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Living on the Edge: The Manuscript of Ocaña and the Production of an Islamic Space in Early Modern Spain

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Whether the manuscript is something we wish to read word by word and line by line, treating it as a script for a performance already enacted by some medieval reader, or whether it is something we wish to locate, reconstructing a lost social network of provenance and production, the manuscript must be the object of intense fascination for it to be studied.[*]

[*] Jonathan Culler, 'The Manuscript as a Fetish,' in Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen (eds.), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 201-2.

ABSTRACT

Before their expulsion from Spain in the early seventeenth century, Muslims would hide their books inside the walls of their houses to evade the castigation of the Christian Inquisition. The manuscript under study is an anonymous pocket-size Islamic compendium written in Arabic, excavated in Ocaña (Toledo) in 1969 from the wall of a house in restoration. More than five centuries old, this manuscript is a rare testimony of the survival of both Arabic and Islam until the early sixteenth century in Castile, despite the efforts of the Christian Crown to ban the language and eradicate the religion. The choice of this manuscript is driven by the recognition of its value as the epitome of the resistance of the Muslim minority in Spain at a transitional period of its history under Christian rule. It materialises their journey from the secluded Mudejar districts pushed to the outskirts of cities to the underground Morisco households lurking under surveillance.

Examined as both an artefact and a text, this codex proves to be a multi-layered manuscript matrix, carefully designed to produce a space of interstice between the ideal Islamic construction of the universe, at the centre of which stands the Muslim community, and the reality of their marginalisation and persecution in early modern Spain. This thesis is an endeavour to offer a comprehensive multi-disciplinary study of an invaluable historical token that belongs to a private collection, nowadays inaccessible to the researcher. Its first part offers a thick description of the text-object in an attempt to reconstruct its life-cycle, relying on the available historical data about the crypto-Muslim community and their secret manuscript culture. The manuscript of Ocaña, the practical sermon-guide, once used to instruct the audience, turned into a sacred inscribed relic that survived the fire of biblioclasm and outlived its owners. The second part then turns to an analysis of the features of the space created in the compilation. The construction of the universe, fragile as it might seem, proves to be sustained by a strong ethical system based on the fear of God and His retribution. Most of the spaces represented in the manuscript are liminal, suspended between the Here and the Hereafter to dramatise the reverberations between the macrocosm and the microcosm and constantly remind the believers of death and the Last Judgement. Life and Afterlife are portrayed as permeable spaces that have a synchronised existence at a time when the End is looming ahead.

The exploration of the spatial pattern that unfolds in the text and its ethical dimensions and rhetorical undertones is a lens to grasp the worldview of the marginalised community, the mechanisms of their momentary survival in a structured space-within-a space, and the reasons for their ultimate disappearance. It is argued that the denial of their right to publicly practise their religion in a space of their own led the crypto-Muslims who chose to remain in their land to gradually lose their language and religious rituals. When the ideal Islamic space of the manuscript could no longer be represented in everyday life, and the sense of a shared community vanished with the domestication of religion, the end of Islam in Spain was an inevitable consequence. Religion, unlike faith, is communal, public, performative, and material. It needs a physical space to survive or else will become, like this manuscript, a text that can no longer be read. In using a largely untapped primary source of documents written in Arabic, this project will contribute to the growing body of research on similar codices, to complicate the Inquisition records and other state archival documents in the recovery of the forgotten period in the history of Spanish Islam.

DEDICATION

To Nader, the One and Only Companion;

Iris, the Guiding Star;

My father, the one who sowed Light in my Chest,

so I can walk in the Dark…

Here is the End of the Journey, and its Beginning…

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I cannot thank enough all those who offered me invaluable moral support: my mother who believed in me and has never ceased to encourage my quest for knowledge; my sister Nada; Dr. Selima Lejri, my teacher and friend; my Tunisian friends, with whom I share my most cherished memories, Emna Chaabouni, Dhouha Bokri, Wael Ellouze, and Soumaya Boughanmi; my international fellows, the Fulbright alumnae, who have become my family since we met in the USA in 2012; my German friend, Maylin Lübeck, whom I met in Oviedo; and my TEEME fellows, especially Alexandra Kocsis, who was my only companion for a year at Kent, and Maryam Ala Amjadi, who took the care of constantly checking on me, and of whom I learnt a lot throughout this long, strenuous journey.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Archives:

ADC	Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca
ADT	Archivo de Toledo
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cuenca
AHPT	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo
AMC	Archivo Municipal de Cuenca
BCB	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
BCM	Biblioteca Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo
BL	The British Library
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BPT	Biblioteca Provincial de Toledo
BRM	Biblioteca Real de Madrid, also known as Biblioteca del Palacio
BTNT	Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás: Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC)
EPZ	Escuelas Pías de Zaragoza
NLM	National Library of Malta
RAH	Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia
RGS	Registro General del Sello
SLE	Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid
UUL	Uppsala University Library
VL	The Vatican Library

Encyclopedias:

EAL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*
EMIC	*Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*
EIMW	*Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*
ODI	*Oxford Dictionary of Islam*

Other abbreviations:

AH	*Anno Hegirae (*in the year of the *Hijra*), referring to Muhammad's migration from Mecca to Yaṯrib (Medina*)* that approximately corresponds to 622 CE.
b. /bnt.	*Ibn/ Bint*, used in Arabic personal names: son/daughter of
Pbuh	Peace be upon him, *ʿalayh-i as-salām* (عليه السلام)
Apwh	Allah is pleased with him, *raḍiya Allāh-uʿanh* (رضي الله عنه)

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSCRIPTION, & TRANSLATION

Consonants				**Short Vowels**	
ء	ʾ	ض	ḍ	ـَ	a
ب	b	ط	ṭ	ـُ	u
ت	t	ظ	ẓ	ـِ	i
ث	ṯ	ع	ʿ		
ج	j	غ	ġ		
ح	ḥ	ف	f	**Long Vowels**	
خ	ḫ	ق	q	ا/ى	ā
د	d	ك	k	و	ū
ذ	ḏ	ل	l	ي	ī
ر	r	م	m		
ز	z	ن	n	**Diphthongs**	
س	s	ه	h	ـَو	aw
ش	š	و	w	ـَي	ay
ص	ṣ	ي	y		

الـ al- (article)

In the case of nouns that start with a solar letter (*ḥarf šamsī*), the assimilation of the *lām* of this article to the initial consonant of the noun is reflected in the transliteration, as in aš-šams (instead of al-šams).

Notes:

When different from the transliteration system listed above, quotes from secondary literature are modified accordingly. Only encyclopedic entries are kept as they are for accurate reference.

When passages of the manuscript under study are transcribed, vocalisation signs and punctuation marks are rendered faithfully, regardless of any 'errors' that might occur.

All translations from Arabic, Spanish, and French are my own (including Coranic verses), unless otherwise indicated.

References to Coranic verses are made with the letter Q, followed by the numbers of the chapter and the verse, separated with a colon. As an example, Q1: 1 refers to the first verse of the first Coranic chapter (*al-Fātiḥa*).

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In 1969, during the restoration work of an old house in Ocaña (Toledo), an Arabic manuscript was discovered in a cupboard hidden in a hole inside the demolished wall, along with eight other manuscripts, a folded letter enclosed in it, and other everyday objects.[1] The codex, comprised of 188 folios, is a pocket-size (10.5×7 cm) religious compendium of tales, exempla, sermons, and prayers that bears strong eschatological overtones. In the fashion of the prevalent Islamic breviaries in circulation at that time, the texts were compiled to instruct believers about a miscellany of religious precepts and good morals, constantly reminding them of death agony and the consecutive suffering in Hell.[2] The little precious relic, inscribed in brown ink and illuminated with red filigrees, is in a good state thanks to the care of its successive proprietors throughout six centuries.

This discovery of Islamic manuscripts in Spain was not the first of its kind; and research has shown that 'the majority of them were hidden before the expulsion of Muslims [in the early seventeenth century], and discovered during casual restoration work of old houses, especially in the autonomous community of Aragon.'[3] Indeed, the most significant discovery took place in Almonacid de la Sierra (Zaragoza, Aragon) in 1884, when more than a hundred manuscripts were found in a secret room of a house.[4] Many similar discoveries followed in Aragon; and 'in the last decades of the past century, nine new discoveries have been made in different areas throughout the same region.'[5] Compared to Aragon, less Arabic documents were found in Castile, the majority of which date back to the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, as María Jesús Viguera-Molins notes, 'in most of the cases, those documents found fortuitously were not preserved in the archives.'[6] This is the case of the manuscript of Ocaña—henceforth Ms. Oc.—that has remained in the private collection of del Águila family, the current owners of the house in which it was found. The collection is nowadays inaccessible to the researcher.

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[1] The first report of the discovery was published in 1972, Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües.'
[2] The most famous of these breviaries is the *Breviario Çunní* of Içа Gideli, the *alfaqui* of Segovia, written in the second half of the fifteenth century; cf. Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado.*
[3] Villaverde-Amieva, 'Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos,' p. 94.
[4] The books are now conserved in the library of the CSIC (BTNT) in Madrid in the collection called '*Manuscritos de la Junta*' of which a digitised version is available online: <http://sitios.csic.es/web/manuscriptacsic>.
[5] Villaverde-Amieva, 'Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos,' p. 113.
[6] 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe,' p. 157.

Ms. Oc. was edited and translated in its entirety by Iris Hofman-Vannus in her doctoral thesis in 2001, followed by a study of selected themes published in separate articles.[7] Before that, Juan Martínez-Ruiz and Joaquina Albarracín-Navarro wrote articles about the discovery of Ocaña and more extensively about one of the eight other manuscripts that they called *El misceláneo de Salomón* (The Miscellany of Solomon).[8] As for the letter that was found inside the codex, it was edited and translated in Viguera-Molins's short article about a selection of Arabic Mudejar documents.[9] To date, neither the content of Ms. Oc., nor its materiality, has been scrutinised in its anthropological context.

Although Ms. Oc. has never been subject to sophisticated tests, all the scholars who examined it agreed that it was written in the last decade of the fifteenth century. This approximate dating is corroborated by the date of the letter enclosed in the codex, although the handwritings have not been compared to probe the possibility that the author is the same. Hofman-Vannus then dubbed the book *El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña*, pointing to its liminal position between the two major stages in the history of the Muslim minority in Spain. 'Mudejar' and 'Morisco' are two appellations used to refer to Spanish Muslims who can be well considered 'liminal *personae,*' in the words of the anthropologist Victor Turner who defines the term as follows:

> The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* ('threshold people') are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.[10]

The condition of the Muslim minority in early modern Spain is a perfect embodiment of the situation of the 'liminal *communitas*' that Turner describes in his work; and as early as the 1980s, Serafín de Tapia-Sánchez indicated that the Muslim community suffered a lack of solid identity anchors.[11] Throughout this study, the religious minority will be examined in this light.

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[7] *Historias religiosas musulmanas en el Manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña*; 'Los manuscritos de Ocaña: paradigma de peripecias y peculiaridades de la memoria escrita;' 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' among other articles listed in the bibliography of this thesis.
[8] 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el ´Misceláneo de Salomón´* and Albarracín-Navarro, 'Los manuscritos en árabe de Ocaña (Toledo).'
[9] A short correspondence between two Islamic scholars that was published by Viguera-Molins in 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe.'
[10] 'Liminality and Communitas,' in his *Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure,* p. 95.
[11] 'Los moriscos en Castilla la vieja.'

As for the delineation of borders between the historical Mudejar and Morisco stages, it is but a practical procedure to organise our knowledge about the Arabic literature of the Muslim minority in Spain. As Viguera-Molins notes, there is a continuity between these two stages and the previous 'Andalusian' period, marking the heydays of Spanish Islam.[12] Míkel de Epalza defines the term 'Mudejar' as follows:

> 'Mudejars' is the name given to the Muslim populations of the Christian Peninsular kingdoms between the eleventh century (the Castilian-Leonese conquest of Toledo) and the sixteenth century (the forced conversion of the Muslims of Castile and Aragon). They were sometimes called *'Moros del Rey'* (the Moors of the King) because they created a fiscal community called *'aljamas de moros'* (the Moors' neighbourhoods).[13]

The Mudejars are the descendants of the Andalusian Muslims, 'whom Alfonso VI allowed to stay in Toledo [after its reconquest] in 1085. It was thus that the Mudejar communities were created in many cities in Castile, and even in its rural areas.'[14] The Mudejars enjoyed the temporary freedom to practise their faith under the reign of Christians, thanks to the *capitulaciones* (surrender treaty) signed by the Catholic monarchs in the aftermath of the gradual reconquests of Muslim territories that started with the capture of Toledo. 'The treatises of Toledo in 1085 were the cornerstone of the foundation of Mudejarism in Castile,' writes Miguel Ángel Ladero-Quesada. Those 'agreements were not constraining Muslims but allowing them to maintain their mode of life and characteristics, their places of residence, their fiscal system, and their freedom of cult.'[15] The last of these royal capitulations were the ones signed in Granada in 1491 by the Catholic monarchs of Castile and Leon, Isabel and Ferdinand. The official document clearly states that the Christians who had converted to Islam should be respected, and that the Moors, on the other hand, are not compelled to convert to Christianity.[16]

However, this freedom did not last for long; and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the case of Muslims took a different shape. In 1502, the royal decrees of general conversion started to be enacted, ordering Muslims to leave the country if they refuse to convert to Christianity. As Leonard Patrick Harvey notes, 'forcible conversion of Muslims came at different times for the various kingdoms into which Spain in the sixteenth century was divided: first to suffer were the lands of the Crown of Castile in 1500-1502, then Navarre in 1515-16, and finally the lands of the Crown of Aragon (i.e., Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia)

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[12] 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe,' p. 158.
[13] *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión,* p. 45.
[14] Lapeyre, *Géographie,* p. 119.
[15] Ladero-Quesada, 'La population mudéjare,' p. 134.
[16] The text of the capitulations is published in Luis del Mármol-Carvajal, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada* (1600).

in 1523-26.'[17] This probably explains why the community of Aragon has the most significant share of discovered Islamic manuscripts.

Being offered the choice between baptism and exile, the majority of Muslims accepted forced conversion in order to remain in their homeland. 'Moriscos' is the term that is used to refer to those Muslims of sixteenth-century Spain, who were called at that time, *nuevos cristianos convertidos de moros* (New Christians, converted from being Moors).

While many of them decided to leave or were forced to do so when they refused baptism, others chose to remain and practised Islam covertly, adjusting their houses to stand against the Inquisition that violated their privacy. Under the Inquisition, unannounced house-to-house inspection was regular. If any token of Islam was found in the house, the inhabitants were accused of heresy and captured for trial. The Inquisition targeted all aspects of Morisco culture and aimed at the eradication of all possible ways of knowledge circulation; and reading was among these ways.

Although furniture was scarce in Morisco houses and very few places could serve for hiding objects, holes were dug inside the walls and an underground part of the building or a false ceiling was usually set for this purpose.[18] The book-hiding tradition of crypto- Muslims was a reaction to this repressive campaign. Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz postulates that 'it was most probably when the 1609-10 definitive edicts of expulsion were enacted that the Moriscos started hiding their books in false ceilings and walls, with the hope of retrieving them when they go back to their homeland.'[19] It is also plausible to assume that Moriscos would hide some of their books before the final Expulsion, as they migrated from one region to another inside the country since it was impossible to carry them around without running the risk of being captured by the Inquisition.

Books were among the most cherished relics that Moriscos carefully hid inside the walls of their houses, as during the Inquisition, all Arabic books were collected to be burnt. Book Burning was initiated in Granada by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. His notorious bonfires of Islamic books took place in the Plaza de Bibarrambla, shortly before the first Edicts of Conversion were promulgated and were described by Juan de Vallejo, Cisneros's notary as follows:

> In order to eradicate this aforementioned perverse, evil sect, those *alfaquies* [Islamic scholars] are ordered to carry all their *Al-Andalus* and all their other

[17] *Muslims in Spain,* p. 14.
[18] Ana Labarta writes about the Morisco houses of Valencia in her 'Inventario:' 'The Morisco houses of Valencia have almost no furniture at all, and offer then very few places for hiding books,' p. 5.
[19] '"Hacer libros no tiene fin,"' p. 750.

> personal books, as many as they are, that count more than four or five thousand volumes, all big and small, and burn them all in bonfires.[20]

Making these bonfires consume huge amounts of Islamic books was a symbolic act of erasing Islam from the history of Spain. In turn, the biblioclasm of the Inquisition deepened the symbolism of the book for the repressed religious minority. A Morisco codex should be studied as a precious property that ties Muslims to both their past and future: It embodies their nostalgia for the glorious past of *al-Andalus* and their hope of regaining this glory someday in the future.

Being one of the books among the walled-up hoard that survived biblioclasm, Ms. Oc. is a historical asset that is worthy of an extensive study, as both a material and textual testimony of the religious life of the last Muslims of Spain. The choice of this manuscript as a subject of historical study emanates from a conviction that research about the material history of Mudejar and Morisco manuscripts can reveal insightful facts about the religious belief system and daily rituals of this minority. It is an anthropological endeavour to uncover aspects of the Muslim underground experience in early modern Spain through this specific text-object.

The study will offer a historical account in which the stories of humans and objects run in parallel, highlighting the intertwined nature of human and material life and proving that the stories of people are best relayed through the study of their objects. In this respect, the project falls under the scope of Religious Material Culture, the aim of which, according to David Morgan, is to 'discern the life of belief in the stories of things, of bodies, of spaces, and of practices.' Tracking the story of a devotional book, this project explores the Islamic world that opens up in the codex to give an insight into belief as 'a communal set of practices that structure life in powerfully aesthetic terms.'[21] This exploration is meant to grasp the ways in which the collective imagination of the marginal community created this aesthetic production and used it for religious practice. Examined in this light, a religious manuscript can be interpreted as an object that is both the manifestation and the agent of the 'shared imaginary' called belief.

The areas that this study will address are related to the way sacred objects help delineate some of the contours of an elusive cultural identity, as they are a feature of the marginal culture that they also shape. It is in this sense that Ms. Oc. as a communal devotional codex materialises Islamic beliefs and that the practice of its reading re-enacts them in the daily life

[20] Daniel Eisenberg, 'Cisneros y la quema de los manuscritos granadinos,' *Journal of Hispanic Philology*, 16 (1992), pp. 107-24, qtd. in Beneyto-Lozano, 'Decoraciones en manuscritos moriscos,' p. 83.
[21] *Religion and Material Culture*, p. 73.

of the community. As Richard Grassby puts it, 'historians of material culture use artefacts, as well as written evidence, to reconstruct the patterns of meanings, values, and norms shared by members of society.'[22] Ms. Oc. is an alluring subject for any historian of material culture, as it is both a written token and an artefact. Its study as a text-object lies at the crossroads of the debate about the supremacy of textual evidence in historical studies, acknowledging that the materiality of this text is an additional value.

The relationship of the Muslim minority with books is characterised by an inward process of objectification and self-fashioning. Indeed, through this objectification, Muslims constructed, assumed, hid, and performed their identity. This was a defensive mechanism that allowed them to create their own secret space that was highly valuable—as it related to their faith—and strongly resistant to any external intrusion. Books are not simply possessed objects; they are in this regard the agents of an activity of world construction.

The objectification of Islamic books by the Inquisitors is in its turn revealing, as it is closely related to the apprehension of the Other that wields the discursive force of these unknown objects. One of the professed principles of the Inquisition was that 'persons and things are recognized by the signs they bear, and they are judged to belong to the [religion] whose signs they carry.'[23] This means that any paper written in Arabic should be destroyed because it is deemed both a marker and a maker of the discourse of underground Muslim culture. After the fall of Granada in the late 1490s, there was an unwavering systematic identification of the Arabic script with Islam, as Mercedes García-Arenal notes.[24] The onslaught against the language of the Other that covered anything inscribed in Arabic, exhorts a reflection on Mudejar-Morisco texts as sign-objects in the first place.

The close study of Ms. Oc. as a text-object, examining both its material and thematic features can help determine its approximate date, and understand the conditions of the production and the modes of circulation of this kind of book within the marginal Muslim community in Early Modern Spain. The belief in the cultural charge of codices, professed in this thesis, is central to the recent trend of Medieval Manuscript Studies that aims at 'historicizing manuscript culture.'[25] Following the same line of thought, this research is an attempt to

[22] 'Material Culture and Cultural History,' p. 592.
[23] Trans. by Consuelo López-Morillas and qtd. in García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain,* p. 46.
[24] 'La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 58; cf. her article 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada.'
[25] *The Medieval Manuscript Book,* p. 1.

approach Ms. Oc. as a cultural asset, the study of which can best contribute to the reconstruction of the hand craft and belief system of the Muslim minority.

Like the recent collection of essays, *The Medieval Manuscript Book* (2015), this study proposes that a medieval manuscript is much more revealing than printed books for the study of cultural history.[26] The central contention of this thesis is that one of the reasons for the superiority of hand-written codices over printed books in this respect is their materiality. Henrike Lähnemann used this exact phrase, 'the Materiality of Medieval Manuscripts,' as a title for a talk she has recently presented about the new acquisition of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, a psalter written ca. 1500 by the nun Margaret Hopes in the Cistercian convent of Medingen.[27] Lähnemann tracked the change in the history of manuscript, through an exhaustive study of the codex as a text-object that travelled beyond the Middle Ages. She demonstrates that the nun's devotion was embodied in the materiality of the prayer-book, the use of which changed with the advent of the nineteenth-century Lutheran Reformation. Lähnemann's project has a manuscript- centred methodology that is very relevant to the study of Ms. Oc., because the similarities between the two manuscripts are striking: the religious private nature of the book, its practical small size, and its use in different historical periods are all common features that suggest that Ms. Oc. can be open to the same methodological approach to give an insight into the Mudejar-Morisco manuscript culture. The study of Ms. Oc. will prove all the more interesting to undertake, as historical information about the everyday life of the marginal Spanish Muslim community is scarce. The reconstruction of the book's history, narrow as it might seem, is invaluable for the rewriting of a lost section in the history of Ocaña.

Accounts of the settlements of Muslims in a small Castilian town such as Ocaña are rare, if not inexistent. This shady area in the history of Ocaña is an extreme case of 'the mystery that envelops the Mudejar history of Castile in the Middle Ages—' to use the words of Henri Lapeyre.[28] On his part, Míkel de Epalza explains this mystery by the fact that 'the available information about the Mudejars is mostly taken from Christian documentation and is therefore exclusively related to their relations with the Christian society (fiscal relations, conflicts, trade, etc...) and not to their internal life.'[29] But the Christian archives, especially the notarial ones, are laden with unexploited documents. Based on these documents, a more localised investigation into the daily life of Castilian Muslims in specific towns is now

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 5.
[27] The paper is edited in *Oxford German Studies,* 45: 2 (2016), pp. 121- 41.
[28] 'La population mudéjare', p. 121.
[29] *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión,* p. 47-8.

ongoing, thriving with the current work of Francisco J. Moreno-Díaz del Campo on aspects of Morisco material culture, especially in Ciudad Real (Map 1, n°14).[30]

The manuscript study proposed here, is an attempt to explore the everyday internal life of the Mudejar-Morisco minority, based on their own writings, imagining the way they engaged with them as text-objects. It is an endeavour to re-write the history of the Muslim minority from below, in line with the precepts of Marc Bloch, the founder of the French Annales School, who underscores 'the particular value of material sources in the study of the invisible or under-represented groups.'[31] Departing from the traditional event-based historiography, the revolutionary Annales School of the 1930s concentrates on shorter historical periods, and conceives of the historical world as a construct of human impressions, rather than events. Approaching the history of the Spanish Muslim minority from the perspective of this 'new historiography,' a higher value is allotted to the everyday life of ordinary people and a deeper insight into the relationship between humans and things is provided.

The reconsideration of objects in cultural anthropology as bearers of meaning is traced back to the 1970s.[32] This re-evaluation of the significance of material objects co-existed with a growing recognition of the 'importance of a […] material reconstruction of daily life,' in the words of Fernand Braudel, one of pioneers of the French Annales School. Retrieving the lost story of Ms. Oc. as a quotidian religious object, the 'everyday' will be reclaimed as an important subject in cultural history, 'the ordinary fabric of the daily experience'[33] of the Muslim minority explored, and their presence in Christian Spain acknowledged.

It is in this regard that Morisco religious writings acquire a political significance, apart from their inherent poetic aspect. This dimension is more salient in the polemical sub-genre of religious literature that has been studied in the work of Miguel Asín-Palacios.[34] However, any religious text written at that time—be it Muslim, Jewish, or Christian—was in itself a strong ideological statement, and should hence be considered a tool and a manifestation of resistance and survival.

The political aspect of the literature of Spanish religious minorities is apparent in the work of many researchers. For instance, in *Decolonizing Epistemologies*, Ada Isasi-Díaz and Eduardo

[30] Esp. 'Observando el hogar' (2016), 'Asimilación y diferencia' (2017), and 'The Moriscos' Artistic Domestic Devotions' that he co-wrote with Borja Franco-Llopis, (2018); cf. also the work of Trevor Dadson on Villarubia de los ojos.
[31] Qtd. in Stahl, 'Material Histories,' p. 150.
[32] Findlen, *Early Modern Things,* p.11.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] 'Historia y crítica de una polémica,' in *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*; 'La polémica anticristiana de Mohamed el Caisi'; and *Un tratado morisco de polémica contra los judíos*.

Mendieta draw an analogy between the cases of the Moriscos and Marranos (Jewish minority) in their mechanisms of defence against the widespread belief in the Christian myth of Blood Purity (*la limpieza de sangre.*)[35] The myth flourished in Spain with the rise of deep feelings of nationalism under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon (1474-1516) and strengthened during the reign of Philip II (1556-98).[36] The culmination of that was the expulsion of Jews in 1492 and of Muslims in 1609-14. Elizabeth Perry, whose work revolves around the Morisco ways of resistance through writing, notes that 'Muslims claimed their own myths of the past' to challenge the national myth that the Christian monarchs created; and that allowed them 'to resist oppression and reclaim their possession of honor and power.'[37] The debate about early modern Spanish identity was contingent on the confrontation of the two myths, which resulted in the evolution of what Perry calls 'contested identities.' The expulsion of Jews and Muslims was then a way to erase the presence of the Other from the national history of Occidental Christian Spain. An analysis of the myths and legends of the marginalised culture may give it voice in an attempt to re-write the grand narratives, focusing on quotidian practices and objects as events in their own right.[38]

The Moriscos also created their own myth of superiority. As Mercedes García-Arenal notes, in their confessions, registered in the records of Inquisition trials, the detainees were boasting about their 'glorious past feats.'[39] Only through the examination of the books they read can the origin of this pride be understood: The Muslims of Spain believed in 'a sacred lineage that brought them closer to the Creator, more than any other people, and praised the glorious events of a triumphant past,' narrated in popular texts such as *The Book of Battles* (*Libro de las Batallas*) and *The Book of Lights* (*Libro de las Luces*).[40] The latter, called *Kitāb al-anwār* in Arabic, draws the sacred genealogy of the Prophet of Islam back to Adam and ties all Muslims to this holy seed of creation.[41] As will be seen throughout the chapters of Part II of this thesis, the belief in the luminous blood heritage of Muslims is reflected in the light allegory that is central to all the tales about the Prophet's life in Ms. Oc.; and it is in this sense that the

[35] See also the recent book of James S. Amelang, *Parallel Histories*: *Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain* (2013).
[36] For more on this subject, cf. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre.*
[37] *The Handless Maiden*, p. 37.
[38] See 'Things as events,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, p. 81.
[39] '*nuestras gloriosas gestas pasadas*,' qtd. in García-Arenal 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos', p. 64.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ed. in Lugo-Acevedo, *El Libro de las luces*.

political aspect of the manuscript is apparent although no straightforward polemical components can be unearthed.

The historical/literary account proposed in this thesis integrates both the poetics and the politics of this text-object. It starts with the recognition that objects are the extension of human bodies and minds. In the case of Ms. Oc., this statement is grounded on two levels: On the one hand, the size of the codex suggests its use in proximity with the body, in a way that is reminiscent of the prevalent practice of wearing amulets. On the other hand, the construction of the text around memory and its spatiotemporal perception of human existence incite the exploration of the avenues by which the Morisco mind travels in time and space at the moment of reading. These two levels will be addressed in the material and textual study of the compendium in Chapter II, and the second one explored in more detail, in the course of textual analysis in Part II of the thesis.

The travelling of minds through objects, a central idea in Material Culture studies, is pertinent to the study of the history of the Moriscos who suffered persecution and exile:[42] For the marginalised community, time and space were fragile constructs; and the positions of the body and mind in both these dimensions were precarious. This can be drawn from the Islamic worldview that Ms. Oc. unfolds, through the study of the rhetorics of religious discourse and the discursive perception of time and space that is offered to the readers-listeners. Considering its ideological treatment of time and space, and its effects on the minds of its audiences at different times, the life-cycle of this text-object makes it more than a 'social thing.'[43] The codex that had been used daily in different periods of history has a life of its own, independently of the lives of its successive owners.

In its discussion of the centrality of a text-object in a given communal belief system, this study will address the question that the anthropologist Tim Ingold raises, as to the possibility of detaching the object from the human subject that possesses it. For that, Ingold distinguishes between the act of seeking 'life in things' and that of seeking 'things in life,' preferring the latter to describe the goal of Material Culture studies. He substitutes Alfred Gell's concept of 'material agency' with 'materiality,' to depart from the anthropocentric material history that encourages the search for the meaning of objects for the human subject in a particular socio-cultural context.[44] The attempt at reconstructing the life-cycle of Ms. Oc.

[42] See Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture,* esp. p. 72.
[43] David Morgan considers that 'things are social […], but they have life beyond the human uses of them;' cf. *Religion and Material Culture,* p. 70.
[44] Ingold, 'Comments on Christopher Tilley "The Materiality of Stone,"' p. 122.

in this thesis will seek life in the text-object and aim at exploring its materiality to explain the fact that it outlived its owners.

Though in good condition thanks to its location and multi-layered covering, this small devotional codex is the most used of the nine manuscripts discovered.[45] Its repetitive use throughout the centuries testifies to its richness as a constantly changing text-object and hence its importance in the study of cultural history. As Seth Lerer puts it, throughout its life, 'a single object changes in the systems of exchange, the habits of ownership, the economies of possession, and the aesthetic valuations of an individual.'[46] All of these mechanisms of change are very well-enacted in the life-cycle of Ms. Oc., from the time of its production until now.

Indeed, the individual aesthetic valuations of the object have been very disparate. This same book, the loved object of its owners, was repulsive to many researchers who were reluctant to choose it as a subject of study, but attracted the admiration of Iris Hofman-Vannus.[47] Each individual has expressed his/her own subjective judgement of the aesthetic value of the codex, even before reading the text. And among all these different attitudes, one of them has distinctly detrimental repercussions on the book, its life-cycle, and on research in cultural history. This aesthetic valuation has more to do with the other mechanisms of change on Seth Lerer's list, namely 'the habits of ownership' that, in the case of Ms. Oc., have displayed very different 'economies of possession.' Unlike his father, who allowed Hofman-Vannus access to the manuscript, the current owner has been refusing any contact with the researchers who intend to examine the book as an object, hence obliterating traces that can only be revealed through the examination of the original manuscript.

In the absence of sophisticated scientific techniques, speculation about the production and circulation should be deduced from the book itself; but our pursuit of the manuscript as a material object was restricted by a shortage of assets: the codicological methods that are helpful in locating and dating manuscripts, such as the study of materials, ink, watermarks, binding, quires and cover are difficult to use on a second-hand copy of the black-and-white 1971-photocopy of the manuscript.[48] This unique copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus, and the transcription of the text she provides in her thesis, makes the subject—or rather object—of this study closer to the Original Manuscript. Thanks to this copy, the

[45] Hofman-Vannus, *Historias religiosas,* pp. 93-4.
[46] 'Bibliographical Theory and the Textuality of the Codex,' p. 30.
[47] *Historias religiosas,* p. 94.
[48] In the first account of the discovery of Ocaña, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingues,' Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz mention this first photocopy they could make of the manuscript.

palaeographical analysis of the codex has been possible, through the study of handwriting, errors and corrections, and marginal and inter-linear glosses. Since every hand copy of the same text is a unique artefact, a photocopy of a manuscript is always an ersatz that obscures many of the unique properties of the text-object. Having no access to the original manuscript is the major shortcoming of this study that will be compensated for by a careful extensive examination of all the accessible details in the first part of thesis.

The codicological-palaeographical analysis will intersect with the field of archaeology to reconstruct parts of the history of this book. Adopting an archaeological approach to Morisco manuscripts can yield insightful data and complicate the study of the codices as texts, with a careful examination of their materiality as objects. Borrowing the concepts of 'archaeological site,' and 'assemblage' from the field of archaeology is the first step towards the proper treatment of Ms. Oc. as an 'artefact' among the materials found during the fortuitous excavations of Ocaña. In line with Adam Gacek's definition of codicology in his *Vademecum*, the study will then go beyond the archaeology of the book to embrace its history.[49]

This is not intended to be a solipsistic approach to Ms. Oc., but rather an endeavour to unearth aspects of the manuscript culture of the time. As the editors of *The Medieval Manuscript Book* (2015) note, 'the challenge [in this field] is to synthesize the many things we have learned from palaeography and codicology in ways that attend to local topographies without succumbing to their particularity.'[50] In the manuscript-centred approach of this project two seemingly opposite methodologies are used to rise to this challenge: the careful study of the minute details that the text displays as a unique material artefact pertaining to a specific area and time, and the wider examination of the position of the text-object within the broader network of manuscript culture. This can only be possible through the parallel study of other similar manuscripts in form and content, with the aim of reconstructing the cultural history of this minority through the proposal of hypotheses about the production, ownership and circulation of these text-objects.

The project is then engaged in the strand of manuscript study that encourages research to go beyond close palaeographical and codicological scrutiny to assemble the pieces of the broader picture of manuscript culture and place manuscripts within cultural history. For this purpose, connections will be drawn between the codex under study and the other manuscripts discovered in the lot of Ocaña. This will give an idea about the book collection

[49] *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers,* p. 64.
[50] *The Medieval Manuscript Book,* p. 12.

of the owner and delineate some features of his/her profile. The network will then be developed outside the house to include the similar manuscripts that were found in other regions, in a way that helps us reconsider the provenance of Ms. Oc., surmising its possible wandering. As a consequence, such a comparative study will provide a clear sense of this particular genre of religious literature (miscellanies), its production, prevalence, and what it unfolds about the belief system, worldview, and common ritual practice.

On the other hand, bearing in mind the possible physical movement of the manuscript not only enables us to track its owner's mobility, but also to trace its evolution in time, acknowledging the potential of its being reshaped by successive readers. This constant flux in readership is clear in the marginal annotations of Ms. Oc. that prove that the text, most probably written in the late 1400, was consulted in a later period by Moriscos who started losing their Arabic proficiency and resorted to the invention of a hybrid script. The approach should at some point deviate from the study of the modes of production to explore the new possibilities that the modes of reading can divulge.

The outcome of the contextual investigation conducted about Ms. Oc. proved that this codex, evading a pure historical/philological study, requires a text-centred approach that brings the reader, and not the author, to the core of the text production. Even more than any other medieval manuscript, Ms. Oc. embodies what John Dagenais calls 'the Ethics of Reading' in the most conspicuous way. In his innovative study of the medieval Spanish book *Libro de buen amor,* Dagenais comes to the conclusion that medieval reading 'was above all an ethical activity.'[51] He elaborates on his theoretical approach, explaining that medieval 'texts were acts of demonstrative rhetoric that reached out and grabbed the reader, involved him or her in praise and blame, in judgements about effective and ineffective human behaviour. They engaged the reader, not so much in the unravelling of meaning as in a series of ethical meditations and of personal ethical choices.'[52] Departing from the traditional belief that the reader is in a relentless search for a pre-existent meaning in the text, this theoretical stance suggests that meaning is constructed in the ethical reading process.

The growing awareness about the centrality of reading experience in Medieval Manuscript Study that is apparent in the recent collection, *The Medieval Manuscript Book* (2015), is congruent with the post- structuralist branch of reader- response theory in the field of literary criticism. Highlighting the importance of studying the manuscript beyond the stage of its production, Kathryn Kerby Fulton's states that 'once a text has left its author's hands,

[51] *The Ethics of Reading,* p. xvii.
[52] *Ibid.*

reception is everything.'[53] However, what she means by 'reception' should be interpreted differently from the post-structuralist concept of 'response,' bearing in mind the particularity of the notion of 'reader' in the medieval context. The medieval reader does not simply respond to the text by reading it; but is actually an active agent in the creative process, next to the author and scribe. The annotations that medieval readers very often added to the core-text, show that they would handle the manuscripts as if they were their own space of expression, commenting, expanding, correcting, and even drawing related and unrelated pictures. This freedom was a general characteristic of medieval manuscript culture.

John Dagenais resorts to some of the concepts of Roland Barthes's post-structuralist 'Theory of the Text' that stands behind the works of many reader-response critics, based on his belief that medieval manuscripts lend themselves to aspects of this theory. The principle that both 'the Theory of the Text' and Medieval Manuscript Study share is that the text—text-object in the case of medieval manuscripts—occupies the centre of the analysis. However, Dagenais avers that the principle of the centrality of the text is not sufficient to attest to the complexity of the medieval reading experience: While Barthes explains that 'the only practice that is founded by [his] theory of the text is the text itself,'[54] Dagenais takes a step further with his theory of ethical reading, demonstrating through his study of different versions of a same text, that the reader is the crux of this practice. 'Each medieval "text,"' he concludes, 'was as unique and concrete as the individual who copied it or who read it.'[55]

The precepts of Barthes's textual practice resonate in the works of many medievalists and early modernists who ventured to deconstruct the concept of authorship, such as Alastair J. Minnis and Roger Chartier.[56] The latter proposes a 'reconsideration of the close-knit relationship among three poles: the text itself, the object that conveys the text, and the act that grasps it.'[57] The reading experience of a text of a manuscript is a window for an efficient exploration of this 'close-knit,' a very expressive metaphor that should overthrow the traditional concept of the text as a ready woven fabric that exists outside the reader's space.

Similarly, in this study, the manuscript-centred approach to the duality of 'Text and Event in Early Modern Europe' presupposes that the text *is* the event, the intertext is the context, and

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[53] Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*: *Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), p. 159, qtd. in *The Medieval Manuscript Book*, p. 3.
[54] Barthes, 'The Theory of the Text,' in *Untying the Text: A Post-structuralist Anthology,* ed. by Young, p. 44.
[55] Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading,* p. 16.
[56] Cf. Minnis, *The Medieval Theory of Authorship* (1984) and Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1994).
[57] Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings,' p. 161.

the reader is the author—in the sense of the agent holding authority over the text. It is the choice of the manuscript, a compilation of religious texts, that dictates the poststructuralist method: there is *literally* nothing outside the text, apart from the meaning which the reader confers to it. Gerard Wiegers points out that 'Islamic manuscripts written by mudejars and moriscos in Arabic are less easy to identify [than those written in Spanish for instance], especially if there is no internal indication.'[58] Ms. Oc. is one of those manuscripts whose date is very difficult to identify as it bears no 'internal indication' whatsoever to its context. In the absence of textual clues about the historical context, the latter has to be deduced exclusively from the text itself. This is how the manuscript intrinsically lends itself to the text-centred approach.

Drawing on Dagenais's Ethics of Reading, the belief in the centrality of the text, coupled with the 'shift from the author-based to the reader-based paradigm' in the examination of a manuscript can allow 'a better understanding of the medieval author […] as [...] a special case of "reader"' who actively partakes in the creative process.[59] Only in these terms can a medieval manuscript be conceived of as a living text-object that bears the marks of its successive readers and is the best asset for any attempt at reconstructing the everyday life of a marginalised community that mainstream historical narratives do not account for.

This study of the miscellany of texts interwoven in the fabric of Ms. Oc., will show that reading is the dominant literary mode that unfolds to the researcher.[60] A manuscript study that adheres to this premise should be attentive to the details that give an insight into the prevalent mechanisms of reading and their change though time. In this regard, it is relatively less important to come up with definitive conclusions about the authorship of the text than to explore the ways the readers engaged with the manuscript in the different points of its life-cycle. The questions that this approach aims at answering are all related to 'the dominant literary mode' of reading and its significance in understanding the manuscript culture under study, in this case the Mudejar-Morisco culture.

As it is the case for many medieval manuscripts, the author of this text is anonymous; but the invisibility of the author is even more acute through the multiplicity of voices that the text makes heard. Postulating that there is no author as such, but an original reader, and subsequent readers, this study raises the basic question about how the manuscript was made,

[58] 'Biographical Elements in Arabic and Spanish Anti-Christian and Anti-Jewish Mudejar Writings,' p. 498.
[59] Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading,* p. 24.
[60] *Ibid.*

not with the mere academic curiosity of uncovering the identity of the author/scribe or that of the owner, but with the aim of proving that the act of reading is the main operator at the genesis of the manuscript and the reason of its transmission and survival.

Looking at a medieval manuscript from the viewpoint of ethical reading steers attention away from the text towards its margins, and this is the first move to make in order to acquire an insight into the dynamic aspect of the 'close-knit' of the manuscript life-cycle. Iris Hofman-Vannus's unique edition of Ms. Oc. is extremely valuable for the preservation of the text, especially if the future owners of the manuscript maintain the current proprietor's negative attitude towards research endeavours. Nevertheless, the effort that the scholar made to restore as much as she could of the manuscript, leaves the reader and researcher in the dark as to what Dagenais calls 'the Larger Gloss' that involves scribal errors and corrections, and marginal annotations of scribe(s) and reader(s). The 'ethics [of] medieval scriptum,' or 'what scribes, glossators, readers, and commentators did' throughout the life-cycle of Ms. Oc., is unfortunately missing from its sole edition.[61] Until now, the available knowledge about Ms. Oc. is only about the text—the content of which can be reconstructed to a certain extent through the 'corrected' version of the editor, Hofman-Vannus.[62] This version does not reveal the characteristics of the manuscript as a 'close-knit,' a complex product whose 'ethics exist in a fallen world of error, uncertainty, and flux, where meaning and salvation have to be continually renegotiated.'[63] A study of the material properties of the manuscript—how the codex was made and how it was read and annotated—is necessary to complicate the reproduction of its content.

The close textual analysis of the handwriting, types of errors, corrections and some of the glosses on the one hand, and the study of intertextuality, on the other, suggest that the composition of the book's content relies on the *reportatio* method. Be it copying, writing from memory, or transcribing an oral discourse, the method is always an act of reading. Other later marginal notes will also be studied to try to reconstruct the early modern reading experience of the book and gain an insight into the change in readership techniques.

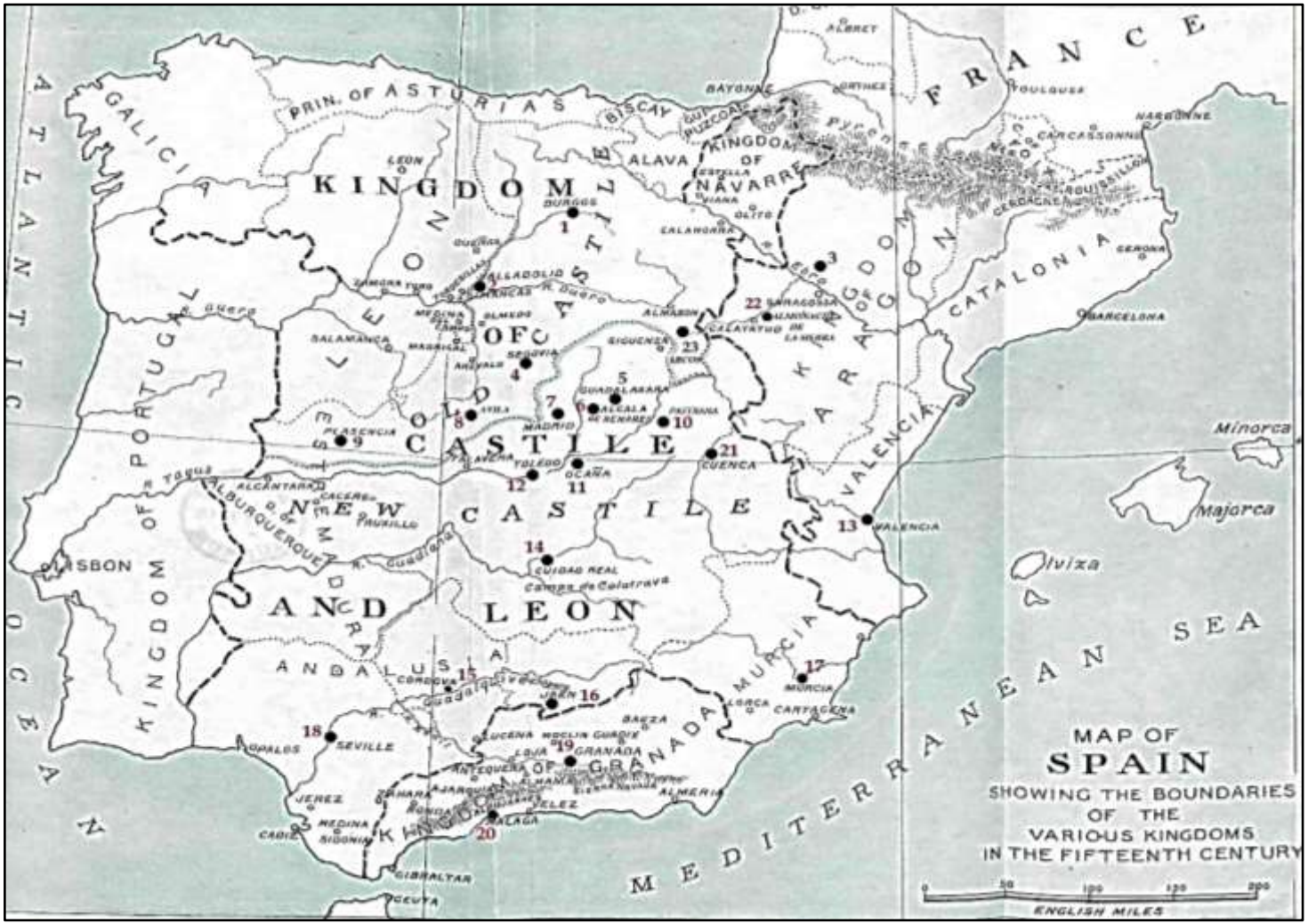
Ms. Oc. as a text-object is special in its relationship with time and history, which is apparent in its composition, themes, and life-cycle. This relationship can be best grasped through the examination of the reading and readership of the manuscript as an approach. The variety of questions that are raised about the modes of production of the book, the reasons for its

[61] Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading,* p. 29.
[62] In her edition, Hofman-Vannus corrects the mistakes in the core text and offers comments on some of the original errors and glosses in the footnotes.
[63] *Ibid.*

composition, and the situations in which it was used, dictate the pluralistic methodology of the manuscript study that will be conducted on various levels inside the unifying framework of Reading. First, codicological, palaeographical, and philological analyses will advance hypotheses about the genesis of the codex and its mobility, tracing some networks of the manuscript culture of the community. Second, narrative analysis will track intertextuality through the comparative study of the tales narrated in Ms. Oc., against potential Arabic medieval sources and later Morisco versions. The various ways in which these sources are interpreted will then initiate the study of the register of adaptation in the rhetoric of religious discourse, which is but another aspect of ethical reading, answering questions about the reasons why these texts were compiled and read. The reconstruction of the context will be undertaken through the study of the text itself, using an interpretive cultural analysis of the meanings, values, and practices imbedded in the different readings of the manuscript.

This thesis is comprised of two parts structured around the axis of space. The first part entitled 'the Manuscript Matrix as a Space of Production' offers a thick description of the text-object in an attempt to reconstruct its life-cycle, complicating the available historical data about the crypto-Muslim community and its secret manuscript culture. This part will entice reflection on the evolution of the manuscript as a space of creative production. The second part then turns to the features of the representational spaces created in the compilation, through a close textual analysis that focuses on the techniques of story-telling. The examination of the spatial system will shed light on the worldview of the minority, their mechanisms of resilience to Christian adversity, and reflect on the reasons for their ultimate disappearance as a religious group.

PART ONE: THE MANUSCRIPT MATRIX AS A SPACE OF PRODUCTION



<u>Map 1</u>: Fifteenth-Century Spain
Source: Plunket, *Isabel of Castile*

CHAPTER I
THE MANUSCRIPT IN TIME AND SPACE

Paving the way for the study of Ms. Oc. and the reconstruction of its life-cycle, this chapter positions the codex in time and space, setting the mechanisms of production, circulation and readership of Islamic manuscripts in context and evincing the manuscript culture of Muslims as a richly intricate network of which Ms. Oc. is one of the nodes. To set the scene for the reconstructive endeavour undertaken in this part of the thesis, what follows is an overview of the history of the Muslim minority in Christian Castile, and more specifically in Ocaña.

While the general span of time covered in this survey is broad, the focus of attention will be the evolution of the physical space allotted to Muslims in Christian Spain throughout history. The first section of this chapter tracks their journey from the secluded Mudejar districts, pushed to the outskirts of cities, to the underground Morisco households, lurking under round-the-clock surveillance. The second section then explores the state of the manuscript culture in this journey and highlights the role of reading as a mechanism of resistance and survival. The majority of the historical information in this chapter is extracted from secondary studies of official state documents, such as Inquisition records, notarial registers, and demographic censuses. The primary sources were not consulted in this research as they are considered to be subsidiary to the manuscript production of the minority, the central subject of this study. Indeed, there is a controversy around the use of Christian sources in the study of Morisco life and literature, due to their questioned objectivity.[1] In this thesis, Christian documents are used with caution; and selected are the ones that can be enlightening for the study of texts and objects in Morisco life, and in particular for the examination of Ms. Oc.

[1] Cf. Márquez-Villanueva, 'El problema historio-gráfico', and Barletta, 'Convivencia dificil', for two opposite views about the subjectivity of these sources.

I. A Space-within-a Space

When Alfonso VI (1072-1109) conquered Toledo (Map 1, n°12) in 1085, Muslims were authorised to carry on living in their homes and offered the possibility of moving freely in the Kingdom of Castile. Practising their faith was officially legitimate, along with organising their communal life according to Islamic laws.[2] On the other hand, they had to show obedience and loyalty to the King and incur taxation. The registered levies are one of the main historical sources used to reach an estimation of the number of Muslims in the peninsula at various times.

The imprecision of these sources and their scarcity had stagnated the study of Castilian Mudejarism until the 1970s. Then, the seminal work of Miguel Ángel Ladero-Quesada in the seventies and eighties marked the end of the 'deadend' as he calls it,[3] and opened new perspectives for further research in the field,[4] based on the previous work of Francisco Fernández y González. Before that, only sporadic data about the Castilian Muslim community was found in the books of Albert de Circourt and Florencio Janer, as early as the mid nineteenth century, and that of Henri Lapeyre in 1959.[5]

Historians agree that the history of the Mudejars began in 1085, when Toledo fell to Alfonso VI (1072-1109), and ended in Castile, with the forced conversions in the beginning of the sixteenth century. This end date is a virtual one since it is known that the prohibition of the practice of Islam did not hamper some of the Mudejars' descendants, at that time called Moriscos, from performing their religious rites covertly.[6] Quesada estimates the presence of twenty thousand Mudejars in Castile in 1502, that is 0.5 % of the Castilian population, scattered over 120 places; and Lapeyre makes a similar approximation for the year 1608, just before the Expulsion.[7]

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[2] Ladero-Quesada, 'Los mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media,' p. 266; in Toledo, the situation then started to worsen as soon as the beginning of the 12th century, and many Muslims had to leave towards other Castilian regions such as Cuenca, and towards Andalusia.
[3] Ibid., p. 257.
[4] Ladero-Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempo de Isabel I*; 'Los mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media;' 'Los mudéjares en los reinos de la Corona de Castilla;' all later re-edited in *Los mudéjares de Castilla y otros estudios,* pp. 11-99.
[5] Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* (1866); de Circourt, *Histoire des mores mudéjares et morisques d'Espagne sous la domination des chrétiens* (1846); Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España* (1857); Lapeyre, *Géographie* (1959).
[6] See for instance Chejne, *Islam and the West,* pp. 2-3.
[7] 'Los mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media,' p. 260.

In this long history of the Castilian Muslim minority living under Christian rule, three watershed events should be underscored: the reconquest of Granada in 1492 (Map 1, n° 19),[8] the first Morisco rebellion in the Andalusian mountains of Alpujarras (1499-1501) that the Catholic Monarchs presented as the incentive for the campaigns of forced baptism initiated in Castile in the same year,[9] and the second revolt of Alpujarras in 1568 that resulted in Philip II's decision to disperse Granadan Moriscos throughout Castile. This deportation transferred the Morisco problem from Granada to Castile.

In the course of this extended history, the Islamic landscape of sixteenth-century Castile was multifarious: the Muslim, Arabic-speaking Granadan emigrants were different from the old Castilian Mudejars who had lost the Arabic language, and many of whom were at that point fully integrated in society as 'New Christians.' Conversely, the assimilation of the newly-converted Moriscos, deported to Castile, was a difficult process.

The successive Christian monarchs coped in different ways with the presence of Islam in Spain. During the reign of Charles V (1516-56), the Mudejars, either living in separate urban neighbourhoods or in rural communities, could freely practise their religion, since the intention of repression did not firmly concretise.[10] It was King Philip II (1556-98) who implemented the edicts of segregation that his father Charles V had kept on hold for forty years.[11]

The campaign of King Philip II that started in 1566 aiming at the eradication of all aspects of Muslim life, culminated in his resolution to expel all the Muslims of Granada in 1570, including those who claimed to have truly converted to Christianity.[12] The decision was enacted between 1571 and 1595 with the confiscation of all the properties of Granadan Muslims, their expulsion from Granada, and the repopulation of the vacant territories with the Old Christians of Castile.[13] This two-direction movement of people had a tremendous impact on the life of the Muslim community in Castile that had undergone 'a constant drain

[8] The Islamic Kingdom of Granada turned into a vassal state of Castile after the conquest of Seville in 1248, under the reign of King Ferdinand III.
[9] As Harvey writes in *Muslims in Spain,* 'that the forced conversions in Castile 1500-1502 ensued only from the armed revolt of Muslims in Granada […] is not convincing;' He backs up his assumption, noting that the Spanish royal family induced Portugal as early as 1497 to adopt a similar policy of religious uniformity, p. 22.
[10] Bernabé-Pons, 'Carlos V: ¿un rey ideal para los moriscos?'
[11] Quesada-Morillas, 'Los moriscos del reino de Granada', pp. 6-7.
[12] Ibid., p. 9.
[13] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

of leaders [towards] Granada'[14] but could then regain other scholars who tried to preseve Islam in the region, through the distribution of Arabic books for the dissemination of Islamic teachings.[15] As Mercedes García-Arenal notes, 'with the arrival of the deported Granadans in 1570 [to Castile,] the Islamic culture started to be revived, including the knowledge of Arabic, as it can be deduced from the high frequency of the possession of books and papers written in this language in the records of the Inquisition trials of Toledo.'[16]

As Christian authorities started to feel a threat gripping Castile, two major censuses were called upon in 1581 and 1589 to evaluate the situation, along with the less rigorous count of 1571 that immediately followed the deportation.[17] It is thanks to these demographic studies that we have another source to estimate the extent of the presence of the Muslim population in the region.[18]

1. The Mudejar-Morisco Space of Living in Castile

The Mudejars used to live together with Christians and Jews in Castilian cities until in 1480, in the *Cortes* (legislative assembly) of Toledo, Isabel I, Queen of Castile (1474-1504) proclaimed that Muslims and Jews would live in separate quarters, reinforcing the previous laws of segregation already present since the thirteenth century.[19] Her father Juan II (1406-1454) wrote in 1437 complaining about the unfulfillment of the command of his predecessor Henry III (1390-1406) that the Muslim and Jewish communities live in separate quarters.[20]

The *Cortes* of Toledo were a more efficient enactment of the segregational policy. The Queen firmly allotted two years for the construction of the new districts, called *morerías* that should be secluded from the rest of the cities, most often surrounded by walls, with only one gate.[21] However, we know that this 'ideal' scheme did not always crystallise in real life and that

[14] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 56; the dispersion of Granadan Moriscos throughout Castile was studied in Domínguez-Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*; Lapeyre, *Géographie;* Lincoln, 'An Itinerary for Moriscos;' and Vincent, 'L'expulsion des morisques.'
[15] This will be discussed in detail in section II of this chapter.
[16] 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 59.
[17] AGS, Cámara de Castilla, leg. 2.162, leg. 2.183, and leg. 2.196 respectively; For an introduction to the circumstances of these censuses, see Lapeyre, *Géographie*, pp. 124-30; Lapeyre relied on these counts in his study.
[18] Unfortunately, this data is not reliable for the study of the Mudejars of Ocaña, as the lands of the Military Orders were not included in the two censuses of the 1580s; for a discussion of the other limitations of Lapeyre's study (especially regarding the expulsion), based on the later work of Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez, see Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha,* pp. 409-11.
[19] Ladero-Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, p. 21; the attempts at segregation started as early as the 13th century with The *Cortes* of Jerez in 1268, continued with the *Concilio* of Palencia in 1388, and culminated with the *ordenanzas* of Catalina de Lancaster in 1412.
[20] AMC. Leg. 198-6-18, ed. in García-Arenal, 'La aljama de los moros de Cuenca en el siglo XV,' doc. IX, pp. 39-40.
[21] *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla* (RAH: Madrid, 1882), IV, pp. 149-51.

