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The refugee discourse of the Moriscos

Petitioning and diplomacy after the expulsion decree of 1609¹

Gerard Wieggers

Within the general theme of this volume on the emerging early modern refugee phenomenon in cross-cultural perspective, this chapter will deal with Morisco refugees expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614.² Moriscos were Muslims in the Spanish kingdoms who, under various degrees of duress, were converted to Christianity between 1499 and 1526; the term also includes their descendants who continued to live in Spain until the expulsion of 1609–14 and, in small numbers, even after 1614, mostly as Christians but some, especially in Granada, as crypto-Muslims. While they lived in Spain the Moriscos were the subject of a long public debate (especially after the forced migration of the Granadan Moriscos to Castile in 1570). They numbered about 280,000 persons around 1609. Spanish authors at first referred to them as *nuevos convertidos de moros* (New Christians, or converts of Moorish origin), and it is not until the second half of the sixteenth century that the term ‘Morisco’ became current in the specific historical sense. ‘Morisco’ is also applied to refugees after their arrival in North Africa and other Islamic lands, where they almost always resumed Islamic life, and retained for a long time – in some areas in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco even until today – a distinct social and ethnic identity. In Arabic sources these people were described collectively as *Andalus* (*sic*), individuals often as Andalusian (*Andalusī*).³

In the history of the displacement of Muslims from Iberian soil as religious refugees we can distinguish several phases and conditions. The first phase was marked by Muslim refugees who fled their Muslim lands when these were conquered by the Christians. In that phase, refugees consisted of two categories. First of all, there are those who directly immigrated to Islamic lands when their territories were conquered by the Christians. This movement became manifest in the Iberian Peninsula in about the eleventh century with the fall of such cities as Toledo in 1085 CE. In the conceptual terminology of Islamic law and ethics, these fugitives performed the emigration (Ar. *hijra*) to the abode of Islam (Ar. *dār al-islām*), something which in Islamic law was qualified as religiously laudable behaviour, and which many religious scholars even

saw as a duty. This partly explains why many considered their migration to North Africa as a divine grace, a liberation and a return 'home' from exile.⁴

The performance of this duty was modelled indirectly on the prophet Muhammad's immigration to Medina (Ar. *hijra*) in the face of the mounting opposition of the Quraysh in Mecca, and on the model of those who would migrate to the Muslim community in Medina after the Prophet had migrated there. This phase continued up to the fall of Granada in 1492, when the last part of *dār al-islām* on Iberian soil ceased to exist, and ended with the conquest of Granada and the end of the last political Muslim stronghold. From that moment onwards, emigrants from Iberia were people who had lived as Muslims under Christian rule.

This second category of Muslim emigrants, that is, those who fled after having lived under Christian rule, had existed already before the conquest of Granada. These religious 'migrants' were in addition often called in Arabic sources written in Muslim-majority countries *mudajjanūn* (Mudejars, Sp. *mudéjares*), from the Arabic *al-dajn* (treatise), referring to the treatises that these groups had concluded with the Christian conquerors when their territories or cities had been conquered in exchange for privileges such as the freedom to practice their religion. The Arabic word has a pejorative connotation referring to the fact that these persons had willingly accepted non-Muslim authority and rule. We find Mudejars in many places in Aragon and Castile since the eleventh century as well.⁵

A next phase of migrations started when all Muslims who lived in Spain had been converted under duress and those who remained were crypto-Muslims, the aforesaid Moriscos. These forced conversions occurred between 1499 and 1526. Then, after the revolt of the Alpujarras, all Granadan Moriscos were exiled to Castile. This affected around about 84,000 persons. Crypto-Islam became a general concern of the Spanish authorities from that moment onwards.

The last phase, finally, started with the aforesaid expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. In this last phase, from the announcement of the expulsion of the Moriscos in Valencia in 1609 to the end of the expulsion process in 1614, the Moriscos were expelled in stages. Some communities were directly transported via the Spanish ports in the south and ports in the Levante to North Africa; others crossed to the South of France, and went – sometimes via Italy (where some of them settled) – to the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Algeria and especially Tunis. Many were deported directly to the Moroccan coast.

Rumours about the imminent expulsion led Moriscos in various parts of Spain to start migrating clandestinely even before 1609. Some Moriscos were able to evade expulsion (viz. those who succeeded in arguing that they had lived as Christians or had had special privileges), and a very small number of Moriscos secretly returned to the Peninsula.

Even though some attention has been devoted to the migration routes, settlement and integration of the Moriscos and their social, cultural and political life in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, studies of how the refugees constructed their identities as religious refugees vis-à-vis the authorities in other countries, and their petitions to them hoping to be accepted and offering their willingness to be useful to them, are rare. In her valuable comparative study of refugee protection in Europe in the

early modern period, Susanne Lachenicht does not deal with Moriscos, even though she mentions them briefly.⁶ This is not to say that such efforts were non-existent or that studies devoted to them are absent. Several studies show that Mudejars and Moriscos approached authorities outside Spain in order to negotiate a future settlement. We are reasonably well informed about their migration routes. However, a study dedicated to their self-presentations and to the contents of the petitions they offered to those authorities whom they hoped to persuade to help or accept them as refugees does not yet exist.

In reviewing the extant evidence about such processes, we can say that there seem to be three types of negotiation processes. The first type is a negotiation of Iberian Muslims (Mudejars or Moriscos) to settle in Muslim territory. Famously, the Tunisian Dey, 'Uthmān, allowed the Moriscos to settle in Tunis after their expulsion in about 1610. However, processes of settlement were not always preceded by negotiations. The city of Cherchell in Morocco, for example, had been depopulated until it was populated and rebuilt by Granadans who had left their city in about 1492, and they apparently did not need any explicit permission to do so.⁷

The second type was that of negotiations with foreign rulers about military help to Muslims in Spain, suggesting that those rulers raid and invade Spanish territories, often arguing that they, the Moriscos, would assist them, often also offering the help of Iberian Muslims who had already settled in those territories. Such contacts occurred during the War of the Alpujarras (1568–71) but also during the reign of the Moroccan sultan Zaydān (1608–27), when contacts between the sultan and Moriscos led to alliances between him and Moriscos in his armies as well as Moriscos still in Spain.⁸ While these negotiations are reflected in archival documents, Morisco writings offer insight into these contacts as well. In addition, Moriscos petitioned European powers, either to help them revolt against the Spanish authorities (as we will see below) or to negotiate a settlement. According to Bruno Pomara, they were successful in their negotiations with several powers in Italy. After an initially favourable response, the French authorities did not allow them to settle as Muslim migrants, and only a few remained in France. Most Moriscos settled in Morocco, and especially in Tunis.⁹ Let us now turn to their extant petitions and examine which ones shed light on their identities as refugees, focusing in particular on one document as a case study that has not been examined in detail before.

