch a vigorous defense against Islamic ideas for Christian audiences.

Although the forced repopulation of Granadan *moriscos* that was the outcome of the Alpujarras war began in 1569 and thus focused subsequent discourses about the *morisco* problem on the remaining communities in Valencia, all of these later catechisms were connected in some way with the earlier Granadan experiences of their authors. Alonso de Orozco, though he intended his 1568 catechism for the *moriscos* of Aragon, was a native of Toledo and had lived in Granada in 1544.⁹⁵⁶ This catechism was first published in 1568, but seems to have reached its widest diffusion in the 1570s. Though the text was firmly situated in the Aragonese context in its prefatory materials, the Granadan experience must have impressed itself in some degree onto Orozco, who insisted, via

⁹⁵⁵ See the list of sixteenth-century *morisco* and American catechisms in Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, pp. 37-40.

⁹⁵⁶ See the introduction to the Luis Resines edition of the *Catecismo provechoso* in *Obras Completas de Alonso de Orozco* I, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 2001, pp. 697-724.

the words of his characters, that the catechism be translated as soon as possible into Arabic. The *morisco* neophyte (Felipe) was himself to be the translator.⁹⁵⁷ Since the *moriscos* of Aragon were primarily Romance speakers, the impetus to Arabic translation is likely a technique Orozco had learned while in Granada. The text was certainly influenced by the Catechism of Trent, and Orozco cited from the brand-new expression of doctrine.⁹⁵⁸ Though the text was not, as far as we know, translated into Arabic, as a *potentially* translated work it was in many ways a bridge between the translated Tridentine catechisms of Ayala and the last *morisco* catechism of 1599, which made use of a similar dialogic trope but with very particular linguistic choices, as we shall see below.

In the intervening years, however, other authors of *morisco* catechisms experimented with more and more polemic tones. In 1586, Pedro Guerra de Lorca, a *vecino* of Granada and doctor of theology from the University of Granada, was granted a royal license to print and sell a Latin catechism that he had composed. The audience of this latter text was not the Granadan *moriscos*, but his polemic was informed by his lived experience in Granada.⁹⁵⁹ The anonymous Sacromonte catechism of c1588 was almost certainly written in Granada and most likely by the well-known *morisco* Jesuit Juan de Albotodo.⁹⁶⁰ The catechism was composed during or not long after the beginning of the series of *plomos* discoveries (chapter 4), but although it seems to have been composed in a similar context (and was preserved in the same abbey archive as the *plomos* documentation) it condemns the regional practices of Granada as Islamic, rather than seeking an ancient regional Christian heritage. Although the author devoted two chapters to the eighth commandment (in his list the proscription against bearing false witness) which proved to be an

⁹⁵⁷ "Me holgaré much, padre, que prosigáis vuestra demanda y declaréis los engaños y vanidades en que andan los seguidores del miserable Mahoma engañados, para que pueda yo en mi lengua arábica poner en razón a mis parientes, que son moros, y, con el favor de Dios, darles alguna luz para que vuelvan a Jesucristo y reciban la merced tan soberana que yo he recibido." See the 2001 Resines edition. Orozco, *Catecismo provechoso*, p. 732.

⁹⁵⁸ Resines, "Introducción," p. 705.

⁹⁵⁹ See Jason David Busic, *Saving the Lost Sheep: Mission and Culture in Pedro Guerra de Lorca's Catecheses mystagogicae pro aduenis ex secta Mahometana: Ad Parochos, et Potestates (1586)*, unpublished PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2009.

⁹⁶⁰ Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, p. 26. On Albotodo see Borja de Medina, "La compañía de Jesús," p. 30.

opportunity to develop a philosophy of language--if not better said, morality of language--, Arabic is nowhere mentioned in the Sacromonte catechism.⁹⁶¹ This omission is especially surprising given the space dedicated to criticizing the cultural practices of the *moriscos* of Granada, and if the author was in fact the bilingual Juan de Albotodo.

None of these texts could, or even tried, to shed the association with Granada as a *morisco* space. Even the last text, the 1599 *Catecismo para la instrucción de los nuevamente convertidos de moros* which was printed in Valencia on the orders of the Archbishop Pedro de Ribera, was at its core an artifact from Granada. Though the reader might expect such a text to be directed specifically at the Valencian *moriscos*, the entire dialogue was in fact set in the province Granada, not far from Guadix.⁹⁶²

The 1599 catechism was, in fact, not the work of Ribera. Supposedly it had been composed by none other than Martín Pérez de Ayala while he was still in Guadix, that is, in the province of Granada and some time before 1560. Though Ayala is credited with having written the text, it remained an unknown manuscript with little circulation until it was recovered and amplified by Ribera in 1599.⁹⁶³ The biggest challenge for the historian is thus whether to read the published text as a product of the 1550s, 1560s, or 1590s, contexts which were starkly different in terms of attitudes about language, social discipline, and civic solidarity, in particular with respect to Arabic speakers within the Spanish body politic. Ribera, in the *Carta del Patriarca* which addressed the intended audience of *morisco* evangelizers, insisted that his revisions consisted of carefully gathering Ayala's chapters over a period of several months, then adding and moving some words and

⁹⁶¹ Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, pp. 310-315.

⁹⁶² Benjamin Ehlers has explained the complex position of this catechism in the particular context of Ribera's unsuccessful *morisco* administration in Valencia. See Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 119-122.

⁹⁶³ Torres Palomo, "Don Martín de Ayala," pp. 512-513.

phrases.⁹⁶⁴ This description was intended to depict his intervention as minimal and carefully respectful of the original text, however, the text is so unlike Ayala's other catechisms and so much more like the later polemic catechisms, that it seems likely that Ribera's intervention was more significant than he let on.

The text was ultimately published in a Castilian and a Valencian version, after some debate over whether it should be promulgated in Latin only since its audience was, after all, the educated clergy.⁹⁶⁵ What is highly significant about this text in the larger landscape of language ideologies and policies related to Arabic, however, is that although it was not translated into Arabic, the entire work, a conversation between an Arabic-speaking priest and a "Moor of Barbary," was *imagined* to be in Arabic. That is, although written in Romance, this catechism could be easily situated with the corpus of earlier Arabic catechisms from sixteenth-century Spain. At the same time, it can be read as part of the growing corpus of Spanish texts, written in Romance but imagined within the paradigm of an Arabic frame tale that was then "translated" by the author (see chapter 4). Though the Ayala-Ribera catechism is, of course, hardly an example of Carasco Urrgoiti's *novela morisca*, it is impossible to ignore the author's use of the same trope that Pérez de Hita, Miguel de Luna, and eventually, Miguel de Cervantes would use to such great effect.

However, unlike Orozco's Felipe, the would-be Arabic translator of the 1568 catechism, or Cervantes's Cidi Hamete Benegeli in 1605, there is no Arabic translator in Ribera's 1599 text. The Arabic text simply was in Castilian or Valenciano. However, the characters were Arabic speakers trading in Christian ideas, that is, the priest, or "*maestro*," who instructs a "*discípulo*" from Tetouan who had traveled to Spain with the object of converting to Christianity. The *maestro* himself at one

⁹⁶⁴ "Así fue menester gastar algunos meses en disponer las materias y capítulos, y así mesmo en añadir y mudar palabras y clausulas para mayor claridad de la doctrina," *Catechismo para la instrucción de los nuevos convertidos de moros*, p. 2.

⁹⁶⁵ There were enough references to Islamic principles that the censors worried that the circulation of such information in vernacular versions might be harmful. Ribera advocated for vernacular publication, and argued convincingly that whatever reference to Islam there might be, it was common knowledge, and defeated so soundly in the polemic that it could not possibly be a danger to any Christian reader (indeed, any non-Christian reader would, ideally, be convinced by the arguments to convert). Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 119-120.

point claimed to speak the Arabic he had learned in North Africa better than Castilian.⁹⁶⁶ Torres Palomo has argued that Ayala, the credited original drafter of the catechism, based the character on Bartolomé Dorador, the real-life translator of Ayala's 1554 catechism, who in his position as a beneficed clergyman in Guadix helped interpret sermons and other rites in Arabic to *morisco* parishioners while Ayala was the Bishop of Guadix. Dorador almost certainly had a similar North African experience to that of the *maestro*, spending time with his grandfather in Melilla.⁹⁶⁷ Perhaps most convincing for the argument that the *maestro* was Dorador is the *maestro's* claim that he knew *çeneti*, a language associated with a North African community, but more immediately a term that would have called to mind the *morisco* community of the *marquesado de Cene*, the largest seigniorial landholder within the dioceses of Guadix. The *moriscos* of Cene did not speak *çeneti*, but rather their local dialect of Granadan Arabic, but Ayala's assertion, in the voice of his narrator, that "çeneti (como tu bien sabes) es más barabra y oscura," ("*çeneti* (as you well know) is the most barbarous and obscure language") might have been read (or at least written) with a mind to the acrimonious legal battle being waged between Martín Pérez de Ayala as the head of the dioceses of Guadix and the lords of Cene who were usurping a good portion of the ecclesiastical rents and claiming a special privilege from the time of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella.⁹⁶⁸

Dorador then, is a convincing candidate on whom Ayala could have based the character of the *maestro*. That the dialogue itself took place in Guadix is another clue that Ayala may have had a hand in the initial version, and may have been thinking of the *beneficiado* Dorador, since the *discípulo* tells the *maestro* that he had heard that the Bishop of Guadix took special care of instructing the

⁹⁶⁶ *Catechismo para instrucción de los nuevos convertidos de moros* (Valencia, 1599), Libro I, Diálogo I, pp. 6-7.

⁹⁶⁷ Paz Torres, *Bartolomé Dorador y el árabe dialectal andaluz*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1971, pp. 14-17.

⁹⁶⁸ See Claire Gilbert, "Transmission, Translation, Legitimacy and Control: The Activities of a Multilingual Scribe in *Morisco* Granada," in *Multilingual and Multigraphic Manuscripts and Documents of East and West*, Giuseppe Mandala and Inmaculada Pérez Marin (eds.), Gorgias Press (Forthcoming 2014).

newly converted, not ten leagues away.⁹⁶⁹ However, as Ribera revised Ayala's text, he may have had his own *maestro* in mind, another Arabic-speaking priest who also helped translate sermons and who had a long North African experience: the Jesuit university professor Jerónimo Mur, whose Mediterranean experiences I will discuss in detail below. Whether the *maestro* was intended to be Dorador, or Mur, or was based on their lives and characters, or perhaps a composite ideal, the extensive dialogue gives us an idea of how bilingual evangelization was intended (or at least imagined) to be carried out beyond the schematic bilingual confession manuals.