Muslims ended up mingling with Christians on a daily basis: On the one hand, many royal documents show that Muslims managed to use a few small venues as shops to trade outside their neighbourhoods.[22] One example of these documents is a royal license issued in 1485 for the Moriscos of Guadalajara (Map 1, n°5), allowing them to own shops beyond the limits of their *morería*, a document that testifies to the proximity between Christians and Muslims through everyday social intercourse.[23] On the other hand, in some Castilian cities, the boundaries of the Muslim space were not clearly delineated. José Montalvo avers that in the case of Toledo, 'there was no separate district *per se*; the Mudejars were rather dispersed throughout the city. The term '*morería'* was then used to refer to one sector of the city centre that was close to the small mosque of *Las Tornerías* street, the only extant mosque before the 1502 edict of forced conversion.'[24] In his topographical study of the concentration of Muslim inhabitants in the city of Toledo, Jean-Pierre Molénat comes to the conclusion that the absence of a separate *morería* proves the high integration of the Muslim minority in urban life, at a time when the policy of segregation was in effect.[25]

The official urban arrangement was designed to avoid proximity between Muslims and Christians. Be it inside the walls of the city or in the outskirts, a typical *morería* was usually constructed around a central mosque and comprised in some cases other secondary sites of worship. An example of this spatial pattern is the one found in Ávila (Map 1, n°8), where between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Muslim district—the actual district of *La Toledana*—had *El Almagí de la Alquibla* as a principle mosque located in its centre, and both *La Mezquita de la Solana* and *El Almagí Nuevo* as peripheral mosques.[26] The mosque and the main public square of the *morería* were the usual areas of reunion and public events.

Historical records attest that close proximity between neighbours was the main characteristic of late medieval Granadan Islamic districts. As Jerónimo Münzer noted in his account of a travel he made to Spain in the late fifteenth century: 'during the reign of the Moors, houses […] were so close to each other and streets so narrow that stretching the arm from one window, one could reach the opposite one.'[27] Closeness in space was a concrete

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[22] Ladero-Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, p. 21; examples of these documents are edited in the same book (Doc. 5, p. 93 and 9, p. 99); RGS IV 1487, fol. 124 and RGS V, 1500, fol. 35 are other examples.

[23] '*Licencia a la aljama de moros de Guadalajara para que puedan tener tiendas, vender y contratar fuera de los límites de su morería*,' ed. in *Ibid.*, Doc. 9, p. 99.

[24] Hinojosa-Montalvo, *Los mudéjares. La voz del Islam* 1, Chapter 'El marco físico: la morería,' esp. p. 159.

[25] 'Les musulmans dans l'espace urbain tolédan,' p. 136.

[26] On the *aljama* of Ávila, see the work of Tapia-Sánchez, and Echevarría, *The City of the Three Mosques.*

[27] *Viaje por España y Portugal 1494-1495, prólogo de Manuel Gómez-Moreno, traducción de José López Toro* (Madrid, 1951), lib. I, cap. XI; qtd. in Caro-Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada*, p. 135.

manifestation of the strong sense of belongingness to a united community, living in a space-within-a space, governed as a Mudejar *aljama*, on the margins of the cities.

The segregation of Muslims was not only manifest in their confinement within the limits of a secluded marginal space. Christians were prohibited from mingling with Muslims in all aspects of everyday life, ranging from the consumption of food to the attendance of weddings and funerals. Such measures were listed in the Diocesan Synod of Ávila of 1481, as in the documents of the other local clerical assemblies. Like Ávila, other Castilian cities, such as Burgos and Valladolid (n°1 and 2) had separate Mudejar districts.[28]

The shortage of Castilian documents makes the reconstruction of the everyday life of the Muslim community a difficult endeavour. In this regard, the section of the notary protocols in the archives of the province of Toledo are an invaluable source.[29] In it we find chattel papers, dowry lists for marriage, wills, along with contracts of sale, invoices and payment receipts and other commercial documents. However, the protocols of many Castilian towns that had a significant number of Morisco inhabitants, such as Ocaña, are scarce.[30]

Some historians use the term '*aljama*' interchangeably with '*morería*,' acknowledging that it has a more general meaning that encompasses both Muslim and Jewish quarters. However, in one of his articles, José Hinojosa-Montalvo sets a clear distinction between these two appellations. He specifies that '*morería*' is the name used to refer to the marginal physical space in which the Mudejar minority lived starting from the progressive rendition of Islamic cities to the Christian rule.[31] It is the urban space that the community shared at the outskirts of cities, embracing their own places of worship, butcher shops, baths, cemeteries, and other public areas characteristic of Muslim culture. '*Aljama*,' on the other hand, designates the special 'administrative organisation' of this physical space, officially recognised by the Monarchs.[32]

Indeed, the enclosure of Muslims inside separate *morerías*, restrictive though it was, offered them liberty in administering their internal affairs according to Islamic law up until the issue

[28] On Burgos, cf. López-Mata, 'Morería y judería burgalesas;' and on Valladolid, Rucquoi, 'Marginaux ou minorités?' For a description of the position of the mosque in the *aljama* of Valladolid, cf. Jiménez-Gadea, 'Espacios y manifestaciones materiales', esp. p.77.
[29] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo, Sección Protocolos Notariales.
[30] Cf. Alguacil-Martín, 'Los moriscos en los Protocolos Notariales del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo,' p. 35.
[31] The term '*judería*' was used to designate the Jewish quarters; for an overview of the organisation of Jewish quarters, see Ruiz-Gómez, 'Juderías y Aljamas en el mundo rural de la Castilla medieval.'
[32] Hinojosa-Montalvo, *Los mudéjares. La voz del Islam* 1, Chapter 'El marco físico: la morería,' esp. p. 157.

of the conversion edict in 1502. The *aljama* then vanished as an official legal structure; and Muslims turned into an underground community.

In the 1980s, Míkel de Epalza stressed the importance of the study of the late medieval quarters as an 'original Islamic communal structure,' that is 'characteristic of the Islam of the Occident, in order to grasp the attachment of the sixteenth-century Moriscos to Islam.'[33] Indeed, the Mudejar *aljamas* were the first environment in which Islamic law and practice survived religious uniformity. Intended by the Christian Monarchs to be a space of exclusion and repression, the *aljama* conversely fostered the practice of communal rituals and preserved the integrity of a powerful internal social network. Míkel de Epalza expounds the system of these quarters that operates, according to him, on five main axes:

> 1) recognising the Christian *de facto* political authority; 2) maintaining the internal autonomy of the religious community through the preservation of its laws and Islamic faith; 3) paying taxes; 4) enduring the abuse of the Christian authorities; 5) trying by all means to restore political power.[34]

The *aljama*, in the words of Francisco Fernández-y-González, was a state within a state.[35] Although it functioned as an autonomous juridical entity, it was nonetheless controlled by the Christian Monarchy through a representative whose main responsibility was collecting taxes for the Crown.[36] The judicial structure of the Mudejar *aljama* was hierarchical. A big *aljama* had an *alcalde* (judge,)[37] a number of elders or jurors, an *imán* who leads the prayer at the mosque,[38] along with an *almuédano* who calls for collective prayer,[39] and one or more *alfaquis* (scholars) who would also work as scribes and notaries.[40]

The title of *alfaqui* (Ar. *faqīh*) was actually given to an officer who performs a number of different religious tasks within the Muslim community. He could be a schoolmaster (*muʿallim*), a minister of cult, a leader of prayer (*imām*), and a preacher (*ḫaṭīb*); and he was in charge of the distribution of alms to the poor. On the top of his religious and legal functions, an *alfaqui* also played an important role in the profane sphere of social life. He was the one

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[33] 'Les morisques, vus à partir des communautés Mudéjares précédentes,' p. 38.
[34] Ibid., p. 39.
[35] *Estado social y político,* Chapter VI, 'Los Mudéjares de Castilla,' p. 227.
[36] Echevarría-Arsuaga, 'Las aljamas muéjares castellanas en el siglo xv,' p. 93; for further studies on the legal and fiscal aspects of the *aljama,* see López-Mata, 'Morería y judería burgalesas en la edad media,' pp. 335-84; Abboud-Haggar, 'Leyes musulmanas y fiscalidad mudéjar;' and Tapia-Sánchez, 'La opresión fiscal de la minoría morisca en las ciudades castellanas.'
[37] *Qāḍī* in Arabic.
[38] *Imām* in Arabic.
[39] Also called *muecín* in Spanish (*muʾaḏḏin* in Arabic).
[40] An expert in Islamic law and teacher (*faqīh* in Arabic, pl. *fuqahāʾ*).

in charge of making amulets and talismans on which he would usually copy Coranic verses to reinforce their protective and healing properties.[41]

The *alfaquis* (Ar. *fuqahāʾ*) served as notaries in Aragon; and many were not officially appointed.[42] According to Kathryn Miller, in the fifteenth century, those scholars were 'the backbone of a unique write-it-down notarial culture that would ultimately yield an unparalleled abundance of literary works in the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'[43] This expansion of scribal activity was absent in Castile, the fact that may explain the reduced number of works compared to Aragon.

The small number of Muslim inhabitants and the long legacy of Christian acculturation and forced conversion in Castile suggest that the role of the *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) in many Castilian *aljamas* (Mudejar districts) was restricted. It is nevertheless far from being negligible, as those *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) were the ones who preserved both Arabic and Islam in the region, as will be seen in the next section.[44] One of the Castilian *aljamas* that was very often neglected in historical studies is that of Ocaña. A reconstruction of the history of the living space of Muslims in this town is a necessary preliminary to the study of the unique hoard of Arabic manuscripts discovered in one of its houses.

2. The *Morería* of Ocaña

Ocaña (Map 1, n°11) was one of the Castilian towns that had an *aljama* (Islamic district) during the fifteenth century.[45] Located at 40 km north-east of Toledo, Ocaña was rendered to the Christian Crown with no battle as it represented the dowry of Princess Zaida of Muslim Seville when she got married to the Christian Castilian King Alfonso VI.[46] Although the Muslim Almoravids managed to restore it, the successor Alfonso VII reconquered it in 1139.[47] The King then had not started the repopulation of the town with Christian inhabitants until 1156.[48]

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[41] Albarracín-Navarro, 'Normas para escribir un alherze,' p. 56.
[42] 'Just as one judge was charged with using Islamic oaths in court, one notary was accused of using Islamic rather than Aragonese law when drawing up dowry contracts and testaments;' Monter, Frontiers of Heresy, p. 216, see n. 17 for archival references to these cases and many others.
[43] *Guardians of Islam*, pp. 85-6.
[44] The role of the *faqīh* will be discussed in more detail in the context of Morisco manuscript culture in section II of this chapter.
[45] Lapeyre, *Géographie*, a table listing the locations of Mudejar *aljamas*, p. 134.
[46] Madoz, *Diccionario*, XIV, p. 210; in this book, like in most Christian sources, Zaida is mistakenly presented as the daughter of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād, King of Seville; relying on the Arabic Islamic sources, the princess was actually his daughter-in-law who fled to Castile when Seville fell to the Almoravids and was later betrothed to the Castilian King, converted to Christianity, and was named 'Isabel.'
[47] Viñuales-Ferreiro, 'La población judeoconversa de Ocaña,' p. 185.
[48] Ibid.

The historian Henry Kamen narrates that 'in the twelfth century, orders of chivalry, military in character but bound by religious vows, were founded to help advance the reconquest of Spain. In Castile, those were the Military Orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and Alcántara that by the fifteenth century had become powerful bodies with extensive ownership of lands, towns and fortresses.'[49] In 1174, Ocaña was offered to the Order of Calatrava that ceded it to the Order of Santiago in 1182 for annual rent.[50]

The town soon turned into the central *encomienda* (seigneurial estate) of the Order of Santiago in the *partido* (county) of La Mancha y Ribera del Tajo, marking the borders between the region of Toledo and what was called the *Campo de Santiago,* the territory that the Military Order occupied. When the last master of the Order died in 1499, King Ferdinand himself finally succeeded him after many attempts to subdue the growing power of the Military Orders under the control of the Crown.[51]



<u>Map 2</u>: The *Partido* (county) of Ocaña
Tomás López, '*Mapa geográfico del Partido de Ocaña, perteneciente a la Orden de Santiago*,' (1784)
Source: Open Access on Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico,
<http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=423102>.

[49] Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714*, p. 28.
[50] Francisco de Rades y Andrada, *Crónica de las tres órdenes y Caballerías de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* (Toledo, 1572), fol. 16r.
[51] *Spain, 1469-1714*, p. 29.

Ocaña was the most populated town in the Province of Castile, with more than five thousand inhabitants in the end of the fifteenth century, between seven and ten thousand in the beginning of the sixteenth century,[52] and around twelve thousand in its end.[53] The town was considered to be an urban nucleus, judging by the considerable number of its inhabitants and the richness of its industrial and tertiary (service) sectors, although it underwent a process of ruralisation in the sixteenth century.[54]

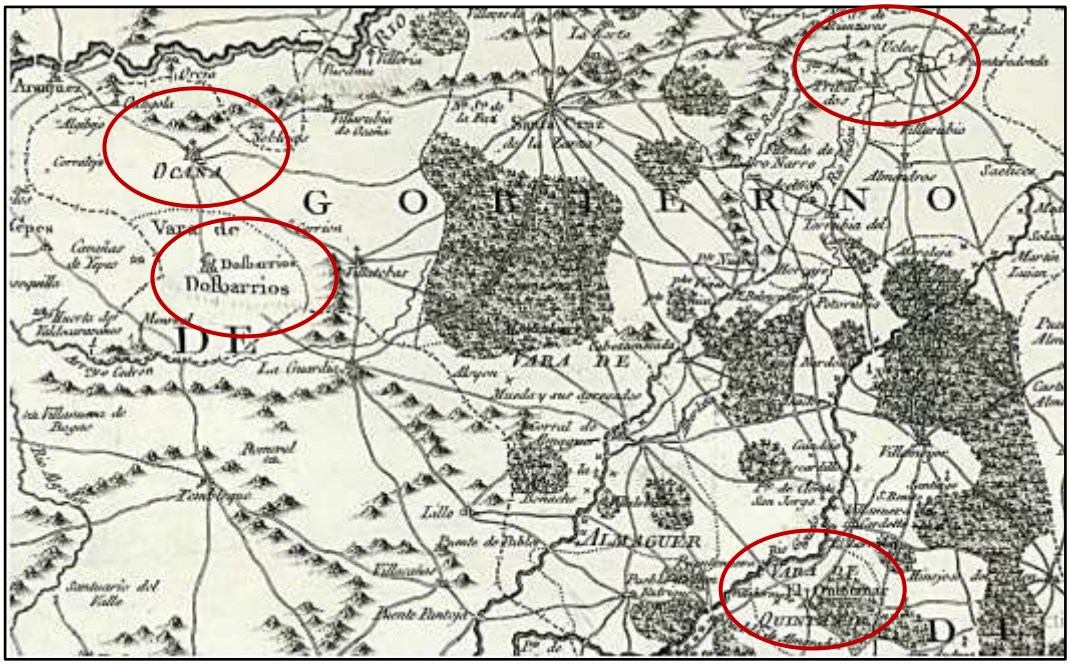
Isabel Montes-Romero reckons that 'more than half of the total number of Castilian Mudejars used to live in the lands of the Military Orders in New Castile and Extremadura in the end of the fifteenth century.'[55] As previously mentioned, the *morerías* (Islamic districts) had to pay taxes to the Crown. 'Starting from the Fall of Granada, until the conversion period of 1501-1502, the Mudejars of Castile had to pay an annual amount of one to two gold *castellanos* per family member.'[56] One of the units used in taxation is the *pecha,* roughly equivalent to five people. Based on the levies, Ladero-Quesada estimates that a total of a thousand *pechas*, that is between 11 and 30% of the Mudejar Castilian population, lived in the seventeen counties governed by the Military Orders in 1495.[57]

Along with Ocaña, the major Castilian Mudejar *aljamas* that fell under the jurisdiction of the Order of Santiago were Uclés, Quintanar, Dos Barrios, and Montiel. The case of Uclés—with the highest concentration of Mudejars in the territory—stands out thanks to a precious document signed in 1501 by the majority of the Mudejars who complained about the heavy weight of the levies that generated a compelling necessity to leave the city.[58]

Although no such document is extant in the case of Ocaña, we know from Ladero-Quesada's study of the taxation records that the town included 23 Mudejar *pechas* in 1495 [59] and 21 in 1501.[60] The figures are relatively low compared to Uclés, the numbers of which ranged between 63 and 94, but considerable compared to many other cities in the region.

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[52] Porras-Arboledas, *La orden de Santiago,* pp. 243- 4, 244.
[53] Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 134, Table 19 lists 11, 726 inhabitants in 1591.
[54] López-Salazar, *Estructuras agrarias y sociedad rural in La Mancha,* p. 21.
[55] 'Las comunidades mudéjares,' p. 380.
[56] Ladero-Quesada, 'Los mudéjares de castilla en la baja edad media,' p. 159.
[57] 'Los mudéjares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media,' p. 269.
[58] AGS, Expedientes de la Hacienda, leg. 8, doc. 12, ed. in García-Arenal, 'Dos documentos,' pp. 167-181.
[59] This ranges between 95 individuals (with a coefficient of 4.5 persons per *pecha* if this taxation system is used) and 50 individuals (if the system of *servicio y medio servicio* is used instead); see Table 3 and n1 in Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 34.
[60] *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I,* p. 18.



<u>Map 3</u>: Cities with *aljamas* (Islamic districts) in Campo de Santiago
Uclés, Ocaña, Dos Barrios, and Quintanar; Montiel is around 130 km South of Quintanar
Tomás López, '*Mapa geográfico del Partido de Ocaña, perteneciente a la Orden de Santiago*,' (1784)
Source: Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=423102>

Throughout history, the living conditions of the minority and their integration in society fluctuated according to the Monarch's policy. In the second half of the fifteenth century, despite the efforts of King Henry IV (1454-75) to maintain the secular politics of religious tolerance towards ethnic minorities, the situation of Castilian Mudejars, especially those who lived under the feudal jurisdiction of the Military Orders, kept worsening. As a consequence, many Muslims had to flee towards other cities that offered better living conditions.[61]

This does not contradict the fact that 'some Mudejars continued to hold positions of trust, at the service of Christians, even in those areas dominated by the Military Orders.'[62] This was the case of Don Zulema, the Mudejar butler of the military commander of the Order of Calatrava in Plascencia (Map 1, n°9). 'The Moor' served as the property administrator of the city in 1500, raising deep public discontent and a fervent demand for a Christian substitute.[63] More relevant to this study is the case of Alonso Venegas,[64] the governor of Ocaña in the last decade of the sixteenth century that will be discussed later in this section.

[61] Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudéjares,' p. 406; for a recent study of the conditions of Muslims in the lands of the Military Orders, see Almagro-Vidal, 'Moros al servicio de las órdenes militares.'
[62] Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudéjares,' pp. 446-7.
[63] Solano-Ruiz, *La Orden de Calatrava en el siglo XV*, pp. 323-4, qtd. in Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudéjares,' p. 447, n 361.
[64] Don Alonso de Granada Venegas Rengifo Dávila, (d. 1611).

Overall, as Miguel Gómez-Vozmediano notes, 'the Mudejar minority in the lands of the Order of Santiago was easy to control, industrious, and [content with] its frugal sustenance, but tenaciously preserving the traits of its cultural identity against the coexisting Jewish and Christian influences.' According to his study, 'most of them worked as farmers in market gardens or in drylands,[65] but many were also modest artisans (textile weavers, tanners, potters), porters of all types (water carriers, carters, muleteers, teamsters), metallurgical workers (blacksmiths and tinkers), shepherds owning goat and sheep flocks, along with social housing landlords, shopkeepers, and dealers.'[66] The array of socio-professional profiles was wide, embracing both commercial and agrarian activities. Such a landscape perfectly reflects the diversity of Ocaña.

There is no definite conclusion about the spatial distribution of the Muslim and Jewish communities in Ocaña. As Gómez-Vozmediano notes, in the lands of the Order of Santiago, the two minorities lived 'either in separate quarters within the city walls or dispersed throughout its urban outskirts in *aljamas* governed by an *alcalde* who acts as a judge of appeal' in the Christian courts.[67]

The archival documents about the considerable number of Jewish inhabitants in Ocaña provide clues in favour of their dispersion all over the town.[68] Some historians contend that it is more probable that the *judería* (Jewish district) was an extended space that had more than one synagogue and that Jews were scattered throughout the districts, although José Luis Lacave argues for the presence of a separate Jewish district in Ocaña in *Juderías y synagogas españolas*, based on the documentation that Pilar Léon compiled in *Judios de Toledo.* [69]

The same uncertainty characterises theories about the space inhabited by the Muslim minority. Basilio Pavón-Maldonado, one of the few historians who wrote about Ocaña, leans towards the opinion that the town was organised according to the separate-*aljama* spatial pattern, with minor partitions separating the Jewish and Mudejar quarters within the main

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[65] In the county of Ocaña, the number of irrigated fields, vineyards and olive groves, was relatively considerable compared to the other counties of La Mancha in which drylands were more prevalent, see Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 218 and Annexes XVIII and XXVII.

[66] 'Impacto del alzamiento,' p. 362; according to Moreno-Díaz, stockbreeding was not very common among the later Moriscos of La Mancha, although we know about the case of Jerómino de Carmona who bought a flock of 271 lambs from Antonio de la Peña, an inhabitant of Dos Barrios in 1579 (AHP. Toledo. Protocolos notariales. Leg. 9.991 (6-9-1597), qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 234).

[67] 'Impacto del alzamiento,' p. 362; on the coexistence of the three confessions under the Order of Santiago, see the work of Porras-Arboledas.

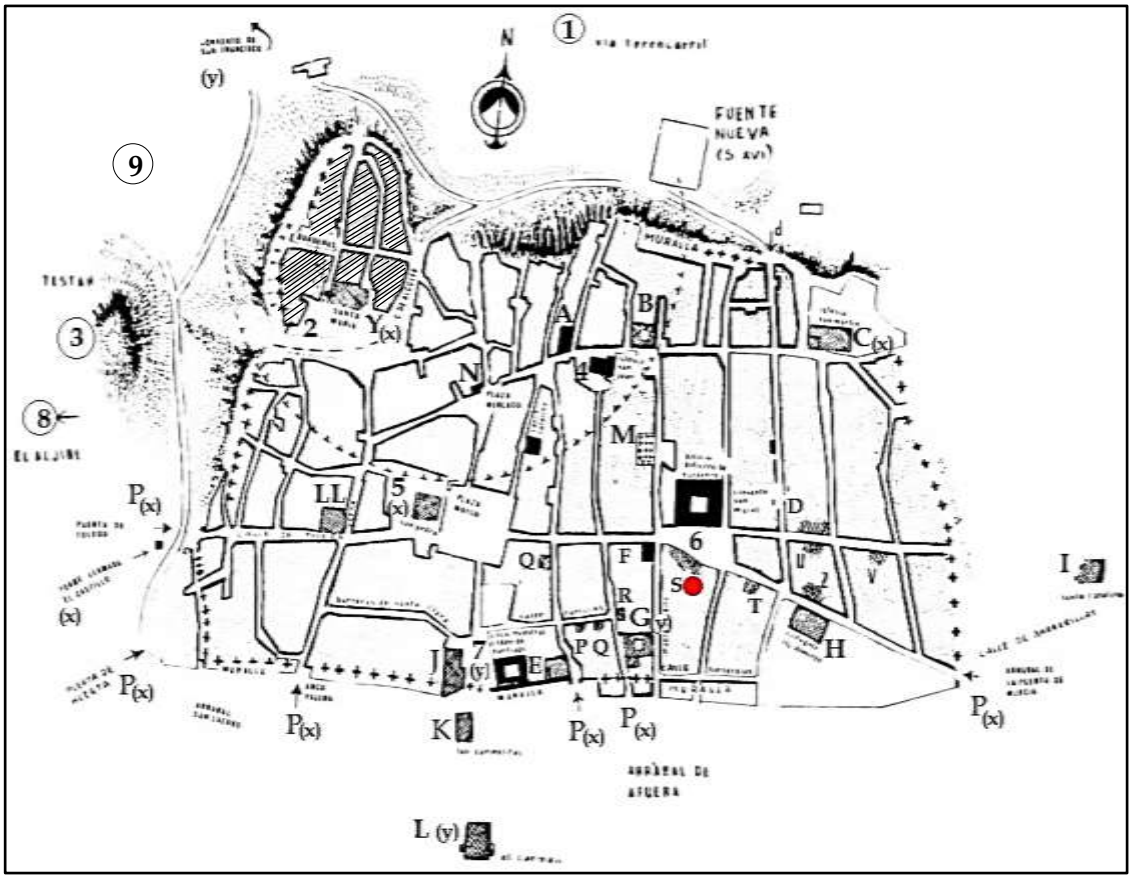
[68] According to Gómez-Vozmediano, around 1500 Jews used to live in Ocaña before their expulsion in 1492; and more than 200 Judeo-converts in 1537, see 'Impacto del alzamiento,' pp. 186, 183.

[69] Viñuales-Ferreiro, 'La población judeoconversa de Ocaña,' pp. 186-7.

city walls.[70] Along this line, in the sketch he draws of the city (Map 4), the most probable physical space of the *morería* (Muslim district) is what he marks as '*ciudad antigua*' (old city), surrounding the actual church of Santa María (n°2), while the *judería* (Jewish district) would occupy the eastern part, where the synagogue existed, at the site of the actual church of San Juan (n°4).[71] The *judería* was definitely bigger than the *morería*, judging by its more important share of taxes; and it was actually the biggest Jewish district in the province of Toledo.[72] As an example, whereas the *judería* paid 500 *maravedís* [73] to the Crown in 1478, as a gift called *presente de cama y carneros* at Christmas and Easter, the *morería* offered only 150.[74] In that year, the number of Muslims did not exceede 20, as Ladero-Quesada reports.[75]

As was usually the case, the Ocañese Mudejar *aljama*, this enclosed space-within-the space of the town, must have been constructed around a central mosque. This may have been the old mosque that had existed in the town since the twelfth century and was later turned into the present church of Santa María de la Asunción (Map 4, n°2), of which three Mudejar horseshoe arches are the remaining vestiges.[76] These arches, along with the Mudejar ornamental patterns that can be perceived in some old buildings are the only Islamic architectural remnants in Ocaña. The Mudejar *yeserías* (designs of carved plaster) adorning *El Palacio de los Cárdenas* (Map 4, n°6), just in front of the house where the manuscripts were found, are one of those material witnesses that testify to Muslim presence in the town.

[70] *Ocaña: una villa medieval,* p. 6.
[71] This location of the Jewish district is demonstated in the work of Pilar Léon and José Luis Lacave.
[72] Cf. Jiménez-de-Gregorio, *La comarca de la Mesa de Ocaña,* p. 25.
[73] *Maravedí,* a gold coin first struck in Iberia by the Muslim rulers, Almoravids, and named after them; it was used between the 11th and 14th centuries as a coin or as money of account; refer to Pic. 6 in this section.
[74] AHN, OO.MM., Lib. 1.063c, fol. 68; mentioned in Porras-Arboledas, *La orden de Santiago,* p. 71.
[75] 'Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo XV', p. 488.
[76] *Iglesia Parroquial de Santa María de la Asunción,* a neoclassical church constructed in the 17th century on the vestiges of a 12th-century mosque, and renovated in the 19th.



	Ciudad antigua (old city)
1, 3, 8, 9	*Hallazgos cerámicos* (archeological excavations of ceramics) (X, XVI)
2, 4, 5	*Iglesias mudéjares* (Mudejar-style churches) (XII-XIII); **2:** *Iglesia Santa María;* **4:** *Iglesia de San Juan;* **5:** *Iglesia de San Pedro*
6, 7	*Palacio Gutierre de Cardenas* and *Casa maestral Orden de Santiago* (XV)
P	*Puertas* (gates)
A, B, D, E, F, G, LL, N	*Casas principales* (main houses of the *encomienda*) (XV-XVI)
C	*Iglesia de San Martín*
S	**The house where the discovery of Ocaña (1969) was made**
(x)	*Perdido* (lost)
(y)	*Semiperdido* (almost lost)
H, I, J, K, L	*Conventos* (convents) (XVI-XVII)
M	*Colegio de las jesuitas* (Jesuit College)
N	*Plaza Mercado*
Y	*Torre del homenaje*
++++++	*Muralla perdida* (Lost city walls)
⊥ ⊥ ⊥ ⊥	*Perímetro viejo (old perimetre) (*XIII)
	Fuente nueva (XVI)

Map 4: The City of Ocaña (XI-XVII)
Source: Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval.'

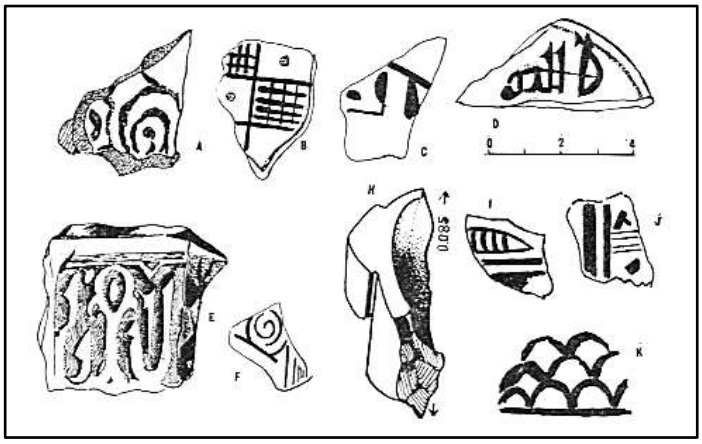


<u>Picture 1</u>: Mudejar Architecture in Ocaña

(a) *Iglesia Parroquial de Santa María de la Asunción*: Mudejar horseshoe arches.
(b), (c) *Palacio de los Cárdenas*: Mudejar *yeserías* (carved plaster designs).

Besides, archeological excavations in Ocaña uncovered pieces of Islamic pottery in many sites, such as the railway (*via de ferrocarril*), Testar, and Aljibe (Map 4, n°1, 3, and 8).[77] The discovered lots consisted mostly of household items: clay bowls, big cups and jugs; lids, plates and platters, jars, siphons, along with *azulejos* (tiles) adorned with Islamic geometric and floral patterns and arabesque desings.

[77] Archaeological ecxavations in these sites have demonstrated human presence in the Eneolithic and Bronze Ages; cf. Vallespí-Pérez, 'Eneolítico y Bronce en la Mesa de Ocaña.'



<u>Picture 2</u>: Remains of Islamic Ceramics excavated in Ocaña
Source: Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 210.
A and **B**: Found on the railway (undated)/ **C**: Found in Aljibe (undated) / **D**: Honey-coloured on both sides with a fragment of the Islamic inscription 'lā ilāh-a illā Allāh' (There's no God but Allah), found in Aljibe/ **E**: Red clay container with kufic script, found in the airfield: (XI-XII)/**F**: White-glazed with black volutes (undated)/**H**: A piece of a straw-coloured limestone mortar, found in Aljibe/ **I** and **J**: Found in Camino de Santa Cruz/ **K**: Fragment of a pot with honey-coloured glazing on both sides, with a decoration of interwoven flakes in black, found in Camino de Santa Cruz (XV-XVI).

El Padre Santos (Father Santos) was the one who collected the pieces that are now hosted at the museum of the Convent of Santo Domingo (Map 4, H), and entrusted Basilio Pavón-Maldonado with the identification and classification of the ones that pertain to Islamic culture.[78] Unfortunately, the study that Maldonado proposes in his article about the archaeological findings does not offer precise dating of the pieces. He postulates that some of them date back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while others are more recent: for instance, the piece found in the airfield of the town (Pic. 2, K) was made in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. This Mudejar/Morisco piece is a fragment of a honey-coloured glazed pot, adorned with interwoven black flakes.[79] A fragment of a Morisco jar (Pic. 3, a) was found hidden inside a sixteenth-century wall in the Convent of Santo Domingo (Map 4, H), not far from the house in which Ms. Oc. was discovered;[80] and a remnant of a Morisco plate (Pic. 3, b) was excavated in the Convent of San Francisco, outside the walls of the town (Map 4, n° 9). Taken as historical evidence, these archeological domestic items indicate that the Mudejar/Morisco houses were scattered all over the town, both inside and outside the walls. The presence of the Islamic assemblages inside the buildings of convents is explained by the transference of the properties of Muslims to the Christian Crown that turned them into churches and other religious buildings.

[78] Cf. Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' esp. p. 210.
[79] 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 211.
[80] Ibid., p. 214.



<u>Picture 3</u>: Remains of Household Pottery excavated in Ocaña
(a) Fragment of a Jar (c. 16th century) excavated in the Convent of Santo Domingo
(b) Fragment of a Plate (c. 15th/16th century) excavated in the Convent of San Francisco
Source: Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 213.

The archaeological site where Ms. Oc. was found is a house (Map 4, S) that currently belongs to del Águila family, at a location that is thought to be that of the old House of the Estate of the Military Order of Santiago (*Casa de la encomienda*).[81] Although there is no straightforward evidence to prove this claim, it was taken for granted in the earliest account of the discovery.[82] The author of the report relates that the house was devastated during the civil war and that weapons belonging to the Napoleonic army were found in it. It is indeed very likely that the House of the Estate was located in front of the private Palace of Don Gutierre de Cárdenas, 'the Chief Commander of Leon in the Military Order of Santiago [in 1494], the Chief Accountant of the Catholic Monarchs,' Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon,[83] and a native of the town of Ocaña.[84]

The Palace (Map 4, n°6) built in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is now the property of the Ministry of Justice.[85] It is located on the Square bearing the name of the commander; and it is alleged that there was an underground tunnel joining it to the current house of del Águila. The Palace passed on to José Manuel de Goicoechea y Río in 1862, the maternal great grandfather of Don Rafael del Águila Goicoechea, the proprietor of the house in 1969, the year of the discovery.[86] This corroborates that the two buildings were connected, and intimates that the house in question may indeed have been the property of the commander in the late fifteenth century.

[81] In one of my visits to the village, both the archivist and the touristic agent mentioned that there is no certain evidence that this house is the so-called '*casa de la encomienda*.' The touristic officer even ushered me to another house that is also alleged to be the principal house of the *encomienda*.
[82] Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 63.
[83] Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 17
[84] Porras-Arboledas, *La orden de Santiago,* p. 321.
[85] Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 18.
[86] José Manuel de Goicoechea y Río (the owner of the Palace), father of José María Eusebio de Goicoechea y Calderón, father of Teresa de Goicoechea Candenas, mother of Rafael del Águila Goicoechea (the owner of the house in which the Ms. was found).

Knowing about the ostensible ownership of the house at the same period in which the manuscript is thought to be written raises a fundamental question that was surprisingly absent from all the previous studies of the discovery: what brought these Arabic Islamic writings to the house of a Christian nobleman? Answering this apposite question, or at least trying to find possible answers to it, is a necessary step to take in order to reconcile the text with its context and build connections between the artifact and the archaeological site. One may postulate that the Commander collected those Islamic codices that he found beautiful, but in that case, it is unlikely that he would hide rather than exhibit them. That a Mudejar-Morisco manuscript was hidden in a house of a Christian nobleman raises two hypotheses that will be explored in what follows:

> **Hypothesis 1:** That the Commander's house had a separate room for a Morisco servant/ slave who hid the manuscript, between the onset of the forced conversions of 1500s and the expulsion of 1609-14. The book owner may have left Spain at that time or remained and feigned to be a 'New Christian.'

The implication of this hypothesis is that the Commander and the Muslim owner lived together. A few possibilities then emerge, as to the identity and provenance of the latter.

In fifteenth-century Castile, apart from the free Mudejars, called *horros*, others were slaves.[87] Some of them willingly resorted to enslavement to be able to remain in Castile,[88] while others were captives of war. Indeed, as Ángel Galán-Sánchez states, 'since the capture of Toledo, masses of Muslims had been incorporated as servants for the Monarchs in the lands that they managed to "restore" from the Muslim usurpers.'[89] In the territories of the Military Orders, governed by a feudal system, the captives were considered an invaluable workforce.

The fact that the Muslim owner of Ms. Oc. lived under the protection of the Chief Commander of the Order of Santiago is not unlikely. Leonard Patrick Harvey dissipates any surprise that might arise in these terms:

> It might seem a contradiction that such Christian bodies, [The Military Orders,] set up to combat Islam, should frequently have shown a preference for settling their lands with Muslim tenantry, but that is the case. [...] Muslim cultivators no doubt often accepted work on an estate belonging to one of the orders because nothing better was available, but it would seem that often

[87] Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudéjares en la corona de castilla durante el siglo XV,' p. 433.
[88] This was the case of Isabel Enríquez and her children in Quintanar de la Orden (also under the Military Order of Santiago), cf. Alguacil-Martín, 'Los moriscos en los Protocolos Notariales del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo,' p. 37.
[89] 'Las conversiones de los musulmanes de la corona de Castilla,' p. 623.

> the Mudejar community got on very well under the rule of the church militant.[90]

The examples of Moriscos living in proximity to the clergy and the nobility are plentiful. Suffice it to refer to the case of the Andalusian Morisco Álvaro de Córdoba in which a Toledan crypto-Muslim network was discovered. As Lorenzo, the main witness, reveals, Luis de Guzmán, and a certain Gabriel, who both served as servants for the friars of Saint Augustine, were two members of the secret group.[91]

Going back to Ocaña, and Gutierre de Cárdenas, it is worth mentioning that the Commander 'was very actively involved in the wars against the Muslims of Baza and Granada.'[92] In 1487, he was appointed by the Crown to negotiate with the Muslim leader of Baza.[93] He also was the royal delegate in charge of signing an agreement with Ali Dordux, the *alcalde* (judge) of the diocese of Málaga, for the liberation of Muslim slaves:[94] 'Towards the rendition of Málaga on August 18, 1487, after a three-month siege, the vigorous resistance of Muslims made them incur the Monarchs' exemplary punishment of enslaving all the inhabitants.'[95] The role of de Cárdenas was to communicate the Monarchs' conditions for the liberation to take place. Some of the captives of the rendition were already handed over to the Crown and other prestigious figures. Isabel Montes-Romero indicates that 'the Castilian Dukes and Marquises received an approximate number of fifty slaves, and the Counts fourteen. The rest that amounts to 8000 individuals were kept to be exchanged with Christian captives according to the agreement signed by Don Gutierre de Cárdenas and Ali Dordux.'[96] It is likely that the Commander also received one or more slaves; and the owner of Ms. Oc. might well be one of them.

> **Hypothesis 2:** That the Commander built the house around an existing old Mudejar dwelling and that the manuscript had been hidden inside the wall before that. The Mudejar house might have belonged to the *alfaqui* (scholar) of the *aljama* (Islamic district) of the town or to a Mudejar layman who had left the town before the Commander's house was built.

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[90] *Islamic Spain*, pp. 70-1.
[91] AHN. Inq. Leg 193. Caja 1. Exp. nº 3. qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 53; more on this case will follow in section II of this chapter.
[92] Pavón-Maldonado, 'Ocaña: una villa medieval,' p. 17.
[93] Pavón-Maldonado, 'Crónica arqueológica de la España Musulmana,' p. 437.
[94] Part. Real. L. 11, fol. 5, (4-9-1587), ed. in Ladero-Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla*, doc. 15, pp. 110-3.
[95] Ladero-Quesada, 'La esclavitud por guerra a fines del siglo XV el caso de Málaga' in *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 105 (1967) pp. 63-88, qtd. in Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudéjares en la corona de castilla durante el siglo XV,' p. 435.
[96] Montes-Romero, 'Las comunidades mudejares en la corona de castilla durante el siglo XV,' p. 435.

In an endeavour to shed light on the identity of the first owners of the book, an attempt was made to procure a list of all the owners of the house in question, in the hope of finding a trace of Muslim inhabitants. Unfortunately, the investigation proved to be fruitless since 'almost all the documents about the medieval/early modern history of Ocaña were destroyed during the Napoleonic War (nineteenth century) and the Civil War (twentieth century), with the exception of some royal and clerical correspondences that are kept in the archives. The Land Register in Ocaña, on the other hand, lists properties and their ownership starting from the 1990s.'[97]

With the Christianisation of Mudejar spaces that was initiated as soon as the edict of conversion was promulgated in 1502, the properties that once belonged to the *aljamas*, including mosques and other cult sites, were confiscated by the royal treasury and either turned into churches, sanctuaries, and hospitals or passed on to religious institutions and privileged individuals of the local nobility.[98] This property transference explains the fact that Islamic manuscripts were discovered in houses of Christian owners, as it is the case of the manuscripts of Ocaña. It is probable that the land on which the house was built was among the properties offered to Don Gutierre de Cárdenas.

3. The End of the Mudejar *aljama*: The Annihilation of Islamic Space

In 1478, the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand, requested the intervention of the Roman Papacy to put into effect the holy mission of 'eradicating heresy' in Castile. The first tribunal was then set in Seville; and in 1487 the Inquisition was set in motion in Ocaña.[99]

The campaign against the Jews was initiated; and the effort was also—if not more vehemently—directed towards the *conversos* (baptised Jews).[100] The decision of expelling all the Jews in 1492 coincided with the defeat of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada and the signing of the *capitulaciones* (Surrender Treaty), in the aftermath of a six-year war. But the order of conversion was then firmly issued in 1502, disguised as a reaction towards the armed revolt of Muslims in Albaicín (Granada) in 1499, cancelling the tolerant measures of the Treaty that ensured the legal practice of Islam. The *Santa Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood) turned towards the Muslim community. Although it seems that most Castilian Mudejars

[97] Julio Jiménez Gómez-Chamorro, *Archivo Histórico Municipal de Ocaña* (the municipal archives of Ocaña,) personal communication, November 19, 2016.
[98] The examples are abundant in Toledo, Plasencia, Valladolid, Cuenca, and many other Castilian cities, see Ortego-Rico, 'Cristianos y mudéjares,' esp. pp. 289-92.
[99] AHN, Uclés, carp. 81, nº 4; mentioned in Porras-Arboledas, *La orden de Santiago,* p. 72.
[100] Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 3-4.

succumbed to the campaign of forced conversion of 1502,[101] we know that many of them continued to practise Islam covertly.[102]

The first stage of the conversion campaign was marked by an emphasis on indoctrination and characterised by Inquisitorial tolerance. The same policy of peaceful evangelical acculturation adopted in Granada was later embraced in Castile. The Tribunal reckoned that conversion was a highly complex process that needed time and patience. Edicts of Grace were offered at this stage for 'self-incriminated heretics' to willingly present themselves to the Church within an allotted period of time to be reconciled and spared punishment. The Edicts of Faith were then proclaimed instead, nullifying the term of grace and encouraging people to denounce each other.[103] Muslims then had to move from the secluded Mudejar districts to the underground Morisco households put under inspection.

The intricate web of espionage reached its peak during the reign of Philip II (1556-98). The spies, called *familiares* (informants), who were dispersed throughout Castile were not only Old Christians, but also Moriscos.[104] We know from a 1620-correspondence between the Inquisitional authorities in Toledo and the Supreme Council that Ocaña was one of the Castilian cities that had a surplus of informants.[105] The introduction of this Inquisitorial strategy had a tremendous influence on social relations. Not only did Old Christians and the new ones who claimed to have sincerely converted engage in those denunciations, but also the close relatives of the detainees themselves.

Although the manifestations of severed family and communal ties among the Moriscos are patent, opposite instances of very strong solidarity against Christian repression are also abundant. Hence, attitudes towards the Inquisition should by no means be seen as a homogenous reaction. As Gonzalo Viñuales-Ferreiro notes in his study of the *Judeoconversos* of Ocaña, family was the fundamental cell of a cohesive minority. 'In 1537, [he observes,] 213 of the converted Jews and Muslims had clear familial relations. […] This characteristic was even more conspicuous in the case of Muslim convicts whose names belonged to the

[101] See Domínguez-Ortiz, 'Los cristianos nuevos;' and Lea, *Los moriscos españoles*.
[102] For a study of the secret Islamic practices in two Castilian cities, Cuenca and Sigüenza, cf. Loupias, 'La pratique secrète de l'Islam.'
[103] See Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Vol. II, Book VI, Chapter I on the Edict of Grace and Book III, Chapter IV on the Edict of Faith.
[104] Bernabé-Pons, 'On Morisco Networks and Collectives,' p. 124.
[105] Ortega-Gómez, *Inquisición y sociedad: Familiares del Santo Oficio en el mundo rural de Castilla La Nueva (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, p. 85; for more details on the task of *familiar*, cf. Cerrillo-Cruz, Gonzalo, *Los familiares de la Inquisición española*.

branches of the two family-trees: Núñez Rubio and Villegas.[106] This was a year before the visit of the notorious Inquisitor Juan Yanes (or Yáñez) to the town.

Juan Yanes was known for his ambitious 'strategy of unmasking the minority.'[107] He was intent on discovering the covert network of crypto-Muslims and strove by all means to reach this goal. Upon his visit to Ocaña on July 13, 1537, he wrote in his own hand a list of more than a hundred pages containing the names of New Christians in the town, having the 'impure' blood of Jewish and Muslim lineages.[108] One of the documents he issued was a command to imprison all the New Christians who roam the streets of the city of Almagro on Sunday instead of attending the mass.[109] The Inquisitor's actions in the Manchegan Five Towns in the Campo de Calatrava were fruitful, and his perseverance culminated in the detention of twenty-six Moriscos in Daimiel in 1541, of whom two were burnt at stake.[110] Only an Edict of Grace issued in 1545 could end his persecutions and release the Moriscos from his grip.[111] It seems that the Muslim community of Ocaña had suffered tremendeously, even before the spark of the general campaign of conversion and Yanes's visit, judging by the 'dozens of *sanbenitos* [the penitential garments] that were hung on its churches in 1495,' as Gómez-Vozmediano reports.[112]

Even before the actual conversion campaigns started in the sixteenth century, the acculturation of Castilian Mudejars was meant to facilitate their integration. We know that Ocaña was among the stations of the big Castilian campaign of the Valencian Dominican friar San Vicente Ferrer in 1411. According to the testimony of Fray Marcos de Guadalajara, one of the apologists of the Expulsion, Ferrer failed to convert a significant number of Muslims during his campaign. Guadalajara wrote:

> [The Moriscos] punctiliously obeyed the precepts of the Qurʾān and did what the Church commanded (if they could not avoid it), protesting within themselves that they were forced to do so. They held as true that each of us

[106] 'La población judeoconversa de Ocaña,' pp. 206-7.
[107] '*estrategia de desenmascaramiento*,' the phrase is taken from Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 345.
[108] AHN. Inq. Leg. 120. Exp. 39 ('*Relación de los linajes no limpios en Ocaña que hizo el obispo de Calahorra*'); cf. Caro-Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* 1, p. 397.
[109] AHN. Inq. Leg. 196. Caja 1, fol. 3^{v}, in Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 345.
[110] The Five Towns (*Las cinco villas*) are Daimiel, Villarubia de los Ojos, Aldea del Rey, Almagro, and Bolaños; cf. Dadson, *Tolerance and coexistence* for a comprehensive study about the Moriscos of the *Campo de Calatrava*.
[111] Dedieu, 'Les morisques de Daimiel et l'Inquisition,' p. 512, qtd. in Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence*, p. 79.
[112] AHN. Inq. Leg. 120/39, fols. 34^{v}-38^{r} and 67^{r}-69^{r}, mentioned in Gómez-Vozmediano, 'Impacto del alzamiento,' pp. 374-5, n10.

> could be saved in his Christian, Jewish or Moorish law, holding faithfully to it: which is why St Vincent Ferrer converted so few of them.[113]

The integration must have been hard for Castilian Muslims, especially because the struggle was most of the time more about relinquishing cultural traditions than about abandoning faith itself. Indeed, as Francisco Moreno-Díaz affirms 'many of those born in Castile expressed a genuine willingness to be assimilated in the old Christian society but found it difficult to forsake their customs.'[114] In 1546, a letter was posted on all Castilian churches and read during the sermons, threatening 'heretics,' calling the authorities to hold more control over them, cast severe punishment on them, and carry out more serious baptism of their children.[115] The situation had already started to get out of control in the region, even before the revolts of Muslims in Alpujarras (Andalusia) that eventually led to their deportation to Castile in 1570.

4. The Arrival of Granadan Moriscos

Until the 1560s, Muslims represented the majority of the population of the Kingdom of Granada, reconquered in 1492. The Inquisition that started to grow harsher on them in the sixties, fomented the rebellion of the Alpujarras mountains in 1568.[116] However, even before the spark of the revolts, the deportation project of the Moriscos of Andalusia had been envisioned. In 1569, Philip II's decision was firmly taken: all men living in the Albaicín district, aged between ten and sixty, who did not take part in the riots but who could potentially provide support for the rebels, were regrouped in churches, then in the royal hospital so that the dispersion be put in action.[117] A year later, the first Andalusian '*Moriscos de paz*' (Moriscos of peace) were ordered to leave with their families and properties from Vega de Granada, Baza, and Guadix towards Castile.[118]

A considerable number (around 279) of this first wave of 850 Moriscos that were deported to the county of Ocaña, settled in 100 houses in the central town.[119] In 1571, a second wave

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[113] Marcos de Guadalajara, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn, 1613), fol. 159^{r-v}; trans. in García-Arenal, '*Mi padre moro, yo moro*,' p. 317.
[114] *Los Moriscos de la Mancha,* p. 354.
[115] AHN. Inq. Lib. 1.254, fol. 235r (25-3-1546), in Moreno-Díaz, *Los Moriscos de la Mancha,* p. 346.
[116] Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, p. 44; see also García-Fuentes, *La Inquisición en Granada*, p. 18-81 and Garrad, 'La Inquisición granadina y los moriscos.'
[117] Mármol-Carvajal (d. 1600), *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada,* pp. 323-4.
[118] Vincent, 'L'expulsion des morisques du Royaume de Grenade et leur répartition en Castille,' pp. 214-6.
[119] See Annex VI in Moreno-Díaz, *Los Moriscos de la Mancha*, pp. 460, based on AGS. Sección Cámara de Castilla, legs. 2.160, fol. 33; 2.162, fols. 57 and 143 and 2.163, fols. 76-7.

of 2, 500 deported Granadan Moriscos, coming from the province of Jaén (Map 1, n°16: Úbeda, Baeza, and Linares), were divided between Ocaña, Yepes, Illescas, Colmenar de la Oreja, and Alcalá de Henares.[120] Ocaña received the most significant number of new-comers; 1, 169 people, 755 of whom setteled in the central town.[121] Knowing about the provenance of the settlers can offer a starting point to probe the conjecture that Ms. Oc. may have been brought from Andalusia and not written in Castile. To test this hypothesis, it would have been enlightening to examine the Islamic cache of codices and loose papers that was excavated in an old house in Jaén in 1970; unfortunately, most of those manuscripts were lost.[122]

Relying on the census carried out by the Chamber of Castile in 1581, Henri Lapeyre reports the presence of 2, 132 Moriscos in the county in that year.[123] The process was not done at once, as the influx kept growing to reach 3, 700 people in 1609, just before the Expulsion.[124] Compared to the other sixteen cities of the province of Toledo, this is the second highest concentration of Moriscos after the one found in the capital, Toledo.

Carmen González-Peinado explains this demographic clustering by the fact that the Granadan New Christians preferred big population nuclei such as Ocaña to be able to find jobs, reunite with the family members they lost in the initial dispersion of Moriscos, and to reach a better social integration that could ensure their invisibility as crypto-Muslims.[125] It is for those reasons that many Moriscos solicited moving licences to transfer to Ocaña.[126]

Between 1571 (the onset of the deportation of Granadan Moriscos), and 1610 (the date of the Expulsion of all Muslims from Spain), the number of Moriscos in the town of Ocaña increased sixfold (from 279 to 1, 755 people), making up 15. 70% of its population.[127]

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[120] Yepes (336 people), Illescas (220), Colmenar de la Oreja (135), and Alcalá de Henares (534), according to AGS. Cámara de Castilla. Leg. 2164, fols. 3-26, in Vincent, 'L'expulsion des morisques du royaume de Grenade,' p. 237.
[121] Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de La Mancha*, p. 125.
[122] One of the mss., a Coran, was briefly introduced by López-López, 'El Alcorán morisco de la Biblioteca de las Escuelas Pías de Granada;' a sale contract studied in Aguirre-Sádaba, 'Un documento de compraventa arábigo-granadino', and a prayer book transcribed and translated in Díaz-García, *Devocionario morisco en árabe dialectal hispánico*; about the Moriscos of Jaén, see Martínez-Rojas, 'Los moriscos en el Reino de Jaén a finales del s. XVI.'
[123] *Géographie*, p. 136.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 165, although for some other cities, Lapeyre distinguishes between the natives of Castile and Granadan emigrants, no specification is made in the case of Ocaña.
[125] 'Los moriscos de Ocaña a finales del siglo XVI', p. 248.
[126] Cf. examples in Gómez-Vozmediano, 'Los moriscos granadinos en Toledo', p. 58 (one case in 1591, found in AGS. Consejo Real de Castilla, leg. 455, exp. 14) and in Moreno-Díaz, 'Algo más sobre los moriscos de Madrid', p. 343-4 (two cases in 1574).
[127] Cf. Table 19 in Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de La Mancha*, p. 134.

Many of those new comers managed to build successful economic carreers in the town, a fact that explains the animosity that their Old Christian rivals harboured against them. The story of Alonso Venegas and his governance of Ocaña testifies to this hostility. Venegas was a Morisco of noble Granadan descent who supported the Crown in supressing the revolts of Muslims in the Alpujarras, Granada (1569-71), playing a major role in negotiations. As a reward for his services, Don Alonso was dubbed knight of the Order of Santiago and held the position of governor of Castile-La Mancha, the province to which Ocaña belonged.[128] The governor was allegedly accused of his biased treatment of Granadan Moriscos in Ocaña, during his *juicio de residencia* (trial of residence) in 1597. This is a Castilian judicial inquiry that systematically takes place at the end of the public official's term, whereby people who bear grievance against him come for a hearing. This allowed the Crown to keep informed about the situation of their local territories and control the authority of its functionaries, revealing any signs of misconduct and imposing penalties in case of conviction. The accusations against Don Alonso revolved around his turning a blind eye to the practices considered to be signs of crypto-Islam, such as speaking Arabic, prohibited in 1572 by Philip II; and to the law infringements of Granadan merchants and shopkeepers.

Although the declarations of Old Christian witnesses cannot be proven right, their subjective nature reveals much about the status of New Christians in Ocaña, where many of them managed to thrive economically and compete with Old Christians. Nonetheless, it is very likely that Alonso de Venegas had a lenient attitude towards the Muslim minority, a fact that facilitated the Crown's relations with the rich elite of the group and ensured the payment of the Morisco tax of 1597, the so-called '*servicio de los naturales del Reino de Granada*' (the tax of the natives of the kingdom of Granada), without resistance, unlike what happened in other Castilian regions.[129]

As this case demonstrates, the situation of Granadan emigrants in Castile cannot be systematically evaluated; especially as they should be clearly distinguished from the Mudejar descendants who had been living in Castile, a long time before the deportation of the 1570s. Indeed, many Castilian Mudejars felt threatened by the influx of Granadan Moriscos and strove to distinguish themselves as a different pacific group. On the other hand, the new comers were welcomed by the lower class of the native Mudejar population in the lands of the Order of Santiago. As Gómez-Vozmediano explains:

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[128] Don Alonso de Granada Venegas Rengifo Dávila, (d. 1611); cf. González-Peinado, 'Los moriscos de Ocaña a finales del siglo XVI' and 'El inicio del juicio;' for a more elaborate study about the family of Don Alonso, cf. Ashcroft-Terry's PhD thesis, *The Granada Venegas Family, 1431-1643: Nobility, Renaissance and Morisco Identity.*

[129] Cf. González-Peinado, 'Los moriscos de Ocaña a finales del siglo XVI', p. 255.

