Embracing the Text: Stories of Conversion in Sixteenth Century Spain and Beyond

A Dissertation SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA BY

Robert Hultgren

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Michelle Hamilton, Advisor

Conferred August, 2021

Abstract

The population of Iberian Muslims who had been converted to Christianity, Moriscos, was marked by its diversity. While most Moriscos worked as tradesmen, making silk or working fields of fruits for example, many Morisco merchants and land-owners populated the higher echelons of Iberian society. Some Moriscos spoke Arabic as their first language while others spoke only Castilian, Aragonese, or a different Romance dialect. The disparate nature of this community extends to their religious beliefs as well: some Moriscos appeared to fully embrace their conversion to Catholicism while a great many others refused to accept it and continued to practice Islam in secret. The one salient and ubiquitous characteristic of this group was, in fact, the experience of conversion. The following study contains a close reading of four Morisco narratives which present the reader with the conversion experience of some of the most foundational members of the early Islamic movement. By examining a theme that would have been very relevant to every Morisco reader, this dissertation shows how Moriscos positioned themselves within a society that was becoming ever more intolerant of their perceived, and real refusal to accept Catholicism and Spanish Catholic social norms.

Table of Contents

Note on transliterations and citations: For Arabic sources, I have followed the Brill guidelines. *Aljamiado* texts have been transcribed following the *Colección de Literatura Española Aljamiada y Morisca* (CLEAM). Spanish sources have followed the original texts and have not been modernized. Throughout the following work, Julian and Gregorian dates have been used. Dates in the Islamic lunar calendar (*Hijrī ḳamarī*) have not been provided. For all translations of teh ḳur'ān, I have used *The Qur'ān*. Translated by Alan Jones, Gibb Memorial Trust, 2007.

Introduction

Late in the winter of 1492, Christian forces secured the capitulation of the last Muslim kingdom of the Iberian Peninsula. In the terms of the agreement, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel agreed to allow the Muslims of Granada to continue to practice their faith openly. Tensions eventually and inevitably rose between the two sides, however, as representatives of the Catholic Monarchs gradually restricted the daily practices of Muslims in the newly-acquired territory. The newly-instated cardinal of Granada, Jiménez de Cisneros, condoned heavy-handed methods of conversion that "constituted gross violations of the terms of the capitulation of the city" (Chejne 7). By 1499, residents of the Albaicin quarter of Granada led a revolt against the new regime, which spread into much of the Andalucía region. It was not quelled until 1501. This violence, however provoked, provided the excuse to justify the Crown's nullification of the terms of the capitulations and authorized the use of brutal measures against the Muslims of Granada (Ehlers 16). These developments prompted similar actions against most Muslim populations of the Peninsula (Meyerson 220). Expulsion loomed as a very real threat to Moriscos, clergy, and rulers of the Spanish kingdoms. The threat had been present ever since Queen Isabella's order, under pain of expulsion, the baptism of all the Muslims living under the Crown of Castile. This stance, however, was not without precedent. Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón had jointly confronted their Jewish population with the same pitiless choice in 1492.[1] The key difference between the

[1] For more on the Jewish expulsion see Norman Roth's *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*; Joseph Pérez *History of Tragedy*; Jane Gerber *Jews of Spain*, especially Appendix 1 for the Edict of Expulsion; Moshe Lazar *The Jews of Spain*

experience of Iberia's Jewish and Muslim population rests on the latter's baptism, forced or otherwise. The decree calling for the conversion of Castilian Muslims in 1502 set in motion a series of events that their Jewish neighbors had experienced earlier. However, as Dadson points out, we must be careful to highlight the role that baptism played in shaping the treatment and the experience of the two populations (5). He notes that because Iberia's Jewish population had not been baptized, they could "be expelled in good conscious" (5). The idea of expelling the Moriscos, on the other hand, who had been baptized as Christians in order to legally place them under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition (Kimmel 4), alarmed many inside and outside Spain and set a very dangerous precedent.

Therefore, throughout the sixteenth century, historical records depict edicts that were designed to both scupper any possibility of a Morisco military conflict with the Crown, but also designed to humiliate them. Disarming Moriscos achieved both of these goals, leaving Moriscos defenseless in a country "beset by insecurity" (Chejne 486). As Lea states in his pioneering work, "The deprivation of arms [of the Moriscos] was not only a humiliation but it left them defenseless at a time when violence was constant..." (190). This disarmament became a common feature of Spanish royal policy as reflected in the edicts of 1511, 1515, 1525, 1526, 1541, 1545, 1559, and 1563 (Chejne 487). Among the other humiliations leveled on Moriscos, these edicts contained restrictions on activities that were considered prerogatives of Old Christians. In what seems to be a clear indication of the lowly regard in which the Crown held Moriscos, they were prevented

---

and the Expulsion of 1492. For a historical context of the increasing persecution of the Spanish Jewish population throughout the Middle Ages, see David Nirenberg *Communities of Violence*.

from wearing silk clothing or from riding horses, for example. Additionally, these edicts sought to curtail traditional Iberian Islamic practices, such as singing traditional songs at weddings (*zambras*), holding traditional celebrations (*leilas*),[2] cooking with ingredients traditionally associated with Islamic culinary customs,[3] speaking Arabic,[4] among others. However, perhaps the worst, and most studied atrocity is the forced baptism of masses of Muslims not only in Castile, but in the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia as well (Perry 3; Kimmel 17-25).[5] It should be noted that the legitimacy of these forced baptisms was as fiercely contested by many members of the Spanish clergy as it was supported by others. Benjamin Ehlers' study of the career of Juan de Ribera provides an example of the two sides of the debate. Attitudes spanned a range from an optimistic stance of tolerant, gentle integration of Moriscos into Catholic Spanish society, to disillusionment and bitter resignation at the impossibility of their cultural assimilation (80-105). Moriscos, of course, responded with assertions that many of the restrictions leveled against them had no bearing on the spiritual or religious integration of Moriscos. Francisco Nuñez Muley in his *Memorial*, for example, addresses restrictions on language, dress, food, and others, emphasizing that both Christian and Muslim populations followed these cultural practices.

---

[2] For more on the issue of *leilas* and *zambras*, see Perry 49, 95; Ana Labarta 110-111; Bernard Vincent (*El río morisco*) 55-70; Harvey 45-78; Sara J. Pearce 468-74. For a list of Lope de Vega's representations of these celebrations, see Juan Ortega Robles 82, 111-138.

[3] See Jillian Williams' *Food and Religious Identity*.

[4] See Sara J. Pearce 457-74.

[5] For a chronology of the increasing pressure Christian authorities placed on their Muslim subjects, see Mercedes García-Arenal's *Los moriscos*.

However, the perception that Moriscos would never fully integrate, that Moriscos harbored hostile feelings toward Catholics, questions about the sincerity of their conversion, paranoia of Morisco insurrection with the support of the Ottoman Turks, as well as an attempt to distract the public from an unpopular truce with the Dutch, (Green-Mercado 237-248) all eventually prompted Emperor Charles V to take drastic action. The royal decrees expelling the Moriscos from Valencia, where the population was most recalcitrant and concentrated, finally came in 1609.[6] 1610 saw the expulsion of Moriscos from Aragón, Catalonia, and Granada. The Moriscos residing in the rest of the kingdom of Castile were expelled between 1611-1614.[7]

Starting around the point at which the Catholic Monarchs ordered the baptism of Castilian Muslims and moving forward, the term "Morisco" had become common to denote a person who had converted from Islam to Christianity or one of their descendants.[8] While the term is certainly monolithic, the various Morisco communities inhabiting the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century were not. Significant cultural, religious, linguistic, and political idiosyncrasies characterized each community (Dadson

[6] For more on the description of the state of Valencian Moriscos and the indecencies they suffered during their expulsion, see John Lynch; for a general description of the Morisco expulsion from their own point of view, see Luce López-Baralt "Un morisco ricote" and *La literatura secreta*.

[7] The process of expelling Castilian Moriscos was made much more difficult because members of Morisco families and communities had been separated and widely dispersed following the Morisco insurrection in the Alpujarras mountains near Granada from 1569-1571. For more on the insurrection see Lea (215-264); Domínguez and Vincent (32-46); Kamen (216); Harvey (*Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* 53-55)

[8] For further discussion on the evolving meaning of terms like "moro" and "morisco," see Carrasco Urgoiti (187-210), Ana Echevarría (103), Javier Castillo Fernández (331), and Antonio Urquízar-Herrera (3-5).

1-10).[9] However, as Emperor Charles V extended the edict of conversion to all kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula some twenty years after the revolt of 1499-1501, an experience of conversion appears to be a singular point to which the majority of Moriscos could relate. What resulted from the edicts was an unequal and haphazard attempt to force Spain's Muslims into the Christian fold. Many of these Moriscos faithfully practiced the new system that was forced upon them, many others continued to practice their previously-held beliefs in secret, much to the consternation of the religious authorities of the time. It is in this context of religious conversion that I study four accounts of conversion composed by Morisco scribes.

These narratives of conversion were written in *aljamiado*,[10] a writing system that employs Arabic script to represent Romance languages.[11] "Aljamiado" comes from the noun "aljamía," which is derived from *ʿajamiyya*, the Arabic word denoting someone or something foreign or non-Arabic, as opposed to *ʿarabiyya*, the Arabic language. The discovery of hundreds of manuscripts in the nineteenth century that employed this writing system precipitated the modern use of the term *aljamiado*, which is used to refer to works in which a scribe (who may have been a copyist, editor, or author of an original work) employs the Arabic script to transliterate a Romance language (Montaner 31). Many of these *aljamiado* texts are translations of Arabic originals. The *aljamiado* system of

[9] For more on the differences between Morisco populations, see Domínguez Ortiz's and Vincent's excellent *Historia de los moriscos* (164); for studies on specific regional Morisco populations, see Dadson's list (4).
[10] The word *aljamiado* derives from the Arabic *ʿajam* (foreigner), the term that Moriscos employed to refer to the Spanish language.
[11] L.P. Harvey contends that the number of *aljamiado* texts written in the later fifteenth century by *mudejars*, Muslims living under Christian rule, is very limited, and thus we should consider Aljamiado literature as a "primarily Morisco phenomenon" (132).

writing flourished among the Aragonese and Castilian Morisco communities, whose ability to read, write, and speak Arabic had progressively eroded through the process of acculturation resulting from centuries of living under Christian rule. As Harvey states, "Scholars generally agree that crypto-Muslims increasingly turned to *aljamiado* as a medium of written communication in order to express their Islamic distinctiveness at a moment when they felt that their identity was under threat" (133). Scholars such as Luce López Baralt and María Teresa Narváez Córdova have proposed that because Arabic, the language of revelation, had the same sacred nature for the Moriscos that it did for other Muslims, it was this perceived sacrality that likely prompted Moriscos to use Arabic script to write Iberian languages, despite the danger that the possession of papers written in this language posed if found by the inquisitorial authorities. In this sense, *aljamiado* manuscripts are considered "al revés de los cristianos,"[12] meant to assert difference and to preserve a threatened Islamic identity (López-Baralt, *Literatura secreta* 37; Narváez Córdoba 17; Remensnyder 559, Harvey 133). Others have argued that Moriscos used this writing system because it was difficult for inquisitorial officials to decipher, thus preserving the secrecy of the messages these texts contained (Wiegers *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado* 124). We also cannot rule out the possibility that Moriscos wrote in this alphabet simply because going back for centuries, like many Jewish authors before them, the Arabic writing system was the one they learned, even if their first (and maybe only) language were a Romance dialect (Hamilton 172; Blau). For example, Mudejar notaries transcribed Christian names and other Romance words in Arabic documents as early as the twelfth century (Viguera 19).

[12] "In opposition to the Christian majority."

Whatever the reason for the Moriscos' use of *aljamiado* in written works, Harvey demonstrates the dramatic increase in the production of these manuscripts in the sixteenth century, at precisely a moment when speaking and writing Arabic and possessing Arabic books was banned (134). More than two hundred *aljamiado* manuscripts have survived, most of which were found inside false walls or in between floorboards of houses owned by Moriscos, most probably to hide them from Christian authorities. The records of the Inquisition make reference to books and other written materials confiscated by their agents as evidence of heresy.[13] The *aljamiado* manuscripts include the most varied collection of *ḥadīṯḥs*, sīra literature (writings on the life of the Prophet), *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (stories of the prophets), legal texts, poetry, popular stories, magical recipes, and apocalyptic prophecies.[14]

Inquisitorial sources indicate a robust circulation of books and other written materials among various Morisco communities, especially in Valencia and Aragon, where religious and social restricts were enforced less stringently than in the territories of Castile (Miller 9). Perhaps because of the sacrality of the writing, there was a high demand among Moriscos, even some cases of illiterate Moriscos, to own books. As

[13] For more on inquisitorial activity and confiscation of written materials, see Mercedes García-Arenal, "La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos."

[14] Over the past half century, the field has benefitted from renewed attention to these *aljamiado* texts. See the studies by Mercedes García-Arenal ("Ríos y caminos moriscos"); Narváez Córdova ("Writing without Borders", "Mitificación de Andalucía"); Wiegers; A.R. Nykel; López-Baralt (*Islam in Spanish Literature*, 171-174); Julián Rubiera and Miguel Asín (v-xviii, 138, 156-57); Domínguez-Ortiz and Vincent (19-21). Ottmar Heygi describes the development of *aljamiado* (11-16). Mayte Green-Mercado has analyzed *aljamiado* prophecies in detail in *Visions of Deliverance*. Some scholars, such as Nárvaez Córdova ("Writing without Boarders") and Perry ("Morisco Stories") have emphasized the syncretic nature of these works, while others demonstrate their more polemical essence (Cardaillac).

Jacqueline Fournel-Guerin has demonstrated, Inquisition trials in Aragon reveal that despite church censorship, many Moriscos preserved their Islamic religious culture by copying, writing, and selling books, as well as by organizing schools that taught Arabic and the Ḳurʾān to children and adults alike (241-59). Additionally, itinerant figures, often merchants or travelling religious scholars (*faḳīh* sing./*fuḳuha'* plur.) traveled from town to town selling their wares and distributing books among their coreligionists.[15] The demand for these books points to a conceptualization of *aljamiado* texts not only as manuals for proper religious behavior, but also indicates the function of religious texts as material objects. This might explain why even illiterate Moriscos desired these texts. Recent studies from Heather Bamford, Ryan Giles, and Veronica Menaldi explore this material function of religious texts.

As Nuria Castillo Martínez states, the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth* (sayings and notable actions of the Prophet) comprise the most represented texts in the *aljamiado* corpus (12). The *ḥadīth* literature contains a huge number of stories, sayings, and actions attributed to the Prophet by eye witnesses. This body of literature also contains stories about previous prophets in the Abrahamic tradition (*ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyaʾ*), as well as biographical narratives about the Prophet's life and his interactions with his followers (*sīra* or *sīrat al-nabawiyya*,

[15] A "Faḳīh" has traditionally been understood as a person who is an expert in Islamic jurisprudence, with the term applying to a range of vocations including that of *qādi* (judge), *mufti* (expert who issues fatwas), *imām* (leader of prayers), *khātib* (preacher), or *muwaththiq* (notary). They could have been itinerant scholars or traders or religious leaders employed by a local mosque. In Christian Spain by the fourteenth century, Kathryn Miller notes that the term implied an equally wide range of professional activities, designating a Mudejar who knew Arabic, whose profession involved some knowledge and application of Islamic law and tradition, and who generally enjoyed independence from Christian structures of authority (8-12).

or *sīrat rasūl allāh*)[16], the early Muslims. From the first decades of the Islamic era, storytellers (*ḳāṣṣ* singular/ *ḳuṣṣāṣ* plural) began to emerge and gain prominence for their knowledge and expertise on religious questions and stories. They would warn adherents to Islam against improper behavior, give more instruction, teach the Ḳurʾān, and tell stories of the ancient prophets and of Muḥammad. Storytellers like these had their roots in pre-Islamic Arab culture, and they likely adjusted their narrative techniques and methods of presentation to accommodate the predominance of religious themes with the advent of Islam (Tottoli 87). These storytellers became religious points of reference throughout the Muslim empire, not only for Arab occupants, but also for non-Arab converts to whom they provided the first rudiments of the new religion (Goldziher 11, 161; Newby 689).

There were, however, those who disapproved of these storytellers and their actions, namely the experts of religious learning (the *ʿUlamāʾ*). One of the recurrent accusations leveled against these storytellers was the charge that they were spreading false ideas and misleading the believers; they were held responsible for collecting stories and divulging them without exercising any critical judgment as to their content, and as far as the traditions regarding the prophets are concerned, for relying uncritically on legends that were full of exaggeration and of dubious origin, if not in actual conflict with the Ḳurʾānic word itself (Tottoli 88). The indulgence in exaggerated details indicates a willingness to cater to popular tastes and the religious needs of the audience. The

[16] *Sīra* in Arabic might have a number of meanings, but for this context, it means "biography." *Sīrat al-nabawiyya* means "biography of the Prophet" (implying a biography of Muḥammad), or *sīrat rasūl allāh*, which means "biography of the messenger of God."

exaggerations, when compared with the more canonical texts, can therefore shed light on the particular needs and desires of a given audience. Therefore, while the historical veracity of these stories may remain dubious, the deviations of each story reveals the concerns, preoccupations, and interests of a particular group at a particular time. This is particularly the case with the fragments of the *sīrat* preserved about the life of Muḥammad and his interactions with those who first converted to Islam as his followers and Companions.[17]

Varying accounts of the first three conversion narratives that I study here can be found in the *ḥadīṯh*, thus I will be approaching the concept of conversion from an Islamic perspective. The stories of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's, Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's, and Salmān al-Fārisī's conversions can all be found in prominent works of Islamic religious history. However, the various authors who recorded and copied these narratives also revised them, infusing the stories with their own anachronistic priorities, and shedding light on the copyist's interests and anxieties (Savant 69). In the case of the Morisco scribes who copied and edited these texts, a tendency to emphasize the similarities between Islam and Christianity appears to pervade the texts. The account of the fourth conversion considered below is that of Muḥammad himself and while this conversion is atypical to the others, the inclination to find a place for Islam in Christianity persists. At the same time, the Morisco scribes also tend to cast a negative image of the Jewish characters that appear in these conversion narratives. In this way, the scribes create a sort of triangle in which

[17] Companions of the Prophet are held in special regard in Islamic religious history. Known as *aṣ-ṣaḥāba*, later Islamic scholars accepted their accounts of the words and deeds of Muḥammad, which served as the basis for trusted chains of transmitters of these events (*isnād*). The accounts of these *ṣaḥāba* provided the foundation for Islamic tradition and *ḥadīṯh*.

Islam and Christianity are set against Judaism, a literary strategy called "triangulation." In her work, Colominas Aparicio utilizes a concept she coined as "triangulation" to describe how some polemical works can be linked to contemporary shifts in the power relations between communities. In this respect, she approaches Arabic and *aljamiado* treatises of religious polemics using her theory of triangulation/triangularity: "the dialectical influence which changes in power relations between two groups could have on a third group" (61). By this, Colominas Aparicio refers to the strategic move by which authors/scribes pen works which might be used hermeneutically to emphasize the similarities between their group and another by attacking a perceived common enemy, in this case, the Jews. While I accept that the emphasis on this triangulation strategy is by no means consistent among the narratives analyzed below, its use is important because of the numerous other examples from the corpus of *aljamiado* literature that utilize the same technique.[18]

Finally, my research attempts to fill a gap in scholarship regarding Morisco literature. Recent scholars have published excellent works that offer critical insights into conversion processes and religious considerations of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian society. However, these works either approach the subject of Morisco conversion from Christian sources, such as Kimmel's *Parabels of Coercion*. Others discuss conversion as a relatively free choice, such as Szpiech's *Conversion and Narrative*, but in the Morisco case, a forced conversion causes one to question whether or not it was genuine especially if many of the converts continued to secretly practice their old religion. Mayte Green-

[18] See, for example, Bernabé Pons's "Islamic Anti-Christian Polemics in 16th Century Spain;" García-Arenal and Barrios Aguilera's *Los plomos del Sacromonte* (560-565).

Mercado's recent work entitled *Visions of Deliverance* offers an analysis from *aljamiado* and Morisco sources, but her focus is on apocalyptic prognostications and she does not discuss the topic of conversion explicitly. Therefore, it seems appropriate to consider how Moriscos discussed the topic of conversion in the context of some of the foundational members of early Islam. This seems especially important because the experience of conversion was perhaps the single point that remained salient to nearly every Morisco individual from nearly every Morisco community.

Chapter one focuses on the Morisco account of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's conversion to Islam. This chapter focuses on the innovations that the Morisco scribe appears to have inserted into the narrative, when compared to other, more mainstream versions of the story that we know circulated amongst Morisco communities. These additions seem to suggest the scribe's preoccupation with miraculous signs that foretell the importance ʿOmar will have in the Islamic community, as the second caliph after Abu Bakr. Additionally, we can find numerous examples and points to which the narrative would resonate with a Morisco audience, for example the hiding of manuscripts, the role of food as a religious marker, and the polemical argument against paganism and idolatry. This story does not provide strong evidence of a strategy of triangulation, but the association between the religious practices of the prophet Abraham and the Muslim community appears to hint at the scribe's claim to Islam fulfilling the Christian religion.

Chapter two highlights the use of the triangulation strategy through a study of the conversion narrative of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar. This story lends itself particularly well because Kaʿab came from Jewish lineage and eventually rejected his family's religion because he claims to have discovered ten secret passages that had been erased from the Torah. These

passages foretell the coming of Muḥammad and his status as the last one in God's prophetic lineage. In this chapter, comparing the Morisco version to the established Arabic accounts, to which Moriscos had access and which had circulated the Peninsula for centuries, appears revealing. My analysis suggests that the scribe emphasizes the nefarious actions of numerous Jewish sages and their complicity in deceiving Christians by modifying their holy scriptures. Whereas other versions of the story hold both Christian and Jewish leaders responsible for removing references to Muḥammad, the Morisco account focuses only on the Jewish texts and sages. The implication seems to be that Christians were merely duped by these texts and, if they knew the truth, would accept Islam. In this way, the scribe appears to situate Islam as the fulfillment of Christianity, while maligning Judaism, which seems to be an excellent example of the triangulation strategy.

Chapter three analyzes another Morisco version of an early Islamic conversion narrative. In this case, Salmān al-Fārisī's account of how he came to accept Islam provides another strong example of triangulation. Once again, when compared with earlier texts, the Morisco version of Salmān's account emphasizes the evil actions of the Jewish characters who mock Salmān for his search of true religion, enslave him, and then attempt to cheat him out of freedom when the Prophet himself arranges for his manumission. Throughout the story, I also attempt to show the positive light cast upon the Christian characters. These characters are men who are pious and merciful to Salmān. Above all, they are enlightened in their view of religion and they encourage Salmān to continue to look for a prophet (i.e. Muḥammad), thus implying they would believe in Islam if and when it came about.

Chapter four takes a sizeable departure from Morisco versions of early Islamic conversion narratives. In this chapter I analyze a Spanish play that addresses the foundations of the Islamic movement, *Vida y muerte del falso Profeta Mahoma*. This play, composed anonymously but evidence suggests by a Morisco who remained in Castile after the expulsion, follows some well-known tropes used by Christians for centuries when depicting Muḥammad. The first two acts of the play appear extremely polemical against Islam. However, by the third act, the play takes a dramatic shift and appears to present a distinctly pro-Islamic stance. Evidence of a triangular strategy comes to the fore in the author's depiction of Islam as the completion of Christianity.

Chapter 1

The conversion of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

The various stories of how ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb converted to Islam hold a prominent place in Arabic hagiography. As the second Caliph after Abu Bakr, one of the companions to the Prophet Muhammad (*ṣaḥāba*), and widely recognized as an exemplar of piety, early Muslims naturally wanted to know as much as possible about his life and deeds before and after his conversion experience. Various accounts of the conversion narrative have been included in biographies (*sīra*), lists of generations (*ṭabaḳāt*), the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), and other stories (*ḳiṣaṣ* plural/ *ḳiṣṣa* singular). These Arabic sources, which inform the *aljamiado* account, usually present some combination of marvelous sights, anagnorisis, food customs, the inversion of gender roles, performative conversion, or ritualized emotion as reasons for ʿOmar's conversion. However, each one of these literary or thematic elements feature prominently in the *aljamiado* version, indicating that this story appears to be composed of fragments from each of these various Arabic literary traditions. The fragmentary nature of the composition enabled the editor/translator to evoke the imagery and rhetoric of Islamic devotional and hagiographic literature punctuated by a number of literary motifs and narrative devices. The resulting amalgamation reveals how Moriscos viewed themselves, interpreted their duties as Muslims, and responded to calls for their own conversion to Christianity.

Before exploring the passage, defining certain terms will help my analysis. First, marvels and the marvelous play a major role in this narration of ʿOmar's conversion. I have chosen to use this term to describe some of ʿOmar's experiences because of its

salience in both Christian and Muslim hagiographic literature that circulated during the sixteenth century and to which many Moriscos probably had access.

Sixteenth-century Europe appears to be a time and place where the marvelous saw a great increase in currency among Christian writers.[19] On a broad level, modern scholars have recently shown the ubiquity of how the marvelous not only informed Christian literary and artistic efforts in the sixteenth century, but also questions of philosophy, metaphysics, and science (Park and Daston, Platt, Daston, Biow). As Caroline Walker Bynum lays out, discussions of wonder occupied a central place in many discourses in the Medieval and Early Modern periods (6). She highlights three discourses in particular: the theological philosophical, the homiletic and hagiographical, and the historical and travel wonders. The homiletic and hagiographic framework (10-12) seems most applicable to our understanding of how Moriscos might approach the wonders that ʿOmar encountered during his conversion narrative. In this aspect of wonder, Walker Bynum highlights the concept of *imitatio*, or "appropriation," whose "semantic field includes words such as pattern, mirror, example, model, image, and nourishment" (11). More recently, Ryan Giles and Mary Elizabeth Perry have interrogated how wonders and miracles figured into the belief system of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian religious practices. Giles asserts that objects, especially amulets, were believed to speak, often giving lessons and providing instruction (25). Perry devotes detailed analyses of the depiction of miracles in numerous Morisco homiletic narratives, emphasizing the

[19] John Onians provides a useful summary of the history of the fantastic, in which marvels play a crucial role.

messages of faith and reward for those who undergo persecution for their faith ("Complexities" 161-186, *Handless Maiden* 32-37).

From a more Islamic view, marvelous creatures and events, such as *jinn* and talking animals, exist as authenticated by the Qur'ān. Speaking generally, Islam recognizes the unseen world as part of God's creation. As Edgard Weber puts it:

> *Pour une conscience arabo-musulmane de l'époque classique, le merveilleux était facilement intégré dans la réflexion religieuse. Le croyant ou le savant ne voyait pas de contradiction ni une atteinte à la logique des choses en parlant d'animaux, de plantes ou de réalisations humaines appartenant au merveilleux. Tout être, toute chose, tout événement qui pouvait émerveiller l'homme était considéré comme un signe qui pouvait conduire sur le chemin de la reconnaissance de la grandeur et de la puissance divine* (57).[20]

In the story of ʿOmar's conversion, animals conveying the prophethood of Muhammad or idols announcing the supremacy of God are examples of humans catching a glimpse of the ever-present but invisible world of the marvelous. The logic behind this perspective is similar to that adopted by al-Jāḥiẓ (776-868) in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*The Book of the Animals*) and al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283) in his *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūḳāt* (*Wonders of Creation*). Both authors propose a rationale that if God created the world and populated it with strange creatures and phenomena, then it is because he wanted men with reason to

[20] "During the classical period, the marvelous was easily integrated within the religious reflection of an Arab-Muslim consciousness. Neither believer nor scholar saw it as contradictory or illogical to speak of animals, plants, or human achievements pertaining to the realm of the marvelous. Every being, every thing, every event that could amaze people was considered a sign showing the path to the acknowledgement of the divine greatness and power."

decipher these signs in order to recognize God's greatness (Weber, 58). Al-Qazwīnī even gives the following definition:

> Amazement is the perplexity that seizes men when they are confronted with their incapacity to find the reason behind something, or the way to affect it […] The amazement decreases because of the familiarity and the frequency of the vision. […] The strange (*gharîb*) is any marvelous phenomenon that happens rarely and shifts away from known customs and common spectacles. (3)

Elsewhere, on first page of *Tales of the Marvelous* (one of the earliest known collection of wondrous tales in Arabic), after praising God, the author asserts that marvels are found in the world so that the discerning might discover God:

> His miracles have spread everywhere, his marvellous works on land and by sea, the marvels of his perfect works in every direction and every county, all these attest that the blessed and most high God is One, Eternal, Unique, and Master of All. Consider that, then, ye who know how to see. (quoted in *Tales of the Marvellous*, 3)

The marvelous events that ʿOmar witnesses, then, are meant to be read as signposts, pointing toward the ultimate authority of God. Generally speaking, in early Islamic hagiography, these events usually foreshadow to both the person witnessing the event as well as readers of the marvelous account the overall meaning of the narrative. As Dubost puts it:

> The word marvelous first plays the role of a signal. It announces or comments on some parts of the narrated story that resist the test of truth, and the control that continuously accompanies the act of reading without the reader knowing about it.