As for the *discípulo*, an unbaptized North African who arrived in the dialogue with the will and desire to convert already in place, this was most likely a wholly imagined character.⁹⁷⁰ Benjamin Ehlers has argued that choosing such a character, as opposed to a *morisco* from Valencia or Granada, was part of Ribera's publication strategy and also his accounting to Philip II about the relative lack of success in converting the *moriscos* of Valencia during his long tenure as Archbishop (1568-1611).⁹⁷¹ Despite his growing hostility toward the *moriscos* and the pivotal role he would play in convincing Philip III of the benefit of their expulsion, in 1599 he still believed in at least the possibility of a successful polemic with Islamic ideas, conversion of a Muslim, and instruction of a formerly Muslim neophyte.⁹⁷² Given the perceived failure of sincere conversion among the Valencian *moriscos*, however, it probably was more pragmatic to chose a non-*morisco* characterization for the *discípulo*.

c. The Languages and Language Ideologies of the Morisco Catechisms (1505-1599):

A full comparative analysis of the theology expressed in each catechism is outside the scope of the current work, though it would certainly be a worthwhile project. My focus here is on the way

⁹⁶⁹ *Catechismo para instrucción de los nuevos convertidos de moros* (Valencia, 1599), Libro I, DIALOGO I, p. 4.

⁹⁷⁰ Though not unlike Cervante's Zoraida, the bride of the Captive in *Don Quixote*, Part I, chapters XXXVII-XLIII.

⁹⁷¹ Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 120-122

⁹⁷² By the end of his tenure Ribera had become one of the fiercest proponents of the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Valencia. For a discussion of the gradual change in Ribera's philosophy with regard to his "old Christian" and *morisco* flocks, see Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006

that language, and in particular Arabic, was used and represented in the genre of the *morisco* catechism as that genre mutated throughout the sixteenth century. The lexical and syntactic choices of the authors of the early catechisms reveal a shifting in the practice of translating Christian texts into Arabic in that time period. The Arabic translators working on the catechetical projects had their own perspectives on language and on the relationship between Arabic and Spanish as part of a larger theory of language. In both 1505 and 1566, part of each text was devoted to discussing the natural heterogeneity of language. Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte* was primarily, in fact a language-learning manual, with detailed grammatical explanations and a pronunciation guide. Within the catechetical materials, however, he also included a brief reflection on the nature of language itself, using Arabic and Spanish as the models:

Anyone who reads this questionnaire (*interrogatorio*) and manual for confessors (*doctrina de los confesores*) should be aware that each language has its own manner of speaking, and the intelligent man will be sure to conform to each one as well as he can. For doing otherwise would be to obfuscate rather than to interpret whatever the man was trying to say. For this reason, in the present questionnaire, many of the questions have a literal translation that corresponds word for word, since the Arabic could handle that, while others do not, since it could not, though it is the same sentence simply rendered in different terms. I have said this for the benefit of those who are inclined to reproach and not to defend the work of their neighbors.⁹⁷³

As Alcalá explained his flexible approach as a translator between *ad verbum* and *ad sensum* approaches, he also defended the natural heterogeneity of language, including to those who might use such differences to develop a discourse of difference and discrimination.

There was no explicit reflection on language and pronunciation in Dorador's 1554 translation. The preface, as I have mentioned above, seems to have been translated into Arabic without much necessity for such a translation, since it was directed to the priests who would have

⁹⁷³ "Deve mirar qualquier persona que leyere el presente interrogatorio y doctrina para los confesores que cada uno de las lenguas tiene su manera de hablar y con aquella se deue el hombre cuerdo conformar quanto buenamente pudiere porque de otra manera mas seria enfuscar que interpretar lo que onbre quiere dezir. E por esso en el presente interrogatorio muchas de las preguntas van asi al pie de la letra sacadas parte por parte en l arauia porque lo sufrio la lengua. y otras no asi porque no lo sufrio la lengua. mas solamente la misma sentencia aunque por otros terminos y lo presente sea dicho por aquellos que son inclinados a reprehender y no a defender las obras de los proximos." Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente sauer*, pp. 50-51.

been able to read Ayala's Castilian original. The preface of Mur's 1566 translation, however, was wholly in Castilian, but nevertheless addressed directly to the Arabic-speaking parishioners, noting that they can take any questions or doubts to their pastors, who have been given a larger catechism to use for explaining more complicated questions.⁹⁷⁴ Ayala, the author of the catechism and its dedicatory letter explained, "Although we wrote it in Castilian, your instructors and the priests we send to you will tell it to you in Arabic, for we have chosen them so that they know your language so that nothing may lack in providing you with complete instruction."⁹⁷⁵ At the conclusion of the bilingual catechism, however, Mur reverted to Alcalá's model of spending a few lines explaining Arabic pronunciation to the priests who were intended to use the manual, and this pronunciation guide also revealed an assumption of legitimate linguistic heterogeneity. Mur explained, "Since the Arabic language (like all others) not only has its own characters, but also its own pronunciations and sounds of the letters, which cannot always be well substituted with Latin letters, the reader will be well advised of the following rules in order to read and pronounce well *the Arabic words of the Christian doctrine*."⁹⁷⁶ Unsurprisingly, the Arabic translators who worked between the languages articulated a theory of language that accepted variation across communities with a neutral moral implication. There was simply no reason a Christian text should not be in Arabic, as opposed to Spanish.

Aside from the more self-conscious passages dedicated to reflecting on language as such, the texts also reveal different language choices over time. First of all, after 1566, no known Arabic Christian materials were created in Spain. This shift in production did not mean that the interest in Arabic materials for evangelization had waned. On the contrary, in particular among the Jesuits in

⁹⁷⁴ "Epistola," *Doctrina Christiana* (1566), ff. 3-3v.

⁹⁷⁵ "Y aun que la escriuimos en lengua Castellana, pero declaranosla en Arauigo los Catechistas, y predicadores que os embiaremos; los quales hemos escogido tales, que sepan bien vuestra lengua, por que no falte nada para vuestra cumplida instruction." "Epistola," *Doctrina Christiana* (1566), f. 3v.

⁹⁷⁶ Emphasis my own. "Porque la lengua Arauiga (como todos las demas) tiene no solamente proprios caracteres, pero aun proprias pronunciaciones y sonidos de letras, que no se pueden bien suplir con letras Latinas estara el lector auisado con estas reglas siguientes para saber bien leer, y pronunciar las palabras ARauigas desta doctrina Christiana." "Reglas para saber leer las dictiones Arauigas desta doctrina," *Doctrina Christiana* (1566), ff. 22-22v.

Spain and across the Mediterranean, there was a high demand for Arabic-speaking priests and Arabic versions of the gospels and other texts. Jerónimo Mur, the probable translator of Ayala's 1566 catechism and a candidate for the *maestro* of the 1599 text, had copies of the gospels in Arabic with him in Valencia and Mallorca before being called to Rome in 1563, and toward the end of his life was working on an Arabic lexicon to help teach Arabic to other Jesuits.⁹⁷⁷ Mur's relationship to and philosophy of Arabic texts will be discussed in detail below, but he was far from the only Jesuit interested in keeping Christian Arabic texts available in Spain, despite the anxieties about Arabic texts and the surveillance of the Inquisition. The breadth of the Jesuit organization, however, meant that such Arabic text could reliably sourced from outside of Spain. In 1564, the Roman Jesuit and Jewish convert, Gianbattista Eliano Romano, translated the Tridentine Profession of Faith into Arabic, and he would spend the next decades of his life collecting more Christian Arabic materials from among the Levantine Christians.⁹⁷⁸ In 1580, following his second journey to the Levant and the Synod of Lebanon, in which it was agreed that the Arabic Roman catechism would replace Maronite materials, a new version of the Arabic catechism was published in Rome, based in part on the catechisms of Peter Canisius and Giacomo Ledesma.⁹⁷⁹ In 1595 a compilation of Eastern Orthodox texts in Arabic and Latin, *al-I'tiqad al-Amanah al-Urtuduksiyyah*, one of the first Arabic texts to be published by the new Tipographia Medicea Orientalis.⁹⁸⁰ The Arabic texts published by the

⁹⁷⁷ For an overview of Mur's biography, see the biographical entry by Francisco de Borja Medina in O'Neill, Charles E., and Joaquín M.a Domínguez, eds. *Diccionario Histórico de La Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Rome and Madrid: Institutum Historicum and Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001. Eliano also seems to have been a great innovator in the techniques of instruction, and as early as 1563 he had produced a catechism of illustrations for the illiterate, the *Dottrina christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rapresentati con figure per instruzione de gl'Idioti & di quelli che non sanno leggere* (with later editions in 1587 and 1591). See O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 189

⁹⁷⁸ These texts were published at the Arabic press at the Collegio Romano. MHSI, *Monumenta Proxim-Orientis I*, p. 458. The Tridentine translation went through 4 editions between 1564-1580. See Balagna-Coustou, *L'imprimerie*, pp. 27-41. For more on the press at the Collegio Romano, see J.R. (Wayne) Osborn, *The Type of Calligraphy: Writing, Print, and Technologies of the Arabic Alphabet*, unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2008, p. 172.

⁹⁷⁹ MHSI, *Monumenta Proxim-Orientis I*, pp. 399-424. Balagna Coustou discusses the events around the publication of this catechism in *L'imprimerie*, pp. 31-32.

⁹⁸⁰ The first texts produced on the Medici Press were an Arabic version of the Gospels (1590/1591), followed in 1592 by three books on the Arabic language itself, the *Ajumurriyyah*, the *Kafiyah*, and an anonymous *Alphabetum Arabicorum*, later thought to be a product of the Press's founder Gianbattista Raimondi. See Robert Jones, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance*

Jesuit Collegio Romano and the later Tipographia Medicea were in great demand in Spain, but it proved difficult to obtain a license for their import and use into the Peninsula.⁹⁸¹ Mur, who had a close relationship with Eliano, depended on these Arabic materials, and his use of those books will be discussed in greater detail below.