> The Muslim vassals of the Order were particularly sensitive to the disturbing riots of the Moriscos in Alpujarras [Granada]. This was due to the relative geographical proximity of the region to the conflict zone, [and] the existence of old *morerías* inhabited by the Mudejar descendants, assimilated into urban and semi-urban nuclei or secluded in rural areas.[130]

This welcoming reception of the Muslim emigrants explains that the post-deportation episode witnessed a peak in the intensity of the Inquisition in Castile.[131] With the arrival of the newly subdued Granadans, La Mancha turned into the first Castilian battlefield on which the mission of evangelical acculturation clashed with the difficulties of assimilation.[132]



Map 5: Location of Castile-La Mancha on the map of Spain
1-Guadalajara; 2-Toledo; 3-Cuenca; 4-Ciudad Real; 5-Albacete

Francisco Moreno-Díaz expounds this idea, writing that 'in the lands of the Military Orders, the Inquisition was stricter under the supervision of the *Consejo de Ordenes* (the Council of the Orders), the first purely Castilian institution created in 1570 to undertake this mission. The flimsy excuses that the Moriscos invented, such as work in the field and health issues, were no longer accepted to evade the regular attendance of the mass.'[133]

5. A Contested Domestic Space: The Christian Inquisition and Morisco Resistance

The Inquisition records show that despite repression, many Morisco homes, throughout the Spanish territory, turned into the locus of covert worship, replacing mosques and other public spaces of devotion. Although very little is found in the archives about the practice of crypto-Islam in Ocaña, the cases encountered in other regions can help us reconstruct the

[130] 'Impacto del alzamiento,' p. 372.
[131] For a discussion of the different intensity moments of the Inquisition, see Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, pp. 356-8.
[132] La Mancha is the southern portion of the autonomous community of Castile-La Mancha and makes up most of the present-day administrative region. It is comprised of part of the modern provinces of Cuenca, Toledo, and Albacete, and most of the Ciudad Real province.
[133] *Los moriscos de la Mancha,* p. 346, see Table 46 in which he summarises the harsh evangelisation measures taken between 1577 and 1580 against crypto-Muslims, p. 350.

Ocañese modes of domestic resistance that can in their turn be enlightening in the study of the reading context(s) of religious manuscripts such as Ms. Oc. In her book, *The Handless Maiden*, Mary Elizabeth Perry unearths several Morisco domestic stories in the archives, throughout the peninsula: In early seventeenth-century Seville (Map 1; n° 18),[134] 'Joan Valenciano was accused of leading Muslim prayers at night in his home, where both family and friends gathered' for the recitation of verses from the Coran, religious instruction and performance of Islamic rites. 'Luis de Castro led similar Muslim meetings in his home in Murcia (Map 1; n° 17)[135] in the 1580s.'[136] The hidden Morisco manuscripts that have been excavated were certainly used in those crypto-Islamic domestic gatherings.

The lack of archival documents about Castilian Morisco households explains that they have received scant scholarly attention compared to their counterparts in other Spanish regions.[137] An insightful description of the typical Morisco house in Castile is found in Francisco Moreno-Díaz's book about the Moriscos of La Mancha (Map 5).[138] The feature that most Morisco Castilian houses have in common is the simplicity of both the outer construction and the interior space. They were usually one floor houses except those that served for both accommodation and work; and this multi-task pattern was quite common. Most of the time, the houses had only one room used for different purposes. It is in this sense that we find references to rent in piece (*'por piezas'*). Different families then would share the same house, with a common patio and separate private rooms. The shared dwelling usually came with a backyard in which the tenants had a straw loft, a stable, maybe an orchard, and in some cases even small wineries.[139] During the first years of their arrival to Castile, most of the Granadan immigrants rented rooms in this kind of house; and up to three families ended up living under the same roof. Starting from the 1580s, they then started renting houses individually. Shared housing must have been conducive to the preservation of Islamic rituals, destined to be performed collectively. Sharing food, especially when breaking the fast; collective prayer, especially on Friday; and reading religious texts aloud in assemblies are some of the devotional activities that could be easily undertaken in this kind of domestic pattern.

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[134] Reconquered in the 13th century, during the reign of Ferdinand III.
[135] Reconquered in the 15th century, during the reign of Alfonso X.
[136] Perry, *Handless Maiden*, p. 79; 'Dangerous Domesticity,' Chapter 3 of this book is entirely devoted to domestic resistance at Morisco homes, with emphasis on the role of women; the case of Joan Valenciano is found in AHN, *Inquisición, legajo* 2075, n° 19.
[137] Cf. for instance the recent work of Álvaro-Zamora, 'Las casas de los mudéjares y de los moriscos en Aragón,' and Robles-Vizcaíno, 'Casas en el Bajo Albaicín de Granada.'
[138] *Los moriscos,* esp. pp. 171-6; La Mancha is the southern portion of the autonomous community of Castile-La Mancha and makes up most of the present-day administrative region. It is comprised of part of the modern provinces of Cuenca, Toledo, and Albacete, and most of the Ciudad Real province.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 175; this description is based on several notarial documents found in the historical archives of Toledo and Cuenca (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo/ Cuenca, Sección Protocolos Notariales).

As Renée Levine Melammed points out, in sixteenth-century Castile and Aragon, 'to prevent reversion to Islam, a wide range of prohibitions regarding previous laws and customs was decreed. Women, with their distinctive rites, sometimes superstitions, and dress, a white mantle that reached down to their feet and that covered half of their faces, were viewed as the more serious obstacles to assimilation.'[140] Indeed, the role of women as bearers and transmitters of Islamic faith is of paramount importance and has been explored in the work of many historians.[141] Morisco women were the guardians of Islamic culture, as they were the ones who instructed children and performed the rites of passage: the birth celebration called *fada*, meant to nullify baptism,[142] circumcision, wedding, and funeral. During the Inquisition, many women were detained for teaching Islam, such as Isabel Jiménez, whose house in Cordova (Map 1, n°15) was described by witnesses to be 'like a mosque.'[143]

Closer to Ocaña, in Toledo, between 1531 and 1560, 41. 2 per cent of the detainees charged with '*Mohametanismo*' (Islam) were women, compared with 16. 7 per cent between 1481 and 1530.[144] The rise in the percentage of female resistance may be explained by the shift to crypto-Islam that engendered the domestication of religion, and in turn a more active involvement of women in the transmission of religious beliefs and rites. We know that Morisco women had to work to help their husbands earn a living. Many of the Granadan 'Moriscas' worked as *hilanderas* (spinners) and some of them were hired for agricultural activities such as the peeling of sugar canes. Bernard Vincent notes that female workforce was so valuable that in 1570, the year of the expulsion of Moriscos from Granada and their deportation to Castile, many Morisco women were allowed to remain and retain their jobs.[145]

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[140] 'Judeo-conversas,' p. 157; for an elaborate study of the garments of Castilian Morisco women, see the recent work of Moreno-Díaz, 'Vestir a la mora en Castilla.'

[141] For a further discussion of this, see the work of Perry, esp. 'Behind the Veil' and *Handless Maiden*; For a comparison between the roles of Muslim and Jewish women, see Melammed, 'Judeo-conversas.'

[142] From Arabic *fidā'* (redemption); the ceremony took place seven days after the child's birth and consisted in whispering the Islamic testimony of faith in the newborn's ear and conferring on him an Islamic name; cf. Longás, *Vida religiosa,* Chapter 14, pp. 256-61; and Iglesias-Caunedo, 'Textos aljamiados para el estudio de las "fadas"'; one of the texts recited during the ceremony is found in BTNT, Ms. J 3, fol. 141^{v}-142^{r} (16th century), ed. in Kontzi, *Aljamiadotexte,* II, p. 470.

[143] Rafael Gracia Boix, *Autos de fe y causas de la inquisición de Córdoba* (Cordova: Diputación Provincial, 1983), p. 246, qtd. in *Handless Maiden*, p. 80.

[144] These figures are taken from a table published in Jean-Pierre Dedieu, *L'administrartion de la foi,* p. 256.

[145] 'Las mujeres moriscas', p. 587; he reports that the number is 1, 160 according to a 1580 document.



<u>Picture 4</u>: A Depiction of Morisco Women
Hilandera morisca (a Morisco spinner) and a Morisco woman sweeping the front yard of a house
Source: Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (*Costume Book*) (1530s)
Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, fols. 101-102.

The daily activities of Morisco women, even on Christian feast days, were in many cases interpreted as signs of crypto-Islam. Such was the case of the Granadan family of Bartolomé Sánchez, who were deported to Ocaña in the 1570s: Their neighbour, Catalina de Chaves, testifies that the women of the household, Petronila, María, and Lucía, 'used to work on holidays, as they would everyday; they would spin, plough, knit stockings, wash [clothes], and harvest silk, as if it were not an observance day.'[146] Catalina's mother adds that old Lucía would lead the family in prayer and was the one in charge of educating her grand-children.[147] After washing (interpreted as Islamic ablution), Lucía 'would perform prayer with deep devotion, with her face turned eastward, for about half an hour.' The witness describes in more detail:

> None of the children present around her in the room made noise; but as soon as she completed the prayer, she raised her hand and addressed them with some Arabic words. Then the children started to jump on the bed and shout. In the room of the Morisco woman, there was not a single Christian picture.[148]

The absence of Christian relics in Lucía's house was an important detail that played out against the backdrop of her reported crypto-Islamic practices. The decoration of the domestic space was not disregarded in Inquisotorial investigation. In 1604, at the tribunal of the Inquisition of Toledo, three witnesses testified against Isabel de Espinosa, who covered the entrance of an unused storage room in her lodging with an old plank adorned with devotional representations of Christian figures.[149] With their faces directed to the filthy

[146] AHN. Inq. Leg. 193. Caja 2, exp. 22, fol. 3^{v} (testimony of Catalina de Chaves, daughter of Juan de Chaves on 10-02-1596); qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas', p. 54.
[147] *Ibid*., fols. 7^{r-v} (testimony of Ana Pérez, wife of Juan de Chaves on 10-02-1596); qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas', p. 54.
[148] *Ibid*., qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Marginaux', p. 148-9.
[149] Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, case n 1125 (Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fols. 349^{r}).

doorway, these misused religious icons were sufficient to accuse the defendant of heretical behaviour.

Based on their recent study of the inventories of Morisco houses, alongside Inquisitorial trials, Borja Franco-Llopis and Francisco Moreno-Díaz uphold that Moriscos kept in their homes both Islamic and Christian devotional items. As the authors indicate, the domestic Christian relics that were imposed by the Church, acted as tokens of the occupant's sincere conversion, especially after the edicts of 1502. Although it is hard to judge whether the possession of such objects was an indication of truthful allegiance to Christianity or one of the strategies of Islamic *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation), the Morisco home was a 'hybrid space of private devotion […] where, in most cases, both religions coexisted.'[150]

On the other hand, the absence of Christian pictures—and most probably of Islamic ones as well— from the house of Lucía, may simply be explained by the scant decoration that characterised most New Christian houses. Indeed, a comparative study of the inventories of Old and New Christian houses between 1570 (the date of the immigration of Granadan Moriscos to Castile) and 1610 (the Expulsion), reveals the simplicity of the Castilian Morisco domestic space. Moreno-Díaz provides useful comparative data, based on the archival documents of three Castilian cities: Alcaraz, Almagro, and Ciudad Real.[151]

	Alcaraz		**Almagro**		**Ciudad Real**	
	Moriscos	Old Christians	**Moriscos**	Old Christians	**Moriscos**	Old Christians
Tableware, kitchenware, and quotidian objects used in domestic chores	**13**	607	**17**	925	**33**	3728
Furniture	**38**	736	**74**	1482	**415**	6071
Linen	**105**	1252	**294**	2474	**1932**	7634
Other Items	**0**	14	**4**	23	**7**	198

Table 1: Household Items in Three Castilian Cities (1570-1610)

The stark discrepancy between the figures reflect the wide difference in lifestyles. If studied in juxtaposition with historical accounts, the numbers can reveal much about daily domestic activities. For instance, the scarcity of furniture and of tableware in Morisco households should be interpreted as a token of the survival of Islamic practices, such as sleeping and

[150] 'The Moriscos' Artistic Domestic Devotions,'p. 121.
[151] 'Observando el hogar,' p. 96; figures of for Alcaraz drawn from AHP Ab. Protocolos, and from AHP CR. Protocolos, for Almagro and Ciudad Real.

sitting down on the floor, and picking up food with bare hands from a big dish, shared between all family members. In 1576, a group of Moriscos, living in Arcos (Map 1, n°23), confessed that they would eat 'reclining on the floor, without tables, as is the custom of the Moors.' Retaining those Arabo-Islamic foodways, branded as uncivilised manners in contemporary Christian accounts,[152] was enough of a reason to accuse New Christian suspects of crypto-Islam. This was the case of Juan de Flores, condemned by the Inquisition tribunal of Toledo, 'on evidence that "he ordinarily did not sit in a chair, nor did he eat at a table, according to the custom and ceremony of the said sect of Muhammad."'[153] Paradoxically, along with the biased Inquisition records, the most descriptive passages about Morisco daily life are found in the Christian accounts that profess hatred and disdain towards Islamic everyday customs. Those accounts, such as the treatise of Padre Aznar Cardona, impart the prevalent anti-Morisco sentiments that culminated in the Expulsion of 1609-14.[154]

In response to the harsh measures of evangelisation, and the obstinacy of the Granadan emigrants, the archpriest and vicar of the county of Ocaña wrote to the Archbishop of Toledo asking for help, as for him, priests were unable to bear the burden of overseeing the process on their own.[155] The deportation was a turning point in the history of the Castilian Muslim minority, 'a prelude to the Expulsion of 1609-14,' in the words of Mercedes García-Arenal.[156]

[152] See for instance, BNM, Ms. 8888: Pedro de Valencia, *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* (1606).
[153] Both cases are mentioned in Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, p. 138.
[154] Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles y suma de las excelencias christianas de nuestro Rey D. Felipe Tercero deste nombre* (Huesca, 1612); a chapter of this treatise is edited in García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, pp. 229-35; see also the chapter of the same book on the Morisco religious ceremonies, pp. 89-96.
[155] ADT. Libros IV/ 397, part of the letter (fols. 433^{v}-434^{r}) is edited in Moreno- Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 352; for an overview of the ideas and policies of the archpriest, Mejia de Leon, cf. Magán-García and Sánchez-González, 'Los nuevos convertidos,' p. 403.
[156] *Los moriscos*, p. 68.

6. Towards the Expulsion



Map 6: The Morisco Diaspora
Source: Catlos, 'Christian in Name,' p. 299.

In September 1609, King Philip III signed the Edict of Expulsion. Bernardino de Velasco, the Count of Salazar, was in charge of overseeing the process and inspecting the Castilian regions in its aftermath.[157] In his visit to Burgos in 1610, he registered 1, 518 Moriscos who used to live in 355 houses in Ocaña, assembled for departure to France.[158] Along with Italy, this was the main European destination of the expelled Moriscos, usually a crossing point to other destinations such as North Africa. The majority of those Moriscos had to take an overland route, from Burgos (Map 1, n° 1), crossing the Pyrenees Mountains, to the Spanish-French frontier city, Irun.[159] Youssef El Alaoui explains this French openness to receive the Moriscos by its willingness to be a 'refuge for the afflicted,' unlike its Spanish rival, by generously 'facilitating passage to Islamic lands for those who preferred to cleave to their ancestral religion.'[160]

Along with the official expulsion, there were individual attempts made by the Moriscos themselves to flee the country. In his testimony before the Royal Court in Madrid in 1609, Jerómino de Zúñiga narrated that during his trip to Granada, some Moriscos 'told him that in Toledo, Ocaña, Pastrana, Valladolid and Murcia [Map 1, n°12, 11, 10, 2, and 17,

[157] AGS. Estado. Leg. 2639, fol. 94 and Estado. Leg. 2638 bis, fol. 224.
[158] AGS. Estado. Leg. 228-2, letter from Count Salazar to *S.M.* (His Majesty), 30-4-1610; the total number of the Moriscos expelled from Ocaña then raised to 1, 755, see Lapeyre, *Géographie*, p. 252 and 199.
[159] 'Around seventeen thousand Castilian Moriscos of Granadan origins entered France between February and April 1610,' estimates María Ghazali in '"Chonicle of an expulsion foretold,"' p. 262; the majority of the Moriscos who were expelled to France had to leave it within a year of their arrival; for more details, see El Alaoui,'The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion.'
[160] 'The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion,' p. 240.

respectively], there was someone "of the richest and most influential among the Moriscos of each city, whose mission is to encourage and aid those who would depart.'"[161] This was the task of the Valencia family in Ocaña who were involved in arranging the departure of some Moriscos, usually the poorest ones, towards Morocco on boats charged with weapons.[162]

In his second report, dated in January 1611, the Count of Salazar compiled a list of regions with a corresponding number of Morisco households in each area and a brief description of the situation. In Ocaña, he registered 30 households and noted: '190 individuals used to live in this county. More than thirty households have remained. They had been commissioned to leave but showed proof of being good Christians.'[163]Along the same line, *La Junta* wrote to the Crown in the same year stating that in the regions where separate Morisco districts used to exist, and Ocaña is one of them, the descendants of 'those moors' who were baptised during the general conversion remained.[164]

The properties of the expelled Moriscos were sequestrated to be sold. In La Mancha, only one out of four expelled families, and less than a fifth of the Ocañese Moriscos expelled, possessed properties.[165] The wealth was very disproportionately distributed between them: We know about Diego Marín, Gonzalo de Campos, and Diego de Baeza who had a monopoly of property in Ocaña just before the Expulsion, about García de Salas who had more than one urban property but no plantation, about Andrés Hernández, the owner of a small olive grove,[166] and about the needy Alonso Farax who robbed the garments of María and intended to sell them to a tailor.[167] We can find the names of the original proprietors, the types of property relinquished, and the social statuses of the buyers in Francisco Moreno-Díaz's *Los moriscos de la Mancha*: a total of 56 urban premises and about 28 plantations were seized in the county of Ocaña, of which more than 90 were located in the central town.[168]

With the Expulsion of Moriscos and sequestration of their properties, the Inquisition tribunal did not stop the hunt for crypto-Muslims, along with other 'heretics.' The trials were

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[161] AGS, Estado, leg. 2639, transcribed in *The Orient in Spain*, p. 101.
[162] Lapeyre, *Géographie*, p. 187.
[163] '*por aver hecho yinformaçiones de buenos cristianos*;' AGS, Estado, Leg. 235; my translation from Spanish of the report edited in Lapeyre, *Géographie,* p. 262.
[164] AGS. Estado, leg. 232. La Junta to S. M., 31-8-1611: '*por lo qual estando cierto que en algunos lugares donde ubo moriscos y barrios donde se quedaron a vivir sus descendientes como son Occaña, Talavera, Truxillo y otras cuatro o çinco partes*…' qtd. in Lapeyre, *Géographie*, p. 118, n4.
[165] Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha,* pp. 218, 216.
[166] AGS. Sección Contadurías Generales. Contaduría de la Razón, several files, esp. Leg. 345 that has a summary of these cases, qtd. in Moreno- Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, pp. 204-5, 219.
[167] '*un manto y una saya;'* AHN. OO. MM. AJT. Leg. 12.233, qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha*, p. 337.
[168] Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha,* Annex XXII, pp. 495-7 and Table 49, p. 441.

not only meant to eradicate Islam and Judaism but were directed towards all kinds of heresy, including Protestantism, witchcraft, and bigamy. Many of the detainees were accused of 'blasphemous statements' such as 'fornication is no sin' and 'there is no resurrection' that are also condemned in Islam.

Julio Sierra studied the Inquisition records of the tribunal of Toledo between 1575 and 1610, found in a manuscript at the University of Halle (Ms. Yc 2°20).[169] Surveying the 1,177 *relaciones de causas* (case summaries) edited in Sierra's book and tracking the cases of both *vecinos* (inhabitants) and *naturales* (natives) of Ocaña, it is worth noting that many New Christians (converted Muslims or Jews) were detained for 'blood impurity.' Those were called the *inhábiles* (literally the ineligible ones) whose parents or grand-parents had been convicted by the Inquisition, either condemned to death or reconciled. The so-called *inhábiles* were not allowed to work as merchants, notaries, doctors, or perform any other municipal, public or semi-public activity. They were prohibited from riding horses, carrying arms, money, and silk.[170] The relentless search for *inhábiles* in Ocaña reflects a general phenomenon apparent in all the records of the Inquisition of Toledo. Indeed, as Jean Pierre Dedieu describes:

> In order to facilitate the hunt for *inhábiles*, the Inquisition created 'genealogical books' in which are listed the names of the convicts, and their descendants (when known), recording any name changes that might have occurred. […] Those were updated with the testimony of the descendants themselves, asking the identified *inhábiles* to name their relatives and the latter to name theirs, and so on, until no new names come up. During the mid-sixteenth century, the inquisitors started pursuing the descendants […] for having provided false information regarding their purity of blood.[171]

The chase of Morisco descendants was systematic, as doubts about the sincerity of New Christians were deeply seated. Mercedes García-Arenal upholds that 'the Inheritance of Belief' was a prevalent concept in Early Modern Iberia, an assumption that any transference of religious allegiance is dissimulation.[172] Indeed, Andrés de Cámara, a 38-year-old fruiterer in Ocaña was summoned to the court of Toledo in 1604 as he had reportedly said that 'one's mouth can repudiate God, while his heart believes otherwise.'[173]

The names of thirteen *inhábiles* living in Ocaña appear in the case summaries of the Inquisition tribunal of Toledo between 1582 and 1583. When their Muslim/Jewish

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[169] *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, p. 209.
[170] Dedieu, 'Causes de la foi de l'inquisition de Tolède,' p. 153.
[171] '¿pecado original o pecado social?' pp. 71-2; the archival documents that refer to these books, now completely lost, as Dedieu notes, are AHN. Inq. lib. 1231, fols. 143 ^{v}-146^{r} and AHN. Inq. leg. 120, exp. 37.
[172] Cf. García-Arenal, '*Mi padre moro, yo moro.*'
[173] Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, case n 1048 (Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fols. 322^{r}).

genealogies were discovered, the descendants incurred pecuniary sanctions and temporary banishment from the town.[174] The survey of the case summaries also shows that the majority of the Morisco detainees are of Granadan origins. This is not surprising since the deported Moriscos were more attached to Islamic beliefs and rituals and confronted with the challenge of assimilation in Christian society.

One story stands out from the rest of the cases, as an illustrative example of the space that a Granadan family occupied in a Castilian town, against the Islamic background that they inherited and strove to preserve.[175] In the 1570s, the family of Bartolomé Sánchez, a fifty-year-old muleteer, travelled all the way from Granada to settle down in Ocaña. More than twenty years had passed before the family got entangled in the web of the Inquisition. The series of successive discoveries about the family's Islamic lifestyle was initiated due to its proximity to Christians.

Catalina de Chaves and her parents, their Christian neighbours, suspected that the Sánchez were crypto-Muslims and encroaching on their privacy, they started spying on them from a hole in the wall. Many commoners like Catalina served the Holy Office as lay collaborators, usually seeking the recognition of their 'pure blood' and the honour of the title of *familiar*, a permanent assistant of the Inquisition. Catalina's family managed to see Petronila, Bartolomé's wife (51 years old), her mother Lucía, and his mother María (both 73 years old) do house chores during the holidays, sit and wash like 'Moors' and engage in mysterious rites, gathering around a *candil* (oil lamp, Pic. 5), quivering and talking in *algaravía (*Arabic). Lucía Hernández was spotted leading the family in prayer;[176] and her daughter Petrolina later confessed that it was her mother who taught her the rituals of 'the sect of Mahoma.'[177] In Lucía's trial, the presbyter of the parochial church of San Pedro of Ocaña (Map 4, n°5) testifies that neither her nor any morisco in the town should be considered a 'good Christian.' According to him, they all attend mass by force and would not do it voluntarily.[178]A year later, Bartolomé was caught by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, carrying coins on which Arabic inscriptions were carved (Pic. 6).[179] The detainee swore that he could neither read nor

[174] Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, cases n 290-301, 630 (Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fols. 80^{r-v}, 187^{r}).
[175] *Ibid.*, cases n 756-9 (Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fols. 247^{v}, 248^{r}).
[176] AHN. Inq. Leg. 193. Caja 2, exp. 22, fol. 3^{v} (testimony of Catalina de Chaves, daughter of Juan de Chaves on 10-02-1596) and fols. 7^{r-v} (testimony of Ana Peréz, wife of Juan de Chaves on 10-02-1596); qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 54.
[177] Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, case n° 759 (Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fol. 248^{r}).
[178] AHN, Inq. Leg. 193, Caja 22, fol. 38^{v} (testimony of Damián de Cárcava), qtd. in González-Peinado, 'Los moriscos de Ocaña a finales del siglo XVI', p. 246.
[179] AHN. Inq. Leg. 197. Caja 2, exp. 13, trial of Bartolomé Sánchez, 1597; qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 54.

write Arabic and that he kept the Granadan coins as family memorabilia. The claim may be plausible since the preservation of this kind of Arabic-inscribed objects was a common practice within the Morisco community; especially in Castile, the first region to surrender to the Christian reconquest, where Arabic inscriptions retained a symbolic value for their owners despite their loss of the language.

Like Bartolomé's coins, Ms. Oc. might have been carried across the borders of Spanish regions, as a family heritage. In order to probe this possibility, an insight into the movements of Muslims and their objects is necessary. The influx of Moriscos choosing to settle down in Ocaña, mainly for economic and social reasons—job hunting and reunion with relatives, question the assumption that the excavated manuscripts were definitely written in the town. The emigration of the Sánchez family was not an exceptional event in the history of a mobile community that kept traveling from one region to another, with or against their will, carrying text-objects and hiding them in all possible places, in the hope of retrieving them someday.



Picture 5: A *Candil* (10th or 11th century)
excavated in Terreras del Henares (Guadalajara, Map 1, n°5)
Source: *Historia de Guadalajara y Almoguera en la Edad Media*, Universitat d'Alicant < https://blogs.ua.es /guadalajara/>.



Picture 6: A *maravedí* (Almoravid gold dinar) from Seville (1116), the British Museum.

II. Manuscripts across the Borders

By the early sixteenth century, only Granada and Valencia hosted large populations of native Arabic-speakers. Muslims in the rest of Spain spoke the local varieties of a Romance language, the Castilian and Aragonese Spanish dialects.[1] Queen Isabel issued the 'preliminary pragmatic of July 20, 1501, forbidding all Moors to enter the kingdom of Granada, in order to preserve the new converts from [what was deemed to be] the infection of intercourse with the unconverted.'[2] However, driven to the margins of cities, the isolated Muslim community found the means to strengthen communal ties, violate the rules that hampered their mobility, and trespass the geographical borders.

With the arrival of the Granadan Moriscos in 1570, preventive measures were taken to combat 'the infection.' The deported Granadans in particular were prohibited from itinerant trade and oriented towards agriculture in order to prevent the establishment of an internal Morisco network or an external collaboration with the Turkish enemy. The safety net failed to extirpate Islamic culture that survived in the ramified veins of society, lurking underneath apparent subordination to Christian uniformity. The space-within-the space that the Mudejar *aljama* (Islamic district) used to occupy turned into an underground arena of networks of knowledge transmission created to counteract the conversion campaigns. These networks were the creation of Islamic scholars and itinerary merchants who managed to keep the supply chain flowing, circulating manuscripts across the borders, and preserving the Arabic language and Islamic thought for a long period after the reconquest, despite the campaigns of peaceful acculturation and forced conversion.[3]

In Granada and Valencia, the landscape of manuscript culture seems clearer, thanks to the late survival of Arabic in both regions.[4] Relying on the Inquisition accounts of Valencia, Ana Labarta notes that when books were found in the possession of Moriscos, the majority of owners demonstrated 'great sentiment', burst into tears, and tried by all means to retrieve them.[5] When Morisco books were burnt, the community became more attached to the Holy Book, as an icon of their faith. In 1584, one of the Inquisition detainees explains: 'Some could read; some others could not; but the good "moor" takes pride in keeping the Book at

[1] Cf. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 124.
[2] Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain,* p. 43.
[3] Cf. Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, Chapter 3, 'Transmitting Knowledge,' esp. pp. 77-8.
[4] The possession of Arabic books was the most frequent accusation against the Moriscos of Valencia; see Halperin-Dongui, *Un conflicto nacional,* p.102; and Labarta-Gómez, 'Inventario.'
[5] Labarta-Gómez, 'Inventario,' p. 120.

home. In the past, only *alfaquís* (Islamic scholars) used to own a complete copy, but now it can be found in many houses thanks to its being sold at an affordable price.'[6] The rising availability of Coran copies, at a time when their circulation was prohibited, points at the perseverance of Morisco scholars in the face of adversity. The decrease in the price of complete copies intimates that mechanisms were set in motion for larger production and circulation. The detainee's confession also shows that the circulating Corans were diverse in quality and size. It is indeed one of the characteristics of the Morisco Coranic codices discovered across the country. As will be seen later, the lot of Ocaña is no exception, as it includes Coran copies of various sizes and qualities.

Even in Aragon, the reconquest of which was completed by the twelfth century, 'the Inquisitorial documentation demonstrated the presence of a substantial network of book trade, especially of Corans, during the last third of the sixteenth century, along with a considerable number of Coranic schools.'[7] The existence of an underground Islamic education must have complemented the large reproduction of scripture, optimising the accessibility to the text, despite the decrease in language proficiency.

In Sabiñán (Aragon), Miguel Luengo was heard comparing his Coran with that of his fellow, discussing which of them was 'better and more truthful' than the other.[8] Such a revealing conversation corroborates the fact that the quality of the text varied from one copy to another and was one of the criteria of Morisco buyers who developed a fair degree of common sense to be able to make their choices. Considering that Luengo was not a learned scholar, his discussion of the quality of the Coran copy testifies to the role of Coranic schools in transmitting knowledge and cultivating sound judgement in Muslim laymen.

At the early period of their life in Christian Spain, Mudejar *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) would copy their texts in mosques, where they also delivered their sermons, solved legal matters, and carried out other notarial activities such as the writing of marriage and dowry contracts. The Mudejar local *faqīh* (scholar) of the *aljama* was an *imām* (prayer leader) and usually a *muʿallim* (teacher) in charge of educating children.

[6] Qtd. in Barceló-Torres and Labarta-Gómez, *Archivos moriscos,* p.57.
[7] García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 58.
[8] '…*disputando qual era mejor y más verdadero*,' qtd. in Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540-1620),' p. 250.



<u>Picture 1</u>: Islamic Miniatures: Preaching in the Mosque
(a) Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul, MS Hazine 1230, fol.112a: Miniature in *Jāmiʿ as-Siyar* (1600): Šayḫ Bahāʿ ad-Din Veled preaching in Balkh (Afghanistan).
(b) and **(c)**: BNF, MS Arabe 5847: Abū Zayd preaching in the Mosque, from *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* by Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim Ḥarīrī (d. 1121), illustrated by the medieval Iraqi artist al-Wāsiṭī (Baghdad,1237).

With the advent of the Inquisition, families would send their children to Christian schools and wait until they reach the age of reason to initiate them to Islamic faith and rituals. Late texts refer to the Muslim *muʿallim* and prove that instruction was covertly carried out in many cities throughout Aragon, where in the sixteenth century, a *faqīh* was sentenced to the galleys for teaching a class of twenty-three pupils.[9] Some of the teachers were itinerant and almost all of them had other official jobs that helped them hide their secret mission as instructors.[10] In Aragon, Arabic primers for children were in circulation up until the early seventeenth century, testifying to the presence of underground Islamic teaching spaces.[11] We can also postulate that illiterate adults or those who did not master Arabic would take classes to enhance their language proficiency and be able to read and copy parts of the Coran.

[9] Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 216-7.
[10] See Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite,' pp. 244-5 in which several cases are mentioned with reference to the corresponding archival documents.
[11] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 65.

The Mudejars took pride in their pedagogical lineage that in many cases coincides with blood descent. Islamic tenets were passed down through Morisco generations thanks to the proper instruction within the family and inside the community, and the fastidious copying of manuscripts as a collaborative endeavour. One of the best instances of this collaboration is a manuscript copied in Aragon by the scholar ʿAbdallah al-Reclī who stopped in the middle of the process to let his student, Abū al-Ḥajjāj, finish the labour.[12]



<u>Picture 2</u>: Painting of an Islamic Scholar Teaching His Apprentice
Ludwig Deutsch (Austrian, 1855-1935), *The Lesson* (1901)

Along with the mosque, the Mudejar *madrasa* (Islamic school) was the space in which the copying work was carried out. The colophon of one of the manuscripts found in Almonacid de la Sierra (Map 1, n°22) indicates that it was copied by a student at the *madrasa* of the Islamic district of Zaragoza in 1447. The manuscript is a copy of a Granadan catechism codex.[13] This case points at both the late survival of Islamic schools and the circulation of Granadan books in the region. It was thus that the *fatwas* (legal opinions) of Granadan scholars reached Aragon and Castile:[14] The Aragonese and Castilian *fuqahāʾ* (Islamic scholars) would travel to Granada to meet the *muftī* (jurisconsult), ask him questions, come back to compile their notes in Arabic or translate them, and teach them to the masses.[15]

In the majority of the registered Inquisition cases in Aragon, the ownership of Arabic manuscripts was mentioned.[16] Between 1568 and 1620, almost half of the 900 detainees were

[12] BNM, Ms. 4881, mentioned in Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 60.
[13] Although the Ms. is lost, the colophon is described in Codera, 'Almacén de un librero morisco,' p. 275: *'una obrita de "Preguntas y repuestas" dadas por Farech ben Lupo, mufti de la aljama mayor de Granada: la copia está hecha en la madraçah (Academia) del arrabal de los muslimes en Zaragoza, año 861? por mano de Abu Abd-Allah Mohammad ben Ibrahim ben Abd-Allah Xabathun, natural de Teruel*;' see also Wiegers, *Islamic Literature*, p. 78.
[14] A *fatwā* is a legal opinion or ruling issued by an Islamic scholar called *muftī.*
[15] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 63.
[16] Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite,' pp. 243-5.

caught for possession of books; and the wide majority of these had at least one codex, while the others were caught with separate sheets.[17] These significant figures are mirrored in the remarkable number of Islamic manuscripts discovered in Aragon, starting from the eighteenth century in Ricla, Almonacid de la Sierra[18] and Sabiñán,[19] followed by other Aragonese cities in the nineteenth century.[20] As the work of Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz demonstrates, many of the Aragonese Morisco codices, especially those discovered in Almonacid, must have been copied and bound in professional workshops, since according to her, a considerable degree of knowledge and practical training is required for the crafting of such books.[21] The production of Morisco codices in Aragon was then systematic and collaborative, as reflected in the multiplicity of handwritings in some codices and the anonymity of most scribes.

Although the case of Castile is much more complicated to discern, the discoveries of books and other inscribed papers in old demolished houses in the region (Pastrana, Ciudad Real, and Ocaña: Map 1, n° 10, 14, and 11) prove that many of the Moriscos who lived in Castile had possessed books and other manuscripts written in Arabic up to the date of the Expulsion. This explains the fact that the Inquisition of Toledo could still catch crypto-Muslims with '*papeles escritos en arávigo*' (papers written in Arabic) in the seventeenth century. Such cases might not have existed in Castile, had the Castilian Moriscos been isolated from the rest of the Muslim community in other regions.

Castile and Aragon were connected within a strong network of knowledge transmission, despite the recurrent blockage of passage between the territories at times of conflict and the strict measures that restricted the movement of Muslims and their books. Although the borders separating the two kingdoms kept shifting, steady relations were possible to establish,

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[17] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 77, and Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'El libro manuscrito entre los moriscos,' p. 76.

[18] For an account of this discovery, see Codera y Zaidín, 'Almacén de un librero morisco descubierto en Almonacid de la Sierra;' for a genral overview of types of texts in question, see Zanón, 'Los estudios de lengua árabe entre los moriscos aragoneses a través de los manuscritos de la Junta;' the majority of the manuscripts are now hosted at BTNT, CSIC.

[19] An abridged Coran and a fragmentary copy of *Muḫtaṣar de al-Ṭulaiṭulī*, discovered in 1975, and both are now hosted at *Biblioteca de la Universidad de Zaragoza*; for an account of the discovery, see Bosch-Vilá, 'Dos neuvos manuscritos de moriscos aragoneses.'

[20] Calanda and La Puebla de Híjar (Teruel), Novallas, Torrellas, Tórtoles, Urrea de Jalón, all in the 1980s and Morata de Jalón in 1993; for an account of these discoveries, see Cervera-Fras, 'Papel aljamiado de Novallas y documento árabe del Cinto,' and 'El papel aljamiado de Novallas;' Labarta-Gómez, 'Una página aljamiada hallada en Torrellas;' Cervera-Fras, 'Los talismanes árabes de Tórtoles,' and 'Las adoas de Morata de Jalón;' on other discoveries in Aragon, see Cervera-Fras, *Manuscritos moriscos aragoneses*, p. 67.

[21] 'El libro manuscrito entre los moriscos,' p. 80.

as Kathryn Miller demonstrates, through the route of Guadalajara in Castile (Map 1, n°5)-Medinaceli (borders)-Ebro Valley in Aragon (Map 1, n°3).[22]

As Valencians remained Arabophone until the Expulsion, their region was the main node in the network of manuscript production and circulation, hosting workshops for learning Arabic grammar and Islamic law, along with copying manuscripts. While most of the Castilian Morisco children were compelled to receive a Christian education, the descendants of wealthy families would go to schools in Valencia and Granada for Islamic training.[23]

Mercedes García-Arenal states that 'the Valencians acquired books from North Africa with the help of their relatives who fled the country to settle down there.'[24] The most prominent books in circulation in the region were in Islamic law, medicine, mysticism, along with magic and fortune telling.[25] Some of these books reached Castile in their original Arabic language, whereas others were translated into Castilian Romance to ensure their wide dissemination.[26]

The Inquisitorial trials prove that the Moriscos of Castile, especially Cuenca and Toledo (Map 1, n° 21 and 12), would travel to Valencia (n°13) to learn Arabic writing, collect Islamic books, and receive religious instruction and liturgical guidance.[27] On the other hand, some Moriscos who used to live in Valencia moved to Castile and were responsible for the distribution of books and the dissemination of the Islamic doctrine. This was the case of Álvaro de Córdoba, whose trial in 1588 led to the discovery of a secret book-trade network in Toledo that most probably originated in Crevillente, near Valencia, where he used to work.[28] The testimony of Álvaro's neighbour, Lorenzo, who himself possessed books in Arabic and confessed that he mastered the language, provided clues for the Inquisitors to track the traffic of books and discover that at the heart of the small crypto-Muslim active group in the city was Alonso Mudarre, a shoe-repairer who came from Ocaña, served as a translator for the community, and was known for possessing 'very good books in which one could read things of the Moors.'[29]

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[22] *Guardians of Islam,* pp. 78-9; the Ebro is a river in North- east Spain that flows into the Mediterranean.
[23] '*Los de Aragón, que no tienen la lengua, enbían a Valencia [a] sus hijos, para que la aprendan, y les sepan leer su Alcorán;*' Marcos de Guadalajara y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y justícimo destierro de los moriscos de España* (Pamplona: Nicolás de Assiayn, Impresor del Reino de Navarra, 1613), fol. 74^{r}; qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'El árabe de los moriscos castellanos,' p. 168; see also Domínguez-Ortiz, 'Los cristianos nuevos.'
[24] 'La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 65.
[25] Cf. Barceló-Torres and Labarta-Gómez, *Archivos moriscos*.
[26] García-Arenal, 'La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 68-9.
[27] Ibid., p. 65.
[28] AHN. Inq. Leg. 193. Caja 1, exp. 3, mentioned in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 53.
[29] '*tenía mui buenos libros en que leían cosas de moros*,' AHN. Inq. Leg. 193. Caja 1, exp. 3, testimony of Lorenzo, a Granadan Morisco, resident of Toledo; qtd. in Moreno- Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 53.

This is one of the cases that instantiate the intricate network connecting Castilian cities to Valencia, one of the main centres of book production and circulation. The complicity of an Ocañese native in the affair gives a glimpse into the situation in Ocaña where some commoners were able to carry out tasks that require language proficiency such as translation, and to own a considerable number of books. Mudarre may have carried his books with him from Ocaña or acquired them all in Toledo. In either case, his itinerant 'library' must have circulated within the community across the borders, as coreligionists borrowed or bought his books.

That an Ocañese Morisco is that fluent in Arabic to be able to translate writings in the language in the end of the sixteenth century is rare. As will be seen later, by the 1460s, the date of the works of the *alfaqui* (Islamic scholar) of Segovia (Map 1, n°4), Yça de Gebir, the Castilian Mudejars must have lost Arabic. It is likely that Alonso Mudarre was one of the Granadan immigrants who settled in Ocaña during the demographic redistribution that followed the revolts of the Alpujarras (Granada; Map 1, n°19) in the 1570s.[30] The same rationale based on the linguistic argument, is applicable to the case of the compiler of Ms. Oc. The book might well have been brought from another region in which Arabic was better preserved. The last owner of the library of Ocaña might have acquired this codex either through a family bequest or a book transaction. Comparing the lot of Ocaña to other libraries excavated in Castile and in Granada can put the matter under scrutiny.

1. Morisco Libraries

The constant mobility of the Moriscos, the anonymity of the scribes, and the absence of dates are the main sources of mystery in the history of the discovered Morisco manuscripts. The ownership is very hard to determine, even when the book is discovered during the lifetime of its owner. The colophons are of great help in the process of identification; but these are scarcely found in Morisco manuscripts. In the absence of paratextual clues, the careful comparative study of the manuscripts discovered in different regions can help us reconstruct what Morisco libraries looked like and trace the profiles of their owners through their selection of readings.

The discoveries have shown that Morisco libraries, especially those of Islamic scholars, comprised a rich variety of books: copies of classical Arabic works, in their original language or translated into the local Romance language and/or *aljamiado* (Spanish in Arabic script), along with new Morisco works that are most of the time inspired form Arabic Islamic

[30] Refer to Section I of this chapter.

literature. A survey of the manuscripts discovered so far shows that the wide majority of works in the Morisco corpus are *aljamiado* translations of Arabic texts.

Both the books that the Muslim community read and the texts they wrote help us understand their experience and, as L. P. Harvey puts it, 'begin to reconstruct their mental world […]. Even though the number of works that they wrote themselves was not large, there is enough reliable evidence for us on occasion to hear their very voices.'[31] Not only does the examination of Mudejar and Morisco codices unfold the features of their imaginative space, but also aspects of their everyday life, including clues about the production, circulation, and reading of those books.

The massive work of translation that is apparent in the corpus is a sign of an unwavering determination to preserve Islamic knowledge, making it accessible to the communities that lost Arabic. The rise of *aljamiado* was the best token of a serious collaborative endeavour of adapting Islam to a Christian environment, although many *muftis* (jurisconsults)[32] in *dār al-Islām* (the territories where Islamic law prevails) harshly criticised the translation of some works that they deemed untranslatable. The standardisation of the transcription system suggests that Spanish Islamic scholars concerted their efforts to devise a normative basis for the reproductive process.

It is a fact that in the Morisco context, translation was a necessary step to take in any endeavour of transmission and conservation. However, 'most of the references found in Castilian trials are about translated works that are written in Latin script, rather than *aljamiado*.' Mercedes García-Arenal explains this by the fact that the Inquisition considered all the texts in Arabic script to be written in the Arabic language. In any case, although some postulate that the Aragonese Muslims borrowed *aljamiado* from their Castilian fellows,[33] only very few Castilian *aljamiado* texts survived.[34]

Although Ms. Oc. is written in Arabic, it contains *aljamiado* marginal annotations; and some of the other manuscripts in the lot also incorporate passages in *aljamiado*. It is for this reason that a brief overview about the rise, use, and symbolic value of this language is in order. It is surmised in this study that Ms. Oc. was made at an early period of the evolution of *aljamiado*, from 'a medium for jotting down marginalia and occasional notes, into an effective

[31] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 123.
[32] Islamic scholars entitled to issue legal opinions.
[33] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 78, n90-1.
[34] García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 69.

instrument for the preservation of a whole distinctive culture.'[35] Indeed, there is an unresolved controversy about the origins of *aljamiado* literature: Although as early as the thirteenth century, an anonymous work was written in *aljamiado*,[36] the first translation of the Coran in Castilian in the 1450s paved the way to the use of a language other than Arabic for the transmission of Islamic thought.[37]

This Spanish translation of the Coran was undertaken by the *muftī* (jurisconsult) Ice de Gebir (Yça Gidelli,) at the request of the bishop John of Segovia (Juan de Segovia), who believed in interreligious communication for peace and devoted a considerable part of his life to the study and translation of the Coran.[38] Gidelli, the Muslim scholar, wrote the *Breviario sunní* in 1462, also in Castilian, and made Islamic precepts accessible to a wider audience. This *magnus opus* came to be the guide for the regulation of the *aljamas* (Mudejar districts) and a model for later *aljamiado* works. Leonard Patrick Harvey explains the relation between the *mufti*'s works and the rise of *aljamiado* in these terms:

> The influence of Ice de Gebir […] is probably detected in the manner and technique of translating from Arabic which the Muslims of Spain continued to adopt for their scripture and holy books right up to the end. The translations of Koranic texts which we find in use among Muslims of Spain in the period subsequent to this all, to some degree inject into Spanish features of the semitic morphology and syntax of the holy text. A new Arabized Spanish emerged as the literary language of the Muslims… *aljamía.*[39]

'*Aljamiado*,' from '*aljamía*' is derived from the Arabic '*al-aʿjamiya*,' designating a language that is foreign. In medieval *al-Andalus*, the term was used by Arabs to refer to the languages spoken by the Mozarabs (people of other religions who were living under the rule of Muslims). Castilian was at that time considered *aljamiado*. Ana Labarta refers to another use of *aljamiado*: 'the script that Moriscos had to use in order to register in writing [i.e. transcribe] a text in a language other than Arabic, as the only alphabet that they knew was that.'[40] The term '*aljamiado*' is then loaded with the charge of otherness, and it always points at the Marginal, since '*aljamiado*' designates any hybrid language, any language other than the standard one.

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[35] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 123.
[36] The Aragonese *Poema de Yuçuf.*
[37] For an overview of the debate, cf. Wiegers, 'ʿĪsà b. Ŷābir and the origins of Aljamiado literature;' and for a more elaborate study, his *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado.*
[38] For a study of this project within the framework of John de Segovia's beliefs, cf. Roth, Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qurʾān.'
[39] *Islamic Spain,* p. 83.
[40] 'Inventario,' p 154; the most frequent use is registered in the Christian prayers to which she devoted an article, 'Oraciones cristianas aljamiadas.'

Translation was at the root of the appearance of the Morisco *aljamiado* language that Harvey relates to its early modern European context. According to him, this emergence is 'hardly surprising at all; and it is very European.' He explains that in line with the coexistent emergence of other European vernaculars, 'Spain's Muslims should also have wished in this general period to acquire *their own* holy books in *their own* mother tongue and have in the process created a new written language (just as Luther set for German a new standard.'[41]

Drawing this comparison, Harvey acknowledges a very important point of divergence that exclusively characterises the Morisco *aljamiado* texts. He upholds that, unlike the translations into other Western vernaculars, *aljamiado* translation does not result in 'an elevated style,' although the original is also the standard language of a holy text (Arabic, the language of the Coran). Harvey describes this phenomenon as the special formation of 'minority languages.' He writes: 'with minority languages the opposite [of style elevation] may be the case: *aljamía* and Ladino[42] […] show how in some circumstances the written manifestations of cultures can have the intention of marking boundaries, of creating a space within which the members of the minority can feel less threatened.'[43] This hidden linguistic space was created as Muslims resorted to secrecy to practice their faith. Their manuscripts circulated among them as coded messages that could not be deciphered by Christians; but secrecy was not the only reason behind the Moriscos' choice of Arabic script. As Ottmar Hegyi notes, the use of *aljamiado* had an ideological reason, namely the urge to preserve the sacred character of Arabic script and its effect on the Moriscos. It was for them a 'confession of faith,' 'an exterior sign that translates a sense of belongingness to the *umma,* the worldwide Muslim community.' [44] As much as it imparts their attachment to Arabic, the sacred language of their faith, the Morisco *aljamiado* language was also a symbol of the peculiarity of their Spanish Islam. The hybrid language then developed as a written manifestation of an underground culture created as an in-between space.

At a time of communal hardship, the Moriscos did not only resort to religious teachings for solace; they also turned to magic and fortune-telling to breed a sense of familiarity and comfort with their future. Hence, along with religious writings, Moriscos wrote many prophecies and books of divination. Luis Bernabé-Pons offers a detailed classification of Morisco *aljamiado* works.[45] The body of the 250 *aljamiado* manuscripts is a miscellany of

[41] *Muslims in Spain*, p. 136.
[42] Spanish in Hebrew characters.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[44] *Cinco leyendas,* p. 17.
[45] 'La literatura de los últimos musulmanes de España.'

writings that comprises religious texts, juridical codes, medical prescriptions, cooking recipes, and magical invocations, among others. A very small portion of this corpus is literary. [46]

The manuscripts that pertain to the most prevalent religious genre, *tafsīr* (literally 'explanation,' meaning the interpretation of Coranic verses) are usually bilingual. In them, the Arabic verse written in bold is followed by an *aljamiado* translation in an italicised, sometimes rubricated, script. The epitome of the rich linguistic mixture employed in Morisco manuscripts is definitely the trilingual annotations of the early seventeenth-century Spanish version of the Coran of Toledo.[47]

About the production of these manuscripts, we know that 'the majority of the texts compiled under the *aljamiado* tradition must have been copied directly from their models, not dictated.' Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz deduces this mechanism of production from 'the great care that the manuscripts are made with and the high frequency of linguistic and textual corrections. She explains that 'originally the [copying] system used to undoubtedly have an acoustic medium, not a graphic one; but later in time when children started attending Christian schools, they acquired a more acute familiarity with Latin script. This is reflected in the transformation of the graphic traditional habits of the *aljamía*.'[48]

We also know that the selection of works to be translated and copied was made according to the general interests of the community, to the copyist's personal preferences, or to those of the customer.[49] Most of the Morisco codices found in Aragon were copied under the commission of a Muslim scholar to be recited and used in specific occasions for the instruction of coreligionists.[50] It is in this respect that stylistically, most of these texts display oral features and almost all of them are closely related to the everyday life of Moriscos. Even the religious treatises that seem to be theoretical have a practical dimension or are followed by sermons that illustrate the precepts and put them in context. The most frequent instances are religious texts in the subgenre called *ḫuṭba* (sermon). The orality that underlies this kind of text unearths the importance of practice in Morisco Islam; and the sense of belongingness to a community that shares the same faith is acutely felt in the ritual of collective reading. These texts, such as the sermon of the Sacrifice Day (*ʿīd al-aḍḥa*) in Ms. J 25, are the best

[46] The most recently updated catalogue of *aljamiado* manuscripts is found in Vespertino-Rodríguez, 'Una aproximación a la datación de los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos.'
[47] BPT, Ms. T 235, see López-Morillas, '"Trilingual" Marginal Notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo.'
[48] 'El libro manuscrito entre los moriscos,' pp. 78, 75.
[49] Trans. from Montaner, 'El auge de la literatura aljamiada en Aragon,' pp. 52-53.
[50] Martínez-de Castilla-Muñoz, 'El libro manuscrito entre los moriscos,' p. 79.

testimony that the Morisco community performed Islamic rituals.[51] As the study of Ms. Oc. will show, although the text has no direct signs of its being read in public, its backbone is a series of sermons that evinces its performative aspect and prompts the imagination of the space(s) in which the reading activity may have occurred.[52]

2. The Assemblage of Ocaña

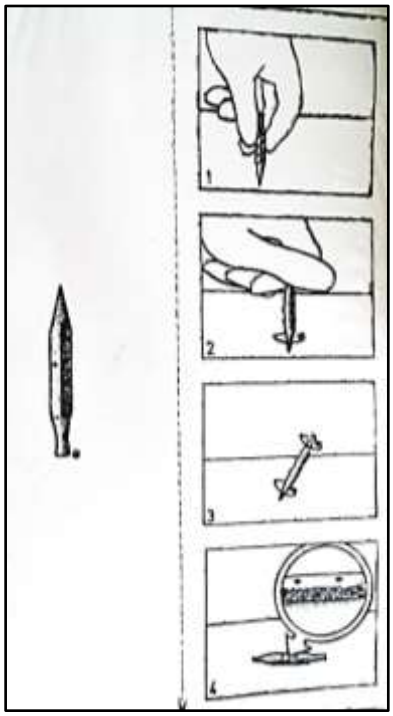
Like the rest of Morisco libraries, the small library of Ocaña hosts a miscellany of codices of different codicological features, linguistic traits, and contents. The few scholars who have examined the manuscripts of Ocaña have all postulated that the owner was a *faqih* (Islamic scholar); but none of their studies explored the lot in its entirety, examining the manuscripts in detail and establishing connections between them, in order to back up this hypothesis. The in-depth study, proposed in the following sections, does not overlook the necessity of a constant zooming out to examine both the immediate and the more remote surroundings of the manuscript.

In the first account of the discovery, the assemblage of Ocaña is described as follows:

> When the wall of the house was demolished, a hidden cupboard with a wide shelf was discovered behind it. On the shelf, there appeared nine Arabic manuscripts, a parchment paper with some sort of a wooden whipping top engraved with special signs. According to the testimony of the proprietors, the cupboard was found at the level of the attic.[53]

Joaquina Albarracín-Navarro later specified that the parchment paper was a draught board, with Arabic letters inscribed on the squares; and the object that was called *peonẓa* (whipping top) does not have the usual round shape. It is rather a quadrangular 'five-centimetre small stick (*palito*) that is similar to a pencil fragment, with a number of dots inscribed on the four bevelled edges: one dot on the first side, two on the second, three on the third, and four on the fourth.'[54] Among the documents that Hofman-Vannus generously provided is the sketch that Navarro made for this little object found with the checkered parchment:

[51] BTNT, Ms. J 25 (16th century), fols. 100v-148r: *Aljotba* (sermon) *de la Pascua de los adahaes,* including *Alhadith del sacrificio de Ismail,* the tale of Abraham's near-sacrifice of his son, a sermon read on the day of *ʿīd al-aḍḥa* (the religious feast of sacrifice); three other sermons follow in the same Ms.
[52] Refer to Chapter II, section II.
[53] Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 63; the same passage is found in Martínez-Ruiz, 'Huellas de las tres culturas,' p. 299.
[54] 'Actividades de un faqih,' p. 438.

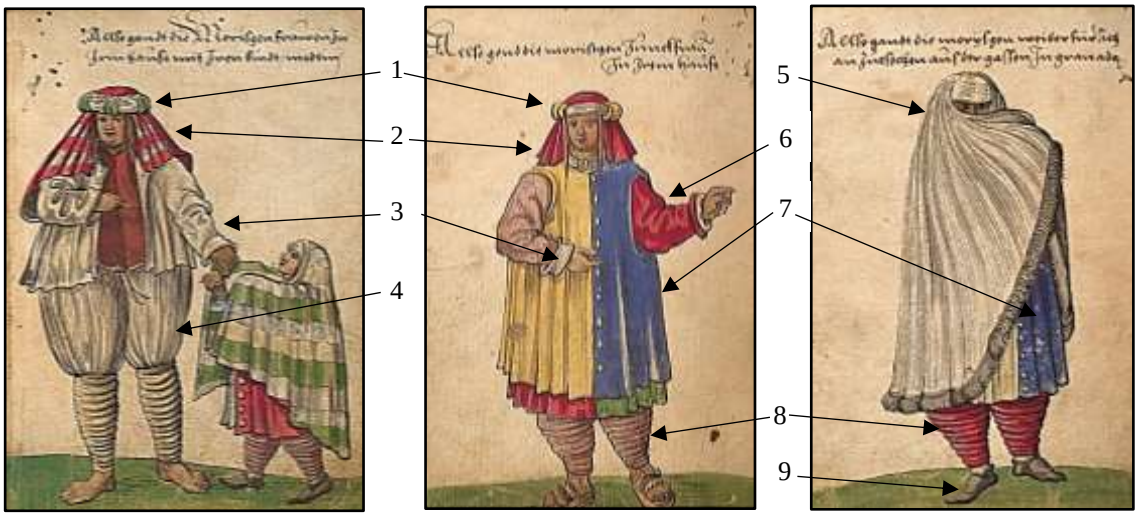


<u>Picture 3</u>: A Sketch of the Object found with Ms. Oc.