> At first, the input of the marvelous signal temporarily suspends a certain referential disposition in the reader or the listener. […] As an important term belonging to the metalanguage of narration, the word marvelous can represent an expression intended to indicate that the nature of events has changed. […] The word marvelous clearly signals that what follows is a series of events in which normal processes of human causation are not operative. (64)

The second concept that needs clarification is that of narrative. Using Paul Ricoeur as my starting point, I employ the term "narrative" not necessarily as a story, but the way humans interpret and experience time. Narrativization is the psychological process of both individual and communal identity creation, what Ricoeur calls the hermeneutical phenomenological human subject (*Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*). In this process, humans tend to carry out "emplotment" as we draw together disparate past events into a meaningful whole. For Ricoeur, this retroactive figuration of events into a meaningful unity occurs from the end-point of the story. In this way, earlier events and their meanings are interpreted in such a way that they fit the emplotment, a pattern which is only seen by the later perspective. Following Ricoeur's analysis, in such emplotments "individual and community are constituted in their identity by taking up narratives that become for them their actual history" (Ricoeur *Time and Narrative*, 147). Ryan Szpiech adapted this model and applied it to conversion narratives in medieval Iberia, coming to the conclusion that studying medieval conversion narratives "makes the most sense when viewed *as stories* rather than as embellished but factual descriptions of historical events, actions, or experiences" (217).

Because I view these narratives as stories used in the process of emplotment, the importance of their historical accuracy becomes diminished. While the fact that these narratives are based on historical characters would have been important to the original audience, this definition thus enables me to take conversion narratives, like ʿOmar's, at face value and interrogate them in terms of what they meant specifically to a Morisco audience, without implying any modern judgment against them.

The *aljamiado* version of the story begins with a leader of the Quraysh tribe, Abu Jahl, complaining to a gathering of his supporters about Muhammad, specifically the claim that the Quraysh were worshipping false idols and would soon be brought to judgment. He offers gold, silver, and camels to any person present who would kill Muhammad. Enraged by the affront on his religion and enticed by the reward, ʿOmar accepts the offer. He sets out with his sword and crossbow to find Muhammad.

On his search, ʿOmar receives various warnings not to proceed with his task. First, he is stopped by a man from the Zuhayra tribe, telling him that Muhammad's family will not allow ʿOmar to live if he carries out the assassination. At this point, the narrative diverges briefly and makes a reference to this man's beliefs. ʿOmar demands to know what god this member of the Zuhayra family serves. The man replies, "*Soy en-ell-adīn đe Ībrāhīm i đe Içmā'il*."[21] This response would have been recognizable to most Muslims because, according to the religious interpretation that Muhammad set forth, Islam represents the same beliefs and practices as these two venerated prophets. In this brief statement, the text invokes the Islamic theory of *taḥrīf*, or "distortion" or "alteration" specifically of the Jewish and Christian holy texts. According to this theory, the Torah

[21] "I am a follower of the religion of Abraham and Ismael."

and the Gospels were intentionally altered and prophecies announcing Muhammad's arrival were erased. Morisco scribes and religious leaders appeared to utilize this theory extensively in an effort to emphasize Islam's close connection to the beliefs of Abraham, who was also venerated within Christian religious thought. As I explain in more detail in the following chapter, Moriscos used the shared respect for Abraham to highlight the similarities between Islam and Christianity in a strategy called "triangulation." This short statement by a member of the Zuhayra family, which is omitted in some of the more canonical versions of ʿOmar's conversion (specifically Ibn Hishām's) provides a hint at the presence of this strategy, but it does not develop the theme to the extent that other conversion stories considered in the following chapters do.

Ignoring the warning that the Zuhayra man gives, ʿOmar then comes upon a calf that miraculously proclaims a prophecy foretelling the arrival and veracity of Muhammad. ʿOmar brings this news back to the leaders of the Quraysh, but they tell him to remain silent.[22] Setting out once again to kill Muhammad, ʿOmar then witnesses the idol Hubal, the most prominent idol in Mecca, speak and call upon the idolaters to worship God and follow his Prophet, Muhammad.

These three confrontations on human, animal, and spiritual levels do little to dissuade ʿOmar from his task. He sets out once again on his mission. Soon, a member of Muhammad's family (the family of ʿAbd al-Muttalib) approaches ʿOmar. This time, ʿOmar receives news that that instead of meddling with others, he should look to his own family: his sister, Fatima, had converted to Islam without him knowing it. And to prove

[22] The text is unclear as to why the Quraysh told him to remain silent on this issue. It simply says, "*no lo dīgas a nadī*" (Heygi, 141).

it, the member of the ʿAbd al-Muttalib family tells ʿOmar that his sister will not eat what he slaughters.

ʿOmar, enraged and distracted from his purpose, then goes to his sister's house. He hears her and her husband reading the Qur'ān. He then slaughters a ram, cooks it, and invites his sister to eat it. When she refuses, ʿOmar knows that she has accepted Islam, and in a fury, he strikes her in the face, causing her to bleed. He then retreats and hides himself in the house.

Later that night, Fatima and her husband, Saīd, wake to read the Kor'an once more. ʿOmar wakes up too, and upon hearing the words of the holy text, he asks to read it for himself. After Fatima objects that she is afraid he will burn it, she makes him ritually wash his hands and she gives him the document. After reading the Sura (in this case Sura Ta-Ha), ʿOmar recites the *shahada*, (the Islamic proclamation of faith) and asks to see the Prophet in order to submit to him in person. But, because all of this happens in the middle of the night, he must wait until morning to find Muhammad. The following morning, a man the Morisco scribe calls Habathir al-Athar[23] informs ʿOmar that that same night, Muhammad had prayed that God would strengthen Islam with ʿOmar's submission. Habathir tells ʿOmar to find the Prophet in Ḥamza, his uncle's, house.[24] On his way to visit the Prophet, ʿOmar receives, once again, proof of Muhammad's prophethood from an idol called Alẓẓamar. Finally, ʿOmar arrives at his uncle's house to submit to Muhammad. As he stands before Muhammad, ʿOmar is overtaken by a fit of tremors, and

[23] The role of "Habathir" is particularly confusing because this name does not appear in any of the sources I have found. This particularity only strengthens the point about the abundance of *ḳiṣṣa* literature and its lack of uniformity.
[24] Ḥamza is the son of ʿAbd al-Muttalib, who is the uncle of the Prophet.

he shakily pledges allegiance to Islam. ʿOmar then leads the small community of 40 Muslims to the Kaʿba where he personally kills seventy of the Qurayshi leaders and proclaims that Muslims will no longer worship in secret. ʿOmar then destroys the idols in the Kaʿba, an act that causes over one thousand men convert to Islam. The story ends as Muhammad himself embraces ʿOmar and thanks him for the service he has done for Islam.

Even in the brief summary above, we can note that marvelous events played a key role in ʿOmar's conversion. The messages that he receives from the animals and the idols particularly draw the reader's attention. The marvelous, as a means of introducing the moment of anagnorisis, seems to be at the center of the narrative. These occurrences guide the reader as they are meant to guide ʿOmar. These events frighten his unbelieving companions because they indicate that their beliefs are untrue and even the idols they revere as sacred and powerful fall under the ultimate supremacy of God. As for ʿOmar himself, he is left marveling at what he sees. But instead of embracing the truth of what he heard, he redoubles his efforts to put an end to Muhammad and his message. For example, after he hears the calf cry out and proclaim that Muhammad is a prophet of God, the text says:

> *Ðiẓo Ibnu 'Abbas: / Así komo lo oyeron, fu^{w}éronse huyenđo; i fu^{w}e / 'Umar muy espantado, maravillándose đe ake//llas palabras, đixendo:*
>
> *-Esto es g^{a}ran / fecho. Si yo no mato a Muḥammad antes ke más / se-esti^{y}enda su fecho, todos seremos / pu^{w}estos en đubdas*[25] (Heygi, 140-141).

[25] "Ibn 'Abbas said: As they heard it [the calf], they fled; and ʿOmar was frightened, marveling at those words, saying: "This is a great event. If I do not kill Muhammad before more understand his deeds, all of us will be in doubt."

Similarly, after ʿOmar and his companions hear the idol Hubal proclaim the veracity of Muhammad's claim of prophecy, the text says, "*Rreku*^{w}*enta Ibnu 'Abbās ke ku*^{w}*ando oyeron // akellas palabras, salı̈*^{y}*eron kon voluntad / đe matar a Muḥammad...*"[26] (Heygi 141).

Even while ʿOmar ignores the warnings that he received, the weight of what he saw left him marveling. This kind of marvel is emblematic of epistemological marvels, a subtype of what John Renard calls reflexive marvels in Arabic hagiography. Epistemological marvels are those that grant the person involved "extraordinary insight, awareness, and access to arcane truths" as opposed to power marvels (*Friends of God* 91). [27] In the *aljamiado* text, after each scene, ʿOmar is left marveling at what he saw. In most of these cases, the term *maravilla* is associated with ʿOmar's cognitive and emotional processes, and this connection has extratextual effects for the reader's or listener's own emotions. Each time ʿOmar refuses to acknowledge the message he's heard, the audience gains more insight into the stubbornness of his character. This construction allows the audience to understand the significance of ʿOmar's change of heart. His spiritual journey changes course only when he reads the divinely inspired words of the Qur'ān. The text of the Qur'ān itself takes on a more important and powerful position in ʿOmar's eyes than all the marvels and messages that he witnessed. The marvelous events in the text therefore allows the author/editor to place even more emphasis on the written word of God, displaying its greatness and sacredness that

[26] "Ibn 'Abbas recalls that when they heard those words, they all fled, frightened, marveling. And ʿOmar left always with the desire to kill Muhammad..."
[27] Richard Gramlich's definitive study of the topic, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes* 19–121, discusses the two main categories of the "power" miracle and the "benevolence" miracle.

supersedes any message delivered by humans, animals, or spirits.

Read this way, the climax of the story does not coincide with ʿOmar's public profession of faith in Islam before Muhammad. Instead, the narrative emphasizes the changes in ʿOmar's behavior that accompanied his internal conversion[28] when he reads the Qur'ān in his sister's house and recognizes its truth. This is the critical moment of anagnorisis, or recognition, in the story in which the entire moral is wrapped up in a single scene. Several of the story's elements depend on the recognition scene that is focalized in the words: "*...đi/ʸóle Allah a pensar akello en su koraçón, / i púsole el deseo đell-ađīn (=religión) đe Muḥammad"* (Heygi 144).[29] It is the central turning point of the story, condensing what comes before and motivating all that comes after it. It provides, in this instant, the axial point across which both halves of the story are arranged to form a symmetry of narrative construction.

It is important to note that this scene comes in ʿOmar's sister's house, after he received his messages about the truth of Islam and Muhammad. ʿOmar decided to delay searching for Muhammad when he heard that his sister, Fatima, had embraced Islam:

...i enkontº rólo uno đelos / đe 'Abbu al-Muṭṭalib,

-¿A đonđe / vas?, ¡yā 'Umar!

Đixo él:

-A matar Muḥammad. /

Đixo el otro:

[28] In line with Ryan Szpiech's analysis, my interest lies more in the context surrounding ʿOmar's conversion, and less in the "internal" affective moment of conversion in transcendent isolation. See Szpiech, esp. 16-20.

[29] "God put the words on his heart and gave him the desire of Muhammad's religion."

-P^{i}rimero lo pensarás bi^{y}en: / en nosotros ay ki^{y}en te đará bu^{w}en / rrekawđo.

Đixo 'Umar:

-Por mi ley te juro / si no porke eres mucho mi amīgo, tú me pagarī^{y}as / por él.

Đixo el otro:

-¿I pi^{y}*ensas ke đe/xaré yo por tu mi^{y}edo đe đezzir la verđad? / ¡Por Allah!, yo te đīré una kosa ke la ternás // a g^{a}rande maravilla.*

Đixo 'Umar:

-¿I ké es?

Đixo el otro:

-Sabrás ke tu ermana i tu kuñado / se an tornado al-adīn (=religion) đe Muḥammad.[30]

The man then tells ʿOmar that he can be certain of her change in faith because she will not eat an animal that he slaughters. When ʿOmar arrives at Fatima's house, he slaughters a ram, cooks it, and offers it to his sister. She duly refuses to eat it, because she and her husband have promised not to eat of his slaughter.[31] At this, ʿOmar realizes that

[30] "...[ʿOmar] encountered a member of the ʿAbd al-Muttalib [family], and he said, 'Where are you going ʿOmar?'
ʿOmar said, 'To kill Muhammad.'
The other man said, 'Think well about that: we have someone who will give you a great reward.'
ʿOmar said, 'I swear by my law, if you were not such a great friend to me, you would pay me for him.'
The other man said, 'And do you think that I will leave because of your fear to speak the truth? By God, I will give you something that will find extremely marvelous.'
'And what is it?' ʿOmar said.
The other man said, 'Know that your own sister and brother-in-law have embraced the religion of Muhammad.'" (Heygi, 141-142)

[31] "*...ke no komeremos, / porke abemos p^{o}rometiđo đe no komer đe tu / degollado"* (Heygi 142)

she has indeed abandoned her old religion for Islam. He then rose and struck her so furiously that her head began to bleed.[32] This vicious attack further illustrates ʿOmar's deplorable character prior to his conversion.

The inclusion of food as a social and religious marker would have struck a particular chord with a Morisco audience. Presumably Fatima refuses because the animal, a ram in this case, is not slaughtered in a manner consistent with Islamic canonic food preparation rituals, known as *hilāl* practices. However, the issue is left open-ended for the Morisco audience to interpret: the food might also have been refused if offered during the fasting hours of the month of Ramadan, or perhaps because it was prepared with other non-*hilāl* items (*haram*), such as pork products or wine. Such indicators were enough to identify someone as a Muslim and justify a case against them in front of the Inquisition (Cardaillac 26). In her intriguing analysis of the relationship between food and identity, Jillian Williams stresses that in the sixteenth-century Iberian context, inquisitors, polemicists, and reformers saw the Morisco relationship with food as fundamentally Muslim. Many of these authorities refused to believe Moriscos when they denied performing non-Christian food practices; conversely, Moriscos admitting to conforming to the food practices deemed non-Christian confirmed their dissimulation and apostasy from Christianity in the eyes of many of these authorities (147-166). She asserts that Inquisitorial proceedings centered on the performative aspects of religious identity, and Morisco food behaviors were interpreted as non-Christian the majority of the time. Inquisitors positioned individual Morisco experiences into a larger set of beliefs about the

[32] "*I levantóse i firi*^{y}*ó malamente a su / ermana ke le ensang*^{e}*rentó la kabeça"* (Heygi 143)

converts which negated their struggles and denied cultural explanations (19).

The role of food therefore plays an important extratextual role, similar to the role played by the marvels. In this case, a Muslim audience might quickly identify with Fatima and the importance that food played in their lives, beyond an alimentary function. Here, ʿOmar transforms from a persecutor of Muhammad specifically to a persecutor of Muslims in general. Moreover, his animosity knows no bounds as it causes him physically to attack his sister in her own home for keeping faith in Islam. In this way, Fatima resembles another female character, Carcayona, the handless maiden, found in a tale that circulated widely among Moriscos.[33] As Elizabeth Perry notes, The Handless Maiden emphasizes that both men and women should obey God above all, even if it means breaking traditional gender roles. For crypto-Muslim women, such obedience to God justifies disobedience to men (Perry, 31-32). The fact that both Carcayona's and Fatima's faith leads to betrayal by male figures that should have protected them alludes to the important role Moriscas played in their society. Although both Morisco men and women preserved and passed on to the younger generations religious and cultural knowledge (Perry, 39), women in particular played a major role in preserving Hispano-Muslim culture and Inquisition records show "the fundamental role of their mothers or their grandmothers in the matter of education" (Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas" 3:592-593).[34] The fact that Fatima transformed her home into a space of religious

[33] The story is included in Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, 1:14-17. For a more detailed study of the *Carcayona* tale, see Pino Valero Cuadra's article, "La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona," and Elizabeth Perry's study *The Handless Maiden*.

[34] For more on the teaching of children before and after forced conversion to Christianity, see Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos,* esp. 32; Julián Ribera y Tarragó**,** *La esneñanza entre los musulmanes españoles. Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*; Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, esp. 25.

resistance reflects similar strategies used especially by Moriscas. Just as Muslims are persecuted in the story of ʿOmar's conversion, Moriscas by and large withdrew from public expressions of Islam, and used their homes to teach Hispanic Islamic cultural and religious practices to others, especially children (Perry, 5-6). In the *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's conversion, Fatima also hides the manuscript (*eskondiy'ó ell-alkitāb*) of the Qur'an she was reading when ʿOmar arrived at her house (Heygi, 143). Once again, the connection this gesture would have made with the audience could not have been missed as Arabic and *aljamiado* manuscripts were routinely hidden from Christian authorities, especially manuscript copies of the Qur'ān. Indeed the manuscript codex that contains this conversion story was discovered in a collection of manuscripts that were hidden in false walls in a sixteenth-century home in Almonacid de la Sierra in 1884. This collection contained hundreds of manuscripts, nearly all of which are written in *aljamiado*, formed the basis of the *Escuela de Estudios Arabes*, now known as the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*. Manuscripts hidden in false floors and walls were relatively commonplace, especially since inquisitorial and royal officials declared owning or possessing any book written in Arabic a crime in Castile in 1502 (). Books written in Arabic, or *aljamiado* then were hidden in buildings and were transmitted secretly in any number of ways, including hidden in women's skirts (Perry 6) and by itinerant Islamic scholars, known as *fuquha* (Miller 58-78).[35] In this scene then, Fatima embodies two

[35] For more on these concealed writings and their discovery, see A.R. Nykel, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*, 29-30; Luce López-Baralt, *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española*, 120-122; Julián Ribera and Miguel Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la biblioteca de la junta*, v-xviii, 138, 156-157; Gerard Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*; Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas*, esp. 1-35.

aspects of everyday life to which Moriscos could relate: personal obedience to God above all others and safeguarding and passing along Islamic faith and practices, even when one's protectors became one's persecutors.

This kind of betrayal and persecution provide another example of the extratextual connection with the reading and listening audience. Fear of denouncement from a family member was a reality for many Morisco families and communities that wanted to continue practicing Islam. In perhaps the cruelest contestation between Moriscos and Christians, inquisitors often attempted to coerce children to implicate their parents or other family members in illegal cultural practices or religious beliefs.[36] Such fears commonly led Moriscos to awake in the middle of the night to perform prayers and worship together, a situation not unlike the one described in the *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's conversion. In Christian documents of the time, to rise in the night and to pray or to read were also offenses that could lead to denouncement and an inquisitorial trial. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal describes a trial against some Moriscos who had been meeting in a house on Friday nights to read the Qur'ān and be taught by a religious jurist, or *alfaqí* (82, 97). Additionally, Pedro de Valencia, the archbishop of Toledo and Inquisitor General, complains that the priests cannot teach enough to succeed in purifying the doctrine and rites among the Moriscos, since 'their Nation, Fathers, Mothers, Relatives and Friends teach them by night'" (fol. 99). In his famous *Memorial* to the local magistrate, the Morisco nobleman Francisco Nuñez Muley questioned (among many other things) a statute that required Moriscos to leave their doors open during the day. At that time, such a law had been enforced, the purpose of which was to discourage

[36] For more on Morisco families denouncing each other, see Perry, 81-83.

Moriscos from practicing Islam behind closed doors. Nuñez Muley dismisses the purpose and effectiveness of the rule by pointing out that Moriscos simply performed their prayers and rituals at night, and which Islamic religious leaders actually encouraged anyway:

> *Veamos, señor: hacernos tener las puertas de las casa abiertas ¿de que sirve? Libertad se da a los ladrones para que hurten, a los livianos para que se atrevan a las mujeres, y occasion a los alguaciles y escribanos para que con achaques destruyen la pobre gente. Si alguno quisiere ser moro y usar de los guadores y ceremonias de moros, ¿no podra hacerlo de noche? Si por cierto; que la seta de Mahoma soledad require y recogimiento* (5).[37]

Fatima's staunch belief in the face of violence causes a profound and immediate change in ʿOmar. The narrative portrays her as preserving Islamic faith and traditions, and her reading of the Qur'ān at night piques ʿOmar's curiosity. He asks to read the words, promising that he will not burn the text, as Fatima fears. Once he reads Sura Ta-Ha, God softens his heart toward Islam. The Qur'ān thus becomes the vehicle that precipitates ʿOmar's conversion experience, which concludes in the presence of Muhammad. It is before Muhammad that ʿOmar's conversion culminates, that the Morisco scribe expresses in highly charged, emotional terms:

[37] Let's see, sir: What purpose does having us keep our doors open serve? This would invite thieves to steal, the weak to force themselves upon women, and give occasion for the sheriffs and scribes with their accusations to destroy the poor people. If someone desired to be Muslim and keep the rituals and ceremonies of Muslims, wouldn't they simply be able to do these things at night? Of course, since (practicing) the sect of Muhammad only requires solitude and recollection.

Đixo Ibnu Abbaç: En hablando Muḥammad, / komençó 'Umar đe t^{e}remolar sus / junturas i đoblegársele las rrođillas; / kayósele la espađa, enkorvó la qabeççа / đe temor i vergu^{w}enççа đel mensajero đe Allah, Muḥammad, ṣṣala Allahu 'alayhi wa-açallam, i đixo / kon mucha vergu^{w}enççа:

-¡Yā Muḥammad!, yo // hago testigo (=testimonio) ke no hay otro señor sino Allah sólo, sin aparçero, i ke tú / eres Muḥammad, su si^{y}ervo i su mensajero.

(Heygi, 147).[38]

Those who witnessed ʿOmar's conversion then give a correspondingly emotional reception to their newly-converted co-religionist. The *aljamiado* text says that ʿOmar was then received with great honor, and by the hands of Muhammad, ʿOmar was made completely Muslim, causing great joy in everyone who witnessed the conversion. (Heygi, 147).[39]

This emotional "call and response" highlights the importance given to public emotional responses of both the convert and the spectators within conversion narratives in sixteenth-century Iberia. During this time, Christians used conversion narratives to provoke emotional responses that strengthened bonds of religious identity and community (Francois Soyer, "The Baptism of Muslims in Iberia" 509). This type of ritualized public processions and ceremonies punctuated daily life in much of the Iberian Peninsula. These displays, often steeped in religious symbolism, ranged from famous

[38] "Ibn 'Abbas said: As Muhammad spoke, ʿOmar's limbs began to tremble and his knees buckled; his sword fell, his head bowed from fear and humility in front of the Messenger of God, Muhammad, peace be upon him, and he [ʿOmar] said with much humility and shame, "Oh Muhammad, I believe that there is no god except God alone, without equal, and that you, Muhammad, are his servant and messenger."

[39] *"I rreçibi^{y}eronlo muy onrrađamente; i hízo/se kon ʿOmar todo el kunp^{i}lim^{y}iento / đe muçlim en las manos đe Muḥammad. Es/tando ansí todos en p^{a}lazer en kasa..."*

religious processions of the masses, like those during the *Semana Santa* the week before Easter and the *Corpus Christi*, to the carefully choreographed triumphal entries of monarchs and bishops into the towns they were visiting.[40] According to José Jaime García, the point of these ritualized public ceremonies, which he calls "spectacles of power" (*espectáculos de poder*), was to reinforce a sense of collective identity within communities, as well as reinforce a sense of connection with the monarchy and the church (145). Anthropologist Clifford Geertz in particular has highlighted how political and religious authorities exploit these ritualized spectacles to legitimate their power. Geertz has posited that rulers of the "theatre-state" organize ritual celebrations to "enact" their power through models of an imagined reality (127-129). William Reddy used the phrase "emotional regime" to describe the normative emotions that authorities impose upon spectators (129).

In the *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's conversion, the author/scribe presents ʿOmar as a man feeling utterly changed by his acceptance of Islam. ʿOmar's trembling, falling to his knees, dropping his sword, speaking with fear and shame, and bowing his head represent the physical and emotional manifestations of this transformation, which are clearly presented as evidence of the sincerity of his conversion. The prominence of these displays in the narrative greatly resembles the use of emotions in Christian hagiography from the same period. During this time, the externalization of emotions, happiness, and joy as well as sadness and contrition, was perceived as a window into another individual's soul and genuine evidence of changes of heart (McCormack, "Discerning Tears in Early Modern Catholicism" 49-59; Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern

[40] For more on triumphal entries, see Voight.

Spain" 33-50).

The notion that emotional displays revealed one's true religious feelings applied equally to individuals as it did to assembled crowds. As Francois Soyer notes, Christian accounts of collective public displays of joy when Muslims publically converted to Christianity were not only encouraged but also carefully cultivated as the organizers of public celebrations deliberately sought to elicit emotional responses from spectators (519-520). The symbolism of the ceremonies, revolving around the transformative power of the sacrament of baptism, is highlighted in narratives of miraculous conversion evoking the purity and the spiritual rebirth of the converts (520). The insertion of ʿOmar's emotional response to his conversion to Islam follows the same general outline proposed by Soyer. In the *aljamiado* text, the Qur'ān and the figure of Muhammad have the same effect on the convert (ʿOmar) as baptism and visions of Mary have in Christian conversion accounts. Similar to Soyer's analysis (518), ʿOmar's conversion is met with great joy among those who witness it. Thus, the moment of ʿOmar's conversion mirrors the motifs and goals used by Christian sources to foster a sense of Islamic communal identity.

ʿOmar's conversion scene constitutes the moment of anagnorisis, a recognition of the truth of Islam. In this narrative, recognition has a distinct ethical effect on ʿOmar. It crystallizes unquestioned acceptance of Muhammad; it has a restorative effect and brings a sense of justice to the story. ʿOmar himself delivers this justice by conquering both the human and spiritual adversaries of the nascent Islamic movement.

In these scenes, the marvels take on a distinctly different nature to the epistemological ones that ʿOmar had witnessed before. Instead, ʿOmar's actions may be

broadly characterized as power marvels, which Renard describes as "transitive [as opposed to the reflexive nature of epistemological marvels] and typically affect relationships among persons and between human and natural realms" (91). These types of marvels typically feature the agent's control over natural and spiritual forces and the ability to intervene in life-threatening circumstances (92). These observations about power marvels apply aptly to the *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's conversion, in which ʿOmar demonstrates super-human strength in killing his enemies, as well as dominion over the spiritual realm in casting down and destroying the idols in the Kaʿba. These events play a key role in developing the central theme of Islam's supremacy over religions on two levels: the recurring use of idols expresses that supremacy in metaphysical terms while ʿOmar brings about Islam's victory in the physical realm as well. The reversal of ʿOmar's actions and the sudden change in the audience's expectation ultimately heightens the miraculous perception of the Qur'ān and Muhammad as victors over idolatry.

