

Expulsion of the Muslims from Spain

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Between 1609 and 1614 the Moriscos were expelled from Spain for political and religious reasons. All Morisco communities had to leave their villages in Spain. This event mostly led them to Northern Africa. The Sa'di Kingdom of Morocco and the Ottoman provinces of Algiers and Tunis received many Moriscos, who went through different stages of social integration. Overall, the Moriscos became socially and politically assimilated into foreign groups, especially the 'ulūj. Their contribution to the economic and military development of their North African destinations was quite remarkable.

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Mudéjar Granada

With the conquest of Granada (→ Media Link #ab) in 1491 by the Castilian troops and after the accord of the Capitulations in November of that year by delegates of the Nasrid king Abu 'Abd Allah (known by Christians as Boabdil (died ca. 1527)) (→ Media Link #ac) and by the Catholic Queen Isabel of Castile (1451-1504) (→ Media Link #ad) and King Fernando of Aragon (1452-1516) (→ Media Link #ae), the story of an independent Muslim power in the Iberian Peninsula (→ Media Link #af) had come to an end (→ Media Link #ag). These Capitulations,¹ which granted the defeated the possibility to sell their property and migrate safely to Islamic territory, gave the entire population of Islamic Granada the opportunity to remain on Spanish soil, keeping most of their Islamic legal and religious life (→ Media Link #ah) intact. They had to recognise the authority of the Kings or the noble conquerors, release their Christian captives, pay the ancient taxes to the new lords and deliver all the gunpowder they still might have had. This kind of relationship between the Christian Kings and their new Muslim vassals, commonly known as Mudejarismo (from *mudajjan*, "remained", "domesticated"),² had been used throughout the Middle Ages both in Castile and Aragon and had permitted a continuous and regulated coexistence from the 11th century on, although not free of conflicts. As Isabelle Poutrin (born 1961) (→ Media Link #ai) has pointed out, the text of the Capitulations does not establish a definitive settlement and gives room to future evangelisation attempts on the Muslim people (→ Media Link #aj) of Granada.³

▲ 1

After the departure of Boabdil from the Alhambra fortress (→ Media Link #ak) and the Castilian troops' entry into the city in 1492, the former King, his family and part of the nobility went to the Alpujarras, and later to Morocco. There exists no solid data about the Muslim population that chose to leave Granada for North Africa: certainly a good part of the noble and intellectual élite of the Kingdom left, as had happened during the Middle Ages when Christian conquests advanced. As for the rest of the population, it is broadly estimated that 10,000 people migrated between 1491 and 1493, not including those on

unregistered ships.

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Evangelisation

The Mudéjar formula, which had been used with some success in the rest of the Peninsula, lasted only very briefly in Granada. According to the text of the Capitulations, the Church in Granada had to start evangelisation with soft means and without ever forcing any conversions. This evangelising policy, headed by Fray Hernando de Talavera (1428-1507) (→ Media Link #al), sought to bring Christianity to the *fuqaha* and Granadan society elites, and did not obtain quick results. Talavera was replaced in 1499 by Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros (1436-1517) (→ Media Link #am). He employed a much stronger evangelising policy, with coercive measures towards the Mudéjar elite, and with the anxious hope to convert the children of those who changed to Islam back to the Catholic faith (→ Media Link #an) (Sp. *elches*, Arab. *'ulūj*).⁴

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The actions of Cardinal Cisneros created an atmosphere of tension that culminated in the Morisco rebellion in Albaicín and the Alpujarras, which was harshly put down by the army of the Count of Tendilla. The defeat of the Morisco rebels in 1501 was the trigger for the Christian authorities to allege that Muslims had broken the covenant established in the Capitulations. The same year, the Cardinal gave the order for the enforced baptism of Muslims in Granada, and on 14th February 1502 a Pragmatic ordering the conversion or expulsion of all Mudéjares of the Kingdom of Castile was issued (→ Media Link #ao). However, expulsion only seemed like an alternative, with its severe restrictions regarding the age of the Moriscos (people under 14 could not leave Castile) and the selected place for leaving the country (the Mudéjares could only exit from Spain by the ports of the zone of Biscay). Given the difficulties of such a long and dangerous journey for the Mudéjares and their goods, the Pragmatic actually became an order of forcible conversion.

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Forced Conversion: Now Moriscos

In this manner, Castilian Mudéjares officially became Christians and were later called Moriscos (i.e. with traces of Moor or of Moorish origin). In 1515, when Castile incorporated Navarre into its territory, this measure also affected the Moriscos in that region. In 1525, after the disorders caused by the anti-noble "War of the Brotherhoods" (in Catalan: *Revolta de les Germanies*) in Valencia, which included numerous enforced baptisms of Morisco subjects (property of Lords), an order by King Charles V (1500-1558) (→ Media Link #ap) was issued which required the Muslims of the Crown of Aragon (Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia) to choose between conversion to Christianity or exile.⁵ Again, anyone who wanted to leave was confronted with a serious challenge: the removal from Spain had to be accomplished within a month and take place through the port of La Coruña. The difficulties imposed on the legal journey into exile lead us to believe that the decree wanted the conversion - and not the exile - of the Muslims from the Crown of Aragon.⁶ As a result, many Muslims in Valencia undertook clandestine trips to North Africa, often aided by Barbary corsairs. The number of the escapees (→ Media Link #aq) grew to such an extent that at the end of 1525 provisions to prevent the Valencian Moriscos from leaving their territory were published.

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Thus, from 1526 the Hispanic Muslim population no longer officially existed. Ancient Mudéjares from the various peninsular Kingdoms became Christians (→ Media Link #ar). However, these new *Cristianos Nuevos* ("New Christians", i.e. converted Jews or Muslims or their descendants), as they were called in the terminology of the time, were not easily accepted in the Christian society of the *Cristianos Viejos* ("Old Christians"). The use of the term *Cristianos nuevos* in Spanish society had two main consequences for converts: first, they were constantly under suspicion about the sincerity of their Christian faith, and secondly they were socially discriminated against, and their access to a specific status or trade was banned. The statutes concerning the "purity of blood",⁷ applied since the 15th century, demanded that anyone wishing to enter certain professions or universities or to obtain certain positions had to prove that his lineage was free of an admixture of Jewish or Muslim blood. On the other hand, with the forced conversion, the Islamic faith of the Moriscos, which had obviously not disappeared, became clandestine and was practised only in a safe context.⁸