Source: Albarracín-Navarro, *'Peonza de madera hallada junto a un pergamino ajedrezado entre los manuscritos árabes de Ocaña (Toledo)'*: A wooden whipping top, found with a checkered parchment in the Arabic manuscripts of Ocaña (Toledo). Unedited sketch, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The parchment and the wooden object were undoubtedly used in supernatural practices, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano confirm that 'in *al-Andalus*, the chessboard pattern on parchment had to do with magical grids.'[55] Navarro suggests that the object may have been used as a dice, whirled on the parchment, so that the number of dots indicate something in relation to the letters in the squares. The assumption that the owner performed this kind of activity will be corroborated with the content of one of the manuscripts found in the lot. It is also alleged that a *babucha* (pair of slippers) was found during the restoration work.[56] The *babucha* is a typical Islamic footwear that is still used in many countries nowadays as a traditional clothing item. We find a representation of these slippers (Pic. 4, n°9) in Christoph Weiditz's sixteenth-century *Trachtenbuch* (Costume Book). These coloured plates are among the very few contemporary documents where Morisco garments are represented.[57] Although artistic representation of real life should be used with caution, it is unlikely that the artist invented these images. Despite the ban on wearing these kinds of clothes, imposed with royal decrees throughout history, Weiditz's paintings testify to the survival of Islamic costumery, the items of which are named in the archives.

[55] *The Orient in Spain*, p. 273; for a study of the Andalusian magical grids, cf. M. Comes and R. Comes, 'Los cuadrados mágicos matemáticos en al-Andalus.'
[56] Hofman-Vannus, *Historias religiosas*, p. 1.
[57] See also the representation of the French artist, Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602) in Chapter III, section III. 2. 1. of this thesis.



<u>Picture 4</u>: A Depiction of Morisco Clothing
Source: Christoph Weiditz**,** *Trachtenbuch* (*Costume Book*) (1530s)
Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, fols. 100, 97, and 103
1-*Rodete;* **2**-*Sabaniyya;* **3**-*Camisa;* **4**-*Zaragüelles;* **5**-*Almalafa;* **6**-*Marlota;* **7**-*Atabe;* **8**-*Trabaq;* **9**-*Babucha*

It is hard to determine the time when this footwear was hidden, as the prohibition of wearing Moorish garments had been enforced and eased many times in history. Among the discriminatory rules established in the Synod of Ávila (Map 1, n° 8) of 1481, the clothes of all Jews and Muslims should distinctively bear signs of their confessions to avoid confounding them with Christians.[58] It was not the first time that a special clothing code was imposed on Castilian religious minorities: right from the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Mudejars' clothes were marked with a blue crescent on the right shoulder, carrying the 'stigma' of their Islamic allegiance.[59] The owner of the *babucha* may have hidden it during the reign of Ferdinand II (1475- 1504); or after 1518, when Charles I (1516-1556) reinforced the suspended prohibition of wearing Moorish garments; or any time later.[60] For many Christian priests, these measurements were much more efficient than the Edicts of Conversion that concealed visible differences, but failed at eradicating Islamic and Jewish beliefs. This was the opinion of the Inquisitor of Valencia, Fray Jaime Bleda, a staunch apologist of the Expulsion, who wrote to King Philip III in 1605, expressing his desire to see Muslims clad in different colours to distinguish them from Christians, as it was the case of the Jews in Rome.[61] Since the Islamic *babucha* was carelessly thrown away, along with all the objects in

[58] '*… que de hoy en adelante todos los judíos y moros traygan señales, los judíos coloradas, según que es de costumbre, y los moros capuces amarillos con lunas azules, y las moras lunas de paño azul*;' cf. García y García, *Synodicon Hispanarum* 6, p. 204.
[59] Cantera-Montenegro, 'Los supuestos jurídicos', p. 428.
[60] Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain,* p. 215 n1.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 215-6, n1.

the excavated lot of Ocaña, the fragmentary information available about these lost material witnesses deepens the mystery of the discovery rather than resolves it.

Embarking on the assumption that the owner was a *faqīh* (Islamic scholar), Joaquina Albarracín-Navarro even took a step further, concluding that the origin of the scholar is Madrid. In one of her articles, she presents the assemblage as 'the private library of a *faqih* "from Madrid,"' based on 'a small scrap of parchment found inside one of the books.' The only phrase that Navarro quotes from the paper is 'I [unintelligible word], the wife of the *faqih* of Madrid;' and with no further details, Navarro follows with a short statement about the script that she describes as 'gothic cursive.'[62] The 'mysterious' piece of paper is mentioned nowhere else in the other articles that she and Juan Martínez-Ruiz devoted to the lot of Ocaña. This lost letter could have been an invaluable asset if studied paleographically and compared against the manuscripts. The possibility that the scribe is a woman should not be discarded, especially as some passages and/or annotations in several codices were written in a gothic cursive script, as will be seen later.

It is not surprising that the wife of a *faqīh* (scholar) could write some of the manuscripts, along with the letter. Between 1531 and 1560, more than 40% of the detainees charged with '*Mahometanismo*' (Islamic practices) in Toledo were women.[63] This considerable percentage is indicative of the involvement of women in the preservation of Islamic rituals in Castile. The figure, however, falls short of revealing the importance of the role they played inside their homes, and outside the domestic space. Knowledgeable Morisco women, such as 'La Mora de Úbeda,' the Granadan royal scribe and Sufi mystic, were well-known.[64] Not only in Granada, where Islam was deeply seated, but also in Zaragoza, Belchite, and other Aragonese areas, do we hear of eloquent female scholars, such as Nuzaya who would engage with her male fellows in religious disputes.[65]

The mysterious piece of paper signed by the *faqīh*'s wife was not the only letter discovered in the lot. A second one, in which the names of both the sender and the recipient are mentioned, was found inside Ms. Oc.[66]

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[62] 'Actividades de un faqih mudéjar,' p. 437.
[63] Dedieu, '¿pecado original o pecado social?' qtd. in García-Cárcel 'Las mujeres conversas en el siglo XVI,' p. 600.
[64] El mancebo de Arévalo, the most famous Morisco writer recounts his encounter with this knowledgeable old woman in his *aljamiado Tafsira* (treatise), ed. by Mª Teresa Narváez-Córdoba (Trotta, 2003).
[65] For a study on the Aragonese Morisco women, see Fournel- Guérin, 'La femme morisque en Aragon.'
[66] Ed. and trans. into French in Viguera-Molins, 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe.'

2.1. The Enclosed Letter

Iris Hofman-Vannus recalls that during her visits to the house of Del Águila to examine the manuscript, the four folios of the letter were loose. It was the proprietor of the house who claimed that it had been found inside the manuscript.[67] Vannus also remembers that a new layer was added to the original cover of the codex, before her third and last visit. The attachment must have taken place when the most recent binding was made. From the photographs taken by Rafael del Águila in the 1990s, it is clear that the letter was torn apart as its folios were rearranged in the wrong order: folios 3 and 4 were attached upside down.



Picture 5: The Letter found enclosed in Ms. Oc., later attached to the binding

The author of the letter, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abū Sālim aš-Šaṭibī, wrote it 'in a hurry,' as he himself indicates, in 888 AH/1483 CE to the 'renowned *faqih* Saʿūd al-Anṣārī,' just to check on him and express his desire to meet him. With loyalty to his Islamic identity, the sender presents himself using a full classical Arabic structure, with an *ism* (first name), *nasab* (genealogical chain), and *nisba* (an attributive name that indicates the place of origin); and used the Hijri date, along with the Gregorian one.

Viguera-Molins, the only scholar who studied the letter, deems the sender's overall language proficiency 'extraordinary,' judging by the decline of Arabic in Castile at that time.[68] She postulates that this advanced level may be due to the Valencian origins of the writer and his proximity to the elite circle of scholars. Indeed, his *nisba* (attributive name), 'aš-Šāṭibī,' refers to Šāṭiba, undoubtedly the Arabic original name of Xátiva (Játiva), a Valencian town that was a centre of paper production and a learning hub in the twelfth century.[69] It is difficult to trace the lineage of the writer of the letter, based on his attributive name, as this was very commonly used; and many are the Islamic scholars that bore it. The most renowned among them was a blind scholar who 'introduced mnemotechniques in the discipline of Coran

[67] Iris Hofman-Vannus, personal communication, May, 2017.
[68] 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe,' p. 159.
[69] The town was conquered by the Christians in 645 AH/ 1247 CE; Valencia was one of the central nodes in the network of Morisco manuscript culture.

reading (*qirāʾa*).'[70] Aš-Šāṭibī, the writer of this letter, might have been a descendent of one of those scholars, as we know that in many cases blood and knowledge lineages run in parallel.

As for the addressee, Saʿūd al-Anṣārī, his shortened name, with no indication of his parental lineage, most probably indicates his fame. We know that this format (first name+family name in the form of *nisba*) was used by famous Toledan Mudejars to sign their Castilian documents, alongside their full Arabic signatures.[71] 'Al-Anṣārī' was also a very common name in Islamic Spain. One of the most famous scholars bearing it was the Mudejar *alfaqui* (scholar) of *Almagí de la Alquibla*, the central mosque of Ávila (Map 1, n°8).[72] His well-known *fatwā* (legal opinion) was about the validity of prayer on the skin of an animal that was not slaughtered according to Islamic ritual.

Unfortunately, neither the sender's name, nor the receiver's, is sufficient to identify them. Bearing in mind that this is a private correspondence, there is a high probability that either aš-Šaṭibī or al-Anṣārī was one of the owners of Ms. Oc. who slipped it into the book. The letter is also written in *Maġribī* script; but the hand looks different from that of the codex, despite the similarities in the *ductus* of some letters such as the final *tāʾ marbūṭa*,[73] and the combination of the definite article *al* and the letter *alif*. None of these features is idiosyncratic; and for that no conclusion can be drawn out of them. The connection between this letter and Ms. Oc. remains obscure.

In any case, apart from indicating the potential ownership of the codices, the dated letter was one of the paratextual elements that made it possible to determine the approximate time in which the manuscripts were produced. Above all, the letter is a valuable document that challenges the belief in the loss of written Arabic in Castile in the fifteenth century, based on the fact that the surviving Castilian juridico-religious documents, at least in the middle of the century, were written in Castilian Romance.[74] Although it is only one individual case, the examination of the small library of the owner of Ms. Oc. offers an idea about the rich and intricate linguistic situation in the Castilian town.

[70] *EI*, s. v. Al-Shāṭibī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Firruh b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ruʿaynī (d. 590 AH/1194 CE).
[71] Cf. Molénat, 'Communautés musulmanes de Castille et du Portugal,' p. 126.
[72] ʿAbd Allāh b. Uṯmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ansārī; cf. Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 62-3 and Wiegers, *Islamic literature*, p. 82.
[73] The classical Arabic grapheme for the feminine singular morpheme {-a(t) } .
[74] Molénat, 'L'arabe à Tolède,' pp. 493-4.

2.2. The Nine Islamic Manuscipts

The very first description of seven out of the nine manuscripts of Ocaña appears in the 1972-short report of the discovery, where only the sizes of the codices are mentioned, along with brief information about their covers.[75] Aware of the necessity of a rigorous study of the material aspects of the manuscripts, Iris Hofman-Vannus offered a more detailed description, listing the main features of each one of them and summarising the data in a table.[76] In what follows, some of these features are reproduced and complemented with additional information scattered in the many articles of Martínez-Ruiz and Albarracín-Navarro about some of the manuscripts.

[75] Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez- Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües.'
[76] 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' Table on pp. 126-7.

Reference in this study	Reference in H. Vannus's article	Size (cm)	Script and Ink	Illumination	Binding	Content	Further Comments
1-Ms. Oc. A.	'*Del Corán I'* (from the Coran I)	14×12.5	Careful script; clear and tidy handwriting; vocalised text.	Rubricated; yellow chapter headings; more sophisticated illumination.		End of Chapter 42 to Chapter 47 of the Coran	
2-Ms. Oc. B. *El misceláneo*	'*Del Corán II'* (from the Coran II), later dubbed '*El misceláneo de Salomón'* (The Miscellany of Solomon)	21.4×15	Sepia ink; most of the headings are rubricated; careful hand (except in fols. 26^{v}-28^{r}).[1]	None.	Parchment	Book of medicine and magic; 71 fols.: first 30 fols. on magic, pharmacopoeia, and medicine (a miscellany of amulets, talismans, and healing recipes), followed by the Tale of Solomon.	The only codex that caught the attention of Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz who gave it the name of '*El misceláneo de Salomón'*.[2]
3-Ms. Oc. C.	'*Del Corán III'* (from the Coran III)	21.5×15	*Maġribī* script; wavering handwriting; vocalised text.	Rubricated; fols. 1^{r} and 23^{r} bear an illuminated titlepiece, reading '*al-mulk lillāh*' (the Reign is Allah's).		Fol.23: a prayer folowed by S*urat al-Baqara* (chapter 2) On fol. 53 starts a series of invocations: the supplication called *al-Qunūt*, followed by other conventional formulae for the Prayer Ritual, such as *at-tašahhud*, and for ablution (fols. 57^{v}- 58^{r})	Dated on fol. 58^{v}: 881AH/1476 CE

[1] Cf. Albarracín-Navarro, 'Índice del manuscrito "Misceláneo de Salomón",' p. 369.

[2] The two scholars published around thirty articles about the different parts and aspects of the Ms., along with the book *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el ´Misceláneo de Salomón*' in which they transcribed and translated the first 30 folios (written in Arabic); the last four folios (in *aljamiado*) are studied in Martínez-Ruiz, 'Un nuevo texto aljamiado: el recetario de sahumerios.'

4-Ms. Oc. D.	*Corán* (Coran)	15.4×11	*Maġribī* script; wavering handwriting, akin to that of an elementary school- apprentice with a remarkable use of *misṭara* (the ruling frame used to trace the writing lines.)	A rubricated titlepiece reading '*al-mulk lillāh*' (the Reign is Allah's).	Parchment; with a special cover with leather straps (see Pic. 14 below)		
5-Ms. Oc. E.	'*El Corán*' (The Coran)	30.4×21.6	None.				
6-Ms. Oc. F.	*'Devocionario árabe'* (Arabic Prayer Book)	23×16	Romance in Gothic cursive Latin script, with the word '*Allāh'* written in Arabic.		Modern burgundy leather		The first eleven folios transcribed and studied by Martínez- Ruiz;[3] and another passage (fols. 11^{r}-16^{r}) by Albarracín-Navarro.[4]
7-Ms. Oc. G.	Unknown	22×15.4			Light Brown parchment with Arabic text inside		
8-Ms. Oc.	'*Manuscrito Mudéjar-Morisco de Ocaña'* (The Mudejar-Morisco Manuscript of Ocaña)	10.5×7	*Maġribī* script with Arabic, *aljamiado,* and Romance glosses.		Modern burgundy (or brown)[5] leather; blackened old leather; parchment underneath		

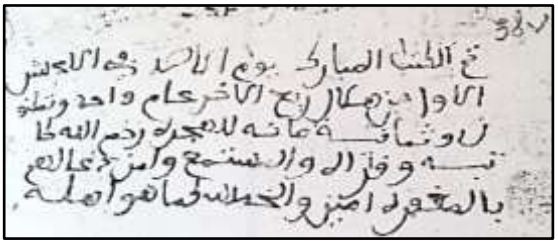
[3] Martínez-Ruiz, 'Versión morisca de la "Súplica inicial."'
[4] Albarracín-Navarro, 'Unas "alguacías" de Ocaña.'
[5] Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 63.

Only eight Mss. are listed in Hofman-Vannus's description, including Ms. Oc., although she counts nine. The ninth Ms. may refer to the loose folios described in Albarracín-Navarro's work.							
9-Loose papers		22×15	Romance in Gothic cursive Latin script, with the word '*Allāh'* written in Arabic; the hand is similar to that of Ms. Oc. F. (n° 6 above)			Prayers (*adoas*) and *alguacías* (recommendations).	Albarracín- Navarro offered a transcription and studied the linguistic aspects of some of these folios that she thinks were part of a prayer book.[6]

Table 2: The Manuscript Lot of Ocaña

[6] Albarracín-Navarro, 'Unas adoas;' it first seems that these folios belonged to the *devocionario* (Ms. Oc. F.), but Albarracín-Navarro makes it clear that these are two separate codices; cf. Martínez-Albarracín and Albarracín-Navarro, 'Las "alguacías" más antiguas.'

Ms. Oc. C. is a manuscript that bears a dated colophon, an inscription written at the end of the text, in which some paratextual information are recorded; but as in the majority of 'Arabo-Islamic manuscripts, the colophon does neither evince the identity of the copyist, nor indicate the circumstances in which s/he fulfilled their task.'[1] This is typical of most Morisco manuscripts, usually anonymous and undated. Consuelo López-Morillas notes that only twenty-nine out of more than a hundred Mudejar/Morisco codices, hosted at the National Library of Madrid, carry the name of their scribes. Besides, these manuscripts, written between 1132 and 1589, very rarely indicate the place in which they were copied.[2] The date in the colophon of Ms. Oc. C. has been highlighted in the previous studies of the manuscripts of Ocaña, and taken as estimation anchor for dating the lot.



<u>Picture 6</u>: Dated Colophon (881 AH/1476 CE), Ms. Oc. C., fol. 58^{v} (detail)
Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus

More important than the date itself, is the content of the colophon that has been disregarded. It is true that the few lines of this inscription do not reveal anything about the identity of the scribe; but they present an interesting blessing locution that should not be overlooked. It reads: 'This blessed book was accomplished […] May *Allāh* bless the writer/scribe, the reader, the listener, and whoever prays for their salvation. Amen. To *Allāh* the gratitude that He deserves.' The reference to a listener is a straightforward indication that the text was recited or at least intended to be orally transmitted, the fact that reinforces the hypothesis that the book was used by a preacher (*ḫaṭīb*), an *alfaqui* (Islamic scholar).

Apart from the date found in Ms. Oc. C. (881 AH/1476 CE), Joaquina Albarracín-Navarro and Juan Martínez-Ruiz refer to another date (831 AH/1428 CE), without specifying the manuscript that carries it.[3] A second vague dating reference is also made, in two of their articles, to a manuscript written in 1500, used for 'instructing the performance of the canonical Prayer Ritual."[4]

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[1] Déroche, *Manuel*, p. 203.
[2] López-Morillas, 'Más sobre los escribanos moriscos,' pp. 105-7.
[3] *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el ´Misceláneo de Salomón*,' p. 11; we only know that the Ms. in question is written in Arabic; in her article 'Actividades de un faqih mudéjar,' Albarracín-Navarro specifies that the date is found in the context of a 'divinatory performance' (*en un proceso adivinatorio*), p. 438.
[4] Albarracín-Navarro, 'Actividades de un faqih mudéjar,' p. 438; and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Versión morisca de la "Súplica inicial,"' p. 324.

2.2.1. The Coran Copies

As seen in Table 2, at least four of the manuscripts, including Ms. Oc. C., are reproductions of Coranic chapters. This is not surprising, knowing that the extensive copying of Coran is a typical characteristic of Mudejar/Morisco manuscript production. Many are the Morisco treatises that deal with the benefits of reading, copying, and carrying verses of the Coran;[5] and much more are the Coran copies, the majority of which include annotations in the regional Spanish dialect or in *aljamiado* (Spanish in Arabic script), consisting of explanations/translations, comments, and devotional items, such as exaltations and prayers.[6]

Upon his examination of the corpus of Aragonese Morisco manuscripts, Jesús Zanón comes to the conclusion that 20. 4% of the codices are Coranic, including copies of chapters and commentaries.[7] The *aljamiado* translations and commentaries of the Coran have been extensively studied in previous works.[8] On the other hand, the more recent study of Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz on the Arabic Corans of Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon; Map 1, n°22) has drawn attention to the disregarded Arabic copies.[9]

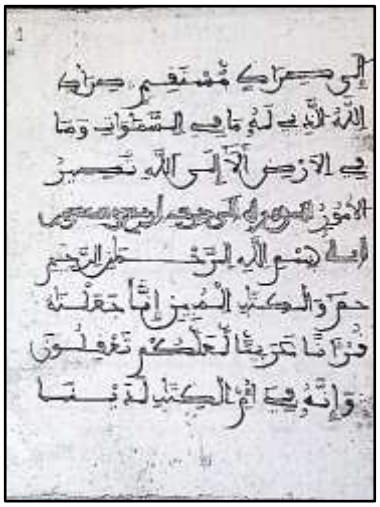
In this study, she classifies the Aragonese Corans into three categories. What she calls 'Morisco Qur'ans'[10] and 'Popular/Family Copies' are two types of excerpt codices that coexisted with the volumes of 'Complete Qur'ans.' The typology is based mainly on the selection of the sequence of chapters/verses copied in the codex, among other criteria. According to Muñoz's classification, the group of Coranic manuscripts in the lot of Ocaña is an interesting case, unfolding a small but rich collection that encompasses a variety of sub-categories of Coran copies.

Judging by the size criterion, Ms. Oc. E. (30.4×21.6 cm) might be a complete copy of the Coran, although the minimal data we have about the codex cannot sustain the contention. On the other hand, what we know about Ms. Oc. A. is enough to ascribe it to the category of Complete Corans. The fragment that survived from Ms. Oc. A. runs from the end of verse

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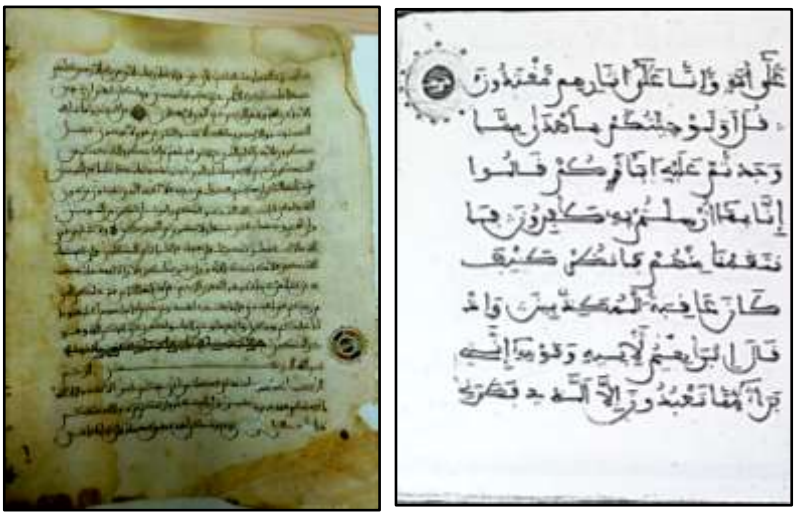
[5] For instance, BNM, Ms. 5081: '*Capítul del fablamiento del Alcorán y del bien que se hace con él,*' cf. Viladrich, 'Fablamiento del Alcorán,' pp. 189-90; BTNT, Ms. J 12 has a passage about one of the methods of reading the Coran.
[6] For instance, BNM, Ms. 4983.
[7] 73.1% of these Coranic mss. are copies of chapters and 26. 9% are commentaries (*tafsīr*); 15% of the lot of Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon) consists of copied verses; cf. Zanón, 'Los estudios de lengua árabe,' p. 365.
[8] Esp. the works of López-Morillas, Hermosilla, and Vernet; refer to the bibliography of this thesis.
[9] 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de la Sierra;' see also her most recent article, 'A Bilingual "Morisco Qur'an."'
[10] The basic sequence of what Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz identifies as 'Morisco Qur'an' is the following: Q. 1; Q. 2:1-5, 163, 255-7, 284-6; Q. 3:1-6,18-19 (first part), 26-7; Q. 9:128-9; Q. 26:78-89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17-19; Q. 33:40-4; Q. 36; Q. 67; Q. 78-114; cf. 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain,' p. 96.

52 of Chapter 42 to the middle of verse 48 of Chapter 47. This excerpt does not fit in any of the prevalent sequences of the Aragonese 'Morisco Qur'an' and its variants.



Picture 7: Ms. Oc. A., fol. 1^{r}

Like Ms. 31 in the collection studied by Martínez-de-Castilla, the codex yields itself to the sub-group of 'Complete Qur'ans or Parts,' by virtue of its high material quality and palaeographic features. It can actually be part of a multi-volume complete copy.[11]

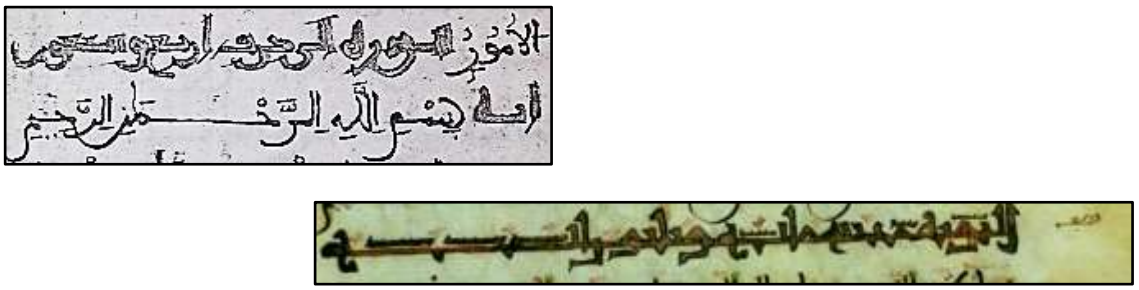


Picture 8: Compared Corans
(a) Ms. 31 (BTNT, Ms. RESC/46C), fol. 67^{v}; Image 1 in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts,' p. 93; **(b)** Ms. Oc. A., fol. 4^{r}; Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus

Ms. Oc. A. is written with diacritic marks in *Andalusī*, a sub-category of the *Maġribī* script, characterised by its small angular appearance, elongated *kāf*, *ṣād*, and *ḍād*; and pointed final *yā'*, *fā'*, *qāf*, and *nūn*.[12] The *hamza* is replaced with a yellow dot, in the fashion of the traditional Coran copies, which shows the scribe's familiarity with the classical rules. The titles of the Coranic chapters are written in yellow, imitating gold, in pseudo-kufic script with no

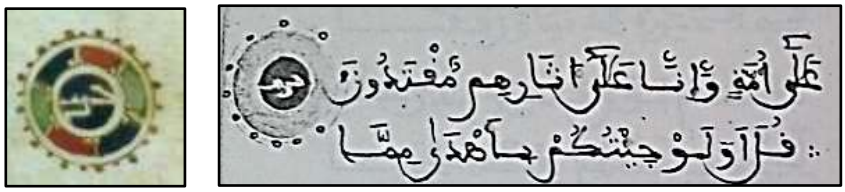
[11] BTNT, Ms. RESC/46C (28.4×21.2 cm), 15th century.
[12] See 'Andalusī script' in Gacek, *Vademecum*, pp. 8-9.

diacritics. The style looks similar to that of the complete Coran, Ms. 31, in the Almonacid collection.



Picture 9: Compared Corans: Headings
(a) Ms. Oc. A., fol. 1ʳ: Heading of Q 43;[1] **(b)** Ms. 31 (BTNT, Ms. RESC/46C), fol. 57ᵛ; Fig. 1. in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts,' p. 105.

The similarities between the two manuscripts are also apparent in the rest of the decorative elements, used to mark textual breaks in the margins. Indeed, these marginal signals are only found in the complete Coran copies in the Aragonese collection.[13] In both manuscripts, Ms. Oc. A. and Ms. 31, the liturgical division, '*ḥiẓb'* (section), is written inside a *vignette*, in the circumference of several concentric circles; and verse separations are marked with three dots in pyramid. A decorated *ḥāʾ* is added every five verses, and a rosette every ten verses.



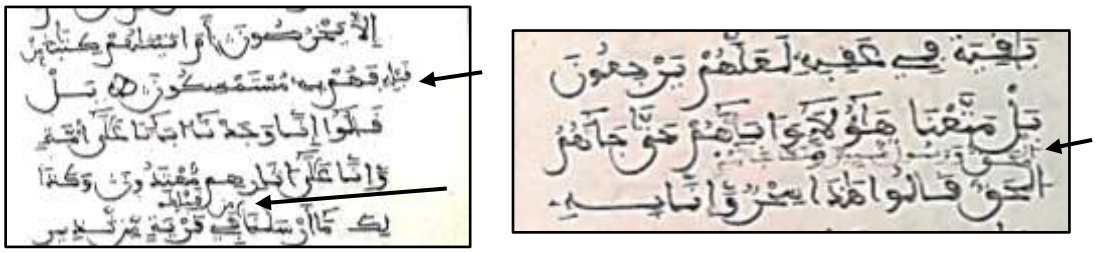
Picture 10: Compared Corans: Divisions 1
(a) Ms. 31 (BTNT, Ms. RESC/46C), fol. 67ᵛ: *ḥizb*; Fig. 3 in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts,' p. 105; **(b)** Ms. Oc. A., fol. 4ʳ (detail): *ḥizb*; The division indicates



Picture 11: Compared Corans: Divisions 2
(a) Ms. 32 (BTNT, Ms. RESC/47): *ḥāʾ* separating every five verses; Fig. 14 in Martínez-de-Castilla- Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts,' p. 110; **(b), (c)** Ms. Oc. A., fols. 1ʳ (*ḥāʾ*) and 1ᵛ (rosette) (details).

Ms. Oc. A., written and illuminated in a visibly more sophisticated way than the other Corans in the lot, is a revised and rectified copy. In the few copied folios, examined in this study, the corrections seem to be written in a similar hand, although there are some slight differences in final letters, such as *nūn* and *hāʾ*. These variations might be due to the scribe's care for adapting the *ductus* to the restricted interlinear and marginal spaces. The examination of more folios is needed to draw sound conclusions.

[13] Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts,' p. 97.



<u>Picture 12</u>: The Coran of Ocaña: Corrections
Ms. Oc. A., fols. 3^{v} and 4^{v} (detail)

The Moriscos cared about the accuracy of their Corans and were clearly apprehensive of the versions they possessed. In Sabiñán (Aragon), the Morisco esparto-harvester, Miguel Luengo, was heard comparing his Coran with that of his fellow, discussing which of them was 'better and more truthful.'[14] This discussion reveals the Morisco layman's concern about the quality of his copy of the Book, at a time when evaluation was hard due to illiteracy or Arabic deficiency. In Toledo, the merchant Jerónimo de Rojas who was condemned to the stake in 1603, used to inquire about 'very knowledgeable men who would sell him Arabic books translated into Castilian Romance so that he could fully understand their content.' He was informed that 'the more one could pay, the clearer the script they get; and that learned people were ready to proofread the texts and clarify the handwriting to make them more accessible.'[15] With closer palaeographical analysis, if the corrections prove different from the core-text, the Coranic Ms. Oc. A. might be one of those copies that Castilian Moriscos commissioned scholars to verify.

From the witnesses of Rojas's trial, we also know that the 'culprit' asked a Granadan Morisco to teach him Arabic script, 'although he was not a great scholar of his sect.'[16] The mere origin of this man was enough to guarantee that he was a good Muslim. Had the novice Rojas tried to learn to write in Arabic to copy Coranic chapters, his handwriting might have been similar to that of the scribe of Mss. Oc. C. and D**.** Indeed, these two manuscripts make up a separate unit, as they are written in the same hand that is different from the rest of the corpus. They both start with the headpiece *'al-mulk lillāh'* (the Reign is Allah's) and comprise Coranic verses and series of prayers (Pic. 13.) The sequences in Mss. Oc. C. and D. show that they are prayer books that can be ascribed to the 'Family/Popular' category, meant to facilitate access to

[14] '…*disputando qual era mejor y más verdadero*,' qtd. in Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540- 1620),' p. 250.
[15] AHN. Inq. Toledo, Leg. 197-5, qtd. in García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 69; the case of Jerómino de Rojas has been studied in more details in García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain,* in relation to the life of the famous translator of King Philip II, Miguel de Luna, pp. 187-191.
[16] García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain,* p. 187.

excerpts of the Book, as they are easy to carry around and read. The missing conventional headbands with the titles of chapters, the absence of verse ending marks, and the careless layout are all typical characteristics of prayer books that we find in both manuscripts.



Picture 13: Corans of Ocaña
Ms. Oc. C., fols. 1[r] and 23[r] and Ms. Oc. D. fol. 1[v].

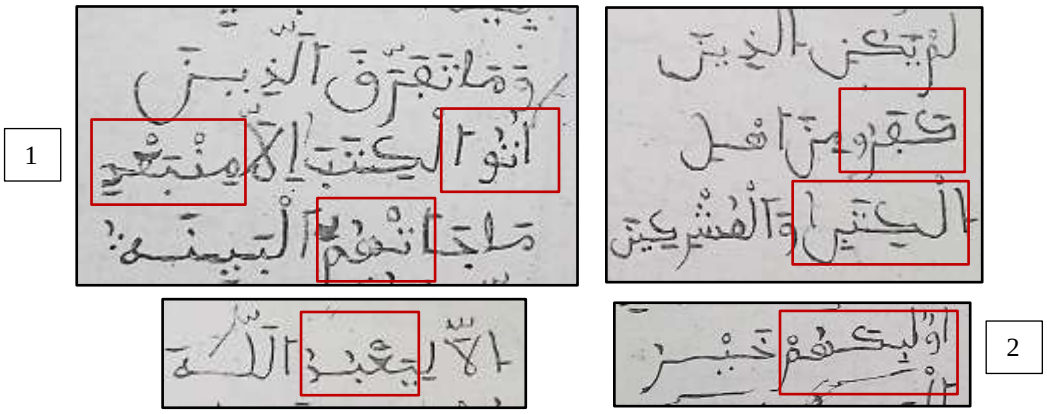
The text of Ms. Oc. D. starts with the first chapter of the Coran and reproduces the series of chapters 87 to 114, thus making up the last section of the Coran: *ḥizb* (section) number 60, followed by prayers. Similarly, Ms. Oc. C. is made up of the last *ḥizb* (section) and a series of prayers starting with the formula that the Prophet was accustomed to recite during the Morning Prayer Ritual to welcome the new day and greet 'the Honourable Scribes,'[17] the two angels that are believed to record the Muslim's deeds.[18] The structure of Mss. Oc. C. and D. is reminiscent of the Aragonese Ms. 7 in Martínez-de-Castilla's study that also consists in only one *hizb* (section) and is considered to be a 'family/popular copy.'[19]



Picture 14: Coran of Ocaña
Ms. Oc. D., fols. 1[v]-2[r]

[17] There is a weak report that narrates this habit of the Prophet.
[18] Cf. Q 50: 16-8 and 82: 10-2.
[19] BTNT, Ms. RESC/24.2 (18.8×14.6 cm), 16th century: *ḥizb* 59.

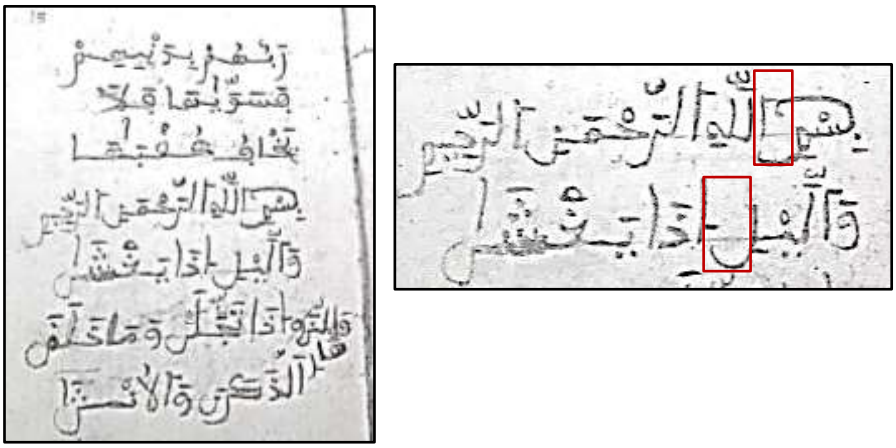
Mss. Oc. C and D may have pertained to a complete series. They can also be a variant of a 'Morisco Qur'an,' as it is the case of Ms. 6 in Martínez-de-Castilla's article, a manuscript in which the usual Morisco verse sequence is complemented with a series of prayers followed by the same last *ḥizb* (section) of the Coran.[20] The practical aspect of this kind of prayer books can explain their prevalence in the Morisco context. The shortest section of the Coran was easily copied, memorised, and recopied from memory in compendia that complement the holy text with prayer formula to use during the performance of the rituals. Most errors in both Mss. Oc. C. and D. are spelling mistakes that suggest that the texts were either written from memory or dictated (Pic. 15, esp. errors 1 and 2). It is not possible to make such linguistic errors, using a correct Coran copy as a model. The transcription of the verses may have been a memory exercise assigned in a learning context.



Picture 15: Coran of Ocaña: Spelling Mistakes
Ms. Oc. D., fols. 23r, 22v, 23v, and 24r
Errors 1 and 2 consist in the merging of two separate words; suggesting the the text was dictated or transcribed from memory.

It is very probable that these prayer codices were notebooks, the leaves of which had been gathered before anything was inscribed on them. In preparation for the writing task, horizontal lines were traced to guide the scribe (Pic. 16). The unequal length of these lines and the irregularity of the handwriting result in the disorganised overall appearance of the layout.

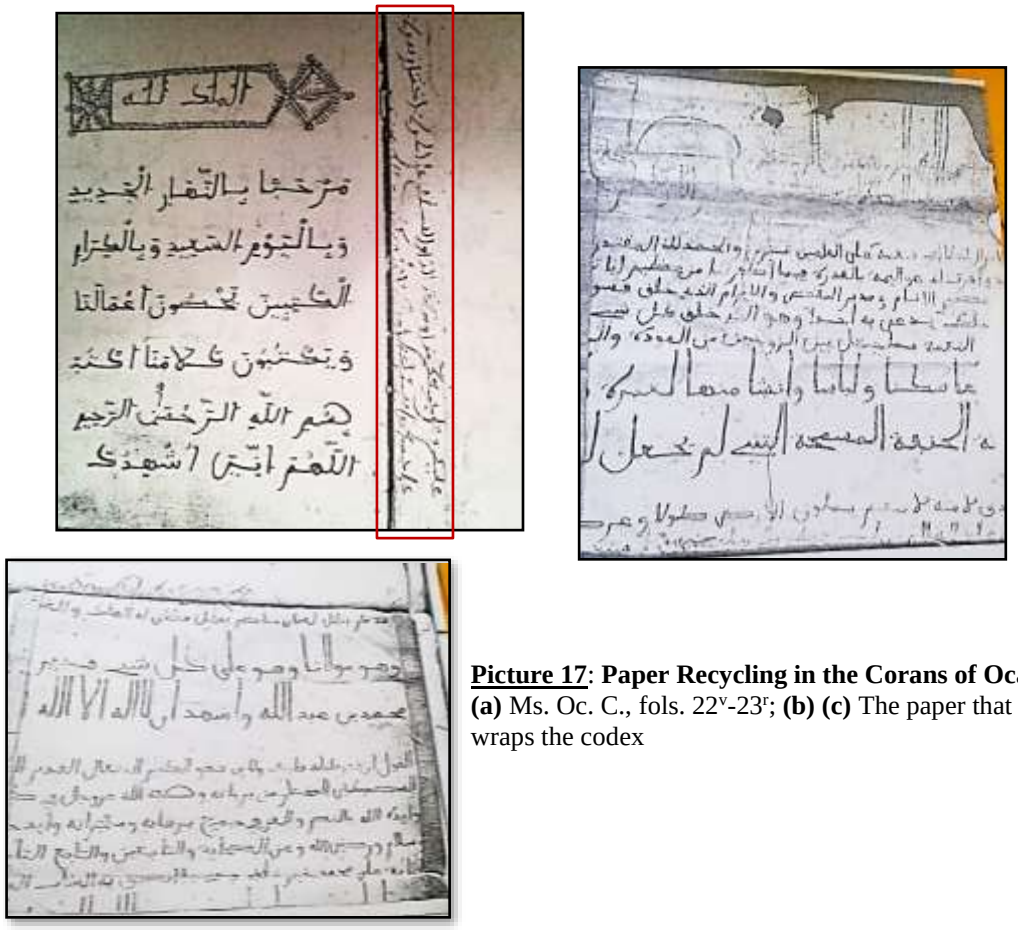
[20] BTNT, Ms. RESC/24.1 (18.7×14.5 cm), 16th century: 'Q. 7:54-6; Q. 59:18-24; Q. 73:9, 20 (second part) have been added in their correct place in the Qur'anic sequence of suras. Part of the usual selection (Q. 78-101) is then lacking and Q. 102-14 are followed by a prayer (35v). The copyist transcribed the last *ḥizb* (Q. 87-114) later;' cf. 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain,' p. 98.



<u>Picture 16</u>: Coran of Ocaña: Spelling Mistakes 2
Ms. Oc. D., fol. 15[r] and detail

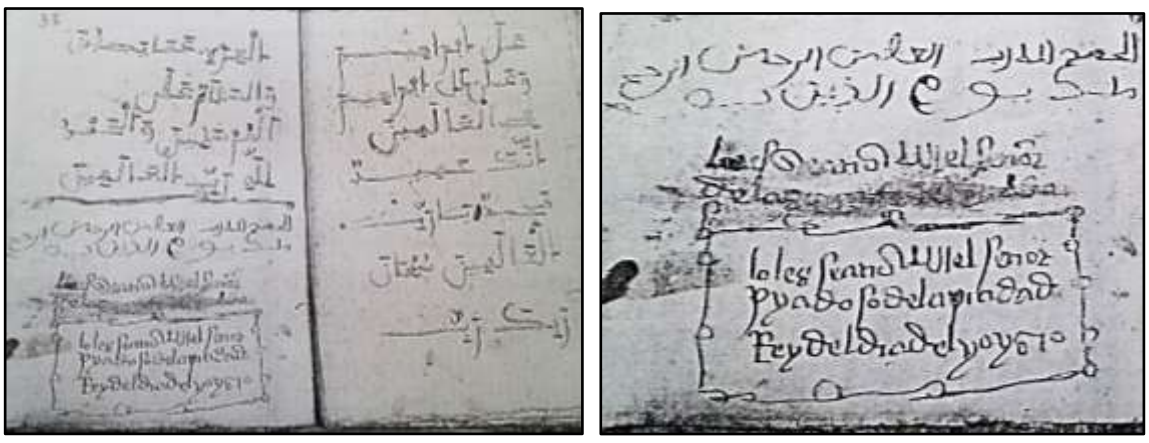
Added to that, the extensive use of recycled paper can be noted in the two codices. In Ms. Oc. C., a piece of paper appears on fol. 22v, perpendicular to the text on the following folio. On it is written an excerpt from a letter in which the sender greets the receiver, everyone (most probably meaning his/her family members), with special regards to a woman called Zahra or Zuhra (Pic. 17a).[21] This stab was most probably used to sustain the previous quire(s) of the codex. Two other pieces of the same letter appear on other folios. The whole codex is wrapped in a larger piece of paper, most probably made of parchment.

[21] '[…] والسلام على الحره اختنا زهرة'



Picture 17: **Paper Recycling in the Corans of Ocaña**
(a) Ms. Oc. C., fols. 22ᵛ-23ʳ; **(b) (c)** The paper that wraps the codex

The text of Ms. Oc. D. ends with an invocation that is commonly recited at the end of the prayer ritual.[22] A separation line is then traced, followed with a bilingual text: two lines in Arabic that consist of the first three verses of the Coran, written in a very bad hand; and its translation into Castilian Romance, part of which is put inside a frame. It is beyond doubt that more than one hand was involved in the writing of Ms. Oc. D., as this tailpiece proves that one of the owners/scribes of the codex did not master Arabic (Pic. 18).



Picture 18: Coran of Ocaña: Tailpiece
(a) Ms. Oc. D., fols. 37ᵛ-38ʳ; **(b)** Ms. Oc. D., fol. 38ʳ (detail), Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus

[22] The Coranic verses embedded in the prayer are Q37:180-2.

The lot of Ocaña includes at least one part of a complete copy of the Coran (Ms. Oc. A.), and family prayer books or fragments of 'Morisco Corans' (Mss. Oc. C. and D.) The palaeographical and codicological properties of these codices bespeak the multiple activities undertaken in both the production and use of these texts and offer a set of hypotheses about the profiles of the scribes and owner(s). Judging by the overall palaeographical and linguistic quality of the Coranic manuscripts, the popular prayer books (C. and D.) were written after the complete Coran (A.). This may indicate that the latter was used as reference in the copying process, but the types of errors in the prayer books show that the scribe did not have a copy at hand and rather copied from memory or transcribed the text during an oral recitation, most probably in a learning context. The prayer books C. and D. show that their scribe(s), and thus one or more of the successive owners of this library, was not an *alfaqui* (scholar) but an apprentice. On the other hand, in the rest of the assemblage, the fingerprint of a scholar is apparent.

2.2.2. *El Misceláneo de Salomón* (The Miscellany of Solomon)

Ms. Oc. B., '*El misceláneo de Salomón*,' as Navarro and Ruiz called it, is an acephalous manuscript that contains treatises of medicine and magic, taken from medicine manuals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, revolving around the figure of King Solomon, the sorcerer, followed by miscellaneous passages about the Names of God, and the divinatory properties of the seasons, planets, and moon phases.[23] The practical side of the codex is clear in the series of amulets and talismans made for everyday protection, and in the instruction that guides the devising of some charms.[24] This type of book is not rare in the Mudejar-Morisco corpus, and is a clear indication that its owner was an *alfaqui* (Islamic scholar). The sixteenth-century codex, *El libro de dichos maravillosos* (Book of Marvellous Sayings), discovered in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon; Map 1, n°22) is undoubtedly the best example of these prevalent magical codices.[25]

Solomon, the sorcerer, whose ring could predict the future and recreate the past, was a popular figure in the Morisco literary production.[26] Morisco necromancers were wont to use

[23] An index was published in Albarracín-Navarro, 'Índice del manuscrito *Misceláneo de Salomón;*' A bibliography of 24 articles and one book published by the two authors about the manuscript is cited in the end of this article.
[24] Albarracín-Navarro, 'Normas para escribir un alherze' and 'Un alherze (receta mágica) contenido en el "Misceláneo de Salomón."'
[25] BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22), about 300 folios, ed. in Labarta-Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos.*
[26] BNM, Ms. 5305, fols. 64-103, '*El recontamiento de çulayman,'* ed. in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas I,* pp. 281-311; cf. also RAH, Ms. T 9, n° 2.

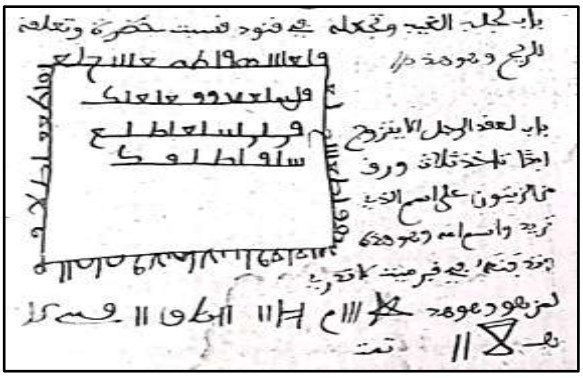
what they thought to be Solomonic symbols (seals, hexagons, and letters) to hold power over demons.[27]



Picture 18: Seals in Morisco Mss.
(a) Solomon's Ring in *El misceláneo de Salomón* (Ms. Oc. B.), fol. 54^{v} (detail).
(b) A similar seal in BTNT, Ms. RESC/22, fol. 524^{v}, ed. in Labarta-Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos*, p. 180; this seal is supposed to make the victim follow the sealer wherever s/he wants him/her to go.
(c) One of the Coranic seals in *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.), fol. 8^{v} (detail), Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el 'Misceláneo de Salomón,'* p. 206.

An Islamic scholar would heal following what he believes to be the medicine of the Prophet, using the words of Allah to seek His help to shun illness, evil eye, bad spirits and any kind of physical or spiritual misfortune that may befall the Muslim. The magical *herces* or *alherzes* (amulets) are inscriptions made on different supports, using a range of several substances, and in very specific circumstances.

Although the licit magical activities of Islamic scholars are meant to be conditionally 'white,' the instances of spells made to harm others are abundant. The Morisco books show that the *faqīh* (scholar) was not only in charge of protecting the bodies and souls of his coreligionists; he also helped them cast malignant spells over their fellows. The dark side of the magical practices of the Morisco *fuqahā'* (scholars) has not been explored. Here is an example that we find in *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.):



Picture 19: A Morisco Amulet in '*El misceláneo de Salomón*'
Ms. Oc. B., fol. 70^{r} (detail), Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus

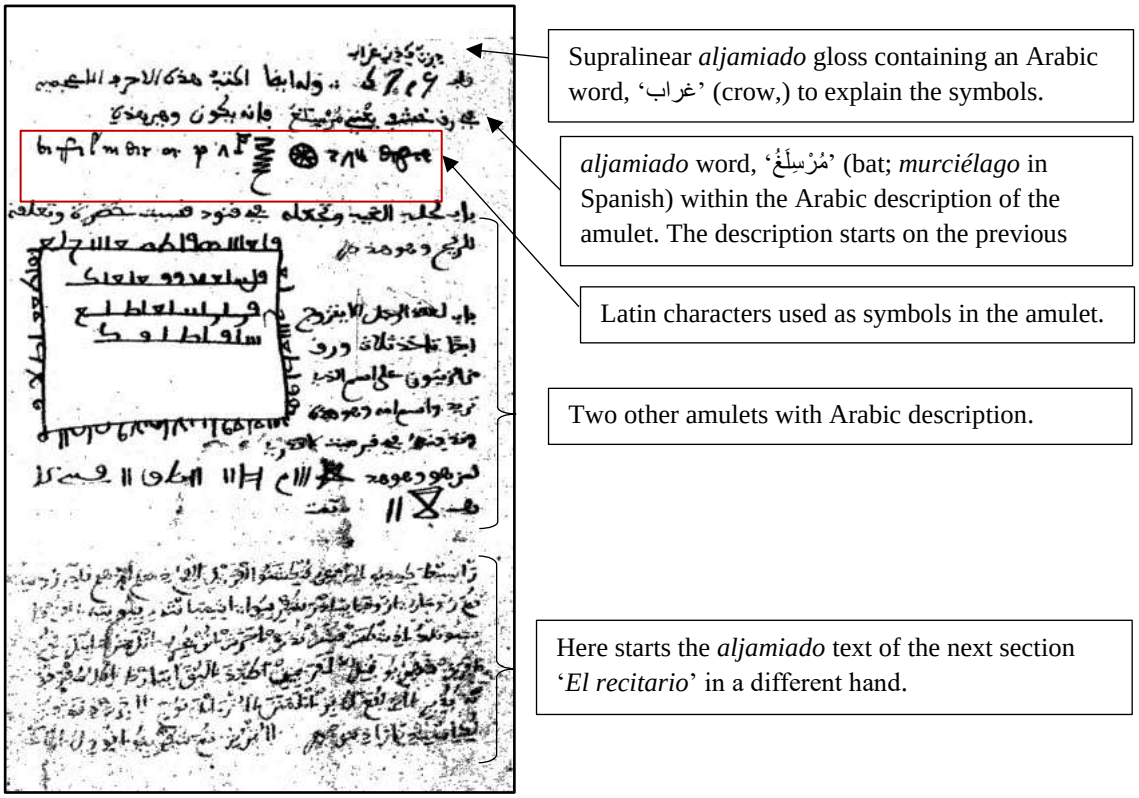
[27] Cf. García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 271-2; For a commentary on Solomon's Ring in *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.), see Albarracín-Navarro, 'El sello de Salomón.'

In folio 70^{r} (Pic. 19), two different amulets are listed: the first two lines introduce the square amulet, having the shape of a seal. The rest of the text is a description of the second amulet that consists in the last two lines of the excerpt, starting from the six-pointed star of David and ending with '*tammat*,' meaning 'completed.' This second amulet is an interesting case of dark magic. The instruction reads: 'so that a man never get married, take three olive leaves, [write] on them the name of the man intended and that of his mother and bury [them] in a grave of an unknown dead person, with this [amulet].'

As for the medicinal passages of the Ms. Oc. B., the gloss, صح (*saḥ*,) meaning 'thus' or '*sic*,' is frequently found on top of words and in the margins with further explanation, indicating that the text was faithfully copied.[28] This is corroborated by the recurrence of interlinear and marginal explanatory *aljamiado* glosses that imparts difficulty in understanding the language of the original Arabic text. These *aljamiado* annotations do not only explain the diction of medicinal plants and other substances, but also other more common Arabic words, which attests to the decline in language proficiency.[29] The linguistic barrier that hampered the easy access of one of the readers to the manuscript is also apparent in the core-text itself. In her study of *El misceláneo*, Albarracín-Navarro notes an oscillation between two different handwritings, coupled with a noticeable difference in the level of linguistic proficiency.[30] The copying, annotation, commentary, and expansion of the book material was a collaborative work of two scribes.

The last four folios of *El misceláneo* are written entirely in *aljamiado*, consisting of apotropaic aromatic or incense formulae (*recetario de sahumerios*). Studying this section, Martínez-Ruiz noted the evident linguistic features of medieval Castilian Romance.[31] One of the passages that have been disregarded in the work of Navarro and Ruiz represents a very interesting case that attests to the multi-linguistic aspect of *El Misceláneo.*

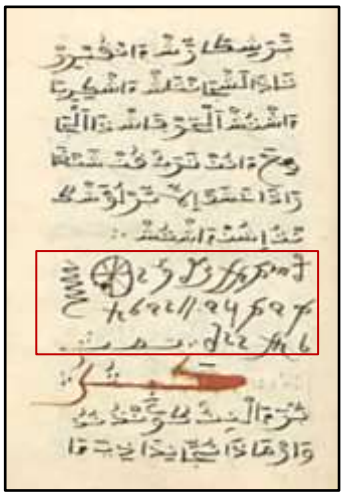
[28] See 'Transcription marks' in Gacek, *Vademecum,* p. 283.
[29] Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Glosas aljamiadas romances.'
[30] 'Toledano medieval e hispanoárabe en unas alguacías,' p. 181.
[31] 'Un nuevo texto aljamiado,' a reproduction, transcription in romance letters, and linguistic study of the text; and 'Toledano medieval,' including a section on the language of *El recitario,* pp.176-7.



<u>Picture 20</u>: Ms. Oc. B., '*El misceláneo de Salomón'*, fol. 70^{r}
Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

On this folio (Pic. 20), Latin and Arabic characters coexist. The Arabic core-text is annotated in *aljamiado*; while Latin characters are used in the amulet and ironically called '*aʿjamiyya'* (*aljamiado*), as the description reads: 'write these *aʿjamiyya* (foreign) letters.' The letters are written in the same gothic script encountered in many passages in the rest of the manuscripts. The first description in this folio is of an amulet made to make its bearer invisible. In the sixteenth-century *aljamiado* book entitled *El libro de dichos maravillosos* (Book of Marvellous Sayings) discovered in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon), we find an amulet that uses the same symbols for the exact same purpose, also with the bat as a magical ingredient on folio 78r (Pic. 21).[32] The instruction in the Aragonese *Book of Marvellous Sayings* reads: 'If you would like to hide from people, write these characters in *aljamia* on a cloth with the blood of bat, and carry it with you…'

[32] BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22), ed. in Labarta-Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos.*



<u>Picture 21</u>: An Amulet in a Morisco-*aljamiado* Ms.
El libro de dichos maravillosos, BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22), fol. 78^{r}
Open Access on CSIC portal of digitised manuscripts, <http://manuscripta.bibliotecas.csic.es>

Despite the many similarities, not only in the series of amulets but also in other passages, *El libro* is not a faithful copy of *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.). It is however beyond doubt that the two scribes used the same source, or that they at least had access to two copies of the same original source. This is another proof that the books that were in circulation among Castilian Moriscos were the same that Muslims read and used in Aragon.