For those Christian Arabic texts which were produced in Spain, however, the question was not only whether to use Arabic or how much Arabic to use, but what dialect, and which Arabic words to use for religious topics and in the Iberian catechisms the translators sometimes relied on Islamic vocabulary.⁹⁸² The use of Arabic vis-a-vis Castilian words in the *morisco* catechisms was more or less uniform in the Iberian Arabic catechisms. Although the translators of each text made slightly different lexical and syntactic choices which reflect the different dialects of Iberian Arabic (in Granada and in Valencia), the three Spanish texts use very different vocabulary than contemporaneous Arabic Christian texts from the Levant, or even from Rome. For example, the Iberian texts preferred the words *jāmiy'a* for church (lit. gathering place, traditionally meaning the mosque) and *faqīh* for priest (lit. a Muslim legal scholar, in Iberia meaning clergy).⁹⁸³ Meanwhile,

Europe, pp. 167-170 and Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe," in G.A. Russell, *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 88-108. Jones notes that, also in 1592, an Arabic grammar appeared in Frankfurt an der Oder. The Medici Press, which only lasted until 1614, filled its later roster with technical Arabic books of grammar, geography (al-Idrisi), or mathematics (Euclid and Avicenna) rather than religious texts. This gap was filled by the Arabic books imported from the east, and later on by the press of the Propaganda Fide which was established in 1622. See Willy Henkel, "The Polyglot Printing-Office of the Congregation." In *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum. 350 Anni (1622-1672), Vol. I 1622-1700*, edited by Josef Metzler, 335-350. Rom - Freiburg - Wien: Herder, 1971.

⁹⁸¹ Various requests (none granted) by the Jesuit Francisco de Quesada to Philip III advocating for Arabic printing in Spain and the purchase of Arabic books in Rome is in ACA, Leg. 669, núm. 24.

⁹⁸² For example, in Pedro de Alcalá's 1505 work, some extensive parts of the religious manual designed for Castilian priests were *only* in Granadan Arabic. Alcalá used the Islamic Arabic phrase, "*ʿazza wa jalla*" (lit. mighty and majestic, used in reference to Allah) throughout the Christian prayers in reference to both God and Jesus, and this phrase remained in Mur's 1566 text. This phrase, loosely translated, "great and glorious," is one of the characteristic descriptors of God (Allah) in the Islamic tradition. Likewise, in 1505 Pedro de Alcalá made frequent use of the phrase *alhamdulillah* to evoke sincerity and emotion in the Arabic texts intended for the new Christians. This latter phrase had vanished by 1566, but the use of both phrases reveals at least some familiarity with Islamic concepts among the Arabic-speaking priests, and a willingness to accommodate those concepts in evangelization.

⁹⁸³ For Iberian Arabic I rely on Federico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Arabic speakers in Rome preferred *kanīṣab* (church) or *kābin* and *qīss*, words used in Arabic-speaking Eastern Christian churches.⁹⁸⁴

The Iberian lexical choices reflect the way that concepts which could have been interpreted as Islamic were being assimilated into Christian doctrine as they were written into Christian texts. This transfer was not unidirectional, however, as Castilian loan words began to make their way into the Arabic texts. The most common loan words were nouns, but there is one noticeable exception: the term for confession. In 1566, the act of confession was rendered as *taqīrr fi dhunūbik*, or reciting one's sins. In the 1580 eastern catechism confession was labeled *sirr al-i'tirāf*, or the sacrament of recognition. In 1505, however, Pedro de Alcalá came up with an even more expedient solution, and rendered the Castilian noun into an Arabic verb, commanding the new converts to *yconfessaru*. Such plasticity in lexical choices reflected the local dialects in which the Arabic translators were working.

By 1566 the translator began to opt at times for a Romance calque rather than an "Islamic" word. That is, where Alcalá in 1505 and Dorador in 1554 used *faqīh* or *salāt*, the 1566 translator used *capellán* and *misa*. What is striking is that it was the institutional rather than the conceptual words that had changed. Likewise, by 1566 many loan words from Castilian were being incorporated, rather than translated into Arabic, but not consistently. The example of what to do *Quādo el sacerdote dixere los Sanctus* (when the priest pronounces the *Sanctus*), is representative of the mix of borrowed words from both the Islamic and Christian traditions. In 1505, Pedro de Alcalá provided a brief and relatively standard version of the *Sanctus*, with only a few Islamic insertions, transliterated into Arabic only with no translation or any instructions to the congregant:

Cudducu, cudducu, cudducu. Rabbuna gua yllehuna meliq al-ahzeb. Mumblin[*sīc*] hu a cemeguet gualardu mi 'iizati geleliq. Alhamdulillehi fi cemegueti. Mubaracun hue alledi eti bi'izmi rabi alhamdullilehi fi cemegueti [Alcalá's transcription].

⁹⁸⁴ Compare the Iberian texts with Eliano's 1580 catechism, *al-Ta'alim al-Masīhi 'ala Jari 'adab Kanisa Rumiyah* in *MHSI Proximi-Orientis* I, pp. 399-425.

[Holy, holy holy. Our lord and Our God, King of the Hosts. The heavens and the earth are filled with your greatness and glory. Praise be to God in the heavens. Blessed is he who is called in the name of the Lord. Praise be to God in the heavens.]⁹⁸⁵

Though this *Sanctus* has the standard elements, the use of a form of *'azzā wa jalla* and *al-hamdu li-lillab*, literally "Praise be to God," were reminiscent of Muslim prayers. The 1566 Arabic, transliterated into Latin characters, eschews such phrases and their Islamic meaning, with the exception of *'azzā*, but the lexical choices are still not explicitly Christian:

Haté al capelán yecól al Sanctus, tecól. Cuduç iléh, cudúç quehuí, cudúç me yufní, meulé rábun al ahxébb[*siz*],⁹⁸⁶ arhámna, mumliín hum acemehuét, huá al ard, men é'ezataq mégdequeq: fa negíne fe cemehuét. Yecún ma'róf, mováreq, huá ma'abút men cüllehum íbneq céidne 'iça el muquéddec: alledí arcélt fi ícmeq le dúnie, le céhatna negíne déua fe cemehuét [Mur's transliteration].

[When the priest says the Sanctus, you say: Holy God, Holy Power, Holiness which does not end, our Lord God of the Garrison, grant us mercy, the heavens and the earth are full of your glory with your greatness: so bring us to the heavens. Let it be know, O Blessed One, that our lord the holy Jesus is worshipped by all, he who was sent in your name to the world, for our salvation to bring us to Heaven.]

Meanwhile, the Spanish interlineal text of 1566 reads:

Quãdo el Sacerdote dixere los Sanctus, diras, Sancto Dios, Sancto fuerte, Sancto immortal, Señor Dios de los exercitos, aue misericordia de nos: llenos son los cielos, y la tierra, de la magestada de tu gloria: pues saluanos en las alturas. Sea conocido, bendito, y adorado de todos tu hijo sagrado Iesu Christo: el qual embiaste en tu nõbre al mundo, para nuestra salud. Salua nos agora en las alturas.

[When the priest pronounces the Sanctus, you say: Holy God, Holy Strength, Holy Immortal, Lord God of the Armies, have mercy on us: Full are the heavens and earth of your majesty and your glory: so deliver us unto the heavens. Let your sacred son Jesus Christ be known, blessed, and adored by all: [for it was] he who you sent in your name to the world for our well-being. Deliver us now unto the heavens.]

This later version of the *Sanctus* prayer was rendered as *Sanctus*, in its Latin form, directly in the Arabic, while just underneath it the phrase *Sancto Dios* was translated and rendered as *Cúduç iléh*. This

⁹⁸⁵ Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente sauer la lingua arabiga*, p. 83. Translation my own.

⁹⁸⁶ There is no root ḥšb in Corriente's *Dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*, but there is the root ḥšd, meaning to gather or to garrison. Meanwhile, in Classical Arabic, ḥzb, has a similar meaning of to assemble or gather, including of military troops. Either one of these roots might be the intended word, explaining the sixteenth-century Spanish translation of *exercito*.

1566 *Sanctus*, so closely connected to the performance of the Eucharist and transubstantiation, was thus rendered in a peculiar mix of Christian and Islamic terms and concepts in a hybrid form through which Romance-speaking priests and Arabic-speaking congregants could arrive at the same religious matter.

The 1566 translation was most likely made by the Jesuit Jerónimo Mur, for whom Ayala sent a special request to Rome in 1565. Mur was shortly thereafter recalled to Valencia from Rome, and he likely made the translation before Archbishop Ayala's death that same year. That means that his translation was influenced by his experience studying Arabic outside the Iberian Peninsula, in Mallorca and Naples, and then alongside Gianbattista Eliano Romano at the Collegio Romano. Eliano had his own Arabic types and used them to publish Arabic Christian works at the Jesuit college, including an early translation of the Catechism of Trent. Nonetheless, Mur's 1566 translation preferred the Iberian rather than Levantine or even Egyptian Arabic that Mur had access to through Eliano. Mur was highly attentive to lexical choices, so his precision in using more Islamic Arabic terms for his Iberian audience was no accident. Nonetheless, his exposure to the Eastern texts he studied with Eliano shaped the contents of the Christian materials that were to be used in the Peninsula and North Africa.

C. North African, Italian, and Iberian Experiences in the Development of an Arabic Pedagogical Canon:

The study of Arabic in Spain in the sixteenth century is normally studied as either a part of crypto-Muslim practice or a nascent orientalism among antiquarians and scholars who enjoyed various degrees of royal patronage. However, the clergy and ecclesiastic administration also promoted Arabic study for evangelical purposes. Studies of short-live *morisco* schools in Granada and Valencia have exhausted the paucity of extant local sources, and concluded that bilingual pedagogical

programs in Spain were, at best, briefly and partially successful.⁹⁸⁷ The same was true of early Jesuit Arabic schools in Mallorca and Sicily.⁹⁸⁸ In fact, in the mid sixteenth century, the primary network of Arabic scholars and apprentices was that of the Jesuits, who in their early and intensive commitment to Mediterranean evangelization created circuits between Iberia, the Italian Peninsula, across North Africa, and the Levant through which the same personnel and texts circulated.⁹⁸⁹ This flow of people and objects created a set of overlapping linguistic spheres that was not unlike the networked space of diplomacy and commerce in the "Atlantic Mediterranean" (chapter 5).

i. Jerónimo Mur: Choosing the Good Word

No one individual so fully embodies the experiences of a Mediterranean missionary as does the Jesuit Jerónimo Mur, who has already been mentioned as the likely translator of Ayala's 1566 Valencian catechism and who was one of the principle Arabic translators of the Valencian Inquisition. Mur was born around 1525 in Gandia (Valencia) and he died in Valencia in 1602.⁹⁹⁰ During his life and career as a Jesuit priest, having entered the order in 1557, Mur's Arabic activities spanned and were influenced by a palpable shift in language ideologies toward Arabic. As the translator of the last Arabic *morisco* catechism as well as an active participant in evangelical and inquisitorial activities until his death in 1602, that is, right through the decades through which the discursive shift from assimilation to expulsion was being consolidated. As we shall see, in his own relationship with Arabic and Arabic texts, he stood firmly between Arabic as a local Spanish language, and as a global standard for evangelization.