Morisco petitioning

On 15 September 1612, almost three years after the first expulsion edict was made public, a Morisco whose identity remains unknown delivered a petition (Sp. *memorial*) in the presence of the vizir at the sultan's palace in Istanbul. In it he gave historical and political arguments for the accommodation of his people in the Ottoman Empire, in particular in the regency of Tunis.

He was not the first Morisco to have been in contact with the Ottomans. There had been contacts between Granada and the Ottomans from the Middle Ages onwards and Moriscos had settled in Istanbul during the second half of the sixteenth century,

especially after the repression of the revolt of the Alpujarras in about 1571.¹⁰ In Istanbul, Moriscos settled in Galata, the part of the city where Jews and Christians also lived, where they became a visible, influential and vocal minority, as appears from recent studies by Tijana Krstić.¹¹ The Moriscos in Galata were at times strongly anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish, as she shows.

The state of preservation of the source deserves a brief comment. The only version that has survived is found among the Castilian state documents in the Archive of Simancas. As the accompanying correspondence tells us, the Spanish succeeded in intercepting the Ottoman envoy, a *çavuş*, who was on his way to deliver documents to Moriscos in Tunis. The original document was brought to the knowledge of the Duke of Osuna, viceroy of Sicily and Naples in Palermo, who in turn brought a summary in Spanish to the attention of the State Council merely as evidence, he says in his accompanying note, of 'how right His Majesty [Philip III] had been to expel these people'.¹²

This *memorial*, which, as we have just seen, is only partially rendered in summary – the original, the author says, was much longer – provides an interesting case of a discourse by the emerging Diasporic Morisco community to the Ottoman sultan which presents a refugee vocabulary in a political, legal and religious argumentation. It has not yet been the subject of a separate study.¹³ Luis Bernabé Pons briefly refers to it at the end of an important article on the cohesion of the Diasporic Morisco communities but does not offer a detailed analysis.¹⁴ Tijana Krstić does not mention it in her studies on Moriscos in Istanbul.

As we will see, in addition to being a valuable source for a political refugee discourse in its own right (albeit not in its complete and original form), it is not an isolated text, since Moriscos are known to have offered memoranda and petitions to political authorities before, starting in the early sixteenth century.¹⁵ In 1567, famously, Francisco Núñez Muley, an elderly Granadan nobleman who in his youth had been a page in the household of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera, voiced the Morisco protest against a number of imminent measures against the Moriscos in the Kingdom of Granada.¹⁶ These measures were aimed at prohibiting the wearing of the *almalafa* by Morisco women, the use of baths and even the use of written and spoken Arabic. His protest was in vain. The Granadan Moriscos revolted, and a bloody and cruel civil war followed. Several years later, shortly before the expulsion, a Morisco from Segorbe, Hamete Musrif, presented a *memorial* to the French Protestant King Henry IV on behalf of the Moriscos of Valencia, to which I will return below.¹⁷

These *memoriales*, thus, were presented under different conditions, and their authors aimed for different goals. Francisco Núñez Muley, warning against the consequences of the assimilation measures, including the prohibition of Arabic, presented his people as loyal and faithful Arabic-speaking Christians. Musrif offered the Protestant French king his fellow Moriscos as allies in a military campaign against Spain. This proposed alliance was part of a larger diplomatic effort to attract attention to the Morisco cause among Christian and Muslim rulers. In 1612–13, for example, the Morisco Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī travelled from Marrakesh to France in order to recover goods allegedly mstolen by French ships from Moriscos. From France he went on to the Netherlands. In both countries he discussed the vicissitudes of the Morisco refugees,

and in The Hague he also suggested a possible alliance between the Dutch Republic, the Ottomans, the Moroccans and the Moriscos with the aim of invading Spain. For all their differences, the Republic and the Moriscos were united in their war against Habsburg Spain. Al-Ḥajarī told the Dutch Stadholder and army leader Maurice of Nassau that he saw the permission of the Ottomans and Moroccans to the Moriscos as conditional to Maurice's possible involvement in such a military enterprise, and handed over a coded letter to him, apparently for those rulers.¹⁸ These meetings took place in 1612 as well. In an indirect way, the travelogue in which al-Ḥajarī discusses these matters sheds an interesting light on the ways in which the Moriscos defended their case. So far, no research has been done into the litigation in France. Al-Ḥajarī tells us in his travelogue that he was successful in retrieving money, but does not go into the details.¹⁹

The *memorial* addressed to the sultan reveals in more detail the agency of the Moriscos in forging a humanitarian network in the Diaspora. It also deals with the significance of these refugees in initiating charity networks, promoting an international culture of empathy and sympathy, and influencing domestic and foreign policy. The focus of this chapter is the Ottoman Empire, though I will also discuss European migration and diplomatic efforts in the Mediterranean area and analyse how the protection and accommodation of displaced minorities interacted with the ambitions of the Ottoman Empire to expand and solidify its territories, in Europe and beyond. In my analysis below, I will draw on recent studies to put this chapter into this context. I will first describe and analyse the structure of the discourse, then analyse its historical social and political background, and finally address its significance for the emerging Morisco refugee discourse.

Main characteristics of the 1612 *memorial*

The *memorial* is structured as follows: it begins with a detailed historical account, taking its readers back to the conquest of 'Spain' by focusing on the Muslim ruler it calls 'Miramolin Yacob Almançor' and his conquests, 800 years before, which means in about 800 CE (we will see that the document is quite keen on mentioning crucial dates). I will return to this element later, but let me briefly add here that, as we will see further, this historical introduction is not unique, and I will give a tentative explanation for this below.

'Miramolin Yacob Almançor' had been able very rapidly to conquer Spain, so that for the Christians only a small piece of territory remained. Then the *memorial* goes on to discuss the wars between 'Moors' (*moros*) and Christians (*christianos*) that took place in Spain for hundreds of years, until they ended with the rendition of the Alcázar of Granada (probably the Qasba of the Alhambra is meant – the name is strange, as if the author were not familiar with the local situation). That surrender could occur because of what is presented as 'treason.' Moreover, the Granadans had rendered the Qasba to the Castilian conquerors on the condition that the Muslims (*moros*) would be allowed to profess the faith of the Prophet. However, the Christians broke their word 'after two years' (i.e. in 1494) and later converted all Muslims in

Spain by force. The next phase is the repression and burning of those who continued to adhere to their religion internally; that had to happen by force, since Islam is the true religion.