El misceláneo (Ms. Oc. B.) is a practical manual of magic and medicine that testifies to the profane activities of an *alfaqui* (scholar). Among the manuscripts of Ocaña, this is one of the best testimonies of the social function of the Islamic scholar in the daily life of the community. A Morisco *alfaqui* must have used the text, expanded and annotated it, despite his relatively restricted knowledge of Arabic, in order to heal and manage social relations.

2.2.3. Other Religious Manuscripts

The religious activities of the *alfaqui* (scholar), one of the owners of the library of Ocaña, are registered in two other manuscripts, both written in Romance, in which we find three texts called '*alguacías*' in Spanish, a term that goes back to the Arabic *waṣiyya* (pl. *waṣāyā*), meaning testament or recommendation. The *waṣiyya* is considered to be a traditional religious subgenre of Islamic oratory that is closely related to the *ḫuṭba* of *waʿẓ* (exhortatory sermon). As Linda Jones explains, this tradition consists in the incorporation of 'Qurʾān and *ḥadīṯ*-inspired sentenciae and exhortations to address the broader public.' In the pre-Islamic era, the genre of '*waṣiyya*' was restrictly used to designate private wills; but in the Islamic context, it was extended to the public sphere, used for didactic purposes. Jones notes the variety of the meanings of the Islamic *waṣiyya*, as 'the Qurʾān applies the term to the divine counsel given

to the prophets, the directives the prophets issue to the people, and in the sense of property inheritance.'[33]

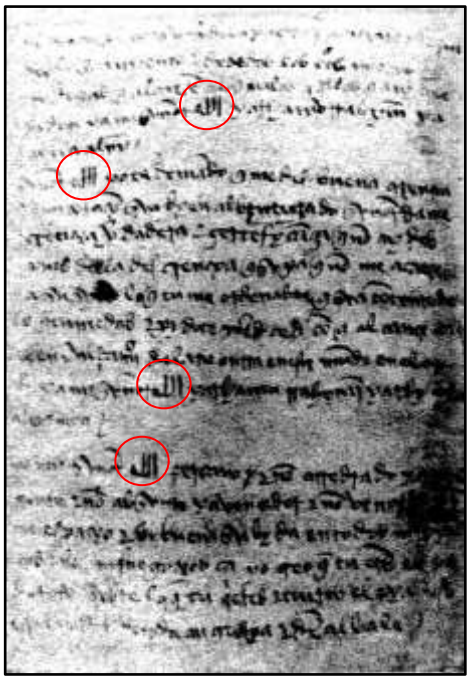
The *alguacías* of the lot of Ocaña consist in the Prophet's advice addressed to his son-in-law, and the later caliph (successor), ʿAlī, about various matters related to Islamic devotion, ritual practice, and good morals. One of the texts is found in the *devocionario* (prayer book,) Ms. Oc. F., and the two others in the loose folios.[34] The *alguacías* to ʿAlī was a prevalent trope in the Morisco corpus, judging by the considerable number of versions found in many regions of Spain, in both Castile and Aragon.[35] Apart from the three texts of Ocaña, there are at least nine other manuscripts that bear counsel to ʿAlī; six of them are written in *aljamiado* and two in Latin characters.[36]

The presence of the *alguacías* among the manuscripts of Ocaña attests to the first use of the word in Toledan dialect during the fourteenth century.[37] In his short study of the linguistic features of the *alguacías* found in the *devocionario* (prayer book) of Ocaña, Martínez-Ruiz also considers the language of the text a sample of medieval Toledan dialect.[38] Indeed, the texts of the *devocionario* (prayer book) of Ocaña (Ms. Oc. F.) and of the loose papers show that they were written at a late Morisco period, most probably after Ms. Oc. and Ms. Oc. A. (the Complete Coran). One of the two versions of *alguacías* (recommendations) found in the loose papers is characterised by the use of the Romanised interjection 'O Aly' instead of the usual 'Ya Ali' that we encounter in the manuscripts written in Romance. This is one of the traits of the last Morisco writings, written in Latin characters (Romance), rather than Arabic ones (*aljamiado).* In the earlier periods of Morisco literature, the writers/translators carefully avoided the use of religious diction that might have a Christian connotation such as '*Dios'* for God. For instance, in early *aljamiado* texts, '*almalakes*,' a version of the Arabic *al-malāʾika* (angels,) was used instead of the Spanish '*ángeles*.' On the other hand, the Arabic name of God, '*Allāh*,' was preserved; along with many Arabic words and expressions such as '*Yā'*

[33] *Power of Oratory*, p. 19.
[34] The first text is found in the *devocionario* (Ms. Oc. F), fols. 11r-16r, ed. in Albarracín-Navarro, 'Unas "alguacías" de Ocaña;' and the two others in the loose papers: fols. 18r-26v, ed. in Albarracín-Navarro, 'Toledano medieval e hispanoárabe en unas alguacías,' and fols. 6r- 18v in Martínez-Albarracín and Albarracín-Navarro, 'Las "alguacías" más antiguas.'
[35] As Hossain Bouzineb notes, the Morisco versions of the *alguacías* of ʿAlī are composed of fragments of the Arabic version of Ibn ʿArabī along with a miscellany of reports attributed to al-Buḫārī, Muslim, and as-Samarqandī; cf. Bouzineb, *Literatura de "castigos" o adoctrinamientos*, pp. 21-22, qtd. in Suárez-García, 'Cuatro textos aljamiados.'
[36] For a more detailed overview of these mss., cf. Suárez- García, 'Cuatro textos aljamiados.'
[37] Martínez-Albarracín and Albarracín-Navarro, 'Las "alguacías" más antiguas,' p. 461; cf. also Albarracín-Navarro, 'Unas "alguacías" de Ocaña (Toledo), en el marco de convivencia de las Tres Culturas.'
[38] 'Toledano medieval,' pp. 179-80.

used for interjection. Its replacement with 'O,' as in the *alguacías* of Ocaña, recalls the return to the use of '*Dios*' for God in the late Morisco texts written in Romance.

The *devocionario* (prayer book) exhibits another instance of the interesting linguistic melange employed in the codices of Ocaña, where the word '*Allāh*' is not transcribed, but appears in Arabic characters, in a text that is entirely written in Castilian Romance. This is a rare case that shows the Moriscos' attachment to the language of the Coran despite their limited Arabic proficiency. The sacredness of Arabic is epitomised in the name of Allah, as if the scribe upholds that this holy word is untranslatable.



<u>Picture 22</u>: The Prayer Book of Ocaña
Ms. Oc. F., *Devocionario* (Prayer Book), fol. 9^{v}
Source: Martínez-Ruiz, 'Versión morisca de la "Súplica inicial,"' p. 336

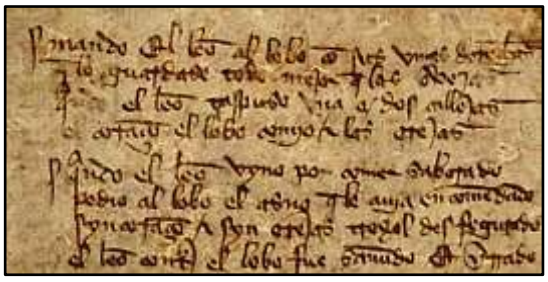
The text is an invocation of God's mercy that is very similar to a prayer in a sixteenth-century *aljamiado* codex.[39] Martínez-Ruiz draws attention to the similarities between the two prayers and surmises that the text of Ocaña is an early version of the *aljamiado* 'Prayer for the forgiveness of sins,' noting that a close comparison is beyond the remit of his article.[40] It would have been interesting to compare and contrast the two texts, especially as the content of the miscellaneous *aljamiado* codex is similar to that of Ms. Oc., including an account of the Prophet's Ascension to Heaven, a sermon, a series of prayers, and a copy of the *Book of Lights*.

[39] '*Plegaria para pedir a Dios el perdón de los pecados*,'fols. 130-138 in RAH, Ms. 11/9413 (T 17): *Libro de las luces* (*Book of Lights*) and other texts.
[40] 'Versión morisca de la "Súplica inicial,"' p. 333.

The intercalation of the Arabic word '*Allāh'* into the Romance text of the *devocionario* (Ms. Oc. F.) is a hint of the bilingualism that we find more acute in another text in the lot of Ocaña, a detailed guide to ablution.[41] The Arabic instructions that are divided into short paragraphs are interspersed with translation into Castilian Romance. The text in Latin characters is written in the same gothic cursive script that we find in other passages, in the *devocionario* (Ms. Oc. F.) and *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.).



<u>Picture 23</u>: The Gothic Cursive Script in Mss. Oc.
(a) Bilingual book of ablution among Mss. Oc.
Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz do not specify in which manuscript the text is found; cf. 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 64.
(b) *alguacías* (recommendations) in the *devocionario* (Prayer Book) Ms. Oc. F., fol. 25^{r}
Source: Albarracín-Navarro, 'Actividades de un faqih,' p. 444



<u>Picture 24</u>: Gothic Cursive Script in a 14th-century Toledan Manuscript
A Toledan copy of Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor*, fol. 3^{r}.
Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional De España
< http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-198273>

Judging by the stark differences in the Arabic handwriting across the manuscripts, it is beyond doubt that the scribe of Ms. Oc. is different from all the scribes of the other manuscripts: The first Coranic copy (Ms. Oc. A.), most probably part of a complete Coran, has the most carefully rendered script. The prayer books (family copies of the Coran), Ms.

[41] Cf. Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 64.

Oc. C. and D., are on the other extreme of the scale, in terms of the quality of handwriting, and were most probably the latest books in the lot. This is corroborated by the frequency of scribal errors, both corrected and uncorrected. The closest handwriting to the one used in Ms. Oc., is that of *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.), suggesting that the two manuscripts had been written before the decline in Arabic proficiency and writing skills started to become conspicuous. The marginal spaces of these two manuscripts bear annotations in Arabic and *aljamiado*, but only in Ms. Oc. B., a considerable section of the core-text is fully written in *aljamiado.*



Picture 25: Handwritings Compared
(a) *'El misceláneo de Salomón'* (Ms. Oc. B.), fol. 1r, Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el 'Misceláneo de Salomón,'* p. 191; **(b)** Ms. Oc., fol. 13r; **(c)** Ms. Oc. A., fol. 8r.

The examination of the Islamic manuscripts discovered in other Castilian towns, can complicate the hypothetical findings that ensued from the study of the lot of Ocaña.

3. Other Castilian Libraries

As previously mentioned, the lots of Islamic manuscripts, excavated in Castile, are very rare compared to the ones encountered in Aragon. This makes of each instance an invaluable trove of data about the Islamic books that secretly circulated in Castile until a very late date before the Expulsion of 1609.

3.1. The Hidden Manuscripts of Villarubia de Santiago

Arabic manuscripts were found in neighbouring Castilian towns, among which the nearest one to Ocaña is Villarubia de Santiago.[42] In 1787, four books and seven notebooks, all written in Arabic and badly damaged, were discovered in a street called Vallejuelo. The lot was hidden in a plastered cupboard inside the wall of a house located in front of a church. In his short study of the discovery, Eulogio Varela-Hervias deduces from the presence of enclosed printed folios in Latin and Castilian Romance that the codices were hidden after 1440.[43]

One of the books, a religious miscellany, was written in 1120. The second and third ones are treatises on Arabic grammar and phraseology written in Arabic and *aljamiado*; and the fourth one is a juridical book. In terms of content, the notebooks are very similar to the manuscripts of Ocaña. They include both religious and profane texts: teachings about the most essential maxims of the Coran, prayers, catechisms about the main Islamic rituals, superstitious and magical formulas, along with exhortatory treatises for penitence, extracted from the Coran, and a compendium on the life of the Prophet.

3.2. The Hidden Manuscripts of Pastrana

Around 100 km. far from Ocaña, between 1615 and 1622, books in Arabic script were found in houses in the Albaicín district of Pastrana (Map 1, n° 10) that was mainly populated with Granadan Morisco emigrants.[44] The two discoveries were reported to the Inquisition Tribunal of Toledo based on the testimony of eye-witnesses in 1631.[45] In the abandoned Morisco houses, 'the books were discovered in a cellar, in small sacks stuffed with lavender' to protect them from humidity.[46] This report, along with other Inquisition records, show that

[42] Province of Toledo, around 12 km. far from Ocaña.
[43] 'Diario de Madrid' (1787), transcribed in Varela-Hervias, 'Descubrimiento de manuscritos arábigos en Villarubia en 1787.'
[44] Pastrana is a town in the county of La Alcarria, Province of Guadalajara, Castile-La Mancha.
[45] AHN, Inq. Leg. 3105, d. 1, on April 23, 1631.
[46] García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, p. 279.

even after the Expulsion, the Moriscos who remained in around fifteenth houses in Pastrana preserved their Arabic books.[47]

Although the lot as such is now lost, Garcia-Arenal and Rodriguez-Mediano help us reconstruct the library of Pastrana through the report of Marcos Dobelio, who examined the books.[48] The lot was a miscellany, as varied as the one of Ocaña, including books in Arabic, and Romance,[49] copies of which were also found in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon). Overall, the assemblage is also very similar to the Ocañese library. Among the books found are al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-anwār* (*Book of Lights*), one of the most read and translated texts in the Morisco manuscript corpus.[50] Dobelio describes the book as 'ancient […], blackened, and much handled, over three hundred years old.'[51] Although no version of this book was found in Ocaña, we know from the episode of the Birth of the Prophet in Ms. Oc. that the compiler must have used it, or another source inspired by it, for the rendering of the story.

A compilation of sermons was also found in Pastrana, with a title that recalls that of Ibn al-Jawzī's homiletic miscellany, *Bustān* (The Grove), one of the potential sources of Ms. Oc.[52] The presence of this sermon book suggests that the owner was an *alfaqui*; and the hypothesis is backed up by his possession of texts of magic and superstitions, as it is the case of the owner of the library of Ocaña. Among these texts was *Kitāb al-asrār* (Book of Secrets) that is very similar to the *Misceláneo de Salomón* found in Ocaña.[53]

The activities of the *alfaqui* (scholar) of Pastrana would have been more varied, judging by the discovered juridical treatises that he might have used for the actual management of social matters in the *aljama* (Muslim district). Such legal documents were not found in Ocaña, most probably because the owner-*alfaqui* was *de facto* not able to fulfil the task of the *qāḍī* (judge) for the restricted Muslim community. While Morisco Islamic leaders continued to be called

[47] The number of houses is mentioned in the Inquisition report (AHN, Inq. Leg. 3105, d. 1, on April 23, 1631); see García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,'p. 61; about the Morisco community of Pastrana, cf. García-López, *Señores, seda y marginados,* esp. pp. 197-9.
[48] Marcos Dobelio was a famous translator for the Holy Office of the Inquisition; for more details on his life and role, cf. García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, 'De Diego de Urrea a Marcos Dobelio,' and *The Orient in Spain,* esp. pp. 280-1 for more on the books of Pastrana.
[49] Dobelio does not mention any manuscripts in *aljamiado*; see García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,'p. 61.
[50] Refer to Chapter II, section II. 1.3. for more details about the popularity of this book and its use in the Morisco context.
[51] García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain,* p. 280.
[52] *Kitāb zād al-wāʿiẓ wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ* (Book of the Preacher's Assets and the Learner's Garden) with an unidentified copyist called Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. al- Ḥasan b. ʿUmar of Almazán; cf. *The Orient in Spain,* p. 281; refer to Chapter II, section II for more details about Ibn al-Jawzī's *Bustān al-wāʿiẓīn wa-riyāḍ as-samiʿīn* (The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners) and Ms. Oc.
[53] Judging by the brief description of the content of this codex, García-Arenal notes the striking similarities between the two books, in 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 61-2.

fuqahā' (Islamic scholars), the meaning of the word became more restrictive when the physical space of the *morería* (separate Islamic district) and its administrative system (the *aljama*) were proclaimed illegal. In the sixteenth century, the Morisco *alfaqui* was no longer able to overtly fulfil all his functions; but his education allowed him to read canonical works in Classical Arabic and translate/explain them to a mostly illiterate audience whose colloquial language, in the case of Castile, was not Arabic.

However, we know that in Pastrana, as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Moriscos of Granadan origins lived in the separate district of Albaicín, outside the walls of the town, 'forming a strong and united community' that 'elected […] advocates to defend them in the courts and employed their own school-master.'[54] This may explain the presence of juridical manuals in the lot of Pastrana. The libraries of Granadan scholars are characterised by the existence of even more practical legal documents, including wills, contracts, and juridical cases based on the Islamic laws that Castilian scholars would read and keep for reference. The case of the library of the *alfaqui* of Cútar (Málaga) will be examined later, by way of comparison.

3.3. The Hidden Manuscripts of Ciudad Real

In the house of Garci Díaz in the city of Ciudad Real (Map 1, n°14),[55] the Inquisition could find eighteen codices and inscribed loose leaves of different sizes, qualities, and contents in 1613.[56] Like the caches of Ocaña and Pastrana, this lot includes religious, superstitious, and medical manuscripts, along with four Corans, one of which is not bound. From the list of the fiscal agent who registered the lot, the religious books look similar to Ms. Oc. They all expound the Islamic code of conduct according to the precepts of the Coran and the teachings of the prophet Muhammad.[57] The short description of the Corans that Francisco Moreno-Díaz reports, implies that one of them was a sophisticated copy, maybe a complete one, whereas the others were smaller in size and content.[58] This was the case of the Coran series of Ocaña. It seems that the Moriscos got into the habit of collecting different copies

[54] The Granadan Moriscos officially demanded that they be called 'natives of the Kingdom of Granada;' García-López, 'Moriscos andalusíes en Pastrana,' pp. 163- 77, *apud* García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain,* p. 276.
[55] Around 140 km. far from Ocaña (Province of Ciudad Real, Castile-La Mancha).
[56] The eighteen mss. are listed in AHN, Inq. Leg. 193, caja 2, exp. 16 (1613); the owner of the books was later discovered to be Andrés Muñoz, another Morisco who had hidden them before he left the country; the case is reported in more detail in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' pp. 59-61.
[57] One of them is entitled '*Deboçionario de preceptos y ritos de la secta de Mahoma y lo que dexó encomendado a Haly, su ierno*;' another one '*Dichos y echos conforme a las leies de Mahoma y sermones y otras cosas en esta conformidad*;' and a third one '*Aprobaçión de la lei de Mahoma*;' the complete inventory of books is found in AHN, Inq. Leg.193, caja 2, exp. 16 (27-8-1613), qtd. in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' p. 61.
[58] 'Notas,' pp. 60-1.

of the Coran, keeping at least one as sumptuous as they could afford, and a number of abridged versions that they sometimes copied themselves and used as family prayer books.

Although the number of manuscripts in the cache of Ciudad Real is restricted, compared to the materials excavated in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon), the variety of books is conspicuously rich, including an astronomical codex that Moreno-Díaz suspects to be an Andalusian copy of one of the most revolutionary scientific works of all time, Claudius Ptolemy's *Almagest*.[59] The owner of the books was neither Garci Díaz, the proprietor of the house at that time, nor an *alfaqui* (scholar) as the content of the library suggests. He turned out to be another Morisco called Andrés Muñóz, the former resident of the house who had hidden the books before he left.[60]

The constant movement of the Moriscos and their practice of book-hiding make it difficult to reveal the identity of the owner even when the discovery is made early in history. If we assume that the house of Ocaña belonged to Muslims, it is likely that more than one Mudejar had dwelt in it; and one of them, most probably an *alfaqui* (scholar), might have hidden the library before the *Encomienda* acquired it in the final years of the fifteenth century. However, the late dates inscribed in some of the manuscripts, the latest one being 1500, prove that the books were not walled in before the advent of the sixteenth century. Whether the owner could still have access to the cache is improbable but not impossible. That the hiding spot was located at the level of the attic suggests that a secret entrance might have led to the cupboard.

3.4. The Hidden Manuscripts of Arcos

In Arcos de Jalón (Map 1, n°23), behind the wall of a Morisco house, a similar cupboard was discovered, with a little manuscript of 10×14.3 cm. The owner could be easily identified in this case: the Aragonese teacher Jerómino Pintor, who was tried in Cuenca (Map 1, n°21) in 1568.[61] Pintor was the only Morisco who possessed Arabic books and distributed them to the crypto-Muslims of this village on the borders between Castile and Aragon;[62] but the small codex in question was written in Romance, a language that Harvey describes as 'Arabised Castilian.'[63] Despite its smallness and shortness (nineteen folios), the codex embraced a

[59] 'Notas,' p. 61.
[60] Ibid., p. 60.
[61] ADC, Leg. 237, num. 3072 (Both the trial and the Ms.); Harvey edited one of the texts of the little Ms. in 'Leyenda Morisca de Ibrahim.'
[62] Hasenfeld mentions this famous Aragonese teacher in her reconstruction of the life of two Morisco women in Arcos in 'Gender and Struggle for Identity: The Moriscas in sixteenth-century Castile.'
[63] 'Leyenda Morisca de Ibrahim,' p. 2.

varied material: an Islamic calendar, two fragments of ʿAlī's *ḥadīṯ (*report) about the Judgement Day, and part of the Tale of 'Hibrahen' (Ibrāhīm or Arbraham). Based on Harvey's transcription, the main linguistic feature of this text is the conservation of the Arabic characters in the spelling of the name of God, 'Allah.' The text in this regard is reminiscent of the *alguacías* (recommendations) in one of the manuscripts of Ocaña.[64]

A version of the Prophet's *wasiyya* (advice) to ʿAlī, found in two of the manuscripts of Ocaña, was also encountered in 1795 inside a hole in the wall of a house in the village of Ágreda (Soria, Castile and Leon). The text belongs to a codex copied in Arabic and *aljamiado* in 1569, bearing the name of the scribe Muhammad b. Abi al-Anṣārī, the *imām* (prayer leader) of the village.[65] The name of the scribe recalls that of the addressee of the letter found inside Ms. Oc., 'the renowned *faqih* (scholar) Saʿūd al-Anṣārī.'[66] Since almost a century sets the two documents apart, it is not possible to test the conjecture that the two scholars belonged to the same lineage.

Although little is known about the *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) of the Mudejar *aljamas* (districts), many researchers have endeavoured to shed light on aspects of the profiles of these scholars through the study of a number of rare documents that they wrote themselves. This heritage includes their correspondence, accounts of their official activities, and the works that they copied. It is thanks to the colophons that some of the names survived.[67] In the kingdom of Granada, the *alfaqui* Muhammad al-Jayyār al-Ansārī of Cútar (Málaga) is known to us, thanks to the recent work of Isabel Calero-Secall.[68] The library of the scholar of Cútar is taken as a reference point to compare the lot of Ocaña to manuscripts made in other regions and test the possibility that the books had crossed the borders before they reached their last abode. This comparison will also reveal some features of the owner(s) of the manuscripts of Ocaña, in light of the figure of the scholar, al-Jayyār al-Ansārī.

4. The Hidden Manuscripts of Cútar (Málaga)

Isabel Calero-Secall reports that in 2003, 'during the restoration work of the building n°3 of Hornos street in Cútar (Málaga, Map 1, n° 20), unstacked three codices written in Arabic

[64] Refer to Section 2. 2. 3 of this chapter.
[65] SLE, Ms.1.880, fols. 59r-90v: '*La alguacia del anabi Mohamad que la fiço al ti de su ami Ali ibu Abi Taleb;* cf. Barletta and Ruiz- Bejarano, 'Relación,' p. 5.
[66] The letter was written in 1483 AD, cf. section 2. 1. of this chapter.
[67] In Valencia, the libraries of two *alfaquis* in Borges were explored in Labarta-Gómez and Escribano, 'Las bibliotecas de dos alfaquíes borjanos;' and the biography of an Aragonese family of *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) is reconstructed through the study of their letters, books, accounts of mobility, and education, in Miller, *Guardians of Islam.*
[68] 'Los manuscritos árabes de Málaga;' 'Muhammad al Ŷayyār, un alfaquí a través de los manuscritos de Cútar;' and *Los Manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar* in which all the manuscripts are reproduced.

covered in straw were discovered in a hole inside the wall on the top of the entrance door to a patio in the first floor.'[69] A thirteenth/fourteenth-century Coran, two miscellaneous codices of Islamic law, arithmetic, cases of *fatwas* (legal decrees issued by Islamic scholars), along with a compilation of *zéjeles* (poems,) lamenting the fall of *al-Andalus* were found in the cache.[70] This was the private library of the *alfaqui* (scholar) al-Jayyār al-Ansārī who lived during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs and wrote or copied all the texts himself. Secall conjectures that the proprietor might have hidden the books when Cardenal Cisneros started his campaign of biblioclasm around 1492, or before he left to another region/country, with the hope of returning to retrieve them. [71]

Many of the books in the library of the *alfaqui* of Cútar are theoretical manuals that would guide the scholar in his activities; and many of the loose papers enclosed in those books, are personal notarial documents, such as certificates of division of inheritance and marriage contracts.[72] The lot of Ocaña does not incorporate such practical legal documents that point at the owner's role as a notary and expert in Islamic law.

The two libraries of Ocaña and Cútar host similar sets of manuscripts in terms of content. Part of a complete Coran copy was found in the lot of Cútar with a finely inscribed text, well-organised layout, and coloured diacritical marks and divisions. Like the first Coran of Ocaña (Ms. Oc. A.), the Coran of Cútar is written in a *Maġribī-Andalusī* script*,* but with a more regular and orderly appearance.

[69] *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar*, p.16.
[70] Arabic 'Zajal' (زجل): Andalusian traditional oral poetry usually sung.
[71] *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,* p. 17; Many of the Moriscos who fled the Peninsula did the same to their books; and we know that some of them managed to return, cf. Dadson*, Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos.*
[72] Calero-Secall, 'Los manuscritos árabes de Málaga,' and *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,* esp. pp. 37- 40.

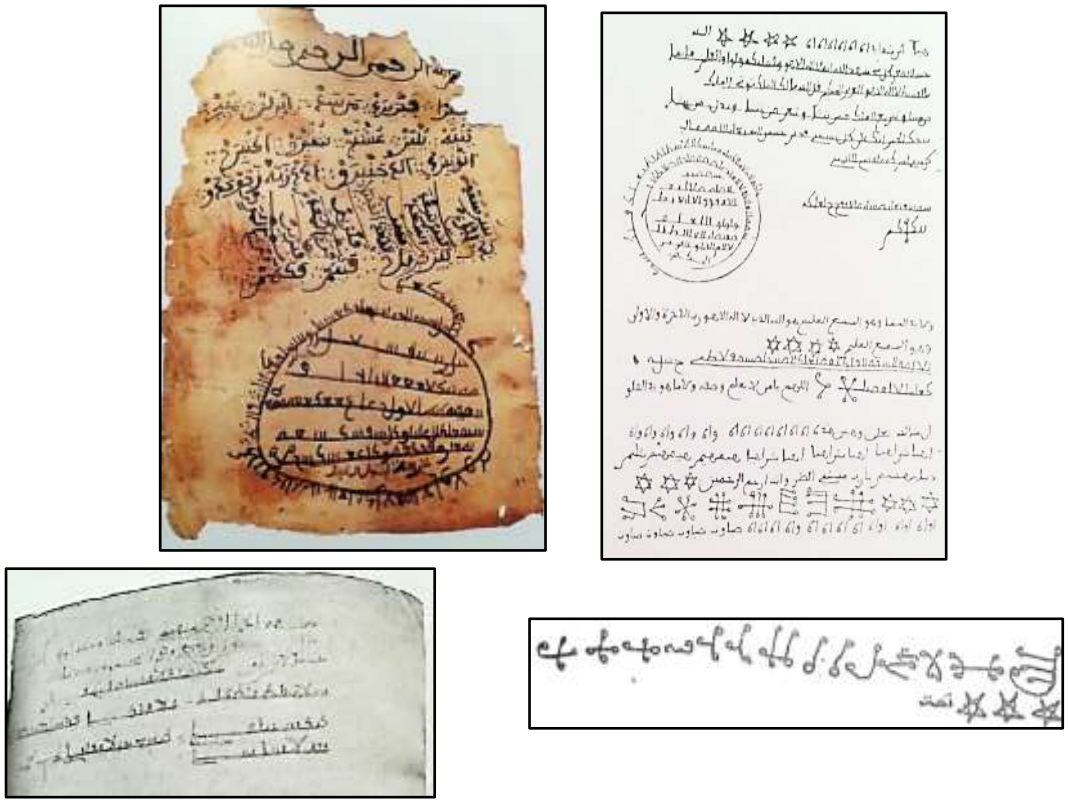


Picture 26: **The Corans of Ocaña and Cútar Compared**
(a) Book III, the Coran of Cútar, Calero-Secall, 'Los manuscritos árabes de Málaga,' p. 174.
(b) Ms. Oc. A., fol. 4^{r}; **(c)** Book III, the Coran of Cútar (detail); **(d)** Ms. Oc. A., fol. 1^{r} (detail).

The handwriting on the Coran of Cútar is diffirent from the handwriting of the scholar, al-Jayyār al-Ansārī, on the other documents he signed. This book must have been older than the texts written by the *alfaqui* (scholar), a complete copy that he acquired, as an indispensable asset in any Islamic library. On the other hand, no 'family copies' of the Coran were encountered among al-Jayyār's books. These kinds of abridged texts were rather needed in Castile and Aragon where basic knowledge of the shortest chapters (especially *ḥizb* 60, the last section) was essential for the preservation of Islam. As this was the case of Ocaña, at least two of the abridged copies of the Coran were found in its cache.[73]

[73] Refer to section 2.2.1. of this chapter.

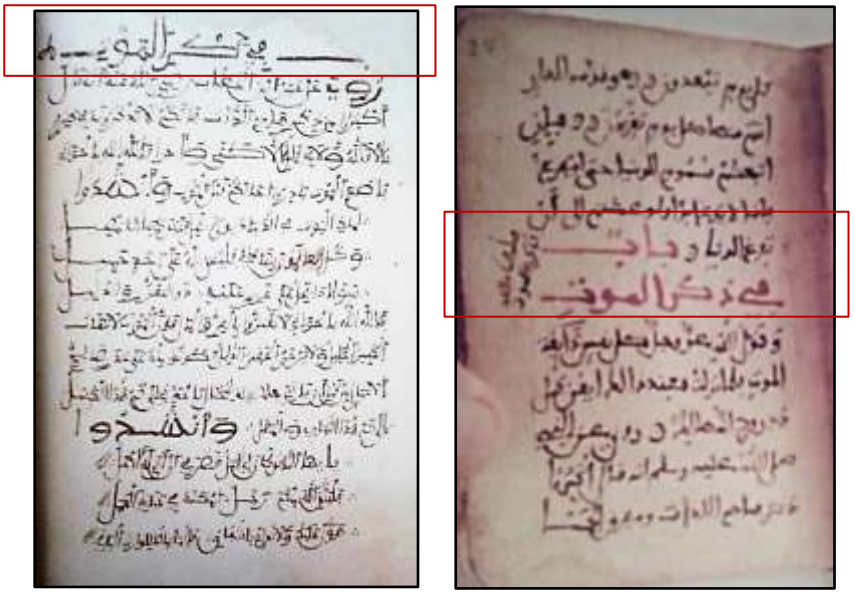
Like Ms. Oc. B. (*El misceláneo de Salomón*), Ms. L-14030 of Cútar carries magical seals, numerical charts and pseudo-kufic characters with typical symbols such as letters with '*anteojos,*' five-pointed stars, and hexagrams. The amulets found in both books reveal the practicalities of the profane activities of their scribes/users.



Picture 27: The Books of Magic of Ocaña and Cútar Compared
(a) Ms. L-14030, fol. 98 ^{r} (loose folio)
Source: Calero-Secall, 'Los manuscritos árabes de Málaga,' p.171; *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,* p. 426.
(b) *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.), fols. 8^{v}, 11^{v} (details),
Source: Albarracín-Navarro, 'La magia en la medicina,' p. 235.
(c) Ms. L-14030, fol. 11^{v} (detail): pseudo- Kufic characters
Source: Calero-Secall, 'Muhammad al-Ŷayyār,' p. 414; *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,* p. 253.
(d) *El misceláneo* (Ms. Oc. B.), fol. 52^{v} (detail): amulet with a series of letters with '*anteojos.'*
Source: Albarracín-Navarro, 'La sangre de al-dīk,' p. 1135.

Ms. L-14030 of Cútar ends with a 'Chapter in Remembrance of Death,' comprised of thirty Sufi *anāšīd* (songs), interspersed with a series of accounts.[74] Bearing the same title as this final section, one of the chapters of Ms. Oc. share the same admonitory tone and pictorial tropes, along with many of the apocryphal reports evoked.

[74] Fols. 123^{v}-134^{v}, Calero-Secall, *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar,* pp. 477-99; although the first letters of the title are illegible, the last letter of the word '*bāb*' (chapter) can be discerned.



Picture 28: Eschatological Content in the Books of Ocaña and Cútar

(a) Ms. L-14030 of Cútar, fol. 123^{v}

Source: Calero- Secall, *Los manuscritos nazaríes de Cútar*, p. 477.

(b) Ms. Oc. fol. 28^{r}

Source: Unedited Photograph taken by Don Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus

The nature of the content of the library of Ocaña shows that one of its owners was a *faqih* (scholar) who most probably did not undertake legal activities in an official *aljama* (Mudejar district), as it was the case of the *alfaqui* of Cútar (Málaga). The comparative approach adopted in this section was meant to shed light on new possibilities in the historical study of Mudejar-Morisco manuscripts. The hypotheses that arise from this kind of approach are related to the physical mobility of the manuscripts and the profiles of their owners. The here-presented contentions will be grounded with textual and material evidence, in the close study of Ms. Oc. as a text-object, undertaken in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II
THE SPACE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In his definition of the concept of 'Manuscript Matrix,' Stephen G. Nichols writes; 'The dynamics of the parchment page—which I like to think of as the "manuscript matrix"—conjure not an inert place of inscription, but rather an interactive space inviting continual representational and interpretive activity.[1] These dynamics of constant mutability explain the centrality of reading in medieval culture, whereby each reader of the manuscript leaves his/her own trace as a new scribe.

The conception of the manuscript as a space of expression shared by both scribe and reader presupposes that the core-text and its periphery should have equal importance in this study. Annotations of various kinds should not be disregarded, errors and corrections should be carefully examined, and all material properties explored in order to dig deep into the layers of the text-artefact. It is for this reason that the principles of the Ethics of Reading are the best guidance to follow in order to study a Manuscript Matrix— in this case the manuscript of Ocaña.

In his book, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture*, John Dagenais suggests that medievalists should study 'lecturature,' rather than literature, a concept that operates in the liminal space represented in the medieval manuscript, considered to be a shared product between the medieval 'writer,' who is himself but a reader, and subsequent readers. It is this in-between space of production that this chapter is meant to explore, 'plac[ing] the creation of literary sense, not in the fixed points of the authorial work or "text," […] but in the fluid […] interstices between them,' as Dagenais recommends.[2] This special approach is possible through the examination of how a manuscript had been read throughout time, sustaining the argument of its repetitive regeneration through the different modes, reasons, and effects of reading.

The study presupposes that the physical space of Ms. Oc. encompasses both the central and marginal sections, and that scribe and reader are inextricable figures. The 'author' in the way modern readers conceive of them, as the original authorial source, is totally absent: Since the scribe is a compiler, s/he is the author and the reader of his/her own text. This versatile

[1] 'What is a Manuscript Culture? Technologies of the Manuscript Matrix,' p. 39.
[2] *The Ethics of Reading*, p. 24.

figure is considered to be an 'original reader,' referring to his/her creation as the product of an active reading process of invisible sources. Retrieving these sources, engaging with their intertextual dialogue, and exploring the way the original reader and later readers interpret and adapt them is what is meant by studying the Manuscript Matrix as a space of interstice.

Recovering the reading experience is not an easy task to undertake, especially if we presume and demonstrate that the reading of the manuscript was at some point in its history a public oral performance. For that, the tentative reconstruction of the collective reading context will be complemented by an examination of literary influence through the identification of the potential sources used in the compilation and the way they were adapted. It is easier, on the other hand, to reconstruct the individual reading experience if the annotations inscribed on the manuscript are also carefully studied. The 'lecturature' of the Manuscript Matrix proposed in this chapter is based on a thick-description of the text-object: In the first section, the material properties of the codex will be scrutinised, while in the second one the layers of the text will be unearthed and an introduction to the content of the miscellany proposed, to guide the close textual analysis undertaken in Part II.

I. Between the Core-text and the Margins

In his survey of what he calls 'Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts' in circulation among the religious minorities in Christian Spain, Pieter van Koningsveld raised a compelling question that remains unaddressed: 'Do these MSS, in their technical-codicological aspect, follow Spanish-Christian or Muslim-Arabic traditions or, perhaps, a mixture of both?' Indeed, the liminality of the Arabic manuscripts produced in Christian Spain makes them an interestingly unique subject of study. As Koningsveld recommended, 'a more precise technical distinction between these MSS and the ones from *al-Andalus* and North Africa […] would certainly provide us with an valuable clue to complete our historical atlas of the MSS from these areas, especially if this clue can be extended to undated and unlocalized MSS.'[3] To date, this call has remained unheeded; and although Ms. Oc. is listed among the Andalusian-Arabic manuscripts that the scholar enumerates in his appendix, it has been given very little academic attention since its discovery in 1971.

Except for the studious work of Iris Hofman-Vannus who did not only take the care of editing and translating the manuscript under study, but also tried to provide a concise description of all the manuscripts discovered with it, there has been no other research endeavour.[4] About twenty years after the publication of van Koningsveld's survey, and more than forty years after the first article about the discovery of the manuscripts of Ocaña, Xavier Casassas-Canals regrets the fact that 'a detailed description of the manuscripts is still in need, despite the thirty works or so that have been written about them.' He adds: 'let us hope that soon some researcher will be devoted to provide a detailed and precise cataloguing of the content of these unique manuscripts that are invaluable for the study of Castilian Islamic literature.'[5]

That the manuscripts have been kept in a private collection for about fifty years now, can explain the scarcity of academic studies about them, especially that no digital copy, microfilm, or even photographs are preserved in the Spanish archives. As discussed throughout the previous sections of this study, the number of excavated Islamic manuscripts in Castile is scarce compared to other regions such as Granada, Valencia, and Aragon. The National Public Library of Castile-La Mancha in Toledo preserves eleven Morisco manuscripts, of

[3] 'Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain,' p. 88.
[4] 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' pp. 121-5.
[5] 'La literatura islámica castellana.'

which only five are written in Arabic.[6] A legitimate question to raise then is about the value of the manuscripts of Ocaña: How is it possible that these original Arabic codices, a rare asset for the study of the history of Muslims in Castile, are not treasured in the national archives? The choice of the codex of Ocaña as the subject of this thesis is a recognition of its value as a manuscript that fulfils *par excellence* all the features that Koningsveld attributes to precious 'Andalusian-Arabic' manuscripts. This is an endeavour to contribute to the wide picture of the atlas with the extensive study of a tiny unforgotten piece.

The paratextual elements in Ms. Oc. do not help in identifying the scribe: Along with the absence of a colophon, the extant incipit bears no clues, neither about the scribe nor about the owner; and no internal references to the context are available in the text. In such a case, any attempt at reconstructing the history of the manuscript should rely on the text itself. Having focused primarily on the content of Ms. Oc., Iris Hofman-Vannus notes in her thesis, 'many are the questions raised; and only a painstaking exhaustive study of the manuscript in all its facets is able to yield new data.'[7] The more detailed examination of the manuscript, proposed in this chapter, aims at filling the gaps left in Vannus's study and addressing some of the questions that have remained unanswered.

How should the examiner of a manuscript proceed, facing the impossibility of carrying the actual object to conservation laboratories for advanced scientific examination? François Déroche, one of the leading scholars in Arabic codicology, answers that even 'without resort to [the basic] measurement instruments, the [researcher] is nonetheless able to gather a decent amount of important data [about the codex]: patience and curiosity will then be his/her most precious allies.'[8] In the case of Ms. Oc., apart from the impossibility of undertaking scientific examination, the researcher's intention to propose a thorough and precise description of the codex is bridled by another obstacle; for how can the 'examiner' proceed, facing the impossibility of seeing the actual object? Déroche's response here is more categorical, as he firmly states that 'the thorough codicological description of a volume can only be founded on the examination of the original [codex].'[9]

Since the access to Ms. Oc. was not possible, the analysis offered in this chapter is based on the documents that Iris Hofman-Vannus generously passed to us:

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[6] Cf. Cotto-Andino, 'Los manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha,' the most recent catalogue of these manuscripts; the Arabic manuscripts are Mss. 379, 386, 395, 396, and 504; all written in the 16th century and all comprised of Coranic fragments.
[7] *Historias religiosas,* p. 36.
[8] *Manuel*, p. 18.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

- A black-and-white complete photocopy of the manuscript provided to her by courtesy of Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz. All the black-and-white pictures that are used to illustrate the analysis hereafter, are extracted from this document.
- A few coloured photos of some folios, sent to her by Don Rafael del Águila, the deceased father of the current owner of the house, after her three visits to his house to examine the manuscript. These photographs will also be included in some sections of the study.
- Hofman-Vannus's unedited handwritten notes and published articles on the manuscript.

This risky endeavour to describe an object that is examined vicariously is guided by the practical knowledge that renowned scholars of Arabic codicology such as François Déroche, Adam Gacek and Jan Just Witkam have transmitted to researchers. Following the description model of Professor Jan Just Witkam's palaeography class at the University of Leiden, the codicological features of the manuscript can be summarised as follows:[10]

> Ms. on laid paper; 188 pp.; 18 quires; 11 lines to the page with no columns; 10.5×7 cm; text-block of 8.5×5 cm; a non-calligraphic copy in *Maġribī* script in one or two hands; many rubricated items in the text and a rubricated titlepiece with only one panel (fol. 2r) imitating *Kūfī* script, put inside a frame with a š*amsa* (circular shape) on its top; no colophon; an enclosed letter dated 1481 has been bound to the codex in the 1990s; the Ms. was rebound: the modern cover is of burgundy fine leather while the original one is in darkening parchment; some of the pages are liquid-damaged; the text is partly vocalised; with interlinear and marginal notes in Arabic, Spanish (Castilian Romance) and *aljamiado*.

General Condition

Some pages of the manuscript are liquid-damaged: this is due to the incident that took place at the moment of its transportation to Granada. The story was first narrated in Albarracín-Navarro's and Martínez-Ruiz's article:[11] just after the discovery, del Águila family intended to send the manuscripts to *La Escuela de Estudios Árabes* (School of Arabic Studies) of Granada for examination. On a rainy night, the carrying car collided with a van and the manuscripts were all soaked in water. Ms. Oc. underwent a minimal damage, compared to the other manuscripts discovered in the house. After the accident, the lot was sent back to the house of del Águila and never reached the university.

[10] *Seven Specimens of Arabic manuscripts.*
[11] 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües.'

1. Support and Structure

1.1. Support Material

Ms. Oc. is made of laid paper, a relatively cheap medium that fostered the production and circulation of several copies of the same work. Indeed, Witkam notes that 'Islamic and Middle Eastern manuscripts as we mostly know them are books made of paper.' According to him, this predilection is due to the advantages of paper over parchment and papyrus:

> Paper was less cheap than papyrus [as it needs more labour] to manufacture, but it was more stable. At the same time, it was less stable than parchment, but much cheaper. The combined advantages of parchment and papyrus made paper the ideal substitute of either one of them.[12]

The thickness of the paper of Ms. Oc. can be easily noted in the coloured photos that Hofman-Vannus provided.[13] Some of the laid lines are clear in the pictures, but not the three chain lines that she describes in one of her articles.[14]

It is unlikely that the paper has an oriental origin, judging by Vannus's identification of watermarks. As Helen Loveday indicates, watermarking, or 'the practice of transferring insignia into a sheet of paper through incorporating a twisted wire or cord motif in the construction of the mould, was unknown in the Islamic world […] It was only in Spain that anything approaching a Western watermark was found.'[15] The paper of Ms. Oc. was most probably locally produced; and we know that the production of paper was thriving in many Spanish cities at that time.

Hofman-Vannus could spot watermarks in twenty-three folios; and she describes them as follows: 'Watermark: a. "flower." b. two lines; the inferior one is straight, whereas the superior one is slightly curved.'[16] It is very hard to reconstruct the design of the watermark, based on this description. A more precise study of the watermarks in Ms. Oc. would have been decisive in the identification of its date and provenance, especially as different producers of papers used to have their proper distinctive designs (countermarks). Unfortunately, since access to the codex was not possible, this path could not be further pursued, and the speculations remain tentative.[17] It is nevertheless clear, from the few

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[12] *Islamic Codicology and Paleography: A short survey of the issues involved*.
[13] The paper is very similar to that of MS Leiden Or. 231, 'a Latin and Arabic manuscript on paper, dated before 1195, from Christian Toledo, Spain,' a picture of f. 56a is in Witkam, *Introduction to Islamic Codicology*.
[14] 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' p.124.
[15] *Islamic Paper,* p. 53.
[16] 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' p.125.
[17] Hofman-Vannus describes some of the watermarks that she could spot when examining the manuscripts, see 'El manuscrito mudéjar morisco de Ocaña.'

surviving coloured photos of the manuscript and based on the history of paper making, that the paper used in this codex marks the transition from Arabic techniques of papermaking to more sophisticated Occidental mass-production that started in Italy. This transition took place during the first half of the fourteenth century in the Maghreb and Spain, and what is known as 'occidental Arabic paper,' made in reconquered Spain (former *al-Andalus*) was the intermediary product.[18]

1.2. Collation, Binding, and Foliation

'The architecture of the book,' as Jan Just Witkam calls it,[19] can only be reconstructed through the disentanglement of the constituent quires and the search for possible irregularities that can help us determine if the text is complete. Although this task could not be fulfilled, thanks to the examination of Hofman-Vannus, we know that the codex is made of eighteen quarto-sized gatherings of unequal numbers of sheets, the majority of which are comprised of five, in the fashion of Oriental manuscripts.[20] Vannus interprets this irregularity as a sign that some folios are lost, though it can also indicate the irregular supply of paper or simply the binder's oversight.

That such an error of inadvertence occurred during the binding of Ms. Oc. is not unlikely, since folio 131 was bound in the wrong way.[21] As it is conspicuous in the text, the verso of the folio precedes its recto. This is a very interesting binding error, considering that it does not occur in a spread-head, but rather in non-facing pages. It is not the order of the sheets that is wrong, but rather the disposition of one single sheet inside the codex. This error proves that:

- The right and the left margins of each leaf are identical, since the binder mistakenly attached the left edge of the folio to the spine.
- The circular trimming of the outer edges of all the folios took place at a later stage.
- The binder/foliator did not notice the disruption in the text: the scribe is neither the person who numbered the folios, nor the binder of the book in its current state, as he would have noticed the error and mended it.

These points intimate that the scribe must have bound the book correctly, but did not foliate it. The leaf got loose at some point and the second binder re-attached it in the wrong

[18] Humbert, 'Le manuscript arabe,' esp. pp. 9-10.
[19] *Introduction to Islamic Codicology*.
[20] 'In the *Mašriq* (East) the number of sheets used for one quire is often five,' Witkam, *Introduction to Islamic Codicology*.
[21] Hofman-Vannus, 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' p. 124.

disposition. S/he might have added the numbers; or these have been added later by someone else. In either case, neither the second binder nor the foliator was familiar with the text.

Foliation is modern, done in pencil on the first page of each folio. Only even numbers are added starting from number 2 (on fol. 2^{r}). There is a foliation error on fol. 71, as the verso of the folio is marked with '72^{v},' which consolidates the fact that the numbering of the folios must have been posterior to the binding.

Since it is conspicuous from the photos that the gutter is widening in the middle of the spine, it can be surmised that the gathering of the quires was made with link-stitch sewing, the most common method in Islamic manuscripts. This unsupported method (without the use of supports on the spine) makes the middle section between the chains of linkage more vulnerable to tearing, as it is the case of Ms. Oc. (Pic. 1). Hofman-Vannus describes the material used in the sewing of the codex as 'an off-white twisted twine,' [22] 'a thin wire wrapped in a thread.'[23]



Picture 1: Binding

(a) Link-stitch sewing (four stations)
Source: Gacek, 'Sewing of quires,' in *Arabic Manuscripts: a Vademecum for Readers*, p. 248.
(b) Ms. Oc., fols. 27^{v}-28^{r}
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The book-block was wrapped in parchment and then covered with a layer of blackened leather. Many Morisco manuscripts were made in this fashion: the enveloping layer of parchment is meant to strengthen the paper textblock, before the final cover is added. A second thin burgundy leather cover was added to Ms. Oc. at a later stage, most probably in the 1990s, right before Hofman-Vannus's last examination of the codex.[24] Apart from this, nothing else is known about the cover. We do not know if it has a fore-edge flap or bevelled

[22] *'Bramante blanquecino y torcido*;' cf. Hofman-Vannus, *Historias religiosas*, p. 37.
[23] '*Fino alambre forrado de un hilo*;' Hofman-Vannus, the handwritten personal notes of her first visit to the house, dated 15 July 1999.
[24] The most recent cover is described in Hofman-Vannus, *Historias religiosas*, p. 37; the approximate date was mentioned in a personal communication with her, May, 2017.

edges; and no details about its turn-in, paste-down, joint, or decorative designs are specified. Unfortunately, such details would have yielded interesting conclusions about the cost of the book production, the quality of the binder's craft, and maybe the place of production.
In any case, the support and structure of the codex suggest that the book making process was a modest one, in which cheap material and easy gathering techniques were used. It was most probably an individual work rather than a collective one, as the palaeographical study will confirm.

2. Palaeographic Elements

2.1. Ruling and Layout

There are eleven lines per page, and rarely twelve or thirteen.[25] The choice of an odd number is no exception to the rule, since 'in the Islamic Manuscript tradition, there has been an increasing tendency of using odd numbers of lines per page.'[26] The dimensions of the text-block are constant (8. 5 and 5 cm),[27] although neither ruling lines, nor pricking marks are apparent in the few available coloured photographs.

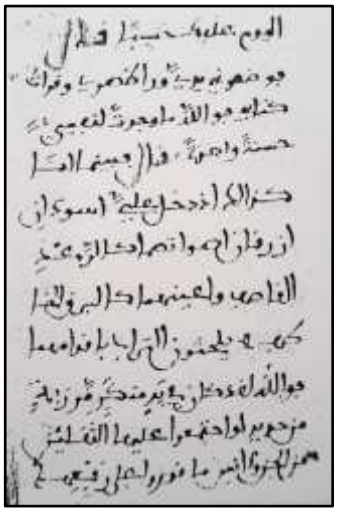


Picture 2: Ms. Oc. fols. 38^{v}-39^{r}
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The first hypothesis to make is that there was no ruling process. The text in this case would have been 'written in a consciously executed lay-out.'[28] If this was the case, the scribe's ability to keep a well-organised text space; with no previous preparation of the page, is exceptional. It is rather more likely that some folios of the manuscript were frame-ruled, using the *miṣṭara*, a tool that leaves no visible traces behind, except a faint impression that cannot be seen in photographs. The *mistara*— or *miṣṭarah* as some would transcribe it— is 'a ruling frame made of wood with cords placed across it at regular intervals.' The use of this device for 'blind

[25] Ms. Oc., fol. 14^{v}.
[26] Déroche, *Manuel*, p. 187.
[27] Hofman-Vannus, 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' p. 124.
[28] Witkam uses this phrase to describe MS Leiden, Or. 298, f. 2b in *Islamic Codicology and Paleography*.

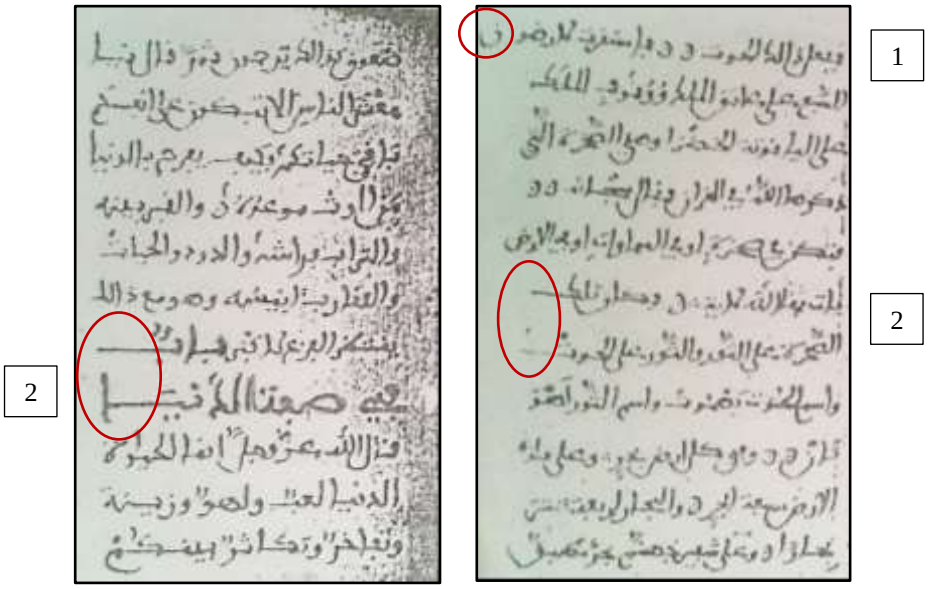
ruling' was common 'in the Islamic world where paper dominated in the production of secular manuscripts. Each folio of paper was pressed over this frame, whose strings would then leave an impression on the paper which could serve as guidelines to achieve even spacing of the lines for written text and virtual bounding lines for the edges of the text area. On the other hand, the irregularity of the interline space in many instances indicates that the scribe did not always use the *miṣṭara* or sometimes ignored the delineations that s/he might have set to guide the justification of the text (Pic. 3). Sometimes, the ends of the lines get closer to each other, making the divide seem wider in the beginning. At other times, consecutive lines get farther from each other and then closer again, widening the interspace towards the middle.



Picture 3: Irregular Interline Space in Ms. Oc.
Ms. Oc., fol. 67^{v}
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

However, the scribe's care about the justification of the text is apparent in the different techniques s/he employed to create a balanced layout. Be it through throwing the final letter of the last word in the long line to the margin (Pic. 4, 1), stretching the final letter of the short line to be parallel to the endings of the other lines (Pic. 4, 2), or superposing the final letter(s) above the word,[29] the scribe's intention to keep the text-block in proportion is conspicuous. This indicates that the writing was done with a considerable degree of attention to details and care for aesthetic appearance, suggesting that time and effort were invested in the process, and that the scribe placed a high value on the book.

[29] Ms. Oc., fol. 9^{r}, *kāf* in line 3.



Picture 4: Layout of Ms. Oc.
(a) Ms. Oc., fol. 17r: The letters *bāʾ* and *yāʾ* are stretched
(b) Ms. Oc., fol. 5r: The letter *nūn* is thrown to the margin; *kāf* and *tāʾ* stretched
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

2.2. Ink and Script

The ink used in Ms. Oc. has a sepia brownish colour. Hofman-Vannus could not judge if this is the original colour of the ink or if the black hue faded to brown, with age and water damage. Unlike the ink used in many Morisco manuscripts, this does not seem to be an iron gall ink. The corrosiveness of this type of ink with time usually impedes the reading of several codices. The text of Ms. Oc. is overall readable, as the codex did not incur any harm, other than the damage caused by water and insects.

The text is written in *Maġribī* script, in a meticulous hand using a fine *qalam* (reed pen). *Maġribī* is a script used in North Africa and Muslim Spain, characterised by the diacritic dot placed on the top of the letter *qāf* to distinguish it from the letter *fāʾ* that bears a dot underneath.[30] *Tašdīd* (gemination of consonants) is marked with a V-symbol on the top of the letter, and is coupled with a diagonal line when the next vowel is /a/ (*fatḥa*) (Pic. 5a). As in typical *Maġribī* texts, the long vowel /ɑ:/ is frequently fully spelled (Pic. 5b), and the *madda* (a diacritic sign put over the letter *alif*) is used to mark a long vowel that is followed by a *hamza* or a double consonant (Pic. 5c).

[30] For more on this script, cf. Boogert, 'Some Notes on Maghribi Script.'

