Images at the Crossroads:

Representing Christian-Muslim Encounters in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean

By

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For Mom, Dad, and Jose, with love

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INTRODUCTION

Images between Worlds in the Early Modern Mediterranean

In 1670 Gabriel Gómez de Losada wrote a treatise on Mediterranean captivity, including the capture and ransom of a coveted effigy of Christ that circulated among Muslims, Jews, and Christians in early modern Algiers. In his treatise, the captive image is, unexpectedly, desired and valued by members of diverse cultural and religious communities, and it is this image that brings these groups into contact with one another. Given the extraordinary significance that religious images acquired for many Catholics in early modern Spain, it comes as no surprise that the captive effigy of Christ becomes the protagonist in the final part of Gómez de Losada's text. What is surprising though, is how the captive image gains value for all those involved in its circulation—albeit for different motives—and how the presence of the image produces encounters between followers of various religious groups. This dissertation examines how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers, such as Gómez de Losada, represent Christian-Muslim encounters that center upon religious images, including those of Jesus and the Virgin Mary.

The close proximity and constant contact between Christians and Muslims during this time period, both in Spain and throughout the Mediterranean world, offered a whole gamut of possibilities for writers to portray relations between members of these diverse cultures. Dialogues and meetings between Moriscos and Old Christians, captives, slaves and corsairs, renegades, merchants, and redemptionist friars fill the pages of many Golden Age texts by celebrated authors like Cervantes and Lope de Vega.[1] What is often overlooked, however, is the

[1] For a summary of the vast array of Golden Age texts that include Islamic characters and related themes, see Albert Mas. In the case of Cervantes's oeuvre, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, among many others, has analyzed all of the principal scenes with Christian-Muslim encounters (*Moros, moriscos y turcos*). As regards Lope's works, Thomas

significant role that religious images play in many of these encounters. Countless narratives in a variety of genres and languages offer accounts of how important images were in the development of many Christian-Muslim confrontations and exchanges, and attest to how sacred icons also coexisted alongside adherents of these two religious communities while sharing the same space. In some texts, it is the very image that brings different individuals in contact with one another, as in Gómez de Losada's captivity treatise mentioned above. In other cases, fictional or non-fictional characters associate themselves with specific religious icons to mold and shape their identities; whereas other times the authors describe particular images that provoke the religious conversion of their protagonists. On occasion, sacred representations are purported to even allow certain individuals passage across geographic and cultural frontiers. For instance, according to one of the legends describing the life and adventures of Andrea Anfosso, he was taken captive after a crowd of "Turks" raided his village in northern Italy sometime near the end of the sixteenth century. After he is brought to the island of Lampedusa, he schemes a plan to escape which consists of building a boat and using a canvas painting with the Virgin, Child, and Saint Catherine as his sail (see figs. 1 and 2). The miraculous image transformed into his sailboat is what allows Andrea to cross over from captivity to freedom as he safely returns to his hometown in Castellaro, Italy (Arnaldi 12-19; 43-46). Verbal descriptions of religious images were undeniably incorporated into early modern literary and historical texts as authors sought to portray the intricacies of the relationships between Christians and Muslims. By focusing on the religious image as a point of contact between individuals of diverse cultural and religious groups, my study presents a new outlook of how Christian-Muslim relations were perceived and

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E. Case's *Lope and Islam* outlines the prolific playwright's many pieces that deal with relations between Christian and Muslim characters.

conveyed through writing. This fresh perspective enriches our understanding of interreligious and multicultural relationships in Spain and throughout the Mediterranean.

Fig. 1. *Nostra Signora di Lampedusa*
Castellaro (Italy), Santuario di Nostra Signora di Lampedusa

Fig. 2. *Andrea Anfosso's Escape with the Painting of the Virgin of Lampedusa*
Castellaro (Italy), Santuario di Nostra Signora di Lampedusa
Photo Credit: Davide Papalini / CC-BY-SA-2.5

While theorizing about images in his seminal book *What Do Pictures Want?*, W. J. T. Mitchell inquires into

> why is it that people have such strange attitudes toward images, objects, and media? Why do they behave as if pictures were alive, as if works of art had minds of their own, as if images had a power to influence human beings, demanding things from us, persuading, seducing, and leading us astray? Even more puzzling, why is it that the very people who express these attitudes and engage in this behavior will, when questioned, assure us that they know very well that pictures are not alive, that works of art do not have minds of their own, and that images are really quite powerless to do anything without the cooperation of their beholders? How is it, in other words, that people are able to maintain a "double consciousness" toward images, pictures, and representations in a variety of media, vacillating between magical beliefs and skeptical doubts, naive animism and hardheaded materialism, mystical and critical attitudes? (7)

Instead of viewing images as only mere signs or symbols to be interpreted, he suggests that images can also be conceived of as "vital signs," which possess their own capacity to influence, captivate, or outrage the viewer. Mitchell insists that the power of the image can also exist within the image itself and suggestively asks: "what is the secret of their vitality?" (*What Do Pictures Want?* 352).[2]

The context of early modern Spain and the Mediterranean world provides an especially fertile environment for considering some of the questions which Mitchell poses. After all,

[2] Furthermore, he notes that while others, such as art historian David Freedberg, have very skillfully explored the power of images, Mitchell argues that "we need to account for not just the power of images but their powerlessness, their impotence, their abjection. We need, in other words, to grasp *both* sides of the paradox of the image: that it is alive—but also dead; powerful—but also weak; meaningful—but also meaningless" (*What Do Pictures Want?* 9-10).

religious images permeated almost every aspect of daily life in Catholic Spain inciting diverse individuals to consider their power or powerlessness. In his provocatively-titled article "Images as Beings in Early Modern Spain," William A. Christian Jr. offers an array of fascinating examples of exactly how some sacred images were imagined as more than just mere paintings or statues and how they acquired a life of their own. Diverse narratives present testimonies of how many of these holy depictions were said to have exhibited human traits as they shed tears and blood. One of these accounts in particular describes how in Alcobendas on Ascension Day in 1646 some devout women kissed the feet of a statue of Christ tied to a column and observed how the face of the image became flushed as it started to tear up and sweat (89). Likewise, one late seventeenth-century *relación de suceso,* records the account of the Sevillian Luys Pérez, who recently converted to Islam because of his Muslim wife, and tells of how he reacted to an image of Christ while in Algiers. As the story goes, he witnesses a Christian captive praying to the sacred representation, becomes infuriated, and thus unleashes his anger on the sacred effigy. Before he has the chance to do any damage, the figure of Christ begins to spill blood from its wounds. It is precisely the equally human and divine nature of the image that leads Luys Pérez and his wife to convert to Christianity (*Curioso romance* 3).[3] As this last example indicates, these "living" images were not just confined to the borders of the Iberian Peninsula, but also traversed imperial and cultural frontiers as some made their way to North Africa or other geographical spaces of the Mediterranean world. Likewise, the efficacy of many of these images to incite either strong feelings or indifference was also witnessed by other Mediterranean peoples who traveled to Spain during this time period. The idea that these images coexisted alongside individuals of diverse backgrounds, cultures, and faiths is in many ways what led to encounters

[3] For more on this *relación de suceso*, see Patrick Begrand's cited article in which he analyzes the account of Luys Pérez alongside six other narratives within their Mediterranean context.

between different groups of people. The inherent power or weakness of particular images provoked, to a certain extent, situations in which the icon became the site of contact among individuals of diverse faiths, and in the case of the present study between Christians and Muslims. These encounters also became the subject taken up by some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors who wrote fictional and non-fictional accounts of these meetings that center on religious images and these will be the focus of the present research.

Many of the writers examined in this study—if not all—were well aware that the topic of religious images was oftentimes a point of departure between Christians and Muslims in the Peninsula and throughout the Mediterranean. While sacred icons of all sizes, types, and forms were incorporated into daily life for many Catholics in early modern Iberia, Muslims living in Spain and their neighbors in North Africa were often represented as aniconic and therefore inclined to reject images. While the Qur'an is much less explicit about any prohibitions against the use and creation of figural images than the Old Testament,[4] Islam has often been characterized as unaccepting of anthropomorphic representations. However, many of these ideas against images were only recorded later and are found in a variety of *hadiths*, or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, and *fatwas*, or Islamic legal opinions (Grabar 72-98; Franco Llopis, "Espiritualidad" 261-62). Even though Islamic culture tended to refuse figured imagery and stressed the importance of the word over image, it's important to note that these beliefs were not without exceptions.[5] Oleg Grabar reminds us, for example, of the telling description of how even the Prophet Muhammad was said to have destroyed all the images at the Kaʿba in Mecca, with the exception of a picture of the Virgin Mary and her son which he spared (80). In our context of

[4] See, for example, Exodus 20:4: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images or any likenesses of anything that is in heaven or that is in the earth beneath or that is in the water under the earth" (qtd. in Grabar 80).
[5] David Freedberg has called this intent to see certain religions as having no images at all the "myth of aniconism" (54-81). Oleg Grabar and Mika Natif, among other scholars, also offer some exceptions to this in their cited research.

the early modern Mediterranean, the Moroccan ambassador Al-Tamaghrūtī offers another interesting case in his book *Al-Nafḥa al-Miskiyya fī al-Sifāra al-Turkiyya*[6] describing his journey to Turkey and back. As he marvels at the Aya Sofya mosque in Istanbul, he notes how Muslims removed almost all the religious images left behind by Christians, saving only a few the physical affront:

وبداخل المسجد أنواع الصور والصليب وصور الملائكة جبريل وميكائيل وعزرائيل وإسرافيل وغيرهم، وصور الأنبياء في الطبقة العليا يحيى وزكرياء ومريم بولدها عيسى على عضدها، ومهد عيسى، وغير ذلك من تلاعب الكفرة. وقد قلع المسلمون لما دخلوها صور الصليب كلها وبعض الصور غيرها، وتركوا بعضها. وبهذا البلد مساجد حاولوا فيها شبه هذا المسجد الأعظم، لكن عجزوا عن ذلك.[7] (116)

Nevertheless, the writings of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors studied in the current project often intentionally emphasized the differences and conflicts that religious images provoked in early modern Spain and the Mediterranean world in their literary or historical texts, thus falling into what Nietzsche has named the "habit of contrasts" instead of seeing only "differences of degree" (2: 388).[8] Of course stories which circulated in the Peninsula describing accounts of damage done to Catholic icons on the *other side* of the Mediterranean only helped to reinforce this stereotype. The painting by Juan de Valdés Leal portrays a purported case of image destruction by Muslims in Meknes, in present-day Morocco (see fig. 3). As the written accounts explain, the image of Christ was stolen from Spaniards in North Africa and taken to Meknes

[6] "*The Perfumed Breeze on the Turkish Embassy*"

[7] "Inside the mosque, there are many types of images and crosses as well as images of the angels Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, Israfil, and others, and images of the prophets in the upper level like John, Zachariah, Mary and her son Jesus in her upper arm, Jesus' manger, and other venalities of the infidels. When the Muslims entered, they took down all the images of the cross and some of the other images, and they left some other ones up. In this country, a lot of mosques have tried to imitate this grand mosque, but they were unable to do so." This and all other translations into English are my own unless otherwise noted.

[8] "The Habit of Contrasts—Superficial, inexact observation sees contrasts everywhere in nature (for instance, "hot and cold"), where there are no contrasts, only differences of degree. This bad habit has induced us to try to understand and interpret even the inner nature, the intellectual and moral world, in accordance with such contrast. An infinite amount of cruelty, arrogance, harshness, estrangement, and coldness has entered into human emotion, because men imagined they saw contrasts where there were only transitions" (Nietzsche 2: 388).

where King Muley Ismael ordered that it be dragged around the streets and later thrown into a den with lions. This image was later rescued and brought back to Madrid where it is still highly venerated today.[9]

Fig. 3. Juan de Valdés Leal, detail of *Cristo de Medinaceli arrastrado por las calles de Mequinez*, 1681
Seville, Fundación Casa Ducal Medinaceli

[9] See the cited studies by María Cruz de Carlos Varona and Domingo Fernández Villa for more background on the Jesús de Medinaceli image.

As I have already suggested, my study demonstrates how images that crossed geographic, cultural, and religious boundaries influenced how early modern writers portrayed relations between Christians and Muslims, and how these writers used written descriptions of images in their texts as a site of contact between individuals within these groups. While a sophisticated body of scholarship currently covers a broad range of perspectives that analyze interactions between Christians and Muslims throughout the early modern Mediterranean, there has not yet been a literary study that considers the role images play in these encounters in the works of authors like Cervantes and Lope de Vega in Spanish scholarship. Recently art historians Felipe Pereda (2007) and Borja Franco Llopis (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011) have focused their attention on these issues and published rigorous studies that have greatly influenced my project. Beginning with Pereda, his magnificent book titled *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* concentrates on the history of the religious image in Spain between 1478 and 1500. His study is the first to analyze the visual strategies implemented under the leadership of the Catholic Monarchs and Hernando de Talavera for the conversion of Conversos and Moriscos. Pereda affirms that religious images were one of the key issues that surfaced in debates about how to catechize these cultural groups in the Catholic faith. Furthermore, his research reveals that specific images were commissioned for the conversion of Moriscos in Granada that would highlight points of contact between the religious traditions of Muslims and Christians, such as the Virgin Mary. Nonetheless, through a meticulous analysis of Inquisition records and other documents he clearly demonstrates how Moriscos reacted in an iconoclastic manner to the introduction of these Catholic images in an attempt to defend their identity.

Over the past few years Franco Llopis has centered much of his research in this same line of investigation while focusing specifically on Moriscos in Valencia and their attitude towards religious art. His 2009 doctoral dissertation *Espiritualidad, reformas y arte en Valencia (1545-1609)* reveals that there were specific iconographic types created during the second half of the sixteenth century in order to convert and assimilate Moriscos in Valencia. He argues that because of art's didactic value, it was one of the best ways to transmit Catholic beliefs to the Morisco community. Therefore an abundance of crosses, paintings of the Eucharist, and images of the Virgin Mary was seen during this time period in Valencia. Franco Llopis also includes a discussion of the relationship between Morisco and Protestant iconoclasm towards these Catholic images. Since then, he has published numerous illuminating articles reflecting these ideas while continuing to concentrate on the geographic region of Valencia.[10]

Important as these works are for our contemporary understanding of the lives and experiences of the Muslims in Spain and their perception and response to the religious images, the question still remains to be addressed by literary scholars analyzing Golden Age texts. As a result, a critical source of information remains unexplored and an important perspective on relations between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean world continues to be underdeveloped. My study addresses the current gap by examining a variety of fictional and nonfictional texts, both canonic and understudied works of the time period, that offer written descriptions of images.

In addition to bridging literature with visual studies in my analyses of Christian-Muslim encounters, this study is also unique for its global perspective. Drawing on a wide variety of

[10] In a recent study, Franco Llopis outlines the major research that has been carried out to date on Moriscos and their relation to art in early modern Spain. He also sketches out some future avenues for investigating this topic ("Nuevas tendencias").

Spanish, Arabic, and Aljamiado (Spanish written in Arabic script) texts from diverse genres, my project will focus on texts that take place and are written both in Spain and throughout the Mediterranean in an attempt to reconcile different viewpoints. By placing texts about Spain, North Africa, and the greater Mediterranean world in dialogue with one another and considering this region as a coherent whole, this dissertation elucidates how the discourses surrounding Christian-Muslim encounters provoked by images traversed imperial and cultural boundaries. While Moriscos' understanding of the sacred image in Spain has its differences from the way visual culture was engaged by Christians and Muslims in North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean, these issues cannot be considered solely in isolation. As Fernand Braudel reminds us, there is more that unites these two shores than that which divides for "the whole sea shared a common destiny, a heavy one indeed, with identical problems and general trends if not identical consequences" (1: 14). To give one brief example with regard to the religious image in this context, Bernard Vincent references a letter from the Dey of Algiers in which he protests damage done to a small mosque in Cartagena (197). He insists that repairs be made to this sacred place for Muslims in Spain or else he threatens to retaliate and harm Christian churches in Algiers. In this sense, it is clear that discussions about religious visual culture cannot be confined to one shore of the Mediterranean. Therefore, I hope to demonstrate how early modern Spanish writers express the significance of the religious image in Christian-Muslim relations in Spain and North Africa and how these ideas are interrelated.

Before going any further in laying out the framework for this project, I'd like to first define exactly what types of images will be the focus of this study. In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), Sebastián de Covarrubias defines *imagen* 'image' by first briefly

relating it to the Latin *imago*. He then quickly proceeds to associate the word with Catholic practice:

> Comúnmente entre los fieles católicos llamamos imágenes las figuras que nos representan a Cristo Nuestro Señor, a su benditísima Madre y Virgen Santa María, a sus apóstoles y a los demás santos y los misterios de nuestra Fe, en cuanto pueden ser imitados y representados, para que refresquemos en ellos la memoria; y que la gente ruda que no sabe letras les sirven de libro […].[11] (1091)

For Covarrubias, images are most definitely understood as religious representations of figures such as Jesus, Mary, the apostles, the saints, as well as other significant depictions of the Catholic faith. He later clarifies that any image representing human beings in a secular context would be a *retrato* 'portrait.' In addition to the evident religious focus that Covarrubias affixes to this word, the second part of his definition highlights how images are intimately linked to tensions caused by differing opinions of their meaning and use which continues to affect his contemporaries. The early modern Spanish texts analyzed in this project generally adhere to Covarrubias's definition as they describe a variety of religious representations, understood to mean both paintings and statues, as well as crosses, prints, and the like which were at the center of some Christian-Muslim encounters. In line with Covarrubias's definition of *imagen*, this study will focus on all of these types of religious representations as they are portrayed by the authors of the texts analyzed. Some chapters will focus on a specific type of iconography, such as the cross in chapter one or the Virgin Mary in chapter three, while others will be much more varied in nature.

[11] "Usually among the faithful Catholics we define images as the figures that represent Our Lord Christ, his blessed Mother and Virgin Holy Mary, his apostles and the other saints and the mysteries of our Faith, as much as they can be imitated and represented, to refresh our memory of them; and for the common people, who are illiterate, images serve as books […]."

In texts written by Moriscos in Arabic, Catholic icons are not generally referred to as sacred images but rather *ṣanam* (pl. *aṣnām*)[12] meaning idol. In their Aljamiado texts, they are frequently called *ídolo* (or more often *ídola*) 'idol' denoting rejection of these religious representations. In other texts written in Arabic describing encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean world that center on religious symbols, the authors simply tend to use the word *ṣūra* (pl. *ṣuwar*)[13] implying a more neutral term for image. As we will see, the variety of vocabulary employed to describe the same objects shows some of the tensions represented by the authors studied in this project.

* * *

"Images at the Crossroads: Representing Christian-Muslim Encounters in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean" is divided into four chapters. The first two center on literary and historical texts written both by and about Moriscos, i.e. those Muslims living in Spanish kingdoms forced to convert to Christianity in the sixteenth century. These works reveal Moriscos' oftentimes precarious association with religious images in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and how this challenging coexistence with sacred icons was understood and manipulated by diverse writers of the time. The last two chapters of this study turn from the situation of Moriscos in the Peninsula to examine texts which describe Christian-Muslim encounters that center on religious images in the broader Mediterranean world.

In chapter one, "Between Cross and Crescent: Representing Moriscos with Images in Cervantes's *Persiles* and the Works of the Apologists of the Expulsion," I explore how early modern writers use the symbol of the cross in an attempt to represent interactions between

[12] Hans Wehr defines the word as "idol, image."
[13] Hans Wehr labels the term as "form, shape; pictorial representation, illustration; image, likeness, picture; figure, statue; replica; copy, carbon copy, duplicate; version, form, draft (of a proposal, etc.); manner, mode."

Christians and Muslims and shape the religious identities of the characters in their texts. I examine the use, value and meaning that writers such as the apologists of the expulsion ascribed to the symbol of the cross, contrasting it with the representation that Cervantes gave to this Christian icon in the episode of the Valencian Moriscos in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (III, 11). This chapter reveals that while the apologists used the cross to justify their argument and pave the way for the expulsion of Muslims from Spain, Cervantes offered another alternative scenario for this cultural and religious minority.

Chapter two, "Text against Image: Morisco Literature and Visual Culture," demonstrates how the writings of Moriscos might have empowered them to specifically resist the veneration of Catholic images, a matter vehemently criticized by many Moriscos. To do so, I analyze the religious images and discourses around them in three anonymous Morisco texts: *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona, Libro de las batallas,* and *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar*. In these narratives, the Muslim characters transgress the established norm and actively reject the adoration of religious statues or idols, much like a great deal of their Morisco audience opposed the Catholic cult of images. Therefore by examining this literature, I draw a comparison of how it emulates the challenging circumstances of the Moriscos in early modern Spain as well as consider how it may have stimulated them to enthusiastically reject religious images.

In this chapter I also explore the importance of the Arabic script in these Moriscos narratives, both as a verbal sign used as a means of resistance and as a visual image connected to Islam. We will see the significance of writing with the Arabic characters for many of these Moriscos and how their own written texts often functioned as a type of image. For instance, the words written in Arabic and Aljamiado on the Morisco text below acquire even more power when they are included as the key ingredient for a miraculous potion (see fig. 4). When the

Arabic letters are written out and mixed in a glass with rain water to be consumed, the Morisco text promises to cure any ailment. The Arabic word is thus multifaceted and possesses the capability to work in various ways throughout the manuscripts examined in this chapter.

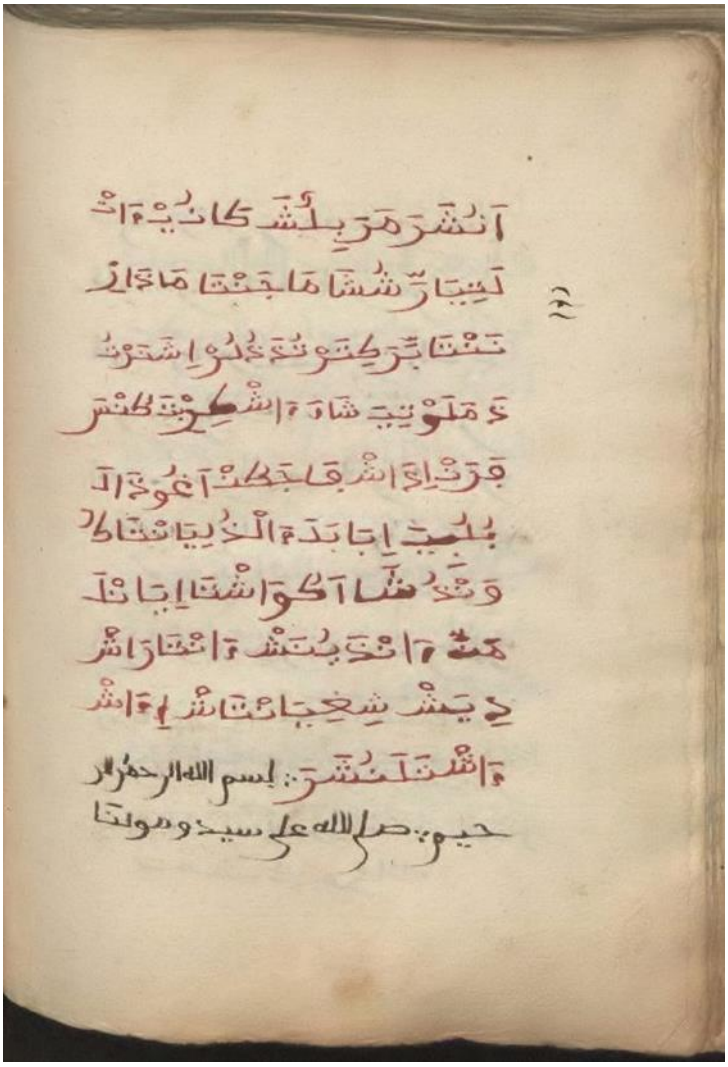

Fig. 4. *Libro de dichos maravillosos*, fol. 167v
©CSIC, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás (CCHS-CSIC)
Sign.: RESC/22

Chapter three, "Images of Conversion: From Muslim to Christian through the Virgin Mary," crosses imperial and cultural boundaries and broadens the discussion of images as a site of contact between cultures from Spain to the Mediterranean world by focusing specifically on

literary representations of the Virgin Mary—an important figure in both Christianity and Islam. I demonstrate how early modern writers, such as Lope de Vega in his play *Tragedia del Rey Don Sebastián y Bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos*, use the image of the Virgin Mary in their texts as a way to negotiate a common ground between Christian and Muslim characters and ultimately as a catalyst to convert the Muslim protagonists in their works. Through the various descriptions of conversion to Christianity via Marian icons, the authors examined in this chapter, especially Lope, affirm the inherent power of religious images which are capable of influencing the religious transformation of individuals with diverse backgrounds for their early modern audience.

The fourth and final chapter, "Captivity and Coexistence with Images in Cervantes's Mediterranean," examines early modern captivity narratives, specifically those that represent the capture and ransom of religious images and the role of images in North African captivity. While scholars have focused almost exclusively on human captivity, we will see that it was not only human beings that suffered the pain of bondage, but sacred objects were also coveted and taken captive, sold, and redeemed by certain individuals on both sides of the Mediterranean as in Gómez de Losada's captivity treatise mentioned in the first few lines of this introduction. By contextualizing these texts that describe captive images alongside the works of Cervantes that deal with Algerian captivity, we'll see, among other things, that while sacred images are often associated with martyrdom in *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*, in the captive's tale in *Don Quixote* the image seems to gain a more practical use in the hands of the renegade from Murcia and the Algerian Zoraida. I will explore how diverse authors articulate the value of these images as they cross geographical, religious, and cultural boundaries, and how a focus on the

traveling images in these texts can help elucidate our understanding of interreligious and cross-cultural relations in the early modern Mediterranean world.

CHAPTER ONE

Between Cross and Crescent: Representing Moriscos with Images in Cervantes's *Persiles* and in the Works of the Apologists of the Expulsion

> […] digo, que siendo la Santa Cruz la principal de las Ymágenes sagradas, y que por representar a Christo Dios y Hombre cruzificado se le da en la Yglesia Católica el mayor culto de adoración, y debiéndosele señaladamente en España mayor reverencia y devoción por los beneficios particulares que por medio de esta Santíssima Ynsignia, y sus apariciones milagrosas, ha recivido de Dios en las batallas contra ynfieles. En esta Corte hay un grandíssimo abuso que resulta no solamente de indecencia y falta de veneración devida, sino en desprecio y abatimiento de la Santa Cruz en lugar de exaltación.[14] (Valencia 1r)

Throughout Cervantes's work, the reader is introduced to various frontier figures and their association to the cross, the utmost symbol of Christianity, that in one way or another ties the Cervantine frontier characters to this religion. One will surely remember the "pequeña cruz de cañas"[15] that the Algerian Zoraida displays out her window in the captive's tale intercalated in *Don Quixote* (I, 40, 487). Despite the fact that her religious orientation raises some doubts in the other characters of the episode, the manifestation of this image allows the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma to immediately associate this woman and the cross that she holds to the religion which it symbolizes: "Esta señal nos confirmó en que alguna cristiana debía de estar cautiva en aquella casa, y era la que el bien nos hacía; pero la blancura de la mano, y las ajorcas que en ella vimos,

[14] [...] I say that since the Holy Cross is the principal sacred image and that because it represents Christ as God and as crucified man it is given the greatest worship in the Catholic Church, and it notably deserves greater reverence and devotion in Spain because of the particular blessings that through this Holy Insignia, and its miraculous appearances, it has received from God in battles against infidels. In this court there is a great abuse, resulting not only from indecency and lack of proper worship, but also in contempt and insult of the Holy Cross instead of praise."

[15] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "small cross made of reeds" (I, 40, 345).

nos deshizo este pensamiento, puesto que imaginamos que debía de ser cristiana renegada"[16] (I, 40, 487). In *Los baños de Argel*, the unexpected appearance of a cross laced between the beads of Zahara's rosary provokes an accumulation of fright and insinuations. At the very moment that Halima recognizes the Christian insignia fastened to Zahara's beads, she becomes filled with indignation and curiosity in scrutinizing from where this cross could have come. Nevertheless, and for her own protection, Zahara dissimulates at every moment to not understand the significance of the Christian image (III, vv. 2883-2911).

In Cervantes's texts the powerful symbol of the cross can also serve as an instrument to mediate between two cultures, such as the case of the renegade from Murcia in the captive's tale.[17] After translating Zoraida's first letter to the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma, the renegade joins the cause of the captives in an attempt to find freedom in Christian lands, and as a measure of his trustworthiness he relies on a small crucifix kept close to his heart:

> y así, nos rogó que si era verdad lo que sospechaba, que nos fiásemos dél y se lo dijésemos, que él aventuraría su vida por nuestra libertad. Y diciendo esto, sacó del pecho un crucifijo de metal, y con muchas lágrimas juró por el Dios que aquella imagen representaba, en quien él, aunque pecador y malo, bien y fielmente creía.[18] (I, 40, 490)

The renegade from Murcia is not the only Cervantine renegade to take advantage of the image of the cross for his own benefit at any given time. At the end of the first act of *Los baños de Argel*,

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[16] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "This confirmed that a Christian woman was probably a captive in that house and was the one who had done us the good turn, but the whiteness of her hand and the bracelets we saw on it disabused us of the thought that she was a slave; then we imagined she must be a renegade Christian" (I, 40, 345).

[17] I analyze this scene and the renegade's use of the cross in more detail in chapter four.

[18] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "and he implored us that if what he suspected was true, that we trust him and tell him so, and he would risk his life for our freedom. And saying this, he pulled out from under his shirt a metal crucifix, and with many tears he swore by the God that the image represented, and in whom he, though a sinner, believed completely and faithfully" (I, 40, 347-48).

Hazén stabs his coreligionist Yzuf to death after a brief but heated discussion, all in response to the infamous tortures that Yzuf forced upon some individuals from his homeland, even blood relatives. The situation leads to Hazén's dramatic impalement, which he uses as an act of atonement for his soul. The event climaxes when he holds high "una cruz de palo,"[19] through which he tries to redeem all his past sins (I, vv. 667-881). Even Christian characters situated in Muslim lands cherish the symbol of the cross as a visible sign of their views and intentions. This is the case of Catalina de Oviedo in *La gran sultana*, who exhibits "una pequeña cruz de ébano"[20] in the Great Turk's seraglio (1023), and also that of Leonisa in *El amante liberal*, who takes out "una pequeña cruz del seno"[21] in the house of her mistress Halima in an attempt to externalize her Catholic faith (169).

Nonetheless, of all the frontier figures in Cervantes's texts that during the course of the pages are linked with the icon of the cross, Rafala and her surrounding Morisco circumstances deserve special consideration. Without disregarding her situation as a Morisca, Rafala devoutly displays a humble cross in her hands. Her relationship with this insignia, contextualized in the story of the Valencian Moriscos in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (III, 11), clashes significantly with how this cultural group was routinely characterized in the time period. In this episode, Rafala and her attitude towards this Christian symbol go against that of her Morisco relatives and neighbors, and in this way she is represented in a unique way. In the pages that follow, I intend to contrast the episode of Rafala with different texts of the apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos, where the cross as a visual element acquires substantial weight and is utilized in part as a means to justify forcing these individuals out of Spain. Through the character of Rafala, Cervantes, in turn, presents us with a different possible scenario of Moriscos'

[19] "a wooden cross"
[20] "a small ebony cross"
[21] "a small cross from under her clothes"

association to the symbol of the cross, challenging the one and only way that the apologists were able to understand and represent the Moriscos, thus presenting her as an anomaly that deserves to be treated with a more detailed perspective.

1. "Un lugar de moriscos": Valencian Moriscos and Religious Iconography

Let's recall the story of the Morisca Rafala. After the episode of the false captives, the pilgrim protagonists come to a coastal village located in the kingdom of Valencia, populated mostly by Moriscos. The Morisco inhabitants offer a warm welcome to the traveling pilgrims, who gratefully accept it, although with a little apprehension. Their doubt is confirmed when the beautiful Rafala warns the pilgrims of the imminent danger that lies ahead. The plan that the Moriscos are scheming consists of the arrival of Barbary pirates, who intend to help the entire community abandon their town and set sail to North Africa along with all the villagers accompanied by their goods. Taking into consideration Rafala's testimony and determined to protect their freedom, the pilgrims seek refuge within the walls of the church, where they are welcomed by the priest and the *jadraque* Xarife, Rafala's uncle. Before his new audience, Xarife angrily vents his anti-Morisco sentiments, embracing the viewpoints of the apologists of the expulsion.[22] Once the pilgrims shelter themselves under the protection of the church and after safeguarding the Holy Sacrament from the threat of the Moriscos, they arm themselves with guns and stones in preparation for the maritime attack that lies ahead. The narrator tells us that the Morisco community receives the arrival of the Turks with great rejoicing, which leads to the burning of the village, the destruction of a stone cross, and an attempt at damaging the church, all

[22] Francisco Márquez Villanueva contextualizes the discourses of the *jadraque* Xarife, relating them to the texts of the apologists of the expulsion: "El jadraque ve en la presencia morisca una mota que empaña el honroso resplandor de los reinos españoles y en la expulsión (como todos los apologistas) una panacea para toda suerte de males del reino" ("The *jadraque* sees the Morisco presence as a small speck that tarnishes the honorable splendor of the Spanish kingdoms and the expulsion (like all apologists) as a panacea for all sorts of ills of the kingdom") ("El morisco Ricote" 292).

in Muhammad's name. At the end of the episode, once the danger has vanished and once the Moriscos have set sail, Rafala and the scribe arrive at the scene. Holding her "cruz de caña"[23] Rafala proclaims her physical and spiritual freedom: "¡Cristiana, cristiana y libre, y libre por la gracia y misericordia de Dios!"[24] (III, 11, 552). The pilgrims' final outlook before continuing their journey is of Rafala worshiping[25] the Christian images in the church and kissing the hands of the priest, all the while her uncle Xarife carries on with his anti-Morisco harangue.

Considering this framework of circumstances, the church is presented as the unifying element in the sequence of events, becoming the central axis and conclave of the action in the passage. It is significant that all the characters of the episode finally converge at this venue and it is here where some of the most dramatic scenes of the episode take place. Most importantly, it is within the walls of the church where the visual aspects also acquire a special significance. Given that the plot transpires under this ecclesiastical backdrop, it is no coincidence that the visual elements that are most obvious are the objects related to Catholic worship, which, as we will see, play a fundamental role in the development of the episode. While the pilgrims take refuge in the church alongside Rafala's uncle and the priest, the latter assures them of their safety, painting a picture of the church that stands out as strong and dominant: "buena torre tenemos, y buenas y ferradas puertas la iglesia, que, si no es muy de propósito, no pueden ser derribadas ni abrasadas"[26] (III, 11, 547). No less noticeable is the mass arrival of an angry Morisco crowd to the temple and their attempt to cause physical harm, acting with the sole intention of causing whatever damage they could. The flames, the destruction of a stone cross, and the direct attack of

[23] "cross made of reeds"
[24] "A Christian, a Christian and free, and free by God's grace and mercy!"
[25] In theory, the Catholic Church made a distinction between *latria* (*adoración*) 'worship' and *dulia* (*veneración*) 'veneration, devotion' (see Pereda, *Las imágenes* 91-95). Since many of the texts analyzed in this dissertation indiscriminantly interchanged these two terms, I have only distinguished between these words when it is central to a particular passage in the author's work.
[26] "we have a good tower, and the church has good and ironclad doors that, if it's not very intentional, can't be broken down or burned through"

the church are described subtly and in such a way that they prepare the way for Rafala's exuberant appearance. In spite of these sacrilegious details, it is significant that this description comes from the narrator and not at any time from the crypto-Muslim Moriscos, who are continuously denied the opportunity to express themselves or to show any human qualities.[27] The Morisca Rafala and the scribe are the last characters to arrive at the scene in the religious sanctuary, though, significantly, from opposite directions and with contrasting dispositions. It is through the actions of the Morisca that we witness from a visual point of view the most revealing moment: the exhibition of a humble reed cross accompanied by a previously oppressed Christian declaration. Her statement is reinforced by her devout worship of the images inside the church.

Various scholars have pointed out that this episode and the pilgrims' encounter with the Valencian Moriscos in many ways was not far from the historical reality of the time and that it presents the seriousness of the Morisco problem in the kingdom of Valencia. The fear of corsair raids on the Levantine coast of the Peninsula was all too common, and Francisco Márquez Villanueva ("El morisco Ricote" 288-90; *Moros, moriscos y turcos* 440n), Carlos Romero Muñoz (270-72), and Francisco Giner (140-45), among others, have related various historical examples to the one described in this episode of the *Persiles*. More recently, Steven Hutchinson has underscored how the focus of this chapter is in fact on the exile of the crypto-Muslim Moriscos who voluntarily abandon their homes in this Valencian village ("El problema morisco"). Both he ("El problema morisco" 192-96) and Bernabé Pons ("De los moriscos" 168-69) opportunely situate the Morisco episode within this context, offering some revealing historical examples that shed light on the situation of these crypto-Muslims who willingly

[27] José Manuel Martín Morán (566-67) and Steven Hutchinson ("The Morisco Problem" 189-90; 199) have highlighted precisely how the only two Moriscos who are conceded a voice throughout the episode are the Christian Moriscos, Rafala and her uncle Xarife, thus censoring the perspective of the majority of the crypto-Muslim Moriscos who are preparing to leave their homes in the kingdom of Valencia and set sail with Turkish corsairs.

crossed over to North Africa in the *Persiles*. In addition to these circumstances, the Valencian Moriscos that intentionally go into exile in this Cervantine episode also clearly portray the experiences of many of the crypto-Muslim Moriscos with regard to their association to the cross and the cult of images in early modern Spain. The Valencian historian Gaspar Escolano documents in his *Décadas de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reino de Valencia* (1611) various Morisco uprisings that took place in this region. In some of them, the Moriscos show no mercy, especially to the cross and sacred images inside the churches and their surroundings:

> Lo mismo hicieron [los moriscos] en la iglesia y casa del cura, donde degollaron un muchachuelo que le servía; y pisando y arrastrando por el suelo los sagrados ornamentos, acuchillaron las imágenes de los Santos y cortaron de un alfanjazo la cabeza a un Crucifijo. […] Y acaeció, para confusión dellos, que habiendo puesto fuego al altar de la iglesia del palacio, se quemase todo el retablo y escapasen las imágenes solamente.[28] (Escolano 2: 799a-b)

These affronts to the icon of the cross not only occurred on the Levantine coast, but also materialized elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in regions of uprisings and revolts (Franco Llopis, "En defensa de una identidad" 121). In his *Historia del* [sic] *rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (1600), the chronicler from Granada Luis de Mármol Carvajal describes an account that shows this type of action against Christian symbolism. In his account, Christians in a village in the Alpujarras of Granada suffer a Morisco attack that leads them to take refuge in the tower of the church, reacting in a similar manner to the Christian

[28] "[The Moriscos] did the same in the church and the parish house, where they killed a young man who served there; and stepping on and dragging the sacred vestments on the ground, they stabbed the images of the saints, and with a scimitar they cut off the head of Christ from a crucifix. [...] And it happened, to their surprise, that having set fire to the altar of the church, the whole altarpiece was burned except for the images."

pilgrims in the *Persiles*. This time, however, the Moriscos of Granada do indeed manage to enter the sacred temple, unleashing their anger by damaging the crosses and the sacred images, which results in the burning of any and all holy objects. Let's listen to the chronicler himself as he witnesses what took place in this mountainous village in Granada:

> [Los cristianos] recogiendo sus mujeres e hijos, se metieron en la iglesia y se hicieron fuertes en la torre del campanario. Luego acudieron los moros de Bayárcal y de los otros lugares comarcanos, y robando las casas de los cristianos, fueron a la iglesia, y hallando poca defensa, porque los nuestros se habían recogido en la torre, entraron dentro, y con cruel rabia deshicieron los altares, rompieron las aras y los retablos, y saquearon cuanto había dentro, y arrastraron y trajeron por el suelo todas las cosas sagradas. […] Y por más escarnio asaetearon y acuchillaron las cruces y las imágenes de bulto, y poniendo los pedazos de todo ello y de los retablos en medio de la iglesia, le pegaron fuego y lo quemaron.[29] (Mármol Carvajal IV, 17, 106a)

As Felipe Pereda has observed, some of Francisco Heylán's early seventeenth-century engravings included in Antolínez de Burgos's *Historia ecleiástica de Granada* portray Moriscos' aversion towards figural images, similar to how many Christian writers represented their association with religious iconography (*Las imágenes* 352). The following engraving, intercalated in Antolínez de Burgos's account of what transpired between Christians and Moriscos in Andarax during the War of the Alpujarras, depicts a scene with much more cruelty

[29] "[The Christian men], along with their wives and children, went into the church and protected themselves in the bell tower. Then the Moors from Bayárcal and other nearby places arrived, and while robbing the houses of the Christians, they went to the church, and finding little defense, since all of our people were up in the tower, they entered, and with ruthless rage they destroyed the altars, breaking the altars and altarpieces, and plundered whatever was inside, and they dragged all of the holy things across the ground. [...] And for more scorn they shot with an arrow and stabbed the crosses and images, and when they placed the pieces of all that and of the altarpieces in the middle of the church, they set fire and burned it."

than that described in the Morisco episode in Cervantes's *Persiles* (see fig. 5). Here Heylán juxtaposes the torture of humans with the sacrilege and destruction of religious images, where both grief-stricken individuals and demolished objects of worship become esteemed martyrs in the eyes of Christian authors like Antolínez de Burgos. Of course Heylán visibly places a representation of a crucified Christ above each of the scenes in this engraving, serving as a model for all the men, women, children, as well as images that would be physically harmed and martyred because of their irreconcilable differences. It does not seem to be a coincidence that Antolínez de Burgos highlights December 28th as the date of this grievous event, the feast day of Holy Innocents' Day, which commemorates the life and death of many Christian martyrs.[30] The manuscript which describes this engraving was completed, although not published, in 1611; meanwhile the definitive expulsion of the Moriscos was already well under way. Surely the verbal and visual content of this episode would only present the Moriscos in an unfavorable light as they are being exiled from Spain (265-69).