This led to the revolt in the 'mountains', that is, the Alpujarras. Again, a precise year is mentioned, namely forty-three years earlier, and the rebels had raised a Muslim flag (*lebantaron bandera de moros*), implying that they had publicly returned to the status quo ante, that of an independent Muslim-majority political entity, calling on the Ottoman Sultan Selim for help. Selim, however, had been busy with other military campaigns, and was unable to help them. Indeed, no outside force had come to their aid, and they lost the war. The consequence, the author tells us, was that they were dispersed and exiled (Sp. *desterrar*) to other parts of Spain. This is a reference to the dispersal (*repartimiento*) of the Granadan Moriscos throughout Castile in 1571.

The repression continued until the moment that the Spanish authorities realized that the Muslims would never truly convert to Christianity and would always remain faithful in their hearts to the 'true religion'. It was then that, according to the author, the authorities had decided to expel them. This occurred in 1609, as the document mentions.

Indeed, as we have seen, the first edict (*bando*) of expulsion was made public in September 1609. The anonymous *memorial* spells out its conditions: the fact that very few belongings could be taken abroad, the dramatic circumstances under which the expelled were transported, killed and robbed on their way, and the robberies upon arrival, especially when they arrived in Barbary, i.e. the North African coasts, by Bedouins. These atrocities have continued, the author states, up to the day the memorandum was presented.

In contrast, the Dey and the Diwan in Tunis helped the migrants, who were mostly poor and needy. The Morisco intermediary asks the Ottoman sultan to continue that policy of offering Moriscos shelter and help in Tunis, if possible under even more favourable conditions, arguing that doing so will be not only morally good, but even advantageous for the sultan. Here the author mentions the military advantages of having such motivated people, bent on revenge, in the militias. The author reminds his audience again about the prophecies about the conquest of Europe.

Analysis of the refugee discourse in the *memorial*

The general historical argument presented here is that even though a war had been going on in Spain, it was the Muslim party that acted justly and kept its word, while the Christian Spaniards should not be believed and act treacherously and unjustly. It is also interesting to observe that the theatre is limited to Spain as a geographical entity/unity. No mention is made of conquest beyond the Iberian territories, for example, in the South of France. Religion plays a role in this discourse, but it is closely connected to a legal discourse and to the prophecies mentioned at the end (see below). The most important element in this argument is the conclusion of a treaty with the Granadan Muslims in 1492.

Indeed, that treaty officially guaranteed the freedom to practice Islam, including by those who had converted to Islam, the so-called *elches*. Several authors have pointed out that indeed, under the influence and by direct intervention of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, the clause about respecting the freedom of those inhabitants who had converted to Islam in Islamic times was not respected, and violence was used against them to force them to reconvert to Christianity. This led to a revolt in 1501 in the Muslim quarter of Granada, the Albaicín, which spread to the Alpujarras and was put down by military force. Massive conversions followed, while more Muslims took the opportunity to immigrate to Islamic territories. In February 1502, the Mudejars of Castile (which included Granada) were offered the choice between conversion, immigration or death. In their international diplomatic efforts in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire to justify these events, the Catholic Monarchs had argued that the rebellion had nullified the capitulations and that the forced conversion was justified.²⁰

Interestingly, the historical source on which the author relies for his general picture is a pseudo-historical one, called the *Historia Verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*, written by the Morisco translator and physician Miguel Luna and published in 1598, as has been observed by Luis Bernabé Pons. Luna presented his work as his own translation from an Arabic manuscript extant in King Philip's own library, that of El Escorial. This work, very soon suspected by contemporary Spanish authors to be a forgery, became quite popular in several editions and European translations.²¹ Miramolin (Commander of the Faithful) Yaccob Almançor, the conqueror mentioned above, cannot be the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manşūr (reigned 580–95/1184–99), for that caliph was victorious against the Castilians in the battle of Alarcos in 1195, so in fact much later, while Luna's hero lived, according to him, very early in Islamic history. This fits '800 years ago' (even though today we date the hijra earlier than here). The author of the *memorial* even quotes directly from the *Verdadera Historia*.²²

Is this use coincidental, and could the author also have used other historical sources? Perhaps this is the case, but is remarkable that Hamete Musrif in his memorial to Henry IV mentions data characteristic of the *Verdadera Historia* as well, and also does so in an introductory passage of the French published version.²³ We will return to this below. A second interesting element in the discourse of our Morisco is that the fall of Granada is presented as the result of 'treason', which makes it an interesting parallel with the treason story about Don Rodrigo in Luna's *Verdadera Historia*. In this telling it is not the superiority of the Christian armies, but internal strife, that leads to the downfall of Nasrid Granada and the loss of Al-Andalus.

The general line of argument of the discourse from that moment onwards is that the Spanish authorities have treated the Moriscos unjustly. This results in an image of the Moriscos as a persecuted group. This image serves the goal of arousing the sympathy of the Ottoman sultan. The killings and the cruel reception on the Moroccan coasts contrast with the welcoming attitude of the Deys of Tunis, whose regency formed part of the Ottoman empire. On the basis of this analysis, we may conclude that the perspective of this memorial is very likely that of the Granadan Moriscos, including those Granadans who had lived in their Diaspora in Castile. It also focuses attention on the help the Moriscos requested from Sultan Selim around the time of the revolt of the Alpujarras, studied recently by Tijana Krstić. Krstić has indeed shown that, around the

years of the civil war in the Alpujarras, a Granadan intermediary, Ibraim Granatino, visited Istanbul various times to promote the Morisco cause. However, the Ottomans had preferred to concentrate their military efforts on Cyprus and refrained from interfering in the revolt.²⁴ From this we may perhaps conclude that the Morisco author was well informed about the history of the Moriscos in Granada, possibly by other Moriscos who belonged to the same circles as he did. It is interesting to observe that the memorial used the concept of exile (*desterrar*) to frame the expulsion to Castile around 1571. So, the perspective here is that of a group of exiled Granadan Moriscos who, as part of a much larger group of Morisco refugees, saw themselves as having in the past always treated others justly, but were themselves faced with utter injustice and cruelty.