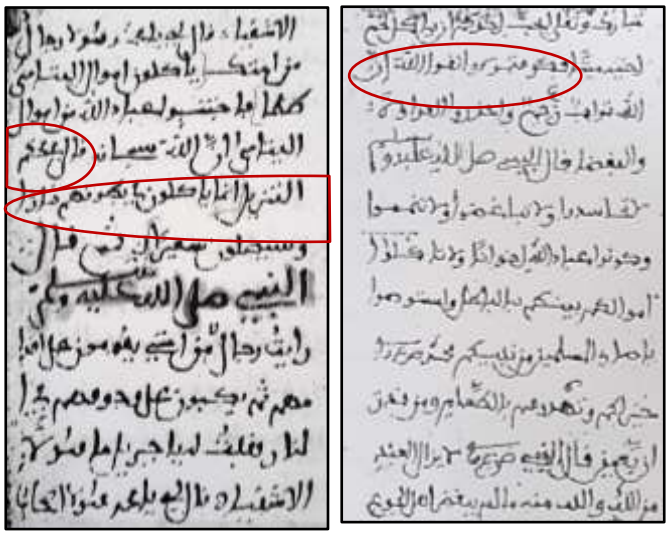


Picture 5: Some Features of *Maġribī* Script
(a) *šadda* (gemination sign) + *fatḥa (*/a/ vowel); **(b)** A fully spelled /ɑ:/ in three words; **(c)** a *madda* used to mark a long vowel that is followed by a *hamza*
Source: Boogert, Nico van den, 'Some Notes on Maghribi Script'

The scribe of Ms. Oc. is definitely more professional than most Morisco-*aljamiado* copyists, judging by his/her careful 'semi-formal' handwriting.[31] The formal calligraphic *Maġribī* script was certainly an ideal that the scribe aspired to reach, resulting in an apparent consistency in the handwriting.

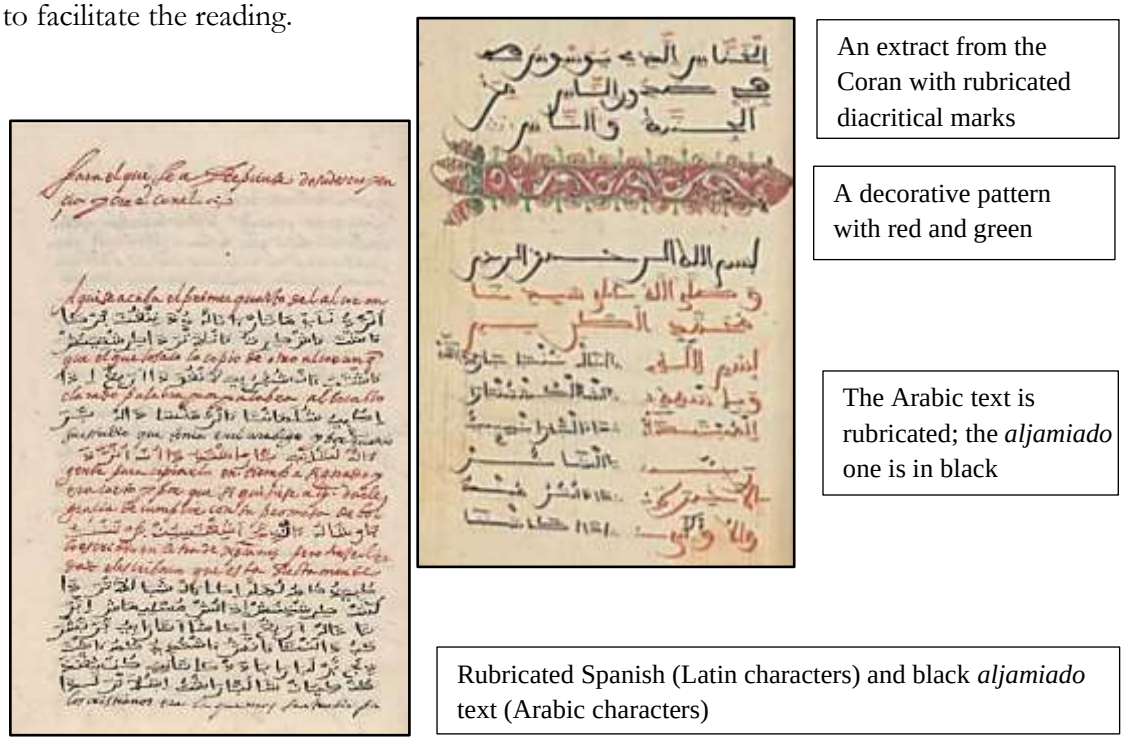
Iris Hofman-Vannus suggests that more than one scribe was involved in the writing of the core-text.[32] Although towards the middle of the compendium, the handwriting is smaller and more awkward, resulting in a slightly wider interline space; palaeographical comparison across the folios has favoured that the manuscript was written in the same hand (Pic. 6). The differences may be explained by the use of a finer pen in the writing of the second part of the miscellany and the considerable span of time between the writing periods. It should be noted that the change in the size of the handwriting in the main text is coupled with a shift in the rubrication techniques. Starting from folio 141^{v}, only a faint impression of the rubricated sentences appear in the photocopy, indicating that the concentration of the red ink is lower, probably due to a change in the pigment used. The rubricated text is no longer framed with a black line, as it was the case in the first part of the manuscript. As seen in Pic. 6b, Iris Hofman-Vannus retraced all the unclear rubricated sentences in her personal copy; that is why the handwriting is visibly different.

[31] Cf. Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: a Vademecum for Readers*, p. 241.
[32] Hofman-Vannus suspects that the Ms. is written by two scribes, judging by the difference of handwriting between fols. 2^{v}-76^{v} and 77^{r}-188^{r}; cf. *Historias religiosas*, p. 38.



Picture 6: Change in Handwriting and Rubrication
Ms. Oc., fols. 29^{v} and 169^{r}
The encircled sentence in both folios, 'the Prophet *pbuh* said,' is rubricated.
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

Apart from black/brown, the main colour used in Ms. Oc. is red, along with very rare instances of yellow imitating gold, and green.[33] Indeed, most sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscripts are bichrome. Red is definitely the most popular colour among Morisco scribes, used to accentuate parts of the text, such as diacritical marks in Arabic texts, especially Coranic verses, to ensure accurate reading; and one of the languages used in bilingual codices to facilitate the reading.



Picture 7: Rubrication in Morisco Manuscripts
(a) BCM, Ms. Toledo 235 (16th century): the only complete Morisco translation of the Coran
Source: López-Morillas, 'Alcorán', in *Memoria de los Moriscos*, p. 143.
(b) BCB, Ms. 1420 (16th/ 17th century): a compendium of prayers and Coranic verses
Source: Montero-Muñoz, 'Plegaria bilingüe árabe-aljamiada', in *ibid*, p. 160.

[33] Hofman-Vannus refers to this colour in only one of her articles, 'El Ḥadīṯ de "El Profeta Muḥammad y el niño huérfano,"' p. 146.

2.3. Rubrication and Decoration

Rubrication is extensively used in Ms. Oc.: almost every folio has at least one item written in bold using red ink (Pic 8a). Along with the only five chapter titles in the book, many words and phrases in the text are rubricated.[34] These signposts are usually added to indicate transition or emphasise selected ideas. So, rubrication was not only used for aesthetic reasons; it was definitely a central step in the writing process and is now key in determining the generic features of the book, as will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.

The rubricated titlepiece, the only decorative piece in Ms. Oc., is modestly made, compared to the lavishly ornamented frontispieces of the Islamic manuscripts of *al-Andalus* (Pic 8b). This kind of austere decoration is one of the characteristics of most sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscripts. If not totally absent, illumination is restricted to geometrical borders adorned with floral patterns, such as palm canes and acanthus leaves; and these items are most of the time more functional than ornamental, serving as text separators.[35] In some Morisco-*aljamiado* manuscripts, more than one colour is used (usually white, blue, green, and yellow) to fill in the frames with a considerable amount of details, which intimates that illumination was a veritable step in the process of book-making (Pic. 7b). Since such carefully made patterns are absent in Ms. Oc., it is unlikely that an illuminator took part in the production of the manuscript.

In the titlepiece of Ms. Oc., the frame that surrounds the text consists in a hand-traced rectangle in black ink, with internal zigzag separations in the same colour. The empty space left inside is filled with red lines, more or less parallel to the black main zigzags. Each of the four internal corners is filled with red lines giving the impression of a loose floral shape that only seems clear in the bottom left corner.

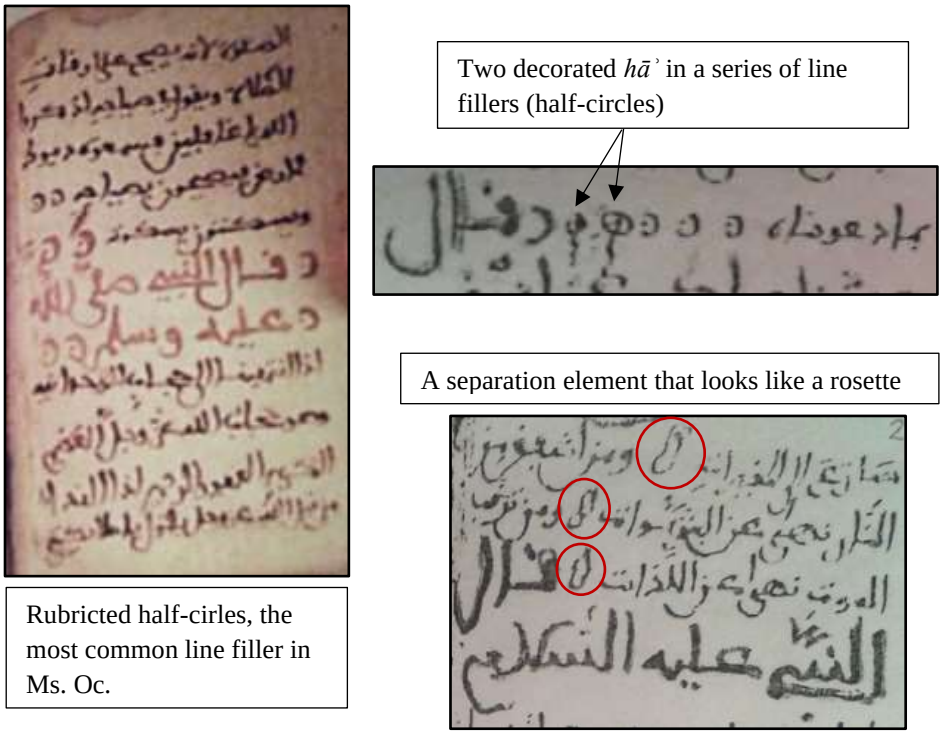
[34] Hofman-Vannus also points at some headings filled with a yellow colour imitating gold; 'El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña,' p. 125.
[35] Cf. Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, 'El libro manuscrito entre los moriscos,' esp. p. 80 and Beneyto-Lozano, 'Decoraciones en manuscritos moriscos.'



Picture 8: Rubrication in Ms. Oc.
(a) Fols. 21ᵛ-22ʳ: Expressions that introduce reports are rubricated; **(b)** Rubricated titlepiece, fol. 2ʳ
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

Likewise, the text inside the frame consists in a black double line, mimicking *Kūfī* script, creating a closed up independent shape for each word. Some of the shapes/words overlap with others in different superposition modes: the first word on the fourth line comes to the front and hides part of the first word on the fifth line, while the third word on this same line comes underneath the word that follows it. Like the frame, the blank internal space of the words is filled with red colour, leaving empty holes that attest to the careless rubrication process, most probably performed at a later stage, by no other person than the scribe. The very few red diacritical dots, with no black borders, were then added at that point. Many of these dots are absent in the second part of the text on this page. The last line of the titlepiece is made up of five unevenly sized line fillers, having the shape of a dot surrounded from the right side by a half circle.[36] The same sign is commonly used in *Maġribī* script as a paragraph marker, indicating the end of a paragraph,[37] or as a punctuation mark, instead of a simple full stop.[38] The circular sign is sometimes multiplied; and the number of signs in each series varies according to space, rather than intonation or meaning. This half-circle is not the only line filler used in Ms. Oc. The three dots, superposed in a pyramidal disposition is also used as a separation sign, along with the decorated *hā'* that we find in one case duplicated in a series of line fillers to introduce a new report (Pic. 9b).

[36] Sometimes, as in many instances in Ms. Oc., this sign is followed by diagonal lines, as in fol. 133ᵛ (sign followed by two diagonal lines) and fol. 21ᵛ (three superposed diagonal lines tangent to the top left of the circle).
[37] Boogert, 'Some Notes on Maghribi Script,' p. 34.
[38] See the 9th sign on the list of 'separation signs' in Jaouhari, 'Notes et documents sur la ponctuation dans les manuscrits arabes,' p. 346; when used instead of a full stop, the number of signs used increases with the length of the pause intended.

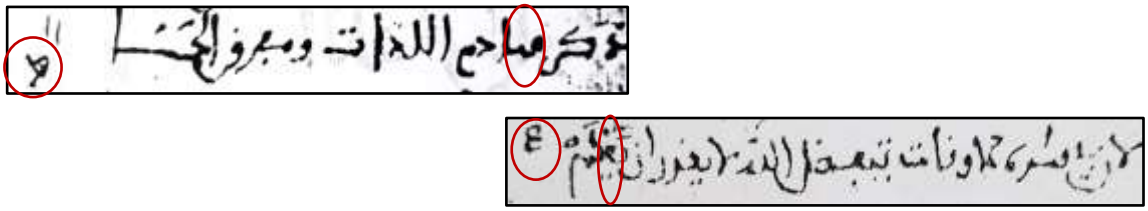


Picture 9: Line Fillers in Ms. Oc.
(a) Ms. Oc. fol. 34^{v}; **(b)** Ms. Oc. fol. 108^{r} (detail): A series of line fillers introducing a new report; **(c)** Ms. Oc. fol. 20^{v}
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila and a photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

In another single instance, a version of this decorated *hāʾ* that looks like a rosette, is used to separate the parts of a rhymed passage (Pic. 9c). The extensive use of line fillers attests to the scribe's intention to make the most of the little space available on the page. Some series of line fillers are meant to be longer than others to signal more important thematic breaks in the text. With no need to skip a line, the transition is easy to spot. This tendency to exploit most of the space is also manifest in the techniques of scribal correction.

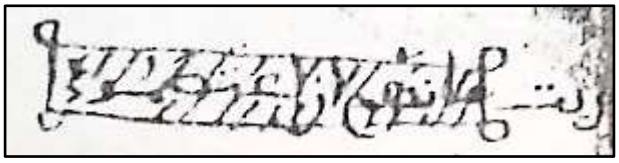
2.4. Scribal Errors and Corrections

When the scribe of Ms. Oc. considers that a letter s/he wrote is unclear, s/he would rewrite it separately above the line or in the margin (Pic. 10). The ambiguity of the letter is most of the time due to a cacographical error, due to the smudging of the word in too much ink at the tip of the dip-pen.

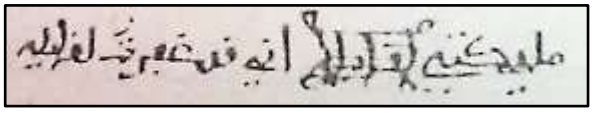


Picture 10: Smudged Letters and Corrections
Ms. Oc., fols. 25^{v} and 130^{r}
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

Apart from these slight technical mistakes, the more prominent slips of the pen are usually crossed out with one or more horizontal lines, using the method, known as cancellation/ deletion (*ḍarb* in Arabic).[39] Corrections follow on the same line or are added above it. The cancelled error is sometimes surrounded by a rectangle; and each of the four corners of this frame is in a few instances decorated with a circular shape, akin to the magical symbols known as *anteojos*. This technique intimates that the writing task was carefully undertaken and that the scribe took his/her time in it and was concerned about the aesthetic appearance of the text.



Picture 11: Decorated Corrected Errors in Ms. Oc.
Fols. 47^{r}, 108^{v} (details)
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

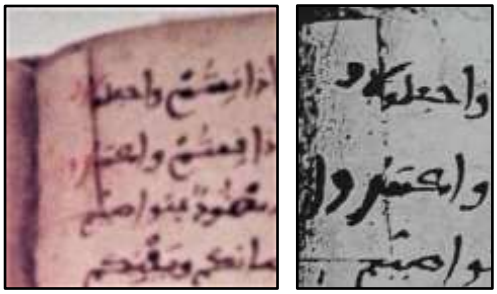


Fol. 128^{r} displays an interesting case of error-correction: the second half of the line is empty, suggesting that the words were erased or that line fillers were forgotten.[40] Considering that the manuscript is made of paper and not parchment, it is unlikely that the scribe could scratch the surface of the support to erase the error. The second possibility, the absence of line fillers that are most of the time written in red, indicates that rubrication was a separate step in the writing process. Indeed, one of the corrections that could be spotted in the photos is particularly interesting, as it may reveal something about the chronology of the use of ink. In fol. 25^{v}, the short thumb attached to the upper extremity of the internal spine to sustain it, hides the two endings of the first and the second lines. The hidden characters are added in red ink, instead of black/brown; and the saturation of the red ink looks very similar to that

[39] Cf. Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: a Vademecum for Readers*, p. 48.
[40] Fol. 133^{r}, end of the last line is also left blank.

of the rest of the rubricated text on the page (Pic. 12). This is another proof that rubrics were added separately, after the main text had been written in black.

Although medieval rubricators were generally different from scribes, it is unlikely that in the making of Ms. Oc., someone other than the scribe was in charge of rubrication. A comparison between the handwritings shows that both colours were used by the same person. This corroborates the contention that the production of Ms. Oc. was an individual creative process, most probably undertaken in a private setting, rather than a workshop. This will be further discussed in the coming section.



Picture 12: Red Letters on a Thumb
Ms. Oc. fol. 25^{v} (detail)
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila and a photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

3. Size and Use: The Text-Artefact

Encoded in the design of the medieval manuscript is contextual evidence about its genesis and manner of use that should not be overlooked. Erik Kwakkel suggests that 'decoding the materiality' of medieval books is the best method to distil 'the cultural residue' in them.[41] He draws attention to the importance of material properties such as lightness, smallness, and collation of quires in determining the function(s) of medieval codices.

The size of Ms. Oc. is the most prominent attribute that catches the examiner's attention. At first glance, the codex calls to mind the image of Islamic miniature books that have been given little attention in manuscript studies. Colette Sirat points at the prevalence of these small codices in the Islamic book tradition, 'the survivors of what was the most common type of book in Islamic countries during the tenth to the thirteenth century.' She notes that 'in the early medieval Islamic world, there were many more small and medium-sized books than we would think on the basis of those preserved in libraries.'[42] One of the libraries that

[41] 'Decoding the Material Book.'
[42] Sirat, *Writing as Handwork,* p. 194.

host a rich collection of Islamic miniature codices is the Lilly Library (Indiana University).[43] The impressive collection represents a wide array of formats and subjects that can help researchers retrace the different purposes of miniaturisation and reveal its social and cultural implications.

Heather Coffey, one of the scholars who studied the Lilly Collection, calls for shifting attention to 'modest scale' codices to admire the beauty of these artefacts as the product of a skilfully careful creative process. She writes:

> Scholarship on the book as a vehicle of Islamic culture has traditionally been preoccupied with the study of large- scale Qurʾānic fragments, scientific treatises, luxury editions of epic narratives, and poetic compilations traceable to courtly ateliers. This preference for the monumental has occluded an entire class of production on a more modest scale: miniature Islamic books, often a mere four to five centimetres in diameter.[44]

Coffey upholds that 'despite their reduced size, these minute volumes often retain the elegance, complexity, and craftsmanship accorded to [codices of] conventional dimensions.'[45] In this regard, Ms. Oc. (10.5×7 cm) is emblematic of 'modest scale' text-artefacts. Unlike the majority of Islamic miniature books that are finely inscribed and lavishly adorned, Ms. Oc. testifies to the modesty of the craft and means of its scribe/maker: there are no illuminations, except the rubrication in the titlepiece and the beginnings of some chapters; and the recycling of paper is an omnipresent technique that points at the cheap cost of the book making.



<u>Picture 13</u>: Stab-stitching in Ms. Oc.
Ms. Oc. fols. 36^{v}-37^{r}, 21^{v}-22^{r}
Source: Unedited photos taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

[43] Most of these books belong to the impressive miniature collection of Ruth E. Adomeit; cf. Janet Rauscher, 'Ruth E. Adomeit: An Ambassador for Miniature Books,' in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition,* ed. by Christiane Gruber, pp. 53-77.
[44] 'Between Amulet and Devotion,' p. 79.
[45] Ibid.



Picture 14: Ms. Oc., fol. 1^{r}
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The text on the first folio of Ms. Oc. is illegible (Pic. 14). It could have been damaged by water during the transportation accident, but it is more likely that this is a reused flyleaf that was added to protect the text. This crude collage should not be confused with the more sophisticated technique of using stubs and guards that is very often noted in parchment codices and that points at the addition of one or more folios, sometimes a whole quire, to the codex.[46] From the few surviving photos and the complete photocopy, it seems that stab-stitching was very frequently used along the edges of the inner margins (Pic. 13). These folded strips of paper are not guards that point at the sections that the scribe intercalated in the manuscript, but are meant to support the binding. Their recurrence indicate that the leaves were torn apart at some point of the book's life-cycle.[47] As seen in the previous chapter, this collage was also used in the making/restoration of the Corans excavated in Ocaña.

The second folio of Ms. Oc., where the titlepiece appears, may be a loose leaf that was added at the final stage in the making of the manuscript, as can be deduced from the guard that sustains the sheet. The separate-sheet codex was a common design in Islamic manuscripts. A sample of this type of book exists in the Lilly Library Collection, a nineteenth-century African copy of a Sufi devotional compendium, the leaves of which were gathered inside a leather pouch.[48]

[46] Déroche points out that this technique is almost systematically used in the making of parchment codices; cf. *Manuel*, p. 75.
[47] The Stabbing technique is studied in detail in Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique*, pp. 11-2.
[48] The Lilly Library (Indiana University), Adomeit Ms. C-11: Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 869 AH / 1465 CE), *Dalāʾil al-ẖayrāt*, studied in Johnson, 'An Amuletic Manuscript.'





<u>Picture 15</u>: A Sub-Saharan African Copy of an Islamic Prayer Manual (6.9×7.9 cm) and its pouch
Source: Johnson, 'An Amuletic Manuscript,' pp. 250, 258.

The African book is a series of prayer formulae for everyday use. Each prayer starts with a heading that indicates the day on which it should be recited and is called *wird* (the share of that day). Picture 15a shows Sunday's *wird* with a marginal gloss specifying that it should be recited at sunrise. The properties of the manuscript, its small size, portability, proximity to the body, content, and destination for frequent use, all invest it with an amuletic quality. The series of daily invocations was a common section in Morisco *aljamiado* manuscripts.[49] Some of the compendia of prayer formulae were entirely composed of invocations, along with Coranic verses; and were in this case relatively small, most probably meant to be portable.[50] The concept of this type of book is reminiscent of the Christian book of hours, meant to incorporate elements of spirituality into the daily devotional lives of lay people.

Judging by its physical properties and content, it is very likely that Ms. Oc. was also a portable book at the beginning of its life-cycle. Based on the hypothesis that the first owner of Ms. Oc. was an Islamic preacher, the handbook might have been carried to the mosque in a pouch or attached to his/her body as a girdle book. This was a common medieval/early modern design, allowing the user to add a wrapper to the binding and attach it with a knot to his/her belt. The lightness of the object made it possible to carry it dangling from the bearer's waist. The wrapper may have been dropped when the codex was no longer used as a sermon guide.

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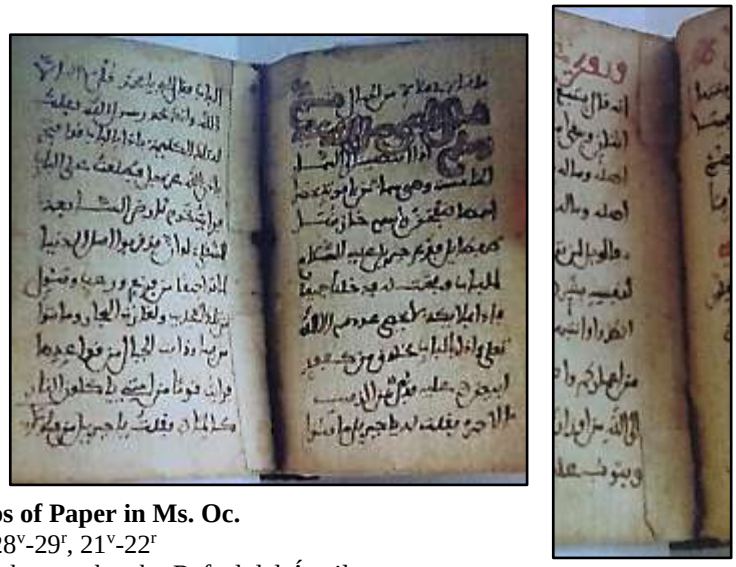
[49] Cf. for instance RAH, Ms. 11/9415 (T 19) studied in *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas,* fols. 29^{r}-35^{v} (18×12 cm, 16th century;) BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22), ed. in Labarta-Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos,* fols. 479^{r}-493^{v}; (19×13 cm, 16th century;) BNM, Ms. 5.380 (Gg 286, previously 103), fols. 143-157 (an octavo Ms., 16th century)

[50] An example of these compendia is BCB, Ms. 1420 (16th/ 17th century): a compendium of prayers and Coranic verses (Pic. 7b); cf. Montero-Muñoz, 'Plegaria bilingüe árabe-aljamiada.'



Picture 16: Early Modern Girdle Books
(a) A 15th-century English girdle book, Beinecke Library (Yale), MS 84: Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* (10×8 cm).
(b) A 16th-century German or Dutch girdle book, National Library of Sweden (Stockholm).
(c) A 15th-century depiction of a girdle book carried by a monk: Hans Holbein the Elder, *Mary's Visit of the Temple* (1493), Weingarten Altar of The Augsburg Cathedral (Germany).

The smaller scraps of paper, added to secure the quires, indicate the fragility of the codex that did not only result from its modest binding, but also from its recurrent use as a practical guide.



Picture 17: Scraps of Paper in Ms. Oc.
Ms. Oc. fols. 28v-29r, 21v-22r
Source: Unedited photos taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The owner's care about the integrity of Ms. Oc. as an object, imparts the communal concern about the preservation of similar codices as invaluable media of Islamic knowledge. As Martínez-de-Castilla notes, 'along with copying new codices, the Moriscos undertook the process of restoration of Mudejar and even later sixteenth-century manuscripts that were damaged with humidity and continuous use.'[51]

[51] '"Hacer libros no tiene fin,"' p. 752.



The work of restoration is noticeable in the Morisco loose folios, gathered in separate files at BTNT, such as Ms. J 64 that contains another version of the Story of Jesus and the Skull that we find in Ms. Oc.[52] As seen in Pic. 18, the paper of the strips used to secure the gutter are visibly different from that of the manuscript; and the marginal notes are added on the tabs.

Picture 18: BTNT, Ms. J 64 (detail)
Unedited photo, taken at the archives.

It is most probably at the restoration stage that the size of Ms. Oc. was reduced and its edges were trimmed: Examining the titlepiece of the manuscript, it can easily be noted that the roundel that is found on the top of the title-panel is truncated, suggesting that the dimensions of the folios changed at some point in time. But the proportions of the text-block and the title-panel prove that the reduction was minor and did not alter the original size considerably.



Picture 19: Ms. Oc. fols. 1^{v}, 2^{r} (details)
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The small size of Ms. Oc. and its lightness suggest that it was carried with its owner and intended for frequent use. The heft of the book shifts from the fingers to the palm of the hand, making its holding for a long time more convenient. The physical practicality of the codex is one of the characteristics of medieval sermon guides in general. This is reminiscent of the portable notebooks or memorandum codices called 'holster-books.'[53] As Erik Kwakkel describes, the shape of those tall and narrow codices 'guided the pressure of the book's weight away from the fingers and thumb toward the palm of the hand, which made it easier to hold the object in one hand for an extended period of time.'[54]

[52] This tale is studied in Chapter V, section III. 1.
[53] A book that fits into the holster, the leather-bag attached to a belt, a strap, or a saddle; on holster-books, cf. Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (Munich: W. Fink, 1976), pp. 30-6.
[54] 'Decoding the Material Book,' p. 71.

Suitable for handheld use, the holster format was chosen for a variety of medieval book types: theological miscellanies,[55] minstrel booklets,[56] *Cantatoria* (Gradual books) and Tropers,[57] theatrical prompt-books,[58] and teaching manuals.[59] What all these different books have in common is their portability for easy use in an oral performance setting.



Picture 20: Medieval European Holster-Books
(a) Ms. Harley 5431, Fol. 15; **(b)** Ms. Ashmole 61, fols. 127^{v}-128^{r}; **(c)** The use of holster-books in a 12th-century monastic teaching setting: Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 409, The Works of Hugh of St. Victor.

The size of the book helps us situate it in space, as well as in time, reconstructing the contextual situation in which it was used. From the small size of the Spanish epic poem, *Cantar de mio Cid* (19×15 cm), written without care and with minimal ornamentation, Martín de Riquer deduces that it was 'not copied to be kept in libraries, but to be carried with the props of a *jongleur* (itinerant minstrel).'[60] Similarly, the assumption that an *alfaqui* (Islamic scholar) was the owner/maker of Ms. Oc. is backed up by its physical properties. Intended to be a mnemonic device, the breviary would prompt the scholar's memory and assist him in preaching, be it in the mosque or in the *majālis* (pl. of *majlis*), the private assemblies that we know were quite common, even during the Inquisition period.[61] The preacher must have used this portable guide to free one of his/her hands and use it in expressive gestures that accompanied his/her readings of the text.

[55] An example of that is BL, Ms. Harley 5431 entitled *Rule of St Benedict, with a calendar*, 23×8.5 cm (10th/11th century, Canterbury).
[56] An example of that is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 61: *The Prick of Conscience* by Richard Rolle and *The Stasyons of Jerusalem*, 14×4.8 cm (15th century).
[57] 'Decoding the Material Book,' p. 71.
[58] Many of the Tudor prompt-books were made in this format; cf. Kwakkel, p. 72; for more on prompt-books, cf. Walter Wilson Greg, *Dramatic Documents* from the Elizabethan Playhouses, Vol. I (Clarendon, 1969), pp. 204-5.
[59] Cf. Kwakkel, 'Decoding the Material Book,' pp. 71-2.
[60] BNM, Ms. Sig. v.7-17: *Cantar de mio Cid*, el manuscrito de Per Abbat (13th/ 14th century); cf. Riquer i Morera, 'Epopée jongleuresque,' p. 77.
[61] Refer to Chapter I, section II.

Following the titlepiece on fol. 2^{r}, the book starts with the sentence: 'First of all is a *majlis* on the words of the Almighty Allah; "And it was He who spread out the earth."'[62] *'Majlis*,' refers to the gathering convened for the instruction of Muslims, through the reading and interpretation of religious texts. But it is also a term that 'authors or compilers of anthologies of homiletic exhortations or stories employ […] to designate each individual chapter or episode' of their work.[63]



Picture 21: Ms. Oc., fol. 2^{v}
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

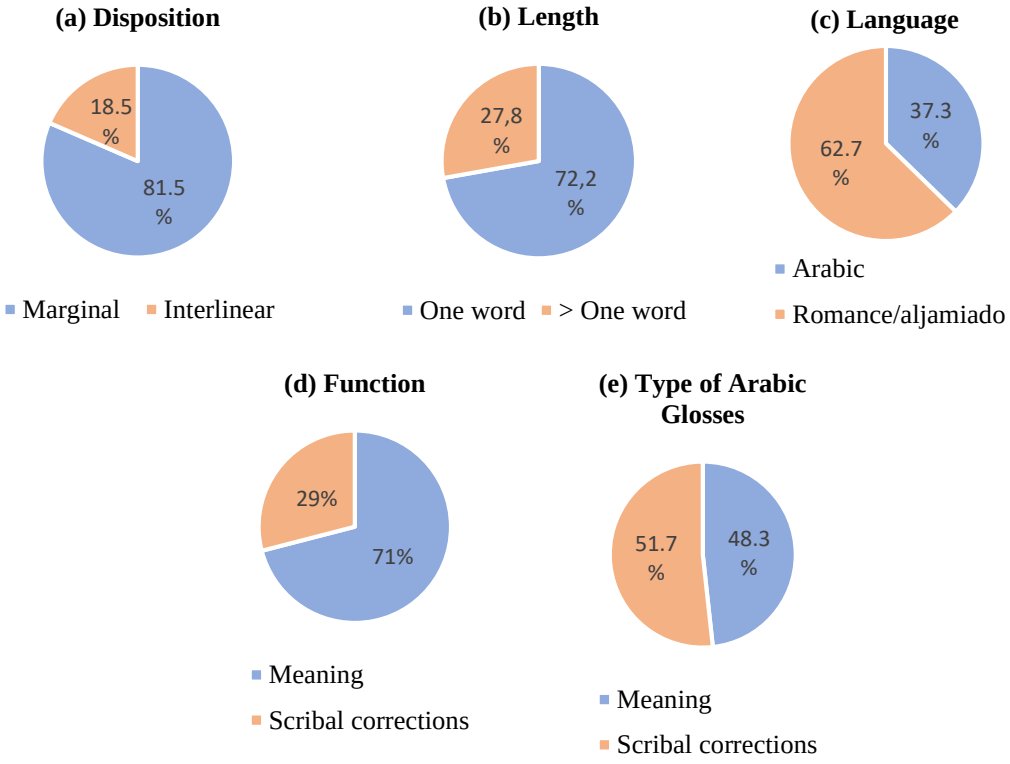
This was the case of one of the potential sources of Ms. Oc., Ibn al-Jawzī's *Bustān* (*The Grove*), divided into *majālis* (pl. of *majlis*).[64] While we know that *The Grove* was a compilation of homiletic circles that actually took place, the fact is not sure in the case of Ms. Oc., especially that this is the only instance where the word is used. It is true that this section could have been copied *verbatim* from a book that contains a series of *majālis*; but the material properties of the codex, discussed above, sustain the hypothesis that the reading performance happened at some point in the book's history.

Besides, the narrow margins of Ms. Oc. and the conciseness of annotations indicate that it was not destined for silent reading and extensive glossing. Colette Sirat notes that Islamic miniature books should be studied in juxtaposition with large parchment Christian codices. She posits, that 'even when paper became common [in Christian Europe], the layout of glossed texts required large pages. Hence, such books are generally on parchment and larger than those that contain only the main text.'[65] This comparison shows that the intended use of the codex is a decisive variable in the choice of its physical makeup. The marginal space varies according to its function and the profile(s) of its reader(s). Along these lines, the core-text of Ms. Oc. can be considered a large annotation, a summary of many texts that the compiler deemed worthy of being preserved: read and shared with the community.

[62] Part of Q13:3; Ms. Oc., fol. 2^{v}.
[63] Jones, *The Power of Oratory,* p. 18.
[64] Refer to the next section of this chapter for a study of the potential sources.
[65] *Writing as Handwork,* p. 194.

4. Annotations

With the advent of print, annotations became a peripheral field of study. Any examination of medieval manuscripts, however, is an attempt to restore this area of research to the centre. Annotations can have different functions: An annotator can add comments to guide the reader (including themselves) throughout the reading process, call attention to the areas they think are important, clarify, contest and negotiate meaning, or refer to relevant, sometimes irrelevant—material outside the text. The following series of graphs summarises the results of the study of all the glosses spotted in Ms. Oc., classified in terms of disposition, length, language, and function. This description is then followed by an analysis that draws conclusions about the annotation system of the manuscript.



Graph 1: The Annotations of Ms. Oc.

The glossing system of Ms. Oc. is characterised by the variety of languages used. The majority of annotations target the meaning rather than the form and are most of the time explanatory, and less frequently additional: the Arabic words in the text that are deemed to be difficult, are translated into Romance (Spanish) or *aljamiado* (Spanish in Arabic script). The presence of *aljamiado* annotations is a testimony that the manuscript was used by a Morisco reader who tried to make up for his/her language deficiency with explanatory notes.[66] Indeed, in both

[66] In her thesis, Hofman-Vannus refers to a total of three *aljamiado* glosses (*Historias religiosas*, p. 47), but more *aljamiado* annotations could be identified in this study (at least 5).

Castile and Aragon, many are the instances of Arabic manuscripts that bear *aljamiado* and/or Romance glosses for the purpose of clarifying the content.[67] As mentioned in the previous chapter, *aljamiado* had started to be used as an annotation medium before it turned into a language in which most Morisco works were written.[68] In the Ebro Valley (Aragon; Map 1, n°3), around the 1490s, the scholar Musa Calavera (alias Jamjami) jotted down some of his marginal notes in *aljamiado*, 'a development that was beginning to gain momentum just at the end of the century,' as Katheryn Miller affirms.[69] Interlinear glosses are commonly encountered in Aragonese Mudejar sermon codices in particular and were most likely used to instruct future preachers.[70] Almost all the glosses of Ms. Oc. are rather marginal, with the exception of the scribal corrections that are interlinear. The wide majority of the glosses of Ms. Oc. are marginal, with occasional supra, inter and sub linear annotations that are used most of the time to clarify the *ductus*.

Most Arabic annotations are additive, made of more than one word, very often one or more sentences. The annotator adds relevant citations to some passages; and most of these quotes are taken from the Prophet's sayings. Arabic annotations are the longest ones and hence are all written vertically to make the most of the little marginal space available. Most of these vertical annotations have a strong slant of 90°, which shows that the book was held in all possible practical ways to archive the necessary information for the understanding of the text. In the two facing folders 53^{v} and 54^{r}, the book was flipped over twice, in two opposite directions (Pic. 22a).

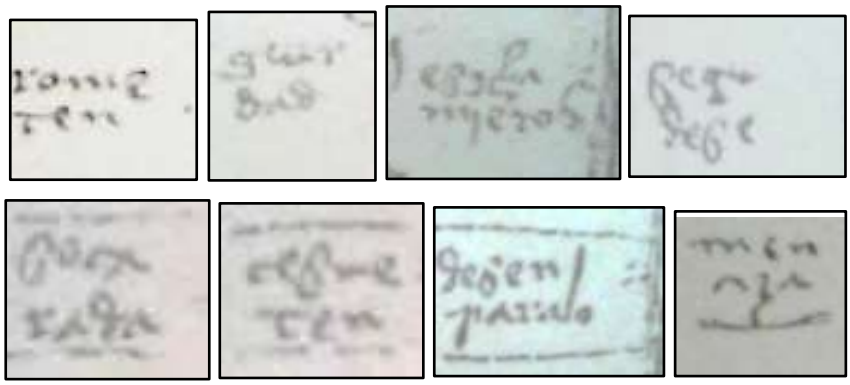


<u>Picture 22</u>: Arabic Annotations in Ms. Oc.
(a) Ms. Oc., fols. 53^{v} and 54^{r}; **(b)** Ms. Oc. fol. 25^{r} (detail)
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila and a photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

[67] Such as BNM Ms. 5043, 5099, 5131, and 5323; RAH Ms. Gg. 158; VL Ms. Borg. arab. 125 and 163; BNP Ms. 1163.
[68] Cf. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 123.
[69] *Guardians of Islam*, p. 66.
[70] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

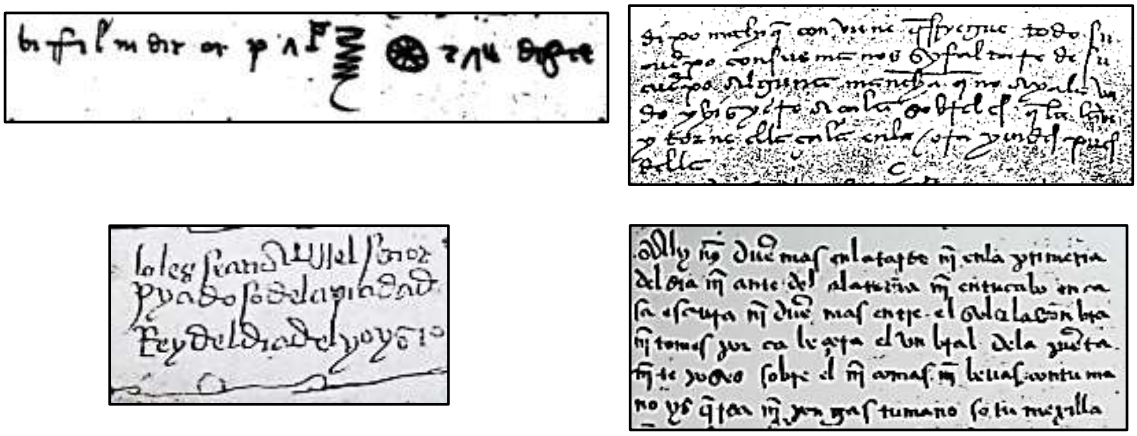
On the left margin of fol. 25^{r}, the diagonal Arabic annotation is worthy of attention (Pic. 22b). It is written in the same hand, though its disposition and *ductus* suggest that it was written hastily. The gloss is opposite to the rubricated headline: 'A Chapter on the Remembrance of Death,' and reads 'So remember Death, ye servants of God!' The gloss visibly acts as a mnemonic cue for the preacher to transition from the idea of the transience of life to the section on the remembrance of Death.

As for the Romance annotations, they have a different pattern: They are very often put between two horizontal lines to point at the corresponding line in the core text. Almost all these glosses do not exceed one word that directly translates an Arabic one in the text.



Picture 23: Selection of Romance marginal glosses in Ms. Oc.
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The script of the Romance marginal glosses in Ms. Oc. is similar to the gothic cursive Roman script that we find in many of the other manuscripts in the lot of Ocaña; but the annotations are written in a more informal style. This similarity suggests that the scribe of these manuscripts, most probably the last owner of the library and the least proficient reader, may be one of the annotators of Ms. Oc.



Picture 24: Latin Scripts in Mss. Oc.
(a) Romance characters in an amulet in '*El misceláneo de Salomón'* (Ms. Oc. B.), fol. 70r, Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.
(b) Bilingual book of ablution among Mss. Oc.
Albarracín-Navarro and Martínez-Ruiz do not specify in which manuscript the text is found; cf. 'Libros árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües,' p. 64.
(c) Colophon in the Coran Copy (Ms. Oc. D.), 38r (detail), Unedited copy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.
(d) The *alguacías* (recommendations) in the *devocionario* (Prayer Book) Ms. Oc. F., fol. 25r, Albarracín-Navarro, 'Actividades de un faqih,' p. 444.

A preliminary palaeographical examination of the glosses of Ms. Oc. yields the following conclusions: The Arabic annotations, the majority of which are additional, are all in the same hand, which is also the same as the core text. These notes reveal good proficiency in Arabic. The few explanatory ones target archaic words that are difficult to understand. Since the same characters are used in both Arabic and *aljamiado*, it is also possible to compare the Arabic glosses with the *aljamiado* ones; and they prove to be visibly different. As for the Romance notes, they were all added by the same scribe. We may then conclude that the annotator in Arabic is the main scribe of the core-text, and that the second annotator who was less proficient in Arabic, must have read the text at a later stage. In the few coloured photographs that Iris Hofman-Vannus provided, the Romance and *aljamiado* glosses seem to be written in an ink that is lighter than the one used in the core-text. It can be postulated that these annotations were added by the same reader, but this is a contention that cannot be supported with sound palaeographical analysis. The annotator who added Arabic glosses to guide him/her in the reading recitation of the text is different from the one who wrote the Romance notes to be able to understand the meaning of the text or explain it to others. The multiplicity of readers sustains the contention that the manuscript was used for different purposes during its life-cycle, and that the level of the reader's linguistic proficiency was a decisive variable in the history of the book. In the corpus of Morisco codices, many are the Arabic manuscripts that bear bilingual (Arabic-*aljamiado*) marginal glosses. This source that

has received little attention should be exploited to reveal the way canonical books were read in the Morisco context. As Juan Carlos Villaverde-Amieva notes, apart from the clues that these marginal annotations can offer about the extent to which Arabic texts were understood, many of them were preliminary notes, in preparation for an *aljamiado* translation of those works.[71]



Picture 25: Arabic and *aljamiado* Marginal Glosses on an Arabic Morisco Manuscript
BNM, Ms. 5131 (16th century), a copy of al-Ġazālī, *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn* (The Path of Worshippers) (12th century), fols. 7r-6v.
Source: The Digital Archives of *Semenario de Estudios Árabo-Románicos,* University of Oviedo

The marginal space of Ms. Oc. reveals how this compendium was read. In its turn, the core-text tells us much about how other works had been read and compiled in a single manuscript. The following section will show that Ms. Oc. is itself a large gloss, a multi-layered text that imparts the compiler's intention to preserve a library in a single codex.

[71] 'Glosas marginales', p. 139.

II. The Layers of the Text: Reading the Manuscript Matrix

> God gives the ignorant the duty to ask God for a guiding scholar so that he learns. God said, 'Those who conceal the clear (Signs) We have sent down, and the Guidance, after We have made it clear for the people of the Book—on them shall be Allah's curse, and the curse of those entitled to curse.'

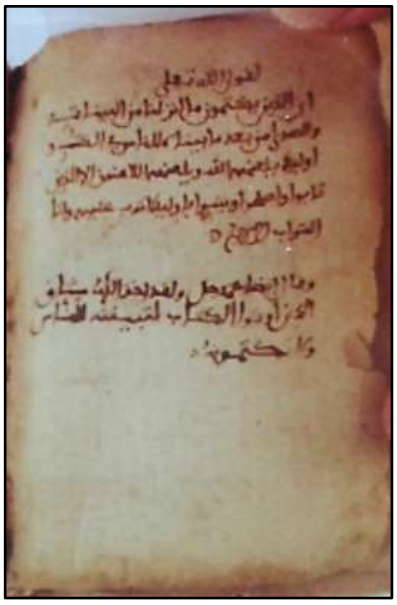
This is an extract from a *fatwā* (legal opinion) of Ibn Miqlāš, a fourteenth-century North African jurist.[1] A late-fourteenth-century copy of this text was found in a compendium of religious legal consultation, made by an Aragonese scholar in Terrer.[2] As seen in the previous chapter, Mudejar scholars used to travel across the borders to ask the jurists in *dār al-Islām* (Lands of Islam) about various matters and collect their answers in religious miscellanies.

The *muftī* (legal scholar) Ibn Miqlāš issued his *fatwā* (legal opinion), scorning the Muslims of Spain for their mingling with the 'Infidels', chiding them for their reluctance to forsake their lands and properties and flee to the Lands of Islam. In the passage quoted above, citing a verse of the Coran (Q2:159), he stressed his mission as a scholar to redirect the Mudejars who had gone astray to the right path. It is ironic that the compiler of Ms. Oc. used the same Coranic verse in the incipit of the miscellany, to legitimise his/her role as a guiding scholar for the Muslim minority (Pic. 1). One Coranic verse served two opposite views on the situation of Spanish Muslims and the role of their scholars.

In Ms. Oc., the verse is followed by a fragment of another one: 'And remember that God took a Covenant from the People of the Book to make it known and clear to mankind, and not to hide it.'[3] The choice of these verses as preface to the compilation unveils the ethical duty the compiler owes to the community as a reader of the divine signs, encrypted in the Coran, and a leader on the straight path to salvation. In this sense, the act of reading consists in deciphering somewhat obscure elements, collecting them, and binding them together, with the aim of giving council to people who are unable to grasp the meanings imbedded in divine words. Against the harsh criticism of Ibn Miqlāš, and of most of the Islamic jurists of the time, Mudejar scholars believed in their aptitude as lucid readers, and the sacredness of their *jihād* (holy strife) as leaders of the Muslim exclave.

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[1] BNM, Ms. 4950, fol. 229^{r} (II. 15-21), based on Hossein Bouzineb's transcription of the *fatwā* in his 'Respuestas de jurisconsultos magrebíes en torno a la inmigración de musulmanes hispánicos', in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, 27-28 (1989-1990), pp. 53- 66, p. 62 (I. 21), trans. in Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 146.
[2] Muhammad al-Morabeti; cf. Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, Chapter 3.
[3] Q3:187.



Picture 1: Ms. Oc. fol. 1^{r}
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.



Picture 2: Morisco Depiction of a Muslim Scholar
BNM, Ms. 5373, *Libro de morisco sin identificar,* fol. 6^{v}.
Source: Open Access on <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000181156&page=1>

Lucid reading, or reading between the lines, relies on intelligence, the 'highest faculty of the mind' and implies the superiority of some readers over others. Reading the scripture, in the sense of interpreting it, confers the authority of the exegetical reader that has the legal prerogative to choose, counsel and rule the laymen who are unable to have access to the deeper meaning of the text on their own. The capacity of reading beyond the surface meaning is the skill that only learned people can master. These religious exegetes believe that they are, like the Greek Hermes, the go-betweens whose mission is to translate the divine message to the rest of the community.

The act of reading and interpreting scripture and other religious traditional sources is the kernel of the theological morality construed in Ms. Oc. The compiler of Ms. Oc. is like any Islamic scholar, a skilful reader who takes it upon himself to 'enjoin Good and forbid Evil' according to the ethos of the Coran and guide people to take the path of righteousness.[4] It is in these terms that Ethical Reading is considered to be the mechanism behind the genesis and survival of Ms. Oc. Like his/her fellow Morisco *fuqahāʾ* (scholars), the compiler of Ms. Oc. strove to disseminate knowledge so that 'the sect of Mahoma should extend and thrive.' Salāma b. ʿAlī, the *alfaqui* (scholar) of Yátova in Valencia (Map 1, n° 13) who was tried in 1578 uttered these words, recalling the many years he had spent 'studying and reading the

[4] A recurrent phrase in the Coran (Q3:104, 110; 9:71, 112; 31:17), central to the thought of the Islamic jurist and philosopher al-Ġazālī (d. 1111 CE).

Arabic books that filled two large baskets so that, as an *alfaqui*, he could teach and explain their contents to the New Christians (the converted Muslims).[5]

At a time when orthodox scholars in *dār al-Islām* (the lands of Islam) were urging Spanish Muslims to flee their home country,[6] it is clear in the compilation of Ms. Oc. that the scholar rather stressed the importance of *ʿibādāt* (acts of devotion) so that the community live according to Islamic tradition in *dār al-Ḥarb* (the lands of war). These religious acts were for him the pillars of the ideal ethical code that should govern communal life in an Islamic space, regardless of its geographical location.[7] Living religiously is being aware of the 'bond between humans and God,' and succumbing to the obligation of observing the rules that govern the religious space.[8]

Citing authorities to support the message that s/he illustrates with stories, the compiler/preacher of Ms. Oc. conjures up a myriad of voices to his/her *Lecture* and homogenises them all together to construct a harmonious whole that can easily be digested by the audience. We should think of the complier of Ms. Oc. as an archivist whose aim is to preserve oral memory in written form. This avenue allows the reader to approach the manuscript as a personal notebook and a collective breviary at the same time, placing it at the intersection of private devotion and communal worship.

In the prologue of his *Discurso de la luz* (Discourse of Light), Muhammad Rabadán, the expelled Morisco poet who settled in Tunisia, explains how he strove to retrieve from memory all the knowledge that he had acquired and preserve it in his book, against the attempts of the Inquisition to erase all Islamic traditions. He justifies his choice to write in verse form by his willingness to make this knowledge easier to store in memory, and engages the reader in the process, inviting them to correct any errors or imperfections.[9] That was the same incentive that drove the compiler of Ms. Oc. to undertake this project of selection, copying, and adaptation; to preserve collective memory.

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[5] Barceló-Torres and Labarta-Gómez, *Archivos moriscos*, doc. 98, qtd. in García-Arenal, 'La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 68.
[6] Along with Ibn Miqlāš, the most famous of those scholars is the North African theologian al-Wanšārīsī (d. 914AH/ 1508AD) whose 1491 *fatwā* is ed. in Muʾnis, '*Asnā al-matājir,'* pp. 1-63; for a study of two other pro-emigration *fatwās,* see Miller, 'Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two Fatwās from fifteenth-century Granada,' in *Islamic Law and Society* 7 (2000), pp. 256-88.
[7] This ethical code will be explored in detail in Chapter III.
[8] Augustine ties religion to the verb '*religare'* (to bind fast); the prefix 're' in this case is intensive; cf. *OED*, s.v. religion (n.).
[9] BL, Ms. Harley 7501, fols. 4r-v, ed. in Lasarte-López, *Poemas de Mohamad Rabadán*, p. 67.

In her *Book of Memory*, Mary Carruthers weaves a network of dualities in which memory occupies the centre.[10] Relevant to this study is her discussion of memory, authority, and the ethics of reading. She points out that 'medieval culture remained profoundly memorial in nature, despite the increased use and availability of books for reasons other than technological convenience. The primary factor of its conservation lies in the identification of memory with the formation of moral virtues.'[11] Registered in the Coran is Allah's declaration to Muhammad; 'We shall make thee recite, so thou shalt not forget.'[12] Preserving memory is an ethical act in Islam, especially when the object of reminiscence is religious. The blindness of Alonso de Zaragoza, a Morisco who lived in Cabezamesada (Toledo), did not impede him from 'reading' the Coran. Thanks to his conversations with a coreligionist from Murcia, he managed to learn by heart and recite Coranic verses.[13] This was not a special case, since the language deficiency of the majority of Castilian Muslims made them rely on memory for an accurate oral transmission of Islamic teachings.

In the same prologue mentioned above, Rabadán clearly identifies his sacred object of memory to be the Prophet's biography. He writes that 'the origin and descent of the Prophet is something that we, Muslims, are all compelled to know and keep in memory.[14] For the same purpose of preservation, the compiler of Ms. Oc. collects the stories that s/he thinks are the gist of Islamic history. The collage that ensues is a timeline that the memory created and is meant to preserve.

As Mary Carruthers notes, 'every text that one learned was stored and recalled basically as a series of short sequences, *cola* […]. The ordering of these texts, their *compositio* or *collatio* was a composition of the mnemonic heuristics one imposed on them.'[15] In this sense, the arrangement of the texts in a religious compendium is inevitably rhetorical and interpretive. The researcher's attempt at decomposing the content is then a necessary move to reflect on the latent authoritative discourse of the complier. In his study of an *aljamiado* religious compendium,[16] John P. Hawkins could determine a coherent thematic network that unites all the texts involved in the codex, and that he identifies as a 'Morisco Philosophy of

[10] *The Book of Memory*.
[11] 'Memory and the Ethics of Reading,' in *Ibid.,* p. 156.
[12] Q87:6.
[13] AHN. Inq. Leg. 2.106, exp. 6, single folio (1607); mentioned in Moreno-Díaz, 'Notas,' pp. 53-4.
[14] BL, Ms. Harley 7501, fol. 4^{r}, ed. in Lasarte-López, *Poemas de Mohamad Rabadán,* p. 67.
[15] *The Book of Memory,* p. 174.
[16] BNM, Ms. 4953 (Gg 70) (16th century), transcribed and studied in Hegyi, *Cinco leyendas*.

Suffering.'[17] Hawkins posits that the manuscript 'is not an unordered collection of legends and other religious sermons; it is, rather a treatise.' He explains:

> 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.[18]

Hawkins was not the only scholar who attempted to track a logical thread in the miscellaneous manuscripts that constitutes the wide majority of Morisco *aljamiado* codices. Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz devotes a section of her study of Ms. T 19 to a thematic reorganisation of the content that aims at extracting a unifying frame.[19] She identifies the prayer ritual as a governing axis that runs through all the texts.[20] A similar move will be taken in this study in order to reflect on the unity of Ms. Oc. that may at first glance seem fragmented. As readers of medieval texts, we should revisit our understanding of 'unity,' as John Dagenais recommends. The project of reconstructing a manuscript as a unifying whole should neither overlook its disunity, nor disregard the fact that its space has been constantly transforming. The original reader, successive readers and annotators, and the researchers themselves read it differently and shape it anew.

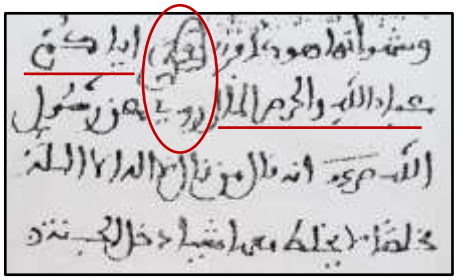
1. Between Imitation and Innovation: Introduction to the Content of Ms. Oc.