[30] Specifically, it commemorates the child martyrs slaughtered by King Herod in an attempt to kill the Christ child. For more on the cult of the Holy Innocents and its popularity in medieval Europe, see Wasyliw (29-38; 46-48).

Fig. 5. Francisco Heylán, *Mártires de Andarax*
In Justino Antolínez de Burgos's *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*
Photo Credit: Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife

The story which accompanies this scene in particular describes how the Moriscos in the Spanish village enter the church, destroying all the crosses and sacred images, while also firing their weapons at the Blessed Sacrament, leading to the burning of all sacred objects, including the temple itself (see fig. 6). While the reader may be initially stuck by the fact that Antolínez de Burgos and Francisco Heylán choose to represent the profanation of religious objects alongside the martyrdom of countless villagers, it is precisely the defiled images which serve as a model for the human protagonists. While describing a previous episode in Ugíjar, Antolínez de Burgos explains how a group of Christian men finds inspiration in a half-burned and destroyed image of the Virgin Mary as they themselves suffer the same torture as the Marian representation.[31] After considering the fury with which Moriscos supposedly destroy Catholic objects of adoration in this scene and Heylán's engraving which illustrates it, the Morisco episode in Cervantes's *Persiles* appears much more moderate, although it still addresses the thorny issue of Moriscos' association with religious images in early modern Spain.

[31] "Cobraron estos animosos soldados con este pregón nuevo brío para morir en defensa de la fe; y, confiando poco en sus fuerças, por ser débiles y flacas, se aprovecharon de las divinas y, bueltos a una imagen de la sacratíssima Reyna de los Angeles, destroçada y medio quemada por aquellas infernales manos, empeçaron a decir a bozes: «Reparadora de nuestra cayda, remedio de nuestras miserias, esperança de nuestra gloria, patrona y abogada de los afligidos, socorrednos y amparadnos, Señora, en este riguroso trance, para que nadie de nosotros falte a la obligación que tenemos»" ("With this proclamation, these courageous soldiers acquired a renewed spirit to die in defense of their faith; and, trusting little in their own strength, which was weak and deficient, they put their faith in the divine, turning to an image of the most holy Mother of the Angles, destroyed and half-burned by those infernal hands, they began to shout out: 'Repairer of our fall, solution to our miseries, hope for our glory, patroness and advocate for the afflicted, save us and protect us, Lady, in this extreme peril, so none of us miss the obligation we have'") (Antolínez de Burgos 262-63).

Fig. 6. Francisco Heylán, *Mártires de Andarax*, detail
In Justino Antolínez de Burgos's *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*
Photo Credit: Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife

Some Christian authors in favor of the edict of the expulsion even reflect in their writings how, in their opinion, the Moriscos went further in their contempt, and received some malicious delight in seeing the Christians themselves humiliating and damaging their most cherished symbols without even knowing it. Guadalajara y Xavier tells of a Morisco shoemaker in the kingdom of Aragon who deviously placed a crucifix under a stone so that all the Christians who resorted to the services of the shoemaker would have no choice but to naively stomp their foot upon the cross (*Memorable expulsión* 59v). Thus, in the eyes of these authors, this iconographic motif does not always have to suffer visible and explicit abuse in order to be insulted.

2. Justification through the Cross in the Works of the Apologists of the Expulsion

In a very severe and biased manner, the apologists of the expulsion take advantage of all these examples and descriptions of abuse of crosses as part of their argument and discursive

strategy to justify the devastating and definitive expulsion of the Moriscos. These writers produced a body of literature unlike any other corpus of texts inspired by historical events in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. Their writings exist with the sole purpose of projecting their ideological and propagandistic points of view in an attempt to validate the decision to expel this cultural and religious minority. As José María Perceval has observed, these apologists of the expulsion characterize the Moriscos in such a way that they are all represented as one and the same, intentionally exaggerating and attributing a series of unfavorable characteristics to this group, making the decision to banish this community from Spain appear more just in their eyes. One of the most renowned and influential apologists and defenders of the expulsion, Jaime Bleda, describes in great detail all of the reasons for which the Moriscos deserve to be expelled in his chronicle *Corónica de los moros de España* (1618). He even goes so far to say that the Moriscos "bien merecían ser desterrados del mundo"[32] (*Corónica* 896b). In a chapter he titles "Que por las graves injurias que los moriscos hazían al Santíssimo Sacramento, y a la Sacratíssima Cruz estava nuestro Cathólico Monarca obligado a echarlos,"[33] Bleda argues that one of the main drivers causing the expulsion is specifically the repeated mistreatments of the cross (*Corónica* 916b-921a). In his argument he tries to avoid using any justification that would somehow relate to the earthly realm. Thus, he declines to provoke the fear that may be caused by a hypothetical threat of the Moriscos as a pretext for the expulsion, since he emphasizes the magnanimity of the Catholic king and his bold courage before this threat. He also leaves aside the profit that could come from the expelled Moriscos as a justification for their departure, since their money is nothing compared with the treasure of the New World. With that said, the Dominican focuses his speech in a way that gains more importance as it relates to religion,

[32] "they very well deserved to be banished from the world"
[33] "That because of the serious damage that the Moriscos did to the Blessed Sacrament, and to the most holy cross, our Catholic Monarch was forced to expel them"

exposing all of the offenses done to the Holy Sacrament and the cross as principal and unavoidable motives for expulsion. For Bleda, these actions should not be tolerated under any circumstance and there is no room for any exception:

> Hazían los pérfidos moriscos mofa y escarnio del Santíssimo Sacramento, como se ha dicho, a todos los domingos y fiestas, oyendo Missa injuriavan todas las Cruzes de los caminos y de las salidas de sus lugares: estos delictos pues los sacaron de España, sin que pudiessen quedar en ella: *Expulsi sunt, nec potuerunt stare*.[34] (*Corónica* 917b)

Against this backdrop, Bleda emphatically positions himself in favor of a drastic punishment, nothing less than the expulsion. Nevertheless, to try to soften his radical discourse, he references a number of previous offenses to the Blessed Sacrament and the cross that were reprimanded with heavier penalties, implying that the expulsion is a fair and appropriate ending for this community. He gives the example of the many Jews who had vilified these images and received a punishment much worse than that of exile. In particular, it was not only the Jews who carried out these crimes but any Jew who was somehow related to them suffered deaths, burnings, or were banished and stripped of their goods. In this manner, a comparison is made between Jewish and Islamic cultures, clearly justifying, in Bleda's view, that the Moriscos' tragic ending was a just one (Bleda, *Corónica* 918a-b).

While Bleda is the most forceful with regard to his argument, other apologists, like Marco Xavier y Guadalajara in his *Memorable expulsión y justíssimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (1613), add to this discourse, positioning themselves along the same lines of

[34] "The treacherous Moriscos mocked and ridiculed the Blessed Sacrament, as has been said, every Sunday or holiday, while listening to mass they reviled all the crosses on the roads and on the way out of all their places: these crimes are what caused them to be expelled from Spain, without being about to stay here*: Expulsi sunt, nec potuerunt stare*."

defending sacred images, and with their biased language they situate the Moriscos in a sphere that leaves them no option of being forgiven.[35] In order to foster their discursive strategies, these apologists evoke a more peaceful and compact Spain, now free of Moriscos, where the cross can recover its admiration and respect that the apologists believe it deserves: "Podemos ya yr por este Reyno sin temor destos enemigos; gozamos de ver las Santas Cruzes libres de tantas injurias que ellos les hazían"[36] (Bleda, *Corónica* 1033a).

Yet, the apologists do not give the Christian symbol of the cross a singular role as just a recipient of the numerous outrages and humiliations provoked by Moriscos. These authors take advantage of the image of the cross to give it its very own autonomy and personality that is reflected in a defense of Christianity and an attack against what they see as the hostile threat. In their writings, the cross takes on other roles, such as being at the forefront of the Christian troops, not only serving as a visible support to the Christians and opposing the Moriscos, but the cross also acquires a role that prevail over any image or symbol that metonymically represents its enemy. Bleda does not harbor any doubt on how this Christian icon would act as a protagonist and fight in this "guerra contra las Cruzes"[37] (*Corónica* 899b). In fact, he bases his argument on a series of warlike passages in which the cross is victorious in its reproach against Muslims. He quotes the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and the exploits of Count Fernán González as historical references and the unpromising future that awaits the Moriscos. In his view, who

[35] An example of this appears in a chapter titled "El derecho que su Magestad guardó en la expulsión de los moriscos de España" ("The right that his Majesty kept in the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain") in which Guadalajara y Xavier announces Bleda's influence on his writings, especially Bleda's *Defensio Fidei*, and includes the mistreatments of sacred images as one of the unavoidable factors that leads to the expulsion of the Moriscos: "Aunque también se ha de dezir, que movió grandemente a su Magestad el menosprecio que los moriscos hazían a nuestra Religión Cathólica, y el ver profanar las cosas sagradas" ("Although it has also been said, that his Majesty was greatly moved by the contempt that the Moriscos showed towards our Catholic religion, and by seeing them profane the sacred things") (*Memorable expulsión* 156r).

[36] "We can now go around this kingdom without fear of these enemies; we rejoice to see the holy crosses free from so much damage that they used to do to them"

[37] "war against the crosses"

would dare to fight against such a powerful symbol like the cross and everything that it represents?

> Y cualquier hombre de juyzio pronosticará su destruyción total […] viéndolos tan encarniçados en esta guerra contra las Cruzes; porque si la Santa Cruz en las batallas que ellos tuvieron con los christianos se les mostró tan contraria, y fueron por su imensa virtud vencidos, destruydos y muertos en tanto número, que excedió al que se halla en las más milagrosas victorias que refiere la Santa Escritura […] Pues si en favor de sus devotos fieles hizo la admirable Cruz tales estragos en los moros, no era cosa averiguada que los avía de hazer mayores en su propria defensa, y en guerra que se hazía directamente por aquellos falsos christianos en injuria y ofensa suya, y de Jesu Christo nuestro Señor a quien ella representa?[38] (Bleda, *Corónica* 899b-900a)

While Jaime Bleda uses the figure of the cross as a tool against his opponents, the work of the apologist Marco Guadalajara y Xavier goes one step further in his use of this Christian image. He manipulates the icon of the cross in such a visual way, employing it not only as a tool to fight against the Moriscos, but also as an instrument to contest any image representing Muhammad that competes with the symbol of the cross. In other words, the tension does not just exist between Morisco and Christian, but now the conflict has transformed into a battle of religious signs. In his *Memorable expulsión y justíssimo destierro de los moriscos de España* Guadalajara y Xavier explains how Moriscos, conscious of the religious dichotomy present in the

[38] "And any man of sense will predict their total destruction [...] seeing them so fierce in this war against the crosses; because in the battles that they participated in against the Christians, the Holy Cross was so against them, and because of its immense virtue they were defeated, destroyed, and killed in such great number that it exceeded that which is in the most miraculous victories in the holy scripture [...] So if in the favor of its faithful devotees the admirable cross took such a toll on the Moors, it was still unknown whether it would do greater things for its own defense, and in war carried out directly because of those false Christians because of the insult and offense they caused it, and Jesus Christ our savior who it represents."

Peninsula and interested in tipping the balance in their favor, harbored a desperate hope of receiving military aid from their Turkish neighbors.[39] In the author's view, the great majority of Moriscos "desseavan salir con triumpho de poder de los christianos"[40] and they firmly believed that one day they would be rescued with the help of the Great Turk. Nevertheless, according to Guadalajara y Xavier, other Moriscos were not as confident about the idea that the Turks would ultimately come to their rescue, so they put their faith in other methods to tell the future and find out their eventual fate (113, 103v). In support of his argument, this apologist tells the story of a Morisca woman who places various eggs in a sieve, all painted with a figure that she understood to be the Prophet Muhammad except for one on which she drew the symbol of the cross (Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión* 103v).[41] After shaking them forcefully in order to see which image would not be harmed, the only egg that remained fully intact was the one with the image of the cross. The Morisca understands this outcome as a clear sign that there will be an imminent victory for the worshipers of the cross, and therefore warns her Morisco friends and relatives: "Que no emprendiessen novedad, porque sería su perdición"[42] (Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión* 103v). The apologist continues with another similar account about a Morisco who goes to a candle maker and requests "dos cirios tan yguales, que no pesase el uno mas que el otro un solo cabello"[43] on which one he draws a figure of Muhammad and on the other an image representing Christ (Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión* 103v). As he

[39] Marco Guadalajara y Xavier, as well as the other apologists, intentionally highlights the idea that the Moriscos were scheming a plan with their Turkish neighbors, even though, as Francisco Márquez Villanueva explains, this was only a "mito conspiratorio" ("conspiratotial myth") (*El problema morisco* 141-66).
[40] "Wished to leave triumphantly from the power of the Christians"
[41] These two accounts about pictorial representations of Muhammad that Guadalajara y Xavier recalls are especially interesting when keeping in mind the aversion to figurative representations—although not generalized—in Islam. See Oleg Grabar's chapter "Islamic Attitudes toward the Arts" in his book *The Formation of Islamic Art* (72-98) and the collection of essays edited by Gilbert Beaugé y J.-F Clément. For some exceptions of figural representations in Islamic art, see Eva Baer.
[42] "That they don't undertake anything new, because it would only cause their downfall"
[43] "two candles so equal, that neither one would weigh more than the other by even a single piece of hair"

lights the two candles at the same time, the Morisco realizes that the one with the representation of Muhammad is consumed more rapidly, understanding this as a visual indication of Christian triumph: "Mal va nuestra empressa, perdidos somos, los christianos han de vencer"[44] (Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión* 103v). Taking into account the first-hand testimonies of many Moriscos in early modern Spain and their tendency to reject the creation of images, the apologists' interpretations are all the more absurd.[45] However, it is precisely these tales, recounted in Gualalajara y Xavier's works justifying the expulsion, that guide the way he chooses to represent and shape the identities of Morisco characters, seeing them all as one and the same, even though this was clearly not the case.

As we have already seen in the writings of the apologists, the cross acquires a fully leading role that is not just limited to mere confrontation with its opponents or with any image that could metonymically represent its adversaries. In the eyes of the apologists, if the cross has the ability to be a determining factor in the expulsion of the Moriscos, once the Christian domination is established after the expulsion, the cross also has the responsibility to completely replace any space left by anything Christians could interpret as Muslim symbols, specifically the image of the crescent moon. In the opening dedication section of his *Memorable expulsión*, Guadalajara y Xavier establishes the Morisco expulsion as a starting point from where "sus menguantes lunas"[46] should be exchanged for crosses. This intention to replace moons with crosses is reflected in the ideas that Doctor Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal expresses in his *Parecer* (1526), analyzed in great detail by Agustín Redondo. In his assimilation plan for the Moriscos of Granada, Carvajal warns that "otras çiertas señales como la luna esculpida e

[44] "Our endeavor is going poorly, we are losing, the Christians will be victorious"
[45] See chapter two for my analysis of Morisco accounts relating to religious images.
[46] "their crescent moons"

pintada"[47] should be removed and replaced with "la cruz y a Nuestra Señora"[48] since, in his eyes, the images that one possesses are a clear indication of one's religious identity: "porque las personas y las cosas se conocen por las señales que tienen y se juzgan ser de aquel cuyas señales traen"[49] (Redondo 115). Even though some Christians, such as Carvajal, recommended substituting crescent moons for crosses, it is ironic that, just a year earlier on October 16, 1525, it was precisely Christian authorities who mandated that Moriscos place "una media luna de paño azul del tamaño de una naranja"[50] on their hats (Cardaillac 110). While it is hard to determine if and how Moriscos actually used this symbol, it most likely did not hold a great bearing and it does not seem to have had any significant religious meaning for this cultural minority in early modern Spain. Islamic art historian Richard Ettinghausen notes that while the *hilāl*, or crescent moon, was occasionally used in a pious context during the Ottoman period, such as on the reliquary which holds the Cloak of the Prophet Muhammad in the Topkapi Palace, the lunar symbol was most often used only for decorative purposes, including coinage, secular buildings, and the flags of Selīm I and Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa. The *hilāl* was also applied to a pair of Sultan Süleymān's silk trousers in the sixteenth century, leading Ettinghausen to believe that the crescent moon could not possess a strong religious significance at the time. With this in mind, it is more likely that the apologists, incapable of imagining any religion that would not employ sacred icons in their religious practices, attributed the crescent moon to the Moriscos as their equivalent symbol to the cross and then, with the fear that the "Islamic" symbol would compete with their own Catholic figures, verbally attacked it.

[47] "certain other symbols like the carved and painted moon"
[48] "the cross and Our Lady"
[49] "because people and things are recognized by the signs that they have and are deemed to be of the signs that they show"
[50] "a crescent moon made of blue cloth the size of an orange"

In connection with this idea, the apologist Pedro Aznar Cardona in his *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles* (1612) also announces the total surrender of the Morisco community through a series of arbitrary parallels, using the symbol of the moon (I, 192r-99r). So, after an entire exercise in discrediting the Muslim symbol of the moon, Aznar Cardona curiously falls into the same habit of verbally assaulting images for which he had so harshly criticized the Moriscos by making an effort to discredit the Muslim symbol of the moon. While he accuses Moriscos for their mistreatment of the cross, this apologist does the same to the image of the moon, which he believes to be the equivalent symbol for the Moriscos. This apologist tries to diminish the symbolic value of the moon by trying to insult its prestige and legitimacy. Once Aznar Cardona has accomplished his goal of reducing the value of the waning star, he then proceeds to interpret subjectively a vision of a woman clothed in the sun and stepping on the moon, basing himself on a passage in the book of Revelation (see fig. 7). He sees this image as an undisputable premonition of the supremacy of the Catholic Church over its Muslim enemies:

> Lo que es muy digno de consideración en esta visión milagrosa es que aquella rutilante muger tenía la luna debaxo de sus pies, significándonos claramente que vendrá día, en que (como la vido el evangelista) la Iglesia Christiana escogida de Dios, pisará y tendrá postrada a sus pies la pompa y Magestad de los mosulanos [*sic*] turcos, que son la luna desvariada, según que ellos se la atribuyen a sí mismos.[51] (Aznar Cardona I, 196r-v)

[51] "What is very worthy of consideration in this miraculous vision is that this shining woman had the moon below her feet, clearly showing us that the day would come when (as the evangelist saw) the Christian Church chosen by God will step on and keep below its feet the pomp and majesty of the Muslim Turks, who are the delirious moon, according to how they attribute it to themselves."

Fig. 7. Francisco Pacheco, *Inmaculada Concepción*, 1615-20
Seville, Palacio Arzobispal
Photo Credit: Scala /Art Resource, NY

Aznar Cardona even goes further to make a generalized interpretation of this vision that he sees as Christianity dominating Islam, by contextualizing the image within his contemporary surroundings and the situation of the Moriscos. The apologist perceives this woman stepping on the moon as a prediction of the imminent victory that the Christians will attain in Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos along with their supposed symbol of the moon. Aznar Cardona's idea

that the image of the Immaculate Conception could symbolize a Christian triumph because of its power over the lunar sign is based solely on his own prejudiced conceptions and has no theoretical base. In his influential treatise *Arte de la pintura*, the early modern painter and theorist Francisco Pacheco outlines the acceptable religious iconography for the Virgin in Counter-Reformation Spain (481-83). He notes that by painting a crescent-shaped moon below Mary's feet the light reflects back on the Virgin, glorifying the female protagonist, and at no point does Pacheco associate the cosmological sign with a victory over Islam. A perverse inversion of this woman with the moon under her feet appears in Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses's novel *Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro* (1626). When the protagonist returns to Seville near the end of the first book, we learn of an incedent between one of his old friends, Pero Vázquez, and a Morisco merchant. He soon discovers that the New Christian possesses a curious box containing a peculiar golden statue. Instead of a figure representing the woman from the Apocalypse, it is "un Maomica de oro, digo, sobredorado, con la luna a sus pies, el Alcorán en la mano y otras diversas circunstancias que agravavan el casso"[52] (I, 22, 210). The gleaming image of Muhammad is of course associated to the Morisco character in the episode, once again representing this cultural minority alongside images in a way that would only make them appear idolatrous. Even Bleda extends the use of the cross over the moon to the wider Mediterranean world while recounting the miracle "De una Cruz que apareció sobre la Luna."[53] In this vision, the cross appears in the sky covering the crescent moon four years before and in the same place where the Battle of Lepanto is fought. According to Bleda, this cross dominating the assumed Muslim symbol of the moon serves as inspiration for the Christian captives and supposedly predicts the relevant victory at Lepanto (*Corónica* 251-53).

[52] "a little gold Muhammad, I mean gilded, with the moon at his feet and a Qur'an in his hand and other diverse circumstances that made the case worse"
[53] "Of the cross that appeared over the moon"

All of these diverse uses of the cross that the apologists have appropriated and employed for their own personally self-seeking purposes acquire even more significance when they are referenced alongside the Cofradía de la Cruz.[54] This religious and military organization was formed based on the recommendation of don Diego de Covarrubias, with the intention of protecting the holy crosses and with the premise of being "una cofradía, o hermandad de christianos viejos, que cuydassen de guardarlas y levantarlas a lugares tan eminentes, que no pudiessen llegar aquellos sus enemigos a maltratarlas"[55] (Bleda, *Corónica* 960b). Based on this recommendation, Bleda becomes the ultimate driving force for this brotherhood: "Hize un memorial de muchas ordenaciones para la fundación de una cofradía de la Santíssima Cruz, con que resplandeciesse en toda España la veneración de las Cruzes, y montes Calvarios, que están por los caminos, y en las salidas de los lugares"[56] (*Corónica* 961b). This apologist tries to assure in every way possible that the founding of this brotherhood continues to function healthily, despite the fact that there were a number of critics, including the Vatican. Finally, and thanks to royal approval, the Cofradía de la Cruz acquires form, even more than what Bleda had originally imagined: "para la execución ordenó una cofradía de la Cruz harto más poderosa, que la que yo en nombre de su Magestad pedía en Roma, para sacar la Santa Cruz de tan horribles ofensas y afrentas"[57] (*Corónica* 978b). Nevertheless and in addition to this spiritual and dignified defense of the cross, the apologist's less theological intentions are also revealed. Using the Cofradía de la Cruz and the image of the cross, Bleda tries to group a whole community together as one and the

[54] In his introduction to Gaspar Aguilar's poem, Manuel Ruiz Lagos dedicates a few pages discussing the Cofradía de la Cruz (32-40).
[55] "an association, or brotherhood of old Christians, that takes care to protect them and place them in prominent places where their enemies will not be able to reach and harm them"
[56] "I wrote a memorial with many regulations to found a brotherhood of the most holy cross, with which the veneration of crosses, and mounts of Calvary, which are on the roads and on the exits from town, would shine throughout Spain"
[57] "to carry it out he ordered a brotherhood of the cross, which was way more powerful than that which in the name of his Majesty I asked for in Rome, to remove the holy cross from so many horrible insults and affronts"

same, in this case the Moriscos, in order to proceed with a mass expulsion.[58] Within the context of the Cofradía de la Cruz, Bleda is unable to conceive of any event relating to the expulsion of the Moriscos without the involvement of the cross. To illustrate this point with an example, he explains how the final decree for expulsion issued by the king himself is an endeavor based on the defense and protection of the cross and holy images, and the actual decision is founded "por medio de la mesma Cruz"[59] (Bleda, *Corónica* 981a). Even for the apologist, the expulsion is not an action executed directly by the Christian forces, but rather it is the cross itself who has the authority to expel the Moriscos: "Echó la Cruz a sus antiguos adversarios por medio de sus grandes devotos, los Religiosos militares que la honran tanto, trayéndola solenemente sobre sus coraçones"[60] (Bleda, *Corónica* 982a).

In an attempt to convince his readers even more and to reinforce the idea of the cross as a tool to attack any of Christianity's enemies, Bleda recalls a miracle in which an image of the cross is intimately related to the expulsion of the Moriscos. In this miracle, mentioned various times in his works, a white and gleaming cross of Caravaca appears in the sky the night before the last departure of the Moriscos from an Aragonese port.[61] According to Bleda, this vision of the cross was the last image that the Moriscos saw before leaving their homeland. In this way, the cross—the same cross that was once insulted and harmed and that had to defend and

[58] During the preparations for forming the Cofradía de la Cruz, Jaime Bleda went to the Inquisition to receive its approval. The Holy Office refused to endorse this organization since the General Inquisitor, Cardinal don Hernando Niño de Guevara, would not allow a mass denouncement of all the Moriscos, just as Bleda was planning: "Fuy, hablé con el Cardenal don Hernando Niño de Guevara, Inquisidor General. Quise proponerle este negocio y respondiome que si tenía que dezir algo contra algunos moriscos en particular, acudiesse a las Inquisiciones de sus districtos, mas que a deposición o denunciación en común, qual yo la quería hazer, no se me daría lugar" ("I went and spoke with the Cardinal don Hernando Niño de Guevara, General Inquisitor. I wanted to propose this deal and he told me that if I had to say something against some Moriscos in particular that I go to the Inquisition of their districts, but if it was a deposition or mass denunciation, which was what I wanted to do, I would not be given the opportunity to do so.") (*Corónica* 961a).

[59] "by way of the cross itself"

[60] "The cross expelled its long-time adversaries through its great devotees, the religious soldiers who honor it so much, wearing it solemnly on their hearts"

[61] Bleda recalls this miracle some years earlier in his *Breve relación de la expulsion de los moriscos del reyno de Valencia* that he includes in his *Defensio fidei* (596).

safeguard itself from the Moriscos—becomes the main cause responsible for completing the expulsion of the Moriscos: "Assí para mostrar la venerable Cruz, que *ella* arrancó de España a éstos sus enemigos"[62] (Bleda, *Corónica* 900a). Aznar Cardona also takes advantage of the same miracle, giving it his own divine interpretation:

> como diziéndonos el Cielo con tal prodigio que el báculo poderoso de Christo nuestro salvador, que es su victoriosa cruz, con su virtud insuperable nos dexava ya essentos de las assechanças de infieles domésticos, y se quedava libre de las blasfemias continuas dellos llevándolos delante de sí a hechallos por essos mares, barriendo nos la tierra de su pestífera contagión para que libres del mal exemplo de sus infidelidades y escándalos intibiadores la adorasen todos los fieles con mayor fervor y puridad.[63] (Aznar Cardona II, 30r-v)

With these words, the apologist tries to frame the expulsion as a divine act in which the protagonist, the holy cross, arrives on the scene during the culminating moment of Christian triumph. With this scenery, where divine and human misery are harshly juxtaposed, it appears as though Aznar Cardona places all the pieces together in such a way that he can justify the expulsion of the entire Morisco community, from whom the apologist takes away any trace of emotion or humanity.

While the writings of the apologists are considered to be the "official literature" of the expulsion, a series of at least seven oil paintings were commissioned by King Felipe III which

[62] "In this way, to show that the venerable cross uprooted its enemies from Spain"
[63] "as if the heavens were telling us with such a miracle that the powerful staff of Christ our savior, which is his victorious cross, with unsurpassed virtue left us free from the snares of the domestic infidels, and it remains free from their continuous blasphemies causing them to be tossed into those seas, clearing up the earth from their pestiferous illness so that free from the poor example of their infidelities and chilling scandals all of the faithful can worship it with greater fervor and purity"

represents the official view of Moriscos' exile from Spain from a visual perspective.[64] The Valencian painter Pere Oromig, who may have observed the Valencian diaspora first-hand, depicts this momentous and tragic event in his painting "Embarque de los moriscos en el Grau de Valencia" (1612-13), including abundant details of some of the thousands of Moriscos who were forced to abandon their homes and their country as they left from this port (see fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Pere Oromig, *Embarque de los moriscos en el Grau de Valencia*, 1612-13
Valencia, Colección Fundación Bancaja

What is interesting though is that, despite the fact that this painting was commissioned by the king and it represents the official view of the expulsion, religious images like the cross have virtually no prominence in it, as they do in the writings of the apologists of the expulsion. At the center of the painting lies a stone cross in the middle of the plaza (see fig. 9). Unlike in the

[64] For an overview on the collection of paintings depicting the expulsion of the Moriscos and the painters, see Jesús Villalmanzo Cameno.

apologetic texts, here the Christian icon is no longer the focus of the action, but rather it only serves as one more witness of this dramatic scene. Oromig includes no miraculous events including religious symbols, nor does he reproduce the stereotype of iconoclastic Moriscos, in this respect contrasting greatly with the works of the apologists who take advantage of any opportunity to lay the blame on this minority.

Fig. 9. Pere Oromig, detail of *Embarque de los moriscos en el Grau de Valencia*, 1612-13 Valencia, Colección Fundación Bancaja

As I have already suggested, it would be illogical not to acknowledge the apologists' biased and propagandistic use of Moriscos' aversion to sacred images, especially the cross. Taking into consideration the way that these writers manipulate and focus on Moriscos' association to religious symbols only makes it more clear that their intention is to try to use these stories to justify their banishment from Spain. On the other hand, it would be irrational to deny the difficult coexistence of Moriscos with Catholicism in general, and sacred images in particular.[65] The narrator of Cervantes's *Persiles* reflects this reality starkly in his description of

[65] For further study, see Borja Franco Llopis ("En defensa de una identidad perdidad;" "Evangelización, arte y conflictividad social;" "Los moriscos y la Inquisición") and Felipe Pereda, who have studied the relationship

the crypto-Muslim Moriscos who knock down the stone cross before exiling themselves to North Africa. However, the representation of Moriscos and their association to religious icons in the Cervantine episode in no way aligns itself with the hyperbolic discourse of the apologists of the expulsion.

In contrast to the Moriscos' iconoclasm that we have just seen described in various texts, the apologists also present the Moriscos as idolatrous through their worship of what they believe to be Islamic images. The practice of idolatry is the only alternative to image destruction that the apologists can see with regard to the Moriscos. In the eyes of Bleda, Aznar Cardona, and Guadalajara y Xavier, if the Moriscos reject Catholic images, they surely must have a parallel set of their own Muslim images and relics that they adore. This idea is especially outrageous, considering that the apologists admit on various occasions to being aware of the fact that Moriscos do not generally worship any figural representations, as the apologists themselves do. Nevertheless, they still attribute certain images and sacred objects to the Moriscos and assume that these items form part of their religious practices. Guadalajara y Xavier makes reference to this idea in one of his texts where he recalls an Inquisition case in which a Morisco is accused of possessing a canvas containing a representation of two human figures wearing Moorish attire. In the end, the Inquisition determined—at least according to Guadalajara y Xavier—that one of these figures was the Prophet Muhammad. In the words of the apologist:

> Tenía el lienço (que sería de tres palmos a lo largo, dos y medio de ancho) una sala espaciosa, un venerable viejo vestido de una alba blanca y no ceñida que tenía sobre los ombros y cabeça una muceta azul, un moro assentado a sus pies, con quien parece comunicava algún negocio grave, y una çarabatana cuadrada de

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between Moriscos and religious art. The former centers principally on the geographical region of Valencia while the latter focuses on Granada.

> color de pino que el uno de sus orificios estava encaxado en la pared y el otro al oydo del viejo. Según parece por lo que resultava del dicho processo y común fama y estimación de toda la Andaluzía que el viejo era Mahoma.[66] (*Prodición y destierro* 71v-72r)

After describing the content of the canvas, Guadalajara y Xavier sets his views apart from the widespread belief and general acceptance of the Inquisition that one of the human figures was Muhammad. He bases his opinion on the idea that the Moriscos "no veneran ni honran la figura toda de Mahoma, sino su Zancarrón: que es un braço adornado, conforme la posibilidad de cada uno, de pedrería, anillos y otras riquezas"[67] (*Prodición y destierro* 72r). This same author strengthens his anti-Morisco argument by clinging to the notion of the *zancarrón*, reproaching the Moriscos for worshiping one of Muhammad's extremities. This accusation forms part of a long list of idolatrous practices that the apologists used to justify the Moriscos' expulsion from Spain.

This figure of the *zancarrón*, or relic of the Prophet, can be found in a number of the apologists' writings as well as other literary texts of the time period, although each with their unique nuances.[68] Aznar Cardona[69] and Damián Fonseca, for example, interpret the so-called

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[66] "The canvas (which would be three hands long and two and a half wide) had a spacious room, a venerable old man dressed in a white and loose-fitting alb who had a blue cape over his shoulders and head, a Moor sitting at his feet, with whom it appears he communicated some serious matter, and a square pine-colored ear trumpet that had one opening placed on the wall and the other in the old man's ear. According to how it appears from how the case ended up and common knowledge and consideration from all around Andalusia, the old man was Muhammad"

[67] "don't venerate or honor an image of Muhammad's whole body, only his *zancarrón*, which is an adorned arm, according to every individual's possibility, with jewels, rings, and other riches"

[68] José María Perceval studies the image of the *zancarrón* in detail in various texts of the time period, including the works of Lope de Vega and Quevedo (204-207). Albert Mas and Louis Cardaillac also dedicate a few pages to this topic (290; 311-12). Furthermore, in relation to this issue, Borja Franco Llopis analyzes three Inquisition cases in which Moriscos are accused of possessing and worshiping not only a relic of the Prophet, but an entire figural representation of Muhammad ("Los moriscos y la Inquisición" 97-99).

[69] "[Los moriscos] adoravan en sus Mezquitas la Ampsa esto es, un retrato y figura de la mano de Mahoma" ("In their mosques, [the Moriscos] worshiped the *ampsa*, which is a portrait and figure of Muhammad's hand") (Aznar Cardona II, 50v). Moriscos' association to the *ampsa* has been pointed out by several scholars, such as Cardaillac

Islamic object of worship in question as a representation of Muhammad's hand instead of an adorned arm as Guadalajara y Xavier had understood it: "sacavan para adorar, una mano retratada del pérfido Mahoma, a que llamavan Ampsa"[70] (Fonseca 96). Despite the different distinctions between one text and the next, all seem to attribute an identical assigned place within the Muslim faith in which this relic would occupy the same symbolic meaning for Moriscos as the cross does for their Christian counterpart. This interpretation comes perhaps conditioned by the apologists' inability to comprehend any religion that would not make use of religious images, given their vast prevalence in early modern Spanish culture. In this sense, the fictitious *zancarrón*, or relic of the Prophet, manipulated in the apologists' texts, could even be understood as a distorted reflection of the Catholic cult of images, as José María Perceval has suggested (214). The inquisitorial case of the young Morisca Inés illustrates this idea to perfection. Inés is accused for supposedly announcing publicly and without hesitation "que en su ley tomaban un zancarrón de borrico y le ponían enhiesto y se hincaban de rodillas todos los moriscos delante de él, y que un morisco, que no nombró la dicha Inés, dijo que se vestía como clérigo y decía misa delante del zancarrón"[71] (Dadson 254). This Inquisitional example reflects in a very illustrative way the crude inversion of Christian customs into a Morisco context. It is especially significant that the image of devotion in this case is not one of the Prophet's extremities, but rather that in this situation the *zancarrón* refers to part of an animal. In this way, the object of worship has a macabre tint to it that heightens their act of idolatry in the eyes of the Christian authorities of the

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(312) and Perceval (211), while referencing these texts. However, the etymology of the term still remains to be studied.

[70] "they took out a hand, which they call *ampsa*, to worship that resembles treacherous Muhammad's"

[71] "in their religion they took a donkey's leg and stood it upright and all the Moriscos got down on their knees in front of it, and one Morisco, whom Inés didn't name, said he dressed like a clergyman and said Mass in front of the animal's leg"

Inquisition, while at the same time forms part of these discursive strategies employed to defend the exile of this minority from Spain.

3. The Morisca Rafala and the Politics of the Cross

Cervantes, however, in the episode of the Valencian Moriscos in the *Persiles* offers another alternative besides that of iconoclasm or idolatry. This possibility contrasts severely with the apologists' discourse, but at the same time does not deny the reality of the time period and the difficult coexistence of Moriscos with their surrounding religious images. This alternate option for depicting Moriscos' relation to the Catholic cult of images is embodied in the figure of the Morisca Rafala, who, while not denying her Morisca condition, rejects certain stereotypes associated with those of her ethnicity by embracing a simple cross. This suggestive staging of Rafala with the cross in her hands hints at another possible scenario in contrast to the narrowly-conceived ideas of the apologists. In this episode, Cervantes offers the veneration of images as an alternative pathway that does not result in a soulless mass expulsion. Keeping in mind the sequence of events in the Cervantine episode, it would be impossible not to detect some similarities between the Valencian Moriscos' behavior in the *Persiles* and some of the accusations put forth by the apologists of the expulsion. Cervantes, nonetheless, includes two elements which distance themselves from the apologists' point of view by including Rafala and her uncle Jadraque, in whom he curiously deposits the anti-Morisco arguments of the apologists. With this scenario, Cervantes demonstrates that he is aware of the problems in Valencia in terms of Moriscos' destruction and contempt of images, and, without rejecting this reality, he offers an alternative situation in which no exorbitant accusations or miraculous events involving the cross and other sacred images take place, as they do in the apologists' writings. And he most certainly does not resort to attributing any type of idolatrous practices to this minority as many of his

contemporaries did. This scenario makes Rafala's striking appearance possible, where the cross that she holds serves as a symbol and fundamental key to present another potential outcome. In place of Rafala's humble reed cross, the apologists used a more robust, austere, and even overwhelming cross, but the cross itself in the end is the same, just used with a different purpose in each of their texts.