The author hopes to redress this injustice by a better integration into Tunisian society, but indirectly also by providing the Ottoman sultan with a new military force that may help him in the war against Spain. Here he points to the existence of prophecies about a future conquest of Europe (*las profecías y conquistas de Europa*) that might offer a supernatural confirmation that invasion might be a successful policy for the Ottoman sultan to follow. Indeed, we know that such prophecies existed, and as Cornell Fleischer has shown, they played an important role in the sultan's decisions. Fleischer shows how Ottoman eschatological prophecies (Ar. *jafr*, Sp. *jofor*) were influenced by works of mystic and esoteric learning ('Iettrism'), referring to such scholars as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī. The Ottomans kept books of history and prophecy in the palace in the Privy Chamber.²⁵ Also historically relevant is the fact that the author points to the positive attitude of the Dey, whose name was 'Uthmān, and especially of the Sufi leader Abu 'l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh, who offered the needy and poor Moriscos upon their arrival a stay and shelter in his lodge (*zāwiya*). 'Uthmān's successor Yūsuf Dey had later revoked some of these privileges, and our author seems to be trying to interfere in these Tunisian politics by appealing to the Ottoman sultan to solidify the favourable policies and even reinforce them.²⁶

Humanitarian diplomacy and diplomatic networks

The use of Luna's *Verdadera Historia* in both memorials might indicate that its wider argument was attractive to the Morisco refugees who wanted to present the Morisco minority as loyal and reliable subjects, apparently in spite of the fact that Luna's work at the time was already rumoured to be a forgery. It was also becoming very popular inside and outside Spain, and so it may have been well known, unlike other histories of Muslim Spain. We may perhaps speculate whether the need for a political legitimation of the interests of Moriscos to the world outside Spain may even have motivated Luna to write the *Verdadera Historia*. Further study of the wider dynamics of the diplomatic efforts of the Moriscos during and after the expulsion is needed.

The activities of these networks before and after the expulsion have been studied in the last few years by a number of scholars.²⁷ From these studies emerges a network of wealthy and influential Moriscos, some well-educated (a number of medical doctors and official Arabic translators) based in Granada and New Castile (where one of the Morisco intellectual centres, the town of Pastrana, is located). Official, licensed Arabic translators

and medical doctors such as Alonso del Castillo and his son; Miguel de Luna and his son Alonso de Luna, the translator and merchant; Lorenzo Hernández del Chapiz and his grandson; the medical doctor Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Āṣī; the royal secretary Diego Calvo Navarro (a.k.a. Yūsuf al-Qalbu),²⁸ and the aforesaid translator Diego Bejarano, a.k.a. Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, all seemed to belong to that circle. Al-Ḥajarī, who was born in Hornachos (Extremadura) in about 1570, became royal interpreter at the court of the Moroccan sultan Mawḷāy Zaydān, travelled to France in 1612 to recover goods stolen from Moriscos on board French ships by French sailors, and in about 1637 migrated to Testour and Tunis, by that time 'the best place for the Moriscos', as he writes in his account. All these persons belonging to the Granadan Diaspora elite were in contact with each other in the early seventeenth century in Spain and beyond, in various parts of the Mediterranean area, in Tunis, Morocco, Algiers, Istanbul and Cairo, forming what may be called a transnational, humanitarian-diplomatic network.

An important source for the study of these networks is a letter written by Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, which was later translated in Tunis into Spanish and circulated among them. During his aforesaid mission to France, al-Ḥajarī had written this letter on 12 May 1612 from Paris; he directed it to fellow Moriscos in Constantinople to inform them about his current situation. Let me note that this letter was written a few months before our anonymous Morisco presented his memorandum, namely on 15 September.²⁹ A number of elements in the letter are also found in the memorial: for example, it mentions the robberies of Moriscos on board French ships and also the Bedouins as a plague for Moriscos who arrived on Moroccan shores.³⁰ While much is still not yet clear about the network, we can say that Miguel Luna was active as a translator in Granada, and with Alonso del Castillo responsible for much translation work in the Sacromonte Lead Book affair and for spreading an Islamic polemical message among other Moriscos in the networks.³¹ After the expulsion, contacts continued between these Moriscos on the one hand and between them and several political authorities on the other, with promotion of the interests of the diasporic community as a principal object. The contacts with Ottomans in Istanbul and active diplomatic actions were the concern of the aforesaid Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Āṣī,³² who was also one of the addressees of Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī's letter. Other addressees were: the Morisco sharīf, diplomat and author Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥī,³³ a man who had gone to Constantinople and from there to Tunis, very likely taking al-Ḥajarī's letter with him, and Luis de Valdivia, who is also mentioned in other Morisco documents of this period which are preserved in the Archive of Simancas.³⁴ Another member of this network was very likely a man called Luis de Zapata, who became the shaikh of the Andalusians in Tunis.³⁵ The letter was later translated into Spanish in Tunis, probably by the author himself, on the initiative of and paid for by a rich Morisco from Aragon, Mohamed Rubio, at the request of older Moriscos who were unable to read Arabic.³⁶

Shifting perspectives

The comparison of the 1612 *memorial* with the (translated) *memorial* presented by Musrif in 1602 shows that the focus of the latter differed significantly. While the 1612

version aimed for social integration of Morisco communities, Musrif's bellicose text argued in favour of a joint invasion of Valencia-Spain by Moriscos and the armies of the Protestant Henry IV. The perspective was also broader and included all Moriscos in Spain, not just the Granadan community, as is the case in the *memorial* of 1612. In the 1602 text the common polemics between Protestants and Muslims against (Spanish) Roman Catholicism are played out. Hence, the offer is aimed at France's invading Spain and staying there, rather than leaving it, as its main perspective. Yet the discourse of the defence of Muslim ethics and politics and the unreliability of the Spanish authorities in dealing with the Mudejars and Moriscos is the same. What Musrif's memorial of 1602 and the memorial presented in September 1612 also have in common is their reference to prophecies and to Luna's *Historia*. These may point to communications between different Morisco groups about a common message to foreign rulers.

When we compare the two *memoriales* with the *memorial* presented by Don Francisco Núñez Muley in 1567, we can see that, while Núñez Muley presents the Granadan Moriscos as loyal Arabic Christians, the two later memorials present them in a dramatically different way. This is again an indication of religious diversity among Moriscos, which we know really existed – many were Muslim, but others had truly converted. Of course, we have to take into account that the first *memorial* was presented in 1567 and the others in 1602 and 1612: things had changed a lot in the intervening years.