⁹⁸⁷ Francisco de Borja Medina, "La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545-1614)," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 57 (1988): 3–137.

⁹⁸⁸ On Mur's contributions to the school in Mallorca, see Francisco de Borja Medina, "Jerónimo Mur," Charles E. O'Neill, and Joaquín M.a Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario Histórico de La Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Rome and Madrid: Institutum Historicum and Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, pp. 2769-2770. On the early school in Sicily, also see Emanuele Colombo, "'Even among the Turks,' Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705) and Islam," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 44/3 (2012): 1-41, p. 38.

⁹⁸⁹ Louis Charles, *Les jésuites dans les états barbaresques: Algérie et Maroc*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1914 and Robert Ricard, *Études sur l'histoire des portugais au Maroc*, Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1955.

⁹⁹⁰ Much of the information about his life and work, which is then corroborated by other Jesuit and Valencia sources, is summed up in his obituary, written by Francisco Boldo in Valencia. ARSI, Hist Soc 177, Tom. 2, Núm 93, ff. 201-201v.

Mur entered the Jesuit order in Gandia in 1556, and by 1557 he worked at the University of Gandia both as a professor of Latin language and culture (*Latinidad*) but he also taught Arabic to his fellow Jesuits in order to prepare them for missionary work. He had composed an Arabic grammar and had in his possession Arabic versions of the gospels of Matthew and John. The Jesuits were already showing interest in Arabic teaching and learning across the order, and in 1555 Jerónimo Domenech founded a short-lived Arabic school in Sicily. In 1561, a new school was founded in Mallorca, with Mur present as the resident Arabic expert. Mur's reputation as a teacher of Arabic was at an all-time high from 1561-1562, when requests for his expertise came from Sicily, Egypt, and Rome.⁹⁹¹ He was tapped by Laínez in 1562 to become the first chair of Arabic in the Collegio Romano, though at the same time his Arabic books and reference materials were sent to Jerónimo Domenech in Sicily who did not send them back to Rome until 1563.⁹⁹² Mur arrived in Naples from Mallorca in 1563 and was sent to practice with Arabic-speaking slaves as he waited to travel to Rome.⁹⁹³ Once out of his own vernacular region, however, Mur's Arabic proved to be too much of a dialect, and he lost the Arabic chair to Giovanni Battista Eliano, a Roman Jewish convert who had

⁹⁹¹ *MHSI, Lainii Monumenta* 6-7 (1561-1563): Letter 1633. Pater Christophorus Rodericus. Patri Jacobo Laino. Cairo 25 Januarii 1562:"[...] Se me offeresce che bisognaria che V.P. mandase venir il P. Gieronimo valentiano, il qual ho lasato il anno pasato in Gandia, che sa ben parlar et scriuir in arabico, e lo mandase in qua ad cautelam, si non potesse star per di qua il P. Baptista per le cause dette. E già che potesse star, agiutaria assai, per saper tanto ben la lingua, et per hauer duoi che parlassero a uni et altrei; secondochè bisognasse. V.P. uedrà quello che si deue far' in questo, che sarà il meglio, et se giudicarà che uenga, importaria che uenesse con ogni diligentia, aciochè con il primo passaggio si imbarcasse et agiutaria assai, se portasse l'arte arabica con il vocabulario, se l'hauerà [...]" *MHSI, Monumenta Paedagogica* 3, Letter 216, P.

Hieronymus Domenech S.I. [a] P. Iacobo Laínez S.I. Praep. Gen. August 14 1562: "Muchas veces hemos tentado en Sicilia de hallar alguno que levara la lengua arábica en tiempo de Joan de Vega y del duque de Medina Celi, dezeandolo mucho todos dos que esta lengua aprendiessen algunos de los nuestros, y no se ha hallado persona al propósito. He entendido que en Mallorca ay un padre de los nuestros que sabe muy bien esta lengua, y acá la ensenada, y también he hallado una gramática y vocabulario stampado. Y he entendido que este padre, el qual es natural de Gandia, es muy afficionado a la lengua, y que para otra cosa no tiene mucha habilidad, ni halla tanto gusto en otro exercitio. Hará poca falta, según entiendo. Yo he escrito al padre Provincial el qual ágora se halla en Mallorca que lo quiera emprestar por algunos meses para ensenyar esta lengua. Supplico a V.P. que le scriva sobre lo mismo que de allí con la primera comodidad nos lo embie a Sicilia. Llamase el padre Hieronymo Mur." *MHSI, Lainii Monumenta* 6-7, Letter 1734. Patri Antonio Cordesio. Tridento 16 Decembris 1562. " Asimesmo se escriuió por orden del papa que se imbiase un sacerdote, que está en Mallorca, llamado Hierónimo Mur, a Roma para leer una lección de arábico[...]"

⁹⁹² He had in fact received the order to send them on but delayed, protesting that he didn't realize it was such an urgent issue. ARSI, Italia 122, Núm 454, f. 95v

⁹⁹³ ARSI Italia 123, ff. 77-77v.

joined the Jesuits in 1552.⁹⁹⁴ From 1563 until 1565 Eliano and Mur studied Arabic together in Rome, with a special license from the Roman Inquisition to consult Arabic Christian books.

In 1565, Martín Pérez de Ayala asked the Borja family, high in the ranks of both the Jesuit and Valencian administrations, to send Mur back to the University of Gandia to take up the Arabic chair.⁹⁹⁵ Mur would then become one of the principle *morisco* missionaries in Valencia. The best known parts of Mur's career to date, however, are his work for the Inquisition, painstakingly researched by Ana Labarta and discussed above. There are also many sources across Jesuit archives which tell the story of his role in the early Arabic programs of the Company, from Mallorca to Rome. However, most of his career was spent as a Christian missionary among Muslims or suspected Muslims, primarily the *moriscos* of Valencia, and crucially, the Muslim communities living in and around the Spanish presidio of Oran, where he was stationed between 1567 and 1572.

Though he was recalled to Valencia from Rome in 1566, where he most likely translated Ayala's *Doctrina Cristiana*, his first long-term mission was in fact to the Spanish presidio of Oran where he was posted for five years from 1567 to 1572 as the companion to Pedro Domenech. Domenech had already served in Orán as the chaplain to the former governor Martín González de Córdoba in 1558, and he and Mur had met for the first time in 1562.⁹⁹⁶

Mur's mandate in Oran was to attend to the spiritual welfare of the Spanish Christian inhabitants of the presidio. However, he also became involved in a mission of conversion to the Muslim communities who lived on the outskirts of the fortress.⁹⁹⁷ The question of whether to build a permanent *casa profesa* in Oran was also debated, but ultimately Domenech advised against it since

⁹⁹⁴ Eliano was born in Egypt and lived for some time in Germany before his family settled again in Rome. He also knew best the Arabic dialect of his childhood, until he made an effort to learn *fusha* in Egypt while on his first mission as a Jesuit in 1562. Balagna Coustou, *L'imprimerie*, p. 30.

⁹⁹⁵ Francisco de Borja Medina, "Jerónimo Mur," Charles E. O'Neill, and Joaquín M.a Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario Histórico de La Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Rome and Madrid: Institutum Historicum and Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, pp. 2769-2770.

⁹⁹⁶ On their first meeting, ARSI Italia 122, f. 95r.

⁹⁹⁷ ARSI Hist Soc 177, T. 2, Núm. 93, ff. 201-201v.

there was already a sufficient clerical population with the *iglesia mayor* and three monasteries (the Dominicans and presumably the Mercedarians and Trinitarians).⁹⁹⁸ By 1571, Domenech had returned to Spain, leaving Mur and his companion Gómez Molto in Oran. In his absence, Mur took over the responsibility of reporting back to the central Jesuit administration. He was also contracted by two senior officers ("dos capitanes de los mas principales") to teach their sons to read and write in Arabic. The result was that one of the young men "could already act as interpreter (*lengua*) without having to use the Jew (*el judío*)," doubtless one of the Cansino family.⁹⁹⁹ Mur's lone sentence on the topic of the Arabic interpreters of Oran is one more glimpse of the familial rivalries discussed in chapter 2.

Mur's life as an Arabic translator and teacher was one in which he was constantly surrounded by Arabic texts. Unfortunately, any of those which he authored himself have been lost, including the "vocabulario casi echa" that he was working on when he died.¹⁰⁰⁰ As early as 1557 he was in possession of an Arabic manuscript copy of the gospels of Matthew and John, though the provenance and fate of that text is unknown.¹⁰⁰¹ Once settled in Valencia in the *Casa Profesa* he began to build a library of Arabic materials with which to use in the *morisco* mission. The Arabic materials came from Rome, and seem to have been primarily works collected or authored by his friend Eliano.¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹⁸ ARSI Epist Nos 86, ff. 239-240 (October 1567). The governor of Orán, Francisco de Borja's brother Pedro Galcerán, however noted in early 1568 that the Jesuits were of great benefit to the community since there were *not* sufficient clergy (ff. 245-248). This is the beginning of a tense battle between the governor, who wished for the Jesuits to remain, and Domenech, who wanted to return to Valencia as soon as possible. By 1569 Domenech was pleading on a regular basis to return (ff. 265-266, "Debet reverti in Hisp.")

⁹⁹⁹ ARSI Germaniae 152, ff. 36-36v. The phrase "fiel lo es" was written next to the words "el judío" and then crossed out.

¹⁰⁰⁰ ARSI Hist Soc 177, T. 2, Núm. 93, ff. 201-201v.

¹⁰⁰¹ Francisco de Borja Medina, "Jerónimo Mur," Charles E. O'Neill, and Joaquín M.a Domínguez (eds), *Diccionario Histórico de La Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Rome and Madrid: Institutum Historicum and Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, pp. 2769-2770.

¹⁰⁰² Later Arabic works come from Rome, via the Levant or North Africa. Most books came from the east, especially in the latter part of the century, but some could be sourced from Africa, as mentioned cryptically in *MHSI, Lainii Monumenta* 6-7, Letter 1778. Patri Christophoro Madridio. Tridento 8 Februarii 1563.