The figure of Rafala, under the protection of the cross, could be an example of an attempt to institute the worship of images among Moriscos in the kingdom of Valencia, as well as other regions of the Peninsula, which some religious authorities tried to put into practice in the sixteenth century. Perhaps Cervantes shows with this Morisca character a glimpse of what the evangelization campaigns focused on: conversion through something so visual and provocative as Catholic images, ideally being less painful and leaving less scars than the actual expulsion of the Moriscos. This possibility of the importance of images is not just a literary invention conceived by Cervantes but has its theoretical basis in several authors of the time period. In the kingdom of Valencia, Feliciano de Figueroa, Bishop of Segovia, writes in his *Constituciones de los nuevamente convertidos* that all the Morisco members of his diocese are required to have "una cruz e imágenes de santos, en sus aposentos, todo el año, con mucha decencia y veneración"[72] (Franco Llopis, "Evangelización, arte y conflictividad social" 391; Saborit Badenes 435). This requirement mandating that the Moriscos possess crosses and other iconographic motifs occurred in other parts of the Peninsula as well as in the kingdom of Valencia. The Hieronymite Brother José de Sigüenza, for example, while writing the biography of Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, explains how important crosses and other images were for him during the evangelization campaigns in Granada:

[72] "a cross and images of saints in their homes with much decency and reverence all year long"

> Cuando iba a visitar esta gente llevaba imágenes de papel, de aquellas estampas viejas que entonces se tenían por buenas, dábales a unos y a otros. Enseñábalos en cuánta reverencia las habían de tener, y por ser punto tan vedado en su Corán tener imágenes, decíales cuán engañados estaban en aquello y qué consideración habían de tener en esta adoración, mostrándoles cómo no se comete en ella ninguna idolatría, pues son para levantar el corazón y despertar la memoria de aquello que representan, y adorar en ellas lo representado, que es Dios, su Madre y sus santos.[73] (Pereda, *Las imágenes* 272)

In addition to this pious religious initiation through the image, Hernando de Talavera mandates that the Moriscos in Granada carry a cross or display an image of worship in their homes.[74] In his early seventeenth-century *Vida*, Alonso de Contreras subtly reveals how Moriscos' homes were in fact searched for an adequate display of religious iconography. After Contreras is accused of being "King of the Moriscos" in Hornachos, a region known for its predominantly Muslim population, he gives an account of how he pretended to be sent by the Bishop of Badajoz to check the residents' dwellings for images and crosses.[75] While he does this only in order to have an excuse to enter their homes for other personal motives, he does reveal that somebody must

[73] "When he went to visit these people he brought images on paper, from those old holy cards that at that time were thought to be good, he gave them to various people. He taught them how much reverence they deserved, and since having images was a point that was so prohibited in their Qur'an, he told them how deceived they were by thinking that and how they should consider worshiping them, showing them how they would not commit any type of idolatry, since their purpose is to uplift one's heart and awaken the memory of that which it represents, and to worship them for what they represent, which is God, his mother and the saints."

[74] In *Instrucción de Talavera a los vecinos del Albaicín*, the Archbishop of Granada requires of the Moriscos "que tengáys en vuestras casas en lugares onestos y limpios alguna ymájines de nuestro Señor o de la Santa Cruz o de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María o de algund santo o santa" ("that you all have in your homes and in decent and clean places images of our Lord or of the holy cross or of Our Lady the Virgin Mary or of some saint") (Pereda 276).

[75] While it is obvious that Alonso de Contreras's account cannot always be trusted, L. P. Harvey verifies that his description of Hornachos does include many authentic details, including some of the individuals mentioned. For more on the Morisco town of Hornachos and Contreras's involvement there see L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain* (369-77).

have passed through Hornachos selling religious prints, since every home had more than one cross displayed publicly:

> Y fue que entrando en otras primero, decían era enviado del obispo de Badajoz a ver las casas si tenían imágenes y cruces, y como yo era ermitaño creyéronlo, y fue causa que vinieron santeros con estampas de papel a Hornachos, que se hicieron ricos, y no había puerta que no tuviese dos o tres cruces, que parecía campo de matanza.[76] (Contreras, *Vida* 108)

For not following the amendments issued by the ecclesiastical authorities and not displaying religious images such as the cross, the Moriscos were often processed, as was the case of Pedro Tinel, who was accused of not having "ni imagen ni cruz en casa"[77] (Franco Llopis, "Los moriscos y la Inquisición" 94).

Returning to the episode of Rafala and the Valencian Moriscos, the problems that could arise from worshiping or scorning sacred icons are clearly seen through the actions of this Morisca character. Furthermore, the way in which the veneration of images occurs in the episode is suggestive since, if we examine the attitude and behavior of the Morisca protagonist, we see that she appears to have a thorough understanding of how to worship and revere religious images. Not surprisingly, once the majority of the crypto-Muslim Moriscos exile themselves to North Africa and Rafala is left on the Valencian coast, the first thing that she does is go to the church where she "hizo oración a las imágenes y luego se abrazó con su tío, besando primero las manos al cura"[78] (II, 11, 552). In contrast to Rafala's attitude towards images, the Cervantine

[76] "And while first entering in other homes, they said that I was sent by the Bishop of Badajoz to see if their homes had images and crosses, and since I was a hermit they believed me, and there was reason to believe that people came to Hornachos selling religious prints to get rich, and there was not a door that didn't have two or three crosses, so it looked like a battle ground"
[77] "an image or cross at home"
[78] "she prayed before the images and later hugged her uncle, first kissing the priest's hands"

Algerian Zoraida from the captive's tale in *Don Quixote* displays a much more neophyte attitude with regard to religious iconography and Catholicism in general. As Marina Brownlee has demonstrated, Zoraida is presented to the reader as a character who is vastly ignorant of the customs of the Catholic Church, especially when she is said to have repeatedly kissed her cross, not because of its meaning but simply because her governess told her to do so (577).[79] In fact, once Zoraida reaches Christian lands she enters a church in Vélez Málaga along with the captive and the renegade. During this time, Zoraida reveals her lack of knowledge with respect to the images of the Virgin Mary, so the renegade "le dio […] a entender lo que significaban, para que ella las adorase como si verdaderamente fueran cada una dellas la misma Lela Marién que la había hablado"[80] (I, 41, 512). As Steven Hutchinson has pointed out, it is interesting that the task of instructing Zoraida on the subject of Christian icons is left to the renegade just before he presents himself to the Holy Inquisition in Granada ("Fronteras cervantinas" 158).[81] In relation to this episode, it is relevant to point out that it is precisely through the veneration of Christian images that some renegades who returned from Muslim lands tried to reconcile themselves with the Catholic Church and reduce the sentences pronounced by the ecclesiastical authorities.[82]

There is no doubt that Cervantes has the reader see the Morisca Rafala with a strong Catholic devotion, knowing how to worship religious images. Although it is no less significant that the Morisca also chooses such an opportune moment to do so: a village in flames, Moriscos

[79] "Ella y Alá te guarden, y esa cruz que yo beso muchas veces; que así me lo mandó la cautiva" (Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "May she and Allah protect you, and this cross that I kiss many times, as the captive woman taught me to do so" [I, 40, 347]) (I, 40, 490).
[80] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "the renegade did the best he could to explain what they meant, so that she could worship them as if each one really were the Lela Marién who had spoken to her" (I, 41, 367).
[81] This idea will be considered in more detail in chapter four.
[82] An illustrative case occurs during the French renegade Guillaume Bedos's Inquisition case. Although he renounced his Christian faith and mocked religious images, while he was on his way to be executed he knelt before an image of the Virgin Mary and as a result was saved from the death penalty and was able to reconcile himself with the Church precisely because of his image worship (Bennassar and Bennassar 65-88). I examine both Zoraida's and the renegade's association to religious images in more detail in chapter four.

with mixed feelings leaving their homes, the dawning sun, and Rafala's statement as she appears in the distance. A moment so subtly created makes the significance of Rafala and her worship of Catholic icons stand out even more. In order to highlight this Morisca's actions towards images, Cervantes has Rafala enter the church with the scribe, a character who is diametrically opposed to the Morisca, which further emphasizes her religious values: "El escribano ni adoró ni besó las manos a nadie, porque le tenía ocupada el alma el sentimiento de la pérdida de su hacienda"[83] (III, 11, 552-3). Not even a slight concern over knowing where his wife and children were get in the way of his thoughts which are solely consumed by the loss of his burned and stolen belongings. What's more is that scribes, as Flores Arroyuelo (103) explains and Romero Múñoz (552n) mentions in the notes to his edition of the *Persiles,* were often appointed as officers of the Inquisition, responsible for denouncing any unorthodox practices among the Moriscos. Curiously, in this Cervantine passage, it is precisely the scribe who, at least when compared with Rafala, could be held more accountable for displaying little interest in the Catholic images. In early modern Spain, scribes were also generally required to prove their status as Old Christians, although there were still examples evincing that this was not always the case (Marchant Rivera 210-11). With this in mind, the careful positioning of the figure of the scribe with his supposed purity of blood, but also his preoccupation with material possessions, next to the New Christian protagonist concerned more with spiritual matters, emphasizes the Morisca's representation and could lead one to recognize that Old or New Christian origins do not necessarily determine one's religious identity. In this way, the juxtaposition between these two very disparate characters does not seem to be a mere coincidence, but rather a way of focusing more attention on the Morisca Rafala.

[83] "The scribe didn't worship or kiss anybody's hands, because his soul was busy feeling sorry for the loss of his property"

The fact that the traveling pilgrims conclude their Valencian adventure in the church with Rafala adjacent to the scribe, and not another character with any other professional occupation, only reinforces the contrast between these two, bringing the figure of the Morisca to the forefront. In addition to oftentimes being associated to the Inquisition as was mentioned above, scribes in early modern Spanish literature were more times than not the recipients of a very unfavorable reputation (Extremera 192). In Cervantes's *Persiles*, for example, Ricla nearly becomes the victim of the scribe's scheme to overcharge the pilgrims for his services (III, 4, 467). Likewise, in *El coloquio de los perro*s, the talking dogs Cipión and Berganza discuss how a certain scribe worked alongside a corrupt officer in his fraudulent dealings, both taking advantage of their status and authority to swindle others' money (Cervantes 324-27).[84] In this sense, the scribe in question in the episode of the Valencian Moriscos also demonstrates this materialistic tendency with his concern over the state of his belongings; meanwhile the narrator has us see a Rafala who is more preoccupied with the spiritual realm. By focusing on Rafala's actions and her relation to religious images throughout the episode, especially when compared with the scribe, I do not wish to suggest that her conduct should go without being questioned. While her representation is unique, especially as a Morisca, with regard to her treatment of Catholic icons, her actions towards some individuals like her father are far from exemplary, as Steven Hutchinson has recently highlighted ("The Morisco Problem" 197).

The figurative dichotomy between the Valencian Morisca and the scribe is evident from the moment of their appearance together. Rafala comes from the coast, from the community of her own people who are on their way to North Africa, and she comes with a spiritual frame of

[84] Scribes are also the object of satire in Quevedo's works, including his *Sueño del juicio final*. In this text, he has all scribes condemned to hell just because of the profession they practice. Curiously, Quevedo situates the scribes on almost the same level as the Prophet Muhammad, Martin Luther, and Judas. For more references to scribes in Quevedo and other Golden Age texts, see Carlos Romero Muñoz's note in his edition of the Persiles (467-68, note 24) and Extremera's cited article (192).

mind superior to any physical or emotional loss. The scribe makes an appearance coming from the land in the opposite direction, from a place that would suppose he was taking refuge from all this action on the coast with the departure of the Moriscos. The only concern on the scribe's mind was his own personal matters, the loss of his property. Not knowing what had happened in the Valencian town except for hearing the ringing of bells, the scribe appears on the scene only after the danger had passed, from somewhere isolated from the conflict. These opposite paths that eventually meet put both characters in a similar situation, apparently without physical assets and with the duty to rebuild a new future but both sheltered under the same church. The temple doors are opened for both regardless of their backgrounds, where both Old and New Christians have a place and with the images acting as their witnesses. It is interesting to keep in mind that all of this occurs while the new daybreak shines upon the Valencian town, a new day for the atypical characters who will need to begin restructuring the foundations for a new life together, a future full of uncertainties but protected by the same walls. Yet this future was one that was not consented to the Moriscos such as Rafala, just as María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti reminds us (71). Nevertheless, Rafala and her reverence towards religious images reveals another alternative scenario, a situation in which a simple cross in the delicate hands of the Morisca is capable of going against another more authoritarian cross used by the apologists, an imperative cross that helped pave the way for the expulsion of the Moriscos. Instead of grouping all Moriscos together as one and the same as the apologists had done to justify the decision to exile the entire community, Cervantes presents us with two sides of the same situation, in this case the iconoclastic Moriscos and the devout Rafala, showing some diversity while representing Moriscos and their association to religious images.

CHAPTER TWO

Text against Image: Morisco Literature and Visual Culture

In his polemical work, the Morisco writer Ibrahim Taybili, exiled in Tunis, criticizes Christian dogmas that are incompatible with Islam. In his objections, Taybili points out the idolatrous nature of the Catholic mass and denounces the veneration of religious images in the church, calling the statues idols and the cross a mere stick of wood:

> delante del altar mayor que diçen,
>
> de Rodillas se pone el pueblo çiego,
>
> con oraçión sus ýdolos bendiçe,
>
> que a un palo adoren y con llanto y Ruego
>
> pidan y por dios le soleniçen.[85] (vv. 2250-2254)

In a similar fashion, another Morisco exile, Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, puts forth some of the same accusations toward the Catholic church "which is full of idols and crosses" (226) as opposed to the "mosque that is devoid of idols and filth" (123). Like many other Moriscos who saw Christians as synonymous with idol worshippers,[86] Taybili and al-Ḥajarī equated Catholic images with idols.[87] Other Morisco texts echo similar complaints, and as Gisela Labib has pointed out, the criticism of idolatry or image worship was a frequent theme in their writings,

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[85] "in front of what they call the high altar,/ the ignorant people get down on their knees,/ with prayer they worship their idols,/ they adore a stick, and with tears and petition/ they plead, and for God they solemnize"

[86] In a Morisco *jofor* or prophecy, for example, ʿAlī Ibnu Jābir Alfārasiyo announces the future triumph of Islam over the "adoradores de los ídolos" ("idol worshippers") or Christians in Spain (López Baralt, *La literatura secreta* 222). The Spanish writer Diego Hurtado de Mendoza even explains in his *Guerra de Granada* that "adoradores de los ídolos" ("idol worshippers") was the name that Moriscos gave to priests since in their view images were equivalent to idols (85b). For more examples of how the term *ʿabīd al-aṣnām* 'idol worshippers' was used to refer to Christians in Spain see Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez (316-320).

[87] Throughout this chapter I intentionally use both images and idols to refer to Catholic objects of adoration. As W. J. T. Mitchell argues, idol/idolatry is not a separate category of objects but rather a name used as a way of talking about "object relations," highlighting that "one and the same object (a golden calf, for instance) could function as a totem, fetish, or idol depending on the social practices and narratives that surround it" (*What Do Pictures Want?* 188). In this sense, the religious objects in the narratives presented in this chapter are both Catholic images and idols depending on the context of the reference.

whether they referred to disapproval of Christian icons in the churches surrounding them or the idols before or during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (Valero Cuadra 96).

In the pages that follow, I will consider what power and value is attributed to Christian images or "idols" in Moriscos' writings, and how these narratives might have empowered them to specifically resist the veneration of religious representations. Whereas the previous chapter centers on Moriscos' attitude toward the Catholic cult of images in texts authored by Old Christians, this chapter will focus on Moriscos' own writings in Arabic, Aljamiado, and Spanish. In order to do so, I will analyze the visual culture and discourses around it, focusing principally on three anonymous Morisco texts: *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*, *Libro de las batallas*, and *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar*. In these narratives, all of the Muslim characters transgress the established rules and actively repudiate the adoration of religious statues or idols, much like a great deal of their Morisco audience opposed the veneration of images. Therefore by examining this literature, I will draw a comparison of how it oftentimes reflects the social quandary of the Moriscos in early modern Spain as well as consider how it stimulated them to enthusiastically reject religious images.

Stories and legends played an important role in helping Moriscos preserve memories of great significance and were particularly influential as a mode of resistance against Christian attempts to eradicate their culture and identity, as various scholars have demonstrated.[88] Mary Elizabeth Perry, for example, suggests that the Aljamiado account of the story of Job served as a subversive text of resistance to Moriscos living under increasing persecution in early modern Spain. The Morisco version of the story of Job and his wife Rahma may have inspired Moriscos

[88] See especially chapter 1 of Mary Elizabeth Perry's *The Handless Maiden* (19-37), as well as her articles "Patience and Pluck: Job's Wife, Conflict and Resistance in Morisco Manuscripts Hidden in the Sixteenth Century" and "Morisco Stories and the Complexities of Resistance and Assimilation." See also Vincent Barletta's *Covert Gestures*, Luce López Baralt's *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España*, and Mercedes García Arenal's article titled "El problema morisco: propuesta de discusión."

to maintain their Muslim faith in spite of their daily trials. It also gave them hope that, like Job and his wife, their suffering would soon end and they would be rewarded for their steadfast faith in Allah (Perry, "Patience"). Luce López Baralt affirms that the essence of Aljamiado literature lies in its use as a tool of resistance. She explains that this literature written by Moriscos consists of Spanish and Islamic influences, thus forming a "tercer espacio."[89] While hybridity is a characteristic feature of this literature, its true meaning lies in how these texts served as a means of resistance for the Morisco community (*La literatura secreta* 28). As Vincent Barletta has indicated, it is certainly not difficult to find a close association between Morisco texts and other more traditional forms of resistance. For instance, it is especially revealing that, hidden alongside an assortment of Morisco books, was a concealed pile of rusted weapons (Barletta x). Based on these considerations, this chapter will continue to examine how Morisco literature could help preserve memories and function as a mode of resistance, although here within the context of image worship.

1. The Problem of Idols through Morisco Eyes

As Ibrahim Taybili's quote included at the start of this chapter suggests, the use of religious images oftentimes provoked diverse reactions among Muslims and their Christian neighbors in the Iberian Peninsula. Even before Moriscos objected to the worship of "idols," Muslims, such as Ibn Hazm of Cordoba, saw Christians in Iberia as idol worshippers, believing they adored the religious object instead of what it represents:

> 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

[89] "third space"

> acto de religión. Ahora bien, esto es idolatría indudable y puro 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.[90] (qtd. in Pereda, *Las imágenes* 342n; Franco Llopis, "Los moriscos y la Inquisición" 89)

In addition to the issue of rendering cult to figural representations, Ibn Hazm is concerned here with the fusion of the image and its referent, conflating the representation of a deity with the deity itself. Ibn Hazm seems to make a similar distinction between the image and its referent that René Magritte would offer centuries later in his painting *La trahison des images*. The words "Ceci n'est pas une pipe" below the image of the pipe suggest that it is only a representation of a pipe and not the object itself. For Ibn Hazm, the paintings of human likeness worshipped by his Christian peers should not be viewed as the very individuals that they represent.

Shortly after the forced conversions of Muslims to Christianity began at the start of the sixteenth century in Spanish kingdoms, the problem of images became a greater concern for Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. To address this issue, the Mufti of Oran wrote a fatwa, an Islamic legal opinion, to crypto-Muslims living in Spain, granting them permission to conserve their faith by dissimulating Islamic practices. According to the Mufti's advice, they were allowed to comply with the precepts of the Catholic Church as well as drink wine and eat pork, provided that the inward intention of their heart remained devoted to Islam. With regard to Christian visual

[90] "Know also that Christians all agree on painting an image in their churches that they say is 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. Furthermore, they kneel down before the images like worshipping them, and they fast in their honor, as an act of religion. However, this is undoubtedly idolatry and sheer polytheism; and although they condemn all idolatrous worship, the fact is that they publicly worship the images, and the proof that this is true is that they believe that with this worship they approach not the images themselves but rather the people that they represent."

culture, such as figures of Jesus and Mary, the Mufti declares that these images are no more than mere *aṣnām* 'idols' made of wood and lifeless stone that serve no purpose (Harvey, "Crypto-Islam" 175). The fatwa continues by giving direction on how crypto-Muslims should respond to these Christian "idols." In the Mufti's words, the Moriscos' inner intentions must remain committed to Islam even if they are forced to outwardly simulate their praise to the Christian statutes:

> Si a la hora de la oración se os obligase a ir a adorar los ídolos de los cristianos, formaréis intención de hacer la *tacbir del alihram*,[91] y de cumplir vuestra oración; y vuestra mirada se dirigirá hacia los ídolos cuando los cristianos lo hagan; mas vuestra intención se encaminará a Dios, aunque no estéis situados de cara hacia la alquiba, a la manera que hacen oración los que en la guerra se hallan frente al enemigo.[92] (qtd. in García Arenal, *Moriscos* 44-45)

As L. P. Harvey and María del Mar Rosa-Rodríguez have pointed out, Moriscos in Spain must have regarded the guidance in the fatwa as relatively significant, since it was copied and/or translated various times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ("Crypto Islam" 164; 158).[93]

As a variety of letters from Moriscos to religious and political authorities in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire demonstrate, the issue of forced worship of Christian "idols" most

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[91] *Takbīr al-iḥrām* is the exclamation of the Arabic words *Allāhu akbar,* meaning God is great, at the beginning of the prayer.

[92] "If at the hour of prayer you are obligated to go and worship the idols of the Christians, you should have the intention to do the *takbīr al-iḥrām* and to carry out your prayer; and you should look at the idols when the Christians do so; but your intention should be directed towards God, although you may not be facing the direction of the *qibla*, the way in which those in war pray when they come up against their enemy."

[93] These scholars have identified at least four extant copies and/or translations of the fatwa in Arabic, Aljamiado, and Spanish, although the original document has not yet been found. For a copy of the Arabic text see L. P. Harvey, "Crypto-Islam" (174-178). For the complete Aljamiado version dated to 1563 see L. P. Harvey, "Crypto-Islam" (171-174) or the partial and modernized version of this text in García Arenal, *Los moriscos* (44-45). For the later Aljamiado version dated to 1609 see J. Cantineau (6-10). María del Mar Rosa-Rodríguez has recently located and published an early seventeenth-century Spanish version (165-74).

certainly remained a great concern for this community in Spain. A few years after the conquest of Granada, a Morisco articulates his sorrow caused by his forced conversion to Christianity in an Arabic *qaṣīda* 'poem' he sends to the Ottoman emperor Bāyazīd II, in a plea for support. The poetic voice expresses lament that the Morisco children now go off with the priest everyday who instructs them in "unbelief, idolatry, and falsehood" (qtd. in Monroe 299). The fact that the Islamic mosques of al-Andalus have been converted to churches and Christian bells now toll from the minarets causes distress among the Morisco community (Monroe 299). Finally, the poem concludes with a request that the emperor intercede on behalf of the poet so that Moriscos could continue their Islamic practices or else relocate to North Africa with their belongings.

Other Moriscos continued to write in request for help about similar concerns, such as Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Daud, who appeals to the Turks in Algiers for support. Although his letter was intercepted and was never delivered to its intended recipient in North Africa, the Morisco Alonso del Castillo translates these writings into Spanish, leaving a written testimony of his anguish.[94] Let's listen to Ibn Daud as he expresses his concerns about the forced image worship:

> Metieron a las gentes en su ley e les hazen adorar con ellas las figuras, apremiándoles a ello, sin osar ninguno hablar en ello. ¡O quántas personas están afligidos entre los que no creen! Llaman a las gentes con campana para adorar la figura, e mandan a la persona yr presto a su ley revoltosa.[95] (Castillo 46)

[94] While Alonso del Castillo attests in his *Cartulario* to providing a Spanish translation of Ibn Daud's Arabic writings (41-59), L. P. Harvey questions whether these letters were actually composed by Ibn Daud or whether they may have been contrived by Alonso del Castillo himself (*Muslims* 209). Ibn Daud's letter is also included in Mármol Carvajal's *Historia del* [sic] *rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (III, 9, 85a-86b).

[95] "They forced the people into their religion and make them worship figures [images] with them, pressuring them to do so, without anyone daring to talk about it. Oh how many upset people there are among those who don't believe! They call the people to come worship the figure [image] with the church bell, and they order the person to come promptly to their scornful religion."

From these Morisco appeals for help it is clear that the fatwa sent by the Mufti of Oran would surely explain to these concerned Moriscos how they could preserve their faith through dissimulation and inner religiosity in spite of being forced to worship these Christian images.

In fact, it seems as though the Morisco exile Muhammad ibn ʿabd al-Rafīʿ ibn Muhammad al-Andalusī took the Mufti's fatwa to heart with respect to his behavior towards Christian images. Al-Rafīʿ writes from Tunis after fleeing Spain with his family in 1604 right before the expulsion. In his account *al-Anwār al-Nabawīyya fī Ābā' Khayr al-Barīyya*[96] [*The Prophetic Lights on the Ancestors of the Most Excellent of All Creatures*], the Morisco recalls how his father would secretly teach him about Islam in their home. Included in his Islamic teachings, al-Rafīʿ received instruction on how he should respond to the many "idols" in Catholic churches. Just as the Mufti of Oran had explained, Islamic practices could be dissimulated since it was really the inner intention of the heart that was important. Likewise, al-Rafīʿ's father insisted that his Morisco son look at the images but in his heart recite verses from the Qur'an that negate all that these sacred effigies represent:

> My father, God almighty rest his soul, used to teach me what to say when I saw the idols. He said: "If you enter their churches and see their idols, say in your heart the words of God: 'O men, give ear to this parable: Those you worship other than God can never create as much as a fly, even if they get together to do so; and if the fly were to rob them of a thing, they would not be able to snatch it away from it' [22:73]. Say: 'O you unbelievers, I do not worship what you worship' [109:1-2] and other holy verses, and the Almighty's words. (qtd. in Matar 195)

[96] Nabil Matar includes a partial English translation of this text in his book *Europe through Arab Eyes* (194-200). For the Arabic text see al-Turkī (25-63).

On the contrary, the Morisco Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī interprets Christian images in a more proactive manner. Instead of disguising his feelings toward religious figures as al-Rafīʿ's father and the Mufti of Oran recommend, he speaks out against them in France and admires the actions of those Muslims who physically harm them. In his book *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*,[97] al-Ḥajarī recounts the theological discussion he held with a beautiful French woman on the creation and worship of Christian images (141-44). In this dispute—which focuses not on which religion has more credibility but on how each is practiced by their followers—al-Ḥajarī uses the Bible, specifically the Ten Commandments, as his reference to demonstrate how Catholicism remains tainted by the Catholics themselves in their practice and how they do not adhere to their own principles. As the discussion continues to develop, each of the Morisco's arguments is expressed with increased resolution, mainly basing himself off of the first two commandments set in the Old Testament, which reject the possibility of having other gods and creating images, regardless of whether they be heavenly or earthly. With this background and in the eyes of the al-Ḥajarī, Muslims follow their own theological premises more closely than their Christian counterpart. This dispute leads al-Ḥajarī to recall the words of his Prophet, collected in several hadiths, which rebuke the creation and worship of images, as well as Muhammad's iconoclasm as he destroys 360 idols at the Kaʿba (145-46). Inspired by the actions of his Prophet, the Morisco likewise refers to a contemporary story of harm done to a Christian image by a Muslim captive, as he praises his actions (146-47). In this narrative, the inhabitants of a particular village buy a statue—although to al-Ḥajarī they buy an idol—and order the Muslim captive Aḥmad to get it and transport it back to the town. After making sure he was not being observed by anyone, Aḥmad decides to tie the object in question to his donkey and drag it on the ground all the way

[97] This book composed by al-Ḥajarī is a summary of his full travel account which is now lost. For more about this fascinating Morisco, see Wiegers; Harvey "The Morisco who was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter"; Bernabé Pons "*Una nota sobre Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaŷrī Bejarano.*"

back, in this way expressing his opinion on the worthlessness of the statue. Even though the villagers were outraged by the way Aḥmad had mistreated the holy effigy, significantly, he did not receive any type of reprimand from the governor since he acted in accordance with the precepts of his religion.

While Moriscos, such as Ibn Daud, Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, al- Rafīʿ, and the others mentioned thus far, generally expressed their disdain for Catholic images or "idols," it would be a mistake to label the entire Morisco community as a homogenous group with identical cultural practices. In fact, as Luis Bernabé Pons among others point out, the Morisco culture varied greatly depending on each geographical territory. Among other reasons, the manner in which many Andalusian Muslims began living under Christian authority was a gradual and varied process, and as a result created diversity among Moriscos. Bernabé explains that by 1501 some Muslims had already been living alongside Chrisitians for the last four centuries whereas in Granada Muslims had only spent eight years under Christian authority ("Desheredados de al-Andalus" 52).

Likewise, the Morisco stories and legends studied in this chapter cannot be considered as representative of all Moriscos in early modern Spain. While, as a general rule, a considerable amount of the literature written or copied by Moriscos expressed criticism of the Catholic "idols," I do not wish to suggest that all Moriscos shared the same viewpoint. An interesting exception is the way in which the Morisco doctor and translator Miguel de Luna presents Catholic images in his apocryphal *Historia verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo*. As Grace Magnier Heney has highlighted, the veneration of images forms a key element in Princess Egliona's plan in her attempt to convert her husband, Mahometo Abdalaziz (183). After their marriage, the Christian princess plots a scheme that entails filling her home with images and lowering the

entrances to the rooms. Egliona seems to believe that this arrangement will cause her husband to bow his head upon entering the image-filled rooms, obliging Abdalaziz to reverence the images and as a result convert to Christianity:

> […] ella a él mucho más le amava; y assi deseava ella en su coraçón que el Abdalaziz quisiesse tornarse Christiano, y no le osava dezir ninguna cosa que tocasse a esta materia: y para incitarle a ella, tenía sus aposentos llenos de Imágenes; y para que el Abdalaziz las reverenciasse, mandó labrar las puertas de aquellos aposentos donde las tenía muy baxas, y pequeñas, a fin de que quando él entrasse en ellos a su conversación, de necesidad abaxasse, y abaxandose hiciese reverencia, y acatamiento a aquellas Imágenes.[98] (Luna II, 400)

Despite the Princess's calculated scheme, her husband does not go through with any religious conversion. What is interesting though is that the Morisco author Miguel de Luna does not include any criticism of the images on behalf of Abdalaziz. For the Muslim characters in this episode, the thought of venerating Catholic images is not something that should be condemned or condoned. In fact, Egliona's husband respects her decision to remain Christian and decorate their home with images, while at the same time he does not commend her actions.

Furthermore, a discussion of the question of idols in Morisco literature would be incomplete without addressing Moriscos' close relation to Protestants. The mutual disdain for images in churches that both Moriscos and Protestants expressed gave these religious groups a strong point in common against their adversary, the Catholic Church.[99] One Morisco clearly

[98] "[…] she loved him much more than he [did]; and so she wished in her heart that Abdalaziz wanted to become Christian, and she didn't dare say anything to him that referred to this subject: and to incite her to do so, she had their rooms filled with images; and so that Abdalaziz would venerate them, she ordered that the doors to the rooms be made very low, and small, so that when he entered them while talking, he would need to bow down, and by bowing he would venerate, and respect those images."

[99] While both Protestents and Moriscos tended to reject religious images, their concerns regarding this issue were not entirely the same. Protestants objected to the veneration of religious images, but not to pictorial representation in

distinguishes between Catholics and Protestants based on the value they attribute to religious visual culture, since "los cristianos papistas"[100] or Catholics "hacen ymáxenes de bulto a sus sanctos y las reverencian con tanto extremo."[101] Whereas "los cristianos luteranos,"[102] on the other hand, "conoçiendo serles proybidas la hechura y adoraçión de las ymáxenes de ninguna suerte las tienen ni consienten y donde quiera que las topen las hacen pedaços como se be oy en Francia donde vimos por nuestros oyos muchas ymáxines de piedra hechas pedaços de tiempo de las disensiones y guerras"[103] (Cardaillac 121). The Morisco Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī deliberately traveled to the Netherlands where he would feel protected by those Protestants who shared ideas similar to his own. He explains how his contempt for Catholic images should be a motive for the Protestants to treat him well in this country since they share the some of the same ideas. Al-Ḥajarī writes: "Their scholars warn them against the popes and the worshipping of idols. [They tell them] that they should not hate the Muslims because they are the sword of God on His earth against the worshippers of idols" (195). On the flip side, Catholics in early modern Spain saw Protestants and Moriscos somewhat united as their enemy as well. To illustrate this point, Louis Cardaillac offers a glimpse of *Sueño del Juicio Final* (1608) in which Francisco de Quevedo places the Prophet Muhammad and Martin Luther as representatives of each religious group in Hell together and rebukes them with the same punishments (119).

Some Moriscos were inspired by Protestant texts and even based their anti-Catholic arguments on these writings, such as those by the Spanish humanist and Protestant Cipriano de Valera (Cardaillac 122). This is the case of the Morisco Ibn Qāsim who read and used Valera's

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general, while Islam generally rejects figural representation of any living being. For a comparison of different cases of Protestant and Morisco iconoclasm in early modern Europe, see Frano Llopis ("En defensa de una identidad").

[100] "the papist Christians"

[101] "make sculptured images of their saints and they venerate them excessively"

[102] "the Lutheran Christians"

[103] "knowing that making and worshipping images is prohibited, they in no way have or allow them and wherever they may come across them they turn them to pieces as can be seen today in France where we saw with our eyes many stone images turned into pieces from the times of disagreements and wars"

Spanish translation of the Bible in his own work (Van Konigsveld, Samarrai, and Wiegers 53-54). Interestingly enough, Ibn Qāsim mentions how he came across one of Valera's books in Tunis that contained the Old Testament, the Psalms, and the Gospels, explaining how he took from it the story about King Nebuchadnezzar—a story in part against idols—to use in his own book (245-46). Nevertheless, the Morisco exile employs the Old Testament text of King Nebuchadnezzar's dream in his own way for his own purposes to show how Islam will be victorious and, additionally, he takes advantage of the situation to insert a few criticisms of Catholics' veneration of images (176-77).

The connection between Protestants and Moriscos was at times seen as so closely related that Moriscos, like Julián, were accused of being simultaneously "moro y luterano"[104] (Cardaillac 134). Julián, who continued to practice traditions important to his Muslim faith while incorporating Lutheran hymns into his lifestyle, seemed to feel attached to the Protestant community because of their rejection of images that mirrored his own disdain for religious representations. His Inquisition case states that he did not attend Mass because "las cruzes eran espantajos y que no se avían de reverençiar […] y que las ymágenes hera todo compuesto y que no servían de adorar ni reverençiar sino solamente tener en cuenta de Dios"[105] (Cardaillac 134-35). It was precisely this very connection between Protestants and Moriscos because of their shared ideas on Catholic images that Cipriano de Valera saw as a key impediment to Moriscos' conversion to Catholicism (Franco Llopis, "Los moriscos y la Inquisición" 95). In *Los dos tratados del Papa y de la Misa*, Valera remarks: "Muchos de los moros, turcos, i judíos se convertirían a Christo si no fuese por la ofensa y escándalo de las imájines que están en los templos" (19).

[104] "Moor and Lutheran"
[105] "the crosses were scarecrows and they should not be venerated […] and that the images were all made up and weren't suitable to worship or venerate but instead only keep God in mind"

2. Resisting the Image, Accepting the Word: *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*

The Aljamiado story of the Doncella Carcayona is a Muslim version of the Handless Maiden tale, a legend that has a number of variations in European languages as well as in Arabic.[106] Carcayona's story offers inspiration and teaches Muslims to defend their cultural and religious identity in the face of adversity. The numerous and distinct versions conserved of the Aljamiado narrative attest to its likely popularity among Morisco communities in early modern Spain (Valero Cuadra 65). Even after their expulsion, the Aljamiado legend traveled with Moriscos to North Africa, where it was written in Spanish with Latin characters most likely by a Morisco in Tunis (Valero Cuadra 27-28; Galmés de Fuentes, "Lle-yeísmo" 274). [107]

In the Aljamiado versions, the story begins with the life of Carcayona's father, King Najrab, who professes idolatry. After many years struggling to have children and seeking the advice of astrologers, the king's wife finally gave birth to their daughter Carcayona. Since her mother died in childbirth, King Najrab sends Carcayona away to be raised, until one day he builds her a golden castle to dwell in. Once she is eleven, her father comes to visit and expresses his love and desire for her. Later on the young maiden forcefully rejects his incestuous advances. She asks her father who the creator of the universe is and to whom she should give thanks for all of her cherished belongings. To answer his daughter's inquiry, the king promptly calls for his idol "que era de oro esmaltado [con] aljohar y piedras preciosas, que tenía cuarenta cobdos de largo y veinte de ancho"[108] (244). As he presents it to Carcayona, she gives thanks and asks her father for one of her own.

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[106] For an in-depth comparison of the Aljamiado story with similar European and Arabic legends, see Pino Valero Cuadra's comprehensive introduction to *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*.

[107] In this chapter I quote from Pino Valero Cuadra's edition, based on the Aljamiado versions. For a study and copy of the legend written in Spanish with Latin characters see Galmés de Fuentes, "Lle-yeísmo."

[108] "that was enameled in gold [with] jewels and precious stones, that was forty cubits long and twenty wide"

Later on, as the king's daughter is worshipping her bejeweled idol as she often does, a golden dove embellished with colored pearls lands on her idol and declares the oneness and omnipotence of Allah. The dove continues to instruct the maiden about Islam, explaining the rewards for believers in Paradise as well as the consequences in Hell that await those who are unfaithful to Allah. Above all, the dove advises Carcayona to stop worshipping her idol, since it will not hear her prayers. The maiden accepts the dove's advice, leaving her idol and converting to Islam. When she tells her father of this news and advises him to reject idol worship as well, he is sure that she must be mistaken and has his idol brought out to be adored publicly. Carcayona destroys the idol, causing King Najrab to threaten his daughter by telling her that, if she does not reconsider her conversion to Islam, he will be forced to cut off her hands as a punishment. The maiden remains faithful to Allah, disobeying her father as she proclaims her emphatic rejection of idol worship: "[¡Ye padre!], haz lo que querrrás (*sic*), que no tornaré de lo que estoy ni dexaré la obedencia por la desobedencia, ni el jaleqador por el [jaleqado, ni el *al-ŷanna*] por *ŷahannam*, ni dexaré a[da Allāh][109] por las ídolas"[110] (279). As a result, Carcayona receives the punishment that her father had recently warned her about and is exiled indefinitely from his kingdom.