In order to further contextualize the *memoriales* we discuss here, and in particular that of 1612, we must take into account that the latter's strong apologetic tone is a response to the many attempts of the Spanish State to justify its Morisco policies. The edict of expulsion of 22 September 1609, was published not only in Spanish but also in various translations.³⁷ The final decision to expel all of the approximately 300,000 persons known to be descendants of Moriscos was taken in 1609 by the Spanish authorities, and was justified on grounds of state interest (*crimen de lesa patria*), viz. alleged Morisco conspiracies with foreign (Muslim and Protestant) powers. In the official propaganda, King Philip III was pictured as the Christian sovereign who had finally purged Spain of all its heretics. It immediately proved to be a very controversial measure.³⁸ Small wonder, then, that those seeking the help of possible host countries or military allies in the face of this measure sought to contradict the allegation of illegitimate rebellion and of being morally despicable. It is such an apology that we find in our memorial of 1612, since it justifies Morisco resistance on the basis of a rights discourse and on religion.³⁹

Conclusion

Petitions and *memoriales* presented by Moriscos after their expulsion from Spain shed important light on the developing discourse and shifting self-images of one of the largest refugee communities of early modern Europe. They also illuminate how public diplomacy and informal lobbying guided these processes of identityformation of a European refugee group that has been less studied than other early modern refugees so far. The original *memorial* of 15 September 1612, discussed here on the basis

of a unique summary preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas, was presented to the Ottoman authorities three years after the beginning of the expulsion, and still two years before the process ended, is perhaps the best example of how (predominantly) Granadan Moriscos presented themselves as *refugees*, offering their assistance to the Ottomans and asking for a favourable immigration policy in the Regency in Tunis in return. The author of the memorial uses a historical argument in order to present the Granadan Moriscos as loyal Muslim subjects of the Spanish kings, but subjects whose rights have been infringed upon time and again by them. They have been persecuted, tried by the Inquisition and burned at the stake because of their beliefs. Then, after their revolt against these unjust measures, they had to go into exile in Castile, and subsequently were expelled. The anonymous Morisco author uses Miguel de Luna's *Verdadera Historia* to support his discourse and to propagate the Islamic ethical values which the alleged unique Arabic historical source embodies: tolerance towards minorities, a balanced style of governing and fairness. While the 1612 memorial is anonymous, I have argued that it can very likely be situated in the circles of the Morisco elite from Granada and Castile who maintained contacts in the Diaspora and tried to promote their cause and that of their fellow Moriscos. These Moriscos were probably using this discourse most successfully in relation to the Ottoman powers, and in particular in Tunis, where cities such as Testour, founded by immigrating Moriscos, became a 'new Granada'. Thus, the memorandum sheds light on an important phase in the lives of these religious exiles.

Appendix: Transcript of Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Leg. 1166, fol. 105–6 and English translation⁴⁰

[Contemporary summary]

Palermo A su Mad. 1613. El Duque de Osuna a 20 de dexbre. Respuesta a 5 de hebrero 1614].

Que despues que despachó el correo de 28 de nouiembre llego alli el chاوز del Turco que entonçes auiso que ha tenido mas nuevas de las que scribio sino confirmacion de los prevençiones que haze el turco amenaçando aquel Repu[blica], el qual va poniendo tan en orden que quando vaxe sobre el no reçiuiरा daño. Embia copia de un memorial que dio un morisco en Constantinopla al Turco el qual lleuaua el chاوز a otro que se hallan en Tunez. Y apunta quan açertada ha sido la espulsion desta gente.

[The letter by the Duke of Osuna which accompanies the document reads as follows]:

Al Rey *nuestro* Señor En manos de Antonio de Aroztegui, su secretario de Estado

Señor

Despues de la partida del correo que despache a V.Md. a 28 del pasado ha llegado aqui el chاوز de quien no he sauido mas nuevas ni las he tenido sino de la confirmacion

de las que di cuenta entonces a V. Md., de armar el Turco contra este reyno, y assi le voy preuiniendo de manera que quando sea çierta su venida se haga el seruiçio de V.Md. y sin que V.Md. se aya de poner en cuidado ni tenerle de mandar prouer gente ni dinero como mas en particular dare quenta a V.Md. con el primer correo que despachare.

La copia de la carta que va con esta, de un morisco de Costantinopla que traya el chaus, para otro de Tunez, embio solo a fin de que V.Md. pueda mandar ver, lo que cada día la esperiencia muestra de quan acertada resoluçion fue el hauer mandado V.Md. hechar esta gente de España. Dios guarde la Catolica persona de V.Md. como la xpianidad ha menester. De Palermo a 20 de diziembre de 1613. El Duque de Osuna.

Parte del memorial que di en 15 de setiembre de 1612 al biçir en el duar⁴¹ de su Magestad.⁴²

Illustrisimo y exçelentissimo señor: ya le constara a Vuestra Alteza como aora 800 años el Rey miramolin⁴³ Yacob Almançor y alifa⁴⁴ embio contra España sus capitanes y gente y la gano en termino de ocho meses eçepto unas montañas agras adonde se retiraron huidos los christianos en donde yendose rehaciendo y no teniendo socorro los moros setecientos años mantuuieron guerra con ellos hasta que aora 100 años, conuençidos por una traición, entró el Rey de España en el Alçaçar de Granada, que hera la fortaleça de aquel Reyno y la ciudad, biendo perdida su fuerça y que no podia recobrarla se dio apartido con condiçion que les dejasen biuir en la ley de nuestro santo profeta y que no les harian fuerça ni agrauio alguno.

Y despues de dos años les quebrantó esta condiçion y les esforçó a bautiçarse y reçiuir la ley de los christianos por fuerça con pena de muerte y de quemallos biuos si de alli adelante ellos y sus deççendientes no fuesen christianos. Y como esto fue de por fuerça y *nuestra santa ley* es la uerdadera, siempre en lo imtimo [sic] de los coraçones de *nuestros* passados estuuu firme, y todos ellos a sus hijos y herederos nos encargauan y enseñauan la ley de *nuestro santo profeta* y usauan y usabamos della aunque con las penas dichas de quemar al que cogian en hacto de oraçion de moro, y esta con grandissima siguridad sobre que han quemado mas de 20V personas, puestos en galeras y dado mil generos de tormentos crueles a infinitos. Y biendo esta aora 43 años se alçaron en el Reyno de Granada *nuestros antepassados* en parte de las montañas de aquella prouinçia y lebantaron bandera de moros, y enbiaron a pedir socorro a sultam⁴⁵ Selim, que Dios tenga en el çielo, y por estar entretenido en otras // guerras no les socorrio y mantuuieron dos años la guerra. A cabo de los quales, biendose apretados de los christianos y que no tenian socorro ni bastimentos ni en que pasarse a tierra de moros se dieron apartido. Y temiendo el Rey christiano de que no boluiesen a lebantarse los de aquel Reyno otra bez, porque le mataron infinita gente, los desterró de aquella prouincia y los mando repartir por todo su reyno y los mando quitar las armas y les apremio con pena de muerte a boluarse a reconçiliar por christianos.