Upon his return to Valencia from Oran in 1572, Mur became very shortly thereafter the principal Arabic expert for the Valencian Inquisition.¹⁰⁰³ The Inquisition was yet another early modern Spanish institution which sought out, collected, and did its best to manage Arabic texts. In order to process *morisco* testimony and Arabic or Islamic texts (not necessarily one and the same), the Inquisition employed regular Arabic interpreters, translators, and *calificadores* (evaluators).-As an Inquisition interpreter, Mur then had unparalleled access to Iberian Arabic texts, which he used to compose his *vocabulario*. However, instructional materials--for both priests and the evangelized--were only part of the overall process of cultural conversion, for evangelization was a program of both instruction and enforcement. The complement to the accommodation of the bilingual catechisms was a system of oversight and enforcement, run by the relatively new institution of the Inquisition.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the accommodation of local vernaculars was being replaced not only in Iberia by a new drive to train clergy and produce texts in a standard Arabic for use throughout the Muslim world. Across the small corpus of Iberian Arabic catechisms and the contexts in which they were produced there was dynamic development of attitudes about Arabic: from a language of accommodation and neighborliness in a colonial or frontier society, to part of the range of vernaculars in which Christian instruction could be received, to becoming part of the broader European landscape of "international languages": as a language of scholarship, as well as a language of global missionary initiatives. The genre of religious instruction itself becomes a laboratory in which the identity of Arabic changed over the course of the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁰³ Though Ana Labarta identifies Mur's tenure as the primary Inquisition translator and *calificador* of texts as beginning in 1575, in the obituary written upon his death in 1602 his pastor Francisco Boldo claims that he had served the *santo tribunal* for more than 30 years. ARSI Hist Soc 177, T. 2, Núm. 93, ff. 201-201v.

D. Conclusion: Local Arabics to Global Standards

At the same time that evangelization efforts in Iberia were being developed, including the mechanisms of enforcement like the Inquisition, the Catholic Church and in particular the Jesuits were constructing missionary efforts on a global scale. Iberia and North Africa once again proved to be an important testing ground for later global policies. In 1552 Ignatius of Loyola proclaimed the importance of a North African incursion, with evangelical as well as military overtones.¹⁰⁰⁴ At the same time that the Jesuits began to establish themselves in Iberia with a prominent role in *morisco* parishes, some members of the order were sent to North Africa to fulfill Ignatius's goal.¹⁰⁰⁵ In Valencia, the Jesuits were first invited by Francisco de Borja when he became Duke of Gandia in 1543, and the *Colegio de Gandia* was set up in 1545 for the purposes of providing weekly instruction to the "newly converted."¹⁰⁰⁶ More schools were set up in 1552 and 1567.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 1571 the *Casa Profesa* of Valencia was established, which would become the center for Jesuit *morisco* evangelization.¹⁰⁰⁸ Jesuits in Valencia advocated instruction in Arabic, with the ultimate goal of assimilation to an entirely Romance society.¹⁰⁰⁹ As late as 1606 the question of *morisco* instruction and what language it was to be carried out in was yet to be decided.¹⁰¹⁰ However, the 1609 expulsion of the *moriscos* from Valencia, which sparked a Peninsula-wide program of forced removal that concluded only in 1614, was not only an answer to the *morisco* question, but to the Arabic question. That *morisco* question which was debated at the end of the 16th century and right up until expulsion was framed in terms

¹⁰⁰⁴ For a review of Ignatius's attitude toward Islam, from a defensive and bellicose as well as evangelical perspective, see Colombo, "Even among the Turks," pp. 36-41.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For an overview, see Louis Charles, *Les jésuits dans les états barbaresques: Algérie et Maroc*, Paris: Lethielleux, 1914.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Though by 1545 it had been twenty years since the forced conversions in Valencia. For the complete history of the *Colegio de Gandia*, see Medina, "La compañía de Jesús," pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos*, pp. 42-43. See also ACA, Consejo de Aragón, Secretaría de Valencia, Leg. 594.

¹⁰⁰⁸ P. Juan Battista Bosquete, *Historia y primer centenar de la Casa Profesa de Valencia*, ARSI Aragoniae 37 (1679).

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Parecer de Fray Lúys Beltran, sobre los moriscos de Valencia* (1579). IVDJ, Envío 1, TIII, 113.

¹⁰¹⁰ ACA, Consejo de Aragón, 699, núm 24.

of the supposed "inassimilability" of the *moriscos*, justified almost wholly in terms of the Arabic use of the Valencian *moriscos*.¹⁰¹¹

However, the expulsion of the *moriscos* was not in fact the end of evangelization to Muslims in Iberia and North Africa. As Emanuele Colombo has demonstrated in the case of Tirso González de Santalla, the 13th Superior General of the Jesuits, who spent the better part of two decades working actively to convert the Muslim slaves and remaining *moriscos* in Iberia.¹⁰¹² His program of Iberian evangelization to the Muslims, which began in 1668 in Granada when he realized that there was an important Muslim population still in Iberia who would make a good target for conversion to Christianity, culminated in 1687, just before his nomination as Superior General, with the publication of the *Handbook to Convert Muslims (Manductio ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum)*. The *Handbook* was based on González de Santalla's experience in the 1670s and 1680s, as well as his reading of some of the earlier anti-Muslim polemics, especially the *Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* by Juan Andrés (1515). However, as Colombo has effectively shown, González de Santalla diverged from the medieval heritage of the anti-Muslim polemic genre by demonstrating respect for the decisions of Muslims who resisted evangelization and decided not to convert, an ambivalence he might have picked up from his reading of how Ignatius's own foundational documents dealt with Islam and the Muslims.¹⁰¹³ The *Handbook* contains no passages in Arabic or advice on preaching in Arabic. González de Santalla occasionally used the services of an Arabic interpreter, but proposes that most of the target population had acquired enough Spanish to hear the sermons of conversion.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹¹ For the most recent scholarship on the expulsion, see the commemorative volume, *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora: Una perspectiva internacional*, Biblioteca de Estudios Moriscos, 2013.

¹⁰¹² See Colombo, "Even among the Turks."

¹⁰¹³ See Colombo, "Even among the Turks," pp. 36-41.

¹⁰¹⁴ See Colombo, "Even among the Turks," p. 26.

Though González de Santalla did not focus on the linguistic aspects of conversion, his "turn" toward evangelization to the Muslims took place because of his conversations with one of the most important Jesuit orientalist of the later seventeenth century, Tomás de León (Thomas Dillon), an Irish-born priest who spent most of his life in Spain, and much of his ecclesiastic career in Granada. Though an Arabic-speaking Jesuit in Granada, León was more interested in scholarly Arabism than using that language to convert Muslims in Iberia or abroad.¹⁰¹⁵ Many of León's orientalist interlocutors were other Jesuits living across Europe, but he also corresponded frequently with a "Jew from Oran," most likely one of the Sasportas family, who had come to Spain after the 1669 expulsion from the presidio (chapter 3) in order to convert to Christianity.¹⁰¹⁶ León's arabism was more scholarly than pragmatic, at least from a missionary perspective, but he did inspire González de Santalla, a non-Arabic speaker, to reinvigorate the mission to Iberian Muslims in the last decades of the seventeenth century.

Outside of Iberia, however, the Jesuits and other orders, under the auspices of the newly created the *Sacra Congregation pro Propaganda Fide* (founded 1622), continued to develop Arabic materials designed for evangelization.¹⁰¹⁷ The Franciscan Domenicus Germanus published an Arabic-Italian dictionary on the press of the Propaganda Fide in 1636.¹⁰¹⁸ Though priests of every nationality in the missionary orders passed through Rome for their training, for those destined for missions to Arabic-speakers, even as late as the seventeenth century a stay in Spain had become a regular part of the itinerary of experience, as in the case of the Maltese Franciscan, Ludovicus

¹⁰¹⁵ On León's involvement with the "Catholic Republic of Letters," especially Abraham Ecchellensis and Athanasius Kircher, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 308-351.

¹⁰¹⁶ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 324-325.

¹⁰¹⁷ Dominicans, Capuchins, and Franciscans were deployed to work with both Christian slave and soldier populations as well as Muslims in North Africa, including Morocco throughout the seventeenth century. For some examples, ASPF, First Series, SOCG 255 and SOCG 252. For a bibliography of the Franciscans with some mention of the Dominicans, see Ramón Lourido Díaz, ofm, "El estudio de la lengua árabe entre los Franciscanos de Marruecos (siglos XIII-XVIII)," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 60 (2000): 3-34, especially pp. 8-19.

¹⁰¹⁸ Domenicus Germanus's Arabic dictionary (Arabic-Italian) was published by the press of the Propaganda Fide in 1636. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 342, fn. 21.

Melitensis, who traveled to Barcelona in 1633 where he taught Arabic using his own materials and did some work for the Inquisition.¹⁰¹⁹ At the end of the seventeenth century, based on an earlier call for Arabic-language schools to be established throughout Europe, the Franciscans established a *colegio trilingüe* for teaching Greek and Arabic in Seville (1694) as well as other institutions and programs for Arabic training for their missions in the Eastern Mediterranean, in *tierra santa* (the holy land), and North Africa, especially Morocco.¹⁰²⁰

At the turn of the eighteenth century, evangelical Arabism was captained by the Jesuits and the Franciscans. Since the expulsion of the *moriscos*, as scholars are now beginning to recover, Spanish orientalism and arabism flourished in humanist circles, especially those linked to the royal library at El Escorial and high ecclesiastic court circles.¹⁰²¹ However, the missionary orders were just as active in Arabic study and the generation of Arabic materials, and by the end of the eighteenth century during the reign of Carlos III, these priests, sometimes in conjunction with scholars at the court or at El Escorial, began a new program of translation and publication of Arabic scientific texts--especially those concerning agriculture and engineering.¹⁰²² As Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano have so effectively shown, between the Second War of the Alpujarras, the expulsion of the Moriscos, and the late seventeenth-century Arabists, "We now perceive a linear process in which the use of Arabic, once closely associated with ethnicity and identity, came to be

¹⁰¹⁹ The work on Ludovicus Melitensis is confused about exactly where he traveled in Spain, based on letters in the ASPF. See Lourido Díaz, "El árabe," p. 32, but Ludovicus Melitensis's Arabic materials and autobiographical account are in the BAV, which confirm his stay in Barcelona.

¹⁰²⁰ Ramón Lourido Díaz, "El estudio del árabe entre los franciscanos españoles: Colegio trilingüe de Sevilla-Colegio árabe de Damasco," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 66 (2006): 9-240, esp. pp. 34-46. Lourido Díaz also published a facsimile of two recently discovered manuscripts, the *Intérprete árabe* and the *Gramática árabe*, both composed by the Franciscan Bernardino González in the first years of the eighteenth century (1702-1705) while in Damascus. *Intérprete árabe: Epítome de la gramática arábica*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2005. See also El Imrani, *Lexicografía*, p. 8.