▲6

Parallel to this situation of social exclusion, Christian authorities considered it necessary to start an intense campaign of evangelization that would help the Muslim converts to familiarize themselves with their new faith. However, the evangelization of the Moriscos, particularly in Granada and Valencia, generally failed owing to many reasons: the lack of knowledge and preparation of the clergy, strictly limited financial resources, poor planning, etc. Frequently, the processes of evangelisation were complemented by the authorities with coercive measures that sought to eliminate all traces of Arabo-Islamic culture, whether they concerned religion or not. Furthermore, a number of prohibitions were published regarding specific clothes, dances, celebrations, the use of Arabic baths (*hammâm*) (→ Media Link #as), Arabic names, etc. The Arabic language was also banned, even for those people who could not speak any other. At the same time, the Moriscos from Granada who were not able to display their titles of property would, under the pressure of Christian settlers, be dispossessed of the land they had farmed for centuries, which generated enormous social tension.⁹

▲7

The first Expulsion

The Moriscos of Granada tried to postpone the enforcement of these bans for much of the 16th century by successive negotiations with the king and the authorities and by the delivery of large amounts of money, which suspended the start of such measures. However, in 1566, King Philip II (1527-1598) (→ Media Link #at) reactivated these repressive measures without any possibility of negotiation. All attempts to revoke, or at least soften them, failed, and their application caused an enormous strain that eventually led to the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras, also known as the Second War of Granada (1568-1571) (→ Media Link #au). The rebellion of the Moriscos from Granada, who declared their independence, named their own king and made public their Islamic faith, caused a wave of fear throughout Spain. After many episodes of brutal confrontations by both sides and the participation of some Turkish and North African elements, the revolt was finally crushed with great harshness by the troops of Don John of Austria (1547-1578) (→ Media Link #av), and the survivors were driven back to Granada.

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Following this, the Moriscos were convicted from Granada. The king ordered the first expulsion of Morisco communities from the Kingdom of Granada and their distribution throughout the Crown territory of Castile in November 1570, with the exception of slaves, officers and *seises* (experts in property of land), those aged over 70 years or under 14 as well as those who had special permission to stay. In a harsh winter, columns of Moriscos took the roads to western Andalusia and northern Castile.¹⁰

▲9

The expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada to western Andalusia and Castile brought them to territories where the resident Moriscos saw this new group of arrivals in a very different light. The expelled Arabic speakers, with a strong Islamic culture, contrasted with the Castilian Moriscos, who were Romance speakers with a low level of Islamic knowledge. Paradoxically, the first expulsion of the Moriscos brought as a result a spread of Arabic and Islam in many places in Castile. After the arrival of Granadians, the appearance of Islamic books in Arabic is recorded in various Castilian areas, where Arabic had not been spoken for a long time and Islam had almost disappeared. These discoveries of Arabic books were a constant, even after the expulsion of the Moriscos.¹¹

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The ultimate Expulsion in 1609

Thus, although the king tried to apply strict retribution to the Moriscos of Granada, the result was that Arabic and Islam were once again present on the peninsula. This fact, together with the growing disappointment about the scarce results of evangelisation and the persistent rumours of conspiracies of Moriscos collaborating with French Protestants or Turks in North Africa, made the Moriscos a focus of attention in the late 16th century. When, at the beginning of the 17th century, it became clear that King Philip III (1578-1621) (→ Media Link #aw) was to sign the truce of the war in Flanders and would therefore remain in a position of political weakness, the State Council discussed on several occasions a proposal of the Duke of Lerma (ca. 1552-1625) (→ Media Link #ax) about the expulsion of all Moriscos from Spain. This radical measure was intended to reinforce the king as a determined monarch and defender of the Catholic Church. In April 1609, just as the truce

was signed, the State Council decided to expel the Moriscos from all the kingdoms of Spain, beginning with the Valencians, who were thought to be the most dangerous once the Granadians had been dispersed.

▲ 11

In September 1609, the order of expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia was proclaimed, and they were shipped to a number of ports in the Mediterranean (→ Media Link #ay). The expulsion began immediately, and in a few months over 100,000 people had embarked to destinations in northern Africa. In January 1610, the expulsion of the Moriscos from Andalusia to Murcia in Extremadura was also ordered. In May and September, the expulsion of the Moriscos of Catalonia and Aragon took place, while in July that of the Moriscos of Castile, Murcia and La Mancha was ordered. These Moriscos could also leave Spain by the French border. The latter expulsion took over four years to be fulfilled, given the dispersion of the Moriscos in these areas and the claim by some local authorities of their good Christian behaviour.

▲ 12

Around 1619 the whole process of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain was considered concluded, although there were still several outstanding issues: the clandestine return of a number of expelled Moriscos, the hidden presence of some Moriscos, the question of the future of many children who remained in Spain under poor conditions, and the resolution of numerous lawsuits brought by Moriscos who claimed that they should not be included in the order of expulsion.¹² The total number of those expelled is still debated by historians, although a figure between 275,000 and 300,000 people expelled or dead during the process is widely accepted, even if there are still elements (clandestine passages, partial records of the expelled, etc.) that can slightly vary this figure.¹³

▲ 13

The Silenced Exile

At the time, the expulsion was officially seen as a triumph of the Spanish monarchy against rebellious subjects and as a punishment by God of those who stood aloof from the true faith. The collection of paintings commissioned by King Philip to a number of Valencian painters (now exhibited in Valencia) confirms this view of providence, which was also shared by a number of religious supporters of the expulsion of the Moors. The expulsion, taken without the permission of Rome,¹⁴ was objected to by a few who preferred that a proper evangelization should have continued. However, shortly after the expulsion, a great silence about the exiled people seemed to prevail in Spain. Even the Spanish theatre, which was the barometer of current issues in Spain, avoided the subject of the expulsion of the Moriscos, as if a kind of self-censorship had imposed itself.¹⁵ In fact, for a long time, historiographers were not interested in the destinations or the integration methods of the exiled Moriscos.¹⁶ Up to the second half of the 20th century, the fate of the expelled Moors has been a sort of enigma.¹⁷

▲ 14

The first modern interest in the exiled Moriscos was usually guided by the study of the specific traces that they left in modern African societies - such was the case of the pioneer work of Hasan Husni Abd al-Wahab (1884-1968) (→ Media Link #az) in Tunisia.¹⁸ From the study of the history of the Morisco presence in Tunisia and, secondarily, in Sa'di Morocco, interest in the Moriscos gradually spread in academic circles of North Africa - being uncommon in Europe until the 1970s¹⁹ and particularly the 1990s.²⁰

▲ 15

There are, of course, some aspects of Morisco history and sociology in North African exile that deserve further research as a whole, beyond the particularities of each country. Although Epalza (1938-2008) (→ Media Link #b0) raised and developed general insights into the inclusion of the Moriscos in the African Islamic societies of the 16th and 17th centuries,²¹ there is a lack of studies on how Islamic policies and specific measures were intended to achieve the desired integration. Another issue in need of further analysis is the construction and use of some Morisco networks which, established in Spain in the 16th century, were still working in Maghrebi and Oriental exile.²²

▲ 16

The Geography of the Morisco Diaspora

The studies focusing on the countries of the Moriscos' arrival have formed the main contribution to our knowledge of their exile. There are still strong differences between the attention paid to Moriscos in different countries, but generally speaking we have a wide overview of what happened to those exiled in the Maghreb. In this study, we will divide the Morisco diaspora into four major areas, according to the main places of settlement.