Y aora tres años biendo el dicho rey de España, que en tanto tiempo no heran christianos y que no podia reducirlos a serlo de coraçon aunque hazia en ellos los castigos de fuego y los demas dichos sino que heran moros y que por no quebrantar su ley no bebian ni [co]mian cosa de las bedadas por *nuestro santo profeta* y que no aprobechaua hazer en ellos castigos, mando que todos los que auia en su Reyno que fuesen moros saliesen dél dentro de terminos breues con los bienes muebles que

tuuiesen y que las rayçes se quedasen para él y no los pudiesen bender de forma que los que tenian 4 de *hazienda* sacaron uno, y muchisimos nada. Y la mayor parte de los dichos moros [fueron]⁴⁶ a Tunez y Argel y costa de Berueria por estar çerca de España en cuyo viaje a perecido la mayor parte de los dichos moros a manos de los marineros christianos que les robauan y matauan. Y luego en las costas del mar de Berueria los alarbes, que por quitarles lo poco que les auia quedado, hizieron en mucha dellos muertes y latroçinios crueles. Forçaron mugeres y niños, y en los caminos hasta oy los matan, con que los coraçones desta pobre naçion estan aflixidos y pidiendo vengança a su *Magestad* y *Vuestra Alteza* de cuyas referidas calamidades y otras muchas que no digo todos. La mayor parte desta gente estan pobres y neçessitados, y temiendo consideraçion a algunas dellas en tiempo passado el baxa y Ozman day y el duan de Tunez conçedieron a los dichos moros Españoles que gozasen de las libertades que gozaua la gente de guerra de aquel Reyno por siete años, la qual *merçed* supplico a *Vuestra Exçelencia* les mande confirmar para siempre, pues en ello la *hazienda* de su *Magestad* no pierde nada y a ellos se les haga mucha *merçed* y limosna, y se mande al day y duan del dicho reyno reçiua en la milicia y pagas bacantes de todas suertes a los dichos moros y que no consientan que nadie les haga agrauio porque la gente de guerra haze y ha hecho infinitos a los dichos moros, cuyo remedio con los demas que tengo supplicando a *Vuestra Alteza* ordene en el inter que su Md. se determina a cumplir las profeçias y conquistas de Europa⁴⁷ cumplimiento a dos pliegos de papel refiriendo las riqueças, fuerças y comodidades, façilitandolas lo posible con offreçimiento de personas sin declarar cantidad por no ser fodoli⁴⁸ en mas de hazer bien, Dios lo encamine.

El dicho memorial por ser largo mando el biçir al Ruez Quetrof⁴⁹ lo tomase y guardase para leerlo en su casa despaçio y a mi el uno y el otro me mandó acudir a su casa. Estos dias todos a hecho grandes fiestas el biçir por hauer hecho cunet⁵⁰ a sus hijos con que hasta aora no ha tenido lugar de leerlo. E acudido a casa del Ruez Quetrof, y me ha dicho ben de mañana, *que* hemos menester hablar a solas. No se si quiere comer algo o si quiere desaminarme para satisfaçerse de lo escrito y dar *relaçion* a nuestro amo que puede quanto quiere, Dios lo encamine, y a mi me de graçia para que le sirua, supplicando a todos *Vuestras merçedes* los que oyeren el memorial lo encomienden a Dios y mi con vna fateha.⁵¹

[Contemporary summary, probably by a scribe of the Council of State]

Palermo. To His Majesty. 1613. The Duke of Osuna⁵² on December 20. [and, added in a later hand:] Reply [sent] on February 5, 1614.

After he [the Duke of Osuna] dispatched the courier of November 28, the Turk's *çavuş* arrived there. He then reported that he has had no more news than those he had written except for the confirmation of the preparations made by the Turk, threatening that Repu[blic], which he is arranging such that when he falls upon it he will receive no harm. He [the duke] sends a copy of a petition [*memorial*] that a Morisco in Constantinople gave to the Turk, which the *çavuş* was carrying to another [Morisco] who is in Tunis. And he points out how right it was to expel these people.

To the King, my Lord. In the hands of Antonio de Aroztegui, his secretary of [the] State [Council]⁵³

My Lord

After the departure of the courier whom I sent to Your Majesty on the 28th of last [month], the *çavuş*⁵⁴ has arrived here; from whom I have heard no further news, except for the confirmation of what I related to Your Majesty about arming the Turk against this kingdom. And therefore I am alerting you so that when his arrival is certain Your Majesty may be served, without Your Majesty's needing to be concerned, or having to supply him with people or money, as I will tell Your Majesty in more detail with the first courier I will send. The copy of the letter that accompanies this one, by a Morisco from Constantinople, which the *çavuş* brought with him for another [Morisco] from Tunis, I send only so that Your Majesty may see what experience proves to us every day: what a correct decision it was for Your Majesty to have ordered these people expelled from Spain. May God save the Catholic person of Your Majesty, as Christendom has need of you. From Palermo on December 20, 1613. [signed] The Duke of Osuna.

Part of the petition that I gave on September 15, 1612 to the vizir in the *duar*⁵⁵ of His Majesty.

Most illustrious and excellent sir:

Your Highness will already know that, 800 years ago now, the Commander of the Faithful⁵⁶ and Caliph Yaccob Almançor sent his captains and his people against Spain and conquered it in the space of eight months, except for some remote mountains⁵⁷ to which the Christians fled; where, as they slowly recovered and received no aid, the Moors continued to make war on them for seven hundred years; until 100 years ago now, when they were persuaded by an act of treason,⁵⁸ the King of Spain entered the Alcázar⁵⁹ of Granada, which was the fortress of that kingdom and the city.⁶⁰ Seeing that its [the city's] power was lost and could not be recovered, it yielded on the condition that they be allowed to live in the religion of our holy Prophet, and that they would not be forced or offended in any way.

And two years later he [the King of Spain] broke this condition, and forced them to be baptized and to receive the religion of the Christians by force, on pain of death and of being burned alive if from then on they and their descendants did not become Christians. And since this was done by force and our holy religion is the true one, it remained firm in the innermost hearts of our forefathers, and all of them passed on and taught to us their children and heirs the religion of our holy prophet, and they and we followed it, even with the aforesaid punishments of burning anyone whom they caught in the act of praying like a Moor. And in absolute truth they have burned more than twenty thousand persons, sent [others] to the galleys, and inflicted a thousand kinds of cruel tortures on an infinity of others. And seeing this, 43 years ago⁶¹ now our ancestors rose up in the Kingdom of Granada, in an area of the mountains of that province, and raised the banner of the Moors, and send to ask help from Sultan Selim⁶² (may God keep him in heaven); and, being involved in other wars, he did not help them, and they continued the war for two years.⁶³ At the end of which, seeing themselves pressed by the Christians and that they had no help or provisions or any way going to Moorish lands, they surrendered. And the Christian king,⁶⁴ fearing that those of that kingdom would rise up again (because they had killed great numbers of

his people), exiled them from that province and ordered them dispersed throughout his kingdom, and ordered them disarmed, and forced them on pain of death to be reconciled again as Christians.