¹⁰²¹ On the seventeenth-century arabists at El Escorial, see Daniel Hershenzon, "Traveling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 1-24 and on the panorama of seventeenth century Spanish Orientalism, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Fragmentos del orientalismo español del s. XVII," *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 66/222 (2006): 243-276 and Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, Leiden: Brill, 2013.

¹⁰²² For an overview, see James T. Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship*, Leiden: Brill, 1970, pp. 23-48.

applied to more abstract problems of a historiographic nature."¹⁰²³ However, the overlapping fields of eighteenth century missionary linguistics and the translation program of the applied sciences, if it does not complicate the linear metaphor, at least points to a different branch in which a pragmatic approach to language, and in particular Arabic by Spaniards, fueled imperial and nationalist goals of cultural and political expansion and technological and economic improvement. Far from the rhetorics of assimilation and expulsion, learning Arabic would become a useful skill to be deployed for the Spanish *patria* and the *imperium* of Christendom.

¹⁰²³ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 351.

Chapter 7 Conclusion: Was Arabic a Spanish Language?

"I have three hearts, for I know three languages."

-Quintus Ennius (c239-169 BCE), quoted by Vicente Mariner, Royal Translator (1636)¹⁰²⁴

A. Translators in Spain and the Hispanic Monarchy

In 1636, the humanist scholar Vicente Mariner had printed a short text in Castilian and Latin describing the duties, functions, and characteristics of the *oficio del intérprete*, which he dedicated to don Juan Idiáquez, one of the chief ministers of Philip III.¹⁰²⁵ The text was printed as part of a collection of Greek texts, many of which seem to be excerpts from the Greek collections at El Escorial and many of which have now disappeared.¹⁰²⁶ Mariner was above all a royal translator of Greek and Latin texts, renowned for his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and he was also the chief librarian at the royal library in the palace-monastery of El Escorial. There he not only oversaw his own translation enterprises from Classical Languages, but almost certainly interacted regularly with the Arabic interpreters who were employed there, including David Colville.¹⁰²⁷ Mariner's description of the interpreter's tasks and qualifications was self-consciously rooted in classical, and especially Latin, tradition. His reflections on translation, which advocate for a nuanced balance between *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*, echo the many of the themes traditionally expressed in dedicatory epistles and prefaces in Castilian dating to at least the fifteenth century.¹⁰²⁸ Nonetheless, Mariner's articulation of the precepts and best practices of the *oficio del intérprete* was in fact indicative of a new trend of professional declarations that intensified toward the middle of the seventeenth century.

Mariner's prescriptive and theoretical text was issued at nearly the same time that other officially employed translators began to circulate accounts of their services. In 1642, Francisco

¹⁰²⁴ Vicente Mariner, *El oficio del intérprete...*, BNE MS 9971, f. 579.

¹⁰²⁵ Idiáquez died in 1614, so the text was probably composed sometime earlier, and simply not published until 1636.

¹⁰²⁶ Gregorio de Andrés, *Catálogo de los codices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid: Ministerio de la Cultura, 1987, p. 534.

¹⁰²⁷ Gregorio Andrés, *Cartas inéditas del humanista escocés David Coleville*, Madrid: Maestre, 1973.

¹⁰²⁸ See the anthology of translator prefaces in Santoyo, *Teoría y crítica de la traducción*.

Gracián Berruguete printed an account of his services and those of his family as royal translators, *RELACION DE LOS SERVICIOS de don Francisco Gracián Dantisco Verruguete, intérprete de las lenguas de todos los Consejos y Tribunales de su Magestad y de su padre, y passados*, drafts of which had been circulating since 1633.¹⁰²⁹ Just four years before Gracián Berruguete's print publication, Jacob Cansino, for his own local motives (see chapter 3), published a lengthy self-panegyric on the services of the Arabic translators in Oran, as a follow-up to his official appointment in 1634, the *RELACION DE LOS SERVICIOS de Jacob Cansino (Hebreo de nacion), vezino de Orán, Lengua y intérprete del Rei nuestro señor en las plazas de Oran y Mazalquivir, y los de su padre, abuelo, y bisabuelo*.¹⁰³⁰ Both of these letters adhered to the common format of asking for royal payment or patronage, and both also read their qualifications back in time through the biographies of ancestors who had performed the same or a similar office. Though one man worked in the libraries of the royal court and one in the ports and battlefields of North Africa, both insisted on the range of services that made up their (and their families') careers as translators. These were families of "fixers" *par excellence*, and their activities did not have to take place in liminal border zones, but could operate in the very heart of the monarchy as well as at the edges of empire.¹⁰³¹

Like Cansino (though unlike Mariner), Gracián Berruguete was a member of a dynasty of royal translators. The Gracián were polyglot secretaries and ministers, and the progenitor was Diego Gracián, who had inaugurated the royal office of court translator under Charles V in 1527.¹⁰³² Antonio Gracián had been in charge of organizing the original collections of the El Escorial library, including the initial Arabic books and manuscripts (though there is no evidence that he or any other

¹⁰²⁹ RAH, Salazar y Castro, E-21, ff. 64r-65v. He had first circulated the same text as a manuscript petition beginning in the 1630s. AHN Consejo, leg. 4426, exp. 1634.

¹⁰³⁰ Jacob Cansino, "Relación de los servicios del traductor," in Mosé ben Baruj Almosnino, *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla* (Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco Martínez, 1638).

¹⁰³¹ On the fixer, see Zrinka Stahuljak, "Medieval Fixers: Politics of Interpreting in Western Historiography," in *Rethinking Medieval Translation: Ethics, Politics, Theory*, eds. Bob Mills and Emma Campbell, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012, 147-163.

¹⁰³² Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, "Breve historia de la Secretaría de interpretación de lenguas," *META* 49 (2004): 609-628.

Gracián knew Arabic).¹⁰³³ Both the Cansino and Gracián thus carved out their own discursive space as translators, whose previous professional textual imprint had been limited to official nominations handed down from above (issued only in the case of a permanent appointment) or the signatures and formulae they left inscribed on their translations. Beginning in the seventeenth century, however, the accumulated experience of these professionals found an outlet in autobiographical reports and petitions. This was just as true for Arabic translators, even those from minority communities living abroad, like the Cansino, as for the most traditionally powerful court translators like the Royal Librarian (Mariner) or the *Secretaría de lenguas* (Gracián Berruguete).

Arabic interpreters, from Alcalá to Urrea to Cansino, grappled with the same methodological and professional problems as any other professional translator in Spain or throughout the Hispanic Monarchy. Though translation in the service of power--royal or ecclesiastic or a mix--was an ancient practice, in the sixteenth century the task of the translator was subject to greater formality, including legal formality. Translation as a profession had been first articulated in law in 1529, just two years after Diego Gracián was appointed as the first *Secretaría de lenguas*. The laws that began to be drafted in 1529 would ultimately become the *New Laws* of 1542, and the article on interpreters was meant to govern a new corps of language workers: the New World translators.¹⁰³⁴

The codes governing the American interpreters were revised continually throughout the Habsburg period, and were ultimately codified as the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* in 1680.¹⁰³⁵ The oldest regulation concerning New World interpreters was that they not receive gifts or bribes in compensation, though by 1659 Philip IV had established that court interpreters were to receive a

¹⁰³³ One relative, Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, a Carmelite priest who was captured briefly in Tunis and then sent to Morocco on a papal mission, but although he studied Latin and Greek he does not seem to have learned Arabic. See the introduction by Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero in their edition of Gracián's *Tratado de la rendición de cuatros*, Madrid: Biblioteca de la Historia, 2006, pp. 9-24.

¹⁰³⁴ For an annotated version of the law, including the years in which innovations were ratified throughout the Habsburg period, see Libro II, Título XXIX («De los intérpretes»), in Ley XII of the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*.

¹⁰³⁵ *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la magestad católica del rey don Carlos II*, Madrid, 1680.

regular salary. In 1537, Charles mandated that the *indios* should be provided with a reliable and Christian interpreter, and Philip II's additions to the law primarily echoed the emphasis on fidelity and reliability, demonstrated through oaths, witnesses and, eventually, an exam. The interpreter was employed by the *Audiencia* (representative appellate court in the Hispanic provinces of the New World) and expected to work closely with scribes and fiscal agents. In 1630, by order of Philip IV, the New World governors became responsible for appointing interpreters in accordance with the municipal authorities, a similar balancing of concessions to noble, royal, and municipal powers as expressed in the appointment of the interpreter that Philip IV would also have to negotiate in the 1630s in Oran.

Although there was no such official legal articulation concerning either Arabic or court interpreters *in Spain*, the normative requirements of the *Leyes de Indios* mirrored the expectations for the office that we have been able to extract from the evidence of interpreter practices in Granada, Valencia, the royal court, and the Presidios. And in the New World as in the Old, the profession of translator also quickly tended to become a family enterprise.¹⁰³⁶ Perhaps because of an understanding of the longstanding precedent of Arabic-Romance translation in Spain and North Africa, the frequent and professional practice of the Arabic interpreters and translators received less legal definition than the language workers in the new American empire. Nonetheless, many of the same concerns--normative and from the perspective of the interpreters themselves--governed the development of the profession across the Hispanic Monarchy as it developed its bureaucracy of empire.

¹⁰³⁶ Icíar Alonso, Jesús Baigorri, and Gerturdis Payàs. "Nahuatlatos y Familias de Intérpretes En El México Colonial," *1611: Revista de Historia de La Traducción / A Journal of Translation History / Revista d'Historia de La Traducción* 2/ 2 (2008).

B. Arabic as a Spanish Language: A Political or Religious problem?

Language and language workers were thus at the heart of the bureaucracy of the Hispanic Monarchy and its empire. Was language more crucial to the political or to the religious administration of the nascent empire? What about in the case of Arabic, an acknowledged imperial language in its own right, but one which, as historiography developed as a discipline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was becoming associated with imperial domination *over* Spain and Spaniards in the medieval period rather than *by* Spain and Spaniards in the early modern period.¹⁰³⁷ This association of Arabic and empire was primarily fueled by discourses of religious difference, polemic, and reform which developed in the later middle ages in Iberia and the Mediterranean (see chapter 6), but which by the sixteenth century *morisco* period were becoming hardened into a "civilizational" discourse, some strands of which have been inherited by contemporary scholarship.¹⁰³⁸

However, as Garrido Aranda notes, citing Domínguez Ortiz, the "*morisco* problem" as a whole may be better taken as a political rather than a religious problem.¹⁰³⁹ The use of Arabic in early modern Spain is far from coterminous with *morisco* history, but Domínguez Ortíz's reorientation of the question can help us reframe our own question about the religious valance of Arabic in Spain in the early modern period.¹⁰⁴⁰ I have already cited the compelling thesis of García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, by which there was a *linear* historical process that took place over the sixteenth

¹⁰³⁷ On the development of historiography and orientalism in the early modern period, see the thesis of García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano in *The Orient in Spain*.