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Morocco

The settlement of the expelled Moors in Morocco at the beginning of the 17th century occurred to a great extent because of the personal action of Sultan Muley Zaydan (died ca. 1627) (→ Media Link #b1), who sent a punitive expedition against the Bedouin tribes that harassed the Moriscos just as they landed in Africa. It does not seem necessary to stress the continuous political and human relations between Moroccan and Andalusian territories throughout the Middle Ages. From the 9th century onwards, the flow of Andalusian emigrants to Morocco had been almost continuous and intensified, especially during the great Christian conquests of the 13th century. The conquest of Granada in 1492 and the defeat of the inhabitants of Las Alpujarras in 1570 represent two events showing a remarkable Andalusian emigration to Morocco in the Modern Age. The first date marks the exile of an economic and intellectual elite from Granada.²³ Without major problems regarding their integration, this group was soon to be counted among the ruling classes of some important cities, as Gozalbes Busto (1916-1999) (→ Media Link #b2) discovered.²⁴ The second date provoked the migration of middle and lower segments of the Morisco population, who were fleeing from Christian oppression. Their integration depended on their ability to serve the Sa'dian dynasty, which was ruling Morocco at the time. They also had a strong anti-Spanish and anti-Christian component that drove them away from earlier Andalusian *émigrés* to Morocco, as pointed out by Hossain Bouzineb and Busto.²⁵

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These Andalusian emigrations of the 15th and 16th centuries, which were of great importance in the social, cultural and political development of the Maghreb, are not yet well known, as Mercedes García-Arenal (born 1950) (→ Media Link #b3) has pointed out.²⁶ In comparison with the Morisco emigration of the 17th century, the situation of 16th-century Moriscos in Moroccan territories still awaits a systematic study that gives an account of their history and their real social and political weight, beyond the data provided in the general synthesis of Muhammad Razuq (→ Media Link #b4).²⁷

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Moriscos in Morocco often settled near the sultan and took on administrative duties or tasks of protection. They were also well integrated in various military sectors. Among the first group there were Moriscos working on translation tasks, embassies and special missions, etc.²⁸ An example of this was the Morisco Muhammad Alguazir and his polemical anti-Christian work, which was current in the Maghreb and the courts of Europe.²⁹ Another special case was the outstanding figure of Ahmad al-Hayari al-Andalusí, also known as Ahmad ibn Qasim Bejarano (1570-1640) (→ Media Link #b5), from Hornachos in Spain, who was a translator and ambassador of the sultans Ahmad al-Mansur (1549-1603) (→ Media Link #b6) and Muley Zaydan and in close contact with the Moriscos of North Africa and Turkey. He wrote an influential autobiographical book, the *Kitab nasir ad-din 'ala-l-qawm al-kafirin* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel*), and some works in Spanish for the Moriscos in Tunis, dealing not only with his own life, but also with apologetic and polemical religious issues.³⁰ Undoubtedly, the Moriscos in the 17th century reinforced the realm of anti-Christian polemics in Morocco because of their close contact with Christianity while in Spain.³¹

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However, the most preponderant role of the Moriscos in Morocco was to be found in the military sector.³² Although Andalusian or Morisco units existed from the time of sultan Muley ash-Sheikh, it was above all Ahmad Al-Mansur, but also Muley Zaydan, that benefited particularly from both the Moriscos' knowledge of militia and the desire of anti-Hispanic revenge for their situation. In this way, they swelled the ranks of Sa'di armies, usually in coastal fortifications, where they contributed their knowledge of engineering and artillery. They also served in special units nearest to the sultan, a kind of elite corps of tested loyalty exclusive to the sultan. Moriscos integrated into the army were (like the *'ulūj* segment) favourable to the authority which helped to instal them in Morocco, although they always worked for their own benefit as well.

There are no specific figures that accurately quantify the Morisco contingent in the Sa'di armies of the 16th and 17th centuries: sources vary in their numbers, referring to 14,000 Moriscos as part of the artillery (*jaysh min an-nar*) of Sultan 'Abd Allah, and 2,000 to 5,000 Morisco soldiers who participated in subsequent battles. We know more about the qualitative importance of the Andalusian Morisco contribution within the Moroccan armies in the second half of these centuries. Not only were the first bodies of artillery and shotguns in Sa'di hosts integrated by Moriscos during much of the 16th century, but a number of the main governors and officers of the Sa'di army were also of Hispanic origin. Their position and prestige were very solid and based on success in corso activities and on the strength and experience of the units sent. This emphasizes the actions of a figure such as the Morisco al-Dugali,³³ who was capable of deciding the fate of a battle by changing from one side to another, or of plotting a coup against the sultan Ahmad al-Mansur.

▲22

Sultans had, in general, the loyalty of those who had traumatically left their home country, and were becoming the favourite agents of the authority. However, some measures taken by the sultans suggest a certain distrust towards powerful Moriscos, such as training the Zuwawa Berbers in artillery (depriving the Moriscos of their exclusivity), the granting of a greater military and political influence in the army to renegades, or the removal of Moriscos from areas strategically close to power. This was the case with the famous expedition of 1590 to the Sudan, commanded by Chawdar Pasha of Almeria.³⁴ Sent by Sultan al-Mansur, the expedition searched for gold from the Shongai tribe, and has been interpreted as an adventure with no return. The sultan could only benefit from the territorial annexation, the eventually failed acquisition of quantities of gold, and the spatial distance of those Moriscos who could represent a political risk to Marrakech.