A first reading of Ms. Oc. may fall short of recognising a clear flowing, uninterrupted, and coherent structure. The text rather seems to be the result of a patchwork of different genres of writing that makes it closer to a draft version. The collage results in some repetitions: the best example is the short tale of Jesus passing by a group of youngsters and pondering youth and old age that is recounted in two occasions.[21] The word '*bāb*', (literally 'door' and metaphorically 'chapter') is occasionally used to entitle some sections; but these headings do not always indicate a common theme for the material they introduce. This is especially apparent in the last part of the miscellany where the prose turns into a succession of reports with no clear thematic organisation.[22] The few headlines added to separate different chapters

[17] 'A Morisco Philosophy of Suffering: an Anthropological Analysis of an Aljamiado Text,' p. 200; This statement later shaped the work of Vincent Barletta who extensively draws on this descriptive appellation in his approach to other Morisco *aljamiado* texts; Barletta entitled one of the chapters of his book, *Covert Gestures*, 'A Morisco Philosophy of Suffering and Action.'
[18] 'A Morisco Philosophy of Suffering,' p. 213.
[19] Now hosted at RAH under the reference 11/9415; ed. in Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, *Edición, estudio y glosario del manuscrito aljamiado T19 de la Real Academia de la Historia* (PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2004) later published as *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas.*
[20] 'Hacia una unidad de sentido: en torno a la oración,' in *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas,* p. 46.
[21] Ms. Oc., fols. 115^{v}, 141^{v}.
[22] Refer to the outline in the end of this chapter.

do not always guarantee that the section's content is coherent. The last headline, 'A Chapter on the Remembrance of Resurrection,' introduces relevant material: the Story of the End of the World followed by a series of moralising tales and reports that always relate the sin back to its punishment on the Resurrection Day. On the other hand, some of the content does not have a direct relation to Resurrection; and the wide span that this last chapter covers, intimates that the compiler stopped paying attention to the delineation of separate units towards the end.

The preliminary aspect of the miscellany suggests that it might have been an early version of a more elaborate work. Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla alludes in one of her articles to a common practice among the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Morisco scholars who tried to preserve the heritage through the selection of the works they thought were the most valuable ones. The practice consists in copying the texts on notebooks and loose papers, in preparation for a more careful reproduction. Yet, many of those draft manuscripts had never been recopied and were then discovered as they were, in their preliminary version.[23] The most known of these, are the books of the Morisco Escribano (literally meaning 'scribe') family, excavated in Almonacid de la Sierra, Aragon (Map 1, n°22), in 1884. Among these sixteenth-century draft books, is Ms. J 13, a codex comprised of heterogeneous copied material that the family of scribes collected, in preparation for neater versions.[24] It would be fortunate if Ms. Oc. were also one of those rare draft books, but many clues indicate that the compiler drafted a self-sufficient text that was intended for a purpose other than mere copying or translation.



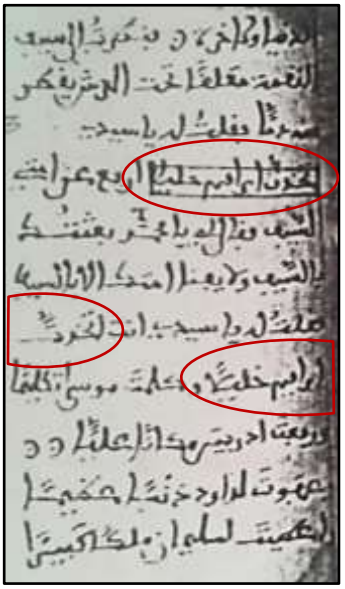
Picture 3: Ms. Oc., fol. 163r (detail)
The first and second occurrences of the verb are encircled; the intercalated sentence underlined.
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

In one of the passages of Ms. Oc., the compiler concludes a miscellaneous section on Life and the Afterlife, warning against self-indulgence. S/he moves to report a short conversation between the Prophet and ʿAlī that opens up a new section on Greed. S/he writes the verb *ruwiya* (it was told), but then changes his/her mind, thinking it would be better to intercalate a transition, in which the audience is directly addressed: 'Beware, servants of Allah of Greed.' This reasoning is reflected in the verb that we find encircled in the first line, then written again after the added warning. This is one of the instances in which the study of

[23] Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, '"Hacer libros no tiene fin,"' p. 756.
[24] BTNT, Ms. J 13 (22×13 cm); cf. Montaner-Frutos, 'Anotaciones familiares;' the Escribano are among the very few Morisco scribes known to us, as the wide majority of Morisco manuscripts are anonymous; Muhammad Escribano wrote BTNT, Ms. J 3 and 4, and possibly BNM, Ms. 4953.

scribal errors and corrections is very rewarding. Apart from indicating that the context of the reading is public and that the compiler is a preacher, such an error can also help us delineate the elusive boundaries between the copied content and the original one in the manuscript, pointing at the compiler's innovative work.

The copying process is clear in many passages throughout the miscellany. Indeed, the manuscript is fraught with copying errors that should not be disregarded when the text is analysed. Errors of omission, especially of the type known as 'homeoteleuton' or '*saut du même au même*,' are quite common.[25] This scribal error occurs when the same word or expression is repeated at a short distance on the page of an original text. The copyist skips from the first word to the second one and copies what follows the second occurrence, omitting what comes after the first one. In Ms. Oc., this mistake is usually crossed out and corrected on the spot, in the following line, which facilitates the task of identifying this type of error that clearly indicates that the text was copied.



The sentence that follows '*fa-qultu lah-u yā sayyidī*' (So, I told him: 'O my Lord!') (end of line 3) is erroneously copied at this point and later put inside a frame to be marked as an error.

The sentence reappears in its right place (end of line 7, beginning of line 8). Note that '*fa-qultu lah-u yā sayyidī*' occurs again before the sentence (middle of line 7).

Picture 4: Copying Errors: Ms. Oc. fols. 37^{r}
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The descriptive title of the manuscript is found on the second folio of the codex: 'A book composed of and extracted from the sayings and tales of the scholars and the prophets, peace be upon them.'[26] The conciseness of the book is to be deduced from its description as the final product of an extractive process of reading. In this regard, the compendium could perfectly fit in the category of prayer books or catechisms known as *devocionarios*, the second most prevalent genre in Morisco-*aljamiado* literature after the Coran copies.[27] The material

[25] Fols. 30^{r}, 37^{r}, 47^{r}, 108^{v}, and 138^{r}.
[26] *Kitāb muʾallaf wa-mustaẖraj min aḥādīṯ wa-riwāyāt min al-ʿulamāʾ wa'l-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim as-sal ām.*
[27] To name but a few, BNM, Mss. 5223; 5346; 5377; 5383; 5384; 5385; 5389; BTNT, Mss. J 55 and J 56; cf. Chejne, *Muslim Spain*, p. 380.

that makes up similar codices is varied, including sermons, reports, tales, and invocations that do not necessarily share a common theme. The nature of these texts is most of the time practical, as the aim behind the compilation is primarily instructive. More specifically, these Morisco manuscripts can be called 'pious' or 'exhortatory miscellanies,' as L. P. Harvey names them, considering the genre to be 'an offshoot of popular preaching (*waʿẓ*).'[28] The popular moralising sermons included in these exhortatory miscellanies tend to be expansive, admonitory in tone, and descriptive in style.

As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, a seemingly secondary fact, such as the choice of ink colour, can reveal something about the generic characteristics of Ms. Oc. An inventory of the items written in bold red that act as textual signposts, is not only useful to determine what the compiler thought is most important in the text, but also to reconstruct the reading experience. What follows is a table that lists the number of highlighted words/phrases, indicating their recurrence in the manuscript, and determining their types. It should be noted that this is a rough classification of rubrics according to their functions: for instance, a given phrase, usually the verb 'said', is rubricated to introduce a new report in a long series. Its function is in this regard both reporting and transitioning. In such cases, we have considered the first occurrence in a series of sayings to be reporting and the following ones transitional. On the other hand, all rubrics can be considered emphatic, but included in this category are the items that do not belong to any of the other types.

Total N° of Folios [29]	373
N° of Pages containing One or More Rubrics	189
%	**50. 67%**
Total N° of Rubrics	268

Type	**N°**	**%**
Decorative	1 (Titlepiece)	0. 37
Vocative	51	19. 02
Reporting	68	25. 37
Transitioning	93	34. 70
Highlighting	55	20. 52

Table 3: Rubricated Items in Ms. Oc.

[28] *Muslims in Spain,* p. 151.
[29] 188 folios (376 pages), minus one page mistakenly added in foliation, and 1 folio (2 pages) for an incipit that precedes the titlepiece.

Most of the rubricated expressions are transitional, marking the beginning of new reports and tales; and almost all the Prophet's sayings are preceded by a rubricated 'the Prophet *pbuh* said.' The verb 'said,' regardless of the subject, is very often highlighted, which testifies to the predominance of reports in the compendium. As for the emphatic rubrics, such as the verb 'count' in 'count [yourselves] dead'[30] and the vocative 'ye people,'[31] they point at direct address and reveal the exhortative nature of the text. They may have functioned as call-outs that would guide the preacher throughout the text during the reading performance. Highlighting these signposts would help properly conduct intonation towards the accentuation of certain utterances to convey the intended expressive meaning. This formal device is reminiscent of the one used in the text of the Coran itself to facilitate its accurate recitation according to conventional orthoepic rules (*tajwīd*). More about the exhortative nature of the miscellany of Ms. Oc. will be explained in this chapter, with an analysis of the different kinds of texts included. Before tackling this study, a word is due about the performative aspect of Morisco homiletic texts in general that makes them a trove of insightful data about the communal everyday life.

The work of Vincent Barletta has opened up an interesting avenue of research in Morisco studies: analysing Morisco sermons from 'an activity-centred approach,' the scholar underscores the performative aspect and the pragmatic function of these texts.'[32] This new historicist approach to Morisco religious literature emanates from the belief that 'the text's meaning is explicitly embedded within the frame of communal prayer activity and thus can only be fully understood as a contextualizing discursive feature of that activity.'[33] However, the challenge that Ms. Oc. poses is the impossibility of the contextualisation of its content in view of the total absence of references to historical facts or specific religious occasions. In such a case, Vincent Barletta would resort to the 'analysis of the different forms of deictic reference encoded' within the text.[34] What is meant by 'deixis,' or 'indexicality' is the textual linguistic elements that refer to the verbal interaction behind the text and offer clues about the here and now of its performance.[35] As there is no indexical reference to the context in its text, Ms. Oc. does not allow this approach. Nevertheless, this does not hinder the study of the nature of time, space, and narrative in the manuscript. What unfolds is a different mode

[30] Ms. Oc., fol. 24^{v}, line 4.
[31] Many instances throughout the text.
[32] *Covert Gestures*, p. 18, see also Donald Walter Wood, *Speaking through the Prophets: Aljamiado Legends as Spaces of Historical Negotiation* (PhD dissertation, University of Georgia: Athens, 2012).
[33] Barletta, 'Deixis,' p. 575.
[34] Ibid., p. 563.
[35] Barletta borrows the terms from the linguist and anthropologist William F. Hanks who used them in his study of the Yucatec Maya language.

of conception and construction of temporality that characterises this particular period of transition in the history of the Muslim community. Like the *aljamiado* texts that Barletta have studied, the text of Ms. Oc. also serves in its own way, 'to present and facilitate a negotiated, pragmatic, and communal reckoning with the world within a uniquely Islamic framework.'[36] This will be explored in more detail in the second part of this thesis.

The textual study of the pragmatic Mudejar-Morisco reckoning with the world entails in the first place a deep interest in the notion of 'performance.' This interest intersects with one of the axes of Material Culture studies: the 'communicative and performative' functions of objects can display a 'wide spectrum of action' that evinces the complex network of social relations.[37] Like the structuralist reading of the text that hunts for contextualising clues, a meticulous material study that digs deep into the layers of the text-object is also closely linked to the notion of 'performance' in its anthropological sense and can compensate for the lack of textual deictic clues.[38]

In the present section, emphasis will be placed on another performative feature that a close textual reading of Ms. Oc. can reveal. In his definition of performance as a cultural mechanism, the anthropologist Victor Turner recognises emotions: 'volition and affect,' as an aspect of consciousness that is equal to rational cognition. Similarly, central to David Morgan's work on Material Culture is the concept of 'the pervasive community of feeling.'[39] In this sense, an attempt to get to grips with the performative value of Ms. Oc. can embark on imagining the emotional effect of the text on the Mudejar-Morisco audience. The reconstruction of the performance and reception of the text is based on hypotheses about how the public reading of the manuscript might have affected the Mudejars/Moriscos to highlight the role of the book in revealing the 'structure of feeling' of the community.

Like Barletta's approach, this research perspective can only offer tentative conclusions, since the attempt at reconstructing any aspect of the daily life experience is always hypothetical and bound to be restricted by the researcher's subjectivity.[40] This restriction is acknowledged

[36] Barletta, 'Deixis', p. 571.
[37] Ago, 'Denaturalizing Things,' p. 363.
[38] David Morgan seconds the anthropologist Victor W. Turner that 'performance is one of the fundamental ways in which cultures operate;' Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance*, qtd. in Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture,* p. 56.
[39] Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture,* p. 7; Morgan draws this concept from Raymond Williams's view of culture as a 'structure of feeling.'
[40] Barletta, 'Aljamiado Literature,' p. 284-6.

in our understanding of cultural research as an interpretive science[41] and of 'reading medieval reading' as a subjective method.[42]

1.1. The Homiletic Passages: The Rhetoric of Fears and Tears

Tracking interactive clues in the text of Ms. Oc. can uncover the performative aspect of the miscellany to reconstruct the lived experience of reading. The direct address to an audience, such as 'O servants of God' and 'O ye people,' is scattered all over the text, indicating the homiletic passages that usually come with a thematic change. In the previous discussion about scribal errors, it has been noted that the compiler/preacher would intercalate this kind of interjection into the copied material. This was meant to bring the content closer to the audience, breaking it into thematic sections that can easily be digested by the listeners, and punctuate the oral delivery of the sermon with interactive statements. It is nevertheless hard to judge where the actual 'sermon' starts and where it ends, as no clear structure can be traced. The standard pattern of a traditional sermon with clearly delineated sections is absent, although some of the typical aspects are apparent, as will be demonstrated later.

Despite the lack of data, we know from the discovered manuscripts that exhortative oratory was prevalent in both the Mudejar and the Morisco contexts,[43] and that the most common subgenre is the liturgical sermon that is meant to be delivered on religious occasions such as *Ramaḍān* (the fasting month) and feast days.[44] The professional Mudejar *ḫaṭīb* (preacher) would use specially-compiled homiletic anthologies as models for his sermons, along with the collections of renowned Islamic preachers such as Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriqī (died c. 984 AD).[45] The highly eloquent sermons of this famous orator were indeed included in the standard curriculum consulted by Spanish Mudejar preachers.[46]

To re-imagine the reading spaces where the Mudejar sermons were delivered, it is useful to know about the common practices in *dār al-Islām* (the lands of Islam) and in Spain during the

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[41] Cultural research is 'not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive one in search of meaning;' cf. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* p. 5; the meaning that this interpretive study will seek is not fixed and intrinsic to the text but is of a performative nature that testifies to the reader's activity.

[42] Cf. Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading,* p. 26, and n25 of the Introduction in which he refers to the 'reader- based paradigm.'

[43] Morisco exhortative sermons (*ḫuṭba-t-al-waʿẓ)* are usually entitled in *aljamiado* manuscripts *'pedricación,' 'pedrique'* or *'perique*;' see for instance BTNT, Ms. J 8: *'Este es libro de grandes pedricaciones y castigos y dexenplos'* and J 53: '*Este es alkitāb ḏe preiques i ejemplo i ḏotrinas*.'

[44] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, pp. 131, 140-4.

[45] Cf. *EI*, s.v. Ibn Nubāta.

[46] Three manuscripts found in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon) contain the sermons of Ibn Nubata, mss. n° 17, n° 100, and appendix B (fol. 352) in the catalogue of Ribera and Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados,* pp. 85-89, 256, and 265 respectively. The first two mss. were copied in the 14th century and are now hosted in BTNT; the third one copied in the 16th century and archived in EPZ.

time of *al-Andalus*. As Linda Jones points out, 'there is evidence that some hortatory preaching sessions [in *al-Andalus*] consisted of readings rather than or in addition to the delivery of live sermons.' The reading mode signals another subgenre of Islamic oratory that is characterised by the seated position of the *qāriʾ* (reader) 'on the wooden chair of the mosque or *madrasa* (Islamic college), or Sufi lodge' and read of different canonical sources, such as *ḥadiṯ* compilations, anthologies of litanies (*aḏkār*, pl. of *ḏikr*) and stories of the prophets, and recite Coranic verses.[47] *Ḏikr* (literally mentioning) in the sense of litany, is derived from the same verbal root, (*ḏ-k-r*) (to remember), as the noun *ḏākira* (memory). The concept then means remembering God through the worship ritual of mentioning His names, with the aim of gaining the lucid insight into the secrets of divine creation. The seated position of the preacher is characteristic of a particular reading space called *'majlis*.' The name is derived from the verb *jalasa* (to sit), and literally means the place where someone sits down. The conventional meaning of the word is a meeting/assembly, or the place in which it is convened. In a more specific context, the *majlis* came to designate 'a formal session of religious instruction, the place of it, and also the lecture or sermon read in it.'[48] The *majlis* is an assembly in which preaching is practised in either of its two media, exhortation or story-telling. Aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī[49] calls his Lives of the Prophets, *ʿarāʾis al-majālis* (the Delights of Gatherings,) which refers to the *majlis* as the context of the reading of these stories. However, in the Islamic lands, sermons were not only delivered in closed spaces. The reading of the story-telling sermons in particular was at some point performed in the streets, illustrating the teachings with the stories of the prophets, and Coran and *ḥadiṯ* recitation.[50] In Iraq, for instance, the 'unofficial sermons' used to be delivered outdoors by the *quṣṣāṣ* (story-tellers) before they were admitted to the mosques. The story-teller would stand to read from the Coran and deliver 'an explanatory and edifying discourse, the object of which was to instil the fear of God into the people. […] Their discourse was called *ḏikr* [remembrance, litany] or *waʿẓ* or mawʿiẓa [exhortation].'[51]

It is plausible to imagine that such a public performance took place in the Mudejar *aljama,* both in the mosque and in the streets. Although in the Morisco context, assemblies were hard to convene, the direct address to the audience and the contextual clues about the time and place the sermon was delivered are present in many *aljamiado* manuscripts and testify to

[47] *Power of Oratory*, p. 18; for more about this evidence, see chapter 6 of the same book.
[48] Cf. *EI*, s. v. Maḏjlis.
[49] Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī al-Ṯaʿlabī or al-Ṯaʿālibī (d. 427 AH/ 1035 AD) is an Islamic scholar of Persian origin), *'arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā.*
[50] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 139.
[51] Cf. *EI*, s. v. Masḏjid

the performative aspect of the texts.[52] As for the Inquisition records, they register cases such as that of the *ḫaṭīb* (preacher) Yuçe de la Vaçía who was caught in 1495 with the charge of delivering sermons in Villa de Molina, on the border between Castile and Aragon, and trying to indoctrinate Christians to embrace Islam.[53] Since the religious meetings that used to take place in the mosques of Mudejar *aljamas* were no longer possible to convene in public space when the conversion edicts were promulgated, crypto-Muslims had to organise their regular private nocturnal assemblies in their homes, led by the most knowledgeable people among them.[54] We know that such secret meetings took place in Castilian cities such as Quintanar de la Orden, Pastrana and Seville.[55]

The concern about disseminating the Islamic precepts to a wider audience resulted in the translation of sermons into Romance, licensed after a *fatwā* (legal opinion) of the Granadan jurist *al-Ḥaffār*, allowing the Spanish *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) to use a language other than Arabic. Based on the Inquisition records of Castile, García-Arenal asserts that the practice survived in the Morisco period, when the *faqīh* (scholar) would very often read out loud from the Coran and other religious texts and follow his reading with instant translation.[56] This can well be the case of the reading context of Ms. Oc., especially that the abundance of guiding explanatory glosses may indicate a simultaneous translation and explanation of the text delivered to the audience. The word '*majlis'* that appears at the beginning of the compilation also endorses the assumption that the text was recited to a congregation of Muslims, indoors (at a house or a mosque) or in the streets.

One of the homiletic generic features that we find in Ms. Oc. is *as-sajʿ*, a stylistic device that endows the prose with a monotonous rhythm, by dint of a parallelism in the ending of sentences that is similar to poetic rhymes. This rhymed prose is found in many passages of the Coran and is one of the main characteristics of the homilies of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriqī[57] whose work was a model for Mudejar preachers. To illustrate the recurrence of this device, the following passage is quoted as it appears in Ms. Oc., with the rhymed syllables

[52] Cf. the work of Barletta, *Covert Gesture,* 'Deixis,' and 'Aljamiado Literature.'
[53] Cf. Labarta-Gómez and García-Arenal, 'Algunos fragmentos aljamiados;' and García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos,* p. 119.
[54] Bernabé-Pons, 'On Morisco Networks and Collectives,' p.124.
[55] Moreno-Díaz, 'el árabe de los moriscos castellanos,' p. 177; on Quintanar, see Moreno-Díaz, *Los moriscos de la Mancha,* p. 310; on Pastrana, García-López, *Señores, seda y marginados,* p. 198; and on Seville, Manuel F. Fernández-Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez-García, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios,* p. 277.
[56] Cases in Toledo and Daimiel are mentioned in García-Arenal, 'La inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' pp. 67-8.
[57] (d. 374 AH/984 AD), cf. *EI,* s.v. Ibn Nubāta.

underlined:[58] The use of this stylistic device points at the compiler's attention to the aesthetic value of the prose and suggests that the text was written to be orally transmitted.

احفظوا أن الزّاد قليل C [59] والسّفرْ طويل وانتُم اهل الغفلة وأهْلُ قُسْوةِ قلبٍ في امرٍ طويل مَريرٍ بعضكم يطلبون الطّلعَ النّضيد وبعضكم يطلبون الدنيا والبُيُوت فصاحةً وواسعة ولا نتفكرون في قيوم ا –>[60] لنُشور والارتُحال[61] من فصاحة الدّور[62] إلى ضيق القبور فويل لمن هو في هذا الشرور وويل لمن هو في هذا الغرور

In a typical sermon, poetic material is also included in order to make the reception of the text smoother and more pleasant. In Ms. Oc., there are two anonymous versified passages, imbedded in the prose, with no formal indication of the poetic genre.[63] We could trace the authorship of the first poem to Abū Muhammad at-tamīmī or at-taymī, whose identity is hard to track. The verses are nonetheless well-known and frequently quoted in Arabic works to evoke a concern about old age as an ominous harbinger of death.[64] As for the second anonymous poetic excerpt,[65] it is an ascetic call for abstinence that is sometimes attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law, the caliph ʿAlī b. abī ṭālib; at other times to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.[66] That ʿAlī is the poet is more probable, taking into consideration that a similar report in Ms. Oc., in which the exact same trope is used, is attributed to him.[67]

The two poems of the miscellany are typical of traditional exhortative sermons and so is the end of the text, reminiscent of the concluding address in these homilies. The rhythmic effect is more acute than in any other passage in the manuscript, thanks to the frequent use of *as-sajʿ* (rhymed prose) and parallelism. Aside from the apparent rhythm that the following translation of the final passage retains, the rhyming words and parallel structures that are not rendered in English are here underlined:

> Servants of Allāh, you are the addressees! Do not be like those who listen and not heed; for the worst creatures to Allāh are the deaf dumb ones who have no understanding. Behold, servants of Allāh! Do not be like those who, if warned, are not heartily intent on grasping [the message]; if awakened, not

[58] Ms. Oc., fols. 53ᵛ- 54ʳ.
[59] This is a special punctuation mark that is frequently used in Ms. Oc. (a dot surrounded by half a circle); refer to the previous section of this chapter for more details.
[60] Dividing the definite article الـ(al) between line 10 and 11.
[61] Explanatory gloss in Arabic for الارتُحال reading الرِحْلَةِ almost fully vocalised.
[62] Here ends fol. 54ʳ.
[63] The layout of Classical Arabic poetry is different from prose; according to the laws of *al-ʿarūḍ* (prosody), laid down by Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 786), each verse is composed of two sections, *sadr* and *ʿajuz,* usually separated with a space or some special punctuation.
[64] The verses are quoted in al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH/728 CE), *al-Ḥamāsa al-basriyya* and al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255 AH/868 CE), *al-bayān wa-t-tabyīn.*
[65] Fol. 162ʳ.
[66] 'A prolific writer and much-appreciated Hanbali theologian and jurist' (d. 751 AH/ 1350 CE); cf. *EMIC*, s. v. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.
[67] Fols. 17ᵛ-18ʳ.

> willing to rise; and if exhorted to good deeds, not responding to the call until *ajal* (death time) take them unawares. So, wake up from your slumber and hasten to repentance before the advent of Death. Behold! Do not be carried away by Pride! Servants of Allāh, make your voices humbly reach Him and eagerly aspire to what He has to offer you. He will forgive you, for He is the Most Merciful. Servants of Allāh, cry out of fear of Him; for your tears will extinguish the fire of Hell. With these tears turn to Him, atoning for your sins.'[68]

The musicality of this passage is certainly not wrought for purely aesthetic purposes. The reiterated endings deliberately mime the weeping sounds to reflect the message of the text. The effect of the long Arabic endings, *ū*, *ūn*, and *īn* is onomatopeic and rhetorically loaded. Appealing to stereotypical tropes such as the image of tears of repentance quenching the fire of Hell, the preacher spurs the transformation of the audience's imagination into an instant cathartic reaction via the imitative acoustics of moaning that he composes.[69] Such a highly performative incitation to cry is a generic characteristic of the widespread Morisco exhortative sermons that aim at 'reminding people of their religious duties and the consequences accruing from noncompliance,' through painstaking accounts of the different kinds of punishment: pungent death, torture in the tomb, and ultimate failure to cross the bridge, thus ending in Hell.[70] After the forced conversions in sixteenth-century Aragon, the Morisco *aljamiado* sermons of the story-telling genre were commonly used to threaten those who surrendered to Christian repression with eschatological admonitions.[71] As an example, one of the codices found in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon) was meant to be, as its title describes, 'a cure for the soul' and a code to follow to learn how to 'love the Heareafter and abhor this world.'[72] Sections of the same theme are found scattered in many other manuscripts such as RAH, Ms. J 8. The eschatological nature that is typical of the parenetic genre is manifest in the construction of otherworldly spaces in the text of Ms. Oc.[73] Detachment from the pleasures of this world to secure eternal salvation is the principal credo of the compiler of Ms. Oc. who adopts a threatening tone to spur on his/her coreligionists on the righteous path towards salvation.

Imagining an actual purgative reaction of both the preacher and the audience to the emotionally loaded passage that concludes the manuscript, is not far-fetched, as the emotional trance that would ensue from this kind of sermons is registered in classical

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[68] Ms. Oc., fols. 186^{r}-188^{r}.
[69] The same image is drawn on fol. 54^{r}.
[70] Chejne, *Islam and the West,* p. 110.
[71] Cf. Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 149.
[72] BTNT, Ms. J 53: '*alquiteb de preicax y ejemlox y doctrinax para mediçinar el alma y amar la otra vida y aborreçer exte mundo*,' described in the catalogue of Ribera and Asín-Palacios, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta* (1912), pp. 194-5.
[73] Refer to Part II of this thesis.

sources.[74] Not counting the recurrence of the crying trope in the rest of the material (reports and tales), similar instances of direct incitation to cry are abundant in Ms. Oc.,[75] entitling it to be called a 'book of fears and tears.' This expression, 'Fears and Tears,' will be used hereafter to refer to all the passages that represent an invitation for weeping in the manuscript.

In the same line, the compiler quotes the caliph ʿAlī b. abī ṭālib in a similar invitation for weeping; 'Look inside yourselves, do good deeds for the time of privation, and wake up from your oblivious slumber. Remember your wrongdoings and repent to Allāh from your abominable deeds and cry over your sins.'[76] In this report, remembrance, repentance and crying are tightly linked to a feeling of deep regret that is reminiscent of the 'perpetual sadness' (*dawām al-ḥuzn)*, indispensable for true repentance according to the adepts of Sufism, the ascetic strand of Islam. The abundance of tears is for them, as for the compiler of Ms. Oc., the chief sign of sincere penitence.[77] Sufi scholars think that regret should be sustainable through constant remembrance of one's sins, and deep introspection to identify the roots of temptation and eradicate them.[78] This is indeed what the preacher does in the homiletic passages, stirring the feeling of regret in the audience, reprimanding them for being sinners, and exhorting them to repent before death take them unawares.

As Mary Carruthers upholds, 'remembering is an activity in which the emotions must be engaged in order for it to occur at all.' She reports that one of the biographers of Thomas Aquinas, Thomas of Celano writes that 'he had a memory for [whole] books because having heard something once he took it in not idly, but with continued devout attention, his emotion memory [*affectus*] chewed on it. This he said was the fruitful method for teaching and reading.'[79] The emotional aspect of memory is also acknowledged in Islamic tradition. The concept of *ḍikr,* literally 'mentioning' or 'remembering,' is central to the ascetic Islamic trend. Linda Jones notes that classical Arabic exhortatory addresses, such as those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,[80] the *ḫawārij*, and the *muʿtazila* theological schools are highly ascetic. These discourses evoke such themes as 'the contempt for the mundane world (*ḍamm ad-dunyā*)' that we find in

[74] Ibn Abī'd-Dunyā in his book, *Kitāb qiṣar al-amal,* describes the weeping of hortatory preachers who mention death and the transience of life.
[75] Fols. 52^{r}, 54^{r}, 125^{r}, 159^{r}, 175^{r}, 187^{v}.
[76] Fols. 141$^{r\text{-}v}$.
[77] See esp. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386 AH/996 CE), *Qūt al-Qulūb*.
[78] In his *ar-Risāla*, the Sufi scholar, Abū al-Qāsim al-Qušayrī, calls this *murāqaba* (literally supervision); pp. 353- 6.
[79] *The Book of Memory,* p. 174.
[80] al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH/728 CE), 'a famous preacher of the Umayyad period in Baṣra, belonging to the class of the "successors" (*tābiʿūn*),' known for his austerity (*zuhd*) and preaching against wordliness; cf. *EI,* s. v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

Ms. Oc.[81] The same is true of Ibn Nubāta's sermons that instigate the remembrance of death (*ḏikr al-mawt*) and herald the advent of the encounter with God (*al-miʿād),* the echo of which resounds in every part of the miscellany.[82]

Based on the straightforward homiletic passages, Ms. Oc. can easily be ascribed to the subcategory of *ḫuṭab al-waʿẓ wa-l-irṣād* (the sermons of moral exhortation and guidance). The rest of the material encapsulated within the sermonic framework corroborates this attribution. Indeed, this noncanonical subgenre is characterised by the extensive use of apocryphal reports and tales of the prophets that we note in the manuscript.

It may be argued that the conscientious reproduction of classical sources, especially in sermons, makes it hard to determine the boundaries between tradition and innovation in Mudejar/Morisco manuscripts.[83] Indeed, Mudejar scribes used to extol their faithfulness to the Arabic texts they copied; [84] and as L. P. Harvey notes, 'the Spanish Muslim translators were taking [the] process of linguistic mimicry many stages further, making their "translation" mirror the original as closely as possible in every way' to capture the spirit of the language.[85] This is also true of *aljamiado* original texts that mime the features of Arabic, not only through the extensive borrowings of technical religious terms, but also through the imitation of Arabic syntax. However, the way in which the selected copied material is adapted and collated in Ms. Oc. reveals that the genius of the compiler resides in his/her being the 'original reader,' and the author of a work that resembles no other. The authorship of the compiler lies in the authority s/he exercises through the final product over the audience that will receive it. In Ms. Oc., this authority is constructed as a multi-layered shield that protects the ethos of the community and ensures its continuity. What follows is an attempt to unearth the different layers of authority that are imbedded in the text and the way they serve the compiler/preacher's rhetorical design.

1.2. The Coran and *Ḥadīṯ* (Report) Compilation: The Rhetoric of Authority

Ms. Oc. is made up of a series of apocryphal reports, the wide majority of which are sayings of the prophet Muhammad and accounts of his deeds. *Ḥadīṯ,* (literally saying, or report) sometimes translated as 'tradition,' is the mechanism of transmission of the Prophet's *Sunna* (code of conduct), the second source of knowledge in Islam after the Coran, and the chief

[81] The instances are scattered all over the manuscript and concentrated in the chapter entitled 'on the Characteristics of Life' (fols. 17^{v}-24^{v}).
[82] Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, p. 40.
[83] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 138.
[84] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[85] *Muslims in Spain*, p. 141.

constituent of Islamic sermons. If the scripture is a set of divine laws, the *Sunna* is the model to follow in everyday practice in order to set these laws in motion. During the first two centuries of Islamic history, the narration network expanded to preserve the Prophet's teachings. A science called *ʿilm al-ḥadīṯ* then emerged to rigorously evaluate the soundness of each *ḥadīṯ*, based on the reliability of the narrators and the solidity of the transmission chain that should go smoothly back to the Prophet himself with no interruption. Prophetic tradition including reports of Muhammad's sayings, his deeds, and customs, interlaces the fabric of the text. The compiler systematically refers to *ḥadīṯ* in every subject they broach. Although as mentioned earlier, reliance on this material is typical of Islamic sermons, it is so extensive in Ms. Oc. that the text turns very often into an uninterrupted series of reports.

The most prevalent form of *ḥadīṯ* compilations in the Morisco period was concise anthologies rather than lengthy canonical compendia such as that of al-Buẖārī and Muslim.[86] These practical manuals were characterised by the brevity of *isnād* (transmission chain); and so is Ms. Oc., in which the majority of the compiled reports have a short *isnād* if not none. Most of these accounts are unreliable, or weak (*ḍaʿīf*), to use the terminology of the science of *ḥadīṯ*. There are different types of weakness that make a certain *ḥadīṯ* unreliable. Most of the reports of Ms. Oc. belong to the suspended type (*muʿallaq*), meaning that the compiler either directly reports the Prophet's words, or mentions one of his companions as the only transmitter. The compiler wields excessive authority, assuming the position of a companion and exempting him/herself from citing the long *isnād* chain. For instance, a strict code is devised against the alcohol-drinker in Ms. Oc., with a long list of rules dictated to exclude him from the community.[87] In the section in question, almost all reports are *isnād*-less; but the missing chain of transmission that would usually attest to the unreliability of the account creates a contrary effect, turning the saying into a general truth, and the preacher into a primary source of authority.

The primitive nature of the *ḥadīṯ* compilation of Ms. Oc. is apparent in the selection of authoritative figures at the origin of the transmission process such as Ibn ʿAbbās,[88] Mujāhid b. Jabr,[89] and Makḥūl aš -Šāmī.[90] The majority of transmitters belong to the group of *aṣ-*

[86] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, pp. 145-6.
[87] Refer to Chapter III for more details.
[88] 'He was born three years before the *hijra* (the migration of Mohammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina); 'He is considered to be the greatest scholar of the first generation of Muslims' and 'the father of Coranic exegesis;' cf. *EI*, s. v. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās.
[89] One of the 'successors' (*at-tābiʿūn*) who received the Prophet's teachings second hand (d. 103 AH/ 722 CE).
[90] A Syrian traditionist (d. 113 AH/ 731 CE).

ṣaḥāba (the Prophet's companions) or *at-tābiʿūn* (the first following generation of Muslims), as seen in this table:

Original Narrator	Chain	Subject
Ibn ʿAbbās	Ø	Remembering/mentioning God
	Ø together with Wahb b. Munabbih	Genesis
	Ø	Genesis
	Ø	Āmina's pregnancy with the Prophet
	Overhearing the Prophet	Saying 'God forgive!' seventy times a day
	Overhearing the Prophet	Be prepared for the grave
	Four transmitters	The tale of the Prophet's Nightmare
	Ø	The light of the Muslims on the Resurrection Day
Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [91]	Ø During a conversation with the caliph ʿUmar	'Tell us about death,' asks ʿUmar
	Ø	The marriage of the Prophet's parents
	Ø	Description of the Angels around God's Throne
Abū Hurayra [92]	Overhearing the Prophet	The name of Muhammad called on the Resurrection Day and the salvation of Muslims
Salmān al-Fārisī [93]	Ø	The conversation between the Prophet and his daughter Fāṭima
ʿAlī b. abī ṭālib, the Prophet's son- in- law and his fourth successor	Ø	Describing Life
	Ø	Abstinence for salvation
ʿĀʾiša, the Prophet's wife	Ø	Punishment of the one who ignores the call for prayer
	After the Prophet	Punishment of the one who feeds the alcohol- drinker

Table 4: The Main Transmitters of *ḥadīṯ* in Ms. Oc.

With the long series of *ḥadīṯ* reports, Ms. Oc. becomes the authoritative source of Islamic instruction, as the compiler/preacher appropriates the accounts and wields absolute authority over the audience. The teachings transmitted in the reported sayings are firmly anchored in an orthodox Islamic worldview, and are sometimes backed up with Coranic verses that are very often truncated and/or recontextualised for the purpose of the moralist.

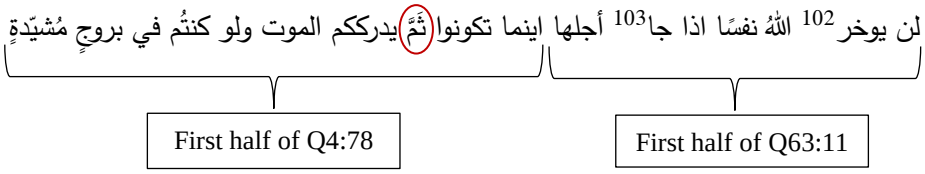
[91] A 7th-century Yemenite Jew who converted to Islam in 17 AH/638 CE and is considered 'the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions;' cf. *EI*, s. v. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār.
[92] 'A prolific narrator of traditions although he converted to Islam only four years before the Prophet's death' (d. ca. 58 AH/678 CE), cf. *EI,* s. v. Abū Hurayra.
[93] 'A Persian companion of the Muhammad who plays a large role in the self-image of nascent Shiʿi;' cf. *EMIC,* s.v. Salman al-Farisi.

It is not surprising that *al-Baqara* (literally the Heifer) and *an-Nisāʿ* (literally Women) are the most quoted Coranic chapters in Ms. Oc.[94] Believed to have been revealed in Medina (the first city of Islam), during the growth of the Muslim community, these chapters are famous for their focus on social instruction,[95] and are hence apposite to the project of the preacher, who aims at strengthening Islamic communal identity.[96]

Although the scripture is all-pervasive in Ms. Oc., it is secondary to *ḥadīṯ*. The manuscript is not an exegetical treatise, but a compilation of tales and sayings, as its title describes. In the traditional fashion, some of the quoted Coranic verses in the manuscript are explicitly enunciated with several variations of the main clause 'The Almighty said,' sometimes followed by 'in His Book.' However, the wide majority of verses are partially quoted. Some of the citations are a combination of parts of different verses,[97] while some others are divided, with the compiler's text interposed in between.[98] In these abundant instances, the compiler fully appropriates the Coranic text, with a seldom addition of the word *al-āya* (the verse) to mark the end of the unreferenced citation.[99] If we assume that the text is recited, it is unlikely that the preacher would utter this signal word during the reading. In all cases, the name of the Coranic chapter from which the verse is quoted is never mentioned.

It is undoubtedly true that the compiler wrote these verses from memory. The evidence to this claim is the freedom that s/he allows himself/herself when citing the text. Considering that Muslims avoid quoting the Coran from memory when they are not sure about the accuracy of the citation, lest they should fall into *taḥrīf* (distortion), the compiler of Ms. Oc. seems to be very confident about his/her memorisation skills, which results in the frequent addition of some words and the modification of others.[100] Some aspects of the adaptation of Coranic verses in Ms. Oc. can be illustrated by this example, introduced in a homiletic passage, by 'as Almighty Allāh says in the Qurʾān:'[101]

[94] Q2 and Q4.
[95] The last 24 chapters of the Coran.
[96] This will be analysed in detail in Chapter III.
[97] An example of that is found on fol. 11^{v} where the first part of Q63:11 and Q4:78 are combined.
[98] For instance, Q4:10 on fol. 29^{v}.
[99] Fols. 5^{r}, 17^{v}, and 65^{v}.
[100] In the example mentioned above (on fol. 11^{v},) the conjunction *ṯumma* (then) is added, not in between the two fragments of verses but to the second verse.
[101] Ms. Oc., fol. 11^{v}.



'Allāh will reprieve no soul when its appointed time comes;
Wheresoever you may be, Death will overtake you [there], even though you were in fortified towers' (the encircled word is added).

These slight changes should not be deemed subversive, considering that most of the time they neither affect the meaning of the text, nor alter the context, but rather testify to the compiler's decent mastery of the Coran and his/her sharp memory. In the following example, the compiler describes the fornicator's Sisyphean ordeal in Hell using a common Coranic phrase (underlined below) that shows that at least two verses are in the back of his/her mind while depicting the image:

> Then he will have to climb a high fiery mountain, carrying the baby [that he had out of wedlock] on his back. 'Go up!' He will be told. And as soon as he reaches the peak, Mālik, the Gatekeeper of Hell, will direct the mountain to judder; and so it does. [The sinner] will fall down to the foot, only to be asked to climb again. Thus will be the ordeal; and it will go on as long as Allāh wills. He shall not die, for Allāh said that he who enters it <u>shall neither die nor live</u>; so beware of women, ye people! [104]

As noticed in the excerpt, there are no formal signs to distinguish the compiler's text from the citation, except for an intertextual reference to the above-underlined words we find in two Coranic chapters.[105] Bearing in mind that in the Mudejar/Morisco reading context, the audience is mostly illiterate, or at least of restricted proficiency in Arabic, the preacher's authority can be easily perceived as mediatory. The laymen might not recognise the verses in question; but they certainly take the bait, understanding the Coranic text, as the compiler interprets it. At a time when access to the original source (the Coran and exegetical texts) was hard, common perception was systematically filtered through the lens of the scholar, the 'original reader.'

This mediated perception becomes prismatic when the verse is taken out of its original context and steered towards a different argument. Such is the case of this verse fragment

[102] Spelling error: the *alif* is turned into *waw*; As will be discussed in section 1.3.2, this is a feature of dialectical Arabic.
[103] Spelling error: the final *hamza* is dropped; this is also a dialectical feature.
[104] Ms. Oc., fol. 168r; a fragment of a passage that will be analysed in Part II.
[105] "لا يموت فيها ولا يحيى"'[The most unfortunate one] will roast in the Great Fire/Wherein *he shall neither die nor live*,' (Q87:12, 13) and 'Verily, whoever comes to his Lord as a sinner, for him is Hell; *he shall not die therein, nor shall he live*.'(Q20:74).

quoted in Ms. Oc.: 'It was a vile abominable deed, an evil path [to take] indeed.'[106] The statement that originally berates fornication is here employed to condemn alcohol-drinking. Even when taken out of context, the word *fāḥicha* (abdominal deed) came to be commonly understood, with its Coranic connotation, as fornication. There is evidence that this is not a mere confusion of the compiler but a deliberate re-contextualisation meant to join the two sins, fornication and alcohol-drinking, in one: this quote occurs in the epilogue of a tale that illustrates the dire consequences of drunkenness. Alcohol drives a young man out of his wits to end up impregnating his sister. This is not the end of the tragedy, as the woman seems to be entangled in an endless chain of incest, the root of which is alcohol-drinking.[107] The compiler's subtle rhetorical moves, such as this one, can only be noted if the text is examined in its minute details, as a well-organised whole, despite its apparent fragmentary nature: as described in one of the reports, joining all sins together in a room, the key of which is alcohol-drinking, the compiler appeals to the audience's consciousness and enjoins them to avoid anything that can mar its lucidity.[108] The verse quoted above is definitely used on purpose out of context as a powerful rhetorical tool to indoctrinate the masses into abstinence from alcohol.

Adapting the text of the Coran to his/her desired aim, the compiler also expands the meaning of some verses and weaves a whole narrative around them. The mysterious aspect of the first verses of some Coranic chapters, known as *al-fawātiḥ* (the beginnings), is exploited in one instance in Ms. Oc. for a hortatory purpose.[109] There are twenty-nine chapters in the Coran that start with abbreviated letters, the secret of which is unknown, though many interpreters have tried to disclose it. The compiler reports that upon the revelation of the five-letter combination, *ḥāʾ-mīm-ʿayn-sīn-qāf*, the Prophet foresees the calamity that will befall Muslims.[110] The catalyst of this imminent misfortune is thought to be the corruption of the community. The short narrative related to the verse is not the compiler's invention. The phrasing of the text in Ms. Oc. is very similar to the traditional versions that were in circulation in the Islamic world, showing that the compiler used one of those Arabic accounts as a model.[111] The rhetorical intention behind the inclusion of this report in the miscellany is to warn Muslims against the degeneration of morals, the reverberation of which causes divine

[106] Part of Q4:22, "إنه كان فاحشة ومقتا وساء سبيلا" , used in fol. 139^{r} against alcohol-drinking; Refer to Chapter III, section II. 2. 2 for an analysis of the compiler's view of this sin and its punishment.
[107] This tale will be analysed in Chapter VI.
[108] Fol. 139^{v}.
[109] These letters are also used extensively in Morisco amulets; as an example, see the amulet of Leonis Benali found in Valencia (AHN. Inq., leg 549/8) in Labarta-Gómez, 'Inventario,' p. 133.
[110] حم عسق; the first two verses of Q42; the report is found in Ms. Oc., fol. 171^{r}-172^{v}.
[111] Cf. for instance al-Qurṭubī, *at-Taḏkira,* p. 1167.

wrath and leads to damnation. Since the Muslim space that the compiler of Ms. Oc. constructs in the miscellany is a scale model of the ideal 'City of God,'[112] in this report, as in all the components of the miscellany, God is always watching and very often emitting clues for people to ponder and repent. The sign here resides in the mysterious letter combination, deciphered by the Prophet; in other passages, the message is transmitted through a vision, or in the stories of the retuning dead, the misfortune of ignorant sinners, and the wisdom of pious people.

1.3. The Rhetoric of Story-Telling

The compilation of Ms. Oc. is essentially made up of a series of reported sayings and stories. It is in these terms that the manuscript fits in the category of popular hortatory sermons that are based on story-telling as a rhetorical technique to capture the audience's attention and spark their imagination. Story-telling (*Qaṣaṣ*) is an indispensable component in Ms. Oc., as it is of all popular hortatory sermons. Islamic scholars of all times would find it easier to illustrate their instruction with stories that make it more accessible and entertaining for the laymen. This device has its roots in the Coran, where a rich narrative material incites the imagination to create more elaborate stories.

1.3.1. Myths and Legends

The main characteristic of most of the narrated stories in Ms. Oc., is their mythological nature. The interplay between historical reality and fiction is the rhetorical device that sustains the dialectic between the compiler/preacher as *Qāṣṣ* (story-teller) and the subsequent readers/listeners of Ms. Oc.: the audience is meant to consider that these myths are true accounts of their remote past. As will be seen in Part II of this thesis, the persuasive quality of the web of mythological stories, woven in the manuscript, rests on a consensual construction of a fictional space that arouses a sense of wonder and presupposes at the same time a propensity to take a leap of faith, fully trusting the guidance of the story-teller in the experience of this space. The study of the rhetorical techniques in their relation to the expectations of the audience and their feelings, proves that this experience is both an active process of space construction and a passive exploration of this space at once. It is in these terms that the myths that come into play in Ms. Oc. can be an enlightening subject to address: not only does the study of the rhetorical strategies employed in these narratives reveal the

[112] Refer to Chapter III for an elaborate analysis of this concept.

story-teller's persuasive scheme, but it also helps us reconstruct the reading/listening experience of the audience of Ms. Oc. and their position in this in-between fictional space.

The mythological strand of Ms. Oc. consists of cosmogonic myths (the stories of creation and annihilation), and the tales that are extracted from the lives of the prophets. The Stories of the Prophets (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) is a genre that flourished in the second century of Islam and consisted in the retelling of the Coranic stories of pre-Islamic figures (prophets and messengers).[113] There is evidence that the earlier Arabic tales circulated within the Morisco community. Among the books found in Pastrana (Castile-La Mancha) (Map 1, n°10) are the two known Arabic versions of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*: that of aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī and that of Ibn Waṯīma.[114] The latter was also discovered in the lot of Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon) (Map 1, n°22).[115] L. P. Harvey refers to this book by Ibn Waṯīma as 'the earliest book in circulation among the Moriscos of which we have firm evidence,' the final volume of *Badʾ al-ḫalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (The beginning of Creation and the Stories of the Prophets.)[116]

Along with the ready-made classical Stories of the Prophets in circulation, Mudejar *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) collected the tales themselves to flesh out their sermons.[117] The stories of Ms. Oc. pertain to this category of revisited traditional material. A long-standing tradition is behind this popular genre as Frederick Colby explains:

> In the early centuries of Islamic history, the stories about the lives of the prophets were often the domain not of scholars but of storytellers known as the *quṣṣās* [...] Islamic sources tend to treat these storytellers as popular preachers who draw upon the Qur'ān, *ḥadīṯ*, and other oral sources both within and beyond the Islamic tradition, combining these accounts together in order to formulate tales for use in exhorting the masses.[118]

Jewish lore was one of the main oral sources of inspiration for Islamic story-tellers. As shown in Table 4 of the previous section, the two Jews, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih, are among the main *ḥadīṯ* transmitters in Ms. Oc. The latter is the representative of the trend

[113] The best-known compilations of stories are those of al-Kisaʿī (d. 189 AH/804 AD); aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī (d. 427 AH/ 1035 CE) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH/ 1373 CE).
[114] Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra b. Waṯīma b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (10th century CE); cf. EI, s. v. Waṯhīma b. Mūsā.
[115] For a study of this version (BTNT, Ms. J 63), cf. Hermosilla-Llisterri, 'Una versión inédita del Kitāb badʾ al-jalq.'
[116] VL, Ms. Borgiano arabo 165; In *Muslims in Spain*, p. 148; Harvey translates the title as 'The most outstanding of mankind and the Stories of the Prophets,' may be because he mistakenly transcribes بدء as *badʿ* instead of *badʾ*; The correct translation of the title is "The beginning of Creation and the Stories of the Prophets."
[117] Cf. Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 143.
[118] *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey*, pp. 48-9.

called *al-isrāʾīliyyāt* (Israelite traditions), of which one of the tales is relayed in Ms. Oc., 'the Israelites in the Cemetery.'[119]

Although many are the prophets that make appearance in the manuscript, their presence does not exceed the limit of a couple of reports, a short tale, or a conversation with God. The main protagonist as expected is Muhammad; and the very rich compilation of his reports and stories reflects the proliferation of the tradition in Morisco literature.

The Prophet/ Messenger	**Presence in Ms. Oc.**
Adam	- 42r-v: His being impregnated with the light of Muhammad - 84r-v, 90r-v: Intercession episode in the Story of the End, Resurrection and Judgement - 103r-v: The second version of the Intercession episode - 184r: Iblīs mentions him in his conversation with Muhammad
Ibrāhīm (Abraham)	-8v-9r: Describing death -37r-v: Mentioned in the list of The Favours of the Prophets in the Intimate Colloquy (Ascension Narrative) -85r, 90v-91r: Intercession episode in the Story of the End, Resurrection and Judgement -104r-v: The second version of the Intercession episode -165v: Reported to be charitable -169v: Muhammad mentions him as a companion in heaven to the one who calls for prayer -176r: Muhammad mentions him as a companion on the Resurrection Day to the one takes care of a patient
Mūsā (Moses)	-15r: On the remembrance of God -25v-26r: Describing death agony -37r-v: Mentioned in the list of The Favours of the Prophets in the Intimate Colloquy (Ascension Narrative) -39r-40r: The Bargaining scene in the Ascension Narrative -85r-v, 90v- 91r: Intercession episode in the Story of the End, Resurrection and Judgement -104v-105r: The second version of the Intercession episode -145v: On good neighbourship -156r-157r: Part of his conversation with God on the punishment of sinners, and on the burial of the dead -166r-167v: Conversing with God about Hell on Mount Sinai
ʿĪsā (Jesus)	-16r-17r: Against hatred and grudge -63v-71v: The Story of Jesus and the Skull -85v-86r, 90v- 91r: Intercession episode in the Story of the End, Resurrection and Judgement -105r-v: The second version of the Intercession episode -115v-116r: On life and repentance
Sulaymān (Solomon)	-37r-38r: Mentioned in the list of The Favours of the Prophets in the Intimate Colloquy (Ascension Narrative) -140v: Discussing Greed with Iblīs (Satan) -163v: Mentioned as the last prophet to enter paradise because of his wealth
Dāwūd (David)	-22r-23r: On the love for God vs. the love for life -37r- 38r: in the list of The Favours of the Prophets in the Intimate Colloquy (Ascension Narrative) -170v: Mentioned as being single in the Prophet's conversation with ʿUkāf on the virtues of marriage -174r-175r: God tells him about the virtuous man

[119] Ms. Oc., fols. 7^{v}-8^{r}; this tale will be analysed in Chapter V.

Nūḥ (Noah)	-12v-13v: The Angel of Death visits him -84v, 90r-v: Intercession episode in the Story of the End, Resurrection and Judgement -103v-104r: The second version of the Intercession episode
Šuʿayb (sometimes identified with Jethro)	-22v-24r: His conversation with God (his blindness out of crying)
Idrīs (Enoch)	-37r-v: Mentioned in the list of The Favours of the Prophets in the Intimate Colloquy (Ascension Narrative)
Yūsuf (Joseph)	-170v: Mentioned as being single in the Prophet's conversation withʿUkāf on the virtues of marriage
Ayyūb (Job)	-170v: Mentioned as being single in the Prophet's conversation withʿUkāf on the virtues of marriage

Table 5: Prophets and Messengers in Ms. Oc.

Al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-anwār* (Book of Lights), narrating the life and genealogy of Muhammad, was incontestably the most read and translated among the Moriscos' books.[120] At least four *aljamiado* versions and one Arabic text[121] were found in Aragon (Ricla and Urrea de Jalón),[122] and in Castile (Uclés and Pastrana).[123] This exaltation of the luminous lineage of Muhammad that ties all Muslims to the Creator must have been consulted by the compiler of Ms. Oc. to relate the story of the Prophet's birth.[124] In any case, apart from the circulation of al-Bakrī's book, we know that the popular story was included in many sixteenth-century *aljamiado* miscellanies as a basic report, a homiletic component, and a literary version.[125]

Imagining the reading context of the tale in Ms. Oc. is possible thanks to the data available about the oral delivery of the same story in neighbouring areas. The Muslims of Spain accorded high importance to the feast of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid*), which turned into a popular feature of their devotion at a time when this celebration was considered an aberrant innovation (*bidʿa*) in many other parts of the Islamic world.[126] During the *mawlid* ceremonies, 'the Moriscos used to read passages of the *Book of Lights* aloud, as we learn from several Inquisition trials held in the vicinity of Pastrana'(Castile).[127] The ritual must have survived

[120] For an overview of *aljamiado* texts about Muhammad's life, cf. López-Morillas, *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma.*
[121] The Arabic text is found in VL, Ms. Borgiano arabo 125.
[122] BRM, Ms. II/3225 (found in Ricla) and UUL, Ms. de *Urrea de Jalón*, fols. 19^{v}- 97^{r}; cf. the edition of Corriente-Córdoba, *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón*, text n° VI.
[123] BNM, Ms. 4955 (Gg. 84); RAH, Mss. T 17 and T 18, along with a fragment in RAH, Ms. T 12 (all 16th -century Mss.).
[124] Ms. Oc., fols. 43^{v}-50^{v}; this passage will be analysed in Chapter IV, section II. 2.
[125] RAH, Ms. 11/9405 (T 8), fols.176-96: '*Esta es pedricación en el naçimiento del-annabi muy bendito*;' RAH, Ms. 11/9410 (T 13), fols. 252-66: *'Istoria del naçimiento del-annabi i las maravillas que Allah fizo en-el naçimiento;'* BTNT, Ms. J 9, fols. 1-15, followed by a poem on fol. 16; along with the 17th century BTNT, Ms. J 8, fols. 1-17.
[126] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 149.
[127] García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, pp. 285-6.

among the Morisco community of Ocaña as well; and it was most probably on the Prophet's birthday that the tale in Ms. Oc. was read.

1.3.2. Didactic Tales: Parables and *Exempla*

Apart from the traditional tales of the prophets, some original narratives are recounted in the compendium, with the same didactic purpose. In compendia like Ms. Oc., it is definitely hard to judge if a passage is the compiler's innovative work or a copy of another text. In an endeavour to overcome the absence of referencing, in-depth linguistic analysis can come to the rescue to back up any hypothetical claim.