In the story of ʿOmar's conversion, these two motifs, military victory and idol worship, have been used and reused in various religious and geographic contexts for centuries. In some cases, there is only one idol in the Kaʿba (al-Rabghūzī, 510), in others, the scene does not occur at all (Ibn Hishām, 157). Sometimes Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, Ali, was the one who physically broke the idols, but did not perform any marvelous deeds in doing so (Rabghūzī, 510). The same is true for ʿOmar fighting the Quraysh: some accounts say he struggled with a few men such as Ibn Kathīr (321), while others, like Ṭabarī exclude the confrontation all together (194).

A consideration of some of the circumstances in which Moriscos lived helps to shed some light on the reasons for the relative embellishment of the role of idols and the final conflict in the *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's conversion. One of the major hurdles that Christians faced in convincing Moriscos to accept Christianity was the presence of the saints and there is evidence to suggest that Cardaillac was correct in asserting that Moriscos would have equated these idols to the Catholic saints and the Christian relationships to them (300-303). Generally speaking, many Muslims did not differentiate between a cult of a Catholic saint and idolatry, based primarily on Sura 112 of the Ḳurʾān which says, "Say, 'He is Allah, [who is] One, Allah, the Eternal Refuge. He neither begets nor is born, Nor is there to Him any Equivalent.'" (Ṣaḥīḥ International Translation). The common interpretation of these verses is that humanity can never visually represent God because nothing can be equal to It[41]. While references to this topic in the Ḳurʾān are relatively limited, the rejection of visually representing God is more explicit in the various *ḥadīth* collections (Barrucand 59-60), and especially in the story of ʿOmar's conversion. Ibn Ḥazm, the famous Cordoban philosopher, used the topic of idolatry to attack Christians in the Peninsula:

> *Sabed también que los cristianos todos coinciden en pintar en sus iglesias una imagen que dicen ser la imagen del Creador, otra del Mesías, otra de María, otra de Pedro, otra de Pablo, la cruz, otra imagen de Gabriel y otra de Israfil. Además, se postran ante las imágenes como dándoles culto, y ayunan en su honor, como acto de religión. Ahora bien, esto es idolatría indudable y puro*

[41] I do not subscribe to gendering a divinity and I will attempt to use gender-neutral terms whenever possible when referring to God.

> *politeísmo; y aunque ellos condenan todo culto idolátrico, el hecho es que públicamente dan a las imágenes culto religioso, y la prueba de que así es, está en que ellos creen que con ese culto se ponen en relación, no con las imágenes mismas, sino con las personas por ellos representadas* (quoted in Asín de Palacios 112 and Pereda 340)[42]

This passage lends credence to Ana Echevarría's assertion that "Islam did not conceive the difference between adoring a statue and adoring something beyond it: both were considered idolatry" (163).

The social role and almost ubiquitous presence of the saints would have exacerbated the Islamic stance toward their perception of idolatry in the Catholic Church. The role of the saints' cults in articulating national identity has begun to receive the attention of scholars such as Erin Kathleen Rowe (*Disrupting the Republic*, 15) and John Elliot (173) who have shown how religious symbols could be- and were- deployed for the purposes of state-building and encouraging national sentiment. In another study, Rowe explains how local saints functioned within early modern Spanish society. Taking William Christian's position that people looked to saints for remedies to immediate, real life dilemmas (53) as a starting point, Rowe proposes that "both national and civic patrons interceded on behalf of a specific *space* while simultaneously being tied deeply to

[42] "Also know that Christians all agree to paint in their churches an image that they claim to be the image of the Creator, another of the Messiah, another of Mary, another of Peter, another of Paul, the cross, another image of Gabriel and another of Israfil. In addition, they prostrate themselves before the images as worshiping them, and fast in their honor, as an act of religion. Now this is undoubted idolatry and pure polytheism; and although they condemn all idolatrous worship, the fact is that they publicly give the images religious worship, and the proof that this is so, is that they believe that with that cult they are related, not with the images themselves, but with the people represented by them" (cited in Asín Palacios 112 and Pereda 340).

a sense of *place*, embedded in shared histories and memories" (*Imagining,* 3 emphasis in original). It was this relationship to a specific location that enabled local and regional peoples to appropriate a saint as an expression of collective identity. Rowe asserts that patron saints took on greater meaning in the early modern period as monarchies consolidated their power, bureaucracies became more centralized, and proto-national boundaries solidified. It was in this context that national patron saints "became embedded in the histories of the peoples they came to represent, often playing pivotal roles in the preservation or defense of the nation at moments of crisis. They also became associated with values and characteristics that those in the national community held as fundamental to their identities during a given period of time" (4).

So, precisely at a time when saints and sainthood were taking on new social meaning, Christian theologians of the fifteenth century, such as Pérez de Chinchón, Hernando de Talavera, Jaime Prades, and Paleotti (Franco Llopis 89) attempted to convince Moriscos that the cult of saints were not equivalent to idolatry. However, numerous inquisitorial records indicate their failure in persuading the newly converted. For example, an Aragonese Morisco called Gerona Churres confessed that she did not understand how Christians hoped to go to heaven by adoring a "chunk of wood"[43] (AHN. Inquisición. Lib. 988, 1581, s.p.), or a Granadan slave called Vertáis who rebuked inquisitors, saying, that while Muslims "believed in God, Saint Mary, and Jesus Christ," Christians "believe in wooden lumps"[44] (AHN. Inquisición. Leg. 1853, no. 7; García Fuentes 186). Borja Franco Llopis enumerates numerous other instances of Morisco

[43] "*trozo de madera*"
[44] "*bultos de madera*"

attitudes toward saints and relics (89-91), but perhaps the most instructive example of the effect the cult of the saints had on Moriscos comes from Cipriano de Valera, a well-known Spanish protestant who translated Calvin's works into vernacular Castilian, when he observed, "Many moors [sic], Turks, and Jews would have converted to Christ if it had not been for the offense and scandal of the images that are in the temples" (quoted in Cardaillac 128).

Later in the *aljamiado* version of the story, ʿOmar goes with Muhammad into the Ka'ba, the holiest space in Islam (Wensinck, *Kaʿba*) to destroy the idols that the polytheistic Arabs had placed there, saying,

> *-Yā las / ídolas!, umillaos y-aççajdaos (postraos) a Muhammad. / ssala Allahu 'alayhi w-açallam.*
>
> *"Dīxo Ibnu 'Abbāç: / En dizzi^{y}endo 'Umar estas palabras, // daron todas las ídolas en-el su^{w}elo, / todas esmenuzzadas. I fecho esto / deçendi^{y}ó una alea (versículo) de parte de Allah ke / dezzi^{y}a: Yā annabī haçbuka / Allahi wā man ita'aka mina almūminīna, / ke dīze: "¡Ya annabī! (¡Oh profeta!), gu^{w}árdete Allah, i-^{y}a todo / ki^{y}en te seguirá de los kreentes"* (Heygi 149).[45,46]

This episode marks a significant point in Islamic history. Sunni Muslim tradition generally agrees with the *aljamiado* story that after ʿOmar converted to Islam, he confronted the Quraysh who persecuted Muslims and cleansed the Kaʿba of idols. It was

---

[45] Surah VIII: 65

[46] "'Oh idols! Humble yourselves and prostrate yourselves before Muhammad, may the peace of God be upon him!'

Ibn 'Abbas recounted: When ʿOmar said these words, all of the idols fell to the floor, crushed. When this was done, God sent down an *aya* (verse from the Qur'ān) that said, 'Oh Prophet! Preserve God and all those believers who follow you.'"

after this point that Muslims felt safe to practice Islam freely and pray openly at the Kaʿba. Accounts vary, but they all generally agree that the number of converts to Islam grew significantly as a result of ʿOmar's actions. Thus ʿOmar's role as a destroyer of idols might have held particular currency within Morisco communities that also struggled with what they perceived to be idolatry and persecution within the Catholic Church.

The *aljamiado* account of ʿOmar's confrontation with the idols comprises one side of his character. This portrayal of ʿOmar as a destroyer of idols emphasizes his spiritual role in Islamic history. As I have shown, Moriscos might have interpreted this aspect of the story as implying Islam's superiority to Christianity. However, the story also underscores the military leadership ʿOmar possessed.

Once again, the inclusion of this aspect of the story may have closely resonated with a Morisco population that held out for rescue from their Christian oppressors if they only remained loyal and faithful to Islam. Countless Morisco prophecies circulated at this time which emphasized this hope for deliverance. Rumors were rampant among Morisco communities that the Ottoman Turks had prepared an armada that would bring them military victory. Still more speculated that the French Huguenots were ready to send aid and materiel. Other Moriscos claimed that an unnamed people of North Africa would invade to overthrow the Christian rulers of Spain.[47] The fear appeared to be real in the eyes of Christians as well. Pedro de Valencia, the same Inquisitor who complained that Moriscos could not be taught Christian theology, reinforced the stereotypical view that vilified all Moriscos as spies for the Turks when he said, "There are not ten, nor a

[47] For examples of these rumors and prophecies, see García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, 55-62; López-Baralt (198); Wiegers (240-242); and a monograph-length work by Green-Mercado, especially 100-130.

hundred, nor a thousand, nor a hundred thousand, but many more spies and soldiers that the [Ottoman] Empire and Sect of the Ismaelists have in Spain" (12). Additionally, Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco offers a succinct description of the fears experienced by the inquisitors of a Morisco insurrection in the years following the rebellion of the Alpujarras from the perspective of the vice-chancellor of Aragon, Bernardo de Bolea, primarily based on a series of reports presented by Bolea to the king (Sánchez-Blanco, "Don Bernardo" 3:89-110; *Heróicas decisiones*, esp. chapter 3).

ʿOmar's victorious military confrontation with the Quraysh not only metes out justice against the oppressors of Islam. As the *aljamiado* text says, this victory allowed Muslims to pray publically at the Kaʿba, one of the holiest sites in Islam, for the first time.[48] For many Moriscos, these kinds of public prayers and the rituals that accompanied them had been restricted for years (Chejne, 59-61). ʿOmar's conversion and military victory, then, may have held special significance for a Morisco audience that could easily identify with the religious restrictions early Muslims faced and longed for rescue.

The text itself acknowledges the dire need for a rescuer, symbolized in this cases by ʿOmar, and the reward that awaits the would-be liberator. However, instead of offering material riches or power, the reward the text alludes to is spiritual: when ʿOmar confronts and defeats the Quraysh, the Prophet Muhammad himself embraced him and attributed the survival of Islam to ʿOmar.[49]

I believe it is important to note that ʿOmar receives Muhammad's praise for his

[48] "*I tomaron alwaḍḍū* [absolution] *la kon/paña đe Muḥammad, i hizi*^{y}*eron las đos / alrrak'as* [inclinations] *đel-alba en la kasa..."* (Heygi, 148).
[49] "*...i vino Muḥammad i ab*^{a}*ra/çólo, i đīxo:*
-Esforçado es ell-aliç/lām [Islam] *kon 'Umar*.

military victory and not for destroying the idols in the Kaʿba. It would be impossible to determine the reasons why the author/scribe chose to organize the account in this way. However, the audience leaves the work with a distinct sense that the text prioritizes rescue in the form of military salvation over spiritual salvation. This may have been a conscious effort on the part of the author/scribe who saw Christians as the biggest impediments to a resurgence of Spanish Islam. It is perhaps surprising that the author/scribe did not emphasize the destruction of the idols, the spiritual aspect of ʿOmar's power marvels, in the same way. It has been well-documented that "Moriscos developed forms of ritual that differed from the practices of their coreligionists abroad, many of whom continued to question whether the Moriscos were truly Muslim at all" (Ehlers, 30).

ʿOmar's defeat of the Quraysh and his destruction of the idols meets the audience's expectation of conversion that delivers justice. In this scene, ʿOmar balances the scales of his past sins (attempts to kill Muhammad, the physical abuse of his sister, and hatred of Muslims in general) with the marvelous deeds he performs (killing the Quraysh and cleansing the Kaʿba of idols). In this sense, the moment of anagnorisis, ʿOmar's conversion to Islam, provides the axial point between two balanced sides of the narrative. This moment of recognition allows us to understand the importance of everything that happened before it and everything that came after. The end result is a conversion narrative that emphasizes ʿOmar's mastery of both the physical and spiritual worlds and underscores the longing among Moriscos for a military and spiritual savior.

The narrative provides us with an important conceptualization of how these stories were composed, what sources the scribes probably used to write them, and the

importance of social and religious values such as honor, familial respect, and unexplained, marvelous events. While the strategy of triangulation does not feature prominently in this narrative, the implication that Muslims follow the religion of Abraham appears to play on a key point that other Moriscos (as well as Christians and Jews) made: Islam most closely adheres to the patriarch's spiritual practices and can offer critique and fulfillment to other religions. As I will show in the next chapter, the narrative of ʿOmar's conversion sets the stage for this strategy to take on a much more central and developed role in other conversion narratives.

Chapter 2

The Conversion of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar

Abu Ishaq Kaʿab ibn Matiʿ ibn Haisu, styled Kaʿab al-Aḥbar represents an enigmatic, but important figure in Islamic history. According to tradition, Kaʿab came to Medina from Yemen during the caliphate of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, accompanied the latter to Jerusalem in 636 CE (al-Ṭabarī i, 2408) and after his conversion was on intimate terms with the caliph, whose death he is said to have predicted three days before it took place (al-Ṭabarī i, 2722). He vigorously supported ʿUthmān's claim to caliphal authority, but it is unclear what happened to him afterwards. According to some historians, he went to Damascus to act as counselor for Muʿāwiya, but he may have withdrawn to Ḥimṣ or Egypt (al-Ṭabarī iii, 2474-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* i, 40; al Harawī, *Ziyārāt* ix 20-1; Yākūt ii, 595; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa i, 139). He is credited with passing along numerous *Israʿiliyyat*, or stories of the "Israelite people and their rulers from the death of Moses to their entry into the promised land" (Nagel, 60). Because of his theological learning he was called "al-Aḥbar" (an adaptation of the Hebrew "ḥaber,") and influenced the teachings and traditions recorded by such prominent figures as Ibn ʿAbbas and Abu Hurairah. (Gottheil and Hirshfeld). The figure of Ka'ab thus personifies the processes of Jewish influence upon early Islam (Stroumsa 182; Twakkal 2) and his reception has varied widely. Despite his inclusion in numerous historical documents however, the figure of Kaʿab belongs more to the realm of myth than of history (Stroumsa 182).[50] In the Iberian context, many hadith and historical records that Moriscos read were attributed

[50] For more on Kaʿab al-Aḥbar, see "Kaʿb al-Aḥbar," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition; Lewis, *Jews of Islam* pp. 96-97.

to Kaʿab, which is similar to many other documents found throughout the Islamic world. For Moriscos, the story of Kaʿab's conversion then would not only have contained spiritual and religious examples to follow, but it also would have helped many of them understand the significance and weight that Kaʿab's sayings had in Islamic history.

This historical and literary representation of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar conjures a number of different images. Throughout Islamic history, positive images of Kaʿab have been linked to concepts like Jewish conversion to Islam, recital of hadiths, and companions of the Prophet Muhammad. Conversely, some Islamic theologians and exegetes attacked Kaʿab, claiming that he cared more for the Jewish community than the Islamic one and that he deliberately misled early Muslims in their understanding of Judaism. As early as Ibn Saʿd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* (d. 845), we find wondrous accounts of his conversion, which occurred later in his life and only after the Prophet Muhammad had died, apparently in the year 17 H (639 CE). Like most accounts, the *aljamiado* version of Kaʿab's journey toward religious salvation emphasizes the role of epistemological marvels which come in the form of Kaʿab's access to hidden and ancient knowledge (*ʿilm*). This knowledge, in conjunction with other elements of anagnorisis, performative emotion brought on by conversion, and the Islamic concept of *taḥrīf*, creates an anti-Jewish polemic designed to create a space for Hispanic Islam within Christianity.

Like many conversion narratives of well-known historical figures, there are many accounts of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion.[51] Most accounts tell how Kaʿab discovered that the Torah, and sometimes the Gospels, held ten mysterious verses that he does not understand because they had been hidden in some way. Driven by his desire to

[51] See for example, Pearlmann ("Legendary" and "Another").

understand the verses, he sets out on a journey to consult various religious leaders about their meaning. In some versions, Kaʿab serves both Jewish rabbis and Christian monks during his quest, while in other versions, like the *aljamiado* one considered here, he only serves a series of rabbis. The end of his search is always the same, however: after years of service, a monk/rabbi on the eve of their death tells Kaʿab that the mysterious verses, which are in fact verses from the Qur'ān, had been removed. Depending on the version, these verses pertain to the inspired nature of the Qur'ān, the veracity of Muhammad's claim to prophethood, or Islam's place as the final as the seal of the Abrahamic religions. Once Kaʿab discovers that the texts had been modified, he converts to Islam and goes to live with the Muslim community in Mecca.

This chapter will focus on two versions of Kaʿab's story which circulated amongst Moriscos. The first is an account in Arabic found in BNE 5390, ff. 136v–137v. The second is 11/9393 *olim* S-1, ff. 93r-99r from the Real Academia de Historia de Madrid. RAH 11/9393 is more elaborate than the BNE manuscript and it is a work written in Latin script. It is found in a codex that Galmés de Fuentes described as, "Without title. It is a codex composed of various materials" (*Los manuscritos* 11). A note on folio 140 gives a hint about its origins: "Translated (*Sacóse*) from Muslim writing. Its original cost 80 *sueldos*.[52] A prayer of six pages remains to be copied; because it was a

[52] We should remember that Arabic manuscripts were a fundamental link in the transmission of knowledge in the Iberian Peninsula, and particularly between the Muslim and the Christian territories. These manuscripts were rooted in the literary production of al-Andalus, the Muslim regions of North Africa, and parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. They then served as models for the later Romance Latin and *aljamiado* adaptations of the Mudejars and the Moriscos (Colominas Aparicio, "Missing Link" 96-97). For the written production of Muslims in the Iberian Christian territories and the relation between Arabic and *aljamiado* manuscripts, see Harvey, "The literary culture of the moriscos"; Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, *Una biblioteca morisca*; Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic

copy and poorly composed, I did not copy it" (Galmés de Fuentes, *Los manuscritos* 11, my translation).[53] This note establishes that the manuscript 11-9393 was a translation from Arabic, which suggests that it was read by a Morisco audience even though it was composed in Romance characters and not the Arabic script typical of *aljamiado* writing.

In the version preserved in RAH 11/9393, Kaʿab enters the Mosque of the Prophet in Mecca, asking to see the Caliph, 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Omar happens to be in the audience and he recognizes Kaʿab because Muhammad foretold his arrival. 'Omar then asks Kaʿab to tell the assembled crowd in the mosque why he converted to Islam. Kaʿab then launches into his story, which generally follows the framework that is common to most surviving versions. In the Morisco version, Kaʿab was studying with a Jewish sage (*un judio/ de muy grande saber*). Without asking anything in return, Kaʿab studies the Torah, ""*alea des/pues de alea, y lo e decorado todo alhar/fe despues de alharfe y açattra des/pues de açattra*" (11/9393, ff. 95).[54] Kaʿab continues to serve this Jewish sage for four years and when his Jewish master is about to die, Kaʿab confronts him, asking what the verses meant. The Jew does not answer because he fears that it will cause Kaʿab to become a Muslim. Instead, the Jewish master recommends Kaʿab to another Jewish sage and then he dies.

Kaʿab then goes to the new Jewish master and serves his new master for ten years. Then, on the eve of the master's death, Kaʿab asks the same question about what the

---

Manuscripts from Medieval Christian Spain" and "Andalucian-Arabic Manuscripts: A comparative Intercultural Approach"; Viguera Molins, *Los manuscritos árabes en España*; Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*.

[53] "*Sacóse de letra de muçlimes. Costó su origen 80 sueldos. Queda por copiar una Rogaría de 6 ojas que poer ser una copia y mal compuesta no la é copiado.*"

[54] "line by line, letter by letter, mark by mark."

verses mean. After taking an oath not to convert to Islam, the rabbi enumerates nine of the missing passages- all quotations from the Qur'ān translated into Romance. While the morisco versions preserved in RAH 11/9393 and BNE 5390 are less embellished than some other accounts of Kaʿab's conversion, their ending is more striking; the rabbi writes out the final verse that Kaʿab asks about in the earth by his bed. To the listeners' and readers' satisfaction, it is the *shahāda* that Kaʿab has mined out of the Torah. Kaʿab immediately confronts the rabbi and demands to know why he has concealed the good tidings of Islam that were originally found in the Torah. The rabbi does not respond and Kaʿab then recites the *shahāda*, an act which constitutes a critical step in becoming a Muslim. Upon hearing the words, the Jew throws himself on the ground and writhes "like a beast" (*como una bestia*) until he lets out his last sigh and dies. Kaʿab says that he then came to Mecca to live as a Muslim and he ends his account.

As I mentioned earlier, each of the verses that, according to this Morisco account, have been hidden in the Torah and that the rabbi reveals to Kaʿab reflect Qur'ānic verses. In the Arabic manuscript BNE 5390, these Qur'ānic quotations are preserved verbatim; in RAH 11/9393, they are word for word translations.[55] The verses are:[56]

[55] See Appendix 1 for a transcription of RAH 11/9393.

[56] The Qur'ānic references that Pearlmann provides in his articles curiously do not match their corresponding verses found in Kaʿab's conversion. Some of his references appear to be off by a couple of verses; some of them do not correspond at all. He cites the following Qur'ānic verses for verses Kaʿab's reveals in "A Legendary Story" from MS Or 9737: 1) 2:124; 2) 2:127; 3) 2:130; 4) 3:16-17; 5) 6:163; 6) 49:14; 7) 5:5; 8) 15:2; 9) 3:79; 10) 3:97. Without knowing which version of the Qur'ān Pearlmann used for his references, it is impossible to tell why these verses do not match. However, according to the Hilâli and Khan version, proper citation for the verses from MS Or 9737 should be: 1) 2:130; 2) 2:133; 3) 2:136; 4) 3:18; 5) 6:162; 6) 49:14; 7) 5:3; 8) 15:2; 9) 3:85; 10) 3:102.

Verse from *aljamiado* text RAH 11/9393[57]	Corresponding Qur'ānic verse(s)	English translation[58]
1. Y castigo[59] con el Ibrahim a su hijo Ya/@cob.[60] Ye hijos a escogido a vosotros/ el adin pues no murais sino muçlimes.	٢:١٣٢ وَوَصّىٰ بِها إِبراهيمُ بَنيهِ وَيَعقوبُ يا بَنِيَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصطَفىٰ لَكُمُ الدّينَ فَلا تَموتُنَّ إِلّا وَأَنتُم مُسلِمونَ	2:132 "And this (submission to Allâh, Islâm) was enjoined by Ibrâhim (Abraham) upon his sons and by Ya'qûb (Jacob), (saying), 'O my sons! Allâh has chosen for you the (true) religion, then die not except in the Faith of Islâm (as Muslims - Islâmic Monotheism).'"
2. dixo Ya@cob quando a la/ muerte que dixo a su hijo. a quien/ serviras y adoraras despues que yo sea muerto. dixo servire y adorara/ a tu señor y al señor de su padre/ Ibrahim y de Içmael y de/ Içhac.	٢:١٣٣ أَم كُنتُم شُهَداءَ إِذ حَضَرَ يَعقوبَ المَوتُ إِذ قالَ لِبَنيهِ ما تَعبُدونَ مِن بَعدي قالوا نَعبُدُ إِلٰهَكَ وَإِلٰهَ آبائِكَ إِبراهيمَ وَإِسماعيلَ وَإِسحاقَ إِلٰهًا واحِدًا وَنَحنُ لَهُ مُسلِمونَ	2:133 "Or were you witnesses when death approached Ya'qûb (Jacob)? When he said unto his sons, "What will you worship after me?" They said, 'We shall worship your Ilâh (God - Allâh), the Ilâh (God) of your fathers, Ibrâhim (Abraham), Ismâ'il (Ishmael), Ishâque (Isaac), One Ilâh

[57] These verses all correspond with the Arabic text found in BNE 5390, except that verses 6 and 7 are reversed.
[58] All Qur'ānic translations come from Hilâlī and Khan's translation.
[59] Here the reader should not render *castigo* as "punishment" or "I punish." Rather, we should read it according to Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes' definition: "[castigar], 'amonestar, imponer una cosa por precepto', 'adoctrinar'" (*Glosario* 168).
[60] I have included the "@" symbol because that is the symbol the scribe used to represent the Arabic "ʿ".

Señor Uno y nos a el/ somos.

(God), and to Him we submit (in Islâm).'"

3. no fue Ybrahim Judio ni christiano/ mas empero era muçlim y no fue de los/ descreyentes.

٣:٦٧ ما كانَ إبراهيمُ يَهودِيًّا وَلا نَصرانِيًّا وَلٰكِن كانَ حَنيفًا مُسلِمًا وَما كانَ مِنَ المُشرِكينَ

3:67 "Ibrâhim (Abraham) was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but he was a true Muslim Hanifa (Islâmic Monotheism - to worship none but Allâh Alone) and he was not of Al Mushrikûn."

4. y afueras del adin de Allah que/ es el aliçlem lo dician y a el se/ desinclieron los que son en los çielos/ y en la tierra por grado. y por/ fuerça y a el abeis de tornar.

٣: ٨٣ أَفَغَيرَ دينِ اللّهِ يَبغونَ وَلَهُ أَسلَمَ مَن فِي السَّماواتِ وَالأَرضِ طَوعًا وَكَرهًا وَإِلَيهِ يُرجَعونَ

3:83 "Do they seek other than the religion of Allâh (the true Islâmic Monotheism worshipping none but Allâh Alone), while to Him submitted all creatures in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly. And to Him shall they all be returned."

5. y quien/ codiçia sino adin fuera del aliçlem/ por adin pues no sera Reçibido del/ y el sera en el otro mundo de los per/didos.

٣: ٨٥ وَمَن يَبتَغِ غَيرَ الإِسلامِ دينًا فَلَن يُقبَلَ مِنهُ وَهُوَ فِي الآخِرَةِ مِنَ الخاسِرينَ

3:85 "And whoever seeks a religion other than Islâm, it will never be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers."

6. ye aquellos que/ sois creyentes temed ad Allah y no/ murais sino muçlimes.

٣:١٠٢ يا أَيُّهَا الَّذينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ حَقَّ تُقاتِهِ وَلا تَموتُنَّ إِلّا وَأَنتُم مُسلِمونَ.

3:102 "O you who believe! Fear Allâh as He should be feared and die not except in a state of Islâm."

7. dí ye Muhamed a mi ya me a/ guido mi Señor a camino recto/ y Verdadero Al adin fixome manteni/ble. y esta regla de Ibrahim/ puro y no fue de los descreyentes di/ ye Muhamed que mi aççala y mi/ servitud y mi vivir y mi morír es/ ad Allah. Señor de todas las cosas que no ay/ aparçonero a el y con aquello me es/ mandado y yo soy el primero de los/ muçlimes.

٦: ١٦١ -١٦٢ قُل إِنَّني هَداني رَبّي إِلىٰ صِراطٍ مُستَقيمٍ دينًا قِيَمًا مِلَّةَ إِبراهيمَ حَنيفًا وَما كانَ مِنَ المُشرِكينَ. قُل إِنَّ صَلاتي وَنُسُكي وَمَحياىَ وَمَماتي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ العالَمينَ

6:161. "Say (O Muhammad SAW): "Truly, my Lord has guided me to a Straight Path, a right religion, the religion of Ibrâhim (Abraham), Hanifa [i.e. the true Islâmic Monotheism - to believe in One God (Allâh i.e. to worship none but Allâh, Alone)] and he was not of Al-Mushrikûn."