After being abandoned in the wilderness and finding shelter in a cave, Carcayona meets the king of Antāqiya who was hunting in the area. The maiden explains to him that she has been expelled from her father's kingdom for rejecting idolatry and following the precepts of Islam. The king falls in love with Carcayona, converts to her religion and asks her to be his wife. Soon after, the handless maiden becomes pregnant and gives birth to their son while the king is away in battle. The maiden's marriage and child with the king provoke some jealousy among the other

[109] In her edition of *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*, Pino Valero Cuadra interprets *ad(a) Allāh* as "to" or "towards" (299).
[110] "[Oh, father!], do what you will, but I will not turn from my ways nor will I give up my obedience for disobedience, nor the Creator for the [created, nor *al-janna*] for *jahannam*, nor will I give up [Allah] for the idols"

women in the kingdom, causing one of these envious women, pretending to be the king, to send a letter to Carcayona's mother-in-law, requesting his wife be banished from the land. So once more, Carcayona is exiled from her home.

Away from home, the dove is sent to comfort and convince her that her husband continues to be faithful to Allah, still rejecting idol worship. When the king of Antāqiya returns, he is informed of the situation and finds his wife and son. To their surprise, Carcayona's hands have been miraculously restored because of her faithfulness to Allah. The king convinces his wife that he had no part in writing the letter to have her sent out of his kingdom. The Aljamiado tale then concludes with these characters' decision to found a city together on the fertile banks of the Euphrates River. The couple names the city Carcaisiyona after the maiden, dedicating it to the service of Allah.

Various scholars such as Valero Cuadra (66) and Bernabé Pons ("La asimilación" 328) have highlighted the didactic qualities of this Aljamiado narrative which teaches the excellence of Islam. At first glance, it illustrates the rewards of those who are obedient to Allah above all else, despite any difficulties or cruel injustices. The maiden's obedience to Allah, as Mary Elizabeth Perry has pointed out, is justification for her disobedience to others, such as her father (*The Handless Maiden* 32). Carcayona rejects and destroys her father's idols but remains faithful to Allah, even after her father punishes and exiles her. When she is exiled a second time because of the forged letter sent to her mother-in-law, the beautiful maiden remains committed to the Muslim faith and seeks refuge through her prayers to Allah.

The story of Carcayona must have appealed to its Morisco audience who confronted increasing adversities in sixteenth-century Spain. Moriscos who read or heard about the maiden's circumstances must have felt comforted or even confident and motivated to follow their Muslim

faith. Some scholars have articulated just how this Aljamiado story could have empowered or inspired Moriscos in diverse facets of their lives. Mary Elizabeth Perry, for instance, interprets Carcayona's story as a metaphor for individuals who were victims of cruel injustices. In the legend, Carcayona is persecuted because of her Muslim faith, just as many Moriscos who continued to practice Islam in early modern Spain were also oppressed. Yet, as Perry notes, Carcayona's steadfast faith in Allah was not only a source of her suffering but it also was a foundation for inspiration and perseverance, just as Moriscos also found support in their religious beliefs (*The Handless Maiden* 19-37). In her introduction to *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*, Pino Valero Cuadra shows how Aljamiado stories, such as this one, allowed Moriscos to preserve and transmit their religious identity, actively resisting the oppressive Christian culture (151-56; 226-29). Based on these observations, I will consider the story of Carcayona specifically in light of Moriscos' rejection of the religious visual culture that surrounded them and how the maiden's actions could serve as inspiration to withstand their contemporary idols, such as images of Jesus, Mary and the saints.

In the Aljamiado version of Carcayona's story, the idol plays a major role in all of the characters' actions and behavior throughout the tale. King Najrab is at once defined by his close association to the idol, and his decisions revolve around the importance he places on this object of worship. The maiden's rejection of idolatry, on the other hand, is a considerable part of what defines her as a faithful follower of Islam. Throughout the story, it is evident that there is a clear binary framework between those who worship idols and the minority, such as Carcayona, who are able to resist and revoke them.

In the same way that Carcayona found her father's praise of statues scandalous, Moriscos in sixteenth-century Spain must have found the Catholic images that they had to worship

idolatrous. The Morisco community who heard Carcayona's story would likely be able to see a connection between the maiden's resistance of idol worship and their own rejection of Christian images that they saw as false gods. In Pino Valero Cuadra's opinion, the connection between Carcayona's story and the Moriscos' own situation could be made even clearer given that the maiden's father, Najrab, is described as "rey de los romanos"[111] (241). Here "romanos"[112] is a derivation from the Arabic term *rūm*, one of the various names used to describe Christians, allowing Najrab to be seen as a Christian king who professes idolatry (Valero Cuadra 97).[113] Moriscos would certainly be able to make this connection since they employed the word *rūm* to portray their Christian neighbors.[114] Even near the end of the seventeenth century the Moroccan minister Muḥammad ibn ʿabd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī refers to Spain as "bilād al-rūm" or the land of the *rūm* when he travels there to negotiate the release of Muslim captives and books in Arabic (48).

The worthlessness of the idols in Carcayona's world would surely be a reminder to the Moriscos of the little value that Christian images were to them. After the dove visits the maiden as she is adoring her bejeweled idol and tells her that the gleaming statue has no value, Carcayona relays the same message to her father: "¡Ye padre!, antes demando perdón a[da Allāh], mi señor y tu señor. Dexa [d]el servicio de las ídolas, aquéllas que no oyen ni veen,

[111] "King of the Romans"
[112] "Romans"
[113] See also Anwar G. Chejne's *Islam and West: The Moriscos* (76; 193n).
[114] Luis del Mármol Carvajal relates how the Morisco translator Alonso del Castillo was asked to write a forged letter in Arabic directed toward Morisco rebels in the Alpujarras. In the letter, Castillo downplays Morisco prophecies and warns that the "rumís" or Christians in Spain will eventually expel Moriscos from their land: "Sacaros han los rumís della en diversas juntas a las partes más ásperas de sus tierras" ("The *Rumís* [Christians] will expel you out of it in various groups to the most rough parts of their lands") (8, 10, 227a). Alonso del Castillo includes his own Spanish translation of the letter in his *Cartulario* in which he renders the term "rumís" as "romanos," offering the following explanation: "'Sacaros han los romanos della en diversas juntas a las parte más ásperas de sus tierras:' los romanos entiende xpianos, e della entiende de los buenos lugares de Andaluzia" ("'The Romans will expel you out of it in various groups to the most rough parts of their lands:' you should understand Romans as Christians, and from that you should understand as those from the good places of Andalusia") (18).

nuecen y no aprovechan"[115] (272). The maiden's allegation offers a similar word of warning about idols as the one that the Mufti of Oran had presented to Moriscos: images or idols are mere objects with no use or power (Harvey, "Crypto-Islam" 175).

It is significant that Carcayona is emboldened to speak out against her father, an authority figure. She is willing to risk the consequences as she declares the emptiness of her father's object of worship and will certainly not accept that the idol form part of one her own devotional rituals. Could the maiden's actions reassure the Moriscos that read or listened to this legend that they too could be audacious and announce their disapproval of "idols" to Spanish authorities? Certainly the various Inquisition cases that attest to how Moriscos verbally defied Catholic images in the face of authority could lead one to believe so.[116] This contention with authority around the precarious issue of idol worship arises in other Morisco stories as well, albeit with different outcomes. The tale of ʿUmar ibn Zayde involves a prolonged dispute between him and his father concerning the value of the idols Allāt and al-ʿUzzā, which his father worships.[117] ʿUmar uses similar arguments to those of Carcayona as he explains to his father that the idols will not help him or benefit him in any way, as opposed to Allah, who will hear their prayers. Their conversation turns violent as neither one of the two is able to accept the other's viewpoint, both standing firm in their beliefs, so much so that ʿUmar is willing to die for his principles as his father threatens to harm him for not accepting the idols. Just like Carcayona, ʿUmar holds his ground and Allah protects him for his actions of speaking out against these objects of worship.

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[115] "Oh, father!, first I ask for forgiveness from [Allah], my Lord and your Lord. Give up the service to idols, those that neither hear nor see, they harm and are not beneficial"

[116] In the Inquisition case of Miguel Vencuay, for example, he states: "que los cristianos reverenciando la cruz adoravan un palo" ("that the Christians while revering the cross adored a stick") (qtd. in Franco Llopis, "En defensa de una identidad perdida" 119). For additional Inquisition cases presenting Moriscos' denunciation of Catholic images see Pereda (398-402) and Franco Llopis, "Los moriscos y la Inquisición."

[117] The anonymous story of ʿUmar ibn Zayde is edited by Federico Corriente Córdoba and included in *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón* (69-80). Allāt and al-ʿUzzā together with Manāt, mentioned here and in other Morisco narratives, were the principle deities associated with idolatry during pre-Islamic times. For more on these idols see Hawting (130-49).

Likewise, Pino Valero Cuadra (154) and Hossain Bouzineb (125-26) have noted how the passage in which Carcayona criticizes her father's veneration of religious statues communicates the same theme found in the Aljamiado story *Alhadiç del-alárabe i la donzella*. Here the young girl also calls into question her father's devotion to idols while at the same time affirming her own faith in Allah: "¡Yā padre!, tú vives en la desyerror i en la mentira, ke la ídola Alāta w-Alʿuzzā no tiene ningún poder ni saber ni provecho, ni daña ni defiende"[118] (*Cinco leyendas* 190).

To demonstrate the worthlessness of her father's idols, Carcayona "fuese ella a su ídola, y esmenuzóla toda y tomó el oro y la plata y las perlas de la ídola y partióla a los pobres en servicio de Allāh"[119] (273-74). The maiden's actions towards King Najrab's object of adoration are reminiscent of how some Moriscos responded to the visual culture that surrounded them in early modern Spain. To mention only one of the countless Inquisition cases that attest to Moriscos' aversion to religious images, the accusation put forth against Íñigo Herrero is of interest. Instead of a disagreement regarding the use of sacred objects between father and daughter, like King Najrab and Carcayona, Íñigo's case tells of the tensions caused by religious images between husband and wife. Íñigo's wife, an Old Christian woman, complained to the Inquisition that every time she tried to place an image of the Virgin near their bed, her husband would threaten to destroy it (Cardaillac 22).

As we saw in the last chapter, Moriscos were punished by the Inquisition not only for harming or destroying Catholic icons, but also for verbally expressing their contempt for religious images. Doña Constança Lopez was just one of these Moriscos tried in Granada for her actions against sacred figures. In view of the fact that she kept a broken piece of the altar stone

[118] "Oh, father!, you live in error and lies, since the idol Alāta w-Alʿuzzā does not have any power or wisdom or benefit, nor does it harm or protect"
[119] "She went to her idol, and broke it all to pieces and took the gold and silver and the pearls from the idol and distributed it to the poor in service of Allah"

and wood from a church altarpiece in her home to use as firewood, doña Constança was sent away to Castile and punished with an unpardonable sentence of life in prison (García Fuentes 114-15). Looking back at the Aljamiado story of the handless maiden, Carcayona's father severely reprimands her for a similar reason. While the king's idol is not a Christian icon per se in the Morisco text, it is the cause of conflict between him and his daughter, and Carcayona's rejection and destruction of it is also the reason for her punishment and eventual exile from his kingdom.

Nevertheless, the story's ending provides hope and encouragement for its Morisco audience. It teaches the rewards for remaining faithful to Allah above all else, especially in withstanding any obligation to adore images or idols in his place. The dove, a messenger of Allah, addresses Carcayona and reminds her that she will be rewarded for persevering in her Muslim faith and enduring persecution for resisting her father's idols. The dove promises her a place in Paradise on Judgment Day, and later Allah restores her hands to compensate her for her devoted actions. The story of Carcayona was also a reminder for Moriscos that if they adhere to the precepts of Islam and renounce religious visual representations in early modern Spain, they too will be compensated.

3. The Triumph of the Text over Image in the *Libro de las batallas*

What Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes has named *Libro de las batallas* is a collection of epic-chivalric narratives copied down in the sixteenth century and included in ms. 5337 housed at the National Library in Madrid. This compilation of Aljamiado stories recounts the triumphant expeditions during the first days of Islam with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, playing the leading role as the hero in the majority of the accounts. While the different narratives include some magical and fictitious elements, the core of each story

remains true to the historical events during the time of Muhammad. Many of the characters, geographical locations, and battles fought can be identified and take place during the early days of Islam (Galmés de Fuentes, "Introducción" 82-83). In the battles recounted, such as the Battle of Muhalhal, the Battle of ibnu Ḥanqar, and the Battle of Badri i Ḥunayn, Muhammad, ʿAli, and other Muslim characters fight against the *kuffār* or unbelievers. In every case Muslims are triumphant, and because of their victory some of the defeated unbelievers convert to Islam. The stories included in *Libro de las batallas* were popular among Moriscos, and therefore, like much of the Aljamiado literature, they were copied and circulated frequently (Galmés de Fuentes, "Introducción" 92-93). As Luis Bernabé Pons highlights, it is not hard to see why these tales of chivalry may have been well liked and meaningful to Moriscos in sixteenth-century Spain: "el recuerdo continuo de que su religión fue (y será) triunfadora, y que las tribulaciones que padecen en su presente han de desaparecer ante el empuje del islam, sentimiento que tiene su estricta correlación con la realidad con las manifestaciones de alegría de los moriscos aragoneses cuando acaecía alguna derrota de los ejércitos hispanos"[120] ("Los manuscritos aljamiados" 41).

It is significant that many of the battles fought revolve around the issue of idols or that the enemies conquered are idol worshippers. The Muslim characters warn those unbelievers in the accounts to stop adoring idols, and in some instances destroy the images that compete with Allah. These narratives may have given the Moriscos hope, that in spite of their trials and their obligation to respect and worship Catholic images, they too, just as the first Muslims, would be triumphant.

The *Batalla del rrey al-Muhalhal ibnu al-Fayadi* recounts the expedition of Khalid ibn al-Walid, Arab commander during the early Islamic conquests, and his encounter with the

[120] "the constant memory that their religion was (and will be) triumphant, and that the tribulations that they undergo in their days will disappear in the presence of the spirit of Islam, a feeling which has a strict correlation with the reality of the Aragonese Moriscos' demonstrations of joy when any defeat of the Spanish troops occurred"

idolatrous King Muhalhal and his army. Throughout the story, the narrator clearly juxtaposes the two groups and their interests: Khalid and the Muslims, on the one hand, fight defending the name of Allah and the Prophet, and, on the other hand, the Arab unbelievers engage in battle seeking strength in their idols. Khalid's mission comes about when Muhammad asks him to deliver a letter on his behalf to King Muhalhal, requesting him to convert to Islam and thus replace his idols with Allah. In the course of his journey, Khalid meets and contests a number of men from the king's army, including a giant. When Khalid finally reaches the king, he finds him standing before his precious idol. The Muslim commander orders Muhalhal to remove the statue from his sight before speaking with him and conveying Muhammad's message. Once the king removes his object of worship and reads the letter with Muhammad's threat to either embrace Islam or engage in battle, he is infuriated. So much so that he takes Khalid captive and wraps him in the skin of his horse. ʿAli comes to the rescue, releases Khalid, and the two join in battle with Muhalhal and his army, who pray to their idols for strength. The conflict comes to an end once ʿAli and Khalid have killed all those who refuse the message of Islam, including the king and many of his best knights.

On the surface, this story tells of King Muhalhal's defeat against the Muslims and showcases the extraordinary abilities of Khalid and ʿAli in battle. Yet, on a more meaningful level, this story serves as a reminder of Muslims' glory during the early days of Islam in the face of their enemies. Even when Khalid and ʿAli are up against an unequal number of men, they are victorious, since they worship Allah and do not seek their strength in gold and silver idols like the knights of King Muhalhal. What significance could this story have for Moriscos in sixteenth-century Spain? And what meaning may the lack of value attributed to pre-Islamic statues have for their Morisco audience? For Mercedes García Arenal, it is clear that the Moriscos felt a close

connection to the Islamic world, and therefore these stories about the triumphs of Islam would certainly encourage them during challenging times and bolster their sense of community (*Los moriscos* 73). For instance, this scholar draws attention to the fact that one of the accusations put forth against the Morisco Francisco de Espinosa during his Inquisition trial was for participating and taking pleasure in a group reading about Muhammad's achievements: "[…] el dicho Francisco de Espinosa estuvo presente quando ciertas personas leyan en un libro cosas de mahoma y su perversa seta especialmente como mahoma avia ganado y señoreado muchas tierras y otras cosas y de oyr leer lo suso dicho Francisco de Espinosa se holgaba mucho"[121] (*Los moriscos* 73n; 100). Moriscos, such as Francisco, who read or listened to the stories included in the *Libro de las batallas* or similar narratives may have felt inspired by the values that Muhammad and his followers upheld. The clear rejection of images and the lack of value attributed to the pre-Islamic idols may have served as encouragement for Moriscos who were faced with the question of how to reject Catholic images or idols.

Although the stories of Muslim victories during the early days of Islam and the situation of Moriscos in early modern Spain centuries later may seem unrelated, Moriscos did at times make a connection between the two. In one of Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī's arguments against the creation and veneration of images, the Morisco exile references Muhammad's destruction of 360 idols in the Kaʿba as a positive example.[122] By following Muhammad's obliteration of idols with an anecdote of how Ahmad, a Muslim captive and contemporary of Ibn Qāsim, did the same to a Christian "idol," he continues to bridge the time gap between the days of Muhammad and the

[121] "the aforementioned Francisco de Espinosa was present when certain people read things about Muhammad in a book and about his evil sect especially about how Muhammad had won and ruled over many lands and other things and by listening to the abovementioned be read Francisco de Espinosa enjoyed himself"

[122] While there is no written evidence from Muhammad's time, the ninth century historian Al-Azraqī narrates how Muhammad destroyed 360 idols at the Kaʿba in Mecca, with the exception of a picture of Jesus and Mary that he preserved (Natif 42-43; Hawting 14; al-Azraqī 1: 165-69). Muhammad's destruction of idols at the Kaʿba seemed to be a popular theme and is retold in a number a Morisco writings such as *La batalla de Badri i Hunayn* in the *Libro de las batallas* (184-212) and *Libro de las luces*.

days of Moriscos in early modern Spain (146). Moriscos, thus, may have been inspired by the Battle of Muhalhal or similar stories to reject their modern-day idols. In this regard, it is significant to mention a letter that Moriscos in Granada sent to Sultan Suleiman al-Qānūnī in Constantinople. The letter was written in 1541, less than one month after Carlos V's failed expedition in Algiers that same year (Temini 27). In it, Moriscos discuss this event and how Carlos V had planned his attack with the hope that this would eliminate any individual who might have been able to support and aide the Muslims in Spain. In the Moriscos' opinion, the Muslim victory in Algiers occurred since they sought strength in Allah versus the Christians, who only knelt before their idols: "with their priests they seek help from their idols, and as for us, we turn to the Prophet Muhammad. They were determined [in their plan of attack] on Algiers, but Allah is excellent and destroyed them, and he protects his religion because he is the best defender" (Temimi 37).[123] In the same way that the narrator of the *Batalla del rrey al-Muhalhal* ascribes King Muhalhal's defeat to the fact that he worships idols as opposed to the Muslims who seek strength in Allah, the Moriscos in the letter to the Sultan see the Muslim victory in Algiers attributed to the same reasons.

Another one of the accounts in the *Libro de las batallas* narrates the encounter and battle between the Muslim hero ʿAli and al-Āšyab ibnu Ḥanqar, king of Taima (245-56). The issue that instigates the battle is the fact that Ibn Ḥanqar has a gold and silver idol that he worships in the place of Allah. The Prophet Muhammad sends a letter to the king asking him to stop his idolatrous ways and to pronounce the *shahāda*, the profession of Islamic faith. When Ibn Ḥanqar reads the letter criticizing his idol worship, he furiously throws his crown to the ground, refusing Muhammad's recommendations. As a result, the king accepts a battle against the best Muslim

[123] My translation. The original text reads:
"وهم يتوسلون بالرهبان والاصنام، ونحن نتوسل بسيد الانام الى موجب ذو (كذا) الجلال والاكرام، وهم عازمين (كذا) على الجزائر، والله تعالى هلكهم وينصر دينه وهو نعم الناصر" (37).

knights. At first glance, it appears as though the Muslim army will be defeated. Muhammad sends forth his best knights to face the king of Taima's men, and one by one they die in battle. Finally the hero ʿAli arrives at the scene and the Muslims' initial defeat is transformed into a victory. The problem with the idols, however, remains in Taima. To address this issue, an elderly man from Ibn Ḥanqar's kingdom proposes a solution to the king: "¡Yā rrey i señor grande! […] a mí me pareçe ke l-envíes al mensajero ke vanga (*sic*) a pelear kon la ídola; i si la vençerá, kreeremos kon Allah i su mensajero"[124] (254-55). When Muhammad receives the message, he sends ʿAli to fight against the king's cherished statue. The hero does indeed smash the idol with his sword, and thus Ibn Ḥanqar and all his men leave their idol worship and become Muslims.

It is clear that this story is once again a reminder of the triumphs of Islam in the face of their enemies. By juxtaposing service to Allah with idol worship, the story of Ibn Ḥanqar also seems to communicate a moral message against the use and adoration of idols in place of Allah. The characters and their values are defined by the visual culture, or lack thereof, that surrounds them. Just as the narrator characterizes Ibn Ḥanqar in a negative light because of the objects with which he chooses to associate himself, many Moriscos identified Christians by the objects they venerated, the images in Catholic churches.

The moral lessons of the narratives included in the *Libro de las batallas* share some interesting similarities with the *jofores* or Morisco prophecies. While the message of the *Libro de las batallas* serves as a constant reminder that the Muslim religion was and will be triumphant even despite some obstacles that its followers may face, many Morisco *jofores* predict a future in which Muslims will be victorious, encouraging in this way the disheartened Morisco communities. While reading and listening to the *Libro de las batallas* or similar narratives about

[124] "Oh king and great lord! […] it seems to me that you sent the messenger to come and fight against the idol; and if you defeat it, we will believe in Allah and his messenger"

Muhammad's exploits was a collective act among Moriscos, such as in the case of Francisco de Espinosa discussed earlier, Luce López Baralt reminds us that many prophecies usually involved a shared use as well. She indicates that even though some prophecies may be focused on one individual, many times Moriscos used the prophecies to serve a collective purpose since, in essence, they were "instrumentos de concienciación política"[125] (*La literatura secreta* 184).

A good example of how the Moriscos' prophecies served a similar purpose and possessed a comparable value as that of the *Libro de las batallas* can be seen in the *El guaçía* [prophecy] *del Gran Turco llamado Mohammed el Otsman*. This text is presented as a testimony of the Grand Turk, conqueror of Constantinople, in which he offers a series of recommendations to his son and promises him the successful future conquest of Christian territories, such as Rome and "todas las Españas de los paganos"[126] (qtd. in Cardillac 414). The Great Turk longs for his son to be prosperous in many feats against the "paganos de Kristo,"[127] including the destruction of all their gold and silver idols in Catholic churches that go against the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad:

> […] rogaremos al-grande Allah i grande profeta Muḥammad, ṢM, ke a ti y-a todos fortifike en armas i vos dé vitorya sobre los paganos de Kristo, ke entredes en los grandes palaçios de nuesos anteçesores de Roma–pues el-grande Allah i grande profeta Muḥammad, ṢM, no-kieren ke entremos allí en-ellos–, i deribes la-kasa de Pedro i de Pablo, i kebres los dioses i ídolas de oro i de plata i de mármol […].[128] (qtd. in Cardaillac 417)

[125] "instruments to build political awareness"
[126] "all of the pagans' Spain"
[127] "the pagans of Christ"
[128] "[…] we ask the great Allah and great Prophet Muhammad, *ṢM*, to fortify you and everyone with weapons and give you victory over the pagans of Christ, that you may enter the great palaces of our ancestors in Rome—since the great Allah and Prophet Muhammad, *ṢM*, don't want us to enter into them—, and demolish the house of Peter and Paul, and break the gods and idols of gold and silver and marble […]"

Similar Aljamiado prophecies help encourage Moriscos and alter their painful reality by foretelling the eventual defeat of Christians alongside their idols. One of the Morisco prophecies included in ms. 774 in the Paris National Library, which Luce López Baralt studies in detail, predicts what will happen on "la isla de España"[129] and how Islam will be exultant (*La literatura secreta* 221). According to this text, some Christians in Spain will profess Islam when they see their king captive, and in the end "serán vencidos los adoradores de las ídolas i los komedores del puerko; no kedará sino ell addin (*ley*) del alīçlām"[130] (*El manuscrito misceláneo 774* 242). Not all of the Morisco *jofores*, however, were optimistic for the future of Islam in the Peninsula. In another prophecy included in the same manuscript, the Prophet Muhammad has a dream in which the archangel Gabriel shows him a vision of a conquered Andalusia, an Andalusia where "los adoradores de las ídolas y komedores del puerko"[131] will rule over the land and the Muslims (*El manuscrito misceláneo 774* 252). Whatever the outcome, it is evident in these prophecies, as it is in many narratives included in the *Libro de las batallas*, that there is a clear contrast between the followers of Allah and those who worship idols, whether they may be the Christians who venerate Catholic "idols" in the churches or the unbelievers during Muhammad's time who adored their own ornate statutes.

4. Powerful Words, Powerless Idols: *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar*

As the title suggests, *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar* is a sixteenth-century Aljamiado narrative that recounts the religious conversion to Islam of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph and significant figure during the early days of Islam. The account is included in ms. 4953, a miscellaneous collection of religious texts and legends, located at the National

[129] "the island of Spain"
[130] "the idol worshippers and pork eaters [the Christians] will be defeated; there will be no *dīn* [religion] left except Islam"
[131] "the idol worshippers and pork eaters [the Christians]"

Library in Madrid (Hegyi, "Preámbulo" 9-11).[132] In addition to relating ʿUmar's change of heart and proclamation of the Muslim faith, this is a story of the triumph of the Qur'an over idols, of text over image.

The legend begins with a forewarning from the Qur'an that sets the tone for the events that follow: "Vosotros los ke adoráis a otro señor menos de ad-a Allah, seriéis kontados para J̌ahannam i-a ella seréis traídos"[133] (*Cinco leyendas* 138). Since ʿUmar and his tribe worship and seek help from idols, they are outraged by the message of the Qur'an, and thus ʿUmar agrees to the mission of going out to kill the Prophet Muhammad. Although he is warned numerous times during his quest for Muhammad, he continues his journey in search of the Prophet. Later on, when ʿUmar comes across one of his acquaintances, this friend advises him to go and visit his sister and brother-in-law, who had recently converted to Islam, before carrying out his mission. Upon arriving at his family members' abode, he hears them reading the Qur'an out loud inside their home behind closed doors. During dinner that night, ʿUmar is angered and hits his sister since she and her husband refuse to eat the meat he brought them, given that it was not slaughtered appropriately according their new religion. Despite his anger, ʿUmar carefully listens to his sister and brother-in-law as they read the Qur'an at night. The text is the impetus behind his conversion to Islam, and it causes him to compare the textual description of Allah with the visual representation of his idols, concluding that the former is superior to the latter. At the end of the story, ʿUmar finally encounters Muhammad and the two go to the Kaʿba at Mecca to destroy the idols. According to the legend, no physical force is used to tear down the idols, but rather it is the words spoken against them that cause the idols to fall to the ground. As the idols break to pieces, Allah sends a verse from the Qur'an affirming: "¡Yā annabī! (=¡oh, profeta!),

[132] Ottmar Hegyi has transcribed and published ms. 4953 under the title *Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos*. All quotes from the *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar* in this chapter are from Hegyi's edition.
[133] "You who worship another lord besides Allah, will be sent to *Jahannam* and you will be brought there"

guárdete Allah, i-a todo kien te seguirá de los kreyentes"[134] (*Cinco leyendas* 149). Once again, the account testifies to the power of the Qur'an over the idols, of text over image.

In his article "A Morisco Philosophy of Suffering: An Anthropological Analysis of an Aljamiado Text," John Hawkins studies ms. 4953 in detail, including the narrative of ʿUmar's conversion. Despite the miscellaneous nature of the manuscript, Hawkins concludes that there is, nonetheless, "an integrated theme" and reads the work as a type of treatise (200). He summarizes the meaning of the manuscript in the following way:

> Clearly, the meaning of the tales is not to be found in the legends themselves. Rather, meaning is to be found in the relations between the legends and their emerging logic, and in the parallels between the legends and the current Morisco social situation. Thus the text is not a miscellany, though it is a compendium, for it reveals an integrated argument and an intimate relationship to the Morisco society. It offers a coherent philosophy with which the Moriscos could confront their precarious situation. (213)

Although Hawkins states that the significance of the manuscript resides in the text as a whole, he does offer analysis of the sixteen sections individually. For Hawkins, the *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar* is best understood taking into consideration the social context of the Moriscos. The idols that ʿUmar initially believes in and later rejects were similar to the Catholic "idols" that Moriscos were required to tolerate. Nevertheless, Hawkins concludes his interpretation of this legend focusing on the hope it offers for Moriscos. Even though ʿUmar started off as an unbeliever, he later converted. Hawkins believes that Moriscos could find hope from this story that if they endure suffering, like ʿUmar's sister who was punished for not eating the meat that was brought to her, eventually the unbeliever would have a change of heart, and

[134] "Oh annabī! (=Oh, Prophet!), may Allah bless you, and all the believers who follow you"

"the intolerant Christians trying to suppress Islam could yet be brought into the community" (206).

In my opinion, this story could be best understood in terms of the conflict between image/idol and text/Qur'an, especially since Moriscos' writings do not aim to convert Christians or bring them "into the community," as Hawkins suggests. As we have seen, the Morisco culture attributes opposing values to the power of the word versus the power of the image. In this story in particular, it is the power of the words from the Qur'an that allow ʿUmar to convert and as a result negate the value of visual representations. The idols are eventually destroyed because of the mighty words ʿUmar speaks against them. And as the legend ends, it is the text of the Qur'an that appears over the broken idols, testifying to the power of the word over the powerlessness of the image.

The authority of Arabic letters and words is not only present in the story of ʿUmar's conversion, but later narratives included in the same manuscript reinforce the power, and sometimes even magical properties, of the written word. The tenth section of this manuscript recounts the legend of Tamīm al-Dārī[135] in which a group of *jinn* suddenly appear before Tamīm while he is performing ablutions and take him to a large and frightful cave. Here he undergoes numerous trials as the other *jinn* mock and insult him, although Tamīm relentlessly continues his prayers and readings from the Qur'an. Eventually one of the evil *jinn* gripes that Tamīm is waging war on him by reading the words of the Qur'an, ultimately causing this *jinnī* to melt like wax (*Cinco leyendas* 164). Words acquire even more power in one of the following texts in the manuscript when they are included as the key ingredient for a miraculous potion. When the Arabic words are written out and placed inside a glass to be consumed, the Morisco text

[135] Tamīm al-Dārī was one of the Prophet Muhammad's companions. Ottmar Hegyi transcribes the Morisco version of the text in his book *Cinco leyendas* and renders the protagonists name as Tamima Addār (160-84). For more about this figure and an English translation of the text see Lourdes María Álvarez.

promises to cure various ailments as well as convert unbelievers to Islam (*Cinco leyendas* 207-08).[136] The Arabic word is thus multifaceted and possesses the capability to work in various ways throughout the manuscript. It is in the story of ʿUmar, however, where the word's inherent power engages with the lifeless idols.

5. Textualizing the Image: the Significance of Arabic Script

As we have seen, many of these Morisco texts written in Arabic or in Aljamiado may have served as a source of inspiration for Moriscos to withstand their neighboring Catholic "idols." Yet, the very act of writing these texts with Arabic characters was in itself a form of resisting Christian culture and a mode of conserving Islam in Christian Spain. By using an alphabet that was considered dangerous and later proscribed in Spain, many Moriscos transgressed the linguistic boundaries set before them, in addition to also opposing image worship through texts with Arabic letters or words. In this concluding section, I will explore the importance of the Arabic script in these Moriscos narratives, both as a verbal sign used as a means of resistance and as a visual image connected to Islam.

Regardless of repressive laws that Christian authorities tried to put in place against the use of Arabic, countless Moriscos disregarded the rulings and covertly preserved the Arabic characters. As various scholars, including Ottmar Hegyi[137] and Luis Bernabé Pons,[138] among others, have noted, Moriscos' persistent use of the Arabic alphabet was principally due to the fact that it is the language of Allah, and a visual reminder of the language used for the revelation

[136] Other Morisco texts oftentimes included different recipes of Arabic words and Qur'anic verses, such as this case, that could be consumed in different ways in order to benefit from their magical attributes. See *Libro de dichos maravillosos* edited by Ana Labarta, and especially the introductory section "La magia de la palabra" (0.34-0.35).
[137] See especially "El uso del alfabeto árabe por minorías musulmanes y otros aspectos de la literatura aljamiada, resultantes de circunstancias históricas y sociales análogas." Ottmar Hegyi maintains that the importance of the Arabic script for Moriscos resided principally in its sacred nature and not just as a means to hide the content of their writings from Christian authorities.
[138] See "Los manuscritos aljamiados como textos islámicos" and *Los moriscos: conflicto, expulsión y diáspora* (66-84).

of their sacred text, the Qur'an. It was a way in which Moriscos could connect themselves to the larger Islamic community in the Mediterranean, and more importantly, as Vincent Barletta argues, it "situated Morisco scribes and readers within a thousand-year old tradition of God's relationship with Muslims" (137). Still, despite the importance of Arabic for Moriscos, it became more and more difficult for them to read, write or even possess texts with Arabic characters. Even though the Capitulations signed by the Catholic Kings in November of 1491 were in a sense generous, given that they granted them many permissions to conserve their religious and cultural traditions, it was not long before the promises in the Capitulations were broken and a series of rejections of Muslim customs, including the use of Arabic, took place (Bernabé Pons, *Los moriscos* 21-23). Just a few years later, in 1501 fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, ordered the mass burning of Arabic books at Bibarrambla in Granada, salvaging only a few works of medicine. In his *Memorial de la vida de Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, Juan de Vallejo describes the scene of the book burning: "Para desarraigarles del todo de la sobredicha su perversa y mala secta, les mandó a los dichos alfaquís tomar todos sus alcoranes y todos los otros libros particulares, cuantos se pudieron haber, los cuales fueron más de 4 ó 5 mil volúmenes, entre grandes y pequeños, y hacer muy grandes fuegos y quemarlos todos"[139] (qtd. in Bernabé Pons, *Los moriscos* 27). Crypto-muslims, such as the Mora de Úbeda, witnessed and painfully remembered this event. In his *Breve compendio*, the Mancebo de Arévalo recounts how this elderly woman told him about this book burning and the pieces of paper in Arabic which she had collected that day that sorely reminded her of the event: "Yo vi el

[139] "In order to completely remove them from their evil and bad sect mentioned above, the *fuqahā'* [experts in Islamic jurisprudence] were ordered to take all of their Qur'ans and all of their own books, all that there could be, which numbered more than 4 or 5 thousand volumes, big and small among them, and make very large fires and burn them all"

Libro de la Altura Celeste en manos de un mercader que lo hacía papeles para niños y yo recogí estos pedazos para mayor duelo mío"[140] (qtd. in Narváez Córdova, "Estudio preliminar" 54).

The book burning instigated by Cisneros was only the beginning of a long series of decrees against the use of Arabic. In 1511 Arabic was still allowed, but in an attempt to distance Moriscos from their Islamic social and religious customs, Moriscos were required to turn in all Arabic books to be checked by authorities (Harvey, *Muslims* 72). Decrees against the use of Arabic continued to escalate until it became entirely proscribed. In 1566 a group of theologians, jurists, and other officials gathered and enacted a set of rulings against the use of Arabic that Felipe II later published on January 1, 1567 (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 33; Caro Baroja 152-53). This ruling required Moriscos to stop speaking, reading, and writing in Arabic within three years and to turn in any books in Arabic to authorities for examination within thirty days. Luis del Mármol Carvajal records the reaction of Moriscos to the loss against their sacred language and customs in his *Historia del* [sic] *rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada*:

> ¿Qué diremos del sentimiento que los moriscos hicieron cuando oyeron pregonar los capítulos en la plaza de Bib el Bonut, sino que con saberlo ya, fue tanta su turbación, que ninguna persona de buen juicio dejara de entender sus dañadas voluntades? […] Decían que su majestad había sido mal aconsejado, y que la prematica había de ser causa de la destruición del reino […].[141] (II, 8, 69a)

In spite of prohibitions on the use of Arabic, the importance of this sacred language did not diminish among Moriscos and some still continued to read and write it clandestinely. The

[140] "I saw [*The Exalted Heavenly Book*, according to Harvey] in the hands of a merchant who made a child's papers out of it, and I picked up these folded papers, to my great sadness" (qtd. in López Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature* 194).

[141] "What shall we say about the feeling that the Moriscos had when they heard the decision announced in the Bib el Bonut square, but now by knowing it, their concern was so great, that no one with good judgment would fail to understand their hurt feelings? […] They said that Their Majesty had been ill-advised, and that the pragmatic would be the cause of the destruction of their kingdom"

Morisco exile Ibn ʿabd al-Rafīʿ wrote from Tunis about his childhood in Spain and about how his father would secretly teach him the Arabic alphabet, apart from all of his other relatives, including his own mother (López Baralt, *La literatura secreta* 45; Matar 194-95). Al-Rafīʿ explains how when he would return home from school his father would take an oak writing board and letter by letter compare Spanish to Arabic. The young Morisco knew how dangerous it was for his father to teach him the forbidden Arabic letters and remarks: "[f]or he, God almighty rest his soul, risked death if I divulged what he was doing. He would be burned, most certainly" (qtd. in Matar 195). The copies of other Arabic alphabets included in Inquisition cases attest to the fact that al-Rafīʿ's father was far from the only Morisco to pass along this forbidden knowledge from one generation to the next. Francisco Choplón confesses to the Inquisition that Mançor, a Valencian Morisco, had given him a copy of the Arabic alphabet and "le enseñava a leer algaravía"[142] (Barceló and Labarta 281). Francisco Choplón was only one of many Moriscos accused of owning prohibited Arabic writings. Jacqueline Fournel-Guérin, in her study of books and written culture among Aragonese Moriscos, notes that almost half of the those Moriscos brought before the Inquisition between 1568 and 1620 were prosecuted for owning one or more Arabic books or loose pages with Arabic characters (243). In Valencia, as Halperin Donghi observes, possessing writings in Arabic was the most frequent crime for which Moriscos were found guilty by the Inquisition (Surtz 424). Given the importance of Arabic texts to Moriscos, it comes as little surprise that they would go to great lengths to keep the sacred writings hidden. Yet as many Inquisition cases demonstrate, authorities often found these forbidden books in their custody. This is the situation of the Morisca Beatriz Çahori who fought with all her strength to keep her Arabic texts from being taken away from her. When the Inquisitional officer Baptista Çelma was at her home, he claims to have seen her hide something

[142] "taught him to read Arabic"

under her garments. Beatriz's brother-in-law tries to cover for her and informs the officer that she is hiding nothing more than some keys. Not believing the story, Baptista Çelma approaches the Morisca and exclaims: "yo tengo de ver forçosamente y queriendo reconocer a la dicha Beatriz se hechó en tierra e se hacía fuerte que no la reconociesen y éste la alçó del suelo y la hizo arrimar a una cama" (qtd. in Labarta 120). After a long struggle, Baptista finally discovers the papers in Arabic concealed on her Beatriz's body, and she begins to cry (Labarta 120).