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A partially similar reflection could be made on the most spectacular case in the settlement of the Moriscos expelled from Spain: the period of autonomous power of Salé-Rabat, a Morisco-ruled area. Although the influx of Moriscos following the general expulsion of 1609-1615 generated some kind of semi-autonomous settlements elsewhere in Morocco as in Tetuan-Xexauen,³⁵ mainly because of Moroccan political instability, the case of Rabat-Salé was different.³⁶ The population of the port of Salé, which was increasing owing to the first expelled Moriscos, integrated local Moroccan families and *'ulūj*, was dramatically altered by the arrival of the Morisco people of Hornachos. These *hornacheros* were considered very problematic by the Christian authorities of the Peninsula because of their strong internal cohesion as a group, their resistance to any degree of integration into Christian society and their economic status. They settled in large numbers in the port of Salé and quickly took over the organisational power of the city. Thanks to them, the strategic area of Salé soon acquired a specialised activity of maritime trade, especially the practice of corso. The area's economic and political power gradually increased to the point where the *hornacheros* initially felt so strong that they started direct political negotiations with several European countries, including Spain.³⁷

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Tensions arose between the *hornacheros* and the inhabitants of Salé as each group accused the other with not being good Muslims. Further, both had to deal with the growing power of Sultan Muley Rashid (ca. 1630-1672) (→ Media Link #b7) which eventually caused Salé-Rabat to lose its autonomy completely. At the end of the 1660s, the city was integrated into Moroccan sovereignty. The case of the Moriscos from Hornachos in Salé is atypical compared with the other destinations of Moriscos in the Maghreb, because it represents the only attempt of those expelled from Spain to create structures that responded to their interests beyond the political circumstances of the land in which they arrived.

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As noted, the historical circumstances made Morocco a place with a continuous flow of Andalusian people settling in its territory. The persistent presence of people from the Iberian Peninsula makes the study of the probable Morisco heritage in the Moroccan society of the 16th and 17th centuries a field with fairly diffuse limits: particularly because of their unproblematic integration into Moroccan society, it is very difficult to distinguish at times whether we are facing an Andalusian trace or a specifically Morisco one. On the other hand, close relations with Spain, with continuous migration to the one or the other side of the coast until today, make it difficult to date exactly the introduction of certain Spanish traits (hispanisms in language, gastronomy, folklore, etc.) in Morocco.³⁸ It is possible, however, to find clear traces in

anthroponomy, with the century-old preservation of various Hispanic Morisco names, studied by Muhammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim (1924-2014) (→ Media Link #b8) and, in greater detail, by Guillermo Gozábez Busto.³⁹ There are also architectural and urban traces directly deriving from the expulsion of Moriscos, such as the plan of the city of Rabat, with rectilinear streets, and houses with roofs or the absence of roof terraces in Tetuan, another city strongly influenced by the Moriscos at the beginning of the 17th century. Other possible fields of influence and heritage by the Moors, presented to Morocco by Muhammad Razuq (agriculture, crafts, apparel, music, etc.), still await studies with more detail and a proper chronological dimension.

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Algiers

The fate of the Moriscos who settled in the Ottoman *wilaya* of Algiers, after landing in Oran, is, because of the scarce documentation found until now, far less established than that of those in Morocco or Tunisia.⁴⁰ The corsair brothers who encouraged the Morisco emigrations from Spain in the first half of the 16th century established them as an important social element of their authority. Loyal to them and with furious hatred against Christians, the Moriscos, like the renegades, helped the Ottomans to rule a turbulent zone.

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It is not necessary to stress the proximity of the Spanish Mediterranean shores with Algiers: the coast became a real bridge between Europe and North Africa. Throughout the 16th century, corsairs located in Algiers or Cherchell continuously plundered Levantine ports and settlements, often with the complicity of the local Morisco populations, who, after the attack, left by ship to a new life in a Muslim environment. The Barbarossa brothers and their successors continually encouraged these defections. Often, these actions served to increase the size of their military forces or to provide the corsair ships with new men who had the enormous advantage of being great connoisseurs of the enemies' coasts and spoke their language. For example, in 1501, Andalusians settled in the fertile plains of Algiers and Blida at the command of the Algerian authorities, and in 1551 rulers of Algiers had accumulated 5,000 Morisco shooters in the army. This shows that Algiers embraced Moriscos before the great expulsion, albeit not as systematically as Morocco. They helped to bring about a great economic, industrial and military boost,⁴¹ as attested by Antonio de Sosa (died 1587) (→ Media Link #b9), a companion of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) (→ Media Link #ba) during his captivity in Algiers.⁴² Further, the Moriscos were particularly hostile towards the Spaniards, and attacked them with violent force in Algerian corsairs' areas:

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The fourth type of Moors are those who came over to these parts, and still do, from the kingdoms of Granada, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. They come with their wives and children via Marseilles and other ports in France, from where they embark at will, the French taking them in their ships. All these Moors divide into two castes, coming from different parts: those who are called Mudéjares are Moors only from Granada and Andalucia, whereas the Moors known as Tagarinos hail from Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia. All these Moors are white and well-proportioned, like people either born in or coming from Spain.

And because they all know some type of craft, they practise many diverse occupations. Some make arquebuses, gunpowder, or saltpeter; others are blacksmiths, carpenters, or builders; still others are tailors, shoemakers, potters, and similar craftsmen. Many of these Moors make silk, and some manage shops where they sell notions of every kind. But all these Moriscos are generally the foremost and most cruel enemies of us Christians in Barbary, because they can never get enough Christian blood, nor do they ever lose the great hunger and thirst in their vitals for it. These Moors all dress in the mode and manner of Turks, as we shall discuss later. There might be as many as one thousand houses of all these people in Algiers.⁴³

With the great expulsion and the massive arrival of Moriscos in Algiers, especially from Valencia, the Ottoman authorities began to implement a policy that was not only considered as pious, but would result in political, military and economic benefits for the Ottomans as well.⁴⁴ Along with Islamised Europeans, the Moriscos were classified as an ethnically differentiated group with close ties to the Turkish leaders, and set apart from the semi-nomadic tribes and the indigenous urban population. This form of social plurality, maintained by the Sublime Porte,⁴⁵ managed to increase the dependence and loyalty of these minorities to the Ottomans as the only leaders capable of defending the common Islamic tradition and the plural nature of the social order.⁴⁶

Controlled by the Ottomans, the general distribution of the expelled Moriscos in Algiers shows approximately the same trends as in Morocco. They were installed in ports to work both as shipwrights and corsairs, in the inland of the country (Tlemcen) and, especially, in Algiers and other major cities,⁴⁷ where, according to de Sosa, there was a very high concentration of Moriscos.⁴⁸