6:162. Say, O Muhammad: "Verily, my Salât (prayer), my sacrifice, my living, and my dying are for Allâh, the Lord of the 'Alamîn (mankind, jinns and all that exists)."

8. el dia de/ oy cumplire a vosotros el adin y da/re cumplimiento @ vosotros mis gra/çias y me acontento

٥:٣ اليَومَ أَكمَلتُ لَكُم دينَكُم وَأَتمَمتُ عَلَيكُم نِعمَتي وَرَضيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسلامَ دينًا فَمَنِ

5:3 "This day, I have perfected your religion for you, completed My Favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islâm as your religion."

de vosotros del/ aliçlem por adin.	اضطُرَّ في مَخمَصَةٍ غَيرَ مُتَجانِفٍ لِإِثمٍ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفورٌ رَحيمٌ	
9. y no puse entre vosotros/ en el adin ninguno falta el qual/ fue regla de vuestro padre Ibrahim assi/ lo nombre A los muçlimes de antes de/ vosotros.	٢٢:٧٨وَما جَعَلَ عَلَيكُم فِي الدّينِ مِن حَرَجٍ مِلَّةَ أَبيكُم إِبراهيمَ هُوَ سَمّاكُمُ المُسلِمينَ مِن قَبلُ	22:78 "and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship, it is the religion of your father Ibrahim (Abraham) (Islâmic Monotheism). It is He (Allâh) Who has named you Muslims both before and in this (the Qur'ân)..."
10. la ilah ila Allah. Muhamede ra/çulullah	(Not found explicitly in the Qur'ān)	There is no god except God and Muhammad is His prophet.

In considering how this version of Kaʿab's narrative might have helped to create and strengthen Morisco self-conceptualization, some aspects of the Morisco texts stand out.

Before assessing how the hidden verses above differ from the verses cited in other surviving versions of Kaʿab's conversion, the manner in which Kaʿab discovers the missing verses in the Torah constitutes another key way that this narrative diverges from other accounts. In some cases, Kaʿab discovers the hidden verses from a version of the Torah he received from his father. But in the Morisco narrative, Kaʿab discovers these verses by himself through years of study.

In the Morisco version of the story, Kaʿab says, "I have read in the Torah verse after verse, and I have decorated every letter after letter, line after line. I have not forgotten any of it" (BNE 11/9393, f. 95).[61] This emphasis on seeking knowledge, learning, and putting one's learning into action comprise three critical elements of the Islamic precept, *ʿilm*. The term generally used for "knowledge" in Arabic is *ʿilm*, but, as Rosethal has justifiably pointed out (2), it has a much wider connotation in the Islamic context. It is an all-embracing term covering theory, education, and action. Rosenthal explains it as:

> one of those concepts that have dominated Islam, and given Islamic civilisation its distinctive shape and complexion. ... There is no branch of Muslim intellectual life, of Muslim religious or political life, and of the daily life of the average Muslim that remained untouched by the all-pervasive attitude toward 'knowledge' as something of supreme value for Muslim being (2).

In both Shi'i and Sunni literature in general, *ʿilm* implies a process of acquiring knowledge, understanding it, and then acting upon their beliefs and committing themselves to living out those beliefs. In this sense, *ʿilm* deviates from a western perception of epistemology in which the theory of knowledge and the methods used in attaining knowledge help to distinguish between justified belief and opinion. Throughout Islamic history, philosophers and theologians alike have emphasized that *ʿilm* combines knowledge and insight with a call to acting morally, in accordance with that knowledge. The Arabic term *amal* refers to this kind of knowledge-informed action. One teaching of

[61] "... e leydo en el ataura alea des/pues de alea. Y lo e decorado todo Alhar/fe despues de Alharfe y açattra des/pues de açattra. Que no me e olvidado/ del ninguna cosa..."

the Prophet exemplifies the connection between learning and action when it says, "it is charity to learn, to act accordingly and to teach."[62]

In Islam, this pursuit and application of *ʿilm* applies equally to the physical and metaphysical worlds. In the Qur'ān, the Arabic root *ʿ-l-m* and its derivatives, which refer to a number of different mental activities that pertain to learning or imparting knowledge, occur 704 times. Tools that aid in imparting knowledge, such as book, pen, ink, etc., amount to almost the same number (Akhtar, 1). In fact, it is worth remembering that the Islamic revelation begins with the word *iqra'* (Read!). Hundreds of *hadīth* also emphasize the relationship between *ʿilm* and its derivatives and the spiritual world, such as the *hadīth* that says, "One who knows his own self (or "his own soul/essence") indeed knows his Lord" (Ibn ʿArabi, 308:22).[63] Another *hadīth* states that the angel Gabriel imparted *ʿaql* (reason, which is the basis of *ʿilm*) to Adam. God then mandated that faith (*ʿimān*) and morality (*haya'*) accompany *ʿaql* wherever it goes.[64] These *ḥadīth* are examples that indicate Islam's comprehensive interpretation of *ʿilm* and how deeply it connects with faith and morality.[65]

The message of these *hadīth* echoes throughout Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion, which is particularly emphasized in the Morisco version. In other versions, Kaʿab receives a sealed box that contains the missing verses from his father.[66] However, unlike

---

[62] Cited in Rosenthal (246) and taken from Abū Khaythamah, no. 138.
[63] "*Man ʿarafa nafsahu fa qad ʿarafa Rabbahu.*" This *hadīth* is not included in the six canonical books of *hadīth* described in the introduction.
[64] Quoted in Akhtar (9).
[65] For more on the role of *ʿilm* in Islam, see Akhtar, *The Islamic Concept of Knowledge*; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*; Antony Black, esp. 57-77; Scott Montgomery, esp. 89-137; Josef Meri, esp. 714-15.
[66] See, for example, MS

other versions of the narrative, in the Morisco redactions found in RAH 11/9393 and BNE 5390, Kaʿab discovers the missing verses in the Torah that allude to the truth of Islam by himself, through reading and study:

> yo leía el ataura con el y aprendi / de su çiençia y miré y pare mientres / en el ataura y / halle en el diez / versos que no lo podia entender (RAH 11/9393 ff. 94)

Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's quest for knowledge and religious truth would have had a particular influence on Morisco readership. The invocation of *ʿilm* serves a double purpose. The first is straight-forward: to encourage the readers of the narrative always to ask questions. In this case, the scribe/translator appears to encourage crypto-Muslims to question the validity of non-Islamic religious texts and the motives of those who believe in them. For a population that faced immense pressure to forget Islam and embrace Christianity, a story encouraging doubt in non-Islamic faith no doubt would have been useful.

The Morisco text also serves a polemical purpose. Throughout this section, I will use the term *polemic* and *polemical* to refer to works intended to denounce the ideas of another group or individual. Following Ryan Szpiech's argument (8) I recognize that polemical discourse is inherently a form of apologetic which is aimed at defining or reinforcing boundaries of group identity. By using the term *polemic* here, I aim to stress the aggressive tone of the works (as opposed to the defensive nature of the term *apologetic*). To paraphrase Friedrich Schleiermacher, apologetics aim to tell what is right and truthful about one's own religion, while polemics tell what is wrong and false about someone else's religion (19-28). In other versions of Kaʿab's conversion, such as the version housed in the British Museum (MS Or 9737 132b-138a, which is a copy of the *Kitāb al-Madārik* by the famous Abu al-Fadl ʿIyad ibn Mūsa al-Yahsubī, more

commonly known as Ḳadi ʿIyad, the religious judge of Cordoba and Granada in the twelfth century), Kaʿab visits both Jewish and Christian centers of learning in his search for answers about the mysterious ten verses.[67] In versions like this, the authors/scribes imply that responsibility for concealing the truth of Islam falls on both the Christian and the Jewish communities. These versions call into question both communities' holy texts when they say, "Know that the first verse among the verses hidden from the *Torah* and the *Gospels* was..." (Pearlmann, 95, my translation, my emphasis).[68] Thus, other versions of the narrative accuses the Scriptures of both communities of being modified. These versions then implicitly attack the Jews and the Christians themselves, accusing them of knowing about these modifications and choosing to deliberately conceal them from the world. The punishment for their deception is usually death, but some accounts tell how they convert to Islam and survive (Pearlmann, 88).

The Islamic theological concept of *taḥrīf* plays a critical role in the construction of this polemic (Bernabé Pons, 211-213). [69] One of the main pillars of the Islamic view of the history of mankind is that Islam forms the seal of the divinely-revealed Abrahamic religions. In this view, because the message of Islam was received last, the revelations that were sent via prophets to communities of Jews and Christians must align with the Qur'ān. Generally speaking, Islam recognizes and venerates the Jewish and Christian prophets as precursors that prepared the way for the final prophet, Muhammad.[70]

---

[67] The inclusion of Kaʿab's conversion story in the work attests to the lasting importance the figure of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar had in the region.
[68] Emphasis mine; "اعلم ان اول كلمة من الكلمات التي مسحت من التوراة والانجيل..."
[69] For more on *taḥrīf* see J.M. Gaudeul and R. Caspar, 61-104; Gabriel Said Reynolds, 189-202; H. Lazarus-Yafeh.
[70] See Leirvik, esp. 22-57.

However, the Qur'ān states that Jews and Christians have strayed from the right path of God by introducing into the body of their beliefs a number of innovations for their own sake. Because of the innovations, Christians and Jews had distorted the original meaning of the revelations of God so much that a new revelation had become necessary.[71] Because one of the basic tenet of Islam is that the Qur'ān contains the accurate representation of God's revelation to Muhammad, some Muslim exegetes claim that the original texts of the Jews and the Christians were very similar, if not identical, to the sacred text of Islam (Saeed, 419).

When read in the light of the concept of *taḥrīf*, the polemical nature of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion narrative becomes apparent. Many versions of his conversion exemplify the accusations implied in the term *taḥrīf* by Kaʿab visiting both Christian and Jewish communities to find answers, only to have the representatives of both religions admit that they have deliberately concealed their knowledge of textual alterations from their coreligionists (Perlmann, 87-88). At the climax of the version preserved in these texts, in both Ibn Saʿd's text (156) and in the British Museum manuscript studied by Perlmann (ms OR 9737 132b-138a) for example, Kaʿab's discovery of the ten hidden verses is always introduced with the clause, "I learned the first words [foretelling Muḥammad's arrival as the final prophet] that were erased from the Torah and the Gospels and they were..."[72]

The Morisco versions of Kaʿab's conversion, however, provide some key differences. These texts recount that Kaʿab only visited learned Jewish men in his quest.

---

[71] See for example Q 2:38-39; 70-73; 4:16-18; see also Norman Daniel (47).

[72] "اعلم ان اول كلمة من الكلمات التي مسحت من التوراة و الانجيل فهي قالت ..." This structure is repeated for all ten hidden verses foretelling the arrival of Muḥammad.

Similar to the other versions, these sages also refused to help him in his quest for knowledge. However, the Morisco version remove any mention of Kaʿab's interaction with recalcitrant Christian wise men. Moreover, the texts of BNE 5390 and RAH 11/9393 do not mention Christians or the Gospels at all when Kaʿab finally comes to learn the truth of the hidden verses. Thus, the Morisco texts remain silent on the issue of Christianity, which contrasts with previous versions of the Kaʿab story in which Christians are equally culpable not only for distorting their holy texts, but also for intentionally inhibiting Kaʿab's search for religious truth. We can guess that the authors of the earlier texts meant to imply that both Jewish and Christian religious leaders had intentionally altered these scriptures, thus both groups are equally culpable.

The Morisco text's departure from previous versions in its silence on the Gospels and Christianity may suggest the scribe's sympathetic view of Christianity, while focusing a polemical attack on Jewish scriptural misinterpretation and alteration. If we follow the logic, Morisco readers might in turn come to the conclusion that Christians were deceived by the actions of nefarious Jewish rabbis, which would account for their incorrect beliefs from a Morisco point of view. This presentation stands in stark opposition to the view that some Moriscos propagated, especially after the expulsion of 1609-1614 (Mami 25).

Ultimately, we do not know why the scribe/translator produced the works found in BNE 5390 and RAH 11/9393. However, in light of the Islamic view of *taḥrīf*, the narrative of Kaʿab's conversion as an anti-Jewish polemic that omits Christianity from any judgment seems to fit a growing trend among Morisco authors around the end of the sixteenth century. Drawing a connection between Islam and Christianity and implying

their unity against a common foe (in this case Judaism), had become a common strategy amongst Moriscos. Kaʿab's narrative fits Weigers' and García-Arenal's argument that Moriscos tended to assert Islam as the culmination of Christianity by giving priority to the question of origins in an attempt apologetically to present themselves as united to Christianity in their origins (12). The "discovery" of the Lead Books of Sacromonte provide the most well-known example of this type of apologetic strategy (García-Arenal, 890),[73] as does Juan Gabriel's gloss of the Qur'ān (Starczewska 252), among many other works. Similar to the Morisco construction of Kaʿab's conversion narrative, these works provide evidence for a search by Moriscos for the ancient and sacred origins of religious movements. These origins could then be hermeneutically worked to emphasize that Islam fulfilled or completed Christianity's ideals (García-Arenal and Weigers).

By omitting the accusation that Christians inhibited Kaʿab's search, the Morisco scribe(s) seem to imply that because Christians base their beliefs on faulty texts, Islam actually presents the more authentic representation of Abraham's religion. Thus, Islam fulfills the ideals to which Christianity aspires. Moreover, the Morisco scribe uses Kaʿab's voice bluntly to place the blame on the Jewish sages for hiding the ten verses when he says

> Pues, ye mala [honrada], por que raçon no as fecho ni hazes lo que dicen estos diez versos y por que causa los as encubierto y as permutado sus semblanzas?[74] (RAH 11/9393 98v)

[73] See also Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, editors, *Los Plomos del Sacromonte*, esp. 385-402; 557-85; Felipe Pereda, esp. 297-299.
[74] "Then, you misled person, for what reason have you not made nor done that which these ten verses say? And by what cause have you hidden them and permutated their meaning?"

This attack signals a difference between the Morisco narrative of Kaʿab's conversion and its contemporaries like the Lead Books or Juan Gabriel's gloss of the Qur'ān. Kaʿab's conversion is distinctly more polemical in its nature, instead of the more apologetic tone struck by the other two examples. In this regard, Kaʿab's conversion takes on a distinctly more hostile tone toward the Jewish religious elite that, according to the text, had successfully deceived Christians about the authenticity of their holy texts. In this regard, this conversion narrative functions similarly to the polemics that Mònica Colominas Aparicio investigates during the Mudejar period in Valencia. During that time, evidence

> suggests that polemics were not only theologically oriented but also seem to have become expressions of the socio-cultural dynamics between religious communities in the Iberian Peninsula. This postulation is consistent with recent scholarship which regards disputation and polemic as part of the Christians' cultural practices in the medieval and early modern periods (*Religious Polemics* 13).

In her work, Colominas Aparicio utilizes a term she coined as "triangulation" to describe how some polemical works can be linked to contemporary shifts in the power relations between communities. In this respect, she approaches Arabic and *aljamiado* treatises of religious polemics using her theory of triangulation/triangularity: "the dialectical influence which changes in power relations between two groups could have on a third group" (*Religious Polemics* 61). By this, Colominas Aparicio refers to the strategic move by which authors/scribes pen works which might be used hermeneutically to emphasize

the similarities between their group and another by attacking a perceived common enemy, in this case, the Jews.

It is interesting to note that Reynolds finds that the Qur'an's concern with the failure of the Jews to read divine revelation properly is closely related to contemporary conventional Christian anti-Jewish literature, namely, that the Jews simply remained close-minded about their veracity. This claim about Jewish recalcitrance is echoed by Paul in 2 Corinthians, 3:14 when the Apostle writes, "But their [Jewish] minds were closed. Until this very day, the same veil remains over the reading of the Old Testament: it is not lifted for only in Christ is it done away with" (quoted in Reynolds, 197). While some medieval Qur'ānic commentaries adopt a more confrontational tone toward the Jews,[75] most medieval Islamic texts that address scriptural falsification are concerned with Christians (Reynolds 191). This is the case with *al-Radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿIsā bi-ṣarīḥ* a work attributed to al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), ʿAbd al-Jabbār's (d. 1025) *Critique of Christian Origins* (a treatise found in his *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*), Abū l-Baqā' Ṣaliḥ b. Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī's (d. 1221) *Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-injīl* (*The Humiliation of Those Who Falsified the Gospel*), and Ibn Taymiyya's (d. 1328) *al-Jawāb al- ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-masīḥ* (*Answering Those Who Altered the Religion of Christ*). That is to say, while the Qur'ān accuses both Jews and Christians of modifying scripture, much of the polemics that result from these verses focus their attacks on Christian beliefs. Even Ibn Hazm, the famous Iberian eleventh-century philosopher and polemicist, emphasized

[75] For Qur'ānic commentaries expounding anti-Jewish polemics see for example Rāzī, 10:118; Ṭabarī, IV: 118; Qurtubī, III 5: 157; Ibn Taymiyya I: 209.

the role of Jewish sages in modifying their holy scriptures to exclude prophecies of Muhammad, that then in turn were passed on to Christians (Chejne 53; Utomo 42; Buhl).

Thus, the changes found in the Morisco versions of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion narrative seem to reposition the Islamic concept of *taḥrīf*, emphasizing the negative roles played by the Jews and eliminating all accusations leveled at Christians found in other versions of the narrative. In this regard, García-Arenal's and Weiger's description of Muslims attempting to find a place for Islam in Christianity seems to accurately describe the dialectical position taken by the scribe/translator. To apply Colominas Aparicio's "triangular" approach, the reader gets the sense that Kaʿab's narrative helps to create common ground with a Christian ideology by emphasizing mistrust of Jews. This approach takes García-Arenal's and Weigers' analysis a step further and it appears more accurately to describe the strategy which the scribe/translator employs. The "hidden verses" that the rabbi reveals to Kaʿab provide the best evidence supporting the claim that this text attempts to reconfigure ancient and sacred texts to emphasize the commonalities between Islam and Christianity, which were part of the Morisco intellectual current of the time (García-Arenal and Weigers, 13).

Many of the verses that the Morisco scribe(s) selected for their narration of Kaʿab's conversion emphasize the role of Abraham as the patriarch of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This emphasis appears to have been intentional given that the identical ten passages occur in both RAH 11/9393 and BNE 5390 that circulated amongst Moriscos at the end of the sixteenth century, and given that these ten passages differ from other passages that circulated in other areas and other time periods.

Debates about Abraham's religious identity dating from the Middle Ages took into account many religious considerations (Daniel, 42-43). Just as it did for the Jewish and Islamic tradition, proving Abraham's religion had formed the crux of many Christian anti-Islamic polemical texts. Christian efforts to claim Abraham date as far back as Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'ān around 1142-43[76] which Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) used in his refutations of Islam, but the tradition extends further. Catalin-Stefan Popa, for example, describes how the poet Jacob of Sarug disparaged Judaism and claimed Abraham as the religious patriarch of Christianity (161-171). Central to the debate about Abraham's religious identity was the Qur'ān's use of the term *ḥanīf* to describe the Patriarch. In general, *ḥanīf* refers to the model of authentic, primordial religion (*al-dīn al-ḥanīf*) which was revealed to Adam at the very origins of the human race. In light of this Islamic view, all religions have the same origin, since monotheism, which the Abrahamic religions particularly underscore, can be traced back to Adam (Kahteran 242). This practice of *ḥanīfiyya*, or authentic religion, that predates Judaism and Christianity is linked to the pre-revelation religious practices of the Prophet Muhammed that he performed in the cave called *Ḥirā'* (Bukhari vol. 4, book 5, no. 606; Muslim 1:301; Ibn Ishāq 106).

Defining and translating the term *ḥanīf* was particularly problematic for many Christian theologians from various locations during the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Starczewska provides an excellent summary of the various theologians and their efforts to translate and understand the meaning of *ḥanīf* in the Qur'ān and how it could be applied to Abraham (277-282). The amount of discussion regarding the Qur'ānic

[76] See José Martínez Gázquez (71-77).

presentation of Abraham indicates the importance Christians and Muslims placed on clearly defining (and thus delineating) the religious identity of Abraham in order to claim exclusivity to his religious tradition and superiority to others. By blurring the borders between Christianity and Islam, in opposition to Judaism, the Morisco scribes/translators could use a triangular argument to demonstrate that the Patriarchy venerated by their Catholic neighbors was, in fact, Muslim. Consequently, there was a hermeneutical argument to be made that there existed a place for Islam within Christianity. This strategy was not so different from that employed by the author of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, although it appears to have occurred independently of it: broaden the definition of Christianity and prevent it from becoming exclusive.

To support this thesis, some attention should be paid to the Qur'ānic passages the Morisco authors invoke in Kaʿab's conversion narrative that emphasize Abraham as the common denominator between Islam and Christianity. The first verse that the narrative cites indicates the importance of Abraham, but in the Latin script, the message is slightly changed. As we can see, the verse clearly calls on the inheritors of Abraham's covenant, as indeed both Jews and Christians saw themselves, to believe in Islam, which roughly correlates to the Qur'ān, 2:132: "Y castigo[77] con el Ibrahim a su hijo Ya/@cob. Ye hijos a escogido a vosotros/ el adin pues no murais sino muçlimes."

In this passage, it is clear that the religion of Islam was chosen for Abraham and his descendants. However, the Morisco scribe omits that it was God, rendered as *Allah*, who chose this religion, as it says in the Qur'ān and in the Arabic account in BNE 5390.

[77] Here the reader should not render *castigo* as "punishment" or "I punish." Rather, we should read it according to Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes' definition: "[castigar], 'amonestar, imponer una cosa por precepto', 'adoctrinar'" (*Glosario* 168).

Without referencing that God/Allah chose the religion, the reader assumes that Jacob is speaking when he says, "Ye hijos..." and when he says, "a escogido a vosotros el adin..." the reader might reasonably assume that Jacob is referring to Abraham as the actor who "has chosen the religion for you." To claim that Abraham has chosen the religion of his descendants allows the Morisco scribe to emphasize an Islamic relationship with Abraham, the figure that Christians venerated as the patriarch of their religion along with Muslims and Jews.

The second verse similarly changes the language to remove explicitly Islamic terminology. In the Latin-character version of this verse, Jacob addresses his son, asking which god he will serve. The unspecified son's response would have been acceptable to Muslims and Christians alike: "I will serve and worship your lord and the lord of your father Abraham and of Ishmael and of Isaac. One Lord, we with Him."[78] The verse would certainly have been useful to someone proposing a place for Islam within Christianity because it emphasizes that both of Abraham's sons, Isaac and Ishmael, worship the same God. Over the centuries, exegetical arguments about which son inherited Abraham's covenant had become a source of contention amongst Christians, Jews, and Muslims.[79] However, the composer of RAH 11/9393 appears to attempt to reconcile the differences and remind readers of their commonalities. Moreover, the second verse in 11/9393 removes any reference to the son(s) of Jacob claiming to be Muslims, like they do in the Qur'ānic verse it quotes and in the Morisco Arabic document BNE 5390. This, once again, appears to be a strategic choice on the part of the scribe to remove language that

[78] "...servire y adorara/ a tu señor y al señor de su padre/ Ibrahim y de Içmael y de/ Içhac. Señor Uno y nos a el/ somos."
[79] See Antti Laato (1-3) and Bormann ("Jerusalem," 101-122; *Abraham's Family*, 33-58).

one religious sect might find unacceptable, underscoring instead the shared history and shared set of beliefs between the Muslim and Christian communities.

The third verse revealed to Kaʿab in RAH 11/9393 explicitly states that Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but a Muslim. The corresponding verse in the Qur'ān, 3:67, had received significant attention from both Christian and Muslim theologians in the early modern period (Starczewska, 281). She notes that while many glosses of translations of the Qur'ān claimed this verse was a lie, Moriscos appeared to be attempting to solidify the claim that Abraham was in fact a Muslim (277-82), a claim that both Jews and Christians made as well. It seems that where Moriscos provided Catholic theologians with translations and glosses of the Qur'ān, the same passage as the third revealed verse from Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion narrative appears as well, Qur'ān 3:67.[80] While Starczewska correctly bases some of her hypothesis that some Morisco texts helped to create a space for Islam within Christianity based on the history of the translation of the word *ḥanīf*, the scribe who composed RAH 11/9393 dodges the issue all together by saying that Abraham was simply a "Muslim and not of the disbelievers [blasphemers]." This decision side steps the aspect of this Qur'ānic passage to which Christians most objected. Removing any reference to *ḥanīf* or its Romance translation thus allowed the scribe to prioritize the commonalities between Christian and Muslim beliefs of the figure of Abraham. In this sense, a reader RAH 11/9393 might reinterpret

[80] For the contributions of Moriscos to Johan Martín de Figuerola's *Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*, see García-Arenal and Starczewska, 410-432; For Morisco influence on Egidio da Viterbo's translation and gloss of the Qur'ān, see Starczewska's Ph.D. dissertation *Latin Translations of the Qur'ān (1518/1621)*; for the role of Moriscos in the creation of Don Martín García's *Alcorán con sus glosas*, see Bobzin (209-22); for Moriscos using Qur'ānic materials to dispute Islam, see Szpiech, "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos" (317-43).

the meaning of "muslim" in the passage "empero [Ibrahim] era muslim...." Instead of referring to a practicing member of the Islamic community, anyone with a cursory understanding of Arabic could argue that "muslim" here might be used in its literal meaning of one who has submitted to God. This interpretation of Abraham as a man who submitted to God certainly appears to highlight the common beliefs of the Christian and Muslim communities without removing his theological importance either.

Verses four, five, and six appear to be general warnings to those who do not accept Islam as the true religion. However, based on the conceptualization of Islam that the scribe has made in the first three verses, this might not have presented too much of a hurdle for a potential Christian audience.

The word *ḥanīf* was translated later in the text when it appears in the seventh verse that Kaʿab discovers. Here the scribe renders *ḥanīf* as *puro* ("pure"). This translation seems to be in line with one of the conceptualizations of *ḥanīf* that was known in Europe that had probably been proposed by Peter of Poitiers. A gloss of Qur'ān 3:67 found in Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'ān deals with this issue:

> Namely, why do you say that you are in Abraham's religion, if nothing in the Old Testament and the Gospel relates to him, but rather a better law, which he had long before, which I also now preach? He means, and this is also what the Saracens say, that they obey Abraham's law and that this is the [law] that had now been renewed by Mahumet, after it had been lost, that is to say, after the Old Testament and Christ's Gospel had been introduced to temper [Abraham's] law because men could not obey it.[81]

[81] Quoted in Starczewska (279).

This gloss explains the concept of *ḥanīf*, the believer who is not a polytheist nor a Jew or Christian and who professes a pure monotheistic creed (Rubin, "Hanifiyya and Ka'ba" 85-112; Nevad, "Ḥanīf"). Importantly, both the Qur'ānic verse (6:161-162) and its rendering in the seventh verse of Kaʿab's story do not equate Abraham with Islam. Instead, the emphasis, once again, falls on Abraham's adherence to pure, divine law over religious doctrine. In this way, the Morisco scribe once again highlights the similarities between Islam and Christianity.

The eighth and ninth verses that Kaʿab discovers bear out the thesis that Moriscos strategically employed sources that could be used to maintain that Christianity was the materialization of Islam's ideals or that Islam fulfilled or completed Christian ideals. Both of these verses, which correspond to the Qur'ān in 5:3 and 22:78 respectively, highlight the perfection of religion in Islam and its removal of any hardship in practicing it. Once again, the scribe reminds the reader that this religion was, in fact, the law of Abraham. The passages describe Abraham as "your father," underscoring and connecting his important role in terms that are acceptable to both Christians and Muslims.