While Moriscos worked hard at holding on to this forbidden language, their knowledge of Arabic slowly began to decline. With the exception of Granada, Valencia, and a few small locales where there were still large communities of Arabic-speakers, most Moriscos in the Peninsula, in general, spoke the different variations of Romance (Harvey, *Muslims* 124; Bernabé Pons, *Los moriscos* 69). In his *Información acerca de los moriscos de España*, the Jesuit of Morisco origin Ignacio de las Casas clearly notes the differences in Moriscos from the various regions in Spain, commenting on their abilities to communicate in Arabic:

> Los del reyno de Toledo […] no saben ni entienden palabra de la lengua Arábiga ni en el hábito y lengua serán tenidos sino por muy antiguos christianos […]; los tagarinos […] tampoco saben ni entienden la lengua Arábiga ni sus mugeres ni hijos: pero están en mucho peor predicamento que los que acabo de dezir […] sabiendo también éstos esta lengua castellana como nosotros y sabiendo leer y escrevir en ella […]. Con éstos de Aragón se juntan todos los moriscos del Reyno de Valencia: y la differencia que entre ellos ay consiste en que los de Valencia hablan la lengua arábiga y son raros dellos los que entienden bien la española o sean capaces de un razonamiento o discurso principalmente en cosas de la fe, por

> muy ladinos que sean: los más deste Reyno saben leer y escrevir su lengua Arábiga.[143] (qtd. in Labarta 152)

Although many Moriscos gradually lost their ability to be able to communicate in Arabic because of the repressive laws against their language and many were illiterate, this in no way weakened their interest in possessing and circulating texts in Arabic. In fact, those who were illiterate were precisely those who were most apt to conserve these texts, even though they were forbidden and could be punished for doing so (Labarta 115). An especially revealing case is that of the Morisco Amador Muarte who carefully tried to conserve his copy of the Qu'ran, treating it almost as a holy image. He would hold the sacred text and kiss it "como cosa santa,"[144] even though he was illiterate and could not read the Arabic words (qtd. in Fournel-Guérin 150). For Pedro Crespi, Arabic writings were not only sacred because of the language, but they acquired special healing or even magical properties. This Morisco suffered a vision problem, but nonetheless treasured a talisman with Arabic characters that his wife had given him to help cure his eye disease. During his trial in 1583 Pedro testified that he did not know what the text said because of his vision impairment, but he claimed that when he carries the Arabic text with him his eyesight improves (Surtz 424). Morisco women, who generally did not know how to read, were especially diligent in their attempts to hide and conserve writings with Arabic script (Surtz; Perry, *The Handless Maiden* 65-87). Juana Carpesa was just one of countless Morisco women who hid proscribed writings on their bodies to conserve the sacred literature, despite being

[143] "Those from the kingdom of Toledo […] don't know or understand a word of Arabic nor in their customs or language would be taken for anything but very Old Christians […]; the Tagarinos [Moriscos from Aragon] […] also don't know or understand Arabic nor do their wives or children: but they have much less prestige than those I just mentioned […] they also know the Castilian language like us and know how to read and write in it […]. Along with those from Aragon are all of the Moriscos from the kingdom of Valencia: and the difference between them lies in that those from Valencia speak Arabic and those who understand Spanish well or are able to reason or talk principally about things of faith are rare among them, as Spanish-speaking as they may be: the rest of those from this kingdom know how to read and write in their Arabic language"

[144] "as a holy thing"

unable to read it. In her trial for hiding Qur'anic texts under her skirt, Juana claimed that she had just found them, and that she was unable to read or write (Surtz 427).

For all these Moriscos, the importance of Arabic or Aljamiado texts did not reside only in the actual words written on the page, but rather that the pages were populated with Arabic characters, the sacred language of the Qur'an. From these examples, it seems as though texts with Arabic letters acted as a fetish of sorts, embodying inherent religious and magical powers.[145] As vital as the Arabic script may have been in these circumstances, it is essential to keep in mind that these examples materialize principally in Inquisition cases, and thus the fetishistic nature of these sacred objects may be overly emphasized. In fact, if the discourse of the fetish itself is a discourse of "'secondary beliefs,' beliefs about the beliefs of other people, and thus inseparable from (in fact, constitutive of) systems of racial or collective prejudice," as W. J. T. Mitchell argues, then one must take extreme caution while examining the statements included in these Inquisition cases about the fetish powers of the Arabic text despite their palpable importance for Moriscos (*What do pictures want?* 162).

The Mancebo de Arévalo explains the value that Arabic characters possess for him personally in his *Tratado*, in which he devotes a chapter to the visual importance of the *alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, i.e. how the *alif* displays different attributes of Allah, depending on the way in which it is composed. For this young man from Arévalo, the *alif* written alone [ا] is a visual symbol of the unity or oneness of Allah. By adding different vowel markings to the letter, the meaning is visually superior. For instance, when the *alif* has a *fatḥa* placed above it [أَ], the letter becomes more elongated, and for that motive the Mancebo

[145] In her study *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*, Annemarie Schimmel offers some interesting examples of the significance of the Arabic script, especially to Sufi mystics, in different time periods and geographic regions (77-114). According to Schimmel, some individuals may fill containers decorated with Arabic letters and phrases with water and drink it with the hope that it will cure their illness (84).

interprets it as a visual representation of Allah residing above all things: "denota alttuwra, ke eš Allāh alto en todo fecho; no ay a Él iwwal ni aparssero; eš Allāh alto en nonbaradíyya, eš Allāh alto en todo poderíyyo, eš Allāh alto en ešensiyya i toda koša šeñala šuw altuwra; no ay koša ke desiyenda en šuw nonbaradíyya"[146] (397). The young man continues his chapter commenting on each of Allah's divine attributes that he visualizes in each of the different manifestations of the written image of the letter *alif*.

María Teresa Narváez suggests that the association of the Arabic alphabet with Allah demonstrates the Mancebo de Arévalo's knowledge of Islamic mysticism. This discipline attributes a distinct value to each Arabic letter, allowing the Qur'an as well as other religious texts to be interpreted with other meanings ("Conocimientos místicos" 235). In addition to Narváez's reading of this passage, it is interesting to look at the Mancebo's chapter on the *alif* and ask how Arabic letters could possess the same power and value for Moriscos that religious images had for Catholics in early Modern Spain. As we have seen, for the young man from Arévalo, the individual Arabic letters are like different images of Allah. Other Moriscos respond to letters and words written in Arabic script in a similar fashion to those who venerate Catholic images. This is the case of the Aragonese Morisco Juan de Portugal who was accused of organizing Moriscos' gatherings in which he would display his copy of the Qur'an and all those present "besaban y adoraban el libro del Alcorán por cosa santa"[147] (qtd. in Fournel-Guérin 257). The value of the religious texts and other narratives that Moriscos treasured was, in a way, as great as that of the sacred Catholic images that many Moriscos despised. Near the end of the seventeenth century, the ruler of Morocco, Mulay Ismail, places a specific value on texts with

[146] "it denotes eminence, that Allah is exalted in everything; there is no equal or match to Him; Allah is exalted in name, Allah is exalted in all dominion, Allah is exalted in being and everything emphasizes His eminence; there is nothing that diminishes His name"
[147] "kissed and adored the book of the Qur'an as a holy thing"

Arabic writing and interprets their worth in terms of human life. In a letter that he sends to King Carlos II in an attempt to negotiate the release of Muslim captives and books in Arabic, he requests an exchange of Christian captives for texts in Arabic. In Mulay Ismail's view, the five thousand works in Arabic are worth fifty human lives: "quisiera que me dierais por los cinquenta Christianos de los ciento, cinco mil libros Arábigos, ciento por cada uno. Y que estos fuessen de los Moros de mi ley, de los que estavan en las Librerías de los Moros de Sevilla, Córdova, Granada y otras partes"[148] (qtd. in García Figueras and Rodríguez Jouliá Saint-Cyr 450).

In his study of religious visual culture, David Morgan suggests that when different religions or religious groups demonstrate iconoclastic behavior towards another's images, they often replace that which they seek to destroy with another mode of imagery. He argues that those "who express disdain for visual imagery in religious practice and seek to proscribe its use as 'idolatrous' typically put in its place alternative forms of material culture that provide a different form of iconicity" (117). Applying Morgan's observation to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, the Moriscos who resisted or sought to damage Catholic images substituted this religious visual culture with Arabic letters and texts that possessed a comparable meaning. To better understand this substitution, let's first look at how these objects are esteemed and for whom they do or do not have value.

Covarrubias, in his definition of *imagen* 'image' included in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), relates the word to the Latin *imago* and then proceeds to define the term as it applies to Catholic practice:

> Comúnmente entre los fieles católicos llamamos imágenes las figuras que nos representan a Cristo Nuestro Señor, a su benditísima Madre y Virgen Santa María,

[148] "for fifty of the hundred Christians, I would like you to give me five thousand Arabic books, one hundred for each. And these should be from the Moorish ones, from my religion, of those that came from the Moorish libraries in Seville, Cordoba, Granada, and other areas.

> a sus apóstoles y a los demás santos y los misterios de nuestra Fe, en cuanto pueden ser imitados y representados, para que refresquemos en ellos la memoria; y que la gente ruda que no sabe letras les sirven de libro […].[149] (1091)

In addition to the evident religious focus that Covarrubias affixes to this definition, he highlights that the significance of sacred images is found in what they represent and not the objects themselves. The images thus serve as a tool, aiding individuals in remembering what meaning is behind the representation. As the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent had affirmed decades earlier in December of 1563, images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints are to be venerated in the churches specifically "because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear" (*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* 216). According to the decree, the images on their own would not have value if it were not for their referent. The representation demands devotion because of its likeness to the original. In practice, of course, these guidelines were not always followed to the letter, thus allowing for some images to acquire more meaning and value and others less.[150]

As Jaime Prades defines what an image is and what it isn't in his *Historia de la adoración y uso de las santas imágenes* (1597), a book on the defense of sacred images, he notes a distinction between the material used and the form given to each object. He prefers to give more weight to the form, since this is what distinguishes its representation and bestows

[149] "Usually among the faithful Catholics we define images as the figures that represent Our Lord Christ, his blessed Mother and Virgin Holy Mary, his apostles and the other saints and the mysteries of our Faith, as much as they can be imitated and represented, to refresh our memory of them; and for the common people, who are illiterate, images serve as books […]."

[150] See William A. Christian Jr.'s article titled "Images as Beings in Early Modern Spain" in which he demonstrates how several images acquired a unique aura incited by miracles or spectacular circumstances associated with them.

significance upon the image (13-14). It is not the material or the object alone that bears the value, but rather it is the representation, the likeness to its archetype, that gives the sacred image value to Catholics. Fray Pablo de León clarifies this point with an illustrative example. Since the same piece of wood could be used to create an image, a plow, or a wood box used for measuring grains, he questions what exactly gives more value to one object over another, given that they are all fashioned from the same material. He concludes that the significance lies in the representation, since images are not possessed for the metal or painting from which they are created but rather because of what they portray (Martínez-Burgos García 41).

The notion of what was represented in Catholics' sacred images is precisely what detracted from their value for some Moriscos. It is specifically the claim that the image is more than the materials from which it is constructed that lead various Moriscos to speak out against its use in early modern Spain. The issue was not only related to an aversion to figural images, but rather that these images were thought to stand for ideas such as the crucifixion and the divine nature of Christ. As we have already seen, for some Moriscos, including Ibrahim Taybili, the cross has no symbolic value, but rather it is only a stick of wood. The Mufti of Oran allows Moriscos to simulate their admiration for religious images and inwardly remain committed to Islam since these "idols" were essentially only wood and lifeless stone. More than a few Inquisition cases reveal how some Moriscos perceived images just in terms of their material nature, lacking any similitude to their originals. And as this chapter hopes to demonstrate through the study of these Morisco texts, many of the Muslim characters in each of these narratives also emphasize the material composition of the "idols" that will not hear or act on behalf of their prayers.

If the value of Catholic images, or lack thereof, is expressed in terms of the relationship between the image and its referent, how is the value of Arabic letters and words articulated in the narratives studied in this chapter? One can look at words, as W. J. T. Mitchell suggests, as both verbal signs and visual images: words can be read or listened to and interpreted based on the meaning that they communicate through language, or words can also be seen as images, focusing on the visual appearance of the text populated with letters of different sizes and shapes ("Word and Image" 51). In these Morisco narratives, the words acquire a recognizable meaning through the stories and legends that are conveyed. As we have seen in this chapter, the content of these Morisco texts could help preserve memories and may have functioned as a mode of resistance against Catholic "idols." Equally important, however, is the visual aspect of the Arabic alphabet that its authors or scribes employ. Arabic is the language of Allah, the language chosen to reveal the sacred text of the Qur'an. The Qur'an itself alludes on a number of occasions to the significance of writing and to the special nature of Arabic, linking the Divine with the practice of written expression (Schimmel, *Islamic Calligraphy* 1).[151] Therefore Arabic letters and words are not just verbal signs of a language used to communicate meaning, but they carry a visual relevance on their own. While the Arabic script does not represent something in the same way that a Catholic image does, it still has a sacred connection to Islam and can depict Allah. The Mancebo de Arévalo makes use of the Arabic alphabet to write his *Tratado*, but he also manipulates the letters in an exercise to visualize the different attributes of Allah, seeing the letters as images of the Divine. The function of Arabic letters as images was especially important to the illiterate Moriscos mentioned earlier who sought and possessed texts with the sacred letters. Without the value of Arabic characters as images, these texts would fail to maintain their

[151] Annemarie Schimmel refers to the following passages in the Qur'an: 96:3-4, 68:1, 85:21-22, 82:10, 50:16, 17:73, 10:62, 34:4 (*Islamic Calligraphy* 1). She expands on many of these Qur'anic references to writing in her book *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (77-114).

power for many Morisco communities. In this way, the Aljamiado texts discussed in this chapter, such as *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona, Libro de las batallas,* and *Recontamiento de la conversión de Omar,* composed with the visually significant Arabic script, displayed a similar value for Moriscos that religious representations had for Catholics in early modern Spain. While Catholic images were esteemed as depictions of Jesus, Mary, or the saints, Arabic letters were regarded as textual images that encompass the sanctity of Islam. It was then with these written images that Moriscos could oppose competing figural representations and these texts may have functioned as a replacement for the Catholic images that surrounded Moriscos in their everyday life.

Text and image, however, did not always substitute one another. At times, the written word and the visual image coincide. The Morisco Ignacio de las Casas observes the following representation on the church altar in which text and image, Muslim and Christian, occur simultaneously:

> ay una imagen de las que pintan, alçando el sacerdote la ostia y del un lado y del otro de la ostia están unas labores pintadas que parecen lazos, y son letras arábigas bien hechas y formadas y dicen del un lado –No ay otro Dios– y del otro –sino Dios–, que es la sentencia que an usado y usan oy los mahometanos y arrianos para negar la divinidad de Jesucristo nuestro Señor y todos los sacramentos, y esto lo saben assí muy bien los moriscos de aquella ciudad.[152] (qtd. in Bernabé Pons, "Desheredados de al-Andalus" 65)

[152] "there is a painted image in which the priest is raising the host and from one side to the other of the host there are some intertwined designs painted, and they are nicely done and formed Arabic letters and say from one side—there is no God—and from the other—but God—, which is the phrase that Muslims and heretics have used and use today to deny the divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord and all of the sacraments, and all of the Moriscos from that city know this very well." The original source is Ignacio de las Casas's *Información acerca de los moriscos de España* (1605), which Youssef El Alaoui has transcribed in his book *Jésuites, Morisques et Indiens* (547). Ignacio de las Casas does

This Christian painting with Arabic words on the church altar is both Christian and Muslim, possessing value for followers of both religions. It is also a visual example of the Morisco literature discussed in this chapter, a visible representation of text against image. The words on this image are what allow Moriscos to resist the sacred portrayal as a whole, just as the Arabic words and letters in the tale of Carcayona, the narratives of battle during the early days of Islam, and the story of ʿUmar's conversion may have been inspiration to withstand the adoration of images in their daily life experiences.

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not give any indication in his text as to who may have placed the Arabic words on the church altar or when this may have occurred.

CHAPTER THREE

Images of Conversion: From Muslim to Christian through the Virgin Mary

Mary, God has chosen you and made you pure:
He has truly chosen you above all women.
Al-Qur'an (3:42)

Near the end of the second act of Cervantes's *La gran sultana,* the Great Turk observes and listens to his new Spanish Christian wife, Catalina de Oviedo, pray as she invokes the Virgin Mary's name. Instead of objecting to her strong religious devotion, her Muslim husband encourages Catalina to continue praising Mary and seeking her protection:

> Reza, reza, Catalina,
> que sin la ayuda divina
> duran poco humanos bienes;
> y llama, que no me espanta,
> antes me parece bien,
> a tu Lela Marïén,
> que entre nosotros es santa.
> ……
> Bien la puedes alabar,
> que nosotros la alabamos,
> y de ser Virgen la damos
> la palma en primer lugar.[153] (vv. 1738-44, 1749-52)

[153] "Pray, pray, Catalina, / since without divine help / human goods last little; / and pray, for it doesn't frighten me, / instead it seems good to me, / since your Lela Marïén, / is a saint among us. […] You are free to praise her, / as we ourselves praise her, / and since she is Virgin we give her / first-rate praise"

Given the frequent contact between Christians and Muslims in the early modern Mediterranean, it was no surprise to many individuals who inhabited this space that Mary / Maryam formed part of the religious beliefs of these two cultures, and authors like Cervantes and Lope de Vega were not the only ones to include references to such practices in their works. Nevertheless, while icons of the Virgin were quite prevalent in Spain and other Catholic lands, the creation of figural images representing this divine woman was generally not suitable for Muslims.[154] So in this Mediterranean environment with a shared cult of the Virgin and in which Christians and Muslims encountered each other on a daily basis, how would their differences regarding images of this feminine figure be reconciled? And how would early modern writers portray these encounters that center upon religious images of the Madonna in their fictional and non-fictional texts? In the previous two chapters we've already seen how representations of the cross, Jesus, and even Mary could be the source of conflict for Moriscos who were forced to pay respect to these objects of adoration in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. At other times, the Virgin was a key player in bridging the gap between Old Christian and Morisco cultures.[155] In both historical accounts and literary texts, sacred effigies of Mary were also employed as an instrument for conversion to Christianity in Spain and throughout the Mediterranean world. This last use will be the focus of this chapter. By broadening the discussion of images from the Moriscos in Spain to other Muslim individuals from across the Strait of Gibraltar, we'll see the key role of representations of the Virgin Mary in the conversion of diverse Muslims who travel

[154] Borja Franco Llopis does cite one exception in Iran from Abd-El-Jalil's *Cristianismo e Islam*. According to his research, some Iranian Muslim families were said to use images of Mary to set an example of purity for their daughters ("Los moriscos y la Inquisición" 98).

[155] Even though it is not a focus in my dissertation, it is important to briefly note the key role of the Virgin Mary in the apocryphal Lead Books of Granada discovered in 1588. The place of the Virgin serves to highlight some similarities between Islamic and Christian religions before the expulsion of the Moriscos was put into action. The Lead Books have been the object of many studies over the last few decades, although little focus has been put on the Virgin. For the importance of Mary as mediator between these two cultures, see Martínez Medina; Remensnyder ("Beyond Muslim and Christian").

to early modern Spain. Specifically, during this time a series of North African princes and high-ranking individuals from other Islamic lands are said to have converted to Christianity because of the Virgin Mary's influence, oftentimes precisely due to images portraying her. Lope de Vega represents one of the most well-known cases in his *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* with his protagonist Muley Xeque. However, other literary works like Calderón de la Barca's *El gran príncipe de Fez*, Lope's *La octava maravilla*, and Tirso de Molina's *Los lagos de san Vicente*, in addition to other more historical works like that of Juan Vincenzo Escallón's *Origen y descendenzia de los serenísimos reyes benimerines*, to name only a few, offer fascinating accounts of prominent individuals—some of them real—who convert to Christianity specifically because of the Virgin Mary. While many of these narratives have been analyzed by scholars over the past years, the role images play in the process of conversion has been generally ignored or relegated to the margins. In this chapter, I will address this gap by focusing principally on Lope's theatrical representation of Muley Xeque's religious transformation on stage via an image of the Virgen de la Cabeza.

1. Images of Mary / Maryam between Christianity and Islam

With changing frontiers and frequent border crossings in the *Mare Nostrum* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the decision to pass from one religion to another was not uncommon. The Bennassars examine the lives of some 1,550 European individuals—mostly men—who between 1550 and 1700 converted to Islam. According to their research, this figure is only a drop in the bucket of all the renegades, or converts to Islam, during this time period (168).[156] However, aside from the forced conversions of Moriscos in sixteenth-century Spain,

[156] In this respect, the Bennassars affirm: "Admitimos que los 1.500 renegados identifiados por nosotros, juzgados todos por tribunales inquisitoriales españoles, portugueses, venecianos.. representen apenas un 0,5 por 100 de los renegados del periodo de 1550-1700 en el que hemos concretado nuestro estudio. Muchos de esos hombres (con mucha más frecuencia, de estas mujeres) bien espontáneamente, bien en el curso de su interrogatorio, mencionan a

conversions from Islam to Christianity were much more the exception than the norm in the early modern Mediterranean for a number of different reasons (Hutchinson, "Renegades as Crossover Figures" 47). Some of the most interesting cases are those of exiles from royal families in the Maghreb who ended up in Christian lands later choosing to proclaim the Christian faith as their own, many of whom Beatriz Alonso Acero has studied in her illuminating book *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristiandad* (2006).[157] Given the importance of Mary / Maryam in both Christianity and Islam, it is not shocking that this divine woman would figure prominently in many of these accounts describing their conversion.[158] However, the desire on the part of some Spanish authors to attribute these religious transformations to the power of a Marian icon is more intriguing. As we have already seen in the previous two chapters, both Old Christian and Morisco texts often emphasized crypto-Muslims' rejection of sacred icons or "idols," in some cases even those of the Virgin Mary. So how and why would some early modern Spanish writers chose to accentuate a very difference response that icons of the Virgin provoked in Muslims who arrived in the Peninsula from other Islamic lands?

In some regards, it was not so unexpected that images would stand out as protagonists in some of these stories of miraculous conversions since religious images had often been celebrated

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centenares e incluso a miles de otros renegados que a veces designan por su nombre y a veces de manera anónima pero cuya nacionalidad indican casi siempre" ("We admit that the 1,500 renegades identified by us, all of them tried by the Spanish, Portuguese, Venecian... Inquisition tribunals, represent only 0.5 of 100 of the renegades during the period spanning 1500-1700 in which we have fixed our study. Many of these men (with much more frequency than those women), either spontaneously or during the course of their interrogation, mentioned hundreds and even thousands of other renegades who sometimes they mention by name and sometimes anonymously, but they almost always indicate their nationality") (168).

[157] Henry de Castries has an earlier article-length study in which he examined the Christian conversion of three Moroccan princes: Gaspar de Benimerín, Baltasar Loyola Mendes, and Lorenzo Bartolomeo Luigi Troyano. For a summary of other research carried out on this topic, see Alonso Acero (*Sultanes de Berbería* 21-23). For a more general study of converts to Christianity from Islam in seventeenth-century Spain, see Bernard Vincent.

[158] For the importance of Maryam in Islam, I have consulted the following studies: Schleifer's *Mary the Blessed Virgin of Islam*; Pelikan's "The Heroine of the Qur'an and the Black Madonna;" Abd-El-Jalil's "El islam ante la Virgen María;" Smith and Haddad's "The Virgin Mary in Islamic Tradition and Commentary." For a brief survey of Maryam in the context of medieval and early modern Spain, see Epalza (161-96). For Muslim's reception of images of Mary in medieval and early modern Spain, see Pereda (339-373).

for their didactic efficacy, including by the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent (Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 21).[159] Post-Tridentine Spanish treatise writers on the subject regularly emphasized this same point. Following the ideas of the Italian Cardinal Paleotti, the Valencian Jaime Prades highlights the central pedagogical role of images to instruct both learned and ignorant individuals in the Christian faith in his 1596 *Historia de la adoración y uso de las Santas Imágenes*. To him, images are like books but even more effective in teaching than the Holy Scripture (Franco Llopis, "Redescubriendo a Jaime Prades" 90). Years later, Francisco Pacheco in his *Arte de la pintura* would also underscore the usefulness of images over the written word as an instrument to bring one to Christian devotion: "Pues si tanta eficacia tienen las palabras que se oyen o leen, para mudar nuestros afectos, con mucha mayor violencia penetrarán dentro de nosotros aquellas figuras que respiran piedad, devoción, modestia y santidad"[160] (qtd. in Martínez Burgos 101). In this same chapter on the use and authority of religious images in the Catholic Church, Pacheco also comments on the crucial role of painters since their Christian images have the ability to persuade others to turn to God: "Mas hablando de las imágines Christianas, digo que el fin principal será persuadir los ombres a la piedad, y llevarlos a Dios"[161] (143).

In 1623, the Spanish Jesuit Father Martín de Roa defended the use and purpose of religious images in his *Antigüedad, fruto i veneración de las sagradas imágenes, i reliquias*. He

[159] "And the bishops shall carefully reach this, that, by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people is instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith; as also that great profit is derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the miracles which God has performed by means of the saints, and their salutary examples, are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so they may give God thanks for those things; may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God, and cultivate piety" (qtd. in Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 20).

[160] "So if the words that one reads or hears are so effective, to change our reactions, those figures that breath piety, devotion, modesty and sanctity enter us all the more forcefully"

[161] "But speaking of Christian images, I say that the main purpose is to persuade men toward piety, and bring them to God"

compares the five senses, concluding that vision is the most appropriate for spiritual matters since "Dios nos enseña las cosas invisibles por las visibles"[162] (42r).[163] For him, images are much more effective than the spoken word, since their meaning can be instantly transmitted to one's soul:

> La facilidad está en que por los colores, i faiciones esteriores, en una vista de ojos ponen dentro del alma el conocimiento de mil cosas, que por el oído no hallaran camino en gran pieça de tiempo. Son tan capazes los ojos, i tienen tanta semejança al entendimiento, que con admirable presteza de una vista comprehenden innumerables cosas, que los demás sentidos reciben parte por parte, con gran tardança.[164] (42v-43r)

Even though at the start of his book he criticizes Muslims, among others, for being aniconic, some of the most interesting examples that he uses now to prove his point on the efficacy of images are precisely of Muslims who are said to be so forcefully impacted because of what they see. He recounts how it was specifically images of the Virgin or the cross that account for the conversion of a Muslim slave near Barcelona, an African king, and an adolescent Muslim girl in Melilla who chose to convert, not because of what anyone had told her, but simply because of her encounter with a Christian icon.[165]

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[162] "God teaches us about invisible things through visible ones"

[163] Professor David Hildner has kindly pointed out to me that Roa is most likely hinting at Romans 1:19-21: "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made."

[164] "The ease is in the fact that because of the colors, and exterior features, in a glance [the images] transmit meaning of a thousand things to one's soul, which if only heard would take a lot longer to enter. The eyes are so capable, and have so much resemblance to understanding, that with the admirable swiftness of just a glance they are able to comprehend innumerable things, which the other senses only understand little by little, with great delay"

[165] The Virgin Mary also played a role in narratives of conversion in Medieval Iberia as Amy G. Remensnyder has studied, notably in Alfonso X's *Cantigas*. Here she mentions at least one example of Muslims who convert via a Marian icon ("Mother of Conversion" 189).

Even if the image of Mary didn't end up converting followers of other religions, some accounts still attest to the mutual respect shown to Marian icons in the early modern Mediterrenean. Michel de Montaigne, for example, describes the statue of a Virgin in Loreto which was accompanied by numerous ex-votos and other offerings that others had left in her honor, including a large wax candle sent by a "Turk" when he found himself in a moment of desperate need (1248). In sixteenth-century Trapani, it was not infrequent for "Turks and Moors" to be granted safe-conduct in order to pay a visit to the statue of a highly-venerated Madonna there (Arnaldi 41). In at least one case, a statue of the Mary was respected by a Muslim in Tunis, more for its talismanic properties than for any pious motives. As the story goes, Cherite Castelli, a descendent of expelled Moriscos, cherished a small Marian figure which he kept at his storefront to protect his merchandise (Carlos Varona 329). As we will see, literary texts followed in line with some of the examples mentioned thus far, emphasizing both the shared cult of the Virgin and the transformative powers of Marian icons.

2. Conversion on Stage: From Muley Xeque to Don Felipe de África

As the title of his dramatic work indicates, Lope de Vega's *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos* relates two historical events: the disastrous results of the Battle of Alcázarquivir in 1578, including the death of the Portuguese King Sebastian, and the conversion of the Moroccan Prince Muley Shaykh (Muley Xeque in Lope's text)[166] in 1593 after witnessing the pilgrimage of the Virgen de la Cabeza in the Andalusian town of Andújar. While the inclusion of these distinct episodes into the same theatrical piece may initially seem like an odd choice, the two events are joined on both a historical and symbolic level. To begin with, around the time of the Battle of Alcázarquivir there is a Sa'dian dynastic

[166] To distinguish between the historical individual and the fictional character, I will use "Muley Sheykh" while referencing the historical person and use "Muley Xeque" while discussing Lope's work.

dispute in Morocco. One of the contenders to the throne was Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, nephew of the sultan in power and father of Muley Shaykh. Al-Mutawakkil requested military assistance from the Portuguese king and in exchange presented him with the Moroccan port in Asilah. However, when al-Mutawakkil, King Sebastian, and reigning Sultan ʻAbd al-Malik all died in the Battle of Alcázarquivir, resulting in Ahmad al-Mansur being named the new ruler, some members of the Saʻdian dynasty were exiled from Morocco.[167] Among those displaced was Muley Shaykh and his uncle Muley Nasr, who first went to Portugal and then to Spain. This short historical digression helps explain how Lope de Vega connected the events in late sixteenth-century Morocco with Muley Xeque's presence in the Iberian Peninsula, which later led to his conversion and baptism. Additionally, on a symbolic level, recounting the story of the religious transformation of a Moroccan prince in the play helps compensate for the devastating outcome of the battle and death of a Christian king, as George Mariscal (161) and Melchora Romanos (190) have underscored. Thus, by concluding the drama in this way, Lope reaffirms the triumph of Christianity over Islam despite the Portuguese loss in North Africa.

In 1955, the Arabist Jaime Oliver Asín published an extensive study on the figure of Muley Shaykh, using Lope's drama on this person as one of his principal sources.[168] He is the first to identify many of the characters who are represented in this play, and through his research of various historic documents, including a series of volumes on Morocco published by Henry de Castries, he was able to contextualize many of the notable circumstances in Lope's theatrical piece. With a clearer understanding of the events and details included in his play, Oliver Asín

[167] As Fernand Braudel reminds us, "It may not have been the greatest disaster in Portuguese history, but the importance of the battle of Alcázarquivir should not be underestimated, for it was heavy with consequences" (2: 1179). For a succinct summary of the battle and the key players, see García Arenal (*Ahmad al-Mansur* 6-21). For a brief account of the motives for Muley Shaykh's exile to Portugal and Spain, see Alonso Acero (91-109); Oliver Asín (*Vida de don Felipe* 55-61).

[168] In 2008, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero published a new edition of Oliver Asín's study, including a more than sixty-page introduction to his work.

defends the unity of the work in the following way: "La obra está concebida a modo de simbólico tríptico, en el que se destacan: a un lado, los acontecimientos que deciden el destino terrenal del Príncipe niño; en el centro, su conversión, y al otro lado, la escena del bautizo" (*Vida de don Felipe* 171).[169] Despite the combination of diverse episodes that take place in different continents during almost two decades, Oliver Asín affirms that it is precisely Muley Xeque who, as the protagonist, adds cohesion to the play. Basing himself off this same idea, Felipe Pedraza Jiménez focuses part of his study on how the Moroccan prince brings unity to the three acts of the drama, although with one other determining motive. His research has led him to believe that Lope's work may have been commissioned by Muley Shaykh himself and that he may have asked the playwright to closely follow his personal life, even if the overall structure of the play would suffer (137-38).[170] For Pedraza, this detail would explain, at least in part, the central focus on the North African character and the grouping of the three acts.

So with Muley Xeque at the center of the piece, let's first look at some specifics of how Lope de Vega chose to represent him before examining in more detail the prince's transformation and fascinating association to religious images in early modern Spain. At the start of the play, his appearance is brief yet meaningful. Near the end of the first act, Muley Xeque, still a child, maintains a dialogue with Albacarín[171] while the two await the arrival of King Sebastian from Portugal. After the Portuguese king lands on the coast he meets the young

[169] "The work is conceived of as a symbolic triptych, in which the author emphasizes: on one side, the events that decide the worldly destiny of the young prince, in the center, his conversion, and at the end, the scene of his baptism"

[170] In this regard, Pedraza Jiménez asserts: "[Muley Shaykh] era conocido y amigo de Lope. […] Sabemos que el príncipe era aficionado al teatro por una noticia que recogió Casiano Pellicer en su *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progreso de la comedia y del historionismo en España*. No sería, pues, extraño que, con motivo de la incorporación a la nueva fe y a los honores de la nueva sociedad, encargara una comedia para la autopromoción" ("[Muley Shaykh] knew and was a friend of Lope. […] We know that the prince was a fan of theater from some information that Castiano Pellicer divulges in his *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progreso de la comedia y del historionismo en España*. It would not be surprising, then, that, due to his incorporation into a new faith and the culture of a new society, he commissioned a play for self-promotion") (137).

[171] Oliver Asín associates this fictional character with the prince's uncle, 'Abd al-Karīm (*Vida de don Felipe de África* 100).

Moroccan prince in a scene teeming with mutual flattery. Muley Xeque's words of praise toward the Christian king serve to highlight and respect this historical figure, but at the same time the king is also a model of what the young prince could aspire to be.

The first act culminates with King Sebastian's death portrayed as a Christian martyr at the end of the Battle of Alcázarquivir, and given the circumstances after the conflict, the second act commences with Muley Xeque's exile first in Portugal and later in southern Spain. While the prince is still represented in a positive light, he is simultaneously exoticized in his new environment. Even though he initially dismisses the idea of learning more about the festival and pilgrimage to the Virgen de la Cabeza taking place nearby in Andújar, his curiosity ultimately leads him to approach the religious celebration. On his journey to see what all the commotion is about, he stumbles across three anonymous women who become enthralled by this "outsider," immediately recognizing him to be the Prince of Morocco. Throughout this scene, many of the women's preconceived ideas about Muley Xeque are demystified, including both his inner and outer characteristics. The ladies marvel not only at the way he talks but also at the very idea that he talks at all. They touch him, as if he were a mere figurine, to see if he feels like velvet as they had imagined. Assuming that the land he comes from is replete with lions, the women compare him with the majestic animal. And what concerns these female characters most is the thought that the prince, along with his coreligionists in North Africa, would take many more than just one woman as their spouse. Moved by his lascivious desire and given the option to turn down one fussy wife for another, Muley Xeque himself buys into the stereotype:

> Allá, si aquélla se enfada,
> elijo la que me ruega;
> si ésta acaso está enojada,

otra a mis brazos se allega,

que por humildad me agrada.

¿Veis cómo es gloria en el suelo?[172] (152a)

In this sense, the exoticized representation of Muley Xeque in this scene in particular could be seen as an offshoot of the many literary and historical accounts portraying Muslim women as exotic subjects.[173] In order to fit into the Andalusian environment surrounding the pilgrimage to the Virgin, the Moroccan prince disguises himself in "Christian" clothes. It is only after he has modified his outer appearance that his inner intentions also begin to transform, as he goes from Muslim to Christian in the presence of the images of the Virgin Mary. Likewise, his conversations with the three anonymous Spanish ladies are soon to be substituted with discussions about Marian representations.

While the entire second act is devoted to Muley Xeque's religious conversion with the Virgen de la Cabeza as his witness, this segment of the play, significantly positioned at the center, also exemplifies the power and prominence of religious images in early modern Spain. Furthermore, it is also these sacred representations which place Muslim and Christian characters in dialogue with one another. Initially, the prince's motives for attending the local religious festivities were solely to mock Catholic practices and the individuals who follow them. However, soon after his arrival at the site of pilgrimage, Muley Xeque receives a detailed lesson on the most noteworthy Marian images in Spain, among them the Virgin in Andújar, from the

[172] "There, if that one becomes irritated, / I choose the one who begs for me; / perhaps if this one is angry, / another one comes to my arms, / with humility it pleases me. / Do you see how this is heaven on earth?"

[173] For example, see Mercedes Alcalá Galán's study on Orientalism and Muslim women in which she affirms: "The representation of women in the realm of Islam in early modern Spanish literary, religious, historical, and political texts provides a significant key to the perception of the 'Other' in Spain. These women were categorized according to their radically different circumstances: in Spain they were *Moriscas,* where they were the objects of internal colonization, but in the Ottoman Empire, which was seen as a threat to Christian Europe, they were *Moras* and *Turcas.* Muslim women were systematically portrayed as highly sexualized subjects, sometimes in combination with the mystified harem and the slave market. In a tone ranging from contempt and disgust to ravishing desire, Muslim women were depicted as sensual and sexually accessible creatures" ("Erotics of the Exotic" 11).

friar Victoriano.[174] His instruction in the religious iconography of the Madonna helps prepare the way for the moment when he finally encounters the effigy of the Virgen de la Cabeza. However, it is also significant that many of the Virgins described in this scene by Victoriano are associated with miracles and legends of other Muslim individuals who suddenly converted to Christianity after hearing about the Virgin Mary or being in the presence of images representing her. In this way, the account of Muley Xeque's conversion by way of a Marian icon inscribes both the prince and the image of the Virgen de la Cabeza into this tradition, highlighting the power of the sacred representation capable of influencing the religious transformation of individuals with diverse backgrounds.

Victoriano begins his lecture on Marian iconography by pointing out three other images of Virgins in Spain that compare with the Virgen de la Cabeza, given the strong devotion surrounding them and the countless miracles for which they are responsible, including restoring health or rescuing captives:

> La de Montserrate,
> que está junto a Barcelona,
> no hay lengua que no desate,
> vista que no dé, o persona
> cautiva que no rescate.
> El Pilar de Zaragoza,
> por gran privilegio goza
> ser cámara angelical.

[174] Oliver Asín identifies this character as the historical Fray Juan Macías, the prince's catechist from the outskirts of Andújar (*Vida de don Felipe de África* 111). He also briefly notes that the act of listing a series of Marian shrines, just as Victoriano does in this scene, was common practice in medieval and early modern religious literature (107, note 9).

Guadalupe es celestial.[175] (160a)

Fig. 10. Juan Ricci, *Nuestra Señora de Montserrat*, 17th century
Barcelona, Museu de Montserrat
Photo Credit: Album / Art Resource, NY

[175] "The Virgin of Montserrat, / which is near Barcelona, / there is no mute person who is not healed, / blind person who does not receive sight, or person / taken captive who is not rescued. / The Pilar in Zaragoza, / enjoys great privilege / because of its angelic chamber. / Guadalupe is heavenly"

While some of these images of Virgins mentioned above by Victoriano are associated with miracles of Muslims converting to Christianity, the one in Montserrat is connected to a few which are especially revealing in our consideration of Muley Xeque's conversion and the context of Lope's play. In Pedro de Burgos's *Libro de la historia y milagros, hechos a invocación de Nuestra Señora de Montserrate,*[176] for example, he relates the story of the Valencian gentleman Mossen Soler and his Muslim slave, who in 1513 decided to visit the Virgin of Montserrat near Barcelona (see fig. 10). Even though his ransom would have brought in an exorbitant amount, his master was unwilling to give him up since he hoped with great anticipation that his slave would convert to Christianity, but to no avail. As the story goes, one day Mossen Soler made the pilgrimage to the Virgin of Montserrat alongside his slave, and as soon as this Muslim individual contemplated the sacred image he is said to have converted to Christianity *in situ*, was baptized, and changed his name to Luys de Montserrate in honor of the Virgin (113v-114r).[177]

After learning about the principal Madonnas, Muley Xeque is increasingly fascinated and requests to be instructed on other examples of Marian iconography in the Peninsula. Victoriano agrees and continues with a description of two more sacred representations, highlighting their beauty:

> Los milagros, causa han sido
>
> de ser menor o mayor:

[176] For this project, I have consulted the amplified 1605 edition, although there are various earlier editions, including one published as early as 1536.