In the proximity of Algiers, in the Mitidja plain, Moriscos settled in the agricultural areas around the cities, in the hills or in the valleys, around the cities of Blida and Kolea, as attested by F. Ximénez in the 18th century. Algiers benefited enormously from the Moriscos' agricultural knowledge, as they were handling the most fertile areas of the country more profitably than the indigenous population. Foreign travellers confirmed the fertility of the Moriscos' agricultural colonies in the surroundings of the cities, as well as the diversity and abundance of products due to their agricultural skills.⁴⁹ With the settlement of the Valencian Moriscos in these fertile areas of Algiers, the agricultural subsistence economy, which was common for indigenous groups, shifted to an agricultural market activity. This allowed Moriscos to integrate quickly into the socio-economic development of Algiers and to participate in its splendour.⁵⁰ In general, the fact that Arabic-speaking Valencians were by far the most numerous group of Moriscos in Algiers contributed greatly to their integration into Algerian Arab society.⁵¹

Tunisia

The emigration of the Moriscos and their settlement in the Ottoman Regency of Tunisia is by far the best known of all the exiles suffered by the Morisco community.⁵² Tunisia, like the entire Maghreb, received throughout the Middle Ages a continuum of Andalusian immigrants. Nevertheless, it was not until the 13th century, with the Hafsid dynasty and during the great crisis of al-Andalus against Christian armies, that a remarkable number of Andalusians arrived. However, the multiple Christian attacks suffered by Tunisia during the 16th century and the government imposed by the Spaniards after the occupation of La Goulette and other ports (→ Media Link #bb), brought about an inevitable decline of the Tunisian society. After regaining La Goulette in 1573, the Ottomans slowly began to restructure the country.

These events might explain why the Andalusian Mudejars and Moriscos, who left the Iberian Peninsula following the fall of Granada in 1492, did not migrate to Tunisia during the 16th century. In Tunisia, most of the Moriscos arrived suddenly: about 80,000 Moriscos, above all from Aragon and Castile, came between 1609 and 1614 via Algeria and France. Their origins meant that they were the more Hispanicised Moriscos of the Peninsula, and more difficult to assimilate within a completely different society.⁵³

The Moriscos reached Tunisia initially from Oran and, in a second massive wave, from Marseilles and other ports in France, and also from Venice.⁵⁴ In Marseilles, a Morisco shopkeeper who had settled there, Jerónimo Enríquez (→ Media Link #bc), acted as a leader for the Moriscos, pleading in France on their behalf and negotiating with Ottoman authorities about their distribution in Islamic lands. In 1610, Enríquez led the expelled Moriscos to the Regency of Tunisia, where greater opportunities of settlement could be offered. Sultan Ahmad I (1590-1617) (→ Media Link #bd) asked French and Venetian authorities to provide for the Moriscos' journey to Tunisia, probably through the intercession of the same Enríquez.⁵⁵ The sultan also negotiated with Tunisian local authorities, ordering in a peremptory manner that migrants were to be well treated and that they should receive enough sustenance.

In Tunisia, two personalities seem to have been mainly responsible for the good reception and distribution of the Moriscos in the country. The first was Uthman Dey, a representative of the Turkish authority, who arranged a series of economic and military measures to facilitate their settlement (protection against the tribes, exemption of taxes, etc.), seeing them as an ideal means to reboost the economy in the area and to secure their loyalty, particularly because of the occasional instability

of the indigenous population. However, these measures were to be revoked by his successor, the vigorous Yusuf Dey, who, despite continuing his predecessor's positive reception policy, seems to have had a more ambiguous attitude toward the Moriscos of Tunisia. The second helper was the pious Abul-Gayth Al-Qashshash (ca. 1550-1622) (→ Media Link #be), a religious figure who was sorry for the bad conditions under which their co-religionists crossed the sea.⁵⁶ He ordered the building of mosques for them, forced the Tunisians to admit the Moriscos into their homes, and supported, without reservation, religious instruction in their original language, Castilian. It is agreed that the combined actions of the Deys and Al-Qashshash facilitated the Moriscos' access to accommodation and eased their arrival in Tunisia significantly.⁵⁷ Probably for this reason, the Morisco community in Tunisia was well structured and, with the consent of the Regency's authority, had its own "Sheikh of Andalusians", who acted as head of the Moriscos against the Dey.⁵⁸

▲ 35

The places where the Moriscos settled in Tunisia were dictated by the Ottoman authorities and did not differ much from the designated geographical and strategic locations of the Moriscos in Algeria. It is possible that the Ottoman authorities took their past experiences from the neighbouring province into account. In the capital, Tunis, some wealthy families settled near the Alcazaba, while craftspeople occupied the old part of the city and some farmers used the vegetable gardens on the outskirts, such as the area of "La Biga" (Span. "La Vega").

▲ 36

In several rural areas with special fertility, as in the Valley of the Medjerda River, on the Northern Plains of the country or next to the mountain of Zaghouan, the Moriscos founded agricultural colonies which strongly contrasted with the traditional North African urban models. Even today, villages like Testour, Grombalia or Qalat al-Andalus represent urban and architectural peculiarities (i.e. straight and crisscrossed streets, a main square in the centre, houses with roofs or windows on to the street) that link them with the Spanish towns from which the Moriscos came.⁵⁹ In these villages, a new way of dealing with irrigation and agriculture, which the Moriscos imported from the Peninsula, was introduced. Starting in the second half of the 17th century, the agricultural development of Tunisia, with an optimum use of water pipes, depended greatly on the activities of these Moriscos, who made Tunisia one of the better supplied countries of the Maghreb.⁶⁰

▲ 37

In Tunisia, an atmosphere of Spanish and Arabic culture, which was producing interesting works, could be detected among the Moriscos.⁶¹ The Moriscos in Tunisia faced a problem, as they wanted to continue and even intensify their religious instruction in Spanish and not in Arabic, the sacred language in Islam. Once the legitimacy of using their own language to deal with Islamic theology was approved by Abu-l-Gayth Al-Qashshash, a group of Moriscos prepared translations from Arabic and composed a series of Islamic doctrinal treatises and polemic works in Spanish to help their co-religionists with their faith.⁶²

▲ 38

The Morisco legacy in Tunisia, unlike that in Morocco or Algiers, has left a distinguishable impact and impact on the Tunisian national identity.⁶³ More isolated and identifiable than their compatriots elsewhere and therefore less assimilated, their traces spread in Tunisia in a variety of ways. The language of the Moriscos is one of the first items that mark the Moriscos' heritage in Tunisia.⁶⁴ The Castilian language brought from Spain remained alive until the 18th century and has been preserved until today as the specialized language of the handicraft of the *chéchia*, or Tunisian bonnet.⁶⁵ This craft, monopolized and revitalized by Moriscos in the 17th century, took much of its vocabulary from Spanish, probably because these Morisco craftsmen imposed their language as a way to prevent access to this activity to people without Andalusian lineage. There is also a linguistic influence detectable in the vocabulary of Tunisian agriculture, especially in the area of the Medjerda River, where several groups of Moriscos were appointed to live and develop the farming of the country. Within the scope of family and social rites it is also possible to find Hispanic linguistic traces.⁶⁶