The discovery of these ten verses constitutes the moment of anagnorisis in the conversion narrative. However, unlike the other conversions considered in this study, what remains of the narrative does not necessarily balance out the events before the moment of recognition. Instead, Kaʿab's conversion brings about the wild death throes of the Jewish sage who rages at Kaʿab breaking his word and converting to Islam. Once again, in other versions, the death of the sage differs in the various surviving accounts. In some, the sage accepts Kaʿab's decision and decides to save his own soul by converting to Islam as well. But in the texts that circulated amongst Moriscos, the sage dies on the

ground, thrashing "like a beast." The scribe/translator has no sympathy for his Jewish character in the Morisco texts, and Kaʿab damns the memory of the sage that tried to alter the holy texts.

Both of the rabbi's deaths, followed by a curse from Kaʿab serve to underscore what seems to be the scribe's overarching goal: to highlight the commonalities between Islam and Christianity at the expense of vilifying the Jews. In this way, the text appears to exemplify the same strategies of triangulation that can be identified in many concurrent other *aljamiado* texts. By launching an anti-Jewish polemic, the author appears to take a different strategy to the one employed very briefly in the conversion narrative of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, but very similar to the strategy used by the scribe of the conversion narrative that will feature in the next chapter, that of Salmān al-Fārisī.

Chapter 3

The Conversion of Salmān al-Fārisī

Salmān al-Fārisī ("the Persian") features prominently in the early Islamic literary tradition and particularly in the eighth- and ninth-century biographies of the Prophet Muhammad and descriptions of the early Muslim community after the Hijra. Similar to ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Kaʿab al-Aḥbar, Salmān al-Fārisī played an important role in early Islamic society. Upon his arrival in Medina and subsequent conversion, Salmān almost immediately took on an important leadership function amongst the Muslims as an authority on religious and spiritual matters. Because of his religious insight, Salmān was a close Companion of the Prophet, who Muhammad even considered to be a member of his own household (*ahl al-bayt*). Militarily Salmān is said to have been pivotal in the Muslim victory at the Battle of the Trench (Tepien 761), which enabled Muhammad to achieve victory in the Battle of the Confederates (Donaldson 338). After Muhammad's death, Salmān was among those Companions who supported 'Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, and who wished that he, rather than Muhammad's father-in-law, Abu Bakr, to be recognized as the first successor in official and religious authority. His support of 'Ali over Abu Bakr as well as his close relationship with Muhammad led him to become a major figure in the early Shi'ite movement, and he was later deified by several *ghulāt* groups as part of a triad that included Muhammad and 'Ali[82] (Hämeen-Anttila 117). However, Sunnis and more moderate Shi'ites generally viewed him as a pragmatic figure exemplifying religious quest leading upwards on a hierarchical scale from

[82] The *Sīn*, *Mīm*, *'Ayn* trinity: *Sīn* for Salmān, *Mīm* for Muhammad, and *'Ayn* for 'Ali.

Zoroastrianism/fire worship, through Christianity, to the final truth of Islam. Alfons Teipen notes that Salmān's ascetic lifestyle also renders him a prominent figure in Sufi traditions, which held that he became governor of Madaʿin, Iraq, and that the accounts of his life locate his tomb in various locations such as Isfahan, Iran, Jerusalem, and elsewhere (761).

The story of Salmān's conversion is particularly interesting because of the numerous versions that authors appear to use in order to advance the interests of a particular group. Generally, most versions agree that Salmān believed in a single god and followed a moral code that was given to him, very similar to an Islamic understanding of a *ḥanīf*. His family, his father in particular, rejected Salmān's beliefs, and expelled him from his home at which point he began his search for a better religion. This yearning compels Salmān to forsake his family forever and overcome numerous obstacles throughout his travels of hundreds of miles, until he at last finds satisfaction in Islam. The tale provides a framework for various theologians and exegetes to advance their own values, some denigrate Christians or Jews, while others have used Salmān's story to propose the religious and scientific virtues of the Persians (Savant 68-89). This wide variety of undifferentiated and fictitious versions of Salmān's conversion led Josef Horowitz (178-83) and Albrecht Noth (157) to question the historical existence of Salmān at all.

The scribe who composed the *aljamiado* version of Salmān's conversion found in MS D565 also seems to take advantage of this narrative's utilitarian nature. This version seems to contain a number of changes that reflect a triangulation strategy. As I will demonstrate below, the *aljamiado* version amplifies a pious perception of Christianity, a

connection between the Christians and Islam, and a vilification of the Jewish characters that enter the narrative. The Morisco scribe also touches on themes of familial betrayal, which is another common leitmotif of Morisco literature. However, a comparison of the *aljamiado* version of Salman's narrative to other versions found in the early biographical tradition will help to highlight the triangular strategy that the Morisco scribe employed. In the sections that follow, I will provide examples of how older versions of the story that circulated in Iberia during the time MS D565 was composed, such as those found in works attributed to ibn Saʿd and ibn Isḥāq/ibn Hishām, differ from the *aljamiado* version in their portrayal of Christians, the Jewish community, and the role of familial relations after a convert has accepted Islam.

The author of the Morisco version of Salmān's conversion story found in MS D565 appears to rework the source material to fit a similar triangular strategy found in the *aljamiado* conversion stories of ʿOmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Kaʿab al-Aḥbar. The text emphasizes the relationship between Christianity and Islam from the beginning of the story. In the Morisco version, Salmān learns about Christianity through his tutor, who carries with him two tablets covered in a silk cloth: the first is made of silver and it contains the Torah (*taurat*); the other is gold, containing the Gospel (*īnǰīl*). As with the secret documents that Kaʿab al-Aḥbar discovered, these documents also foretell the coming of a prophet named Muḥammad. In this way, before Salmān even considers conversion, the Morisco manuscript establishes Islam as the fulfilment of Christianity and Judaism.

Salmān gave himself over to studying these texts day and night, analyzing the signs and prophecies that would proclaim Muḥammad’s arrival. While reading, Salmān

experiences such a desire to meet the Prophet that his emotions boil over and he weeps, almost continuously while reading. The scribe writing the story appears to use this kind of emotional response as a tool to connect with his audience. During the course of the story, Salmān is overcome with emotion and weeping at every scene in which his Christian masters talk about the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad or in the presence of Muḥammad himself.

The Morisco inclusion of Salmān's and his Christian masters' emotional states appears to be an innovation within the manuscript. I have not been able to find a similar description of his feelings in a manuscript in circulation in sixteenth-century Iberia.[83] In all the other versions I have found, the only recording of Salmān weeping comes when he finally meets Muḥammad in person. Instead, the Morisco scribe appears to reach out to his audience on a cognitive and emotional level by providing his readers with cultural clues that allow them to identify and assimilate essential messages: Islam represents the pinnacle of all religions and true Christianity recognizes the shared beliefs between Muḥammad and Jesus.

We can categorize the instances in which Salmān and the Christian masters are overtaken by weeping. The first category consists of the moment when the Christians realize they are about to die without meeting the prophet that they know will arrive soon, the first Christian telling Salmān:

[83] This does not, of course, rule out the possibility of the existence of a version of the story that emphasizes Salmān's emotional state. I cannot rule out that Moriscos may have come into contact with any number of manuscripts or oral transmissions that focus on Salmān's emotions. However, I have not been able to find any records that match the descriptions found in the Morisco manuscript.

> hágote a saber ya Rauçabat que el termino de mi bida se a llegad, pues, no me queda de ella sino thres días, y mira que me eres encargo y estoy a tu quenta y tu estas a la mía, y hagote a saber que yo e hallado tu çuçeso en el Taurat y en el Inchil de la misma manera, y e hallado como as de llegar a alcançar a Muhamad -*çalm*- y as de ser de sus amigos y compañeros...[84]

(201, 204, 205, 206, 207). The second is the moment Salmān encounters Muḥammad (208-209). Thus, the Morisco scribe appears to be using the characters' emotions to cue his audience to the essential point that pious Christians deeply desired to meet Muḥammad as much as Salmān himself. The four Christian sages expressing their regret at not meeting Muḥammad then serves to heighten the emotion that Salmān feels when he actually meets the Prophet. The text builds a sense of expectation which cues the audience's emotional response to the story's events. Referencing a central character's repeated emotional state was not uncommon among Morisco literary practices. Another unknown scribe appears to use the same technique when calling his readers' attention to important messages found in various passages of the *aljamiado* version of *The City of Brass*.[85] In both of these work, the emotional state of the character calls the reader's or listener's attention to the didactic goal of the text, which is to emphasize that pious Christians longed for the arrival of the Prophet.

In the Morisco manuscript, the effect of this message is even more pronounced because it presents its audience with only the virtuous and pious Christian characters.

---

[84] A similar description occurs at the death of the Christian masters in Antioch (204), Constantinople (205), Jerusalem (206), and in the wilderness of Greater Syria or *Sham* (207).

[85] See, for example MS 8 of the Fondo Documental de las Cortes de Aragón, *Estorya de la çibdat de cobre*; see also Federico Corriente Córdoba (227-252).

Unlike the version preserved in ibn Isḥāq/ibn Hishām and ibn Saʿd, the *aljamiado* MS D565 completely removes any reference to a priest that behaves immorally with his congregation. In the Morisco version, after Salmān is brutally imprisoned in the well by his father, Salmān is expelled from his family's land in equally brutal fashion:

> *...y benida la noche mandó [el padre de Salmān] desnudarme de mis bestiduras y llamó a sus negros y les dixo que me sacasen fuera y que me sexasen en el campo, y esto fue en una noche muy oscura y de reçio frío* (203).

Only a chance meeting with his old tutor saves Salmān. The tutor tells him to follow the road where he will encounter a town. A monk lives there that follows the same version of Christianity that the tutor does who will teach Salmān about religion.[86] Salmān discovers that this master is cheerful and greets every morning with a prayer that consists of repeating, "There is no god except God, Abraham is the Friend of God, Moses is the Word of God, Jesus is the Spirit of God; may peace and blessings be upon all creation" (204).[87] This version of the monk appears in sharp contrast to the priest that ibn Ishāq presents as Salmān's first master, who Salmān discovers who had been keeping his community's alms for himself until he had amassed a treasure of seven jars full of gold and silver. Thus, the first Christian master in ibn Ishāq's account proves to be a covetous

---

[86] Because all of the Christian masters in the story seem to embody the principles of *ḥanīfiyya*, and because the tutor professes to believe in *Allah taʿala* (an Arabic honorific meaning "God most high") we might assume the tutor equally follows those tenets, even though it is not a point that the Morisco author makes explicitly.

[87] "*... el buen religioso a una bentura y con boz alta y muy agradable dixo: la ilaha yla Alla, Ybrahim halilu Alla, Muça calamu Alla, Yça ruhu Alla, çalaguatu alaihim chumain* (*No existe ninguna divindad excepto Dios, Abraham amigo de Dios, Moisés palabra de Dios, Jesucristo el espíritu de Dios, que la paz y las bendiciones sean con todos ellos.)* (204)

fake, much on par with the *clérigo* of Lazarillo de Tormes (46-71) while the first master in the Morisco version appears to embody pure religious piety.

His prayer at dawn would have held special significance for a Morisco audience because it presents a vision of religion that invoked Islamic religious orthodoxy but also treated the figure of Jesus with a reverence that would have been acceptable to both the Muslim and Christian communities. By characterizing Jesus as the Spirit of God (*ruḥ Allah*) the Morisco author invokes a long tradition preserved in both the Bible and the Qur'an.[88] Other Morisco texts reiterate this description of Jesus. The *Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte* represent perhaps the most well-known of these examples.[89] At the end of the sixteenth century, Moriscos from Granada boldly forged and hid this book of lead in a mountain cave outside of Granada. In the work, they combined a style of Arabic calligraphy and other forensic clues to support a claim that it was composed by Mary the mother of Jesus herself, recorded by some of Jesus' disciples, and must therefore be considered to be one of the Gospels. Among the many notable aspects of the work is the depiction of Jesus in terms that emphasize beliefs about his shared by both the Christian and Muslim communities, but meticulously avoiding the aspects of Jesus in which these two communities differ. In this way, the text appears to offer a syncretic solution between Islam and Christianity as an attempt to show that the two religions could occupy a common, convivial space (Cabanelas 131-142). Godoy Alcántara argues that establishing a basis in which one might accept aspects of the other (while always avoiding

[88] See for example Acts 2:38; Philippians 1:19; Romans 8:2, 15:30; An-Nisaa' 4:171; Āl ʿImran 3:59; At-Tahrim 66:12; Al-Anbiyaa' 21:9.
[89] See for example Barrios Aguilera and García-Arenal; Bernabé-Pons (477-498); Hagerty; Godoy Cabanelas (131-142); Alcántara (81-87).

irreconcilable differences), one could construct a doctrinal framework that both communities find acceptable (81-87). However, Francisco Bernabé-Pons notes that the descriptions of Jesus subtly and indirectly favor the Moriscos' Islamic viewpoint (487-488).

Written for a Morisco audience, the conversion of Salmān appears to be an attempt by a Morisco author to enact the same understanding of Christianity. Unlike the early biographical tradition, the Christians in the story are all portrayed in a positive light: they live aesthetic lives in solitary devotion to their religion; they recognize the Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition and announce their beliefs in ways that would have been acceptable to most Muslims and Christians at the time; they recognize and practice "true religion" and they imply that their contemporary coreligionists do not believe as they do; they have foreknowledge of the prophetic nature of Muḥammad, they are heartbroken when they realize they cannot meet him, and they give Salmān vital texts to pass along to Muḥammad.[90] These descriptions of the Christian monks play an important role in establishing the common ground between a Morisco audience and their Christian neighbors.

However, the Morisco and Christian communities, and the bonds they share, constitute only two points of the triangular strategy. The third point of the triangle is again reserved for the Jewish community, similar to the role of Jewish sages in the Morisco version of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar's conversion. In stark contrast to the benevolent and charitable Christian monks, the Morisco author amplifies the negative aspects of the

[90] The implication here about the texts is that they constitute the "unaltered" version of the Gospels and of the Torah, which is why the monks could study them and foresee Muḥammad's arrival.

Jewish characters. The author appears intentionally to create a work that allows the readers and listeners to make a direct comparison between representatives of the Christian and Jewish communities. This comparison is most tellingly displayed in the portrayal of the Jewish and Christian characters who owned Salmān as a slave.

Slavery in the seventh-century Arabian context differed significantly from the forms of slavery that manifested themselves in sixteenth-century Iberia. However, for both contexts, slavery had been in existence for as long as there are records. William D. Phillips notes that within Iberia, but equally applicable for the Arabian Peninsula, slavery as an institution was complex with significant changes over time, regional variations, and a wide range of assignments for slaves (14).[91] Many Moriscos might have been relatively familiar with the practice of slavery because a significant portion of the Muslim and Morisco population was taken into slavery between 1570 to 1630 (Phillips 37-39).

The author of the Morisco text D565 appears to use the commonplace nature of the practice of slavery within Iberian societies during the sixteenth century to establish a common ground between his Christian and Jewish characters. Throughout the story, Salmān becomes a slave twice. The first instance occurs on the road to Antioch to find the second Christian monk. In the Morisco version, Salmān encounters a Roman horseman who, upon discovering that he is a Persian, takes him as a slave and instructs him to watch over his pigs (204). After forty years, a local leader, *patriarca*, purchases Salmān, and they make their way to Antioch. After serving the *patriarca* for twenty

[91] For examples of the works on late medieval and early modern Castile, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz work entitled "Esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna" (especially 377-78). See also Alfonso Franco Silva; Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez; Juan Aranda Doncel; Vicenta Cortés Alonso, Vicente Graullera Sanz; Aurelia Martín Casares.

years, Salmān breaks down because he is so close to the Christian monk that he was seeking when he was first captured. In a very generous and kind gesture, Salmān's owner tells him, "Teacher, there is no reason to deny your wish."[92] When Salmān finally reaches the Christian he had been seeking, the monk arranges to assume ownership of Salmān from the *patriarca*. Salmān recalls

> *Y a otro día mandó llamar a los mayorales de Antioquia y binieron a su llamado, entre los quales bino el amo que yo tenía, y después de aberles jecho un buen raçonamiento les dixo: bien sabéis todos que soyombre mayor y que ya me falta el vigor y la fuerça y e menester quién me sirva, y ansí quiero de bosotros una merced y es que me compréis este esclabo persiano de su amo. Entonces, Respondió el patriarca diçiendo: señor, el esclabo es mío y mi persona es buestra y quanto yo tengo, y ansí yo lo paso a buestro poder sin interés ninguno, y dándole las graçias por la merçed, se despidieron todos de él y se bolbieron a sus casas, y yo me quedé con el religioso en su torre, y estube con él quarenta años* (205).[93]

The passage is significant for a number of reasons. The first is the characterization of the relationship between the monk and the *patriarca*. When handing Salmān over to

---

[92] "*... maestro, no será raçón negar tu pretención*" (205)

[93] "The next day [after Salmān met the monk for the first time] the monk called all the leaders of Antioch and they came to his call. Among them came my master, and after making a sound argument, he said to them: "You all know well that I am an old man, lacking vigor and strength, and I have need of someone to serve me. And so, I ask you all to buy me this Persian slave from his master." The *patriarca* responded saying, "Sir, the slave is mine. My person and all I own is yours. Therefore, I give him to you without any need for payment." And, giving him thanks for this kindness, he dismissed everyone. They returned to their houses and I remained in the tower [with the monk] and I spent forty years with him."

the monk, the *patriarca* says that the slave is his, and what is his also belongs to the monk. With this comment the *patriarca* appears to put himself in a subordinate position of service to the monk, even though it may not have been legally required of him. The entire episode is characterized by civility and compassion that the Christian characters show to both Salmān and each other.

The interaction appears in stark contrast to the tone which describes Salmān's treatment under a Jewish slave-owner. Salmān finds himself in slavery once again after he had visited the wandering hermit. During his time with the hermit, Salmān learns that a man called Muḥammad had arisen in Mecca, claiming to be a prophet. Salmān encounters a group of traders from Mecca, of the Quraysh tribe, the same tribe as the prophet Muḥammad. The Quraysh were known as traders and the rulers of Mecca. According to many of Muḥammad's biographical sources, the Quraysh practiced a form of paganism and many were antagonistic to Muḥammad's prophetic message of monotheism. In the passage that Salmān describes, the members of the caravan that Salmān attached himself to clearly maintained their pagan beliefs. Here, once again, the Morisco editor uses this episode to assert a hierarchical perception of religions, which places paganism at the bottom of the hierarchy. Ritual food preparation and consumption plays a central role in differentiating between Salmān's "true" religion and that of the pagans. Salmān refuses to eat the meat they have because it was not slaughtered properly, which the Morisco author then asserts through the mouths of his Arab characters as the same belief of Muḥammad. Similarly, Salmān refuses to partake of the wine the Arabs produce. His Arab travelling companions finally take offense when Salmān refuses to worship their idols:

> *A la ora habló el capitán de ellos, dexaldo que yo descubriré presto lo que ay en él, y metiendo la mano en su pecho, sacó una figura de un ydolo de oro, y sacado luego todos ellos se le umillaron y hiçieron çuchud* [*zukhūd*, sic.] *sino fue yo solo que no me umille ni hiçe movimiento. Entonçes me dixeron: ¡ya Faraçi! ¿Porqué no te as umillado como nosotros? Respondíles: yo que tengo que umillarme a quien no oye, ni siente, ni haçe mal ni bien. Pues, a estas palabras que yo dixe. se lebantaron a mí, y començaron a castigarme dándome crueles golpes con pensamiento de acabarme de aquella suerte* (208)...[94]

Afterwards, the Arabs sold Salmān to a Jewish landowner. When his new master finds out that Salmān believes Muḥammad is the true messenger of God, he accuses his slave of lying because "we do not know any messengers of God except Moses" (208). Angrily, the Salmān's Jewish master says, "... *ya mal viejo, quiero que mudeses de montón de arena de aquél sitio, porque quiero aprovecharme de su lugar, y te juro que si dentro de esta noche no lo mudas, que te tengo de atormentar con crueles tormentos*" (208).[95] Salmān prays to God to move the mountain for him and miraculously the feat is accomplished. The Jewish owner, anticipating that Salmān would have failed in the task, arrives the next morning with ten men, each armed with a heavy rod to beat the slave.

---

[94] " Then, the captain spoke to them, 'Leave him so that I may soon discover what he is about.' And placing his hand on his chest, he took out a figure of a golden idol, and all the others bowed down and prayed. I was the only one who did not bow down or make a single movement. Then they said to me, 'Oh Persian! Why do you not bow down like us?' I responded, 'Must I bow to one who does not hear, feel, or do good or bad?' Then, because of the words I said, they rose up against me and began to punish me with cruel blows with a mind to kill me. " (208).

[95] "Evil old man, you must move this mountain of sand because I want to use the land it sits upon. I promise you that if you do not move it by the end of the night, I will torment you most cruelly."

Instead, the Jewish owner is amazed and sells Salmān to his cousin in Medina so that Salmān might reach Muḥammad.

The Morisco author continues to portray the Jewish characters in a negative light, depicting the new slave-owner as devious and greedy. This is perhaps best demonstrated when Muḥammad tells Salmān to negotiate a contract for his manumission. Initially, the slave-owner tells Salmān that he will not sell to Muḥammad because he knows that the prophet is poor. But when Salmān insists, the slave owner relents, saying:

> *..mira no te canses que no te benderé sino es que me dé por tu prçio treçientas datilares, las çiento y çinquenta que lleben sus dátiles amarillos y la otra mitad de colorados, y luego an de estar consu fruto y su natural de escogida fruta y an de ser todas puestas junto a mi casa, y si conestas condiçiones quiere, yo te benderé y sino mi esclabo eres* (210).[96]

Salmān, disheartened by the improbability of meeting the conditions for his release, presents the contract to Muḥammad. The prophet responds kindly and commands his followers to gather three hundred date stones. Muḥammad himself then plants the date stones, watering them with his own saliva. Miraculously, the date trees mature before the Muslims' eyes, and the first that were planted had matured and started producing fruit by the time the last was planted.

When Muḥammad demands that Salmān pass to him, the Jewish woman suddenly lies, and she changes the terms of manumission by claiming that she wanted all the date

[96] " Look, you won't be happy because I will only sell you for three hundred date trees; one hundred and fifty of which produce yellow dates and one hundred and fifty of which produce colored dates. And then, they must be ready to produce fruit and they must be placed next to my house. Only if these conditions are met, will I sell you. Otherwise, you remain my slave."

trees to produce yellow fruit. Claiming that God is all-powerful, Muḥammad prays that the dates change color, which immediately occurs. When Muḥammad again calls on the Jewish woman to uphold her side of the bargain, she changes the terms again, this time claiming that she also wanted three hundred camels, each with a calf. Muḥammad again miraculously fulfills the conditions, this time with help from the angel Gabriel. When Salmān's owner is finally satisfied, she hands over Salmān to Muḥammad, and seizes (*apoderó*) her dates and camels. Muḥammad, however, turned to face the Jewish woman, saying simply, "...*i bolbindo su santa cara a la judía le dixo el señor* [Muḥammad]*, no ponga bendición en quanto as tomado*" (211).[97] This last utterance appears to be a curse on her for greedily changing the terms of Salmān's freedom and before the year was out, all the date trees had putrefied with worms and all the camels had died.[98] This version of the negotiation departs dramatically from other accounts, which make very little of the actual moment of exchange between Salmān's Jewish owner and Muḥammad. According to ibn Hishām and ibn Saʿd, Salmān gained his freedom when Muḥammad planted three hundred date saplings. These trees miraculously grew without the help of the prophet's saliva, and when Salmān delivered them, his Jewish master did not renegotiate. Additionally, ibn Hishām's and ibn Saʿd's versions tell us that the price for Salmān's freedom included a sum of gold, which Muḥammad provided and which the slave owner accepted without complaint. The Jewish slave-owner appears to come to a much happier end because there is no mention of her again in this version of the story (ibn Hishām 97-98).

---

[97] " Do not bless what you have taken."

[98] "*Y fue ansí que no se pasó el año quando a las datileras les dio carcoma y se pudrieron, y a todas las camellas les dio mortandad"* (211).

The story concludes when the Morisco author tells his audience that immediately after gaining his freedom, Muḥammad takes Salmān by the hand and asks what his full name is. Salmān responds that it is "Rauçabat el Faraçi." According to the Morisco scribe, Muḥammad renames him Sulayman (*Çulayman*), bathes him, dresses him, and invites him to be one of his followers.[99] The conversion narrative abruptly ends and the reader returns to the original tale that frames it when Salmān states to his audience that this was how he became a Muslim. Two important historical figures, Husayn and al-Bakari, were in the audience and were overtaken with tears of joy, saying, "God took you from the loins of the idolaters, predestined for such good" (212).[100]

In order to adequately understand the important differences that the Morisco scribe appears to insert, it is useful to consider the story of Salmān from other, very popular points of view in the Arabic hagiographic tradition. Ibn Isḥāq and ibn Saʿd represent two important figures in the vast arena of the Islamic literary tradition. Ibn Isḥāq (d. c.768 CE/151 AH) represents a pivotal figure in the development of Muḥammad's biographical literature (Schoeler 37-51). Around 754 CE/136 AH, ibn Isḥāq undertook his magnum opus, the most widespread medieval biography of the prophet Muhammad, or *Sīra* (Lecker). Ibn Ishāq did not merely collect materials; he composed a structured work, arranged sometimes chronologically and sometimes by subject matter (Raven). Ibn Hishām's Biography (*Sīra*), which also saw wide distribution, is an adaptation of ibn Isḥāq's earlier work and is more widely accessible today. Much of the material in ibn Hishām's recension of ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra* played an important in future

[99] "*Dixo* [Muḥammad] *tu nombre sea Çulayman el Faraçiyu. Luego me hiço bañar y bestir y ser uno de los de su compañía*" (211).
[100] "*... te sacó Allah taala de los lomos ydolátricos predestinado para tanto bien*" (212).

works of *hadīth*, notably informing large sections of ibn Saʿd's (c. 784 CE/168 AH) *Ṭabaqāt* ("Generations").

In ibn Hishām's compilation of ibn Isḥāq's work, ibn ʿAbbās, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, recalls how Salmān himself told his story:

> I was a Persian man from among the people of Iṣfahān, from a village called Jayy. My father was a man from the class of the landed gentry (*dihqān*) of his village, and I was the most beloved of God's creatures to him. He loved me so much that he imprisoned me in his house, just like one imprisons a slave girl. I exerted myself in Zoroastrianism (*al-majūsiyya*), until I became the attendant of the sacred fire, who stokes it, not letting it die down for a moment (Ibn Hishām 95).[101]

One day Salmān's father sent him to check on his estate. Salmān's father tells his son to hurry because, "You [Salmān] are more important to me than my farm and worrying about you will prevent me from going about my business" (95). While on his way to check the farm, Salmān passes a Christian church and he is drawn to their worship where he is immediately convinced that Christianity surpasses Zoroastrianism. He stays at the church until nightfall, and when he returns home, his father is beside himself. Salmān explains himself, and asserts his newfound belief that Christianity is better than their religion. Fearful that Salmān will convert, his father chains and imprisons his son in his house.

Determined to find out more about Christianity, Salmān manages to escape and embarks on a semi-itinerant life, beginning with his journey with a caravan of Christians

[101] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1:214-5

bound for Syria. Here he serves a Christian bishop (*al-usquf*), who stole the alms his parishioners gave. Upon the bishop's death, Salman exposes his corruption and then passed as a student of the corrupt bishop's successor and three other good Christians in, sequentially, Mosul, Nisibis, and Amorium.[102] Salmān spends a number of years with each Christian who, at the time of his death, recommends Salmān to the next Christian. However, in Amorium, the final Christian master uses his dying words to tell Salmān that he knows of "no other Christians who followed his way of life, but that a prophet was about to arise who would be sent with the religion of Abraham" (ibn Hishām 96). Finally, Salmān joined a caravan of merchants who promised to take him to Arabia but instead sell him into slavery to a Jewish merchant at Wādī al-Qurā (in the northern region of the Ḥijāz), who then sold him on to a cousin who belongs to the Qurayẓa tribe, who finally brings Salmān to his date farm near Medina. At this time, Muḥammad had not yet emigrated to Medina, but when he did, Salmān is able to recognize the seal of the prophets (a mark supposedly on Muḥammad's back that indicated his status as a prophet) because of the clues the Christians had given him. The last Christian Salmān had served foretold that a prophet would soon arise in Arabia, sent with the "religion of Abraham," would emigrate to a land between two lava belts, would eat food given as a gift (*al-hadiyya*) but not charity (*al-ṣadaqa*), and would bear the seal of prophecy (*khātam al-nubuwwa*) (96).