¹⁰³⁸ Though not articulated as such, the anti-*morisco* polemics of the late sixteenth century (as reviewed in Feros, 2013) offered a civilizational vision of Christianity and Islam that made it politically easier to engineer the mass expulsions of the *moriscos* (technically Christian) between 1609 and 1614. And though more nuanced than Huntington's later and more general thesis, it is worth noticing that the hardening of political *and* religious boundaries between Christianity and Islam as a historical phenomenon during the sixteenth century is the premise of Hess's influential *Forgotten Frontier*.

¹⁰³⁹ This is cited, yet again, in Resines, *Catecismo de Sacromonte*, 2002, p. 22. Garrido Aranda (p. 99) would seem to prefer the religio-social explanation rather than the political one that Domínguez Ortíz advanced.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For a discussion of the "religious identity" of Arabic, in particular between c1492 and c1567, see Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56/6 (2009): 495–528.

and seventeenth centuries, "in which the use of Arabic, once closely associated with ethnicity and identity, came to be applied to more abstract problems of a historiographic nature."¹⁰⁴¹ According to their well developed and well documented argument, the religious identity of Arabic was at its height as a mechanism of cultural difference during the *morisco* period, and in the post-*morisco* age, reflection on the religious aspects of Arabic were replaced by intellectual inquiry, especially into historical topics where Arabic sources might reveal something about Spanish or sacred history.

Historiography, however, in this period in particular was as much a political as an intellectual or cultural practice.¹⁰⁴² The boundaries between religious and intellectual practices, as we have also seen in chapter 6, were also far from discrete. As I hope to have demonstrated in this dissertation, the uses and statuses of Arabic in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were many and varied, and it may be more apt to consider Arabic use as a set of overlapping ideologies and representations, rather than a linear progression from ethnicity to historiography. In the case of the translators, Arabic use played a foundational role in the construction of their social identities as well, expressed variously in ethnic, religious, or political terms.

At the same time that Arabic identities in Spain were developing heterogeneously, Castilian linguistic identity was being forged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from Nebrija onward. This process of grammatical and lexicographic codification was crucially bound up in the problem of whether or not this identity and its history could include Muslim or Arabic components, as seen in the works of the early Castilian philologists--arabists and non-arabists alike.¹⁰⁴³ The debate over the extent to which Islam and Arabic language play a role in Spanish history was resuscitated in 19th and 20th century historiographical debates, but it was also current in some form in the seventeenth and

¹⁰⁴¹ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 351. I have already discussed this passage in the conclusion to chapter 6.

¹⁰⁴² Richard Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, Johns Hopkins UP, 2009, and Fabien Montcher, *Historiografía real y cultura política en el contexto de la interacción franco-española (1598-1635)*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2013.

¹⁰⁴³ The most salient representatives of this process are Antonio de Nebrija, Pedro de Alcalá, Diego de Guadix, and Bernardo Aldrete.

eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴⁴ An important part of this particular negotiation of identities was the relationship of the state to religious identity, and this relationship was at least partially enacted in the early modern period through language—both in the most tangible form in legislation, and in the more pervasive domain of social practice and cultural ideals that were disseminated through education and official discourse (political, legal, fiscal, or religious).

C. The Place of Arabic in the Early Modern European Crises of Language

The role that linguistic thinking played in humanist philology's service to the state, practices of translation in imperial governance, the consolidation of legal and fiscal bureaucracies was paralleled in the debates over religious reform and the new codification of practices of religious instruction during and after Trent. A preoccupation with language and text was central to most of the reform movements, Protestant and Catholic, and attitudes toward Arabic (especially as the language of a potentially heterodox community in the *moriscos*) were informed by developing ideas about the connection between language, ethnicity, community, and political participation.

In the case of Catholic Europe, Stefania Tutino shows how the problem of mental reservation inspired innovation in linguistic thinking to explain the separation between uttered and interior realities. In a world where the intervention and enforcement of the Inquisition and other courts could demand the justification of others' interpretations of one's thoughts and speech, Tutino argues that the Augustinian theory of language, which explained linguistic truth to be a function of the speaker's intention rather than the interlocutor's interpretation, was no longer an adequate paradigm with which to confront the place of *correctio fraterna* (the biblical injunction to privately correct a colleague one knows to have sinned) and the secret of confession when orthodoxy and

¹⁰⁴⁴ In another interesting parallel between these periods, the sixteenth-century advocates of Arabic language schooling have arguments about national extension and diplomacy that echo later arguments in the 19th-century colonial project. See Gilbert, "Naturalizing Discourse."

heterodoxy were now judged by human courts as well as (presumably) divine. The Spanish universities of the 1540s and 1550s were the first site of intensive debates over this issue, which was resolved in different ways, according to Tutino, by the theologians Domingo de Soto (1494-1560) and Doctor Navarrus (Martín de Azpilcueta, 1491-1586). Though the two theologians differed in exactly how to perform and justify mental reservation under interrogation, both relied on new ideas about language and in particular how language is used between speakers. For de Soto, "language has become a means to communicate meaning through dialogue between a speaker and a hearer rather than simply a form of adoration of God through an internal correspondence (or lack thereof) between the hearer's thought and tongue [the Augustinian stance]."¹⁰⁴⁵ The latitude for interpretation of the hearer, in this case of the question of an inquisitor, would allow the person performing mental reservation to interpret the question as needed in order to give the answer which would keep him safe. Navarrus, on the other hand, also broke with Augustine's theory of language with respect to the literal connection between thought and utterance. Navarrus proposed that the speaker could utter one meaning for the benefit of the interlocutor or interrogator while thinking another, that is, that the spoken form would *at the same time* comprehend more than one meaning: one thought, one heard.¹⁰⁴⁶

The consequences for these revisions in linguistic thinking, one made by one of the principle figures in the debate over the status of the Native Americans (de Soto) and a supporter of his fellow Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas, and the second the author of one of the most popular manuals for confessors and vernacular catechisms published right after Trent (Navarrus, *Manual de confesores y*

¹⁰⁴⁵ For this entire paragraph I rely on the erudite first chapter of Tutino, *Shadows of Doubt: Language and Truth in Post-Reformation Catholic Culture*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013, "Chapter 1: Telling the Truth: Equivocation and Mental Reservation between Morality and Hermeneutics," pp. 10-39. Her analysis of de Soto, quoted here, is on pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Tutino, *Shadows of Doubt*, pp. 20-21. The new conception of the relationship between language and interpretation found among the Spanish scholastics continues to preoccupy translation theorists to this day, as exemplified by the influential (and much debated) theories of George Steiner, that all communication, and even the very process of individual understanding, is translation, and that this broadly conceived act of translation is part of the core of human instinct: the desire to keep meaning private while participating in society. See George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, New York: Galaxy/Oxford UP, 1977.

penitentes, 1566), can certainly be seen in the discussion of language in the *morisco* catechisms (chapter 6).¹⁰⁴⁷ The format of the three Arabic catechisms (1505, 1554, 1566) was a direct call and response dialogue, in which church doctrine was expressed for the purposes of simplified instruction in clear question and answer format, designed for memorization and repetition. The bilingual nature of these texts was inherent in the text itself, and any commentary on that bilingualism was also in the form of instruction. The pseudo-translations of 1568, 1588 and 1599, on the other hand, were represented as Arabic or potential Arabic texts, all the while being in actual fact Castilian anti-Islamic polemical dialogues in which doctrine was explained through the metaphor of imagined translation. Though it is not known whether the authors of any of the *morisco* catechisms were familiar with the work of de Soto and Navarrus, looking collectively at this corpus of texts and the contexts of their authorship, we see a similar innovation in linguistic thinking as the anti-Augustinianism of the Spanish Scholastics. For the Arabic catechisms, as for Augustine, the text was designed to be pronounced in concert with the sincere belief of the priest and catechumen. The Arabic catechisms were a script which could be repeated and memorized in either Arabic or Castilian or both, and whose mere utterance would theoretically allow the speaker to express orthodox doctrine directly. The later Castilian *morisco* catechisms were not intended to be so transparent, ideologically or linguistically. The liberty of interpretation, or mental reservation, on the part of the speaker or hearer (author or reader) was the anticipated reception of the polemic catechisms. Though the literal representation was of Christian doctrine effectively taught to Arabic-speaking *moriscos* in Valencia and Granada, the author and audience both understood that the image being communicated through the texts was a deep criticism of Islam and its cultural attributes, including the Arabic language.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Doctor Navarrus was also one of the founders, along with Francisco Vitoria and other Spanish scholastics, of an innovative theory of the value of money, a doctrine which would be well worth comparing with his new ideas about the form and content of linguistic exchange. On Navarrus the economic thinker, see the introduction by Rodrigo Muñoz de Juana in *Sourcebook in Late-Scholastic Monetary Theory: The contributions of Martín de Azpilcueta, Luis de Molina, S.J., and Juan de Mariana, S.J.*, Stephen J. Grabill (ed.), Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007, pp. 3-17. On de Soto and Las Casas, see Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind is One*, De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, reprint edition, 1994 and Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.