▲ 39

Besides these linguistic traces, the Morisco heritage is still alive in certain areas of Tunisian life such as food, weddings, games or legends. The Moriscos that arrived from Spain in the 17th century helped in some way to build modern Tunisia, and some families still proudly recall their lineage.⁶⁷

▲ 40

The Moriscos' Settlements in other Parts of the Islamic World

The Moriscos also managed to establish themselves as a more or less homogeneous group in Turkey. Istanbul had been a destination for exiles throughout the 16th century, although we do not yet have exact data to calculate the number of Moriscos who settled there.⁶⁸ Nor do we know much about the characteristics of their stay, although from some documents we can assume that their integration was similar to that of the North African Regencies: minorities that were faithful to the authority contributed to the stability of the country and fought against dangerous groups.⁶⁹ It seems, however, that they left no permanent mark in Turkey. We also know cases of Moriscos in Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Asia Minor, and even in America; but they are almost always about Morisco individuals, or perhaps a family, moving away from the main destinations of the Morisco diaspora.

▲41

In their diaspora, the Moriscos relied heavily on the plans designed for them by the authorities of Islamic countries, especially the Ottoman Empire. Being foreign Muslims in these countries, their integration into Maghrebi societies usually ranged between maintaining the group's own personality and contributing to the Muslim societies that welcomed them. Thus, in many of the areas in which they settled, there is still a detectable Morisco legacy with several Hispanic traits.

▲42

Luis F. Bernabé Pons (→ Media Link #bg)

Appendix

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Notes

1. ^ Text of the Capitulations in Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones* 1910, pp. 273-288; abridged text in García-Arenal, *Los moriscos* 1975, pp. 19-28.
2. ^ Guastavino Gallent, *À propos du sens et des dimensions sociales* 1974, pp. 19-26; Maíllo, *Acerca del uso* 1988, pp. 103-112; García, *En torno al término 'mudéjar'* 2004, pp. 19-26.
3. ^ Poutrin, *Los derechos* 2008-2010, pp. 11-34.
4. ^ Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada* 2007, pp. 69-86, pp. 187-223, pp. 303-325.
5. ^ Sánchez-Blanco, *¿Cristianos o bautizados* 2000, pp. 11-36; Poutrin, *La conversion des musulmans* 2008, pp. 819-855; Poutrin, *L'Église et les consentements arrachés* 2010, pp. 489-508.
6. ^ Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones* 2001.
7. ^ Sicroff, *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre* 1985.
8. ^ Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* 2005, pp. 102-121.
9. ^ See the preliminary study by B. Vincent to the work of A. Gallego Burín and A. Gámir Sandoval: Vincent, *Estudio preliminar* (introductory essay) 1996, pp. IX-LII. Here he edited and studied the Memorandum of the Morisco noble Francisco Núñez Muley about these features of the Morisco community as cultural and not Islamic.
10. ^ Approximately 80,000 people were expelled from Granada. Illness, exhaustion and the terrible winter decimated the Moriscos. Approximately 13,000 Moriscos may have died before arriving at their destinations. Just a few months after their departure, the authorities began to detect clandestine returns of Moriscos, which were punished with new deportation orders in 1576 and 1578. However, given the evidence of continuing returns, often with the collaboration of local authorities, a new recount of Moriscos in 1580 showed up to 8,700 people present in the Kingdom of Granada. In November 1583, the king issued a new edict which ordered all Moriscos in the kingdom to be expelled from Granada, whatever their age, with the exception of those licensed by the king to remain. See Vincent, *La expulsión de los moriscos* 1985, pp. 215-266; Sánchez-Blanco, *El destino de los moriscos vencidos* 2000, pp. 583-607; Garrido, *La expulsión de los moriscos* 2002, pp. 19-38.
11. ^ See as examples Hofman Vannus, *El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña* 2007, pp. 593-604; García-Arenal, *The Orient in Spain* 2013.
12. ^ Owing to the more or less rapid departure of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia, from the 17th century the myth of the perfect organisation of the expulsion spread as evidence of the great state machinery of the Spain of Philip III. But experts have corrected this image, showing how the preparation was disappointing and how improvisation had a great role in later stages of the process. M. Lomas has recently published a very valuable work on the process of the expulsion of the Moriscos, which shows with an astonishing bulk of documentation the lack of a global plan by the Spanish authorities: Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de expulsión de los moriscos de España* 2012.
13. ^ Vincent, *The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion* 2014, pp. 19-36.
14. ^ Pastore, *Rome and the Expulsion* 2014, pp. 132-155.
15. ^ Pedraza-Jiménez, *La expulsión de los moriscos en el teatro áureo* 2010, pp. 179-200.
16. ^ Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico* 1983; Márquez Villanueva, *El problema historiográfico de los moriscos* 1984, pp. 61-135 (also in Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)* 1991, pp. 98-195).
17. ^ Some notable and interesting exceptions were illustrated by travellers like J. A. Peyssonnel, (*Voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger* 1838); diplomats (Morgan, *Mahometism fully explained* 1723; scholars of Arabic such as Pascual de Gayangos, (*Language and Literature of the Moriscos* 1839, pp. 63-95); and missionaries, such as the very special case of the Trinitarian father Francisco Ximénez (Epalza, *Nuevos documentos sobre descendientes de moriscos* 1984, pp. 195-228; García-Arenal, *Notas a las traducciones manuscritas de F. Ximénez* 1985, pp. 525-533; Álvarez Dopico, *La Colonia Trinitaria de Francisco Ximénez* 2011, pp. 105-168).
18. ^ Abdul-Wahab, *Coup d'oeil général sur les apports ethniques étrangers en Tunisie* 1917, pp. 305-316, pp. 371-379

(also in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* XVIII (1970), pp. 150-169).