In the next section, Ibn Hishām records how all of these predictions came true in Muḥammad. While Salmān works among the date trees, he hears a cousin of his master

[102] Mosul and Nisibis (modern Turkish, Nusaybin) lie in upper Mesopotamia whereas Amorium was situated in Phrygia, on the Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia. Regarding the latter, see M. Canard, "'Ammūriya," in *EI*.

announce that a great group of people had gathered around a man from Mecca, claiming he was a prophet. Salmān brought to Muḥammad alms, which the Prophet handed over to his companions, without taking any for himself. Returning later with a gift (*hadiyya*), Muḥammad accepts and shares it with his followers. Salmān returns to the Prophet again another day after a funeral. Ibn Hishām claims to quote Salmān in his own words (while still addressing Ibn ʿAbbās), saying,

> [Muḥammad] was sitting with his companions. I greeted him and then went around to look at his back so that I could see whether the seal which my master had described to me was there. When the apostle saw me looking at his back he knew that I was trying to find out the truth of what had been described to me, so he threw off his cloak laying bare his back and I looked at the seal and recognized it. Then I bent over him kissing him and weeping. The apostle said, "Come here," so I came and sat before him and told him my story as I have told you, O ibn ʿAbbās (ibn Hishām 97).

Afterward, Muḥammad tells Salmān to draw up a contract with his master. Salmān agrees to plant three hundred date palm trees for the master and to pay forty measures of gold in order to secure his freedom. Muḥammad tells his companions to help find the date palm shoots and to dig holes so Muḥammad himself could plant the trees. Then the Prophet gave Salmān the gold with which to finalize his freedom (ibn Hishām 97-98).

In the following sections, ibn Hishām includes an anecdote from a different narrative source, this time ʿOmar bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz bin Marwān who tells how Salmān's last Christian master in ʿAmūriya told him to find a man Syria who lived between two

thickets. Every year this man would emerge and heal the sick. Salmān's master told him to "ask this man about *ḥanīfiyya*, the religion of Abraham" (ibn Hishām 98). When Salmān did this, the man replied,

> You are asking about something men do not inquire of today; the time has come near when a prophet will be sent with this religion from the people of the *ḥaram* [i.e. Mecca]. Go to him, for he will bring you to it Then he went into the thicket" (98).

When Salmān relates this tale to Muḥammad The apostle said to Salmān ʿOmar bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz bin Marwān says, "The apostle said to Salmān, 'If you have told me the truth, you met Jesus the son of Mary'" (98).

The story that ibn Hishām preserves addresses a variety of points, such as the succession of religions, the nature of Islam, and belonging to the Muslim community. In refusing Salmān's alms, Muḥammad demonstrates his integrity, in contrast to Salmān's first teacher, the corrupt Christian bishop.[103] The other Christians in the narrative, however, recognize the rightness of true religion before the arrival of Islam, as well as the inadequacy of other religions. These Christians played an important role in predicting the coming of Islam as well as being the key figures in the annunciation of Muḥammad's prophecy. These pious Christians, even while they acknowledged the shortcomings of their own religious practices and predicted the imminent arrival of Islam, ultimately could think of no Christian worthy of Salmān's service. This would seem to suggest that Christianity had been replaced by Islam (Hämeen-Anttila 117).

---

[103] This point of Muḥammad's integrity and the precedent he set is picked up in other traditions that focus more on the gift Salmān brings and employ the terms *hadiyya* and *ṣadaqa*. For example, see Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* 546.

The presentation of Salmān's relationship with his family, specifically his father, also plays a significant role in the story. That Salmān leaves behind his loving father, his home, and his religion. The journey that Salmān undertakes and the complete break with his past recalls to mind the more legally prominent theme of hijra, or the break that Muḥammad made with his past in Mecca and his emigration from the town to the more hospitable environment of Medina, as well as the migration of the early Muslims to garrison cities in the conquered lands (Calasso, "Constructing" 28)[104]. Hijra marked the foundation of a new life for Muḥammad and these settlers, as did Salmān's journey for him, far from his homeland. These views of Salmān and his journey also resonate with much wider ideas in the Qur'an and early Islamic historiography according to which Islam requires a dedication that "can render problematic former commitments and loyalties. Accordingly, Salmān's origins are left behind" (Savant 66).

Ibn Hishām's treatment of Salmān's conversion and the collective effort of the Muslims to purchase his freedom also evokes the theme of a convert accepting Islam and consequently finding both spiritual fulfillment and acceptance in the Islamic community (*umma*). This discussion of Salmān points to a perspective within the tradition that values cultural assimilation over hereditary status. Ibn Saʿd's account of Salmān in his *Ṭabaqāt* (Generations) appears to show the prioritization of dedication to Islam over noble birth when he recalls that after the conquests Salmān was given a pension of four thousand dirhams. ʿAbd Allāh bin ʿOmar, the son of the second Caliph, on the other hand received a pension of only three thousand five hundred dirhams. When another companion asked

[104] For more on "hijra" as a theme in garrison cities, see Calasso's article "Alla ricerca di dār al-islām" (276-79); Christian Décobert's (esp. 259-65); and Patricia Crone (352-87).

about the reasons for this discrepancy, the answer was, "Salmān accompanied the Messenger of God to battles that resulted in martyrs, whereas ʿUmar's son did not" (4: 62)[105].

In fact, an appreciation for dedication to Islam and meritocracy seem to permeate ibn Saʿd's treatment of Salmān's conversion. Even though ibn Saʿd bases his account of Salmān's conversion on ibn Hishām's work (53), ibn Saʿd also reports another widely transmitted story. In this story, the Muslim army was preparing for battle with Meccan Arab and Jewish forces by digging an enormous trench, which is where the battle got its namesake: The Battle of the Trench (*Muʿraka al-khandaq*).[106] An argument broke out between the Meccan Muhājirūn and the Medinan Anṣar about to which camp Salmān belonged. Because he was from Persia, and because he was exceptionally strong, both groups claimed him for themselves. Muḥammad himself finally settle the matter, declaring, "Salmān is one of us, [a member of] the *ahl al-bayt* (ibn Saʿd 59).

The term *ahl al-bayt* denotes the Prophet's own family, including especially ʿAlī, his cousin who married his daughter Fāṭima, and their descendants. For ibn Saʿd, it indicated that Muḥammad had accepted Salmān as a member of his own family, and likewise that Salmān had completely severed ties with his past and his birth family. This opinion explains why ibn Saʿd placed Salmān's journey and conversion story in a section of the work that is dedicated to the Banū Hāshim, the Prophet's clan. This story underscores the legal process of *walāʿ*, a process by which manumitted slaves and converts (Salmān was both) entered into Islamic society through the replacement of old

[105] For a more complete discussion of how ibn Saʿd's account of Salmān's conversion prioritizes dedication to Islam over noble birth, see Savant (65-68).
[106] See Montgomery Watt's description of the battle in "Khandaḳ"

relationships with the establishment of new bonds, rights, and obligations between new converts and established members of the Islamic community.[107] Richard Bulliet has shown how this practice plays out in medieval biographical dictionaries with a person's lineage beginning with the first ancestor to convert to Islam (18-19). By incorporating aspects of Salmān's story that explicitly or implicitly shows his incorporation into the Muslim community because of his faith and his merits points to a perspective within the tradition that values these traits.

These examples of Salmān's conversion story preserved in ibn Hishām's and ibn Saʿd's biographical works point to values held by the early Muslim community. These two authors appear to recognize a hierarchy of religions that places paganism at the bottom of the spectrum, without giving it much attention. They appear to hold Christianity in higher regard, but the actions of the first immoral priest seem to represent some of the wrongs they perceive in the religion. Judaism receives the worst representation in the portrayal of the Jewish characters, but the text does not record any vengeance visited upon them. Finally, both ibn Hishām and ibn Saʿd appear to emphasize confessional relationships, without much consideration for familial bonds. These authors underscore Salmān's treatment and acceptance into Muḥammad's own family without mentioning Salmān's blood relatives.[108] As I will attempt to show below, the *aljamiado*

[107] Literature regarding *walāʿ* and clients (*mawālī*, pl. *mawlā*) is extensive. See Patricia Crone (*Roman*, esp. 35-6); regarding historical demographics of the *mawālī*, see John A. Nawas.

[108] Other version of Salmān's conversion story do deal with his family after his conversion. Savant argues that the texts by Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣfahānī (d. 369/979) and Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) reworked ibn Ishāq/ibn Hishām's text by methods that involved putting Iṣfahān at the center of the story, thereby emphasizing the role Persians had in the founding days of the Muslim movement (75-89).

version of Salmān's conversion preserved in MS D565 exaggerates and the themes of religious hierarchy and familial ties. Through these modifications, we can identify examples of a triangular strategy which pits the Jewish characters against the Christians and Muslims, an implicit argument that Jesus and Muḥammad practiced the same religion, and where family relations are portrayed much more vividly and painfully.

Throughout the versions of the stories, we have seen that for ibn Hishām and ibn Saʿd, the Jewish characters appear to hold very little moralistic value. They are almost entirely neutral, and they are described in purely diegetic language similar to *khabar* narratives (Beaumont 22). However, in the Morisco version of the story, these Jewish characters are imbued with emotion that apparently function to arouse shock and indignation at the unfair treatment of the kind, pious, and educated Salmān. The Jewish characters appear to reinforce a negative perception of Judaism in general and, by comparison, serve to underscore the pious and upright nature of the Muslim and Christian characters. The point appears even more poignant because the Morisco author seems to have omitted the one example of an immoral Christian that Salmān meets in ibn Hishām's and ibn Saʿd's recensions. Instead, the Morisco audience is left with the impression that Christianity and Islam bring out the good in people, and the truly faithful Christians even understood the importance of Muḥammad, his imminent arrival, and his mission. The effect that this has is that the story itself seems to present its audience with a similar message that emphasizes an understanding of Islam as the completion of Christianity, but denigrates Judaism and almost disregards the value of paganism altogether.[109]

[109] As Hämeen-Anttila notes, in ibn Isḥāq's version of Salmān's conversion, the Zarathustrian religion is seen as much inferior to Christianity and the conversion is in no need of explanation. The living, One God of Christianity is on another level as the Fire

The emphasis on a triangulation between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the conversion narrative of Salmān al-Fārisī seems very similar to the strategy employed by the author of the Kaʿab al-Aḥbar narrative, and, to a certain extent, to the ʿOmar narrative. In addition to the interplay between the religions, the author of this narrative follows a trend amongst the Morisco narratives of conversion by employing descriptions of wondrous and miraculous events, culminating in God's or Muḥammad's good favor and the good fortune of the convert. The work considered in the following chapter appears to make a dramatic departure from the other works in the previous chapters. However, I hope to show that a conceptualization of triangulation persisted among the few Moriscos who managed and wanted to stay in the Iberian Peninsula after their mass expulsion of 1609-1614.

adored by Zarathustrians (117). The same appears to be true in the *aljamiado* version.

Chapter 4

Anti-Christian Polemic Disguised as Comedia

In the previous chapters, I have discussed Morisco versions of the conversion to Islam of prominent early Islamic figures. These narratives have been altered from some of the more mainstream versions preserved in canonical works of *ḥadīth*. All of these works had been composed before the expulsion of the Moriscos that spanned from 1609 to 1614. The present chapter addresses the work of an anonymous author, but one with apparent Morisco roots who managed to remain in Castile after the expulsion. The work is a play entitled *Vida y muerte del falso Profeta Mahoma*, which deals with the time in Muḥammad's life when he began to receive revelations that in turn became the Ḳurʾān. Interestingly, this work, a *comedia*, does not abandon the triangulation strategy completely, as is the case with other Morisco authors writing in exile. Instead, the first two acts of the *comedia* plays on anti-Islamic sentiments and a hagiographic genre to lure the audience in. By the third act, the playwright appears to employ a dramatic shift in his description of Islam to present it as a potential fulfillment of Christianity.

In 1642, Claudio Macé, a Valencian editor and compiler of plays, included a play called *Vida y muerte del falso Profeta Mahoma*[110] in a collection of works by Francisco de Zorrilla Rojas. For centuries, critics and scholars assumed that the attribution of Zorrilla Rojas was accurate and merited a place in that collection. However, in 1972 Josep and Monserrat Solà-Solé's called this assumption into question (6). They defended this hypothesis by comparing *Vida y muerte* with another play that Rojas Zorrilla

[110] For the rest of this chapter, I will refer to this play as *Vida y muerte*.

certainly wrote and staged in 1635, *El falso Profeta Mahoma*, citing evidence such as the notable and numerous stylistic differences, the differing treatment of Muḥammad, numerous changes in the cast of characters and their religious backgrounds, and the incredulity that Zorrilla Rojas would publish such differing plays within two years of each other. Scholars remained baffled by the question of the play's authorship until Ridha Mami published his view that *Vida y muerte* was most likely written by a Morisco who avoided expulsion (1-25) [111]. The argument is intriguing because this work could then signal a development in Christian-crypto-Muslim relations in the Peninsula. As I will show below, *Vida y muerte* presents the life, prophetic pronouncements, and death of Muḥammad that appears to reflect the author's desire to create a space for Islam within Christianity. I will address examples of how the author portrays Muḥammad as a villain in acts I and II, using well-established anti-Islamic narratives, only to depart from that narrative and describe Muḥammad's saintly characteristics in act III. This departure from an anti-Islamic tone to a more egalitarian one is best represented by the argument in the

[111] Agustín de la Granja (442-443) and Melissa Figueroa (808) attribute this play to the priest and playwright Antonio Mira de Amescua (ca. 1574-1636). They come to this conclusion based on Amescua's upbringing in Guadix, his close contact and possible friendly relations with the Moriscos of Granada, and an accusation that he descended from Morisco lineage from his maternal grandmother. However, the nature of the sources used to derive this conclusion raises serious questions. The first is a question of the motivation for an inquisitorial inquiry into Mira de Amescua's background, a process that began at the same time that he was proposed for advancement in the Church. The investigation into his past and the questioning of his *pureza de sangre* status seemed to scupper the promotion. Authors such as Jillian Williams have shown that we must be wary of impartial evidence, mainly highlighting how some early modern Spaniards denounced their rivals to the inquisition for personal reasons. Therefore, while it is plausible that Mira de Amescua penned the *comedia Vida y muerte*, a rival that used court intrigue and the Inquisition to sabotage the playwrite/priest's career is equally possible. In this regard, I am more inclined to agree with Josep Maria Solà-Solé, Monserrat D. Solà-Solé, and Ridha Mami who assert that the play was written by a Morisco, but do not hypothesize about its authorial identity.

third act when the author presents a cogent argument for Islam against Christianity, while emphasizing the veneration both religions hold for the Virgin Mary and Jesus. Throughout the play, the author appears to place Judaism and paganism well below Christianity and Islam, similar to the hierarchical scale as the narrative of Salmān's conversion. In this way, I argue that the author disguises or dissimulates his true beliefs in order to propose the validity of Islam, its compatibility with Christianity, and their shared mistrust of Judaism.

The events and the characters portrayed in the play must be read with the social and political climate of Early Modern Iberia in mind. Its publication in the 1630s came shortly after the pronouncement of expulsion of the Moriscos from the Peninsula. The expulsion of the Moriscos was gradual and inconsistently applied throughout the various Iberian kingdoms, occurring first in the kingdom of Castile in 1609 and culminating in the expulsion of Moriscos from Aragon in 1614 (O'Halley 27-28; Lapeyre 115-116). The estimates of how many Moriscos were expelled vary significantly from around 275,000 (Jónsson 195) to up to 500,000.[112] Those who left emigrated to a wide variety of geographic locations, but most fled to modern-day Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, while some reports indicate that Moriscos arrived in the Galata neighborhood of Istanbul (Weigers 141-158) and Karoline Cook has found documentary evidence of Moriscos in the Spanish American colonies.

[112] Dadson notes that of this number somewhere around 40% of these managed to avoid expulsion altogether and tens of thousands managed to return (*Tolerance* ##; "Assimilation" 25). For additional information on Moriscos who stayed behind or returned to the Iberian Peninsula, see François Martinez and James Tuellar.

In the wake of such catastrophic events within the Morisco communities, dissimulation of one's beliefs would have been more important than ever. To this end, it appears as though acts I and II intentionally draw on the audience's preconceptions of Muslims and hagiographic drama in order to disguise the author's true intention of arguing for the compatibility of Islam and Christianity.

Until the third act, the playwright of the *comedia* portrays Muḥammad in a derogatory manner that was consistent with many other legends written by Medieval Christian authors (Daniel, 104). The play opens with Muḥammad killing his elderly blind master, Abdimanoples, in order to marry his wife, Cádiga, and take all of his possessions. Muḥammad then confesses to the murder to Cádiga's servant and confidant, Sergio, a heretic Christian who had been expelled from the Church and fled to Arabia. Muḥammad and Sergio strike a deal: if Sergio helps Muḥammad convince Cádiga to marry Muḥammad, Muḥammad will help Sergio wage war (*guerra*) on God by pretending to create a new, anti-Christian religion:

Sergio: *Cádiga será tu esposa,*
y de todo saldrás bien
si me prometes también
ayudarme en otra cosa.

Mah.: *En la más dificultosa*
seré amigo sin segundo,
mi poder dedico y fundo
para ti: dí lo que encierra.

Ser.: *Que me ayudes a dar guerra*

a Dios, al cielo y al mundo.

Then, in order to emphasize Muḥammad's evil nature, the author describes how he accepts Sergio's proposal with sinister delight:

Mah.: *Yo te ofrezco desde aquí*
dar essa guerra, y podré,
porque admiro un no sé qué
de exceso de humano en mí...

Acts I and II then underscore the portrayal of this "exceso de humano" in Muḥammad. Numerous examples ranging from his lascivious seduction of other women, his betrayal and murder of his followers, and his bloodlust and eagerness for war.

An examination of the character of Sergio highlights the author's use of well-known themes found in many Christian depictions of the life of Muḥammad. This type of presentation of Muḥammad as fundamentally evil and guided by a Christian heretic was by no means innovative. Instead, it plays on dubious narratives about Muḥammad's life that had circulated in Europe since the Middle Ages. These negative portrayals of Muḥammad as a heretic Christian, or guided by a heretic, create and then elaborate upon assertions that Muḥammad was a pagan, an illegitimate child, a seducer and deceiver of women, greedy for wealth and power, and a false prophet who inevitably goes to Hell when he dies.

The creation of a supposed "strategic alliance" between Muḥammad and a Christian date back at least until the early ninth century in the *Chronographia* by Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818) who exploited the *Sīra* literature for polemical

purposes (Roggema 182).[113] More contemporary to *Vida y muerte*, Laurent de Premierfait composed one of the most widely circulated fables of Muḥammad in 1409, which played on all of these themes (Tolan 45). Premierfait cited the work of Vincent de Beauvais as inspiration for his description of Muḥammad. Vincent de Beauvais in turn cited many (often contradictory) twelfth-century texts as the basis for his biography (Tolan 46). The works by Premierfait and Beauvais were copied relatively prolifically and became widely known, and we have records of hundreds of Beauvais' manuscripts and fifty-seven copies of Premierfait's work (Tolan 46).

This perception of Muḥammad was not limited to Medieval France, however. In the first half of the fifteenth century, a Benedictine monk translated Beauvais' work into English, of which there are thirty-four extant copies. Negative perceptions of Muḥammad also appear in works such as Dante's *Inferno* (XXXVIII, 22-42), Langland's *Piers Plowman* around 1370 (33), *The English Myrror* by George Whetstone in 1586 (Chew 398-99; 403), and Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* in 1622 (Bennett 84). All of these works appear to agree previously held notions that Islam arose out of a Christian community; notions such as those found in the poems of Walter of Compiègne, Alexandre du Pont, and Embrico of Mainz before them (Daniel 104). While this list is far from complete, it gives a sense of the various dubious narratives about Muḥammad's life and character that circulated around the Christian territories of Medieval Europe. As the first two acts of *Vida y muerte* unfolds, the borrowing of these narrative elements becomes apparent. Within *Vida y muerte*, the author even accuses Muḥammad of two

[113] For more on the Islamic and Christian legends of Sergius Baḥīra, see Roggema 151-88.

new crimes: the murder of his helpless master, Abdimanoples, in order to marry his wife and steal his fortune.

The general public's familiarity with these kinds of accusations probably made the work both accessible and acceptable to the audience. Additionally, the audience would have been familiar with the narrative arc of *Vida y muerte* because it appears to conform generally to the conventions of the *comedias de los santos* or *comedias a lo divino* (Figueroa 819). These works typically highlight facts about the lives of holy people from birth to death, feature their positive qualities, and stage their miracles.[114] As Melissa Figueroa points out, the contraction of using the *comedia de santos* style to depict the life of a figure that was viewed as antithetical to Christianity shines a light on a number of anxieties and historical tensions with Spanish Islam that still reverberated after the expulsion of the Moriscos.

The triangular strategy at work in the play only comes to light in the third act when it suddenly reverses this anti-Islamic stance and provides a sympathetic view of Islam and its prophet. Thus, the third act of the *comedia* surprises the audience in its portrayal of Muḥammad's miracles and when it seems to argue that Islam offers valid responses to the gaps in Christian theology, which Ridha Mami characterized as a clear example of maurophilia (24).

[114] The *comedias de los santos* as a genre have received especially fruitful attention throughout the last half century. The collection of essays edited by Marc Vitse as well as that edited by Felipe Pedraza Jiménez and Almudena Gracía González are foundational. Additionally, see the works of Delfín Leocadio Garasa; Elma Dassbach; Robert R. Morrison; Germán García-Luengos; and Joseph Lluís Sirera. Dann Cazés provides a useful overview of the main features, themes, and criticisms of the *comedias* as a genre.

"Maurophilia" is a term that George Cirot coined more than 50 years ago to describe early modern literary texts that presented idealized depictions of Muslims. For Cirot, maurophilia signaled a form of literary nostalgia for a disappearing chivalric age. More recently, scholars such as Mercedes García-Arenal**,** Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra**,** and María Antonia Garcés have linked depictions of Muslims in early modern Spanish literature to perceptions and preoccupations with North Africa. Their research represents a shift away from genre surveys of Muslim characters and themes toward multifaceted cultural and literary histories of imperial frontiers. Meanwhile, Márquez Villanueva and Carrasco Urgoiti have looked within the Iberian Peninsula and presented their claims that authors and publishers tended to foster a sense of nostalgia for the politically fraught issues of Morisco integration and expulsion (Kimmel 22). Barbara Fuchs' exemplary *Exotic Nation* expanded on Márquez Villanueva's and Carrasco Urgoiti's concern with the politics of representation by arguing that examples of maurophilia could be found in architecture, food, secular celebrations, and dress (5).[115] She argued that examples of Iberian maurophilia were so ubiquitous within the Peninsula that Iberian audiences could not recognize them as anything other than ordinary and local. In this way, she asserts that maurophilia" should be read not as a counter nationalist discourse but rather as an alternative vision of the Spanish nation, predicated on a particular version of Spain's Moorish past, and on the privileging of often aristocratic compatibility over the suspicion of religious difference (*Exotic Nation* 8). However, as Christina H. Lee observes, while

[115] Fuchs earlier laid out the outline of her analysis of maurophilia in Spain in her article, "In Memory of Moors: 'Maurophilia' and National Identity in Early Modern Spain." For more on examples of maurophilia, see Mary B. Quinn's *The Moor and the Novel*; Seth Kimmel's "Local Turks"; and Antonio Urquízar-Herrera's *Admiration and Awe*.

these texts might privilege 'aristocratic compatibility' between Moorish and Christian protagonists, they also always emphasize the essential otherness of the Moor (187). The third act of the play *Vida y muerte* seems to conform to this characterization in its treatment of Muḥammad, especially during his disputation with the Christian captive, Teodoro.

Generally speaking, the surviving literature written by these expelled Moriscos indicate a dramatic shift away from any tone of appeasement or reconciliation with Christians (Wiegers, "Introduction" 1-30; Chachia 135-140; Luce López-Baralt, "Introducción" 1-70). Many Morisco authors cite their love for their homeland and a feeling of deep injustice toward the policies of forced conversion and expulsion as the basis of their polemical arguments.[116] Morisco authors such as Ibrahim Taybili, Mohamed Rabadán, Juan Alonso Aragonés, and Ibrahim de Bolfad all penned treatises that endeavored to show the superiority of Islam over Christianity. While the author of *Vida y muerte* conforms to the polemical current of the time, he also includes the counter-arguments Christians had devised as responses to these attacks. In this way, the work appears to strike a balance between Islam and Christianity, recognizing the difference between the two religions, but maintaining respect for both as well.

One of the polemics in which the author of *Vida y muerte* engages is the conceptualization of the Trinity, which is fundamental to Christian theology, and fundamentally rejected by Islam. Numerous Muslim philosophers, theologians, and scholars focus their polemical works on this aspect of Christian dogma.[117] This is

---

[116] *Tratado de los dos caminos*

[117] See Lazarus-Yafeh's summary in "Some Neglected Aspects of Medieval Muslim Polemics against Christianity."

primarily because the concept of God being composed of three distinct entities (Father, Son (Jesus), and the Holy Spirit) runs completely antithetical to one of the most foundational beliefs within Islam: "His is God, The One and Only; God, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, Nor is He Begotten; And there is none like unto Him" (Sūra Ikhlāṣ (CXII): 1-4).

Using a character called Teodoro, a fictional Christian soldier captured during a military campaign, the author of the *comedia* brings both sides of this polemical argument to life. The author presents Teodoro as brave, upstanding, and pious, which is demonstrated when he is brought before Muḥammad in order to kneel and profess his faith in Islam. Instead, Teodoro says:

Teo.: *Solo a Jesúchristo adoro,*

y me humillo a su fe santa,

¿qué me advierte vuestra seta?

This introduction appears to have another purpose beyond demonstrating Teodoro's faithfulness to Christianity. It provides the author to place in Muḥammad's mouth the standard Islamic stance toward Jesus, which holds him in extremely high esteem as a prophet of God. The Muslims in the scene react angrily to this assertion, however, calling Theodoro an ingrate and a blasphemer (138). By invoking the name of Jesus Christ as the sole object of Teodoro's worship, the author seems to appeal to Christian sentiments at the time, which tended to exalt bold declarations of Christian faith in the face of an infidel enemy. However, surprisingly, it is Muḥammad (rendered *Mahoma* in Castilian) himself who enters the conversation at this point and who provides the common ground between Christianity and Islam:

Mah.: *A predicar lo que Christo*

vengo, Espirítu de Dios

fue, su potencia no niego,

y quien pusiere, está ciego,

diferencia entre los dos,

no repugno sus loores,

ni contradigo que quadre

creer de María su madre

que le parió sin dolores,

ni la defensa descarto

contra la más fiera arpía,

de que fue virgen María

antes y después del parto.

Teodoro responds that Muḥammad must believe that Jesus was both man and God because he, Muḥammad had already stated his belief that Jesus had a virgin birth, that Jesus was born without original sin, and that he holds Mary in the highest esteem, all of which, Theodoro argues, are proof of Jesus' divinity.