And three years ago now, since the said king of Spain saw that in all that time they were [still] not Christians, and that he could not make them be so in their hearts, even though he punished them with fire and in the other ways described; rather, that they were Moors, and so as not to break their laws they would not drink or eat anything forbidden by our holy prophet, and that it was of no use to punish them; he decreed that all those in his kingdom who were Moors must leave it within a short time, with their moveable property – their real estate remained for him and they could not sell it, so that those who owned 4 shares could keep [only] one, and very many [kept] nothing. And most of those Moors [went] to Tunis and Algiers and the coast of Barbary, since those were close to Spain; in which journey most of those Moors perished at the hands of Christian sailors, who robbed them and killed them. And then on the seacoasts of Barbary the Bedouins,⁶⁵ in stealing from them the little they had left, inflicted many cruel deaths and robberies upon them. They forced women and children, and up until today they still kill them on the roads, so that the hearts of this poor nation are afflicted and crying for revenge to Your Majesty and Your Highness for these calamities and many others, for I have not related them all. Most of these people are poor and needy, and out of concern for some of them in the past the pasha and Ozman Dey and the diwan of Tunis allowed the said Spanish Moors to enjoy the privileges which the warriors⁶⁶ of that kingdom enjoyed for seven years, a grace which I implore Your Excellency to confirm for them forever. For in [doing] this Your Majesty's estate loses nothing and much mercy and charity is done to them, and let the Dey and the diwan of that kingdom receive those Moors into the militia and in every kind of vacant post; and let no one be permitted to injure them, for men of war make and have made infinite [injuries] against those Moors; for the relief of which, among many others, I implore Your Highness to order in the meantime that His Majesty resolve to fulfil the prophecies and conquests of Europe.

There are also two sheets of paper naming the wealth, forces, and equipment, making them available so far as possible and offering persons without naming the number, so as not to be a busybody in trying to do good, may God place him on the right path.

Since the petition was long, the vizir instructed the Rais Quetrof to take it and keep it to read at home at leisure, and both of them summoned me to his house.

In these days the vizir has held great feasts for the circumcisions of his sons, so that he has not yet had time to read it. I went to the home of the Rais Quetrof; he had told me to come early in the morning, for we needed to speak alone. I do not know if he wants to eat something, or if he wants to interrogate me to satisfy himself about the document and give an account to our master. He can do what he wishes (may God place him on the right path), and may He give me grace to serve him, imploring all of you who may hear this petition to commend him and me to God with a *fātiḥa*.

Notes

- 1 I thank Consuelo López Morillas very much for her critical reading, careful correction of and comments on the draft version of the present article, and for translating the document included in the appendix to this article into English. I also thank García-Arenal, Geert Janssen and David de Boer for their valuable comments on an earlier draft. I am grateful to Ana Struillou for allowing me to read her article on Morisco diplomacy in France before the expulsion before publication.
- 2 Nicolas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 108ff.
- 3 Gerard A. Wiegiers, 'Moriscos', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE, ed. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson. Consulted online on 22 December 2022, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_36525. The Arabic term *Muriskiyyūn* is a modern loan word.
- 4 G. A. Wiegiers, 'Moriscos in North Africa after the Expulsion from Spain in 1609 and their Discourse about Exile and Diaspora', in *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile*, ed. Y. Kaplan (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2017), 165–78.
- 5 See, for example, Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegiers, 'The Islamic Statute of the Mudejars in the Light of a New Source', *Al-Qanṭara* 17 (1996): 19–58.
- 6 Susanne Lachenicht, 'Refugees and Refugee Protection in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30, no. 2 (2016): 261–81; see on refugee agency and petitions 270–2.
- 7 Mercedes García-Arenal, 'The Moriscos in Morocco. From Granadan Emigration to Hornacheros in Salé', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain. A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegiers (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 295.
- 8 García-Arenal, 'The Moriscos in Morocco', 305; Hossain Bouzineb and Gerard Wiegiers, 'Tetuán y la expulsión de los moriscos', in *Titwān khilāl al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Tétouan: Université 'Abd al-Mālik al-Sa'dī, 1996), 73–108.
- 9 See on Morocco the aforesaid article by García-Arenal, 'The Moriscos in Morocco', and also Mohamed Razouk, *The Andalusians and their Migrations to Morocco during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Casablanca: Aaron & Babel, 2018).
- 10 Tijana Krstić, 'Moriscos in Ottoman Galata. 1609-1620s', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, ed. García-Arenal and Wiegiers, 272.
- 11 Ibid.; Tijana Krstić, 'The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s to 1630s', *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, nos. 2–3 (2015): 129–51.
- 12 Luis Bernabé Pons, 'Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España', *Al-Qanṭara* 39, no. 2 (2008): 332.
- 13 The document is extant in the Archive of Simancas, among the State papers of the Consejo de Estado, Legajo 1166, fol. 105–6. It is one among a series of documents that were published in the Spanish historical series *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* in the nineteenth century. The request to copy for the series it is still found on the document. It is included in the appendix.
- 14 Bernabé Pons, 'Notas sobre la cohesión', 332, and in the introduction to his facsimile edition of Miguel de Luna's *Verdadera Historia*, as we will see below. Bernabé bases