[177] Martín de Roa takes advantage of this same Marian miracle in his *Antigüedad, fruto i veneración de las sagradas imágenes i reliquias* (1623) as he tries to defend the power and importance of religious images in early modern Spain (50v-51r). One other miraculous conversion from Islam to Christianity is worth noting from Pedro de Burgos's collection. In 1517, one of the Barbarossa brothers captured fray Miguel Arpino and sold him to a Muslim in Tunis. As he was being tortured and hung by his feet, Miguel invoked the Virgin of Montserrat, imploring her help. When one Muslim observer saw how the Virgin came to the captive's rescue he decided to convert and was "secretly" baptized (127v-129r). Significantly, one of the other two Virgins emphasized in this passage from Lope's play—the Virgin of Guadalupe—is also associated with stories of conversion. In Fray Gabriel de Talavera's *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (1597), he relates how a Christian captive began to pray to the Virgin of Guadalupe, and once his Muslim master heard these words his stiff heart was transformed to soft wax as he instantly converted to Christianity (234v-235r).

hay en la Peña de Francia,
de Salamanca distancia
de una jornada, una hermosa
imagen, que como rosa
da en aquel monte fragancia.
El Sagrario de Toledo
tiene una imagen divina
que encarecella no puedo,
porque es la misma cortina
de Dios.[178] (160b)

It's especially interesting that Lope would have Victoriano describe the Virgin of Sagrario in Toledo to Muley Xeque since he uses this same Marian icon in his play *La octava maravilla* as a mediator to convert the fictional Muslim character Tomar, supposed King of Bengala. After learning about the grandiose Escorial built for King Felipe II, King Tomar travels to Spain to witness its magnificence. In the third act and after a long series of events, he finally arrives, marvels at the Escorial, and later spends four days at the church in Toledo, where upon gazing at the image of the Virgin, he decides to renege on his Muslim faith, promising to be baptized soon (275a-b).[179] Returning to Lope's *Tragedia del rey Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos*, Victoriano concludes Muley Xeque's introduction to the many acclaimed images of the Virgin Mary in Spain with a particular mention of three more—one in Valladolid, another in

[178] "The miracles, come from [images] / of more or less [devotion]: / in Peña de Francia, / in Salamanca a distance / of a day from here, there is a beautiful / image, that like a rose / gives off a fragrance on that mountain. / The Sagrario in Toledo / has a divine image / which I have no words to describe, / because she is the very intercessor / of God"

[179] I will discuss King Tomar's conversion to Christianity in relation to Muley Xeque's in the last part of this chapter. For a succinct summary of Lope's play *La octava maravilla*, see Thomas E. Case's *Lope and Islam* (129-30).

Madrid, and the last one in Seville—while also suggesting that many other images are also worthy of praise:

> La Virgen de San Clemente
> gozan en Valladolid,
> y una imagen excelente
> de Atocha adora Madrid,
> que un ángel sus glorias cuente.
> Estos hicieron la bella
> de los Reyes de Sevilla,
> que no hay sol, que no hay estrella,
> que la humana maravilla
> pueda comparar con ella.
> No te puedo referir
> las muchas que hay.[180] (160b)

Of these effigies of the Virgin Mary, Our Lady of Atocha is especially praised for her miraculous power (see fig. 11). The early modern historian Antonio de León Pinelo records a conversion miracle in his *Anales de Madrid* (1701) linked to the Virgin of Atocha that bears some resemblance to Muley Xeque's change of heart, and significantly occurs in the same year as his baptism (Mariscal 158). Instead of a Moroccan prince, this time it is a "Turkish" slave who initially scoffs at the image of the Virgin Mary, just as Muley Xeque had intended to do at the pilgrimage to the Virgin of the Cabeza in Andújar. In this case, the inhabitants of Madrid had

[180] "Our Lady of San Clemente / is praised in Valladolid, / and an excellent image / of Atocha is worshiped in Madrid, / whose glories are told by an angel. / These [angels] made the beautiful [Virgin] / de los Reyes in Seville, / to which there is no sun, nor is there a star, / nor any human wonder / that could compare to her. / I can't tell you / how many [Virgins] there are"

taken the Virgin of Atocha out to the streets, asking her to send rain to their parched land. In jest, the Muslim slave said he would convert to Christianity only if the image were able to actually make it rain. After this occurred, he kept his promise and was baptized, spending the rest of his life in service to the Virgin (Mariscal 158).[181]

Fig. 11. *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*
Madrid, Real Basílica Nuestra Señora de Atocha

[181] Francisco Pereda recounts the same miracle in his *Historia de la santa y devotíssima imagen de Nuestra Señora de Atocha* published in 1604 (170r-171v). He also attributes another Muslim's conversion to the power of the Virgin. As the miracle goes, in 1066 a group of Muslims living in the Peninsula decide to seize some Christians and keep them as captives. When they begin to pray out loud to the Virgin Mary, she appears in a tree and asks to speak with the principle Muslim captor. She first convinces him to let all of the Christians go free, and then the beauty and sweetness of her voice persuades him to convert to Christianity and is baptized promptly by the Virgin herself (241r-245v).

In addition to linking Muley Xeque's future conversion through the Virgen de la Cabeza with other prominent images that were also associated with miracles of conversion to Christianity, Victoriano connects the Moroccan prince and the sacred icon in Andújar with other Marian representations through a shared historical past. As the friar reveals, many of the images described had been secretly hidden during the Islamic conquest of the Peninsula for safekeeping from the Muslim invaders:

> Porque muchas dellas son
> del tiempo que destruisteis
> nuestra cristiana nación
> en España, cuando hicisteis
> a Muza español Nerón.
> Enterraban los cristianos
> estos bultos soberanos
> por los montes; que temían
> que en sus reliquias pondrían
> aquellas bárbaras manos.[182] (161a)

Furthermore, by using the second person plural while addressing Muley Xeque, he attributes the possible mistreatment of these images both to the prince himself and to other Muslims who entered the Peninsula before him, situating them on the same level and distributing the blame among them.[183]

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[182] "Because many of them are / from the time that you all destroyed / our Christian nation / in Spain, when you all made / Muza a Spanish Nero. / The Christians buried / these sovereign images / in the mountains; for they feared / that on their relics they would put / those barbarous hands"

[183] Curiously, in this same exchange of ideas, Victoriano later mentions how now it is the English who are responsible for the desecration of many images of the Virgin, suggesting some continuity through the iconoclasm of the Muslims in Spain and some individuals in England (161a).

The early modern historian Manuel de Salcedo Olid, who dedicates an entire volume to the history of the Virgen de la Cabeza, offers copious details on the origin of the image, its concealment from the new Muslim occupants, its apparition to a shepherd in 1227, and finally all the miracles and festivities in its honor. In this work, *Panegírico historial de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza* (1677), Salcedo Olid emphasizes that of all the images in this region, special care was taken to protect and hide away the Virgen de la Cabeza, and for this reason it is still celebrated today: "devemos entender que avía otras muchas Imágenes de Nuestra Señora quando los Moros entraron en ella, por ser como se ha visto una Ciudad tan Católica, y devota de la Virgen Santíssima. Y supuesto que con la Sagrada Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Cabeça, se tuvo aquel particular cuydado de esconderla con tanto recato en un monte tan fragoso, áspero, y apartado"[184] (116).

In William A. Christian's study of apparitions in medieval and early modern Spain, he notes various similar accounts of Marian icons which were concealed by Christian inhabitants after the arrival of Muslims to the Peninsula. The image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, for instance, was carefully protected in a cave by some Sevillian priests until it was rediscovered years later (*Apparitions* 88-92). The concealment and subsequent miraculous apparition of images of the Virgin is likewise the subject of one of Francisco de Zurbarán's paintings (see fig. 12). This canvas in particular represents how Saint Pedro Nolasco, founder of the Mercedarian Order, discovered a highly valued sculpture of the Virgin with her son in the thirteenth century. Significantly, it had been hidden from Muslims and it only came to light in Valencia at the same time that the Spanish city was being reconquered (Long 274). There are also other literary treatments of this theme such as Calderón's play *Origen, pérdida y restauración de la Virgen del*

[184] "we should understand that there were many other images of Our Lady when the Muslims entered [Spain], since it was such a Catholic city, and devoted to the Most Holy Virgin. And of course with the Holy Image of Our Lady of the Cabeza, there was particular care taken to hide it cautiously in a rough, uneven, and hidden-away mountain"

Sagrario. This theatrical piece deals specifically with the cult of the Marian icon in Toledo, including how it was hidden from Muslims in Iberia during medieval times and later found during the reign of Alfonso VI. Significantly, here it is the Muslim Selín, and not the usual Christian shepherd, who finds the hidden image in a well while looking for a buried enchanted treasure.[185] It turns out that the treasure is actually an image of the Virgin of whom he offers a lengthy *descriptio puellae*, only realizing at the conclusion of his account that the woman he is portraying is in fact Mary (600a-b). In the end, it is revealed that it is the image of the Virgen del Sagrario, which had been hidden away many years ago, and as we have already seen with many other legends, the Muslim Selín is said to be so overpowered by the beauty of the image that he converts and is baptized. There are many points that we could question within this episode, but the fact that Selín suddenly has no problem with a figural image and refers to Jesus as God and Mary as the Mother of God could be especially incongruous if we consider the actual cultural and historical circumstances of the play (600b).[186] Nevertheless, this does not seem to be relevant to Calderón or Lope in the plays mentioned here. All the discussions revolving around the use and power of Marian iconography serve to underscore a double victory of Christianity for Calderón's and Lope's audience. First of all, given the shared history of many of these images and the legends telling of how they survived the Islamic conquest, the spectator or reader is ultimately presented with a scene that highlights the triumph of Christian images. More importantly, the sudden religious transformations of the Muslims characters on stage seem to

[185] For a discussion on how miraculous apparitions were usually linked to shepherds while oftentimes emphasizing their Old Christian origins, see Javier Irigoyen-García's *The Spanish Arcadia* (85-89). Here he argues that "early modern authors rewrote medieval legends of Marian apparitions so that the ethnicity of the foundational shepherd could be significant for the community of believers, linking his ethnicity to both the iconography of the Nativity and the myths of the *reconquest*" (89).

[186] Míkel de Epalza, among many other critics, highlights how Jesus is referred to as "son of Mary" (*Ibnu Maryam*) in the Qur'an, and specifically not "son of God." Likewise, to offer just one example, the ex-morisco Ibrahim Taybili also describes Jesus as "son of Mary" in this work (166-68).

confirm for the audience the magnitude of one religion over the other, despite the many centuries of sharing the same space—and feminine devotional figure—in the Peninsula.

Fig. 12. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Pedro Nolasco Recovering the Image of the Virgin of El Puig*, 1630
The Cincinnati Art Museum

Even after emphasizing the prominent role and inherent power of Marian iconography in many of the works mentioned thus far, Lope, in particular in his *Tragedia del rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos*, is sure to remove any doubt in the spectator's mind that could have them question his conformity to post-Tridentine beliefs. After the entire exercise in

instructing Muley Xeque in different representations of the Virgin Mary and some of their miraculous capabilities, he asks:

> Dime agora,
>
> ¿a quién los milagros das,
>
> a la imagen que se adora
>
> o a la Virgen, pues es más?[187] (161b).

Victoriano responds by affirming: "La imagen, ¿qué puede hacer, / siendo sola semejanza?"[188] (161b). In this way Victoriano confirms for both Muley Xeque and the audience that, while religious images are important, what they represent, in this case the Virgin, is ultimately more significant. As we have already seen in chapter two, in 1563 the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent defended that religious images in and of themselves were significant principally because of their likeness to the original, and that without their referent they would not have the same worth. In the same chapter we also saw how the distinction between image and prototype was in a number of cases precisely what caused strife among some Moriscos. The idea that the image could represent beliefs that were contrary from their own, such as the crucifixion, was a source of tension in some Morisco communities. In Lope's play, Victoriano clings to the principles laid out in the Council of Trent with regard to sacred images and he is careful to inculcate these ideas in the Moroccan protagonist to avoid any misunderstandings.

All of this discussion revolving around the topic of Marian icons has adequately primed Muley Xeque on the subject and prepared the way for him to finally encounter the Virgen de la Cabeza as it is paraded around Andújar. Even the prince himself notes the change that has taken

[187] "Tell me now, / to whom do you attribute the miracles, / to the image that is worshiped / or to the Virgin, for she is more?"
[188] "What can the image do / by only being her likeness?"

place with regard to how he understands images when the Virgin finally comes to sight. He exclaims:

> Con justa causa la llamas
> sol, luna, rosa y estrella.
> A burlarme aquí venía,
> y hele cobrado afición.[189] (162b)

It is presumably at this moment in the very presence of the image of the Virgin that the Moroccan protagonist converts. Even though this whole act centers on representations of Mary from a principally Christian perspective, and in particular the image in Andújar which provokes Muley Xeque's conversion, the prince's servant Zaide[190] does offer a few remarks on the image and festivities from his own point of view. When the prince asks his servant to explain to him what all the movement and clamor in the town is about, Zaide evidently mentions the pilgrimage to the Virgin:

> ¿No has oído desta ermita
> de la que llaman bendita
> los cristianos, y aun los moros,
> tan rica de mil tesoros
> que le ofrecen?[191] (147b)

What's interesting here is that Zaide points out that it is not only Christians who celebrate the holy image, but that, according to him, Muslims also consider the shrine as sacred. Shortly after,

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[189] "With just cause you call her / sun, moon, rose and star. / I came here to mock her / and I've developed an interest in her"

[190] Oliver Asín identifies this character in Lope's play with the Muley Shaykh's historical servant (*Vida de don Felipe* 110). He also mentions that the character appears in Manuel de Salcedo Olid's *Panegírico* in which he also converts and is renamed José.

[191] "Haven't you heard of this shrine / which is said to be sacred / by Christians, and even Moors, / so rich in a thousand treasures / which they offer to it?"

Zaide also draws attention to the three "Moors" who accompany the town mayor to the pilgrimage, whether voluntarily or against their will. In this way, at least in Lope's work, the celebrations in honor of the Virgen de la Cabeza are, remarkably, what bring together individuals of diverse backgrounds, albeit for different motives.[192] Bernardo Asturiano's seventeenth-century painting on the subject attests to the popularity of this April event and especially the reputation of the Madonna herself (see fig. 13).[193] The canvas notably links the past with the present, portraying on the left the apparition of the Virgen de la Cabeza to Juan Alonso de Rivas in the thirteenth century after it had been concealed from the new Muslim inhabitants, and on the right, the contemporary celebrations carried out in the name of the Virgin. Despite the fact that one's motivation for attending the festivities may vary, for Lope the outcome is always the same. Throughout his play, we see Christian and Muslim characters encounter one another as a result of the aura of the Marian image. However, in the end, any differences that may be initially present are nearly erased by the religious conversion and baptism that is staged at the denouement of the play. Moreover, any question brought up as to the validity and worth of the image of the feminine icon is resolved before the end of the theatrical piece when the effigy's miraculous and inherent power to provoke the conversion of a noble Muslim prince is established.

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[192] In a late eighteenth-century account of the prince's conversion, the Italian theologian Matteo Gianolio di Cherasco describes how many people come together in Andújar during the procession of the Virgen de la Cabeza, including "Turchi, e Mori, ed altri, che profittando della opportunità facean vendita di varie merci" ("Turks, and Moors, and others, taking advantage of the opportunity to make sales of various goods") (22).

[193] For an analysis of Bernardo Asturiano's painting, see Enrique Gómez Martínez et al. Specifically, pages 69-112 relate how the visual content of the canvas coincides with Manuel de Salcedo Olid's description of the pilgrimage in his *Panegírico* (1677). As many other scholars have already noted, Cervantes also includes a narrative account of the pilgrimage to the Virgen de la Cabeza by way of one of his characters in the *Persiles* (III, 6, 487). Curiously, in this passage, the pilgrim in question refers to another painting which portrays the festivities in honor of the Virgin in Andújar. See Carlos Romero Múñoz's explanation in his edition of the *Persiles* (487-88, note 21).

Fig. 13. Bernardo Asturiano, *Romería de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza*, 17th century
Andújar (Spain), Museo de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza
Photo Credit: Wenceslao Infante Burón

Even though Lope de Vega's play, and other later accounts by Salcedo Olid and Gianolio di Cherasco, place the image of the Madonna at the center of Muley Shaykh's conversion, it may be worthwhile to question the writers' motives and consider other possibilities. After all, Salcedo Olid was an officer of the Inquisition in Andújar, Gianolio di Cherasco was an Italian theologian, and Lope de Vega as a playwright would need to consider his primarily Christian audience while representing the Shaykh's religious transformation on stage.[194] At no point do we hear from the Moroccan prince himself the reasons for his decision to convert, but rather all the details are filtered through the pen of these Christian authors. As Beatriz Alonso Acero (*Sultanes de*

[194] Curiously, Oliver Asín thinks that Muley Shaykh would most likely have formed part of the audience (*Vida de don Felipe* 163).

Berbería 200; 260-84) and her and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra ("Estudio preliminar" xxxviii; lvi-lvii) have documented, some of these North African princes and other high-ranking officials from other Islamic lands received certain benefits after their conversion. Namely, their social status was improved and some of them even received annual salaries, among other advantages. For instance, the newly-named Felipe, Juan, and Diego de Persia each received 1,200 *escudos* every year from King Felipe III upon their acceptance of Christianity (Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería* 265; Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, "Estudio preliminar" lvi). Moreover, in the case of Muley Shaykh, there is evidence that, right up until the time of his change of heart, he had been persistently asking King Felipe II and the Duke of Medina Sidonia to let him go back to North Africa. These requests were consistently declined by the Spanish king, leading Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero to speculate that these political circumstances may have ultimately influenced the prince's decision to convert since he was unable to return to his homeland and reclaim his sultanate ("Estudio preliminar" xxxvi-xxxvii).

While it may be difficult to know the true motives behind Muley Shaykh's conversion and if or how the image of the Virgen de la Cabeza actually influenced his decision as Lope de Vega, early modern historians, and even some contemporary critics have so forcefully emphasized, a few curious accounts attest to his association to religious images beyond the one found in Andújar that are worth mentioning here. In the first instance, while Muley Shaykh is passing through Alcalá de Guadaira on his way to Carmona in July of 1609, more than a decade after his baptism in the Escorial, he has a confrontation with one of the Muslims accompanying him because of the way he was said to be treating a cross. The report written up by a certain Juanetín Mortara records the incidence in the following way:

> hizo çierto desacato a una cruz que encuentró [*sic*] en el camino. Mandóle [Muley Xeque] traher, y aunque dio muchas disculpas, embió por la justiçia deste lugar y se lo mandó entregar preso, haviéndole dicho que sy siguiesse su bolontad [*sic*], lo ouviera mandado cortar la cabeça, y que por pareçerle mal derramar sangre en tierra de Su Magestad; que a cargo de dicho [*sic*] justiçia dexava el castigo, encargándole fuesse tal conforme lo piden nuestras leyes.[195] (qtd. in García Arenal, Rodríguez Mediano, and El Hour 95)

According to the individual accused, he never intended to cause any harm to the icon of the cross, but rather he was startled by the noise of an animal and ended up accidentally falling onto the Christian symbol. What is more interesting here is the way that the Moroccan prince is said to have reacted to the situation. As Mortara reports, Muley Shaykh is supposedly willing to behead his fellow companion for what may have only been a minor and accidental mistreatment of the cross. Considering the evidence included in the testimony, it would appear that the prince's reaction to the situation was unnecessarily extreme. However, if we are to take this account at face value, his response and tremendous defense of the cross could be provoked in part by the circumstances in the Peninsula. With only a couple months left before the official decree of the expulsion of the Moriscos, Muley Shaykh would be aware of the precarious situation in Spain and may not have wanted to cause anyone to doubt the authenticity of his own conversion.

One other narrative from 1612 gives an account of Muley Xeque's devotion to the Virgin, in this case an image of the Virgen de la Caridad in San Lúcar de Barrameda. While I

[195] "he showed certain contempt towards a cross that he came across on the path. [Muley Xeque] ordered that he be brought to him, and although he gave many excuses, he sent for the justice official of this place and ordered that he be turned in as a prisoner, having told him that if it were up to him, he would have had him beheaded, but that to him it had seemed wrong to spill blood in the land of His Majesty; so he left the punishment up to the justice official, putting him in charge of doing whatever our laws authorize"

was not able to locate and consult the complete text,[196] the descriptive title is revealing with regard to the prince's devotional practices, or at least the way they were understood by Gaspar Serato who authored this work:

> Relación berdadera que se sacó del libro donde están escritos los milagros de nuestra Señora de la Caridad de San Lúcar de Barrameda. Trata del martirio que dieron a dos moriscos, marido y muger, naturales de la Villa de Castuera en la Ciudad de Marruecos [*sic*], y las maravillas que la Birgen de la Caridad hizo en su muerte, por donde el Rey Muley Xeque embió a san Lúcar donde está la ymagen, por un poco de azeite del farol que a la birgen alumbra. Trata cómo se untó con el azeyte, y la virgen hizo con él un gran milagro; y el presente que el Rey le embió a la Virgen con otras cosas que en la obra se berán.[197] (Gallardo 585)

According to the information offered in the title, it appears as though Muley Shaykh in some way identified with the Morisco martyrs and the subsequent miracles that the Virgen de la Caridad carried out in their honor, causing him to have a special admiration for this Madonna. Whether any part of the account presented here is accurate or not, at the very least it attests to the fact that others, in addition to Lope, Salcedo Olid, and Gianolio, were intrigued by the prince's relation to religious iconography or at best the idea that their sacred image was said to be influential enough to move a former Muslim prince to devotion. Even Jaime Oliver Asín assumes that the Moroccan prince was a devout Catholic based on the interest he shows to

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[196] This *relación de suceso* is cited in at least three sources: Gallardo (585); Redondo ("La double vision" 285, note 34); Rodríguez Jouliá Saint-Cyr (75). Yet, all that is mentioned is the title and publication information, with no reference to anything described in the work itself nor any indication as to whether the text is still extant.

[197] "News that was taken from a book where the miracles of Our Lady of Caridad from San Lúcar de Barrameda are written. It deals with the martyrdom that was given to two Moriscos, husband and wife, from the village of Castuera in the city of Morocco [*sic*], and the wonders that the Virgin of Caridad did when they died, for which the King Muley Xeque requested a little oil from the lantern that illuminates the Virgin from where this image is in San Lúcar. It deals with how he smeared the oil on himself, and how the Virgin caused a great miracle with him; and the present that the king sent to the Virgin with other things that will be told in this work"

various images of the Virgin. Drawing on Gianolio di Charasco's work, Oliver Asín suggests that in 1602 Muley Shaykh made a tour of different Marian shrines in the Peninsula and that he often prayed before an image of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad (*Vida de don Felipe* 187). Even if this is so, the way one responds to sacred iconography in early modern Spain and the Mediterranean world does not necessarily confirm his or her religious creed. As we will see in the following chapter, especially with regard to renegades, sacred symbols could also act as a tool to mold one's identity, usually at a crucial moment when one needed to prove his or her religious beliefs one way or another.

3. Muley Shaykh and the Moriscos

Taking into account this idea that religious images could serve as an instrument to help shape one's outer appearance, let's briefly consider the socio-historical circumstances in which Muley Shaykh spends his last years in Spain and his relation to Moriscos before they are definitively expelled from Peninsula. As almost no one has failed to notice, many of the key events in the prince's life take place during the years preceding the Morisco expulsion. In other words, around the same time that Muley Shaykh arrives in Spain and decides to convert *voluntarily* because of an image of the Virgin, Moriscos had already been *forcefully* baptized and were soon to be exiled from Spain. The close proximity of Muley Shaykh's life in Spain with the situation of the Moriscos is suggested in Juan Luis de Rojas's *Relaciones de algunos sucessos prostreros* [*sic*] de *Berbería* (1613). In this text, he outlines some of the dynastic disputes and history of North Africa, including details on Muley Shaykh and his exile in Spain. While recounting these events he pauses for a moment to give an account of the Moriscos and their expulsion from the Peninsula which occurs as he writes.[198] Here he mentions that, as the

[198] Not all of the pages are numbered in order in Rojas's work, but the episode of the Moriscos intercalated into the history of Muley Shaykh's life can be found in *Relación segunda*, chapter four.

Marqués de San Germán is tending to the expulsion of the Moriscos in Seville, he composes a letter the Muley Shaykh, although the specific details of the epistle are not revealed at that moment. Rojas then picks up where he left off continues his narrative on the Moroccan prince. In this way, the author hints that the Morisco "problem" and the life of the prince are not completely unrelated.

Some documents also attest to the precarious relationship that Muley Shaykh forged with some Moriscos in Andalusia before his conversion to Christianity. While he was residing in Carmona, he and some Moriscos from the region began to scheme a plot on how to help the prince return to North Africa, despite the fact that Felipe II was not in favor of letting Muley Shaykh go back. Due to his alarming contact with these Moriscos, the king first contemplates sending him to Portugal and finally decides to transfer him to Andújar where there is less of a possibility that he will communicate with Moriscos (Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería* 93; Oliver Asín 92-93; Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, "Estudio preliminar" xxx-xxxi).

After Muley Shaykh converts, he begins to show some concern that others may associate him with the Moriscos, something that he would clearly want to avoid in the years leading up to their expulsion. In 1596, just three years after his baptism, he writes a letter to the Holy Office of the Inquisition outlining his concern that his offspring would be mistaken for Moriscos, despite the fact that even at this point he still had no descendants. The Inquisition responds to his uneasiness without making any promises in this regard: "[…] parece que es temprano para que V.M. aya de proveer en ello ni procurar se dispense con él en tantas cosas aviendo tan poco que el susodicho reçivió el agua del Bautismo y tiene conocimiento de las cosas de nuestra Religión

christiana y que sería conviniente [*sic*] esperar a que tomase estado y ver con quién se casa"[199] (qtd. in Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería* 95). Essentially, the Inquisition requires more time to see whom and how he will marry before giving any guarantees on how his future children will be considered in Spain.

In the first two chapters of this project, we saw how the question of images was, more times than not, a thorny issue for many Morisco communities. While they were obligated to show the sacred icons respect, some deliberately rejected them in an attempt to define and conserve their Morisco identity, oftentimes resulting in being denounced by the Inquisition. After spending a couple of decades in the Peninsula, and some of those alongside Moriscos, it would come as no surprise to Muley Shaykh that religious images pervaded nearly every aspect of daily life in Spain and that not treating them with a certain amount of reverence could put him in an uncomfortable situation. With this in mind, it may be worthwhile to reconsider the prince's time at the pilgrimage to the Virgen de la Cabeza and his sudden change of heart in the presence of the Marian icon. After all, even having too much contact with Moriscos and scheming with them on how to return to North Africa was reason enough to have him uprooted from Carmona and sent to Andújar. To a certain extent, his association to sacred icons could determine how his religious identity was perceived by others, especially at a time when his Morisco contemporaries were being scrutinized.

As stated above, Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez has speculated that Lope's play was commissioned by Muley Shaykh himself, a friend of the famed playwright, as a way to publicly announce his Christian character after his conversion and baptism, justifying in this way his place in Catholic society (137-140). Aside from whether or not the Moroccan prince actually

[199] "[...] it seems too early for your honor to be worried about this and to try to have so many things granted, given that so little time has passed since you received the baptismal water and have knowledge about the things of our Christian religion and it would be advisable to wait until you get married and see with whom you get married"

requested Lope to write a play on his momentous life events, there is some evidence that the theatrical piece was in fact represented in the first years of the seventeenth century. As Oliver Asín has observed, in Manuel de Salcedo Olid's history of Andújar he references a play that was printed and staged in 1604 by Antonio Villegas (*Vida de don Felipe* 164; 169).[200] In fact, Oliver Asín believes that Muley Shaykh, as a drama enthusiast, would most likely have attended this play representing his religious transformation (*Vida de don Felipe* 163). Aside from how this play would have positioned the North African prince in the Catholic culture of seventeenth-century Spain, the fact that a religious conversion—provoked by a Marian icon—was publicly staged in the years leading up to the expulsion of the Moriscos would have been significant. In spite of many failed attempts to convert Moriscos, and oftentimes to require them to respect religious images, Lope's representation of the prince's transformation on stage publicly confirmed the lasting influence of Catholic symbols.

After roughly three decades of residing in the Peninsula, Muley Shaykh departs for Italy, significantly in 1609, the year in which the official decree of the expulsion of the Moriscos was put into place. While Gianolio di Cherasco seemed to think that this decision was conditioned by the prince's desire to visit Italy because of its important Christian heritage, Oliver Asín notes that the eminent Morisco expulsion was most likely the key impetus behind the prince's motives to leave Spain (*Vida de don Felipe* 195-97). In a similar vein, Lope represents another Muslim king's arrival to the Peninsula in his play *La octava maravilla*, including this noble character's response when he learns that all Muslims will soon be expelled from Spain. In this theatrical piece, already mentioned briefly above, King Tomar is taken back when he arrives in Spain from

[200] Salcedo Olid remarks: "De cuya conversión milagrosa anda una comedia, representada por Villegas, que se imprimió el año mil y seiscientos y cuatro" ("Of whose miraculous conversion there is a play, represented by Villegas, which was printed in the year 1604") (qtd. in Oliver Asín, *Vida de don Felipe* 164n).

Bengal and his ideas about diverse cultures living side-by-side in the Peninsula are contradicted by Baltasar:

BALTASAR. ¿Pues de dónde eres tú?

TOMAR. Soy de muy lejos,

y aunque no soy de África, soy moro.

¿Eres tú noble?

BALTASAR. Noble y caballero

de un linaje que tiene su principio

en quien a España libertó del moro.

TOMAR. ¿Luego libre de moros está España?

BALTASAR. Sí, por las armas de un Fernando Santo

y de otro que llamaron el Católico.

TOMAR. Pues dijéronme a mí que entre vosotros

vivían moros.

BALTASAR. Esos son esclavos,

y algún día también saldrán de España.

TOMAR. Pésame de ser moro en este tiempo.[201] (259a-b)

The thought that some Muslims had already been banished from their homes, and especially that this process was not complete, provoked an uneasy feeling in the Bengalese king. As a self-proclaimed "Moor," Tomar also would form part of these Muslims who were soon to be exiled.

[201] "BALTASAR. So where are you from? / TOMAR. I'm from far away, / and although I'm not from Africa, I'm a Moor. / Are you noble? / BALTASAR. Noble and a knight / from a lineage that has its roots / in those who freed Spain from the Moors. / TOMAR. So Spain is free of Moors? / BALTASAR. Yes, by the force of a Saint Fernando / and another one that we call the Catholic. / TOMAR. Well they told me that among you all / lived the Moors. / BALTASAR. Those are slaves, / and one day they will also leave Spain. / TOMAR. I regret being a Moor at this time"

Sure enough, he too, just like Muley Xeque, converts to Christianity near the end of the play because of his encounter with an image of the Virgin. Both Tomar's and Muley Xeque's conversion via Marian icons in light of the Morisco "question" show how religious images allowed these characters to mold their identities in early modern Spain despite difficult circumstances. Moreover, at a time when Moriscos are on the verge of being expelled, some of whom specifically for their maltreatment of Catholic icons, King Tomar and Prince Muley Xeque confirm for their audience the enduring power of their sacred images.

CHAPTER FOUR

Captivity and Coexistence with Images in Cervantes's Mediterranean

> People are sexually aroused by pictures and sculptures; they break pictures and sculptures; they mutilate them, kiss them, cry before them, and go on journeys to them; they are calmed by them, stirred by them, and incited to revolt. They give thanks by means of them, expect to be elevated by them, and are moved to the highest levels of empathy and fear. They have always responded in these ways; they still do. (Freedberg 1)

In an intriguing episode near the beginning of the fourth book of Cervantes's *Persiles*, a portrait of the beautiful Auristela causes a violent struggle between two rivals eager to possess the image, the Duke of Nemurs and Prince Arnaldo (IV, 2-3, 637-43). It all starts when the Duke, while maintaining an intimate and intense dialogue with the painted canvas of Auristela, is surprised by Prince Arnaldo, a situation that creates a fit of rage and jealousy that crystallizes in a bloody episode. This outcome may not stand out so much if the subject of the dispute revolved only around the human Auristela, but the fact that the core of the conflict is a painting suggests the many impulses and responses that an image can arouse. Even Auristela's appearance on the scene does not overshadow the significance that her painted image has, since the two suitors do not give up on their desire to possess the painting even when their beloved is present. During the course of the episode, human and image are paralleled and the representation of Auristela is charged with the same relevance and meaning as the very person which it reproduces. As Mercedes Alcalá Galán affirms, "Auristela se ha reducido a ser retrato de ella misma, o mejor, los retratos se han humanizado y poseen el mismo poder de atracción que la mujer a la que

representan"[202] (*Escritura desatada* 102). This episode in some ways suggests an equal status for the image and the individual, both sharing the same environment in which the humanization of the image is part of what causes different types of reactions and behaviors in the majority of the characters involved. This very idea of a conceptual parallel between image and person is certainly also displayed in the Mediterranean world while also taking place in a manifestly heterogeneous and nuanced environment.

In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mediterranean, along with the steady stream of slaves, captives, renegades, merchants, and redeemers that traveled between both shores, sacred images were sometimes also involved in this milieu and in one way or another lived together in this habitat. For example, in his treatise on Algerian captivity *Escuela de trabajos* (1670) the Mercedarian friar Gabriel Gómez de Losada devotes no less than the entire fourth and final book to the capture of an effigy of Christ in Algiers, which circulated among Muslims, Christians, and Jews. This recurring exchange of hands and the geographical, cultural, and religious crossings that took place certainly contributed to the peculiar condition of the image since its value and the desire to possess it increased considerably with each transaction. In this sense, the figure of the captive Leonisa in Cervantes's *El amante liberal* is also destined to this avid exchange and the eagerness to lay hands on her. Leonisa's status as a captive predisposes her to be wanted and valued for different purposes, such as for love, economic motives, or lascivious impulses, and by Christian, Muslim, and Jewish characters. This environment full of exchanges and desires narrated and experienced in the first person by Cervantes is the same space shared by both individuals and images, which on several occasions experienced a similar outcome.

[202] "Auristela has been reduced to a portrait of herself, or better yet, the portraits have been humanized and they possess the same power of attraction as the woman that they represent"

In this chapter, I will explore this other side of Mediterranean captivity in which images were taken captive and religious icons circulated in North Africa, paying attention to how various writers of the period narrated this coexistence and interaction between individual and image and delving into the effects and responses that these sacred items elicited in all of the diverse members involved. By contextualizing the images in a variety of works from different genres, I will inquire into how religious images functioned and influenced others in this context. For this purpose, Cervantes's works can offer some insight into this other side of captivity since, at times, he presents us with certain objects of worship that provide a unique significance to the situation represented there, provoking a variety of reactions in the different characters and ultimately never leaving them indifferent. By focusing primarily on the works of Cervantes that deal with Algerian captivity, we'll see, among other things, that while sacred images are often associated with martyrdom in *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*, in the captive's tale in *Don Quixote* the image seems to gain a more practical use in the hands of the renegade from Murcia and the Algerian Zoraida.

1. Captive Images between Two Worlds

Before looking at the work of Cervantes, it's worthwhile to consider how other authors of the time recounted the circulation of images in and around the Mediterranean, keeping in mind, of course, that some of the accounts given by these writers may not necessarily present a faithful reflection of reality but instead may be more driven by ideological motivations. With a backdrop in which the divine and the human come together in some ways, it is striking how both images and people were involved in the same changing circumstances. It's not in vain that some narratives recount how several images were taken captive alongside the many humans who were subjected to the same conditions, and likewise other accounts describe how they were redeemed

together. Antonio de Sosa[203] alludes to some images that were taken captive along with humans from the same Christian galleys by the famous Calabrian renegade ʻUlūj ʻAlī, the same character that Cervantes represents with the name Uchalí in *Don Quixote*.[204] Interestingly enough, these same captive images were later burned in 1579 by order of the renegade Hasan Veneciano, for whom Cervantes also makes room in his work. According to Sosa, he demanded that "llevasen a la puerta de su casa las tres imágenes que diximos, y en una plaçuela que allí delante está, por orden de los morabutos, las hicieron pedazos y quemaron en un gran fuego,"[205] all because these sacred objects had been blamed for causing a drought that had devastated the region (1: 159).

Others like Jaime Bleda (398-403), one of the apologists of the expulsion of the Moriscos, and the chronicler Gaspar Escolano (1: 508b-509a) tell of how the captivity and eventual rescue of a crucifix alongside other Christian captives occurred in Algiers. According to Escolano, in 1539 "tomaron los corsarios moros de Argel un vajel de cristianos, y aportando con él a su muelle al desbalijar la ropa, toparon con un grande y formado Crucifijo"[206] (1: 508b). After this event, some Christian merchants from Valencia, who happened to be in Algiers to negotiate the ransom of their captive sisters, found out about this crucifix, and treating it as if it

[203] The *Topografía e historia general de Argel*, published under the name of Diego de Haedo, has been attributed for some time now to Antonio de Sosa. For a summary of the authorship of this text see María Antonia Garcés (*Cervantes in Algiers* 32-34; 70-72; "Introduction" 51-54) and George Camamis (124-50).

[204] Antonio de Sosa offers a recapitulation of what happened to these images taken captive on the Mediterranean Sea by ʻUlūj ʻAlī and how they later ended up in Algiers: "[…] una dellas era la imagen de San Juan Baptista, que el Ochali tomó en una de las galeras de Malta el año 1570, junto a la Licata, ciudad de Sicilia, y que se llamaba del nombre del mismo santo San Juan, y otra era del apóstol San Pablo, que tomaron en la galera *San Pablo*, de Malta, el año 1577, el primer día de abril junto a Cerdeña, y la tercera era del Angel santo, que tomaron en la galera *Santángel*, a los veintisiete de abril 1578, junto a la isla de Capri, pasando el duque de Terranova de Sicilia para Nápoles y España […]" ("[…] one of them was the image of St. John the Baptist, which ʻUlūj ʻAlī had taken from one of the galleys of Malta in 1570, next to Licata, a city in Sicily also called by the name of St. John. Another image was of the Apostle St. Paul that they took from the galley *San Pablo* of Malta in 1577 on the first day of April, next to Sardinia. And the third was of the saintly angel, which they took from the galley *Santángel*, on April 27, 1578, next to the Isle of Capri, when the Duke of Terranova was sailing from Sicily to Naples and Spain […]") (1: 159).