In the ensuing argument, it is Muḥammad who seems to offer the most compelling evidence to support his argument, while Teodoro engages in ad hominem attacks against Muḥammad's character. For example, after Teodoro asserts that Muḥammad must acknowledge the divinity of Jesus (because of the argument stated above), Muḥammad replies with a reasoned argument:

Mah.: *Tu razón es indiscreta,*

porque el cielo sin abismo

obró en madre lo mismo [i.e. Muḥammad was born without sin]

y no soy más que un profeta.

When Teodoro calls Muḥammad a liar, he responds with proof. Teodoro intersperses Muḥammad's argument with more personal attacks, but Muḥammad remains focused on his message:

Mah.: *Mi nacimiento me abona*

con mil prodigios estraños...

En señal de la grandeza,

que en mi claro origen tuve

desde que nací, una nube

me corona la cabeça.

After one final attack from Teodoro, Muḥammad dismisses the Christian prisoner, claiming that no one should have to suffer listening to these crazy remarks. However, both parties take up the argument once more when Muḥammad denies the title of Messiah, claiming instead that Jesus was the chosen man of God. Once again, Teodoro takes issue with this characterization of Jesus:

Teo.: *Entre las llamas*

vivas quieres encubrir

las cenizas de tus brasas,

a Christo llamas varón,

sólo por la forma humana,

Hijo de Dios vivo fue,

tomó carne en las entrañas

de Santa María su madre

por la unión hipostática,

y en un madero murió

por redemir nuestras almas.

When Muḥammad points out that if Jesus was the son of God, he would not have to die in order to forgive our sins, echoing a common anti-Christian polemic of the time. Teodoro replies with an equally common refutation, claiming that Christ's death was the vehicle by which the grace of heaven is offered to humans. Muḥammad proceeds to say that if Jesus was God, he could not die, even if he wanted to. At this point, Teodoro again responds with the common argument that only the human part of Jesus died, not the divine part.

To put an end to the disputation, Muḥammad reveals that he was called to prophethood to correct the various and erroneous interpretations of the Old Testament. In a turn that appears to appeal to the Christian audience, Muḥammad voices his agreement with Teodoro in his belief in the holiness of Jesus' teachings, and of his apostles, but that this message had been corrupted over time, the same message of *taḥrīf* we saw in the conversion of Kaʿab al-Aḥbar. As proof of his divine connection, at that moment a bull descends from the heavens with a book placed in its horns. The book is none other than the Qur'an, and when Muḥammad reads it, he finds that it supports his opinions on the divinity of Jesus:

Mah.: *Esta ley [the Qur'an] no conoce*

Trinidad de personas en su dueño,

solo un Dios reconoce

incorporal para el mayor empeño

de la paz o la guerra

poder inmenso sobre cielo y tierra.

However, even after witnessing the miraculous creation of the Qur'an, Teodoro still refuses to believe Muḥammad and convert to Islam:

Teo.: *Ni de ti, ni de los tuyos*

Temo los filos cruentos,

a solo Dios trino y uno

amo, remo reverencio

que crió el cielo de nada

y formó de mada el cielo.

Él con su inmenso poder

me librará de tu azero.

Teodoro continues to attack Muḥammad personally, calling him a liar, deceiver, and accusing him of lascivious behavior (which, in acts I and II of the play, is true). Finally, Teodoro attacks Sergio, the devious Christian heretic who serves and councils Muḥammad in the play. In the end, Teodoro escapes the Muslims after Muḥammad gives up trying to convince him of the faults in Christianity. In a tone that seems to reflect Muḥammad's maturity, he tells everyone simply to ignore Teodoro and his "crazy" (*loco*) arguments. Muḥammad's followers are not satisfied with this, however, and Sergio leads a mob to capture and kill Teodoro. Teodoro is saved when a cloud descends and carries him off to the heavens, with Muḥammad faking a claim that the cloud will bring Teodoro

to punishment and damnation. Only at this point does the author pay lip service to the fact that the social and religious situation in Early Modern Iberia dictated that Muḥammad must lose any religious disputation. In a feeble statement aside, Muḥammad says for the audience's benefit:

Mah.: *Famosa enmienda [claiming the cloud will bring punishment] he fingido,*
bravo engaño, a ser Leoncio,[118]
qual quedava, si no diera
socorro a Teodoro el cielo.

While the argumentation appears fairly unoriginal, the reader and the audience cannot help but feel as though Muḥammad presented the clearer, stronger, and (because of the delivery of the Qur'an) divinely-supported case. Without falling back on personal attacks, Muḥammad emphasizes the commonalities between Christianity and Islam in their shared reverence for Jesus and Mary. Using that as a starting point, the exchange between Teodoro and Muḥammad appears to illustrate the author's intent to recognize some of the shortcomings in Christian theology, as well as some of the answers that Islam

[118] By calling Teodoro by the name Leoncio, the author appears to invoke the story of Leontius II, the Byzantine emperor after Justinian II, ruling from 695-698 CE (Krueger 1-19; Déroche 15-42). The comparison is significant because Leontius led the Byzantine forces that confronted the Umayyads in their campaigns of expansion. Eventually Leontius defeated the Muslim armies and forced the Umayyad caliph, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, to request terms for peace (Kaegi 253-54; Kyrris 176-77). In stopping the Muslim advance in the seventh century, Muḥammad's comparison of Teodoro to Leontius might be read as a recognition of Teodoro's victory over Muḥammad in the disputation. It is interesting to note, however, that when the Umayyad forces resumed their military campaigns into Byzantine lands, the Muslims decisively defeated Leontius and his forces at the Battle of Sebastopolis (Ostrogorsky 131; Haldon 72) and Leontius eventually led a rebellion against Justinian, seized power, and declared himself emperor in 695 (Ostrogorsky 116-112; Kaldellis 45). His reign ended shortly thereafter in 698 when one of his military leaders revolted, successfully overthrew the Byzantine government, and cut off Leontius' nose and tongue (Kaldellis 45).

provides. At the end of the argument, Muḥammad's admission of "faking" Teodoro's divine rescue seems to allude to God rewarding the Christian, even if his argument was less persuasive.

Vida y muerte also questions why one religion is deemed correct while another is rejected wholesale. Questioning the logic with which the Crown proposed to differentiate residents of the Iberian Peninsula was a relatively common feature in works that have been characterized as maurophilia (Lee 203). Many other works that idealized Spain's Islamic heritage or presented idealized Muslim protagonists, such as Calderón de la Barca's *El Tuzaní de la Alpujarra/Amar después de la muerte*, Miguel de Cervantes' portrayal of his Morisco characters Ricote and Ana Félix in the second volume of *Don Quijote*, and the first part of Pérez de Hita's work entitled *Guerras civiles de Granada*, seem to encourage its audience to question what really distinguished Old Christians, New Christians, and Muslims in Iberia. Each of these works points out in one way or another the faulty cultural systems of identification espoused by the Crown as the root cause for the tensions between Old Christians and others (Lee 196).[119]

Vida y muerte encourages the same type of questioning with regards to prophetic legitimacy through the use of miracles in the *comedia de santos* form. The title of the play itself, *Vida y muerte del falso Profeta Mahoma*, immediately calls to mind other works that use this form because these works primarily highlight the life, works, and manner of death of a particular saint (Vitse). Antonio Mira de Amescua, the seventeenth-century playwright who Agustín de la Granja and Figueroa believe penned the play, also

[119] For more on these authors' critique of royal policy, see Sieber's "El monstruo en su laberinto" (740-746).

wrote two other plays that utilize the same titular formation: *Vida y muerte de San Lázaro* (1655) and *Vida y muerte de la monja de Portugual* (1670). In this particular case, however, the title was probably chosen in order to protect the author from the Inquisition, because, as de la Granja notes, inquisitors demanded that the play's title be changed from *Engaños y muerte de Mahoma*: "Que se le dé certificación con que no se intitule comedia de Mahoma" in 1624 (442). While *Vida y muerte del falso Profeta Mahoma* still utilizes the name forbidden by the Inquisition, the title does move it closer to the hagiographic tradition (Figueroa 97).

As Elma Dassbach and Robert Morrison both assert, the depiction of miracles in the play was vital claiming the sainthood of a person (Dassbach 68; Morrison 40). Throughout the play, Muḥammad performs two types of miracles. The first type of miracles is a collection of illusions intended to deceive his peers into converting to his "false" religion. These occur within the first two acts of the play, and they are not staged. Instead, the audience simply learns about Muḥammad's tricks to gain support through his conversations with his advisor, Sergio:

Ser.: *Mueven sus coraçones*
tus máxicas y estrañas ilusiones,
y el hazerte hermitaño
fue lo que más acreditó el engaño.

Mah.: *Fue traça bien medida,*
que en reverencia de la santa vida
han hallado por truecos
crédito mis ardides y embelecos

The second type of miracles occurs without deceit and are meant to be perceived as real miracles by the characters within the play. The striking aspect of many of the miracles is their similarity to miracles Christians say that Jesus performed. The play, then, uses a theatrical genre in the *comedia de los santos*, which relied heavily on the staging of a saint's miracles in order to promote belief in that saint. In acts one and two of *Vida y muerte* however, the playwright uses the same strategy to condemn Muḥammad. The end result leaves the audience questioning whether or not it is hypocritical to believe in the supernatural powers of one figure while denouncing another. In the final section that follows, I will show how the miracles Muḥammad performs in *Vida y muerte* recall the same miracles that Jesus is said to have performed. In this way, the playwright appears to assert that condemnation of Muḥammad is comparable to condemnation of Jesus.

For example, two of the miracles that recall Jesus miraculous actions occur at the end of the second act. At this point in the play, Muḥammad needs to convince 'Omar to lead his army in a campaign against the Persians to the north. 'Omar originally refused, but Muḥammad suggests that if 'Omar could speak with his dead father, the father would convince his son to do Muḥammad’s bidding. Muḥammad proposes to undertake this miracle, at which point Zapico, Muḥammad’s follower, becomes so frightened of meddling with death that he requests to become blind so that he does not have to witness the unnatural means by which Muḥammad might raise the dead (Mami 116-118). Muḥammad then blinds Zapico and calls upon 'Omar's father, Jafed, to rise from the dead (Mami 117). 'Omar's conversation with his father has the intended result, and he agrees to

lead the Muslim armies into battle against the Persians. Once Jafed has returned to the grave, Muḥammad then restores Zapico's sight.

Ridha Mami has connected these and other miracles that Muḥammad performs in the play to various *hadīth* (sayings and stories about the Prophet). He recalls that Ibnu Qatada tells how he recovered a lost eye after he prayed to Muḥammad (28). Mami also reminds us that Al-Qadi tells how Muḥammad revived Jafed from the dead (27). However, a Spanish Catholic audience might reflect that these miracles are somewhat analogous to Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead in the Gospel of John and his restoration of sight to the blind on numerous occasions in all four of the Gospels (Matt 9:27-31, 20:29-34; Mark 8:22-26, 10:46-52; Luke 18:35-43; John 9:1-7). In the case of Muḥammad, the *comedia* seems to use the theme of miracles to establish a connection between the founders of Islam and Christianity. Thus, the first two acts of the play inherently call into question the legitimacy of using the hagiographic genre to emphasize the truth of a Christian saint by using the exact same strategy to denounce the actions of another religious leader.

By using the theatrical form of the *comedia de los santos*, relying on common European narratives about Muḥammad's life, emphasizing supernatural powers, and showcasing his lucidity in answering theological attacks, the third act of *Vida y muerte* emphasizes the trend of maurophilia in Early Modern Spain by acknowledging a place for Islam within Christianity. For an audience that must have been accustomed to viewing only the negative aspects of Muḥammad, as presented in the play by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla for example, the positive image of the Islamic prophet must have been somewhat jarring. While the first two acts seem to conform with the standard presentation, the third

act prompts the audience to question why they should believe some saints performed miracles when they are told to reject the same claim by other figures. There seems to be a call within the play to take Islam seriously, to take stock of the questions Muslims have asked regarding their theology, and to treat Muslims with a measure of respect.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have attempted to show how Morisco narratives of conversion reveal the negotiation of relations between the three Abrahamic religions. My analysis has highlighted the various degrees to which Morisco scribes opposed and aligned themselves and their religion with Christianity and Judaism. These arguments generally focused on reiterating Islamic claims to rightful inheritance of Abraham's religious tradition, a claim shared with Christian and Jewish theologians for centuries. The Morisco texts analyzed in this work also emphasize the polemical stance adopted by the scribes, especially with regards to Judaism. This was especially the case when the Morisco versions of the Kaʿab al-Aḥbar and Salmān al-Fārisī narratives were compared with the other versions that predated their composition. I must acknowledge that the scribes who composed these narratives did not explicitly lay out their purpose for writing them, nor did they tell which sources they used to guide their composition. Without such information, the best we can do now is use circumstantial information to guess at what a scribe meant when he added or omitted certain pieces of information. With that in mind, however, for a population that was facing immense pressure to abandon not only their religion, but also the cultural practices commonly associated with that religion, and embrace Christianity (while at the same time facing rejection and persecution from some members of the clergy and laity alike), narratives that encouraged doubt in the predominant faith and expounded the virtues and rewards of faith in Islam would have been welcome.

In the final calculation, as is well known, the conclusion of the story of the majority of the Moriscos ended not in reward, but in expulsion. The perception of the

Moriscos' steadfast loyalty to Islam (as well as an attempt to distract the public from an unpopular truce with the Dutch) eventually alarmed Phillip III and some of his advisors enough to decree the expulsion of the Morisco population of Valencia in 1609. Further decrees followed that expelled Moriscos from the rest of the Peninsula. Between 1609 and 1611, the royal government transferred and displaced between 300,000-500,000 baptized Spaniards of Muslim descent, forcing them aboard ships bound for various locations across the Mediterranean. Abandoned by the rulers of their ancestral homeland, these families were often split up, with small children going to Christian families, while passengers on the ships faced the threat of piracy and the potential for an unwelcome arrival at their destination. All told, the expulsion of the Morsicos, while it was resisted by some, represents one of the greatest human tragedies of the early modern Mediterranean.

After their expulsion, surviving documents written by expelled Moriscos demonstrate a dramatically different tone than the one that seemed to promote Islam as a possible solution to Christians who had been innocently misguided by nefarious Jewish sages. Morisco literature and recorded accounts show that many lamented their situation living in exile. Even those who received a relatively warm welcome, especially in modern-day Tunisia, struggled to integrate themselves into their new society because many of them either openly identified as Christians or were unfamiliar with Islamic rituals and practices (Chachia**,** "Moment" 133). These Moriscos benefited from the efforts of two important religious and political figures: the famous saint (*wali*) Sidi Abu al-Gayt

Al-Quachech, better known as Sidi Bulgayz; [120] and the local governor ʿUthman Dey.[121] Working in tandem, Sidi Bulgayz issued *fatwas* (religious rulings) asserting Morisco rights to use Spanish and construct special *madrasas* (religious schools) in Teboura that focused on developing the Moriscos' knowledge of Islam in Spanish (Ximénez 75rv). ʿUthman Dey facilitated the Moriscos' physical resettlement by offering a number of incentives for them to settle in the region and then employing a clear and well-planned policy of settlement, which sought to group and settle Moriscos by their original geographical origins, thus preserving their sense of community (Matar 219; Chachia, "La instalación" 132-33).

After ʿUthman Dey's death in 1610, Sidi Bulgayz was left to defend these policies of easing the Moriscos' transition. They ended abruptly with his death in 1622. The social changes that Sidi Bulgayz's death brought about was felt immediately by the Moriscos in the swiftly increasing pressure for them to conform (Anonymous, *Tratado de los dos caminos* 203). From this point on, we see a sharp increase in the number of works by Morisco writers in Tunisia that critique Christian theology in the form of polemic (Harvey 199-204). Prominent writers such as Juan Peréz, known as Ibrahim Taybili penned such critiques (Bernabé Pons; Wiegers, "The Expulsion" 398). This was also the

[120] Sidi Bulgayz is a well-known figure who advocated for and protected Morisco Iberian cultural practices, even though these practices sometimes contravened the Maliki school of jurisprudence and the Hanafi Ottoman Turks (Mikel de Epalza 145-76). His ability to defuse these tensions resulted in a policy of "flexible Islamization" (Al-Muntasir al Gafsi 137) in which Moriscos were permitted to continue to use Spanish in family settings and in religious services (Francisco Ximénez 87v-88r).

[121] ʿUthman Dey governed Tunis from 1590 until his death in 1610. Coming from a military background, he ably ruled the region by pacifying the hinterlands and by building a powerful fleet and expanding a network of forts (*borj*) to guard the coast (Ibn Abi Dhiaf 1-33).

period in which Moriscos addressed the subject of Islamic doctrine and worship in such works as the *Tratado de los dos caminos*, written by an anonymous Morisco friend of Sidi Bulgayz. In this work, the author views those Moriscos who left the Iberian Peninsula willingly with great sympathy, asserting that they not only saved their own souls, but the souls of their descendants as well. Conversely, he condemns those Moriscos who remained, asserting that those who follow this second path will be punished for their sins (195). Additionally, Morisco elites, including Shaykh al-Andalusi and Muḥammad b. Mahfuz, also founded a *madrasa* for exiled Moriscos in1625 in Tunis. In contradiction to the *madrasa* in Teboura, this school was dedicated to teaching Morisco children Arabic in addition to the teachings of Islam (Abdel-Hakim El Gafsi 69-182). Finally, the famous works penned by the Morisco courtier and diplomat Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari, *Nāṣir ad-Dīn ʿala Ḳawm al-Kāfirīn* (*The Triumph of Faith over the Nation of Unbelievers*) and *Al-ʿIzzwa al-Manāfiʿ li'l-Mujāhidīn fī Sabī lAllāh bi'l-Mudāfi* (*The Splendor and Benefits of the Mujahideen in the Cause of God with Artillery*). In both of these works, al-Hajari harshly condemns not only those Moriscos who willingly remained in the Iberian Peninsula, but also those who refused to conform to Tunisian society even though the rulers protected their cultural heritage and practices (Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance* 43).

These works describe only a few of the works that Moriscos penned in their exile in which they polemically railed against Christianity in general and the Inquisition in particular (Wiegers 389-412). Even while some Moriscos still expressed their affinity for Iberian literature and theatre (Jaime Oliver Asín 409-450), the religious tone of these works is resoundingly polemical. Such a shift reinforces the distinctiveness and unique

characteristics embodied in the conversion narratives discussed throughout the preceding chapters. Morisco efforts to employ a strategy of triangulation, to come to some tenable solution between Islam and Christianity, emphasizes the Moriscos' sense of connectedness not only to their religion, but to the land that they and their ancestors had inhabited for centuries.

Works Cited

Ibn Abi Dhiaf, Ahmad. *Present aux hommes de notre temps: Chronique des rois de Tunis et du Pacte fondamental*. Translated by André Raymond, Tunis, Alif, 1990.

Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno*. Translated by Mark Musa, U of Indiana P, 1971.

Angelov, Dimiter and Michael Saxby. *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the 43 Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*. Routledge, 2010.

Ibn ʿArabi, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibnʿArabī al-Ḥātimī aṭ-Ṭāʾī al-Andalusi al-Mursi al-Dimashqi. *Kitāb futûhât al-makkiyyah*. Vol. 2, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-ʻArabīyah al-Kubrā, 1911.

Aranda Doncel, Juan. "Estructura de la población morisca en tres parroquias sevillanas: San Julián, San Román, y Santa Lucía." *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba de Ciencias, Bella Artes, y Nobles Artes*, Auntamiento de Valencia, 1876, pp. 77-84.

Arellano, Ignacio. *Loca Ficta: los espacios de la maravilla en la Edad Media y el Siglo de Oro*. Iberoamericana, 2003.

Arellano, Ignacio and Dominique Reyre, eds. *El mundo maravilloso de los autos de Calderón*. Estudios de Literatura 107. Calderón: Autos sacramentales completos 62. Reichenberger, 2007.

Asín Palacios, Miguel. *Abnházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*. Real Academia de la Historia, 1929.

Bamford, Heather. *Cultures of the Fragment: Uses of the Iberian Manuscript, 1100-1600*. U Toronto P, 2018.

Barrios Aguilera, Manuel, and Mercedes García-Arenal, editors. *Los Plomos del Sacromonte: Invención y tesoro*. U València P, 2006.

Barrucand, M. "Les fonctions de l'image dans la société islamique du Moyen-âge." *L'image dans le monde arabe*, edited by Gilbert Baugé and Jean-François Clément, CNRS Éditions, pp. 59-67.

Beaumont, Daniel. "Hard-Boiled: Narrative Discourse in Early Muslim Traditions." *Studia Islamica*, no. 83, 1996, pp. 5-31.

Bennett, Clinton. *In Search of Muhammad*. Cassell, 1999.

Bernabé Pons, Luis Francisco. "Islamic Anti-Christian Polemics in 16th Century Spain: The Lead Books of Granada and the *Gospel of Branabas*. Beyond the limits of *taḥrīf*." *The Character of Christian-Muslim Encounter*, edited by Douglas Pratt, Jon Hoover, John Davies and John Chesworth, Brill, 2015.

---.. "L'écrivain morisque hispano-tunisien Ibrahim Taybili (Introduction à une Littérature Morisque en Tunisie)." *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire: offerts à Slimane Mustapha Zbiss*, Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine, 2001.

Bernolz, Peter. "Money in History Based on Precious Metals." *Mining, Money and Markets in the Early Modern Atlantic*, edited by Renate Pieper, Claudia de Lozanne Jefferies, and Markus Denzel, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 19-28.

Biow, Douglas. *Mirabile Dictu: Representations of the Marvelous in Medieval and Renaissance Epic*. U. of Michigan P., 1996.

Black, Antony. *The History of Islamic Political Thought*. Edinburgh, UP, 2011.

Blau, Joshua. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic; a Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*. Oxford UP, 1965.

Bobzin, Hartmut. "Observaciones sobre Juan Andrés y su libro *Confusion dela secta mahomatica* (Valencia 1515)." *Vitae Mahmeti*, edited by Ferrero and De la Cruz, pp. 209-22.

Bosworth, C.E. "aṭ-Ṭabarī." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, Brill, accessed 16 Jan. 2021.

Buhl, F. "Taḥrīf" Encyclopedia of Islam, 1st edition, Brill, accessed 17 Jul. 2021.

Bulliet, Richard W. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. Harvard UP, 1979.

Cardaillac, Louis. *Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979.

Calasso, Giovanna. "Alla ricerca di *dār al-islām*: Una ricognizione nei testi di giuristi e tradizionisti, lessicografi, geograi e viaggiartori." *Rivista degli studi orientali*, vol 83, 2010, pp. 271-296.

---. "Constructing and Deconstructing the *dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb* Opposition." *Dār al-islām / dār al-ḥarb: Territories, People, Identities*, edited by Giovanna Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni, Brill, 2017.

Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. "Apuntes sobre el calificativo 'morisco' y algunos textos que lo ilustran." *Averroes dialogado y otros momentos literarios y sociales de la interacción cristiano-musulmana en España e Italia*, edited by André Stoll, Reichenberger, 1998, pp. 187-210.

---. *Los moriscos y Ginés Pérez de Hita*. Ediciones Bellaterra, 2006.

Castillo Fernández, Javier. *Entre Granada y el Magreb. Vida y obra del cronista Luis de Mármol Carvajal (1524–1600)*. Universidad de Granada, 2016.

Chachia, Houssem Eddine. "La instalación de los moriscos en el Magreb: entre el relato oficial y el relato morisco." *Actas del II congreso internacional de descendientes de andalucíes moriscos*, edited by Enrique Pérez Cañamares, Ayuntamiento de Ojós, 2015, pp. 125-42.

---. "The Moment of Choice: The Moriscos on the Border of Christianity and Islam." *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, edited by Claire Norton, Routledge 2017, pp. 129-54.

Chejne, Anwar. *Islam and the West: The Moriscos*. State U of New York P, 1983.

---. "Ibn Hazm of Cordoba on Logic." *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. 104, iss. 1, 1984, pp. 57-72.

Chew, Samuel C. *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance*. Octagon Books, 1974.

Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos (Ms. 4953 de la Bibl. Nac. Madrid). Edited by Ottmar Heygi, Gredos, 1981.

Cirot, George. "La maurophilie littéraire en Espagne au XVI siècle." *Bulletin Hispanique*, vol. 44, no. 2-4, 1942, pp. 96-102.

Collantes de Terán Sánchez, Antonio. "Contribución al estudio de los esclavos en la Sevilla medieval." *Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, edited by Luis Núñez Contreras, Universidad de Sevilla, vol. 2, 1979, pp. 109-21.

Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. "An Arabic Missing Link to Aljamiado Literature: Muslim

Gatherings (*Majālis*) and the Circulation of Andalusī and Mashriqī Writings among the Mudejars and the Moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Royal Library of El Escorial, Madrid)." *Al-Qantara*, vol., 2020, pp. 95-147.

---. *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Christian Iberia*. Brill, 2018.

Cook, Karoline P. *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2016.

Corriente Córdoba, Federico. *Relatos pios y profanos del mauscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón: edición, notas lingüísticas e índices de un manuscrito mudéjar-morisco*. Institución Fernando el Católico, 1990.

Cortés Alonso, Vicenta. *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos, 1479-1516*. Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1964.

Crone, Patricia. "The First-Century Concept of *Hiğra*. *Arabica*, vol.41, no. 3, 1994, pp. 352-87.

---. *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*. Cambridge UP, 1987.

Dadson, Trevor. *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*. Tamesis, 2014.

---. "The Assimilation of Spain's Moriscos: Fiction or Reality?" *Journal of Levantine Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, Winter 2011, pp. 11-30.

Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West*. Oxford UP, 1960.

Dassbach, Elma *La comedia hagiográfica del Siglo de Oro: Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca*. Peter Lang, 1997.

Daston, Lorraine. “Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe.”

Critical Inquiry, vol. 18, issue 1, 1991, pp. 93–124.

De Bunes Ibarra, Miguel Ángel. *La imagen de los musulmanes y del Norte de Africa en España de los siglos XVI y XVII: Los caracteres de una hostilidad*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989.

Décolbert, Christian. *Le mendiant et le combattant*. Seuil, 1991.

Déroche, Vincent. *Etudes sur Léontios de Néapolis*. Uppsala UP, 1995.

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. "Esclavidtud en Castilla durante la edad moderna." *Estudios de Historia Social de España*, vol. 2, 1952.

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio and Bernard Vincent. *Historia de los moriscos: Vida y tragedia de una minoría*. Alianza Editorial, 1985.

Donaldson, Dwight. "Salman the Persian." *The Muslim World*, vol. 19, 1929, pp. 338-52.

Dubost, Francis. *Aspects fantastiques de la littérature narrative médiévale (XIIème – XIIIème siècles)*. Editions Slatkine, 1991.

Echevarría, Ana. *The Fortress of Faith. The Attitude towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain*. Brill, 1999.

Ecker, Heather L. "«Piedras Árabes»: Rodrigo Caro y su traducción de las incripciones árabes de Sevilla." Barrios Aguilera and García-Arenal, pp. 335-84.

Ehlers, Benjamin. *Between Christians and Moriscos Juan de Ribera and religious reform in Valencia, 1568-1614*. Johns Hopkins UP, 2006.

Elliot, John. *Spain and Its World: 1500-1700*. Yale UP, 1989.

de Epalza, Mikel. "Sidi Bulgayz, protector de los moriscos exiliados en Túnez (s. XVII). Nuevos documentos traducidos y estudiados." *Sharq al-Andalus*, vol 16-17, 1999-2002, pp. 145-76.

Franco Llopis, Borja. "Los moriscos y la Inquisición. Cuestiones artísticas." *Manuscrits*, vol. 28, 2010, pp. 87-101.

Franco Silva, Alfonso. *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media*. Diputación Provincial, 1979.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*. U of Pennsylvania P, 2009.

El Gafsi, Abdel-Hakim. "La médersa des moriscos andalous à Tunis." *Sharq al-Andalus*, vol. 5, 1988, pp. 169-80.

Al-Gafsi, Al-Muntasir. *Nur al-armeach fi manaqib*. Tunis, Alatika, 1998.