Across Europe, including in Spain, innovations in linguistic thinking were also bound up with textual practices. From Luther's cry for *solo scriptura* to Montaigne's resigned assessment, "notre contestation est verbale" in the face of his well known experience of the daily violence of the French Wars of Religion, the battle cry was the word itself.¹⁰⁴⁸ But the Word or words had to be disseminated, which meant printed or copied, and often, translated. Thus in the quest to pare away tradition and lay bare the original text, a jungle of words, interpretations, and glosses were produced at unprecedented rates across the printing presses of Europe. For some Reformation thinkers, including Montaigne, the infinite recursion of the word could, or would, not lead to understanding between those who convinced themselves to do violence to one another over those words.¹⁰⁴⁹

In the case of Spain, new ways of linguistic thinking and the politics of language also led to violence and disruption, innovations in the institutions of instruction and enforcement, and ultimately to the forced expulsion of the *moriscos*, a personal and demographic tragedy for all involved. The policies of expulsion enacted on *morisco* individuals and families were themselves written over the discourse of polemic which had been consolidated by certain ministers and ecclesiastics in the last decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁵⁰ Those polemics, as I have shown, were also expressed in the very materials of instruction and assimilation which, before 1566, had been designed to promote sincere conversion. But as the corpus of those doctrinal texts was elaborated in the dual contexts of *morisco* and Tridentine Spain, the campaign for sincere conversion itself converted into a program of legal, fiscal, political, *and* cultural orthodoxy. The human consequence of what scholars have called the age of Confessionalism or Confessionalization, that epoch in which the establishment and circulation of the sacred and other texts supported the

¹⁰⁴⁸ Brian Cummings uses Montaigne's phrase as an introduction to Reformation attitudes to language in the Protestant sphere, though of course, the example of Montaigne demonstrates the commensurability of these concerns in Catholic communities as well. Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002, see in particular pp. 15-16.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See the analysis in Cummings, *Literary Culture*, pp. 26-30.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Antonio Feros, "Retóricas de la expulsión," in *Los moriscos: Expulsión y diáspora*, Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wieggers (eds), Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Universidad, 2013, pp. 67-101.

increasing reach of state bureaucracy, proved to be the enforcement of orthodoxy rather than accommodation of expression, a rigidity that was in fact supported by the more plastic forms of linguistic thinking that had developed in the first half of the century.

a. The Consequences of the "Crises of Language"

The crises of language of the Renaissance and early modern Europe were fueled by religious and political reform that led to new patterns of sociability and intellectual activity, not to mention a more rigid approach to enforcing cultural practices and religious orthodoxy. Increased intensity in translation activities was both one of the supports and one of the consequences of these crises and reforms. Translation across many fields, from scientific and religious works to diplomatic and legal papers, drew attention to the differences between languages and the people who spoke them, as well as providing frequent opportunities for the borrowing of words and concepts. As Peter Burke has pointed out, "the increased accessibility of texts from other cultures widened the horizons of readers," though the processes of "reception of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment and the way in which translations made something happen, multipl[ie]d the effect of certain important texts at the price of changing their meaning."¹⁰⁵¹ For Burke, the beginnings of political reform are found in Renaissance translations and their reception, translation underpinned most of the religious reform of the Reformation, and during the Enlightenment translation is what permitted social and economic innovations.¹⁰⁵² Looking more closely at individual cases, translation may not actually fit so neatly as an explanatory principle for contemporary historiographical categories. Nonetheless Burke's outline of the place of translation in the transition to early modernity does permit historians to claim that a textual practice like translation, and the language ideologies that accompanied each act, had a real effect on the way that individuals and societies

¹⁰⁵¹ Peter Burke, "Cultures of translation in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds), Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007, pp. 7-38, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁵² Burke, "Cultures of translation," pp. 37-38.

organized themselves and their relationships with one another, founding a pattern of community definition based on language use and exchange (through translation) that is still familiar to us today. In the case of Arabic in Spain, translation between the Iberian languages in the context of colonization and confessionalization fostered an emphasis on the hierarchical relationships and differences between language communities rather than common participation in the political system of the early modern Spanish state.

D. Epilogue: The Afterlife of Early Modern Arabism in Enlightenment Spain

The eighteenth century was a new era for Orientalism and Arabism in Spain. The War of Spanish Succession saw the arrival of the French Bourbon dynasty in Spain and the end of the Habsburgs, and with this dynastic change came a change in attitudes toward Arabic and Arabic speakers from the perspective of the court. Diplomacy between Spain and Morocco was conducted regularly throughout the seventeenth century but was reinvigorated during the reign of the last Habsburg Spanish monarch, Charles II (1665-1700). In 1690 the Alawite Sultan of Morocco, Muley Ismail, sent an ambassador, al-Ghassanī al-Andalusī, to Madrid to try to negotiate for the return of his ancestor Zaydān's library, which had been captured by a French consul-cum-pirate in 1612 and sold to the Spanish.¹⁰⁵³ In 1767 the third Bourbon king of Spain, Charles III (1759-1788), made a treaty with the Alawite sultan Muḥammad 'Abd Allah and continued peace negotiations via missionaries-cum-ambassadors for over a decade.¹⁰⁵⁴ In this same period, however, on the Peninsula

¹⁰⁵³ On al-Ghassani's journey, see the recent translation by Nabil Matar in *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, New York: Routledge, 2003. On the diplomatic contact between Carlos II and Muley Ismail over the Spanish presence in the Moroccan port of Larache, see volume 9 of 'Abd al-Hādī, *Tārīkh al-Diblamāsī lil-Maghrib min Aqdam al-'Usūr ilā al-Yawm: al-Mujallad al-Tāsi'a: 'Abd al-'Alawīyyīn*, al-Muḥammadīyyah: Maṭābi'a Faḍālah, 1988, p. 7. On the theft of the Zaydan library and its afterlife at El Escorial, see Daniel Hershenzon, "Traveling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014): 1-24.

¹⁰⁵⁴ As Monroe explains, Spain and Morocco had a renewed interest in peace given the increasing presence of other European players in the Mediterranean (especially the English), and the ever-present Ottoman empire. Monroe, *Islam and*

the monarchy began to support a program for Arabic language training, the *jóvenes de lenguas*, on the longstanding model of the Venitian *giovani di lingua* and the French *jeunes de langues*.¹⁰⁵⁵

At the same time as these diplomatic initiatives took place, some of Charles's chief ministers, including the Conde de Campomanes, became ever more interested in fostering Arabic studies in Spain.¹⁰⁵⁶ Campomanes himself even learned some Arabic, and he supported the efforts of the Franciscan missionary schools, the main producers of Arabic dictionaries and other materials in the first part of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, at the hub of Arabic learning in Spain, El Escorial, the Maronite Miguel Casiri produced his catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis* (1760-1770), and this printed publication enjoyed great commercial success all over Europe, leading some scholars to conclude that Casiri was "the decisive figure in the process whereby Arabic studies in Spain were secularized."¹⁰⁵⁸ Meanwhile, translation had become a decidedly educated middle class profession and these court-employed philologists (many of whom were priests, against the "secularization thesis") helped generate interest and material for Arabic agriculture and engineering, as well as a renewed interest in Arabic sources for writing the history of Spain.¹⁰⁵⁹ These late eighteenth-century arabists paved the way directly for the nineteenth-century

the Arabs, pp. 23-24. On Charles III's Moroccan policies and their precedents, see Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *Política marroquí de Carlos III*, Madrid: CSIC, 1946.

¹⁰⁵⁵ The Venetians and French established schools by the seventeenth century, while the Spanish institution was not founded until 1781. Ingrid Cáceres Würsig, "The *jeunes de langues* in the eighteenth century: Spain's first diplomatic interpreters on the European model," *Interpreting* 14/2 (2012): 128-147.

¹⁰⁵⁶ At this time, the strongest center for Arabic learning in Spain was probably the Franciscan order (see chapter 6).

¹⁰⁵⁷ The manuscript *Intérprete arábigo* of Bernardino González (1709), composed in Seville and Damascus, is the earliest example, and it was recopied by later Franciscans with additions in 1727. The Franciscan Francisco Cañes produced an Arabic grammar in 1775 and a dictionary in 1787, having been based in Damascus since 1757. See Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs*, pp. 26-29.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs*, p. 34. Casiri was also the expert behind the Spanish *jóvenes de lenguas* program in 178. Cáceres-Würsig, "The *jeunes de langues*," pp. 130-131.

¹⁰⁵⁹ For example, the translation made in 1808 by the Franciscan José Antonio Banqueri of the 12th-century *Kitāb al-Filāḥ* (*Book of Agriculture*) and the work of the Hieronymite friar Patricio José de la Torre who was sent on several political and educational missions to Fez between 1797-1800. See Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs*, p. 35 and pp. 38-39, and pp. 44-45 for Monroe's explanation of late-eighteenth century Spanish arabism "in alliance with the progressive forces in the nation which were striving [...] to recover and even reactivate a part of the nation's medieval history to which they could point with pride. Hence Campomanes and Sarmiento, who had read Quesnai and Adam Smith, preferred Ibn 'Awwam's treatise on agriculture to contemporary English and French works in that field, for their ultimate aspiration

philologists and historians, such as Reinhardt Dozy and Francisco Simonet, who rejuvenated the discourse of Arabic as an ambivalent language, both Spanish and non-Spanish at the same time, a discourse which their heirs, the scholars of the Banu Codera and associates (Ribera, Asín) whose disciples consolidated modern Arabic studies in Spain and whose heirs continue to work in the National Research Centers across the country, the same centers in which many of the ideas in this very thesis have been debated and discussed, and whose research teams continue to produce scholarship on which the present work and many others rely.¹⁰⁶⁰

was to revitalize a forgotten national heritage." The folk hero of Spanish Arabism is José Antonio Conde (1776-1820). See also the work of Faustino Borbón and Marcelino Pizzi (another instructor in the *jeunes de langues* program).

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Mayte Penelas, "Hispano-Arabic Studies in the New Millennium: Spain," *al-Masaq* 16/2 (2004): 227-239.

Bibliography

Abbreviations:

AA	<i>Al-Andalus</i>
AQ	<i>Al-Qantara</i>
APAG	Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón
ADA-PL	Archivo del Ducado de Alba-Palacio Liria
ADMS	Archivo del Ducado de Medina Sidonia
ADT	Archivo Diocesano Toledano
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHMG	Archivo Histórico Municipal Granada
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AMMu	Archivo Municipal de Murcia
ANOM	Archives Nationales d'Outre Mer
ARChG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
ASPF	Archivo Storico de Propaganda Fide
ARV	Arxiu del Regne de València
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional Española
BRB	Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique

BREE	Biblioteca Real de El Escorial
BRP	Biblioteca del Palacio Real
BUG	Bibliothèque Universitaire de Genève
BZ	Biblioteca Zabálburu
CODOIN	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
IVDJ	Instituto Valencia de don Juan
KhH	al-Khinzānah al-Hassaniyyah
MEAH	<i>Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes e Hebráicos</i>
MRGH	<i>Monumenta Regni Granatensis Histórica</i>
MWR	al-Maktabah al-Waṭaniyyah lil-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyyah
MWM	Mudirat al-Wathā'iq al-Mamlikiyyah
NaH	Nationaalarchief, den Haag
NAB	National Archives of Britain
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia
RCEHRG	<i>Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos del Reino de Granada</i>
SIHM	<i>Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc</i>
SN-AHN	Sección Nobleza, Archivo Histórico Nacional

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