19. ^ Oliver Asín, *Un morisco de Túnez: admirador de Lope* 1933, pp. 409-456; Oliver Asín, *El Quijote de 1604* 1948, pp. 89-126; Marçais, *Testour et sa grande mosquée* 1942, pp. 147-169; Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé* 1946, pp. 19-20; Colin, *Projet de traité* 1955, pp. 17-26; Harvey, *The Morisco who was Muley Zeydan's interpreter* 1959, pp. 67-97; Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian Immigration* 1957, pp. 203-252.
20. ^ Epalza, *Los moriscos* 1992; Moliner Prada, *La expulsión de los Moriscos* 2009; García-Arenal, *Los moriscos* 2013.
21. ^ Epalza, *Estructuras de acogida de los moriscos emigrantes de España* 1996, pp. 35-58; Epalza, *Les structures d'accueil des exilés andalous* 2001, pp. 83-98.
22. ^ López de Coca Castaner, *Granada y el Magreb* 1988, pp. 409-451; Gozálbos Busto, *La sociedad granadina-nasrí en el exilio* 1989, pp. 165-181 (see also Gozálbos Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos* 1992, pp. 41-53).
23. ^ López de Coca Castaner, *Granada y el Magreb* 1988, pp. 409-451; Gozálbos Busto, *La sociedad granadina-nasrí en el exilio* 1989, pp. 165-181 (see also Gozálbos Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos* 1992, pp. 41-53).
24. ^ Gozálbos Busto, *Al-Mandari, el Granadino* 1988, pp. 141-159; Latham, *The reconstruction of Tetuan* 1965, pp. 387-408; Gozálbos Busto, *La presencia morisca en Tetuán* 2010, pp. 182-200.
25. ^ Bouzineb, *Los moriscos en Marruecos* 1999, pp. 611-621; Gozálbos Busto, *Aspectos sociales* 1993, pp. 307-332.
26. ^ García-Arenal, *Los andalusíes en el ejército sa'dí* 1984, pp. 169-202.
27. ^ Razuq, *Al-Andalusiyūn* 1989.
28. ^ This group of moriscos has been studied by Gerard A. Wieggers, who has stressed the religious and intellectual component in the Moroccan embassies to the Netherlands. See Wieggers, *European converts* 2001, pp. 207-223; Wieggers, *Learned Moriscos and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* 1996, pp. 405-417.
29. ^ Wieggers, *The andalusī heritage in the Maghrib* 1997, pp. 107-132; Wieggers, *La diáspora morisca en el Magreb* 1998, pp. 90-121.
30. ^ Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn* 2015; Wieggers, *A life between Europe and the Magrib* 1993, pp. 87-115.
31. ^ Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos* 1979, pp. 161-172; Wieggers, *Muhammad as the Messiah* 1995, pp. 245-291.
32. ^ Rachidi, *La présence des Andalusis (Moriscos)* 1995, pp. 575-590; Jadour, *Les morisques et le transfert des techniques militaires au Maroc* 2010, pp. 357-366.
33. ^ García-Arenal, *Vidas exemplares* 1988, pp. 453-485.
34. ^ López Guzmán, *Yuder Pachá y la conquista de Sudán* 1991, pp. 5-6; Villar Raso, *Las Españas perdidas* 1999; Villar Raso, *Las gestas de Yuder Pachá* 2003, pp. 82-93; Diadié Haidara, *El bajá Yawdar* 1993.
35. ^ Gozálbos Busto, *Presencia de los moriscos en Tetuán y Xauen* 1984, pp. 361-374; Gozálbos Busto, *Personajes moriscos en el Tetuán del siglo XVII* 1991, pp. 155-170; Gozálbos Busto, *Tetuán del siglo del Mandari al siglo de los Naqsis (Del XVI al XVII)* 1992, pp. 19-38.
36. ^ Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé* 1946, pp. 19-20; Gozálbos Busto, *La república andaluza de Rabat en el siglo XVII* 1974, pp. 9-464; Sánchez Pérez, *Los moriscos de Hornachos, corsarios de Salé* 1964, pp. 93-146; Maziane, *Salé au XVIIIe siècle, terre d'asile morisque sur le littoral Atlantique marocain* 2009, pp. 359-372.
37. ^ Colin, *Projet de traité* 1955, pp. 17-26; Bouzineb, *'Plática' en torno* 1994, pp. 47-59.
38. ^ Gozálbos Busto, *Huellas andalusíes* 1977, pp. 67-110; Albarracín Navarro, *Joyas moriscas andalusíes* 1993, pp. 57-68.
39. ^ Gozálbos Busto, *Notas sobre la tradición oral morisca en Tetuán* 1982, pp. 101-104; Gozálbos Busto, *Antroponimia morisca en Marruecos*, 1992, pp. 55-92; Gozálbos Busto, *Antroponimia morisca en Marruecos durante los últimos treinta años* 1995, pp. 97-115.
40. ^ Only Saidouni tried to present an overall balance of the role exercised by the Moriscos in Algiers, while Epalza studied the role of the Moriscos as a special tool of the policy of the Barbarossa brothers. Saidouni, *Les morisques dans la province d'Alger 'Dar-es-Soltan'* 1994, pp. 140-146; Epalza, *Papel político de los moriscos* 2001, pp. 201-232; Epalza, *Moriscos contra Carlos V* 2001, pp. 469-485.
41. ^ Khiari, *Une communauté 'résurgente'* 1993, pp. 119-132.
42. ^ His "*Topographia e Historia General de Argel*" was edited in 1612 under the authorship of Diego de Haedo. For centuries this name has remained as that of its true author. But the studies of Emilio Sola, José María Parreño and Garcés have shown that this was a false attribution, the true author being Antonio de Sosa, a Portuguese captive in Algiers at the same time as Cervantes. See Sola, *Antonio de Sosa* 1990, pp. 409-412; Sola / Parreño, *Introducción a Antonio de Sosa* 1990, pp. 26-52; Garcés, *Cervantes en Argel* 2005, pp. 139-143. The book is a fundamental source for 16th century Algiers and society and life under the Ottomans. It has been edited and translated into English by María Antonia Garcés and Diana de Armas Wilson (*Sosa, Early Modern Dialogue with Islam* 2011) and into French by D. Monnereau and A. Berbrugger (*Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger*, Saint-Denis, 1998).
43. ^ I use the translation of D. de Armas Wilson: *Sosa, Early Modern Dialogue with Islam* 2011, pp. 122-123.
44. ^ Epalza, *Los otomanos et l'insertion au Maghreb* 1983, pp. 165-173.