Galmés de Fuentes, Álvaro. *Glosario de voces aljamiado-moriscas.* Universidad de Oviedo, Biblioteca Árabo-Románica, 1994.

---. *Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (Legado Pascual de Gayangos*. Real Academia de la Historia, 1998.

Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captives Tale*. Vanderbilt UP, 2002.

García Fuentes, José María. *La Inquisición en Granada en el siglo XVI.* Departamento de Historia de la Universidad de Granada, 1981.

García-Arenal, Mercedes. *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado Sacromonte*. U Granada P, 2008.

---. "La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos." *Memoria de los Moriscos: Escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, edited by Alfredo Mateos Paramio and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010, pp. 57-71.

---. *Los moriscos*. Editora nacional, 1975.

---. "Ríos y caminos moriscos: El islam tardío español." *Revista de libros de la Fundación Caja Madrid*, no. 134, Feb 2008, pp. 10-15.

---. "De la autoría morisca a la antigüedad sagrada de Granada, rescatada al Islam." Barrios Aguilera and García-Arenal, pp. 557-84.

---. "Religious Dissent and Minorities: The Morisco Age." *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 81, no. 4, 2009, pp. 888-920.

---. *Inquisición y moriscos: Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca*. Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1983.

García-Arenal, Mercedes and Katarzyna K. Starcwzewska. "'The Law of Abraham the Catholic': Juan Gabriel as Qur'ān Translator for Martín de Figuerola and Egidio da Viterbo." *Al-Qanṭara*, vol. 35, 2014, pp. 409-59.

García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Weigers, editors. *Interreligious Encounters in Polemics between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*. Brill, 2018.

---. *Los moriscos*. Editora Nacional, 1975.

García Bernal, José Jaime. *El fasto público en la España de los Austrias*. Universidad de Sevilla, 2006.

Gaudeul, J. M. and Robert Caspar. "Textes de la Tradition musulmane concernant le tahrîf (falsification) des Ecritures." *Islamochristiana*, no. 6, 1980, pp. 61-104.

Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Yale UP, 1968.

Giles, Ryan. *Inscribed Power: amulets and magic in early Spanish literature*. U Toronto P, 2017.

Goldziher, I. *Muslim Studies*. Translated by S.M. Stern, Halle, 1890.

Gottheil, Richard and Hartwig Hirschfeld. "Ka'b al-Aḥbar." *Encyclopedia of Judaism*, Brill, accessed 2 Nov. 2020.

Gramlich, Richard. *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des islamischen Heiligenwunders*. Steiner, 1986.

Granja, Agustín de la. "Comedias del Siglo de Oro censuradas por la Inquisición." *La cultural clásica y su evolución a través de la Edad Media*. U Córdoba P, 2014, pp. 93-105.

Graullera Sanz, Vicente. *La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII*. Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Históricos, 1978.

Green-Mercado, Mayte. *Visions of Deliverance*. Cornell UP, 2019.

Guillen Robles, Francisco. *Leyendas moriscas sacadas de varios manuscritos existentes en las biblotecas Nacional, Real y de D.P. de Gayangos*. Vol. 1, Manuel Tello, Madrid, 1885.

Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. "The Corruption of Christianity: Salmān al-Fārisī's Quest as a Paradigmatic Model." *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, 1999, pp. 115-126.

Haldon, John F. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*. Cambridge UP, 1997.

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

ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. *Musnad*. Edited by Samīr Ṭāhā al-Majdhūb et al, vol 5, al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1993.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain 1500-1614*. U of Chicago P, 2005.

---. "Textes de littérature religieuse des Moriscos tunisiens." *Étudessur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, edited by Mikel de Epalza and Ramón Petit, Direction general de relaciones culturales, 1973.

---. *The Literary Culture of the Moriscos 1492-1609: A study based on the extant manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1958.

al-Hilâlī, Taqī-ud-Din and Muhsin Khân, translators. King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Quran, Riyadh, 1999.

Ibn Hishām, ʿAbdu'l-Malik. *The Life of Muhammad*. Translated by A. Guillaume, Oxford UP, 1955.

Horowitz, Josuf. "Salmān al-Farisī." *Der Islam*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 178-83.

Irwin, Robert. Introduction, *Tales of the Marvelous and News of the Strange*, edited by Malcolm Cameron Lyons. Penguin Classics, 2014.

Jónsson, Mar. "The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609-1614: the destruction of an Islamic periphery." *Journal of Global History*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 195-212.

Kaegi, Walter Emil. *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*. Cambridge UP, 1992.

Kahteran, Nevad. "Hanif." *The Quran: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Oliver Leaman, Routledge, 2006.

Kaldellis, Anthony. "How to usurp the throne in Byzantium: The role of public opinion in sedition and rebellion." *Power and Subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the 43 Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010*, edited by Dimiter Angelov and Michael Saxby, Routledge, 2010.

Kamen, Henry. "Vicissitudes of a World Power, 1500-1700." *Spain—A History*, edited by Raymond Carr, Oxford UP, 2000.

ibn Kaṯhīr, Abū al-Fidā' 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl. *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad*. Translated by Trevor Le Gassick, vol. 1, Garnet, 1998.

Kimmel, Seth. *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain*. U Chicago P, 2015.

---. "Local Turks: Print Culture and Maurophilia in Early Modern Spain." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2012, pp. 21-38.

Krueger, Derek. *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and The Late Antique City*. U of California P, 1996.

Kyrrēs, Kōnstantinos. *History of Cyprus*. Lampousa Publications, 1996.

Laato, Antti, editor. *Understanding the Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in the Three Abrahamic Traditions: A Religious, Historical, and Theological overview*. Brill, vol. 6, 2019.

Labarta, Ana. "Contratos matrimoniales entre moriscos valencianos." *Al-Qantara*, vol. 4, 1983, pp. 57-87.

Langland, William. *Piers Plowmand: a new translation of the B-Text*. Translated by A.V.C. Schmidt, Oxford UP, 1992.

Lapeyre, Henri. *Geografía de la España morisca*. Universitat de València, 2011.

Lazarillo de Tormes. Edited by Francisco Rico, Catedra, 1987.

Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava. "Some Neglected Aspects of Medieval Muslim Polemics against Christianity." *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 89, no. 1, Jan. 1996, 61-84.

---. "Taḥrīf." Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edition, Brill, accessed 20 Oct. 2020.

Lea, Henry Charles. *The Moriscos of Spain*. Lea Brothers, 1901.

Lecker, Michael. "Ibn Isḥāq." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, Brill, accessed 10 Jan. 2021.

Lee, Christina H. *Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain*. Manchester UP, 2016.

Leirvick, Oddbørn. *Images of Jesus Christ in Islam*. 2nd edition, Bloomsbury, 2010.

Lewis, Bernard. *Jews of Islam*. Princeton UP, 1984.

López-Baralt, Luce. *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España*. Editorial Trotta, 2009.

---. "Introducción." *Tratado de los dos caminos*, edited by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005, pp. 1-89.

---. "Un morisco ricote de carne y hueso nos habla de la angustia secreta de su exilio en berbería." *Studi Ispanici*, edited by Fabrizio Serra, 2007, pp. 73-88.

---. *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española*. Hiperión, 1985.

Lynch, John. *Spain Under the Habsburgs: Empire and absolutism, 1516-1598*. B. Blackwell, 1964.

Mami, Ridha. *El poeta morisco: de Rojas Zorrilla al autor secreto de una comedia sobre Mahoma*. Pigmalión, 2010.

Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *El problema morisco: desde otras laderas*. Ediciones Libertarias, 1998.

Martín Casares, Aurelia. *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: Género, raza, y religión*. Universidad de Granada, 2000.

Martinez, François. *La Permanence morisque en Espagne après 1609 (Discours et Réalités)*. Doctoral thesis, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1997.

Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, Nuria. *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas*. Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2010.

Martínez Gázquez, José. "Finalidad de la primera traducción latino del Corán." *Musulmanes y cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII*, edited by Miquel Barceló and José Martínez Gázquez, Bellaterra, 2005.

Matar, Nabil. *Europe through Arab Eyes. 1578-1727*. Columbia UP, 2009.

Menaldi, Veronica. *Love, Magic, and Control in Premodern Iberian Literature*. Routledge, 2021.

Meri, Josef, ed. *Medieval Islamic Civilization*. Vol. 1, Routledge, 2006.

Meyerson, Mark. *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Ferdinand and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*. U of California, Berkeley P, 1991.

Miller, Kathryn. *Guardians of Islam*. Columbia UP, 2008.

Montaner Frutos, Alberto. "El auge de la literature aljamiada en Aragón." *II Curso sobre Lengua y Literatura en Aragón (Siglos de Oro)*, edited by Aurora Egido Martínez, Tomás Buesa Oliver, José María Enguita Utrilla, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1993, pp. 31-62.

Montgomery, Scott. *Science in Translation*. U of C Press, 2000.

Morrison, Robert R. *Lope de Vega and the Comedia de Santos*. Peter Lang, 2000.

Nagel, Tilman. *Die Qiṣaṣ al-anbiya' ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*.

Narváez Córdoba, María Teresa. "Estudio preliminar." *Tafsira*, Mancebo de Arévalo, Trotta, 2003.

---. "Writing Without Borders: Textual Hybridity in the Works of the Mancebo de Arévalo." *Medieval encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim culture in confluence and dialogue*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2006, pp. 487-97.

---. Mitificación de Andalucía como "nueva Israel": el capítulo 'Kaída del-Andaluzziyya' del manucrito aljamiado la "Tafçira", del Mancebo de Arévalo." *Nueva revista de filología hispánica*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1981, pp 143-67.

Nawas, John A. "A Profile of the *Mawālī ʿUlamā'*." *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, edited by Monique Bernards and John A. Nawas, Brill, 2005, pp. 454-80.

Newby, G.D. "Tafsir Isra'iliyyat." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 47, 1979, pp. 685-97.

Noth, Albrecht. *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*. Translated by Michael Bonner, 2nd ed., The Darwin Press, 1994.

Nuñez Muley, Francisco. *Memorial en defensa de las costumbres moriscas*, edited by Vincent Barletta. U of Chicago P, 2007.

Nykel, A.R. *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*. Macon, 1929.

O'Halley, Meaghan. *Placing Islam: Alternative Visions of the Morisco Expulsion and Spanish Muslim Christian Relations in the Sixteenth Century*. Doctoral thesis, Duke UP, 2013.

Oliver Asín, Jaime. "Un morisco tunecino admirador de Lope: Estudios del Ms. S.2 de la Colección Gayangos." *Al-Andalus*, vol. 1, 1933, pp. 409-50.

Onians, John. "'I wonder...' A Short History of Amazment." *Sight and Insight: Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of E.H. Gombrich at 85,* edited by John Onians.

Oaidon Press, 1994, pp. 11-33.

Ortega Robles, Juan. *Las comedias moriscas de Lope de Vega: Estudio sobre un subgénero de las comedias historiales*. Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2018.

Osstrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Rutgers UP, 1969.

Park, Katharine and Lorraine Daston. "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England." *Past and Present*, vol. 92, 1981, pp. 20–54.

Pearlmann, Moshe. "A Legendary Story of Kaʿb al-Aḥbar's Conversion to Islam," *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology*. Converence on Jewish Relations, 1953, pp. 85-99.

---. "Another K'ab al-Aḥbār Story." *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1954, pp. 48-58.

Pearce, Sara J. "*Extemporizing a translation of the Arabic into Castilian: Translation and the raciolinguistic logic of medieval Iberia*." *The Routledge Hispanic Studies Companion to Medieval Iberia: Unity in Diversity*, edited by E. Michael Gerli and Ryan D. Giles, Routledge, 2021, pp. 457-74.

Pereda Espeso, Felipe. *Las imágenes de la discordia. Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del 400*. Marciel Pons Historia, 2007.

---. "*Vox Populi*: Carnal Blood, Spiritual Milk, and the Debate Surrounding the Immaculate Conception, ca. 1600." García-Arenal and Weigers, pp. 286-334.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *The Handless Maiden*. Princeton UP, 2005.

---. "Morisco Stories and the Complexities of Resistance and Assimilation." *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, edited by Kevin Ingram, vol. 2, Brill, 2012.

Phillips, William D. *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. U of Pennsylvania P., 1990.

Platt, Peter. *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*. U. of Delaware P., 1999.

Al-Qazwini, Zakariya. □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ *Creation and Wondrous Things of Existence)*. Mustafa al- Babi al-Halabi and Sons, Cairo, 1966.

Popa, Catalina-Stefan. "Two Daughters Competing for Christ." Antti Laato, pp. 161-71.

Quinn, Mary B. *The Moor and the Novel*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Rabghūzī, Nosiruddin Burhonuddin. *The Stories of the Prophets* Qisas al-anbiya'*: and Eastern Turkish version*, edited by H.E. Boeschoten and J. O'Kane, Brill, 2015.

Raven, Wim. "Biography of the Prophet." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, Brill, accessed 10 Jan. 2021

Reddy, William. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge UP, 2001.

Remensnyder, Amy. "Beyond Muslim and Christian: The Moriscos' Marian Scriptures." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2011, pp. 545-76.

Renard, John. *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood*. U of California P, 2008.

Reynolds, Gabriel Said. "On Qur'anic Accusation of Scriptural Falsification (taḥrīf) and Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 130, no. 2, April-June 2010, pp. 189-202.

Ribera y Tarragó, Julián. *La esneñanza entre los musulmanes españoles. Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*. La comercial, 1925.

Ribera y Tarragó, Julián and Miguel Asín. *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la biblioteca de la junta*. Junta para Ampliación de Estudios é Investigaciones Científicas, 1912.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Time and Narrative*. Translated by Denis Savage, Yale UP, 1970.

---. *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action, and Interpretation*. Cambridge UP, 1981.

Roggema, Barbara. *The Legend of Sergius Baḥira: Eastern Christian apologetics and apocalyptic in response to Islam*. Brill, 2009.

Rowe, Erin Kathleen. *Disrupting the Republic: Santiago, Teresa de Jesús, and the Battle for the Soul of Spain, 1617-1630.* Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2005.

---. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and plural identities in early modern Spain*. Pennsylvania State UP, 2011.

Rosenthal, Franz. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Brill, 1970.

Rubin, Uri. "Ḥanīf." *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Brill, 2006, 402.

---. "Hanifiyya and Ka'ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of Din

Ibrahim." *Jeruslaem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 13, 1990, pp. 85-112.

Ibn Saʿd Manīʿ al-Baṣrī al-Hāshimī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad. *Kitāb aṭ-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Pakistan Historical Society, 1967.

---. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. Edited by Eduard Sachau, et al., 9 vols. Brill, 1908.

Saeed, Abdullah. "The Charge of Distortion of Jewish and Christian Scriptures." *The Muslim World*, vol. 92, 2002, pp. 419-36.

Savant, Sarah Bowen. *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran*. Cambridge UP, 2013.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich. *Brief Outline of Theology as a Field of Study*. Translated by Terrence N. Tice, 3rd ed., John Knox Press, 2011.

Schoeler, Gregor. *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*. W. de Gruyter, 1996.

Sieber, Diane E. "El monstruo en su laberinto: cristianos en las Alpujarras de *Amara después de la muerte*." *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Castilia, 2000, pp. 740-746.

Solà-Solé, Josep and Monserrat. "Los Mahomas de Rojas Zorrilla." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1972, 3-18. Soyer, Françoise. "Public Baptism of Muslims in Early Modern Spain: Forging Communal Identity through Collective Emotional Display." *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 39, no. 4 2015, pp. 506-523.

Starczewska, Katarzyna. "Apologetic Glosses—Venues for Encounters: Annotations on Abraham in the Latin Translations of the Qur'ān." *Interreligious Encounters in Polemics between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Weigers, Brill, 2018, pp. 252-85.

---. *Latin Translations of the Qur'ān (1518/1621) commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015.

Stroumsa, Sarah. "On Jewish Intellectuals Who Converted in the Early Middle Ages." *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society and Identity*, edited by Daniel Frank, Brill, 1995.

Szpiech, Ryan. *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic*. U Pennsylvania P, 2013.

---. "Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of 'Juan Andres.'" *La Corónica*, vol. 41.1, 2012, pp. 317-43.

al-Tabārī, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. الطبقات الكبرى. Brill, 1903.

Teipen, Alfons. "Salmān al-Farisī." *Holy People of the World: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia*, volume 1, edited by Phyllis G. Jestice, ABC-CLIO, 2004.

Tolan, John. *The Faces of Muhammad: Western perceptions of the prophet of Islam from the Middle Ages to today*. Princeton UP, 2019.

Tottoli, Roberto. *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature*. Routledge, 2002.

Tratado de los dos caminos por un morisco refugiado en Túnez. Edited by Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Luce López-Baralt, and Juan Carlos Amieva, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2005.

Tuellar, James. *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*. UP of the South, 2002.

Twakkal, Abd Alfatah. *Kaʿb al-Ahbar and the Isrā'iliyyāt*. MA thesis, McGill U, 2007.

Utomo, Bambang Ruseno. *The Concept of Taḥrīf in the Qur'an and Early Muslim Writers up to Al-Ghazali*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Urquízar-Herrera, Antonio. *Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negociations*. Oxford UP, 2017.

Valencia, Pedro de. 1606 *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain). Manuscript no. 8888.

Valero Cuadra, Pino. "La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona," *Sharq al-Andalus*, vol 12, 1995, pp. 349-366.

Van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd. "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Medieval Christian Spain: Some Supplementary Notes." *Fest gabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, edited by Martin Forstner, Peter Lang, vol. 2, 1991, pp. 811-23.

Viguera, María Jesús. "Introduccíon." *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón*, edited by Federico Corriente Córdoba, Institución Fernando el Católico, pp. 7-15.

---. "Los manuscritos árabes en España: su historia y la historia." *Discurso de ingreso en la Real Academia de la Historia de la Excma. Sra. Dª María Jesús Viguera Molins, leído el 28 de febreo de 2016, y contestación a cargo del Excmo. Sr. D. Serafín Fanjul García*, Real Academia de la Historia, 2016.

Vincent, Bernard. *El río morisco*. U Valencia P, 2006.

---. "Las mujeres moriscas." *Historias de las mujeres en occidente*, edited by Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, 3:585-595, Taurus, 1992.

Voight, Lisa. "Imperial Celebrations, Local Triumphs: The Rhetoric of Festival Accounts in the Portuguese Empire." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 11, issue 1, 2011, pp. 17-41.

Walker Bynum, Caroline. "Wonder." *American Historical Review*, February, pp. 1-26, 1997.

Watt, Montgomery. " Khandaḳ." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, Brill, accessed 20 Jan. 2021.

Weber, Edgard. "La ville de cuivre, une ville d'al-Andalus." *Sharq al-Andalus* 6, pp. 43-81, 1989.

Wensinck, A.J. *Ka'ba*. Encyclopedia of Islam Online, 3rd ed., 2012, <http://dx.doi.org.ezp3.lib.umn.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0401>. Accessed 4 Oct. 2020.

Wiegers, Gerard. *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado Yça of Segovia (Fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors.* Brill, 1994.

---. *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Ahmad b. Kasim al-Andalusi and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*. Leiden, Documentatie-bureau Islam-Christendom, 1988.

---. "The Expulsion of 1609-1614 and the Polemical Writings of the Moriscos Living in the Diaspora." *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, Brill, 2013.

---. "Introduction." *Nāsir al-Dīn 'ala Qawm al-Kafirīn*, translated by Gerard Wiegers, Brill, 2016.

---. "Managing Disaster: Networks of the Moriscos and the Process of the Expulsion f rom the Iberian Peninsula around 1609." *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2010, pp. 141-168.

Williams, Jillian. *Food and Religious Identity*. Routledge, 2017.

Ximénez, Francisco. *Discurso de Túnez*. Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 9/6013.

Appendix

Transliteration of Kaʿab al-Aḫbar conversion found in the Real Academia de Historia MS 11/9393 *olim* S-1, ff. 93r-99v

93r

Alhadiç de ca@bul Ajbar

de quando se bolbio muçlim y porque

causa ~

En el nombre de Allah Piadoso de piedad

93v

Recuentase por jodafe que

estando Omar ibn al Jattab apague

se Allah del sentado ala mezquida del an

nabi Muhamed ç@m. Veos que den

tro sobrel un hombre de largo çerui

gal. I de anchas espaldas. I dixo

açalema @leycum ye los de la nubara

Y fuente y mena de la mensageria

qual de vosotros es lugar tiniente del

mensagero de Allah. el capitan rey

de los criyentes. dixeronle ellos Omar

ybn al Jattab apaquese Allah del. Y

lebantose a el @bdulhi ybna @

bez y dixole asientate ya hombre
en este lugar que el que esta asentado
delante deta es el rey de los creyen
tes. Omar Ybnul Jattab la ora le

94r

bantose Omar Ybnul Jattab. y dixole
açalam @aley que y por bentura
eres tú Ca@bul Ajbar aquel que
me hizo a saber de tu benida el annabi
Muhamed, ç@m. dixo Ca@bu si
yo soy aquel que tu diçes ye Omar
apaguese Allah de tu, dixo a el Omar
demandote por el dereytaje de
aquel que te a puesto en voluntad
de hacerte muçlim que tu no hagas
a saber que esta causa. dixole ye
Omar yo estube encasa de un Judio
de muy grande saber sirviendo lo
y yo leya el ataura con el y aprendi
de su çiençia y miré y parce mientres
en el ataura y halle en el diez
versos que no lo podia entender ni

94v

comprehender por que estaban encu
biertos y de fechos y asi no sabia yo
su fecho dellos. Y servílo quatro años
y era el hombre muy viejo de grande
tiempo. Pues quando vino el tiempo
que estaba para morir. Me tome a su
cabeça y dixole y a sabes que te e
servido quatro anos. todo lo bien que
e podido servirte. y dixome es ber-
dad pues veamos en todo este viejo
e te demandado ningun luguero
ni soldada ni ningun menester di-
xome no debe Allah por ello buen
gualardon. dixele la ora pues que
en todos estos quatro años no te deman
dado ninguna cosa Ruegole agora
por el paso en que estas que me hagas un

95r

plaçer. y me digas la verdade lo que
te demandace dixo di lo que es ya Ca@bu.

Dixele e leydo en el ataura alea des
pues de alea. Y lo e decorado todo Alhar
fe despues de Alharfe y açattra des
pues de açattra. Que no me e olvidado
del ninguna cosa y e hallado en el
diez versos y e los leydo en elbrayco
y no les puedo hallar ninguna declaraçion
en @rabigo. Pues Ruegote por Allah en
que me los declares. Y la ora tremolo(?) y
demudosele la color. Y dixo as me de
mandado por cosa que no te la declara
ré por que yo e miedo que si te lo declaro
que te bolveras muçlim y te perderas
empues quando yo sere muerto y
vas a tal sabio por que el es mucho más

95v

grande sabio que no yo. Y murio maldigalo
Allah. Después fueme al sabio que me dixo
y servilo diez años pues quando vino
a la ora de su morir. Dixele las mesmas
palabras que dixo al otro. Y dixome
buinte(?) las declarare mas e miedo que te

pereras si te las declaro por que tu te
fornaras muçlim. Lasta dixel yo
defiendome con Allah de haserlo tal. Pues
la ora sacóme el ataura y dixome
Jura en el y Jure en el su Juramento
de no haserlo. Y quando ya hube jurado
dixome ya Ca@bu. **Aquato el**
verso primero pues leylo en el
ataura y declarelo en arabigo. y halle
su declaracion en el alcoran. y diçe
en el nombre de Allah piadoso de piedad ~

96r

Y castigo con el Ibrahim a su hijo ya
Ca@b. Ye hijos a escogido a vosotros
el adin pues no murais sino muçlimes.
Aquanto el verso segundo dixome
ye Ca@bu. leylo en el ataura en he
brayco. y halle su declaraçion en
@rabigo. y leylo en el alcoran. lo
que dixo ya @cob quando a la
muerte que dixo a su hijo. a quien
sercuras y adoraras despues que yo se a

muerto. dixo servire y adorara
a tu señor y al señor de su padre
Ibrahim y de Içmael y de
Içhac. Señor Uno y nos a el
somos. El Veso terçero dixo
leylo en el ataura en hebrayco y de-
clarelo en @rabigo. y e visto su declara
çion

96v

raçion en el alcoran. donde dize
no fue Ybrahim Judio ni christiano
mas empero era muçlim y no fue de los
descreyentes. Y **el Verso quarto**
dixo leylo en el ataura en ~~@rabigo~~ hebraico
y declarelo en @rabigo. y halle su de-
claraçion en el alcoran donde
dize ya fueras del adin de Allah que
es el aliçlem lo dician ya el se
de su inclieron los que son en los çielos
y en la tierra por grado. y por
fuerça y a el abeis de tormar
y el **Verso Cinqueno** dixo leylo

en el ataura en ebrayco y decla
relo en @rabigo y vi su declaraçion
en el alcoran donde diçe y quien
codiçia (?) adin fuera del aliçlem

97r

por adin pues no sera Reçibido del
y el sera en el otro mundo de los per-
didos. Y el **Verso Seyno** dixo leylo
en el ataura en ebrayco y declarelo
en@rabigo. y bi su declaraçion en el
alcoran donde diçe ye aquellos que
sois creyentes temed ad Allah y no
nacrais sino muçlimes. y el **Verso**
Setemo Leylo en el ataura en ebrayco
y declarelo en @rabigo y bi su decla
raçion en el alcoran donde diçe
dí ye Muhamed Ami y a me a
guido mi Señor a camino recto
y Verdadero Al adin frime monte ni
fle. y esta regla de Ibrahim
puro y no fue de los descreyentes di
ye Muhamed que mi aççala y mi

97v

servitud y mi vivir y mi morír es

ad Allah. Señor de todas las cosas que no ay

aparçonero a el y con aquello me es

mandado y yo soy el primero de los

muçlimes y el **Verso Ochemo** dixo

leylo en el ataura en ebrayco y decla

relo en @rabigo y bi su declaraçion

en el alcoran a donde dize el dia de

oy cumpire a vosotros el adin y da

re cumplimiento @ vosotros del

aliçlem por adin ~ y el **Verso**

Nobeno dixo leylo en el ataura

en ebrayco y declarelo en @rabigo

y vi su declaraçion en el alcoran

donde dize y no puse entre vosotros

en el adin ninguno falta el qual

98r

fue regla de nuestro(?) padre Ibrahim assi

lo nombre A los muçlimes deates de

vosotros. Y el **Verso Deçeno** ~

no me lo queria declarar y roguele
mucho quemelo declarase y dixome
ya Ca@bu yo e miedo de tu que te
fornaras del adin de Muhamed. Y
dixele yo que tal no haria. Y dixo
me pues Jura en el ataura otra
Vez y juré como el me dixo. Y ento
çes escribio en la tierra y dixome
ye Ca@bu leelo. y leylo que ha-
bia esripto. pues vi que deçia
la ilah ila Allah. Muhamede ra
çulullah. Dixo Omar ybnul Ja
ttab apaguev Allah de él pues quien
morira sobrello y el dira ley ylahe

98v

yla Allah Muhammede raçulullah
dentrara en el aljanna ~ dixo
Ca@bul Ajbar al judio pues ye
mala on. [honrada], por que raçon no as fecho
ni hazes lo que dicen estos diez versos
y por que causa los as encubierto y as
permutado sus semblaulas y aquello.

y no me respondio y traecosele la cobre

y alpunto le dixe yo hago testigo

que no ay señor sino Allah i que Muha

med es mesajero de Allah. Y luego

como me oyó el Judio lo que yo dixe

veos que se lanço en la tierra y se

rebuleaba como bestia y se daba

golpes en su persona de pesar y sos

piro y murio maldigo Allah. y lue

go me vine para aca para

99r

hacerme muçlim. y esta fue la

causa de ser yo muçlim ye rey

de los creyentes ~ y las loores son

ad Allah, señor de todas las cosas.