[205] "[they] carry to his door the three aforementioned images, and in a small square that is in front, by order of the Marabouts, they hacked these images to pieces and burned them in a great fire"

[206] "the Muslim corsairs from Algiers took a Christian ship, and when they reached port with it and were going through the clothes, they came across a largely-formed crucifix"

were a human captive, they also attempted to salvage this figure by offering "por el rescate lo que podía costar el mejor cautivo"[207] (1: 508b). The continuation of this story is told in a similar manner by both Bleda and Escolano. According to both authors, the Algerians who had the crucifix in their possession were not satisfied at first with the amount that the Valencian brothers had offered to rescue it, so believing that they would receive more profit from its ransom they decided to set the price according to its weight. However, what appeared to be a lucrative deal for the holders of the crucifix ended up turning into a miraculous act that did not provide the expected benefits for its Algerian owners, given that the other side of the scale was not offset until there were only thirty coins left, the same amount by which, according to the New Testament, Jesus Christ was sold. This rescue culminated with the image being brought back to Valencia, and upon its arrival it participated in a devout and solemn procession.

A few years later, in 1625, Fray Juan Ximénez published a book that had been previously written by Fray Antonio Juan Andreu de San Joseph that narrates the story behind this same image taken captive, describing in great detail the miracles associated with its release. Although this work is titled *Relación del milagroso rescate del Crucifixo de las monjas de S. Joseph de Valencia, que está en Santa Tecla, y de otros*, the text actually addresses other issues besides the capture and rescue of the crucifix. While it mainly tells the story of the captive image and portrays the conditions that caused its journey between Algiers and Valencia, the text also intersperses details about the lives of the brothers' sisters, Ursula and Madalena Medina, who were taken captive on the Levantine coast by Muslim corsairs. After these brothers had made four trips to Algiers with the intention of rescuing their sisters, Andrés and Pedro Medina were only able to free the older sister, Ursula, together with her son and the crucifix after which the book is named. Madalena, however, did not have the same fate as her sister and remained in

[207] "for the ransom what the best captive could cost"

Algiers in custody of the cadi, since "ni por oro, ni por plata, ni por algún otro interesse, ni por ruegos, ni obligaciones, havía de vender ninguna de sus cautivas"[208] (Andreu de San Joseph 273). This topic related to the rescue of religious images was also taken up by the Valencian painter Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa, who in 1623 painted a canvas of the miraculous event in which the Valencian brothers Andrés and Pedro Medina were involved (see fig. 14). This painting depicts the scene in which the scale is balanced with the crucifix at the time that only thirty coins act as a counterweight.[209]

These stories related to captive images do not only focus on the supposed redemptions of figures of Christ and the saints, but at times the Virgin also becomes a protagonist in some of these accounts of unforgettable captures and extraordinary ransoms. In one of his works, the Trinitarian friar Cristóbal Granados de los Ríos describes the rescue that took place in Algiers of "una Imagen de Talla de la Virgen, con su hijo en los braços"[210] in 1618 (63). His account expounds on how after the Turkish corsair had mocked the sculpture and threatened to toss it onto open flames the friar tries to reach an agreement to protect and rescue the sacred object, finally bringing it back to Christian lands. The details relating the negotiation of the image's ransom call to mind the aforementioned rescue of the *Cristo del rescate*, since once again the offer is made to sell the image based on its weight in coins. Miraculously the figure of the Virgin "no pesó mas de quinze reales, que es la mitad en que su Hijo fue vendido,"[211] and as one might expect, that is also just half the amount of coins that were required to purchase the image of Christ (64). Like what happened to other religious images that also were redeemed, the figure of

[208] "not for gold, or silver, or any other interest, or by begging or obligation would he sell any of his female captives"
[209] For more on the *Cristo del rescate* image in Valencia, see Rafael Lazcano; Carmen Rodrigo Zarzosa; Luis Arciniega García. With regard to the painting by the artist Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinoza, see the exhibition catalog edited by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (32-33; 70-73).
[210] "a sculpted image of the Virgen with her son in her arms"
[211] "did not weigh more that fifteen reals, which is half the amount for which her Son was sold"

the Virgin returns with the ransomers to Madrid and participates in a procession headed by ecclesiastical authorities.

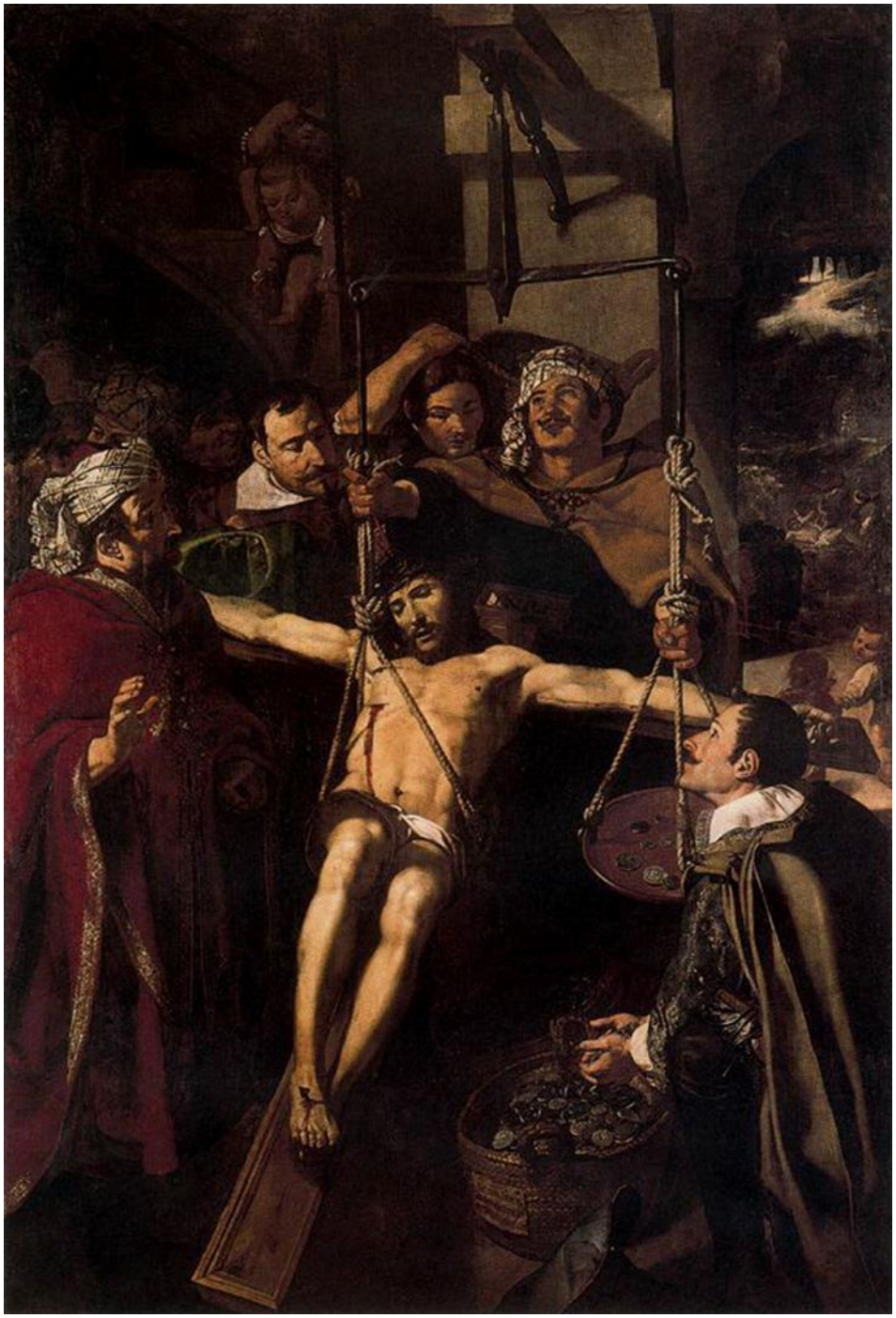

Fig. 14. Jerónimo Jacinto de Espinosa, *El milagro del Cristo del Rescate*, 1623
Valencia, private collection

In the same way, it is significant that some of the redeemers who would venture to the other side of the Mediterranean with the hope of rescuing Christian captives occasionally added descriptions of sacred images that were rescued alongside individuals who were released from bondage. For example, Fray Raphael de San Juan was one of a few redeeming friars from the Order of the Holy Trinity who left written records of the images that found their way into the lists of ransomed captives. He specifies how in 1642, in addition to the 156 captives rescued in Algiers, "una Imagen de nuestra Señora"[212] (103) was also salvaged, and some years later, in 1674, "una Imagen de la Virgen Santissima Señora nuestra, muy ultraxada de los Moros"[213] was retrieved from Tetuán and Salé alongside 128 captives (104). This same Trinitarian friar even testifies to how among the 211 captives freed from slavery in 1682 they also "redimieron diez y siete Imágenes Sagradas, con todos los Ornamentos, Cruzes, y Vasos Sagrados, que los Moros avían cogido en el Presidio de la Mamora"[214] (104-05). In the middle of all these objects of worship was the sculpture of Jesús de Medinaceli, which is perhaps one of the most well-known captive images, and it is still devoutly venerated in Madrid today.[215]

The work of Fray Gabriel Gómez de Losada presents some essential indications to better understand how the peculiar relationship between religious images and individuals occurred in captivity, the same setting where Cervantes was held captive in Algiers, though several decades before the action of the cleric's work took place. As Gómez de Losada reveals in his prologue, one of the principal purposes in writing his treatise *Escuela de trabajos* is to portray the cruelty that Christian captives suffered in Algiers. With this objective in mind, it's also apparent that he

[212] "an image of our Lady"
[213] "an image of the most Holy Virgin, our Lady, gravely insulted by the Moors"
[214] "redeemed seventeen holy images, with all the ornaments, crosses, and sacred vessels, which the Moors had taken from the fortress in La Mámora"
[215] María Cruz de Carlos Varona studies the trajectory of the Jesús de Medinaceli image between North Africa and Spain within the context of other rescued images of the same time period. For more on this fascinating statue, see Domingo Fernández Villa.

tries to persuade others to partake in the redemption of captives and contribute money to this cause. In addition, he offers practical recommendations for other professional redeemers who, like him, travel to North Africa with the intent of negotiating the ransom of Christian captives. For this reason, the friar recounts his own adventures of traveling to Algiers in 1664 and later on a second trip in 1667. In this sense, his work follows the same line as other earlier religious writers who focused some of their writings on describing the circumstances in captivity based on their direct observations in *dār al-Islām*, such as Antonio de Sosa, Pierre Dan, and Jerónimo Gracián. In fact, as María Berta Pallares Garzón has noted, Gómez de Losada follows, at times very closely, Antonio de Sosa's *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (1612) despite the fact that he announces in his prologue that he has no knowledge of another text that deals with the same topics as his own (103). What is most striking and is not contained in Sosa's work, however, stems from his personal experience of rescuing an effigy of Christ in Algiers. This sacred figure that circulated among Muslims, Christians, and Jews becomes the central protagonist in the last book of his treatise, which he titles "Del mejor cautivo rescatado."[216]

As Gómez de Losada is describing the adventures of one of his redeeming efforts in Algiers he informs his readers about the existence of this effigy. The friar does not seem to be aware of many details about how the image ended up in Algiers in the first place, and perhaps it is because of his scant familiarity with the whereabouts of the representation of Christ that we only begin to have a clearer understanding of this figure once the author comes in contact with it in North Africa. According to Gómez de Losada's written testimony, the sacred object was on a boat in transit from Italy, and before it reached its destination, it was captured by Turkish corsairs and brought to Algiers, where it was sold three times: "una en el Duan, donde se vende lo que apresan los Turcos; otra del Turco que la vendió al Judío, y la tercera vez, quando se la

[216] "Of the best rescued captive"

compré"[217] (537). Since one of the purposes of his treatise was to portray the immense cruelty experienced by Christian captives in Algiers, it is surprising that the Turkish corsair who makes off with the effigy does not figure more prominently in the author's narrative. Gómez de Losada attributes a relatively minor role to this Muslim individual in his account, and the Turk remains unnamed. Perhaps the Mercedarian friar's lack of first-hand knowledge or a credible testimony of this part of the image's journey while in possession of Muslim corsairs accounts for why Gómez de Losada does not expand his description of this piece of the story. He only explains that, for this Turk, the religious statue has sufficient value to steal and later sell at the market alongside other humans and goods taken captive in Mediterranean waters. Realizing that Christians feared that these sacred objects would be mistreated by Muslims in North Africa, as they were at times, the Turk knows that the effigy of Christ could likely be sold to a Christian hoping to rescue the image from potential danger. In this story, however, the statue is first sold to a Jew who intends to make a profit from it before its eventual redemption by Gómez de Losada.

His first encounter with the effigy of Christ occurs while he is in the middle of negotiating the ransom of several Christian captives. The Jewish individual who initially purchases the image—who also remains nameless throughout the story—is the one who spontaneously offers the sacred representation to Gómez de Losada exclaiming, "Papaz, detente, y cómprame este Christo tuyo, por lo que quisieres, que yo te le daré barato"[218] (502). He is astonished by the fact that the Jew is willing to sell the statue for any price and that this object of worship would not be more highly valued, since in his opinion, "el que dexa al arbitrio del

[217] "once in the Divan, where they sell what the Turks seize; another time when the Turk sold it to the Jew; and the third time when I bought it from him"
[218] "Father, stop and buy this Christ that is yours from me, for whatever you want, since I'll give it to you cheaply"

comprador lo que vende, es señal, o que no sabe su valor, o que lo estima en poco"[219] (502). So, without trying to lower the price, Gómez de Losada accepts the Jew's offer and purchases the image for thirty-two silver *reales*. Despite the inexpensive price associated with this religious image, at least from the author's perspective, he did not refrain from associating the Jew with greed, regardless of the fact that this man says he will burn the effigy if he does not find anyone to buy it from him. In case there was still any doubt for his readers, Gómez de Losada makes the obvious connection by linking the Jewish seller of this figure of Christ with the biblical character of Judas. With regard to this analogy, it would have seemed more appropriate if the sacred object were sold for a sum of thirty coins, as was Jesus according to the New Testament.[220] However, it seems that Gómez de Losada tries to mold his story to make it more practical, since in this case the price is set at four eight-*real* coins, amounting to thirty-two silver ***reales***.

According to the Mercedarian friar, this whole haggling and bargaining process that the image underwent is in some ways the same course of action that human captives experienced as their freedom was negotiated before they returned to Spain or other Christian lands. For Gómez de Losada, this image goes through the same hardships and incidents that many other captives confined to North Africa endured, and so in this sense the sacred figure undoubtedly is credited with some human attributes, placing the image on the same level as the other captives. It's not surprising, then, that the effigy of Christ is not only a sacred object meant to be adored, since the way in which Gómez de Losada represents it in his text incites one to also consider it as if it were a real human captive. In fact, with this concept in mind it is quite suggestive that the author

[219] "he who leaves what he is selling at the discretion of the buyer is a sign that he either doesn't know it's value or that he values it little"

[220] As María Cruz de Carlos Varona has noted while analyzing the rescued *Cristo de Medinaceli* image, the amount of money that is agreed upon for the sale of the statue is not arbitrary, since in this case and in others of the same nature, thirty coins were used as a way to relate the history of the image with the Passion of Christ (335).

chose to title his fourth book "Del mejor cautivo rescatado,"[221] and it gives us an idea of how much the friar tries to confer manlike characteristics upon this image. The vocabulary used to describe the different episodes that the statue goes through is also significant since it is the same as that used to portray the experiences of human captives: the effigy of Christ is "taken captive," "sold," "mistreated," "insulted," and finally "ransomed." An exceptionally visual example of this mix of earthly and heavenly features ascribed to the sought-after statue comes about when it arrives at the royal court in Madrid, and this rescued figure participates in a procession alongside the other redeemed captives as if it were one of them: "Hízose la Procesión en esta Corte tan solemne, y del concurso, qual no se veió jamás, con los Cautivos, y el Santíssimo Christo, como el principal rescatado […]"[222] (511-12).[223] If the captive is sometimes understood as an *imitatio Christi* where he or she is made to suffer the same calamities endured by Jesus Christ during his Passion, this image, in effect, becomes the best captive because it not only imitates Christ in his behavior but also in his physical appearance.[224] In fact, before addressing any other issue and prior to laying out the details of his fourth book, Gómez de Losada announces the clear relationship between the captive image and the Passion of Christ: "Y para el assumpto del capítulo hemos de entrar en una meditación de la sacrosanta Passión de Jesu Christo, y es que en

[221] "Of the best rescued captive"
[222] "The procession took place very solemnly in the Court and with an audience, which was never seen again, with the captives and the most Holy Christ as the principal one rescued […]"
[223] In the text of his *Escuela de trabajos*, Gómez de Losada does not specify exactly where in Madrid that this effigy of Christ ended up once it was rescued. In the index of his work, however, he states: "Rescatase en Argel, la del Santissimo Christo, que se venera en el Real Convento de Nuestra Señora de la Merced de Madrid" ("The [image] of the Holy Christ is rescued from Algiers, and it is venerated in the Royal Convent of Our Lady of Mercy in Madrid").
[224] To cite just a few examples, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero point out in their introduction to *Tratado de la redención de cautivos* how Jerónimo Gracián describes his experience in captivity in Tunis while clearly associating it to the Passion of Christ (12). In the same way, José María Parreño notices this same parallelism in the work of Antonio de Sosa (16).

qualquier passo della, le hallaremos, no solamente con dolores intensíssimos, y acervos, sino también sumamente injuriado, lleno de afrentas, oprobios, y valdones"[225] (497-98).

2. *Imitatio Christi*: Martyrs and their Crosses

This same relation between image and captivity associated with Christ's Passion is sometimes related to acts of martyrdom, which certainly gives the already tragic episode what appears to be more merit and drama. Interestingly enough, in both of Cervantes's plays that take place in the city of Algiers, we are presented with an episode of martyrdom in which, significantly, an image of the cross materializes. At the end of the first act of *El trato de Argel*, the young captive named Sebastián recounts the martyrdom that he has just witnessed, and he explains that this act occurred in retaliation for a death sentence given to a Morisco in Valencia and his subsequent burning at the stake. As soon as they found out about the tragic outcome suffered by one of their family members, the relatives of this Morisco were moved by their thirst for revenge and were determined to burn a Christian in the same way.[226] The Christian chosen to pay for this death was a Valencian priest, who had a cross notably woven onto his clothes placed on his chest:

> Prendieron éste a gran priesa
> para ejecutar su hecho,
> porque vieron que en el pecho
> traía la cruz de Montesa,
> y esta señal de victoria

[225] "And for the subject of this chapter we have to enter into a meditation of the sacred Passion of Jesus Christ, and at any moment of it we shall find him not only with very intense and harsh pain, but also extremely insulted, full of humiliation, shame, and disgrace"

[226] As numerous scholars have pointed out, his episode is referring to how the Valencian Fray Miguel de Aranda was martyred in retaliation for the death of the Morisco Alicax, as Antonio de Sosa describes in his work (3: 137-55). Steven Hutchinson ("Martirios en Cervantes" 67-68) as well as Emilio Sola and José F. de la Peña (130-31; 196-203), among others, have studied this act of martyrdom in the work of Sosa and Cervantes.

que le cupo en buena suerte,

si le dio en el suelo muerte,

en el cielo le dio gloria;

porque estos ciegos sin luz,

que en él tal señal han visto,

pensando matar a Cristo,

matan al que trae su cruz.[227] (I, vv. 531-42)

Focusing solely on the events that take place in this Cervantine text, it might be a bit audacious to state that the priest was only chosen as the scapegoat primarily due to the religious emblem that he was boasting on his chest. At the same time, however, it seems appropriate to reflect on the role that the Christian symbol played in his unfortunate ending. The act of carrying out an eye for an eye in Algiers by executing this religious figure who was significantly displaying a cross on his chest appears to contribute an added layer of meaning to the scene. As opposed to this being a singular case of retaliation, these actions could be better understood as a way not only to offend one individual but also to transgress this boundary and achieve a more ambitious and deep harm, one that goes against the religious beliefs of an entire society. Lope de Vega rewrites this same episode in his play *Los cautivos de Argel*, although this version has more tragic undertones and includes additional gruesome details, as Steven Hutchinson has noted ("Martirios en Cervantes" 68-69). In Lope's play, the cross and the priest from the Order of Montesa share the attention of the spectators during the act of martyrdom, except that this time

[227] "They seized this one in a great haste / to carry out their deed, / because they saw that on his chest / he was wearing the cross of Montesa, / and this sign of victory / that made possible his good fortune, / if it caused his death on earth, / it gave him glory in Heaven; / because these blind men without light, / who have seen such a sign on him, / thinking to kill Christ, / kill the one who wears his cross."

the cross does not only appear on the clothing of the martyr, but it is also marked on his very chest with a knife. The captive Saavedra recounts the scene in this way:

> Miró, en efeto, la cruz,
> y queriendo el enemigo
> hacer la misma en el pecho
> que adoraba en el vestido,
> otra le hizo (¡ay de mí,
> piedra soy, pues esto os digo!)
> con un cuchillo afilado,
> que fue pincel el cuchillo.
> La sangre dio la color,
> la tabla el pecho bendito,
> y así, en cruz, quedó en él
> de esmalte rojo encendido.
> Si le queréis ver, miralde,
> al sacerdote divino,
> ofreciendo a Cristo el alma
> que es hostia del sacrificio.[228] (III, 248-49)

These elements certainly taint the scene with a more macabre emphasis that intensifies the act of martyrdom, yet somehow also binds the fate of both the image of the cross and the captive priest. This scenario in which an object of worship as well as an individual are destined to experience a

[228] "He looked, in fact, at the cross, / and wanting the enemy / to make the same one on his chest / as what he worshiped on his garment, / he made another (alas, / I'm made of stone, so I say this!) / with a sharp knife, / a knife that was a paintbrush. / The blood was the color, / his blessed chest was the canvas, / and so, a cross, was left on him / of bright red paint. / If you want to see him, look at him, / at the divine priest, / offering to Christ his soul / which is host of the sacrifice."

similar outcome also arises in similar passages in Gómez de Losada's treatise on captivity, giving us a better idea of how different authors of the time chose to describe the nuanced relation between images, captivity, and martyrdom.

These types of retaliation in which there is an instance of *quid pro quo* on opposite shores of the Mediterranean were sometimes carried out specifically on sacred images, in addition to finding revenge in a human figure, as in the case of Fray Miguel de Aranda. Gómez de Losada tells how in 1666 Genoese privateers captured a renegade corsair in Algiers, and as punishment for his acts of piracy and his disobedience to the Catholic faith, at least in their view, this man was sentenced to be burned at the stake. When this news reached Algiers, it was ordered that authorities "fuesen a los Oratorios [en Argel], y que quemasen todas las Imágenes, y cosas sagradas que hallassen"[229] (368). In the case of these images that were also condemned to the flames, however, the result was not as harsh, since some captives in Algiers discovered the poor fate to which these objects of worship had been doomed, and they were able to keep them in a safe place to prevent them from being reduced to ashes, thwarting any revenge that may have been taken out on them. In these cases, then, we see how image and individual share a common destiny that gives them certain similarities and common values, situating the two on the same level.

Turning now to Cervantes's play *Los baños de Argel*, some of the images of worship that come into view throughout the different scenes emerge precisely during episodes of martyrdom or in relation to diverse passages associated with the Passion of Christ. This is the case of the renegade Hazén who kills Yzuf, also a convert to Islam, in a fit of rage to take revenge for the ruthless cruelty that the latter had shown toward his fellow countrymen. In retaliation for this crime and with the addition of Hazén announcing his Christian faith publicly, the *cadi* is forced

[229] "[they] go to the places of worship [in Algiers], and that they burn all the images and sacred things that they find"

to order his imminent impalement, which Hazén himself transforms into an act of martyrdom and atonement for his past faults. It is precisely at this time when this Cervantine renegade "saca una cruz de palo,"[230] producing a scene so graphically charged that it seems to give Hazén's death more value by turning it into a pious sacrifice (I, vv. 667 - 881). This snapshot recreated by Cervantes in which a cross is held in the hands of a renegade allows the reader to see a close connection between the renegade's desired martyrdom and the sacrifice that is represented in the icon that he embraces. Similar to this situation, although in a different context, is the incident described by Antonio de Sosa in his *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*. The Portuguese theologian describes how various renegades from different nations plotted a rebellion against their master Hasan Veneciano before departing on a boat trip with him and how they planned to carry this out during their sea voyage. The reason that prompted these renegades to start a revolt shares some similarities with the motive that provoked the Cervantine character Hazén in *Los baños de Argel* to commit the murder of his fellow countryman: the extreme cruelty that individuals like the fictional Yzuf and the historical Hasan displayed toward others and their malicious intents. Given that one of the renegades dissociates himself from the attempted uprising and reveals the plans to his master, this rebellion does not reach fruition, and as a reprimand Hasan Veneciano orders the death of all the conspirators. Among them was the renegade Yusuf, who during an intense moment of his martyrdom and after losing his ability to speak "con los dedos de la mano derecha hacía de continuo la señal de la cruz"[231] (3: 159). As in the case of the Cervantine renegade's martyrdom in *Los baños de Argel*, here we are likewise presented with an individual who becomes associated with an image of the cross in what is perhaps one of the more dramatic moments of his life.

[230] "takes out a wooden cross"
[231] "with the fingers on his right hand he continuously made the sign of the cross"

Another act of martyrdom presented in *Los baños de Argel*, which also has a special visual significance especially because of the religious imagery, is the torment suffered by the young boy Francisquito. At the end of the second act, there is a dialogue between the children Juanico and Francisquito who reaffirm their faith in Christianity and recite various prayers while playing together. When the cadi arrives on the scene and discovers what is taking place, the situation becomes tense and the children are forced to explain the reason behind saying their prayers as well as to whom they are addressed. This circumstance is taken by the cadi as a personal affront, so he decides with determination to have the children renege on their Christian faith, leaving in suspense the means that will be used to reach this objective. Before knowing the outcome in store for the brothers, and given the focus of this chapter, it seems significant that Cervantes includes a scene that recreates the Easter celebration officiated by Christian captives and, interestingly enough, also observed by other Muslim characters. As a prelude to what would later be embodied in the form of his own son Francisquito, the father of these two children is also one of the many characters involved in this ceremony commemorating the Passion of Christ. After this scene ends, the play goes on treating other themes until a few pages later we find Francisquito's father distraught by the news of the calamitous death of his son. As many critics have already pointed out, it is evident how the events suffered by this child in Algiers are a clear reflection of the Passion of Christ,[232] but in addition to this, by creating such a visual representation of the anguish that this character undergoes and by describing him as "Atado está a una columna, / hecho retrato de Cristo, / de la cabeza a los pies / en su misma sangre tinto,"[233] the spectators are presented with a human figure of Baroque imagery and specifically an image

[232] Jean Canavaggio, among other scholars, highlights the following interpretation in the notes to his edition of *Los baños de Argel*: "En este sentido, Francisquito viene a ser *figura* de Cristo, a quien imitará en el martirio, en tanto que en el *ser* del cadí, su verdugo, revive Poncio Pilatos" ("In this sense, Francisquito becomes a *figure* of Christ, whom he imitated in martyrdom, while the *being* of the cadi, his executioner, brings to mind Pontius Pilate") (180).
[233] "He is tied to a pillar, / made to look like Christ, / from head to toe / in his same red blood"

of Christ during the Passion (III , vv. 352-55). The representation that Cervantes depicts here is one of the moments during the martyrdom of a child, an innocent being that, simply because he professes his Christian beliefs, is tortured to death, and during his act of martyrdom we are only presented with this one concrete image. Thus, in addition to associating the suffering and death of the child with the Passion of Christ, we have a scene where, for the reader, the martyr in a way becomes a sculptural figure of Jesus during during the events leading up to his death. In fact, this vivid representation of Francisquito at the time of his martyrdom evokes the religious iconography the *Niño Jesús de Pasión* in which the Christ child is represented on a cross, linking the childhood of Jesus with his Passion and death.[234] The artist Alonso Cano captures this association of childhood with the Passion in one of his sculptures, representing a juvenile Jesus Christ carrying a cross on his shoulder (see fig. 15).

As we have already seen, some of the images that appear on the scene in these works, in addition to being present at the time of martyrdom, become privileged witnesses of these torments and somehow help give more value to the suffering and death of the accused. All of this torture that occurs in captivity invites a recurring analogy with the Passion of Christ and it is precisely this possibility of considering these images that represent Jesus at this moment in his life that causes an inexorable division between European Christian authors and Muslim writers from North Africa (Matar 40-41). According to Nabil Matar, this is most likely one of the reasons that help explain the low volume of writing in Arabic on the subject of captivity during this era. Certainly a captivity in which one's own suffering and humiliation could be compared to the torment that the central figure of Christianity underwent centuries ago would surely be an incentive for some to describe their experience. Also taking into account the large amount of

[234] With regard to the imagery of the *Niño Jesús de Pasión* in Baroque culture, see the cited studies by Juan Antonio Sánchez López and Ana García Sanz. The latter also points out how certain Golden Age writers, such as Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, included this subject in some of their works (302-03).

imagery depicting the Passion of Christ, which Muslim writers lacked, this may have served as an additional inspiration for many Catholic authors. In other texts that relate events in

Fig. 15. Alonso Cano, *Niño Jesús nazareno*, 1657
Madrid, Iglesia de San Fermín de los Navarros
Photo Credit: Album /Art Resource, NY

which images are the ones considered as captives and exposed to torture, it is the very object that gains value precisely as it experiences captivity and because of the adversities suffered in this Mediterranean space. Returning to the fourth and final book of Gómez de Losada's treatise, for example, we see how the effigy of Christ described in the work becomes more valuable precisely because of its passage through captivity in Algiers. It is the circulation between the shores of the Mediterranean and the series of affronts and difficulties that this image endured that gives it a particular respect. Without this process of suffering and starved of the sequence of calamities it withstood, this effigy of Christ would be just another religious image that would not have obtained the status that it achieved among Spanish Catholics. In effect, as the author indicates, the object of worship would not represent in such a real and effective manner the suffering that the figure itself embodies had it not been for this episode in Algiers. It is for this reason that these adversities experienced in captivity give it more value and admiration, and it is this motive that prompts the author to share the misfortunes and miracles associated with this effigy, "para avivar en su devoción la de los Fieles, que ha de ser muy grande, sabiendo el origen de su libertad, los portentos, y maravillas, que ha obrado después que está entre Católicos"[235] (496). It is also this experience that allows the image the possibility of being related to the Passion of Christ, and all because of its "semejança con su original"[236] (538). To emphasize this point, Gómez de Losada explains how some of the most renowned painters have tried to replicate the revered figure but always without success. According to the Mercedarian friar, even the best artists of the court who have tried to copy the image could not capture in their works whatever it was that so vividly represented Christ (538).

[235] "to rouse the devotion of the faithful, which should be strong, knowing the origin of its freedom, the wonders and miracles it has brought about after being among Catholics"
[236] "resemblance with its original"

It would be useful at this point to contextualize some of the works mentioned in this study and reflect on the intentions of authors, such as Gómez de Losada and Antonio de Sosa, as they wrote these texts on the theme of captivity. It is important to keep in mind that the vast majority of these accounts were written to be used principally as propaganda and their discourse was aimed at raising public awareness of the importance of such an esteemed endeavor such as rescuing captives, which of course required adequate funding. It is for this reason that these narratives were certainly not written without a deliberate purpose, and so it would be appropriate to question to some extent the way these authors conceptualized the value attributed to these icons, taking into consideration for what or for whom the circulation of these images throughout the Mediterranean may have a special significance. Furthermore, if the supposed value of some of these sacred figures depended on their experience of captivity or the degree to which they were subjected to cruelty by their adversaries, it is obvious that emphasizing this contempt would be a necessary component to add weight to this idea, whether it actually occurred or not. In fact, despite this inclination to record the aversion these images received by some individuals in North Africa, at other times the same authors represent a friendly coexistence between religious images and members of different religions and cultures. Although a good part of Gómez de Losada's writings describe in great detail the taunting and affronts, without skimping on adjectives, that some of the divine statues experienced in Algiers, paradoxically at certain times in his treatise he mentions the respect that other religious objects were shown, especially the Holy Sacrament, and as he himself explains, "algunas Turcas y Moras les dieron algunas vezes velas de cera, para que ardiesen delante del Santíssimo, y otras cosas tan particulares, de que se podría hazer un largo tratado"[237] (371). In this sense, Jerónimo Gracián in his *Peregrinación de Anastasio* also

[237] "some female Turks and Moors sometimes gave them wax candles, so that they would burn in front of the Holy Sacrament, and other such particular things, on which a long treatise could be written"

represents the way in which images were used and valued in North African captivity, providing examples of different views on the treatment of religious objects. On the one hand, the author relates how after he was captured, a Turk marked the soles of his feet with a hot iron rod, leaving behind the symbol of the cross. When Gracián inquires about this cruel practice, some Christian captives explain that "en oprobio de la cruz de Jesucristo la hacen en la planta del pie del sacerdote que hallan"[238] (92).[239] It's interesting how in contrast to this demonstration of maltreatment given to the cross the same author relates another anecdote, compiled by his biographer Andrés del Mármol,[240] in which another figure of this same Christian icon is treated more gently by an individual who does not profess Christianity. This testimony gives us an idea of the different values and uses that these elements could acquire within the wide variety of genres treating subjects related to captivity. The story shares how after Gracián had explained the meaning of the crucifix to a "turcazo borracho"[241] named Resuán, this individual "daba un áspero o dos para aceite de la lámpara y se enojaba mucho si la hallaba muerta"[242] every time he passed by the image (Gracián 103, note 3). In any case, the fact that this story about the benevolent treatment toward a Christian icon is described as seen by a Muslim while intoxicated should be questioned. This appreciation of images by members of diverse cultures of different nature in the Mediterranean perhaps recalls the amazement that some authors like Alonso de

[238] "in disgrace of the cross of Jesus Christ they do it on the sole of the foot of the priest whom they find"
[239] The French Trinitarian father Pierre Dan explains a similar practice in his *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsairs*. He recounts how in Algiers the form of a cross was marked on the soles of Christians' feet in order to cause harm to Christianity and its followers (328).
[240] In 1619, Andrés del Mármol published a biography on the life and works of Jerónimo Gracián titled *Excelencias, vida y trabajos del padre fray Gerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios Carmelita*. In this text, his biographer includes an amplified version of Gracián's *Peregrinación de Anastacio* with additional details about his time as a captive in Tunis. The fact that only ten years had gone by between Gracián's death and the publication of his biography and the understanding that these two knew each other have led Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero to believe that the additions included in Mármol's version could be from a lost draft of the work or from what the biographer heard first hand from Gracián ("Introducción" 23).
[241] "big drunken Turk"
[242] "he gave a coin or two for the lamp's oil and he became very angry if he found it put out"

Contreras expressed regarding the existence of a common place of worship established on the island of Lampedusa and, according to him, was respected by both Christians and Muslims:

> […] está una imagen de la Madre de Dios que haze muchos milagros, está debajo de una gruta, a un lado tienen los moros un morabito en un sepulcro donde dejan sus limosnas y los cristianos la dejan a Nuestra Señora […] Están esta Nuestra Señora y el morabito de tal suerte que ni los turcos quando llegan a esta isla maltratan la imagen de Nuestra Señora ni los cristianos al morabito.[243] (192)

This variety of examples that these texts reveal allow us to see the complexity of a subject that can be easily manipulated and used for one's own ends, as well as show us the importance of paying attention to the possible motives of the authors at the time they leave a written record of each case. Among this range of stories that emphasizes the poor treatment that some Christian icons received, there are also other cases, such as this last example divulged by Alonso de Contreras, attesting to some coexistence between people of different religions and religious objects, which proposes a variety of scenarios that should be looked at with careful consideration.[244]

3. Objects of Desire

Returning to the image in the fourth book of Gómez de Losada's treatise, we see how this figure is undeniably converted into an object of desire. Before being rescued by the same Mercedarian friar, it circulates among the hands of its various owners, being bought and sold by Muslims and Jews, while at the same time the longing to possess the effigy multiplies

[243] […] there is an image of the Mother of God that does many miracles, it is below a cave, on the one side the Moors have a Marabout in a tomb where they leave their alms and the Christians leave theirs for Our Lady […] Our Lady and the Marabout are there in such a way that neither the Turks mistreat the image of Our Lady when they come to the island, nor the Christians do so to the Marabout."

[244] For more on the religious practices of Christians in North African captivity, see Friedman (*Spanish Captives* 77-90; "The Exercise of Religion").

progressively throughout the pages of the work. This increase in the desire to acquire the image crystalizes once we have news of a certain individual named Antonio López. As the story goes, this person traveled from Cartagena to North Africa posing as a redeemer with the pretext of helping Christian captives return to Spain. His real purpose, however, was to make off with the captive effigy of Christ, since he had promised to retrieve it for a woman from his same town. As it turns out, this false redeemer was not able to accomplish this objective and the image remains in Gómez de Losada's possession. A few pages later and now in Spain, the same lady who requested the captive image appears on the scene with a pitiful attitude demonstrating her persistence in having this religious object in her custody. It is therefore her intense desire to possess this figure that causes her to offer any amount of money or even provide whatever funds are needed for the rescue of any captive in Algiers in exchange for the sacred figure. After this Carthaginian woman's request is denied for a second time, various individuals who are also interested in appropriating the image offer different amounts of money with each offer superseding the previous. The first presents 400 eight-*real* coins in addition to a painting, and a second individual volunteers a sum of 10,000 ***reales*** in exchange for the effigy. It is significant how the text first reveals the existence of the statue of Christ with almost no value on a secluded street in Algiers and in the hands of a Jew, but, as the story progresses, the worth of the image increases with each attempt to purchase it until it becomes desired by each individual with whom it comes in contact, especially after going through the experience of captivity.[245]

[245] With regard to the increase in value that these Catholic images acquired after circulating around North Africa and in Mediterranean waters, it is worth mentioning a similar case observed and narrated by the Belgian ex-captive Emanuel d'Aranda in his work *Les captifs d'Alger* (1656). In his thirteenth account, he recounts his experience in Tetouan during which time he witnessed how a Muslim privateer tried to sell a wooden image of the Virgin that was stolen from a Christian ship to a group of Spanish captives. Seeing the fervor with which these Christians wanted to own the statue, the corsair decided to increase the price to four times as much and also threatened to burn it if no agreement was met, to which to captives responded: "Nous n'achetons pas l'image por sa valeur, mais afin qu'elle ne reçoive aucune injure" ("We do not buy the image for its value, but rather so that it does not receive any harm") (141). But finally, after d'Aranda intervened, the image was purchased at a lower price. Either way, it is interesting

In this unique Mediterranean space which became the setting for numerous captivity narratives, various kinds of idiosyncrasies, beliefs, and different circumstances coincide and meld together, creating an exceptional environment where the desire of diverse participants of this mixture is unleashed. This yearning is in many ways provoked by this unparalleled milieu that blends together the exotic with the mundane as well as the pious and profane, giving both people and objects a special nature that sometimes favors their increase in value. What could be just one of many effigies of Christ worshiped in any church in Spain now takes on a special value. It awakens a desire in all those who come into contact with it on both sides of the Mediterranean after it goes through its experience in captivity and forms a part of this space, although the origin of this desire and how it plays out differs depending on the individuals involved in each exchange. It is in this same Mediterranean setting where Cervantes carefully portrays this urge to possess with the action that surrounds the captive Leonisa in *El amante liberal*. As in the case of the captive image, Leonisa is also desired by many individuals of different status, regardless of their origin or the religion that they profess. It is striking how all the characters that come into contact with Leonisa during her time in captivity are enthralled by her beauty and do not conceive of any other alternative beyond her, all showing a blind desire for this captive in particular as if no other could match her excellence. In this sense, Steven Hutchinson has pointed out the exorbitant reaction of the pashas when they try to get hold of the Christian captive, a reaction above and beyond what could be merited in this situation even considering that her beauty was above the ordinary ("Esclavitud femenina" 145). Without entering into a discussion on the attractive and exotic nature of Leonisa, this Mediterranean

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to note that this case also portrays the Spanish with an irresistible desire to possess sacred representations and willing to pay any amount in exchange for a captive image. On the other hand, the Muslim privateer exhibits a purely commercial attitude toward the image as he tries to exploit the situation for his financial benefit rather than treating the effigy in a certain way based on what it represents.

space certainly attributes other uses and values that would not necessarily be employed to describe Leonisa in any other context, one which also ascribes different meanings to the images that inhabit this space, or at least this is how some authors of the time period chose to portray these circumstances. Both image and individual share a certain similarity with regard to their situation in captivity and in the space that surrounds them. Either way, and as we have seen earlier in the analysis of various texts, the borders that could differentiate images from individuals become substantially diluted since human values are sometimes attributed to images and vice versa.