- himself on the version published in CODOIN; I will base myself below on the original documents in the Archivo General de Simancas.
- 15 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, 'An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court: Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background', *Al-Qanṭara* 20, no. 1 (1999): 161–89.
 - 16 Kenneth Garrad, 'The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley', *Atlante* 2, no. 4 (1954): 199–226.
 - 17 Studied by Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance. Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 223–6. A French translation of this memorial, on which Green-Mercado bases herself, was published in Jacques Nompars de Caumont, duc de la Force, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1843), I, 341–5. This is also the version consulted here. See on the original text and Morisco diplomacy in France before the expulsion: Ana Struillou, 'From Segorbe to Pau: Morisco Diplomacy in France Before the Expulsion' (forthcoming).
 - 18 Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, Arabic text, 227–8, English translation, 226–7.
 - 19 I do not know whether the court documents are still extant.
 - 20 In the passage above I make use of my article 'Moriscos' in EI3; see also L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45ff.
 - 21 See Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, 'Seeing Oneself through the Eyes of a Morisco: European Translations of Miguel de Luna's *Historia Verdadera del Rey d. Rodrigo*', in *Through your Eyes. Religious Alterity and the Early Modern Western Imagination*, ed. Giovanni Tarantino and Paola Wyss-Giacosa (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 67–102. Fernando Rodríguez Mediano does not mention the use of Luna's work in the Morisco petitions.
 - 22 Miguel de Luna, *Historia Verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, ed. Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, facsimile of 1603 ed. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 39.
 - 23 Green-Mercado, o.c. 226, thinks that the name mentioned in that source refers to the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, but, as we have seen, this cannot be correct.
 - 24 Krstić, 'The Elusive Intermediaries'; see also Wiegers, 'History and the Study of Religion. Prophecy, Imagination and Religion in the Granadan Lead Books, the works of Jacobus Palaeologus and of Nicholas of Cusa', *Journal of Religious History*, published online 1 December 2022.
 - 25 Cornell H. Fleischer, 'A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, published online 14 March 2018, 22, 23. See on *jofores* in Spain Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance*, 3–4, and *passim*.
 - 26 Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, 'The Moriscos in Tunisia', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain*, ed. García-Arenal and Wiegers, 365–9; on al-Qashshāsh see the hagiographic biography by al-Muntaṣir ibn al-Murābiṭ Abū Liḥya, *Nūr al-armāsh fī manāqib Abi 'l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh*, ed. Hussein Boujarra and Lotfi Aissa (Tunis: Al-maktaba al-'atīqa, 1998).
 - 27 Bernabé Pons, 'Notas sobre la cohesión'; Jorge Gil Herrera and Luis Bernabé Pons, 'The Moriscos Outside Spain: Routes and Financing', in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain*, ed. García-Arenal and Wiegers, 219–38; Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, ed. Sjoerd van Koningsveld, Qasim al-Samarrafi and Gerard Wiegers (Madrid: CSIC, 2015); William Childers, 'An Extensive Network

- of Morisco Merchants', in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*. II. *The Morisco Issue*, ed. Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 135–60; Enrique Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos. Pervivencias de la población de origen islámico en el reino de Granada (siglos XVII-XVIII)* (Valencia: Biblioteca de Estudios Moriscos, Universidades de Valencia, Zaragoza y Granada, 2014); Mercedes García-Arenal and Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, A Morisco of Toledo (1601-1603)* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).
- 28 See Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower: Granada 1588-1606. General Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation* (forthcoming).
- 29 Gerard Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Ahmad b. Kâsim al-Andalusî and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam Christendom, 1988), translation of the letter on 33–44.
- 30 The Bedouins in Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, 38; the French robbers and how the author received permission from the Moroccan sultan to go to France, *ibid.*, 39–41. The communication with Moriscos in Istanbul was achieved through French diplomats. Our author also expresses his gratitude to the French ambassador.
- 31 See on the Lead Books, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); van Koningsveld and Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower*.
- 32 See on him the recent study by Jaime Coullaut Cordero, 'Vida y obra de un médico morisco en el exilio: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-'Āṣ (ss. XVI-XVII)', *Al-Qanṭara* 40, no. 1 (2019): 73–102.
- 33 See Lotfi Aïssa, Mouhamed Aouini and Housseem Eddine Chachia, eds, *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥf': de Murcia a Túnez* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2017).
- 34 Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, Leg 627 (unfol.).
- 35 Bruno Pomara Saverino, *Refugiados. Los Moriscos e Italia* (Granada: Comares, 2022), 285–9.
- 36 Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance*, 33.
- 37 Gary K. Waite, 'Empathy for the Persecuted or Polemical Posturing? The 1609 Spanish Expulsion of the Moriscos as seen in English and Netherlandic Pamphlets', *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 95–123; Pomara, *Refugiados*, 34.
- 38 Wiegers, 'Moriscos', in EI3.
- 39 That these Moriscos were vividly interested in such themes can be seen from their interest (and possible involvement) in the Lead Books of Granada and in the forgery of the so-called *Gospel of Barnabas*, writings which, in different ways, cast doubt on the historical and religious foundations of Christianity and legitimise an Islamic reading of history. See on the Gospel of Barnabas and Morisco writings Gerard Wiegers, 'Muhammad as the Messiah: A Comparison of the Polemical Works of Juan Alonso with the *Gospel of Barnabas*', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52, no. 3/4 (April–June, 1995), 245–91.
- 40 The original spelling has been preserved. Footnotes the Spanish original documents are of a philological and linguistic nature. Historical remarks are found in the footnotes to the English translation.
- 41 Maybe meaning tent, see van Koningsveld and Wiegers, *The Lead Books*, 400, note 70.
- 42 Part of these documents were published in an uncritical way in CODOIN, vol. XLV, no. CCXI, 8–11.

- 43 Ar. *Amīr al-mu'minīn* (the commander of the faithful), a caliphal title.
- 44 Sic. Ar. *khalīfa* (caliph).
- 45 Sic. for sultan.
- 46 A verb is missing here.
- 47 The reading Europe is tentative.
- 48 A *fodolí* is a busybody.
- 49 I have not been able to identify this person.
- 50 Ar. *sunna*; here it refers to the circumcision ritual.
- 51 I.e. the recitation of the first sura of the Quran, *sūrat al-fātiḥa*, a pious ritual.
- 52 The third duke of Osuna, Pedro Tellez Girón (1575–1624), viceroy of Sicily and Naples.
- 53 Antonio de Aróstegui y Zazo (1566–1623), secretary of the Council of State.
- 54 Ottoman official and envoy. The Spanish *haschauz*. I use *çavuş* throughout.
- 55 The reading is tentative. MS duar.
- 56 A reference to the Arabic expression *amīr al-mu'minīn*, a caliphal title.
- 57 This is a literal quote of the expression used by Miguel de Luna, *VerdaderaHistoria*; see Bernabé Pons in Luna, *VerdaderaHistoria*, XLIX.
- 58 Perhaps a reference to discussions in the city about plans in some circles to render it to the Catholic kings, see: Alfred Bustani, ed., *Fragmento de la Épocasobrenoticias de los Reyes Nazaritas o Capitulación de Granada y emigración de los Andaluces a Mar rucos/Kitābnubdhat al-'aşrftakhbārmulūkbaniNaşr aw taslīm Gharnāṭawanuzūḥ al-andalusiyūnilā 'l-Maghrib*, trans. Carlos Quirós (Larache: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Árabe, 1940), Arabic text, 41, Spanish translation, 47.
- 59 A reference the fortress of the Alhambra palace.
- 60 The city of Granada.
- 61 I.e. 1569, the start of the Granadan civil war.
- 62 Selim II (974/1566-982/1574).
- 63 It is interesting to observe that the Morisco author wishes to excuse the Ottomans for not helping the Moriscos. See also above.
- 64 Philip II.
- 65 Bedouins, see also al-Ḥajarī, letter of 15 May 1612, in Wieggers, *A Learned Muslim Aquiantance*, 38.
- 66 Sp. *gente de Guerra*.