45. ^ Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier* 1978.
46. ^ Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman face au problème morisque* 1981, pp. 249-262.
47. ^ Missoum, *Présence andalouse* 1993, pp. 505-515.
48. ^ Missoum, "Inmigración andalusí 2009, pp. 303-318.
49. ^ Brahimi, "Quelques jugements sur les maures andalous 1970, pp. 34-51.
50. ^ Cities like Blida, Kolea, Bona, etc. soon became the agricultural capitals of Algiers and remained so for several centuries for the Morisco owners and their descendants. In these places the prices of agricultural products that fed the capital were stipulated. Bernabé Pons / Epalza, *Els moriscos valencians 1988-1989*, pp. 7-221.
51. ^ Very little is known about the cultural life of the Moriscos in Algiers. However, it is known that the Moriscos in Algiers maintained a religious controversy with Christians that were prisoners there or missionaries that lived there. One example is the case of Alí Medina, famed as a great sage and cited by Sosa, or Ibrahim of Bolfad, who wrote an anti-Christian text in Castilian, preserved by the commentary of another Morisco in Tunisia. (Mami, *El manuscrito morisco* 2002.)
52. ^ On the one hand, the Morisco community in Tunisia has been studied with scholarly depth from the first half of the 20th century, in a pioneer work of H. H. 'Abd al - Wahab. The academic study of the Morisco group installed in Tunisia was revisited by the British scholar J. D. Latham, and later by M. de Epalza. Parallel to this scholarly initiative, a group of Tunisian researchers led by the archaeologist, historian and academic Slimane-Mustafa Zbiss began to study material, cultural, and folkloric traces of the Moriscos in Tunisia. All these studies have formed a remarkable bibliographical corpus that encompasses virtually all aspects of the history of the Moriscos in Tunisia. On the other hand, for social and historical reasons the Morisco community settled in Tunisia was a group well-defined and distinguishable within Tunisian society in the 17th century; its integration into the rest of society is substantial, in such a way that, even centuries after the expulsion, descendants of Moriscos in Tunisia still retained some distinctive features. See Epalza, *Trabajos actuales* 1978, pp. 427-446.
53. ^ However, some cases of robberies of Moriscos embarked on French vessels give us the dates of arrival of Moriscos in Tunisia prior to 1609. If we take a look at one of those cases, the so-called Estienne affair, we can see how, in the claim presented by the Morisco at the French Consulate in Tunisia, they were all represented by three Moriscos from Granada who already lived there well before the date of the expulsion. It remains open to debate whether there were regular emigrations to Tunisia before the great expulsion, albeit on a small scale. These first migrants might have acted as a sort of bridgehead for those who would come after. Cardaillac, *Procès pour abus contre les morisques en Languedoc* 1973, pp. 103-113.
54. ^ Cardaillac, *A propósito del paso de los moriscos por el Languedoc* 1995, pp. 141-145; Santoni, *Le passage des Morisques en Provence* 1996, pp. 333-383; Alaoui, *The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion* 2014, pp. 239-267.
55. ^ Temimi, *Une lettre du Soltan Ottoman Ahmed 1er au Doge de Venise* 1977, pp. 259-261; Temimi, *Le passage de morisques à Marseille* 1989, pp. 33-52 ; Temimi, *Politique ottomane face à l'expulsion des Morisques* 1995, pp. 675-698.
56. ^ Piéri, *L'accueil par des tunisiens aux morisques expulsés d'Espagne* 1968, pp. 63-70; Epalza, *Sidi Bulgayz, protector de los moriscos exiliados en Túnez* 1999-2002, pp. 141-172.
57. ^ Nevertheless, the interconnections of the Morisco groups with different social groups surrounding them still requires analysis. We have little data about the quality of the Moriscos' relationships within society, but there seems to have been a certain mutual distrust between the Tunisian natives and the Moriscos. We also know of a certain connection, difficult to calibrate, between several of these Morisco exiles and the sharif nobility in Tunisia. See Bernabé Pons, *La nación en lugar seguro* 2009 pp. 107-118.
58. ^ One Granadian merchant, Luis Zapata, was the first, followed several decades later by Mustafa de Cárdenas (Diego de Cárdenas in Spain), a rich landowner, merchant and owner of slaves who arrived in Tunisia from France. Cárdenas was a leading figure in Morisco political life during much of the 17th century. After him, though the title remained, this post suffered a decline until its demise in the 19th century. See M. de Epalza, *Moriscos y andalusies en Túnez* 1969, pp. 247-327; Latham, *Muṭṭafa de Cardenas* 1983, pp. 157-177.
59. ^ Sayari, *Origine du paysage andalou dans le Nord-Ouest tunisien* 2009, pp. 319-336.
60. ^ Saadaoui, *Etablissement des Morisques Andalous en Maghreb* 1984; Gafsi-Slama, *Analyse des archives générales* 1978, pp. 109-121; Kassab, *L'évolution d'un village 'andalous'* 1973, pp. 359-368; Villanueva Zubizarreta, *The Moriscos in Tunisia* 2014, pp. 357-387.
61. ^ Bernabé Pons, *La literatura en español de los moriscos en Túnez* 2004, pp. 449-464.
62. ^ Some names of these Morisco authors have been passed on: the Toledan Ibrahim Taybilí (in Spain, Juan Perez), the aforementioned Al-Hayari, the hanafi mufti of the Al-Zaytuna mosque, Ahmad Al-Hanafi, himself of Spanish origin, and Ibn 'Abd al-Rafi', who composed a work in Arabic about the ancestry of the nobility of the "Hispanic sharif-s". One of the most interesting aspects of these manuscripts, apart from representing the extent of the Islamic re-

instruction of the Moriscos, is their historical and autobiographical content. This last fact seems surprising, showing the Moriscos integrated on a non-negligible Hispanic cultural level, as citizens who had acquired a good cultural Spanish background. Bernabé Pons, *El Cántico islámico* 1988; Bernabé Pons, *L'écrivain morisque hispano-tunisien* Ibrahim Taybili 2001, pp. 249-271; Galmés de Fuentes, *Tratado de los dos caminos* 2005; Wiegers, *The Expulsion of 1609-1614* 2014, pp. 389-412.

63. ^ Most of these traces had been collected and analysed in two books: Epalza, *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie* 1973 and Zbiss, *Etudes sur les Morisques Andalous* 1983. Thirty years later, the need for a renewal of this re-collection of works is clear.
64. ^ Bernabé Pons, *Sociolingüística de los moriscos expulsados* 1994, pp. 380-383.
65. ^ Teyssier, *Le vocabulaire d'origine espagnole* 1962, pp. 732-740.
66. ^ Epalza / Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez* 2011.
67. ^ Turki, *Personnalité de l'Andalou-Morisque* 1995, pp. 699-708.
68. ^ Krstić, *Moriscos in Ottoman Galata* 2014, pp. 269-285.
69. ^ Epalza, *Instalación de moriscos en Anatolia* 1996, pp. 145-157.

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
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