The way in which Gómez de Losada describes the captive image in the fourth book of his *Escuela de trabajos* seems to give it a leading role, and certain attributes appear to endow it with human traits. As for Leonisa in *El amante liberal*, she is obviously a human character, although at certain moments the also captive Ricardo treats her as a type of deity or religious icon. While Ricardo is describing his misfortune to his friend Mahamut, he refers to Leonisa in the following terms: "[…] no sólo la amé, mas la adoré y serví con tanta solicitud como si no tuviera en la tierra ni en el cielo otra deidad a quien sirviese ni adorase"[246] (142). This notion of Leonisa being depicted almost as an idol would take on even more relevance if we viewed this character as if she were an object. In her particular case, she is stripped of some of her human qualities by certain characters and is treated as merchandise likely to be purchased. At diverse moments throughout the story, Ricardo, the *cadi*, and the narrator all refer to her as someone else's *prenda*, and indeed she would be if we were to judge Leonisa in terms of a possession, considering also how the pashas and the *cadi* enter into a frenetic bidding war to acquire her. By reducing Leonisa to an "object" of exchange and treating her as mere commodity that could be controlled at the

[246] "[...] I not only loved her, but I also adored and served her with such tenacity as if I never had another deity on earth or in heaven to serve or worship"

whim of the highest bidder, the specifics of this particular scene suggest that the female captive be understood as an object designed to be bought and sold.

In any case, it is not only in the world of captivity narratives where there are situations in which a human character is also regarded as an object. In the fourth book of Cervantes's *Persiles*, once the pilgrims have arrived in the city of Rome, there are certain situations when the Duke of Nemurs and Prince Arnaldo view Auristela as an image, making this copy of the original their primary object of desire, despite the fact that Auristela herself is also present on the scene. We saw in the introduction to this chapter how the Prince and the Duke partook in a bloody struggle with the intent of seizing a portrait of Auristela. Now another painting has also become the focus of their ambition and discord, although this time the canvas portrays a version of Auristela tinged with religious iconography, with a broken crown on her head and the world at her feet (IV, 6, 659-63).[247] It is significant how at different moments of this story these two suitors confuse Auristela with the images that represent her, turning the visual depictions of her into their true longing. They even offer exorbitant amounts of money, as in this last example in which she is characterized as a divinity. In the case of Auristela and Leonisa, it is clear that the act of viewing these women more like a portrait or an article, instead of a human being, seems to allow the other characters that surround them to put a price on them, and thus consider them as mere objects of desire.

[247] In his edition of the *Persiles*, Carlos Romero Múñoz points out that this description of Auristela alludes to the woman in the Apocalypse (659, note 4). Both Alcalá Galán (*Escritura desatada* 100) and Gaylord (159) have noted that it is the dealer of the portrait who later explains this intriguing iconography to Auristela: "Quizá quieren decir que esta doncella merece llevar la corona de hermosura, que ella va hollando en aquel mundo; pero yo quiero decir qeu dice que vos, señora, sois su original, y que merecéis corona entera, y no mundo pintado, sino real y verdadero" ("Perhaps they're trying to say this maiden deserves to wear the crown of beauty, that she is treading on that world; but I feel it means that you, my lady, are its original and desrve a whole crown, and not just a painted world, but one that's real and true") (IV, 6, 660).

4. Renegades and Frontier Figures

Beyond this concept of the image as solicited commodity, in some narratives we find a more active involvement of the icon where it is employed for a specific purpose in the hands of renegades and other frontier figures. Focusing on the religious iconography, we see how images have this different function in the captive's tale in *Don Quixote* (I, 37, 39-42). In this episode, narrated by and featuring the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma, the only religious images appearing throughout the episode are curiously associated with two frontier characters: the renegade from Murcia and the Algerian Zoraida. After the captive captain receives the first of Zoraida's letters the readers are introduced to the Murcian renegade. Due to his knowledge of Arabic and at the request of the captain, the renegade is the first to become aware of the contents of the letter, which brings to his attention the clandestine plan that is being plotted to leave Algiers. Once Zoraida's longing and willingness to go to Christian lands are made known to the captives who were present in this group, they see a real opportunity to leave behind their life in Algiers and had hope for the first time to escape from captivity. Mindful that the letter was directed to one of the captives and hopeful for the possibility of taking part in this endeavor, the renegade tries to gain the trust of the group of captives in order to join them and flee to the opposite shore of the Mediterranean. Significantly, to reinforce his commitment to them and give strong evidence of his loyalty, the renegade from Murcia resorts to an image:

> […] el renegado entendió que no acaso se había hallado aquel papel, sino que realmente a alguno de nosotros se había escrito; y así nos rogó que si era verdad lo que sospechaba, que nos fiásemos dél y se lo dijésemos, que él aventuraría su vida por nuestra libertad. Y diciendo esto, sacó del pecho un crucifijo de metal, y con muchas lágrimas juró por el Dios que aquella imagen representaba, en quien

> él, aunque pecador y malo, bien y fielmente creía, de guardarnos lealtad y secreto en todo cuanto quisiésemos descubrirle, porque le parecía, y casi adevinaba, que por medio de aquella que aquel papel había escrito había él y todos nosotros de tener libertad, y verse él en lo que tanto deseaba, que era reducirse al gremio de la santa Iglesia, su madre, de quien como miembro podrido estaba dividido y apartado, por su ignorancia y pecado.[248] (I, 40, 490)

It is precisely at the moment in which the renegade grasps the crucifix when the action is filled with emotion and there is a turning point in the solidification of the relationship between the renegade and the captive, establishing a commitment that both of them need. This image of the cross is used by a character whose mere status of being called a renegade requires him to have to prove his inclination toward the Catholic faith, since Zoraida warns the Ruy Pérez de Viedma in the content of her first letter with the following words: "mira a quién lo das a leer: no te fíes de ningún moro"[249] (I, 40, 490). Therefore, the possible link of the renegade to Islam could raise a doubt with regard to his honesty and fidelity, putting him in a somewhat delicate situation. It is for this reason that the material used for the cross that the renegade holds up does not seem fortuitous. The act of relying on a crucifix made of metal certainly evokes a solid and enduring promise, an action that inspires a sharp statement of intent and seems to clear up any doubt as to the stance and integrity of its owner. The comparison between the strong affirmation of the

[248] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "[…] the renegade realized the paper had not been found by chance but had really been written to one of us, and he implored us that if what he suspected was true, that we trust him and tell him so, and he would risk his life for our freedom. And saying this, he pulled out from under his shirt a metal crucifix, and with many tears he swore by the God that the image represented, and in whom he, though a sinner, believed completely and faithfully, that he would be loyal to us and keep secret anything we wished to tell him; he thought, and could almost predict, that by means of the woman who had written the letter, he and all of us would obtain our freedom, and he would find himself where he longed to be, which was reunited with the body of Holy Mother Church, from whom, like a rotten limb, he had been separated and severed because of his ignorance and sin" (I, 40, 347-48).

[249] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "be careful who you ask to read it: do not trust any Moor" (I, 40, 347).

renegade, and strength of the crucifix seems significant, especially when evaluated next to the small cross of reeds that just a few lines earlier is displayed by the Algerian Zoraida—the same character who could call into question the renegade's credibility based on the details of her letter. Despite the fact that the captive openly declares his friendship with the renegade he still appears to harbor some reservations about his loyalty, since he initially did not choose to disclose the origin of Zoraida's letter: "antes que del todo me declarase con él, le dije que me leyese aquel papel, que acaso me había hallado en un agujero de mi rancho"[250] (I, 40, 489). Interestingly enough, the content of this passage revolves somewhat around the loyalty and distrust that different characters feel toward others, establishing relationships that influence the evolution of the story. Thus, the firm union between the two only occurs after the precise moment in which the renegade, together with his emotional speech, boasts the metal crucifix and the captive agrees to share with him all of the details of what had truly happened up to this point: "Con tantas lágrimas y con muestras de tanto arrepentimiento dijo esto el renegado, que todos de un mesmo parecer consentimos, y venimos en declararle la verdad del caso; y así, le dimos cuenta de todo, sin encubrirle nada"[251] (I , 40, 490). There is no doubt that the use of this symbol as a graphic display of his intentions gives the character enough credit to gain the trust of his countrymen and the chance to join their group.

Cervantes is not the only early modern author who represents how renegades or other frontier figures use and associate themselves with religious images, but he is certainly the one who does so with the greatest virtuosity.[252] In Guillén de Castro's play *El renegado arrepentido,*

[250] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "before I told him everything, I asked him to read the paper for me, saying I had found it in a crack in the wall of my cell" (I, 40, 347).
[251] Edith Grossman's translation of *Don Quixote*: "The renegade said this with so many tears and displays of so much repentance that we were all of the same opinion and agreed to tell him the truth, and so we revealed everything to him, hiding nothing" (I, 40, 348).
[252] I agree with María Antonia Garcés when she states, "No es fortuito que sea Cervantes, hombre de frontera y creador de historias fronterizas, quien mejor describe el fenómeno de los renegados en el Mediterráneo del siglo

Osmán, the protagonist and character who gives the work its name, announces his good conduct toward religious images in an attempt to try and show how in reality he has always been a "sincere" Christian and that, in his opinion, he should have been better rewarded for this behavior, despite the fact that he renounced his faith. As the story goes, Osmán decides to turn his back on his Christian faith after he believes that his father, King Honorio, has unjustly imprisoned him and taken away his succession to the throne. He flees his father's land, is captured by Hazén Bajá, and is handed over to King Cosdroé. After six years in captivity, Osmán decides to renege to have more power, and he later becomes the favorite of the Muslim monarch. Following a number of cruel plans to have his father humiliated and killed, the renegade takes out a cross and has time to reflect on his decision to convert to Islam, finally deciding to spare Honorio's life. This whole accumulation of contradictions concerning the spiritual beliefs of Osmán makes him a somewhat ambiguous figure, especially when trying to categorize him as a member of one religious group or another. However, it is Osmán himself, who through certain facts and statements, reveals to us what was and still continues to be his true inner intention, relying for this purpose on the image of the cross. Not surprisingly, it is at this moment of the play that the renegade takes the icon out from under his shirt in an attempt to strengthen his argument:

> Por mi testigo os elijo:
> bien sabéis vos, Virgen pía,
> lo que conmigo podía
> la imagen del Crucifijo.

XVI. El contraste de su obra con las de otros autores del Siglo de Oro no puede ser mayor, en este respecto" ("It is no accident that it is Cervantes, frontiersman and creator of frontier stories, who best describes the phenomenon of the renegades in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean. The contrast of his work with that of other Golden Age authors cannot be greater, in this regard.") ("'Grande amigo mío'" 575).

Nunca os vi crucificado,

que no llorase y llorando

me hallaron, vos sabéis cuándo,

besando vuestro costado.

Y para mayor abono,

Saca un Crucifijo pequeño del seno, y prosigue:

Vos, mi dulce compañía,

si me descuidé algún día,

decildo aquí, yo os perdono.

Bien sabéis que renegué,

y que me acordé de Vos,

para teneros por Dios,

pues del reniego os saqué.[253] (Castro 223a)

This attachment to the cross, both physically and figuratively, is what allows Osmán to maintain this inner desire and publicly proclaim his true religious sentiment, while at the same time it makes his statement more convincing in the eyes of the spectators and the other characters. Even despite such a radical break with his former lifestyle, Osmán somehow still clings to his past through his association to this Christian icon, which becomes a key element for both the character's development and the work itself.

[253] "For my witness I choose you: / you well know, pious Virgin, / whatever with me could / the image of the crucifix. / Never did I see you crucified, / that I did not cry and crying / I was found, you know when, kissing your sides. / And for more proof, / *He pulls a small crucifix out from under his shirt and continues*: / You, my dear, / if one day I was careless, / say it here, I forgive you. / You know well that I reneged, / and that I remembered you, / to have you as God, / because from blasphemy I took you out."

Only a few pages later, the now repentant renegade is confronted by Christ on the cross who asks him to give an account of his life and explain the good works that he has accomplished. Of the four deeds that Osmán describes, three directly relate to his actions toward religious images and the reactions that these objects elicited in him. The most significant was the time that he came across a Muslim seafarer who had stolen a golden image of Christ, which he planned to burn and melt. Anguished at the thought of the harm that would be done to this lustrous statue, Osmán buys the stolen image and later uses it to help a poor widow ransom her captive son. In this particular case, it is curiously a renegade figure who gives the image a certain role, rescuing it and giving it a practical use for the benefit of other Christian individuals. The ransom paid for the crucifix and the very redemption that is produced via this Christian icon allow us to see a parallel between the situation experienced in captivity by both the religious image and the human characters. This type of behavior emphasizes the self-interested character of the renegade, leaving aside his spiritual views, which is contradictory when one considers that these details are used to try to prove his good intentions before Christ. In his opinion, it is this more physical aspect and the way in which the renegade uses these objects for a practical end what should be considered valid and worthy of reward, regardless of the beliefs that he harbors internally. Furthermore, his decision to renege on his Christian faith also doesn't have anything to do with his acceptance or rejection of certain religious beliefs, but rather he does so in order to have more power. In fact, as Steven Hutchinson points out, "Religious belief seems rarely to have been the prime motive of converts in this geohistorical setting. What one sees again and again is that while the question of belief was transcendent for Christianity and Islam, it was not always so important for the people who practiced these religions" ("Renegades as Crossover Figures" 59). For the repentant renegade in Guillén de Castro's play, this is indeed true and it seems to

demonstrate that, because he decides to use his behavior toward images as an example of his genuine religious intentions, it is more important how he *acts* toward them and not what he *believes* about them.

This advantageous use of the image is not only found in the episode of the Cervantine renegade in *Don Quixote* or in the hands of the remorseful renegade in Guillén de Castro's play, but other texts of the time also allude to this particular use of religious icons by renegades. Looking at some of these texts, it is surprising how sometimes the image serves as a tool to shape the identity of the renegade in question, usually in a key moment of his or her life in which this individual needs to demonstrate some belief to help them achieve a certain objective or sometimes to overcome an unwanted situation. This functionality of revered objects aims on numerous occasions to help mediate between characters of different religions or between individuals that can be identified with one of these faiths, both to strengthen or weaken ties. Especially in the case of renegades, this employment of the image takes on an even more practical meaning since their unique status places these characters between two worlds, and thus, the sacred figure becomes an element that if used at the right time supports the public acceptance of his or her condition, whether that be Christian or Muslim. In Gómez de Losada's suggestive text, the author presents the functional use of the image in the hands of a repentant Portuguese renegade, who at one point of his long stay in Algiers was driven to burn an effigy of the Virgin, not because he actually wanted to ruin the statue but only because in doing so he hoped to win the favor of others who profess the Islamic faith: "Y por dar a entender a los Turcos, lo era como ellos, hizo aquel sacrilegio tan grande, como arrojar al fuego la Santíssima Imagen de Nuestra Señora"[254] (366). As we see in this example, the religious representation is utilized for a specific

[254] "And to make the Turks think that he was like them, he did this great sacrilege of hurling the most holy image of Our Lady onto the fire"

purpose and in a way for which it was not created, given that its use helps this Portuguese man to distance himself from his past and identify with what, at that moment, was more convenient for him. In this sense, a letter written in the middle of the sixteenth century by a Spanish captive demonstrates this same point. It describes how a group of captives who had been waiting to be rescued from Algiers began to lose hope that someone would come to ransom them, so they opted to renege on their Christian faith. To demonstrate their resolution and to rid themselves of their status as captives, they decided to resort to the symbol of the cross as the letter explains: "Lo primero que haçían en Casa del Rey era una cruz en tierra y escupirla y pisarla y a grandes bozes decir que heran moros negando al verdadero Jesucristo por dios"[255] (Martínez Torres 172). This type of conduct involving the use of crosses or other sacred representations with contrary intentions also formed part of the way in which several renegade women converted to Islam. Ana, a renegade of Russian origin, could only deny her religion after stepping on "una cruz, escupir tres veces encima y arrojarla al mar,"[256] like other women who told how they had to repudiate the Christian symbol to be accepted as followers of Islam (Bennassar and Bennassar 338). This same image of the cross that the Cervantine renegade had displayed so devoutly in order to strengthen his ties with the captive Ruy Pérez de Viedma and to participate in his plan to leave Algiers, is the same image that is used by other renegades with a totally opposite purpose, as these last examples demonstrate. Thus, we have the same image before us, but in diverse scenarios and in the hands of different renegades we see how it offers diametrically opposed possibilities.

Other stories indicate how some renegades, like the one from Murcia in *Don Quixote*, used the symbol of the cross or other venerable objects in order to shape their identity and

[255] "The first thing they did in the king's house was to make a cross on the ground and spit on it and trample over it and shout that they were Moors, denying the true Jesus Christ as God"
[256] "a cross, spitting on it three times and throwing it into the sea"

associate themselves with Christianity during a very delicate moment of their life. After being captured by a Sicilian galley, the renegade Frenchman Guillaume Bedos, also known in Tunis as Arráez Xabán, is brought before the court in Palermo in 1619, where he reaffirms his faith in Islam. At first, he not only rejects the worship of images, but even goes on to make fun of them. However, when he is on his way toward the gallows, suddenly he kneels before an image of the Virgin, an action that helps reconcile him with the Church and lessen his sentence (Bennassar and Bennassar 65-88). In this sense, it is also significant that during their confessions to the Inquisition or to their families, some renegades decided to declare how they always continued to carry a Christian image with them during their time on African soil and even when they had supposedly reneged on their Catholic faith. Such was the case of the renegade Jacobo de Maqueda, who, in addition to presenting some letters attesting to how he never really abandoned Christianity, declared to the Inquisition that he had always carried a rosary and a picture of the Virgin Mary (Gonzalez-Raymond 119). The Portuguese renegade Gaspar Fernandes also testified before the authorities that he "fazia reverencia as imagens com mostras de christam"[257] (Braga 96). In a similar vein, the Spanish renegade Mateo Castellano wrote, in a letter intended for his Christian wife in the Canary Islands, about some of the events that happened during his captivity, and he explicitly mentions that he carried a picture of Christ and Our Lady of the Rosary (Bennassar and Bennassar 444). It seems clear that for these renegades the act of associating themselves with religious images during their stay in North Africa deserves to be mentioned, especially if the person was being subjected to an inquisitorial process or facing a possible reunion with his or her family members.

Although this man was not alleged to be a renegade, the narrative of the English captive Richard Hasleton offers an interesting glimpse, at least from a Protestant perspective, of the use

[257] "venerated the images as a Christian"

of images that could surface during an Inquisition trial after experiencing captivity in Islamic lands. This Englishman lived as a captive in Algiers for five years until 1587, when the galley he was rowing was shipwrecked on the island of Formentera. Hasleton was first sent to Ibiza, where he was imprisoned and questioned as to whether he had spoken a word against the king or the Church of Rome. Given that the captive kept silent in front of Spanish authorities, he was later sent to Majorca to be presented before the Inquisition. It is here during his trial where Hasleton chooses to highlight the vast weight put on Catholics' veneration of religious images and his contrasting view to this practice. According to the English captive, his rejection of sacred objects of worship in the face of Inquisition officers was reason enough for them to berate him and call him a "Lutheran" (77). As he explains, they began by offering him a tablet with religious iconography and later ordered him to kneel down and revere other images set before him, all of which he vehemently refused. The officers then carried on by handing him a cross that he was urged to worship, inciting Hasleton to spit on the inquisitor's face. As the author continues his narrative, he proceeds to point out other instances in which he sharply disagrees with these authorities on the subject of Catholic icons. In the examples referenced previously, in which some renegades returning to Spain made explicit mention of the images they kept with them or worshiped while in North Africa—whether in reality they did so or not—, we saw how images, at times, acquired a very practical use, and how renegades' association to these religious images seemed at least worth mentioning to inquisitorial authorities during this precarious moment of their life. On the contrary, Hasleton, an Englishman and Protestant, rejects all religious objects during his debate with the inquisitor, so as to not relate himself in any way with these Catholic practices. It seems that in this case and the others mentioned, upon return from Islamic lands, Catholic icons can be used with a very practical purpose, to mold one's identity in front of

Inquisition authorities who it seems may have sometimes been more influenced by religious practices than actual beliefs.

Given these examples, the Murcian renegade's behavior in the captive's tale is especially relevant and specifically at the moment when he lands on the Spanish coast. Once in Vélez Malaga, his first stop is at a church where he instructs Zoraida on how to understand the images, and curiously, as Steven Hutchinson notes, this takes place right before the renegade presents himself before the Inquisition ("Fronteras cervantinas" 158). Perhaps the renegade's actions could help make his possible reintegration into the Catholic Church go a little more smoothly, and his conduct could potentially work to his benefit when it comes time to appear before the Inquisition. Following from this, one's attention is also drawn to the fact that the renegade focuses on the Virgin Mary when he gives Zoriada a short lesson on the meaning of the images. According to the captive's testimony, neither the renegade nor Zoraida allude to any other Christian iconography that probably could have been in the church in Vélez Málaga. Remarkably, there is no mention of any representation of Christ in the church, but the only reference to the images are of Lela Marién, the same figure that Zoraida had evoked several times in Algiers. As many scholars have already noted, Cervantes certainly was aware of the prominent place that Maryam / the Virgin Mary occupies in the Qur'an, and thus it does not seem fortuitous that a representation of the Virgin Mary is emphasized when the group of captives arrive in Spain accompanied by a renegade and an Algerian woman.[258] Using images specifically of the Virgin Mary to find a point in common between Christians and Muslims in Spain is something that the first archbishop of Granada, Fray Hernando de Talavera, tried with

[258] There are several scholars who have pointed out Cervantes's knowledge in terms of the relevance of the Virgin Mary in Islamic culture. Oliver Asín clearly reflects Cervantes's understanding in this area and so he does not consider it a "heresy," as other scholars had previously assumed, that Cervantes included some verses in praise of the Virgin Mary in the mouth of a Muslim character in *La Gran Sultana* ("La hija" 290-91). More recently, Brownlee (580) and Hutchinson ("Fronteras cervantinas" 150), among others, have also mentioned this situation.

the approval of Queen Isabella as they attempted to convert the Moriscos living in the kingdom of Granada, as Felipe Pereda has studied in detail. According to him, the idea of resorting to the figure of the Virgin Mary with an evangelist purpose in mind, and not another type of iconography, goes to show that Talavera was also knowledgeable about the importance of the Virgin Mary in Islam, a plan that at least in theory seemed like it would be helpful for this catechetical endeavor (249-373). However, the Morisco community widely rejected this imposition of images to which they were subjected, including the Virgin Mary, although to a lesser extent than those representing Christ (Pereda, *Las imágenes* 350-56; Franco Llopis 96-97). While Zoraida is clearly not a Morisca, the text is silent in terms of how this Algerian woman reacted to being educated on the subject of religious iconography and it never reveals to what extent the images were accepted or rejected by her, only indicating that she "understood" them (I, 41, 513).[259]

5. Unorthodox Perspectives

Throughout this chapter, we have seen how various texts depict the unique coexistence and interaction between individuals and images in Mediterranean captivity, as well as how the diverse members of this world respond to and are affected by icons in this shared space. On the other end of the spectrum, some early modern Spanish authors—albeit few of them—portrayed an entirely different scenario in their captivity treatises or other narratives, exposing their sometimes unorthodox perspectives on images. One of these texts is that of the Spanish Protestant Cipriano de Valera titled *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería en la católica y antigua fe y religión cristiana, y para los consolar, con la palabra de Dios, en las*

[259] Even though Zoraida is not a Morisca, recently scholars have been paying attention to the similarities between this character and those associated with the Morisco "problem" and how Zoraida in certain ways could be considered as one of them upon her arrival in Spain, especially since she lands there during a time when the Morisco issue was very present. See Avilés (184-85); Childers (178-80); Hutchinson ("Fronteras cervantinas" 159-60).

aflicciones que padecen por el Evangelio de Jesucristo. At first glance, and as the title suggests, this treatise follows the same line as the writings of other Spanish religious writers on the subject of captivity and encounters with Muslims in North Africa, such as those works by Fray Matías de San Francisco, Fray Francisco San Juan del Puerto, Gabriel Gómez de Losada, and Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios (Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, "Introducción" 28). All of these authors share a similar concern that they express throughout their work: the fear that Christian captives confined to North Africa would renege on their faith and convert to Islam. As many scholars acknowledge, this phenomenon of religious conversion was very widespread throughout the Mediterranean world, which explains the great frequency with which these Spanish religious writers mentioned renegades, or "Turks by profession" as they were sometimes named.[260] Cipriano de Valera, however, was more apprehensive about Christian captives' encounters with another religious group in North Africa. For him, the real concern was the Spanish Catholics, or the Papists as he refers to them, with whom the Protestant captives carried out their day-to-day activities. Throughout the text he continuously refers to them as "nuestros adversarios"[261] while simultaneously juxtaposing his intended audience as the "verdaderos cristianos."[262] Even though Valera does direct his treatise specifically toward the Reformed captives in North Africa and recognizes their situation as prisoners in Islamic lands, he does not focus on their hardships and suffering, as the many other authors and religious redeemers chose to do. As Beatriz Alonso Acero and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra note, it is quite obvious from Valera's writing that he does not have any first-hand experience of life in captivity, and certainly

[260] Among other scholars who have focused their attention on renegades, the Bennassars estimate that more than 200,000 to 300,000 Christians converted to Islam during the period between 1550 and 1700 (391). In their study on Spaniards in North Africa in early modern times, Mercedes García Arenal and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra calculate that during periods of increased corsair activity anywhere between a quarter and a third of Christian captives held against their will in North Africa reneged on their faith (244).
[261] "our adversaries"
[262] "true Christians"

for this reason his text does not incorporate the brutal descriptions of captives' torture and pain, which so many other works of this nature include ("Introducción" 29).[263]

Given that Valera is more concerned with his readers' ability to maintain their beliefs while living alongside Catholics, Muslims, and Jews in North Africa and not necessarily the daily torment and adversities they face as captives, the content of his treatise focuses more on the basic principles of Protestant theology while at the same time it highlights all the errors of the Church of Rome. Among the issues that really irk him is the veneration of religious images. He accuses Catholics of altering the Old Testament by eliminating one of the Ten Commandments, specifically the one dealing with creating and worshiping other gods: "De estos diez mandamientos nuestros adversarios, como traidores y alevosos que son contra el Dios que los crió, han totalmente quitado el Segundo, que es contra las imágenes"[264] (*Tratado* 158). Furthermore, he highlights the excessively prominent role of the popes and how they have allowed what in Valera's view is an idolatrous creation of the cult of saints, including all of the many figural representations of them: "No se contentan con invocar los santos, sino que invocan sus imágenes, sus estatuas, o por mejor decir, sus ídolos"[265] (*Tratado* 49). Contrary to the accounts of Gómez de Losada and Andreu de San Joseph that exalt the miraculous crucifixes rescued from captivity, Valera alerts his readers to be cautious toward these icons and to understand the meaning of the cross without worshiping it: "Esto de la cruz he dicho como de pasada, para que ninguno tome de este lugar pretexto de adorar la cruz de palo o de plata; porque hacer así es superstición y idolatría"[266] (*Tratado* 156). This treatise on captivity from a Protestant

[263] For a succinct summary of Valera's treatise and his main arguments see Beatriz Alonso Acero and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra's introduction to his work and the Natalio Ohanna's cited article on the topic.
[264] "Of these Ten Commandments our adversaries, as the traitors and betrayers that they are toward the God who raised them, have completely eliminated the second, which is against images"
[265] "They are not content invoking the saints, but they invoke their images, their statues, or rather, their idols"
[266] "I said this comment about the cross in passing, so that no one takes this as an excuse to worship a wooden or silver cross; for to do so is superstition and idolatry"

perspective was clearly not meant to portray the horrors and gruesome details that many of those enslaved in North Africa experienced, but rather it was intended, at least partially, to demonstrate the flawed practices of their Catholic neighbors. Valera demonstrates with his text how religious debates, comprising those on images, crossed geographic borders and were inserted into larger conversations about Christian captives in Islamic lands.

In the anonymous sixteenth-century dialogue *Viaje de Turquía*, it is specifically the space of the Muslim or Ottoman "other" where comparisons and criticisms of religious practices, including the veneration of sacred objects, take place. Divided into two parts, the colloquy involving three friends—Juan de Voto a Dios, Mátalascallando, and Pedro de Urdemalas—relates the experience of the Spanish ex-captive Pedro in Istanbul as well as his return back to Spain, and it describes the various customs and practices that he observed in the Ottoman Empire. Through this exposition of daily Turkish life, a parallel is drawn with Spanish ways, revealing what the author believes to be some of the latter's weak points. There is an evident critical tone toward the numerous outward demonstrations of the Catholic faith, and by virtue of this Pedro calls into question the efficacy of such things as relics, pilgrimages, alms, and hospitals.

During the second day of the dialogue, the first topic to be discussed between the three participants is the religious beliefs and traditions of the Turks that Pedro witnessed while in Istanbul. Near the beginning of this conversation, Juan inquires about the churches found there, and Pedro responds by promptly commenting on the differing form of ornamentation inside their mosques: "Unas mezquitas bien hechas, salvo que ni tienen sanctos ni altar. Aborresçen mucho las figuras, teniéndolas por gran pecado"[267] (389). A few questions later when Juan asks about

[267] "Some mosques are well done, except that they neither have saints nor altars. They really abhor figural images, considering them a great sin"

the God they worship, Pedro once again highlights that even though they do revere one God, they reject any type of figural image that could represent him: "Sí, y que no hay más de uno, y sólo aquél tiene de ser adorado, y de aquí viene que aborresçen tanto las imágines, que en la iglesia, ni en casa, ni en parte ninguna no las pueden tener, ni retratos, ni en paramentos"[268] (391). While Pedro certainly does not explicitly criticize the use of images in his responses to Juan, the discussion contrasting how Christians and Muslims pray that is inserted between these two passages may give the comments on sacred representations more relevance. The Spanish ex-captive explains that the Turks faithfully pray five times a day, and that "si ansí lo hiziésemos nosotros, nos querría mucho Dios,"[269] later confirming that Christians are so only in their name but not in their actions (389-90). According to him, Muslims exhibit a more sincere form of devotion in their prayer life, indirectly suggesting that the figural images that they abhor are not necessary to be faithful. Of course Pedro ought to be prudent and not go too far in his criticisms, since Mátalascallando has already reproached him for having Lutheran ideas about the need for relics when he suggested throwing them into the river (124-25).[270] As much as Pedro may find fault with the exterior nature of Catholic rituals and praise some of the practices of the Turks, at no time does he ever hesitate to refer to Islam as a false religion, and at one point he is even willing to die as a martyr for his Christian faith instead of having to renounce his beliefs (Delgado-Gómez 55-56).

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[268] "Yes, and there is not more than one, and only that person is to be worshiped, and from this comes the idea that they abhor the images that in church, home, or any other place they are not allowed to have, not even portraits or adornments"

[269] "if we did it that way, God would love us a lot"

[270] When Mátalascallando asks Pedro what to do with the reliquary, Pedro recommends tossing the relics into the river to which Mátalascallando responds: "¿Las reliquias se han de echar en el río? Grandemente me habéis turbado. Mirad no traiáis alguna punta de luterano desas tierras extrañas" ("The relics should be thrown into the river? You have greatly troubled me. See that you don't bring any Lutheran trace from those foreign lands.") (125). As Agustin Redondo notes, Pedro later has to tone down his critique, since the Inquisition processed those who questioned the cult of relics ("Devoción tradicional y devoción erasmista" 412).

In the same Erasmian fashion, Alfonso de Valdés's *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* shares many similar criticisms of religious imagery, the Pope, the Vatican, etcetera, as those found in *Viaje de Turquía*. The dialogue, divided into two parts and carried out between Latancio and an Archdeacon, is intended as a defense of the Emperor Carlos V from accusations regarding the Sack of Rome, although the author also turns it into an attack on some of the corruption and excesses of the Catholic Church. While Valdés's *Diálogo*, as the title suggests, evidently does not deal with Mediterranean captivity as do the many other texts discussed in this chapter, his work does have something provocative to say when it comes to the nuanced relation between images and captives. In the second part of their debate, and after the Archdeacon feels as though his doubts have been resolved regarding religious practices and beliefs, Latancio decides to interject with more examples of how some Christian traditions don't line up with the doctrine of Jesus Christ and how many of these behaviors are motivated by greed. One of those criticized is the act of relying on images to rescue captives from foreign lands while assuming that the sacred object's many followers would offer money to it, later using this income for selfish purposes:

> ¿Para qué pensáis vos que da el otro a entender que una imagen de madera va a sacar cautivos y que quando buelve toda sudando, sino para atraer el simple vulgo a que offrescan a aquella imagen cosas de que él después se puede aprovechar? Y no tiene temor de Dios de engañar assí la gente. ¡Como si Nuestra Señora, para sacar un cativo, hobiesse menester llevar consigo una imagen de madera! Y seyendo una cosa ridícula, créelo el vulgo por la auctoridad de los que lo dizen.[271] (Valdés 137)

[271] "For what reason do you think that one person leads the other to believe that a wooden image will rescue captives and that it returns sweating all over, but only to entice the common people to offer things to that image of which

This critique of how images linked to rescuing captives could be used to achieve an avaricious objective goes completely against what authors like Gómez de Losada and Andreu de San Joseph would write about years later. And like the *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería* and *Viaje de Turquía*, this passage also shows how debates about sacred objects could cross geographic and cultural lines as they are linked to early modern discussions on Mediterranean captivity.

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To synthesize the different types of impacts caused by religious images in captivity and as they circulate in and between Spain and North Africa, I'd like to conclude by referring to the quote by David Freedberg that begins this chapter. Throughout the various texts that have been analyzed here, we've seen the different impulses and responses that images are capable of arousing. These same images that give rise to diverse situations do not leave the characters who share their pages unaffected, and more so if we frame these situations in a setting as miscellaneous as the great *Mare Nostrum* where humans and images coexisted in a common scenario. In Cervantes's Mediterranean, the image is an indisputable object of desire and journeys were embarked in order to possess it, as in the case of the effigy of Christ rescued by Gómez de Losada. The image is kissed, like Zoraida's small cross made of reeds; the image is used to take revenge, such as what was taken out on the priest who displayed a cross on his clothes in *El trato de Argel*; the image provokes empathy in others, like the renegade from Murcia in *Don Quixote* who won the trust of his countrymen with the help of his cross; and as we have seen, different individuals even expect to be elevated by an image of the cross at the time of their martyrdom, such as Hazén in *Los baños de Argel*. The image has definitely not left

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they will later take advantage? And he or she does not have fear of God to deceive people in this way. As if Our Lady, in order to rescue a captive, needed to take a wooden image with her! And being a ridiculous idea, the common people believe it because of the authority with which it is said."

any of the authors, characters, or spectators indifferent, generating a multitude of reactions in all of them.

EPILOGUE

A Shared World

In Molly Greene's *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, she presents a diverse vision of the Mediterranean that transcends other models of pure antagonism between Christians and Muslims in the early modern era. Greene juxtaposes the views outlined in Fernand Braudel's and Andrew Hess's books and later offers a third approach for understanding the complex Mediterranean world of this time period. On the one hand, in his seminal book *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel emphasizes the essential unity of the Mediterranean, which includes not only the sea but also the civilizations that populated its shores. In sharp contrast, Andrew Hess's *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* accentuates precisely those divisions that separate Iberia from North Africa and Christianity from Islam. Finally, through her focus on seventeenth-century Crete, Greene proposes an alternative view of the Mediterranean, a shared one which includes not only the cultures of Latin Christianity and Islam but also that of Eastern Orthodoxy.

I have chosen to title this epilogue hinting at Greene's book not because of her focus on the eastern Mediterranean but rather because of her emphasis on the Mediterranean as a shared space. Playing off of this idea of "a shared world" each of the chapters in this dissertation has attempted to show how religious images also form part of this same Mediterranean environment. In both literary and historic texts, sacred icons of all types coexist alongside Christian and Muslim characters, including Moriscos and Old Christians, captives, slaves and corsairs, renegades, merchants, and redeptionist friars, among many others. Many times, as we have seen, the images are not just passive objects described throughout the pages of these texts, but rather

they are active participants—even protagonists—that provoke encounters and diverse reactions among the human characters in a variety of the works analyzed in this project. In this way, I argue, the role of religious images in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, from Cervantes and Lope de Vega to anonymous Morisco texts and everything in between, deserves to be taken into account while considering the complex intricacies of Christian-Muslim encounters in early modern Spain and the Mediterranean world.

The focus of this dissertation was introduced with an example from Gómez de Losada's captivity treatise in which a captive image of Christ was taken to Algiers where it circulated, bringing Christians, Muslims, and Jews into contact with one another. After examining many other instances and delving into how the use of images by early modern writers functions in a wide array of works, I'd like to conclude with a text written in Arabic from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. The Moroccan minister Muḥammad ibn ʿabd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī travels to Spain near the end of the seventeenth century in an attempt to ransom Muslim captives as well as to recover some Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Peninsula. In the book he writes recounting his journey, al-Ghassānī intercalates a lengthy description of all the events that he witnessed during Holy Week in Madrid, including the many crucifixes and religious images that crossed his path during the processions. He continues by depicting the grandiose Escorial with some of the images that embellish its walls, such as a highly-venerated silver crucifix. Al-Ghassānī then travels on to Toledo where he notices the religious images and crosses that now adorn a former mosque. What is interesting about these parts of his narrative is not that he disagreed with the beliefs that these images were said to represent, but rather that he would choose to occupy various pages describing these *ṣuwar* 'images' in his book that is purportedly going to deal with rescuing captives and retrieving manuscripts to which he is almost silent.

These images that have caught al-Ghassānī's eye not only define the people who carry them or the buildings that are bedecked with them, but they also attest to a shared and diverse world in which writers from both shores of the Mediterranean recognized their influence.

This dissertation endeavors to ask new questions about how Christian-Muslim encounters were described and understood by a diverse range of writers in early modern Spain and the Mediterranean world. While these relations have already been examined from a variety of angles, a focus on the verbal descriptions of religious images in these texts presents an alternative perspective and enriches our understanding of interreligious and multicultural relationships in this time period, opening up new avenues for future research on this topic. After all, the religious images that were witness to all types of interactions between Christians and Muslims in Spain and throughout the *Mare Nostrum* also formed part of this "shared world."

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