In Ms. Oc., there is a high probability that a given passage is original when a change in the linguistic register is noticed. Although the language is still standard Arabic, it tilts towards colloquial speech that is not encountered in classical Arabic sources. If undertaken with care, the philological study of the manuscript can yield insightful clues for the reconstruction of the manuscript history, especially about its provenance and the profile of its compiler. As discussed in Chapter I, Arabic was not used as a colloquial language in Toledo during the fifteenth century.[128] By 1540, the Moriscos of the province of Toledo could only retain a few fixed Arabic expressions such as prayer formulas.[129] L. P. Harvey explains that 'the lack of trained specialists able to carry forward the tradition of literacy in Arabic was the most potent threat to the survival of the language.'[130]

The Arabic of Ms. Oc.: 'An Island surrounded by Castilian Romance' [131]

The language of Ms. Oc., written in the late fifteenth century as all the scholars agreed, testifies to the decline of Arabic that is characteristic of the time. The manuscript is in this regard an invaluable source for the study of the evolution of the hispano-Arabic language. It goes without saying that the language of the text should not be judged bearing in mind modern standards. A fair evaluation should rather be carried out through like-with-like comparison, examining other manuscripts written in Castile at the same period.

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[128] About the use of Arabic in the city of Toledo between the 12th and 16th centuries, cf. Molénat, 'L'arabe à Tolède.'

[129] Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens,* p. 59; María Jesús Viguera notes that Arabic survived until the 15th century in Castile and Aragon in written official documents such as the notarial ones; cf. her introduction to Corriente- Córdoba, *Relatos píos y profanos del ms. aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón,* p. 19.

[130] *Muslims in Spain,* p. 125.

[131] 'The Mudejar Arabic of Ocaña is an island surrounded with Castilian Romance.' Albarracín-Navarro, 'Aḥmar, otro hijo de Iblīs,' p. 11.

Iris Hofman-Vannus describes the linguistic register of the manuscript as 'middle Arabic, used to reach a wide audience of believers.'[132] The dialectal aspect and the influence of Castilian Romance are indeed the main linguistic features of the text. The most apparent dialectal characteristics are mainly Gemination (consonant elongation), *Imāla* (vowel shift), and the frequency of diphthongs. The most recurrent type of Gemination is the unusual lengthening of short vowels, known in Arabic as *išbāʿ*. This is noted in nouns such as كليمة /kal**i:**ma/for كلمة/kal**ɪ**ma/(word) and verbs such as يزينه/jaz**i:**nʊhʊ/for يزنه/jaz**ɪ**nʊhʊ/ ([he] weighs).[133] The lightening (*taḫfīf*) of the *hamza*, the Arabic symbol that represents the glottal stop, is a preponderant dialectal linguistic phenomenon. The *hamza*, be it initial, medial, or final, does not appear in the text and is replaced with a /w/ or /j/ sound, lengthening the short vowel. For instance, the *hamza* in the word فرائض/farɑ:**ʔ**ɪð/ is replaced with the letter *yāʾ* (/j/), usually used for lengthening the short vowel *kasra* (/ɪ/). The word turns into فرايض/farɑ:**j**ɪð/.[134]



Picture 5: Archaic Spelling in Ms. Oc.
(a) Ms. Oc. fol. 3^{v} (detail): omission of *alif al-madd* from the word تعالى
(b) Ms. Oc. fol. 17^{r} (detail): archaic spelling of the word الحياة, with a *madda* on the top of the letter *yāʾ* instead of *alif al-madd.*
Source: Unedited photocopy, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

The archaic aspect of the spelling of some words is conspicuous. The most prominent examples are the omission of *alif al-madd* (the long vowel / ɑ:/) (Pic. 5a) or its replacement with the grapheme called *madda,* a small *alif* written on the top of the previous consonant (Pic. 5b).

As for the influence of Castilian Romance, it is apparent in the recurrence of the syntactic transfer of Spanish subject-verb agreement, as in مرضوا النساء and مضوا اخوانهم , and the syntactic calques, as in the verb used in these sentences:

احفظوا ان الزّاد قليل
احفظوكم واعتبروا[135]

The preacher has the Spanish verb '*Guardarse*' in mind, in this context meaning 'to be careful/make sure not to do something.' [136] However, حفظ, the right verb to use to translate '*Guardarse'* when the latter means 'to keep or save,' cannot be used in this sense of warning. On the one hand, this instance of negative linguistic transfer shows that the compiler of Ms.

[132] 'El manuscrito mudéjar- morisco,' p. 124.
[133] Ms. Oc., fols. 29^{r}, 13^{r}.
[134] Similarly الملايكة instead of الملائكة and روس instead of رؤوس, along with plenty of other instances.
[135] Ms. Oc., fol. 54^{r}.
[136] Ms. Oc., fol. 54^{r}.

Oc. falls back on his/her colloquial language, Castilian Romance. It indicates, on the other hand, that if copied, the passage was not taken from a Classical Arabic source, but from another vernacular text. In any case, many similar sections occur in Ms. Oc. Most of them can be easily tracked through the vocative rubricated expressions that introduce them (Table 3). These sections mark the interposition of orality between the layers of the written text, indicating that the speech was meant to be delivered.

Along with syntactic calques, linguistic transfer can also be noted in the generic change of some Arabic words, affected by the interference of Spanish: the masculine Arbic nouns, *nūr* (light), *ṭama'* (greed) and *ḥayāt* (life) turn into feminine nouns; like their Spanish counterparts, *luz, codicia*, and *vida*. On the other hand, the feminine *nafs* (soul), *jahannam* (hell), and *samā'* (sky) are treated as masculine nouns; like *alma*, *cielo*, and *infierno* in Spanish. Besides, the addition of unnecessary prepositions to Arabic verbs, where the Spanish correlatives need them, is very frequent. A preposition is thus added to the verb 'to see': رأى لـ , a calque of the Spanish '*ver a*'; and another to the verb 'to worship': عبد إلى الله, a loan translation of '*adorar/ venerar a Dios'*.

Very similar linguistic features are manifest in one of the Morisco Arabic codices that, like the manuscripts of Ocaña, contains a version of the *alguacías* (recommendations) to ʿAlī.[137] The text of *alguacías* in this Morisco manuscript was written between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, according to the scholars who studied it. Unfortunately, like the wide majority of manuscripts in the collection acquired by the Arabist Pascual Gayangos (1809-1897),[138] this codex is of an unknown provenance; and its linguistic study cannot help to elucidate the potential origin of Ms. Oc.[139]

Based on linguistic study, the Parable of the Youngster and the Dog-Devil, as called in this study, is one of the passages that can be deemed innovative.[140] The colloquial aspect of the language that sets the passage apart from the rest of the compendium, is clear in the

[137] RAH, Ms. 11/10472, Gayangos Collection, fols. 177^{r}-180^{v}; ed. and trans. in Bouras, *La wasiyya de Ali*, pp. 174-82, and 388-98; cf. pp. 342-3 for a concise commentary on the linguistic features of this manuscript.
[138] On the life and influence of Gayangos, cf. Ramos and Álvarez-Millán, *Los viajes literarios de Pascual Gayangos* and Cristina Álvarez-Millán and Heide (eds.), *Pascual de Gayangos.*
[139] Cf. Villaverde-Amieva, 'Los manuscritos aljamiado- moriscos,' p. 99-100, where he refers to the issue of the unknown origins of Gayangos's manuscripts.
[140] Ms. Oc., fols. 142^{r}-143^{r}; the parable will be studied in Chapter III.

recurrence of many dialectic word forms,[141] and semantic calques from Romance.[142] Based on the linguistic register criterion, and on the absence of classical Arabic sources or other similar texts in the Morisco corpus—to the best of our knowledge, this can be considered one of the most noticeable and rare instances of the idiosyncratic touch of the complier as an 'author,' if an intermediate vernacular source was not used.

On the other hand, the Tale of the Raped Woman is one of the peculiar narratives in the manuscript.[143] Although the origin of the tale could not be tracked, the register is much more formal than the rest of the compilation; the diction more classical; and the linguistic features more standard. As no colloquial aspect is apparent, the compiler may have had some source at hand to use for the retelling of the story that is most probably a condensed version of the original text.

The conciseness strategy adopted throughout the miscellany is not employed in the tale of 'The Prophet's Premonitory Dream,' an extended rendition of a long report that Muslim scholars deem weak (*ḍaʿīf*).[144] The compiler's work on the tripartite narrative structure of the tale is impressive, and so are the minute details introduced to create an apocalyptic aftermath of an unusual encounter between the Prophet and Jibrīl (Gabriel). Added to the traditional description of the encounter are many elements that locate it between dream and reality. The peculiarities of the story of Ms. Oc. will be analysed in detail and its rhetorical purport explored in Part II. For the purpose of this present chapter, it is worth noting that the narrative is bordered with two Coranic verses: the first sparks the affliction; and the other abates it.[145] This is the best instance of the compiler's imaginative creation, based on the text of the Coran. Although the weak traditional report in which the story is briefly narrated, is sometimes allegedly attributed to the caliph ʿUmar, the longer transmission chain in Ms. Oc. attributes the narrative to Ibn ʿAbbās and indicates a *Šīʿī* provenance, as the first reporter is Isḥāq b. Wahb, known for his affiliation to the *Šīʿī* strand of Islam.[146]

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[141] قرب instead of اقتَرَبَ for 'approach' in the third person singular (fol. 142[r]), and نتبع instead of أتْبَعُ or أتَّبِعُ for 'follow' in the first person singular (fol. 142[v]).

[142] As an example, in ' تعبدون *إلى* الله' (you serve God), the Arabic preposition ' إلى' is added to the verb ' عبد'(to serve) that should not take any preposition, imitating the construction of the Spanish verb '*servir*' that takes the preposition 'a':'*servir a Dios*' (fol. 143[r]).

[143] Ms. Oc., fols. 137[v]-139[r]; the tale will be studied in Chapter III.

[144] Ms. Oc., fols. 117[r] -124[v].

[145] Q15:43-4 and Q39: 60-1.

[146] Abū' l-Ḥusayn Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib (4th century AH/10th century CE).

1.3.3. Case Study: The Ascension Narrative

To illustrate the duality of Imitation and Innovation in the narrative compilation of Ms. Oc., the tale of the Prophet's journey to the celestial spheres, is here studied, as one of the master narratives in the manuscript. As textual analysis will prove in Part II of this thesis, in the Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc., the reader/listener is invited to cross the threshold of the real world with the protagonist to explore the supernatural space. The study of the configuration of space in the narrative, the focal point of analysis in Part II, is initiated in this section that unearths the layers of the text. The genealogy of the tale is here explored, with special focus on the craft of the compiler of Ms. Oc. as an 'original reader:' What classical sources s/he may have used to relate this story; and in what way does his/her adaptation of the traditional narrative reflect his/her particular concerns and intentions? Trying to answer these questions, this preliminary section aims at determining the position of the tale between Imitation and Innovation.

The two-episode story of Muhammad's Night Journey (*Isrā'*) and Ascension to Heaven (*Mi'rāj*) is one of the most tantalising eschatological tales in Islamic tradition. Whereas the noun *isrā'* that is derived from the verb *asrā* (to walk at night), is used to describe the terrestrial part of the trip, the verb *'araja* from the root ('-r-j) in Arabic means 'to ascend,' and hence the derivative noun, *mi'rāj,* literally means 'ladder' and is used to refer to a vertical movement towards the skies.[147] The celestial stage of this episode in the Prophet's biography to which the Coran only alludes to in obscure and scattered passages, had been elaborated in both canonical scholarly texts and marginal popular versions of the tale, starting from the second century of Islam. Starting from the first century AH (seventh century CE), and reaching the seventh /thirteenth century, the story had been told in different versions. The fourth/tenth century witnessed the peak of the formation of canonical *ḥadīṯ* reports about this episode, with different chains of transmission (*isnād*), the criterion of the veracity of any of the Prophet's reported saying or deed.

According to Frederick Colby, 'Muslims connected the two journeys into one by the third/ninth century at the latest. After this time, Muslims come to use the terms [...] interchangeably, often using either term to refer to a single composite journey [...] that Muḥammad experienced on a single night.'[148] Despite the variety of versions that we find in *ḥadīṯ* reports, historical accounts, and later literary and artistic adaptations, most of those that

[147] For a discussion on the role of the ladder and *Burāq*, the magical horse that carried the Prophet, in the Night Journey and Ascension accounts, see Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys,* pp. 44-50.
[148] Colby, *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey*, p. 15.

narrate a full-fledged tale combining both stages, unanimously agree on a basic storyline: One night, often thought to be in the month of *Rajab*, Angel Gabriel (Jibrīl) appeared to Muhammad to urge him to ride a fantastic steed called *Burāq* from Mecca to Jerusalem. This first part of the journey known as *Isrā'* is then followed by the *Miʿrāj,* an otherworldly visit to Heaven and Hell that ends up with a return to Mecca so that the tale come full circle. The Heavenly Ascension usually culminates with a miraculous encounter between Muhammad and God, in which the Prophet receives the divine command of the five-time ritual prayer with which he later charges his Muslim followers. Upon his return to Mecca, Muhammad recounts the events he went through to his community. Some belied him, while others believed his account and interpreted it as a miraculous confirmation of his prophetic mission.

This story that had been constantly developing throughout Islamic history, is popular among preachers/storytellers, not only because it portrays entertaining marvellous scenes of the extra-terrestrial spheres, but also because it is related to the institution of the five-prayer ritual, one of the cornerstones of Islamic worship. Indeed, it was during the Prophet's encounter with God, towards the end of the tale, that the duty was enjoined. In this regard, the tale fulfils one of the major purposes of the compiler of Ms. Oc., as it takes the prayer ritual back to its genesis, featuring the histrionic moment of the encounter as an epitome of the privileged position of Muhammad and his Muslim community. Indeed, one of the points of discussion in the Divine Colloquy, the conversation between God and Muhammad, is the Favours of the Prophets: Muhammad asks God to tell him what favours He offered him, as He did to the other prophets. God then indulges in the praise of Muhammad, describing the unparalleled affection He has for him.

Very relevant to the early Islamic religious discourse of conversion, the story was extensively used in theological polemics against the other religions of the Book. It was even internally exploited by the different Islamic sects to defend their allegiances to one denomination and not the other. The diffusion of contested versions of the narrative was at the centre of the power struggle within the community during the first centuries of Islam. As Brooke Vuckovic points out, 'the myth of the Prophet's ascent should be viewed less as a miraculous historic event than as a means to understanding how early scholars wrestled with defining Muḥammad, themselves, and the values of the Muslim community.'[149] Indeed, extensive literature of various sources and backgrounds developed the Coranic cryptic allusions and the vague, usually concise, reported sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīṯ* tradition). Following Muhammad's death, the episode very quickly became loaded with ideological tones,

[149] *Heavenly Journeys,* p. 41.

reflecting and defending sectarian allegiances. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby note that '*Miʿrāj* texts were at the center of efforts at structuring group identity and regulating social interactions and behavior in contradistinction to one or more opposing groups.'[150] These texts were adapted by the two main denominations of Islam, the Šīʿa (Shiia) and the Sunna, as a discursive tool that draws its strength from the poetic and picturesque natures of the story.

The academic examination of different variations in accounts of the Ascension story when studied in context, has always proved rewarding. In his seminal book, *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey,* Frederick Colby engages in the debate over the Islamic tradition of Ascension narratives, examining 'the early development of this particular genre of texts [...] over a long stretch of time.'[151] The author acknowledges in the introduction to his survey that 'the large temporal and geographical territory covered in such study necessitates that it minimizes attention paid to local histories and contexts, for such critical contextual work must be left to subsequent studies.'[152] In response to this recommendation, this section will explore the rendering of the episode in Ms. Oc. that is worth careful analysis within the historical circumstances of the production and circulation of the book, against potential medieval sources and later Morisco versions.

This study will introduce the textual Coranic origins of the Ascension trope and survey the most prominent traditional medieval elaborations, in order to compare the version of Ms. Oc. against them and draw conclusions around its possible provenance. The narrative in Ms. Oc. will be analysed in more detail in Chapter IV of this thesis, focusing on the metaphor of Light and its role in the construction of space in the manuscript. In light of this twofold study, the rhetorical charge of the narrative will be highlighted, in the hope of determining the compiler's potential allegiance and the psychological effect s/he intended to create in the audience.

The Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension in the Coran

Far from engaging in the never-ending discussion about the veracity of the tale, a preliminary concise study of the Coranic *āyāt* (used in its two meanings: verses and signs) is necessary to lay down the basis for the analysis of the narrative in Ms. Oc. In one of her articles, Angelika Neuwirth cites many instances of possible references to the Night Journey in the Coran; but

[150] *The Prophet's Ascension*, p. 3.
[151] Colby, *Narrating,* p. 7.
[152] *Ibid.*

according to her, the Heavenly Ascent does not have a grounded origin in the Scripture.[153] The first seed of the story is found in the opening verse of Chapter 17 of the Coran, entitled *al-Isrāʾ* (the Night Journey), that enigmatically portrays the passive movement of someone, from one prayer location to another. To testify to the ambiguity of this verse, three different English translations are here set side by side:[154]

Glory to (God) Who did take His Servant For a Journey by night From the Sacred Mosque To the Farthest Mosque, Whose precincts We did Bless,—in order that We Might show him some Of Our Signs: for He Is the One Who heareth And seeth (all things).	Glorified be the one who caused his servant to journey by night from the sacred place of prayer to the furthest place of prayer, whose precincts we have blessed, in order to show him some of our signs. Indeed he is the one who hears, the one who sees.	Glory to him who carried his servant by night from the holy mosque to the further mosque the precincts of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs. He is the all-hearing, the all-seeing.

The cryptic verse of the *sūra* (chapter) does not explicitly state the identity of the servant who undertakes the journey and reveals even less information about the agent of this passive movement. There is an oscillation between the use of the first and the third persons to refer to God, which is commonly noted in the Coran. The first translation ignores this detail and goes as far as interpreting the glorification to be attributed to God, as it is most often the case when the expression *subḥāna* (glorified be) is used.

Although the servant who undertakes the journey can actually be Moses, especially if the verse is considered in the context of the whole chapter, also called *Banī Isrāʿīl* (Children of Israel), no Muslim exegete doubts the reference to Muhammad.[155] Indeed, the rest of the chapter draws an explicit parallelism between the two stories of Moses and Muhammad.[156] 'That we might show him some of our signs' is the purpose of this journey, but the nature of these clues remains unknown. Frederick Colby indicates that the word *āyāt* 'appears in the Coran over 300 times, often referring to something in creation that might remind one of the divine creator.'[157] Other chapters, traditionally related to the Ascension Narrative, such as Q53 and Q81, also reveal nothing of the mystery of the divine message transmitted to the Prophet. Their enigmatic nature opens up a wide array of interpretations that paved the way

[153] Cf. 'From the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Temple', in which Neuwirth cites Q 15:14-15; 17:93; 6:35; and 6:125; Colby adds other possible references in *Narrating*, such as Q 40:36-7; 28:38-40; and 38:10-11.
[154] Respectively Ali, *The Holy Quran*; Colby, *Narrating*, and Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*.
[155] For an analysis of the following reference to Moses in the chapter, cf. Colby, *Narrating*, p. 4; and for a discussion of the relation of the first verse to the 'corpus' of the chapter (Q 17:2-111), cf. Neuwirth, 'From the Sacred Mosque', pp. 388-95.
[156] Cf. Neuwirth, 'From the Sacred Mosque', p. 389.
[157] *Narrating*, p. 16.

to the abundant variety of narrative elaborations. As Angelika Neuwirth puts it, Chapter 17 'can be read as the matrix of what will later be fantastically elaborated to form the narratives of *isrā'* and *miʿrāj* in *ḥadīṯ* literature.'[158]

In the Coranic Chapter 81, called *at-Takwīr* (the Overturning), is found one of the scriptural sources for the imagination of the encounter with God. The following verses are a call on celestial bodies to attest to the veracity of divine revelation to Muhammad:

> So verily I call to witness the Planets—that recede, go straight, or hide; And the Night as it dissipates; And the Dawn as it breathes away darkness;— Verily this is the word of a most honourable messenger, endued with power, with rank before the Lord of the Throne, with authority there, (And) faithful to his trust. And (O people!) your companion is not one possessed— and without doubt he saw him in the clear horizon— neither doth he grudgingly withhold the knowledge of the Unseen.[159]

The revelation that these apocalyptic verses assert is of a visionary nature. It is 'the word of a most honourable messenger,' namely his account of a vision, that is here legitimised. The vision is that 'he undoubtedly saw him in the clear horizon'—or 'he saw him on the horizon clear' in some other translations. Yet, the sustained clarity of this vision, or of where it happens, leaves unknown the identity of the perceived figure, that of the messenger, and that of the exact place of encounter. If the ennobled messenger is Muhammad and the object of vision is Angel Gabriel, as some of the interpretations suggest, then there is no room for conceiving an encounter with God himself. Some exegetes build on this, pointing at another chapter in the Coran (53), *an-Najm* (the Star), the title of which refers to one of the celestial bodies that bear witness to the truthfulness of Muhammad's vision. The opening verses of the chapter also testify to the revelation of divine signs in a visionary mode:

> By the Star when it goes down,—your companion is neither astray nor being misled, nor does he say (aught) of (his own) desire. It is no less than inspiration sent down to him: He was taught by one mighty in power, endued with wisdom; for he appeared (in stately form) while he was in the highest part of the horizon. Then he approached and came closer, and was at a distance of but two bow-length or (even) nearer; So did (God) convey the inspiration to His Servant—(Conveyed) what He (meant) to convey. The (Prophet's) (mind and) heart in no way falsified that which he saw. Will ye then dispute with him concerning what he saw? For indeed he saw him at a second descent, near the Lote-tree, beyond which none may pass. Near it is the Garden of Abode. Behold, the Lote-tree was shrouded (in mystery unspeakable!) (His) sight never swerved, nor did it go wrong! For truly did he see, of the Signs of his Lord, the Greatest.[160]

[158] 'From the Sacred Mosque', p. 389.
[159] Q 81: 15-24. Yusuf-Ali, *The Holy Qurʾān*.
[160] Q53:1-18.

The opponents of Muhammad's encounter with God uphold that the powerful being that is seen in the horizon is the messenger Gabriel who carries divine inspiration to the Prophet. This mediation is for the orthodox group of exegetes necessary and can by no means be nullified. Although the first spatial indication, 'the highest part of the horizon,' seems clear, the following clues are misleading rather than guiding, for no one knows where the Lote Tree of Boundary, or its neighbour the Garden of Adobe, are located.[161]

Joseph Van Ess points out that 'the throne vision was the point where the literary motif of the ascension, which was originally foreign to the Qur'ān, could sneak in.' He explains, 'If the Scripture seemed to confirm the Prophet's having seen God sitting on His throne, there was no obstacle to imagining that he had ascended to heaven in order to see Him where the throne was located.'[162] It is at this point that the vision statement in Chapter 81 ('He saw him on the horizon clear') comes to be combined and developed with the more detailed description in Chapter 53, and the two scenes come to be merged in one single story.

A Survey of the Medieval Elaborating Traditions

Scholars have been wrestling about the genesis of the Ascension Narrative in Islamic lore. While most of the twentieth-century researchers started their historical study of the narrative with the canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections (reports of the Prophet's sayings and deeds) and historical accounts such as the biographies of the Prophet, Frederick Colby considers the examination of an earlier source necessary for a comprehensive view of the historical and ideological evolution of the tradition. In his book, *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey*, he traces the genealogy of the story back to its first alleged account by Ibn ʿAbbās and its subsequent adaptation by Al-Bakrī. As Colby explains, although 'early exegetes denied the relevance of the Star chapter [to the ascent legend], [...] Ibn ʿAbbās Ascension Narrative was especially poetic on this subject, reading the […] ambiguous statement "he revealed what he revealed" (Q53:10) as an allusion to the climactic dialogue and vision of God at the highest point in Muhammad's ascension.'[163] This was the leap of faith that granted free access to the realm of creative story-telling.

Ibn ʿAbbās 'Primitive Version'

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68 AH/687 CE) is the son of Muhammad's uncle, Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was most probably very young at the time when the ascension event allegedly took place, in the beginning of Muhammad's prophetic mission. Yet, many later

[161] The Garden is also translated as 'the Garden of Refuge' or 'of Tranquillity.'
[162] 'Vision and Ascension', p. 56.
[163] *Narrating*, p. 19.

reports of the story were based on a chain of transmission that goes back to this early Coran interpreter who relied on the accounts of Muhammad's companions to write exegetical commentaries and teach Islamic law. Indeed, being the most quoted transmitter of *ḥadīṯ* in Ms. Oc., Ibn ʿAbbās can undoubtedly be considered the main source of the compendium's material.[164]

As can be noticed from the onset of the version—or rather versions—based on Ibn ʿAbbās's report, the story developed with oral transmission that marks the formative period of Islamic tradition. Colby designates this early account as 'the Primitive Version,' a name that perfectly reflects its elusive nature. He dates it roughly 'between the second half of the second/eighth century and the second half of the third/ninth century,' and discusses in detail the 'enigma of its early composition.'[165] This most widely cited and recited version is created in a mythological space that confers to it both aesthetic and realistic qualities. The absence of a reliable chain of transmission in the retellings of the Primitive Version flouts the rule of *isnād* upon which the credibility of any *ḥadīṯ* (report) is dependent and puts the legitimacy of the series of narratives into question, which explains their being called 'Pseudo-Ibn ʿAbbās Narratives.' The debate about the veracity of the account has been intense throughout the history of Islam and until today. The controversy mostly spots basic issues such as the nature of the journey, raising questions about the transport of the Prophet in spirit and if this is accompanied with a real, corporeal movement.[166] No matter how heated these debates are, there is a consensus that this Primitive Version is the most influential of all and the source of inspiration for the majority of subsequent narratives, be they historical, theological or literary. One of the most famous elaborations of the 'original' narrative(s) of Ibn ʿAbbās is the full-fledged version of Al-Bakrī.

Al-Bakrī Narratives

Unlike Ibn ʿAbbās, whose historical existence is certain, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī is an 'elusive' figure.[167] In the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* he is introduced under the entry, 'al-Bakrī, Ahmad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al wāʿiẓ (the seventh/thirteenth century?)' as:

> The alleged author of numerous colourful and largely fictional prose romances dealing with the life of the Prophet and the early Islamic conquests. [...He was] denounced as an inveterate liar. [...] One should think of 'al-Bakrī'

[164] The name of Ibn ʿAbbās is mentioned seven times in the chains of *ḥadīṯ* transmission in Ms. Oc.
[165] *Narrating,* p. 48.
[166] For a discussion of this issue, cf. Chapter 4 in Buckley, *The Night Journey*.
[167] Colby, *Narrating,* p. 163; not to be confound with the Andalusian geographer and historian Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh al-Bakrī (c. 1014–1094).

as designating a sub-genre of entertaining literature rather than a single author.[168]

In his study of the five extant manuscripts of Al-Bakrī narrative, Frederick Colby is the first scholar to offer evidence 'that a figure named Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, or someone transmitting *ḥadīṯ* in his name, composed this ascension text prior to the end of the seventh/thirteenth century,' and that the work was also in circulation in the West.[169] Al-Bakrī's version is entitled: *Ḥadīṯ al-miʿrāj ʿalā at-tamām wa'l-kamāl* (The Report of the Ascension, Total and Complete,) because one of its unique traits 'lies in its attention to dramatic elements, including descriptive detail, emplotment and suspense.'[170] This makes of the narrative a miscellany of accounts, 'a fantastical historic-mythological novel,' rather than a plain report of events.[171]

As it is the case with the Ibn ʿAbbās pseudo-narratives, 'the degree of variations found in the separate recensions of Al-Bakrī narrative is remarkable, perhaps suggesting its being transmitted orally more than in a written form.'[172] The oral tradition that ensued from the version of Al-Bakrī that is based in its turn on Ibn ʿAbbās Primitive Version, offered certain freedom for storytellers to adapt the story to their own needs. In the case of Morisco literature, these two names, Ibn ʿAbbās and Al-Bakrī, were very often quoted as reliable sources of Islamic accounts.

The study of the work of Al-Bakrī, in particular, is of paramount importance for any research about Morisco literature. The book of Muhammad's biography, attributed to the same author and entitled *Kitāb al-anwār* (The Book of Lights,) is the most translated of all popular Arabic books into *aljamiado* and Spanish throughout the centuries. The abundance of the crypto-Islamic *aljamiado* versions of this book and the exceptional verse adaptation of Muhammad Rabadán, written in Tunisian exile in the seventeenth century, attest to the wide circulation of the book within the Morisco community.[173]

One of Al-Bakrī versions of the *Miʿrāj* story might well be the direct source of the tale in Ms. Oc. Indeed, in his study of six *aljamiado* manuscripts written in the sixteenth century, William Reuter comes up to the conclusion that Morisco Ascension narratives are heavily influenced by Al-Bakrī version.[174] Although it does not render the distinctive detailed description of the

[168] *EAL,* p. 130.
[169] *Narrating,* p. 146.
[170] *Ibid.,* p. 128.
[171] *Ibid.,* p. 135.
[172] *Ibid.,* p. 136.
[173] For an edition and study of *The Book of Lights,* see Lugo-Acevedo, *El Libro de las luces*; for an edition of the works of Muhammad Rabadán, see Lasarte-López, *Poemas de Mohamad Rabadán*.
[174] *Aljamiado narratives of Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven*.

marvels of the journey that characterises the narratives of Al-Bakrī, the Ascension tale of Ms. Oc. can be subscribed to this group. Not expatiating on that is most probably related to the general concise aspect of the manuscript, being a practical sermon guide, rather than an elaborate compilation of entertaining stories. Besides, as textual analysis will prove, the Ascension tale in Ms. Oc. bears the same message that Frederick Colby attributes to 'every recension of Bakrī's text, [namely] the idea that one must reject other religions and accept Islam in order to avoid the punishment of hellfire. […] This message illustrates the narrative's utility [...], presenting the story in the form of a moralizing conversion narrative.'[175] A close comparative study of the tale in Ms. Oc. can probe the hypothesis of its belongingness to Al-Bakrī chain.

The Episode of the Night Journey in Ms. Oc.

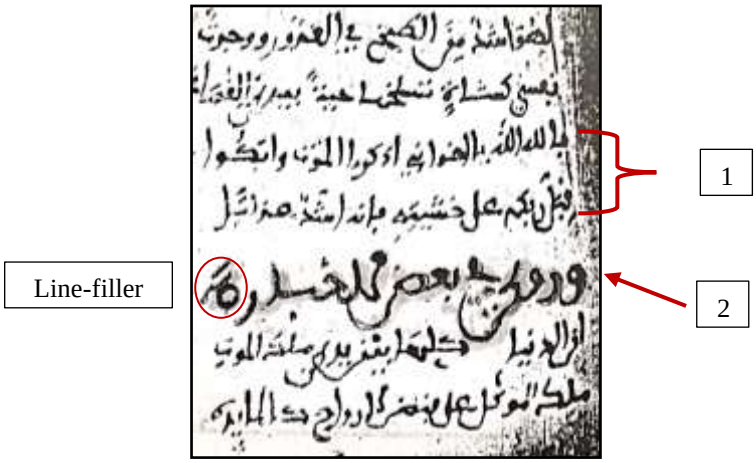
The storyline in Ms. Oc. does not include an *Isrāʾ* episode, the earthly part of the story. Many 'early accounts completely separate the two portions of the journey, and even some extended narratives in the official Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* collections similarly omit the Jerusalem portion of the narrative.'[176] In this regard, the tale of Ms. Oc. may pertain to the lineage of Ibn ʿAbbās Primitive Version that does not include a terrestrial part and starts instead with the encounter with the Angels at the first layers of the firmament. The ending of the story in Ms. Oc. backs up this hypothesis, as no final return to Mecca is mentioned, which further weakens the possibility of the existence of an initial departure towards Jerusalem.

In her edition of Ms. Oc., Iris Hofman-Vannus indicates that 'one or many folios are *probably* missing, since the text in fol. 27r has nothing to do with that of fol. 26v.'[177] Indeed, that some material was lost, is corroborated by a conspicuous rupture in the extant text. However, the loss is very minimal, judging by a closer analysis of the gap in the interrupted narrative that Hofman-Vannus falls short of identifying as a *Miʿrāj*-only tale. In her indexing of the manuscript, she rather identifies the narrative as a 'fusion of the tales of *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrāj*' and delineates it between the folios 28v and 40v.[178] In this study, it is suggested that the tale actually begins earlier (fol. 27r) and ends further (fol. 41v) in the manuscript. The following analysis will back up this demarcation, spot the most pronounced features of the Ascension tale, compare it against traditional texts, and determine its most probable source. Before that,

[175] Colby, *Narrating,* p. 133.
[176] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[177] *Historias religiosas,* p. 16, n116 (my italics).
[178] *Ibid.,* p. 111.

an attempt at reconstructing the lost part of the narrative can elucidate some insightful points for a more thorough conclusion.

As the extant narrative starts with a conversation between Muhammad and Gabriel, describing the Angel of Death and his tablet, two preliminary hypotheses can be set forth at this point: it is either that the manuscript relates a *Miʿrāj* story, without the *Isrāʾ* part, or that the latter is lost in the missing folio(s). Like in the Primitive Version, the tale of Ms. Oc. may have opened with a description of the angels. The compiler marks the section with the rubricated phrase, 'It was told in some accounts,' followed by a line-filler (Pic. 6, n°2).[179]



<u>Picture 6</u>: The Beginning of the Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc. (fol. 26r, detail)
Source: Unedited photo taken by Rafael del Águila, courtesy of Iris Hofman-Vannus.

This intimates that the allegedly lost folios are situated after the tale begins and not before. The previous section ends with 'Then [remember] Allāh, Allāh, my brothers! Remember Death and fearfully cry to your Lord, for His torture is most vehement' (Pic. 6, n°1).[180] The following description of the Angel of Death is in line with this homiletic address about death. The preacher starts the Ascension Narrative in a very peculiar way: 'And it was told in some accounts that the whole life is between the hands of the Angel of Death.'[181] Until this point, there is no missing part, as all the ideas flow naturally. The Angel of Death is then the first angel that the Prophet meets during his heavenly trip in the version of Ms. Oc. The rupture in the narrative is conspicuously located within this descriptive introductory passage:

> [*Ms. Oc., fol. 26r*] [...] the whole life is between the hands of the Angel of Death, an angel who is responsible for capturing spirits. Like a table [*fol. 26r*] to which you stretch your hand to pick up all that you wish to eat, is life, from east to west, so close to the reach of the Angel of Death [...]. The Angel of Death is sitting on this throne. All creatures are before his eyes; all life between his knees. His hands reach the east [*Rupture*]

[179] Refer to section I. 2. of this chapter for a study of decoration, rubrication, and line-fillers.
[180] Ms. Oc., fol. 26r.
[181] Ms. Oc., fol. 26r.

> [*fol. 27r*] sight in it, and does not overlook it, not even for an hour. So, I asked Jibrīl, peace be upon him, about it; and he told me: '*Yā* Muhammad, this is the tablet on which are written the names of all the sons of Adam [i.e. human beings]; and the Angel of Death gazes at it five times a day.'

As seen in the quoted passage, the apparent rupture in the text, between fols. 26^{v} and 27^{r} does not hamper understanding. The conjecture is that only one folio is missing, or none at all. The loss does not exceed a number of lines, describing the Tablet of the Angel of Death. This line, or couple of lines, could have been accidently omitted due to a scribal error near the transition from one folio to the other. To back up this conjecture, here is the same encounter, as described in the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās, with the missing detail underlined:[182]

> Then I passed another angel sitting on a throne. All the earth and everything in it was between his knees. <u>In his hands was a written tablet of light</u>. He gazed upon it, not glancing to the right or the left, engaged in it. I asked, 'Who is that, Gabriel?' He replied, 'That is the Angel of Death, [...] the record keeper of the capture of spirits.'[183]

Then the Prophet comes closer to the Angel and asked him:

> 'Angel of Death, what is that tablet that is in your hands?' He replied, 'Upon [it] is written the times that creatures will die.' I asked, 'Will you not inform me about those whose spirits you have captured in past ages?'[184]

The Primitive narrative then continues with a discussion about the Angel's working methods and how he harvests the souls of humans. As will be seen in the analysis of the tale in Chapter IV, the compiler of Ms. Oc. picks up the detail of the Tablet in his/her reproduction of the description of the first heavenly layer, although the dialogue between the Angel of Death and Muhammad is omitted, for conciseness.

Indeed, the main distinctive characteristics of the tale in Ms. Oc. are acquired through omission, which is the most recurrent technique, yielding to the concise nature of the manuscript. On the other hand, in the version of Ms. Oc., many new elements are added, such as the figure of the Crying Angel; and some details are modified, such as the position of the Rooster Angel. Whereas the majority of differences between the traditional accounts and the tale of Ms. Oc. are clearly the result of deliberate adaptation choices, many instances impart the rashness of the scribe/compiler— and his/her lack of skill.

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[182] Colby, 'Translation of the Primitive Version' in *Narrating,* pp. 175-193; this is the first critical translation; its base text relies on 'The Wonders of the Ascension' (ʿajāʾib al-miʿrāj) transmitted by Ibn Ḥibbān as preserved by as-Suyūtī in *al-laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fī-l-ahādīṯ al-mawḍūʿā,* compared and amended using other accounts.
[183] Colby, *Narrating,* p. 176.
[184] *Ibid.,* p. 177.

In this tale, as in several parts of the manuscript, the recurrent scribal errors and their nature can help reconstruct the mode of its composition. The main errors found in the Ascension Narrative are the mis-spelling of words (such as the names of characters and places), the repetition of sentences, and the absence of others (or the skipping of lines), and in some cases the rough transitions between parts. The most conspicuous example is the abrupt fluctuation between third-person and first-person descriptions, indicating that the copying process and the work of collage were not rigorously undertaken. These kinds of defects suggest that the manuscript was either composed at the moment of the delivery of the sermon(s), probably by a member of the audience; or copied from a longer source (or various sources) by an unskilful scribe that can well be the preacher himself/herself, who is in charge of transmitting its content to the community.

The exact provenance of the Ascension Narrative of Ms. Oc. is uncertain, due to the features it shares with many of the extant versions. There is no doubt that the indirect source is the elaborate pseudo-Ibn ʿAbbās narrative, rather than the later canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections and historical biographies. It can also be easily proved that the compiler of Ms. Oc. was aware of Al-Bakrī tradition. Judging by the wide circulation of Al-Bakrī's works inside the Mudejar-Morisco community, the compiler's reliance on one, or more, of these sources is beyond doubt. A thoroughly detailed comparative examination of the narrative in Ms. Oc., against the extant versions can yield insightful conclusions. For the purpose of this introductory study, suffice it to refer to one detail as an example: Having traversed the Seas of Light on his way to the divine station, the Prophet meets the archangels, a detail that is added in the later Al-Bakrī elaborations of the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās. Neither Mikā'īl (Michael), nor Isrāfīl (Israphel) are present in the recensions of the Primitive narrative. On the other hand, whereas in Al-Bakrī versions, Muhammad meets Mikā'īl in the fifth heaven, the encounter takes place at a higher stage in Ms. Oc.[185] The proliferation of the orally transmitted Ascension story, epitomised in the innumerable variations between versions, makes the task of identifying its genealogy extremely challenging.

The close comparison of the narrative in Ms. Oc., against the many versions studied in Frederick Colby's survey in *Narrating Muḥammad's Night Journey,* has shown that the tale of Ms. Oc. shares many features with the manuscript Amcazade Hüsayın Paşa 95/2 (one of Al-Bakrī versions) that was most probably copied in the late seventh/thirteenth century in the central Arab lands. It also has some of the distinctive traits of Madrid MS Gayangos 241, a

[185] According to the translation of Colby in *Narrating.,* Appendix B, p. 213, the Archangel Mikā'īl is met in the fifth heaven.

fragment of a manuscript that is an earlier version of Al-Bakrī (sixth/twelfth century,) the provenance of which can be either Andalusian or North African.[186] On the other hand, like in the Persian prayer manual, *Miʿrājnāma* (Ayasofia Ms. 3441), that also includes an Ascension narrative, in Ms. Oc., the compiler does not aim at narrating a well unified account of the Prophet's journey as such. The purpose behind the account is mostly didactic, and to a great extent ideological: advancing this extraordinary tale is a persuasive strategy to prove the veracity of Muhammad's prophetic mission and preach the superiority of Muslims, as will be demonstrated in Chapter IV. In this regard, the story should not be read separately from the other tales in the manuscript, but studied as an extract from a more elaborate biography of the Prophet, suggesting that a source, other than a separate Ascension narrative, was used to compose it. Between Imitation and Innovation, the narrative composition of the Ascension tale in Ms. Oc. is based on an interesting rhetorical scheme, whereby the story-teller gains credibility through the transmission of authoritative popular myths.

2. The One-volume Library: Potential Sources

In view of the confluence of traditional sources imbedded in its text, Ms. Oc. can be considered a one-volume library. The sources that could be retrieved in this study can only yield hypothetical conclusions, since the compiler's direct access to those works is always contestable. S/he might have consulted the books themselves or secondary material in which they are quoted. In either case, it is useful to identify these potential sources in order to reveal aspects of the original reader's profile.

The first trait that comes to the surface is the diversity of the source material, in terms of ideological background. The four schools (*maḏāhib,* pl. of *maḏhab*) of Islamic jurisprudence are all present in the compilation, although we know that the *Mālikī maḏhab* was the mainstream school of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) in Islamic Spain.[187] This diversity reflects the openness of the Spanish Muslims and the availability of a richly varied corpus of books for them to read.

The *Ḥanafī* school[188] is represented in the miscellany through one of its most influential figures in the Mudejar/Morisco manuscript culture, Abū al-Layṯ as-Samarqandī.[189] An extant seventeenth-century complete *aljamiado* translation of his masterpiece, *Tanbīh al-Ġāfilīn*,[190] was

[186] Asín-Palacios attributes it to al-Andalus, in *La Escatología musulmana,* p. 438, and Colby to North Africa, in *Narrating*, p. 154.
[187] The *Mālikī* school was founded by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 AH/795 CE).
[188] The *Ḥanafī* school is named after Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nuʻmān b. Ṯābit (d. 150 AH/767 CE).
[189] Abū al-Layṯ Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarqandī (d. 373 AH/983 CE).
[190] *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (Admonition for the Neglectful).

one of the most prominent books of guidance for the Morisco community;[191] along with fragments inserted in a very large number of *aljamiado* exhortatory miscellanies of the same period.[192] The Arabic original of the complete translation was not found in the excavated Mudejar-Morisco libraries; but apart from the lost source of the *aljamiado* version, another Arabic text was registered in Diego de Urrea's report in 1494.[193] The passage copied *verbatim* from *Tanbīh al-Ġāfilīn* in Ms. Oc. corroborates that the Arabic book was in circulation.[194] As its title indicates, 'Admonition for the Neglectful,' *Tanbīh al-Ġāfilīn* pertains to the parenetic genre that combines theory and practice, with a didactic purpose and an exhortative tone.[195] The book deals with eschatological matters such as death agony, the confrontation of the last judgement, the torture of Hell, and the pleasures of Heaven, dictating good morals and calling for repentance as a path to salvation. The content of Ms. Oc. is very similar to that of *Tanbīh*; and many reports must have been inspired from this book, although only that substantial passage of the chapter 'the Horror and Intensity of Death' is reproduced to the letter.[196]

As for the lengthy narrative of the End of the World in Ms. Oc., two classical sources are interpolated into the text. One of them is of a *Ḥanbalī* scholar;[197] the other of a *Šāfiʿī* one.[198] The homiletic work of the *Ḥanbalī* scholar, Ibn al-Jawzī [199] was frequently used by Mudejar/ Morisco scholars for general religious instruction.[200] We know that one of his homiletic books was in circulation in early modern Aragon, thanks to an extant Morisco Arabic copy found in the excavations of Almonacid de la Sierra.[201] His *Bustān* (*The Grove*)[202] is an exhortative miscellany of *ḥadīṯ* (reports), stories of the prophets and other tales, among which is the story of the Judgement Day used as a source material for the episode in Ms.

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[191] BNM, Ms. 4871, entitled *Alkiteb de Çamarqandí.*
[192] *Aljamiado* fragments are found in RAH, J 6 (copied in 1601 by Muhammad Escribano Mayor, the first 35 chapters); BNF, Ms. 397 Esp. (*Tratado de materia religiosa* of Mohammad de Vera) (29 chapters); BNM, Ms. 4908 (4 chapters); BNF, Ms. 774; RAH, Ms. T 19; CSIC, Mss. J 3, 4, and 8; among others.
[193] Cf. Busto-Cortina, 'El Alkitab de Çamarqandí,' pp. 190-2; Diego de Urrea was a famous translator for the Holy Office of the Inquisition; for more details on his life and role, cf. García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, and 'De Diego de Urrea a Marcos Dobelio.'
[194] The tale of the Israelites in the Cemetery (7^{v}- 8^{r}) is analysed and compared to potential sources in Chapter V of this thesis.
[195] See the English translation with this title, by Mufti A. H. Elias (2010).
[196] باب هؤل الموت وشدّته; This same passage is copied in a 16th century *aljamiado* manuscript, BTNT, Ms. J 53, fols. 2r-6v: *'Capítulo en-elespanto de la muerte i su fortaleza;'* other passages are reproduced in many *aljamiado* Mss.; cf. Busto-Cortina, 'El Alkitab de Çamarqandí,' p. 193.
[197] The *Hanbalī* school was founded by Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH/855 CE).
[198] The *Šāfiʿī* school was founded by Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs aš-Šāfiʿī (d. 204 AH/820 CE).
[199] ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, a highly prolific legal scholar and preacher from Baghdad (d. 597 AH/1200 CE); cf. *EMIC*, s. v. Ibn al-Jawzī.
[200] Cf. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* pp. 153-4.
[201] *Salwat al-aḥzān bi-mā ruwiya 'an ḏawī 'l-'irfān* (*Consolation in Times of Sorrow*); BTNT, Ms. J 38 in Arabic (15th or 16th century).
[202] *Bustān al-wāʿiẓīn wa-riyāḍ as-samiʿīn* (The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners).

Oc.[203] The book is a 'collection of narratives designed to move to devotion,'[204] divided into *majālis* (pl. *majlis*), referring to the circles that the scholar convened.[205] Ibn al-Jawzī's contribution to the development of the genre of medieval Arabic homily is uncontested, especially that he was the one who introduced the four subcategories of the genre.[206] The orthodox scholar was also known for his attack of Muslim mystics (Sufis) who introduced *bidaʿ* (negative innovations) to canonical Sunni Islam and collected in one of his works the biographies of those whom he considered to be the true ascetic worshippers among the Sufis.[207] The passages that the compiler of Ms. Oc. copied from *The Grove* in his narrative of the End of the World are intertwined with extracts from Ibn al-Wardī's *Ḫarīda* (*The Pearl*).[208] Ibn al-Wardī was a scholar in agriculture and geography with a *Šāfiʿī* allegiance. This book, *Ḫarīda* (*The Pearl*) is a popular natural history that has no scientific ground. As will be seen through the textual analysis of the passage in Ms. Oc., the mythical aspect of Ibn al-Wardī's *Pearl* is preponderant. The narrative of the End of the World, Resurrection, and Judgement, is the best instance of the compiler's work of collage.[209] The following table offers an overview of the main sub-sections, and the source used for each of them:

Section	**Fols. in Ms. Oc.**	**Source 1 *The Grove*** [210] **(12th c.)**	**Source 2 *The Pearl*** [211] **(15thc.)**	**Source 3 Unknown**
Resurrection	72ᵛ- 78ʳ	X		
The Resurrection of the Prophet and his encounter with God	78ʳ- 80ᵛ			X
	80ᵛ- 81ᵛ		X	
	81ᵛ- 83ᵛ	X		
	83ᵛ		X	
The Light of Muslims, Intercession (version 1)	83ᵛ-87ʳ			X
Hell and the Light of Muhammad	87ᵛ-89ᵛ			X

[203] Fols. 72ᵛ-107ᵛ.
[204] Ribera and Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados,* p. 148.
[205] As mentioned earlier, the word indicates the spatial setting of the gathering, and was also used as an equivalent for 'chapter' in the miscellanies used in such circles.
[206] Cf. Swartz, 'Arabic Rhetoric and the Art of the Homily.'
[207] *Ṣifat aṣ-ṣafwā;* cf. *EMIC,* s.v. Ibn al-Jawzī.
[208] Sirāj ad-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Wardī (d. ca 852 AH/1447 CE), *Ḫarīdat al-ʿajāʾib wa-farīdat al-ġarāʾib* (The Unique Pearl of Wonders and Strange Things); the book is sometimes mistakenly attributed to Sirāj ad-dīn's grandfather, the judge and historian 'Umar b. al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī, (d.1349 CE).
[209] The narrative on fols. 72ᵛ-107ᵛ is analysed in Chapter IV of this thesis.
[210] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Bustān al-wāʿiẓīn wa-riyāḍ as-samiʿīn* (*The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners*).
[211] Ibn al-Wardī, *Ḫarīdat al-ʿajāʾib wa-farīdat al-ġarāʾib* (*The Unique Pearl of Wonders and Strange Things*).

The Prophets facing Hell, the Scale, the Book, *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* **and its bridges (Divine Inquisition)**	87^{v}-98^{r}			X
The ways of crossing *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ*	98^{r}- 100^{r}	X		
The ways of crossing *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* **(continued)**	100^{r}-101^{r}			X
Ahl al-aʿrāf, Intercession (version 2)	101^{r}-107^{v}	X		

Table 5: The Story of The End of the World, Resurrection, and Judgement: Adaptation of Sources

As seen in the table, the oscillation between different sources results in the repetition of one section of the narrative, the Intercession episode. This redundancy is most probably deliberate, reflecting the compiler's intention to collate different versions and expand his/her mastery of this particular section in the sequence and its description. The compiler may have worked with these sources in parallel or at separate times; but one fact can be demonstrated through close examination: s/he resumes the copying process from the first source at the exact same point where s/he left it to copy from the second one. It is a streneous work of collage that reveals the compiler's intention to preserve all the accounts s/he has available.
Tracking the potential sources copied in Ms. Oc. is a crucial step to recover hidden intertextuality. The use of certain sources can offer insightful clues for dating. If Ibn al-Wardī's *Ḫarīdat al-ʿajāʾib* (*The Pearl*) is one of the direct sources of the story of the End of the World in Ms. Oc., then the manuscript must have been written after 1419, the date of the writing of *The Pearl,* although we know that in the book, Ibn al-Wardī copies extensively from other earlier sources that may have been the ones that the compiler of Ms. Oc. consulted.[212]

Along with echoes of the four Sunni schools, Shii (*Šīʿī*) undertones are also present in the compilation, through the reports, tales, and tropes that distinguish the branch. Overall, the selection of material included in Ms. Oc. adheres to the saying of one of the *Šīʿī* scholars, *Imām* Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq: 'Whoever denies four things is not one of our *Shīʿa*: the *miʿrāj* (Muhammad's ascension to heaven), questioning in the grave, the creation of Heaven and Hell, and intercession.'[213] All these tenets are highlighted throughout Ms. Oc. Based on textual evidence, it is likely that a *Šīʿī* collection called *Naḥj al-balāġa* (*The Path of Eloquence*) was one of the potential sources of the conversation between the Prophet and the Devil in

[212] Cf. *EI*, s. v. Ibn al-Wardī.
[213] Qtd. in Buckley, *The Night Journey*, p. 22.

Ms. Oc.[214] This miscellaneous collection, attributed to the caliph ʿAlī and compiled by aš-Šarīf ar-Raḍī in the tenth century (fourth century AH), is one of the masterpieces of *Šīʿī* Islam, despite the controversy around the authenticity of its content.[215] The end of the conversation between the Prophet and the Devil in Ms. Oc. shows the clumsiness of the compiler's copying process: Here appears an unknown reporter, referred to as 'He,' whose name was undoubtedly omitted in the beginning of the copied report, as the introductory chain of transmission was not reproduced. So, the last reporter is referred to as 'He' in Ms. Oc., and only the name of the earliest narrator, Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī, a contemporary of the Prophet, is mentioned:

> *He* said: 'The messenger of Allāh *pbuh* was on the verge of crying. So Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī told him; "Messenger of Allāh, do you cry for those who have gone astray?" The Prophet answers; "O Abā Ḏarr! Should I not cry when Jibrīl told me to believe all that Iblīs says. And Iblīs has [well] said; "O Muḥammad; very few of Adam's progeny will be with you in Heaven. Fewer than you might expect.'"[216]

Abū Ḏarr, the immediate reporter of Muhammad's distress, following his dialogue with the Devil, is one of the Prophet's Four Companions venerated by Shii Muslims.[217] Indeed, this conversation is only found in the Shii record and is rejected by Sunni scholars.

Omitting the chains of transmission of the Prophet's teachings, the compiler acquires credibility and authority over his/her audience. On a different note, and for the sheer sake of conciseness, the compiler also omits many of the questions that the Prophet addresses to the Devil in the original report of the encounter. These questions are actually developed throughout the whole section of the manuscript dealing with sin and atonement. As an example, in the original report, when Muhammad asks the Devil who his bedfellow is, he answers: 'The drunk.' The echo of this idea is found elsewhere in the manuscript, where the compiler quotes Ibn ʿAbbās that the drunkard is the Devil's bride.[218] The majority of omissions in Ms. Oc. are of this kind, aiming at selecting the necessary information that fits the message of the manuscript and avoid redundancy.

A different type of omission occurs in order to adapt the content of the manuscript to the context in which it was read/delivered. For instance, in one of his lessons to a bedouin in Ms. Oc., the Prophet is reported to have mentioned *al-Jihād* (Holy Fighting,) instead of

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[214] For an analysis of this conversation, refer to Chapter III, section II. 1. 1.
[215] Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā known as 'aš-Šarīf ar-Raḍī' in Arabic and 'Sharif Razi' in Persian.
[216] Ms. Oc., fol. 184^{v}.
[217] Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī al-Kinānī (d. 652 CE); one the four companions who were loyal to ʿAlī after Muhammad's death, along with ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, al-Miqdād b. Aswād al-Kindī, and Salmān al-Fārisī.
[218] Ms. Oc., fol. 141^{r}.

Pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj*), as the fifth a Pillar of Islam, alongside the Two Testimonies, Prayer, *az-Zakāt* (almsgiving,) and Fasting.[219] Indeed, very few are the traditional Islamic scholars who considered *al-Jihād* to be a sixth pillar, along with the five ones unanimously agreed upon, including Pilgrimage. This addition has always been disputed among the scholars and deemed to be alien to mainstream Islam. In this regard, the compiler's substitution testifies first to the freedom s/he enjoyed in adapting the sources, and second to the dogmatic nature of the Islamic trend advocated in the compilation. Indeed, the Kharijite movement (*Al-ẖawārij*), one of the most extremist Islamic sects, are famous for adding *Jihād* as a Pillar. Along with this instance of militant piety, many of the uncompromising jurisprudential statements in Ms. Oc. are reminiscent of the Kharijite fundamentalist creeds, as will be demonstrated in the course of textual analysis in Part II.

Replacing Pilgrimage with Holy Strife in this conversation, is certainly a deliberate move: First, this is not the only instance where Pilgrimage is omitted from the manuscript, due to the impossibility of fulfilling the duty in the Morisco context.[220] Second, many are the instances in which the compiler evokes the importance of Holy Fighting. Indeed, in the Ascension Narrative of Ms. Oc., the Prophet caught sight of 'the Sword of Vengeance (*Sayf an-Naqma*) that is dripping with blood, dangling under the [Divine] Throne.'[221] This symbol is found in some of Al-Bakrī narratives, and most probably originates from a particular Shii version that attributes this sword to the heavenly alter-ego of *Imām* ʿAlī, whom Muhammad meets at some point in the story.[222] However, as in Al-Bakrī versions that do not display an explicit Shii allegiance, in the narrative of Ms. Oc., the sword is just quickly portrayed to introduce the request that Muhammad addresses to God: 'lift up this sword from my community.' God replies: '*Yā* Muhammad, I sent you with the sword; and your community will only [survive] with the sword.'[223] The detail of the sword is symbolically loaded, as it points at the concept of *Jihād*, the sacred strife to maintain and spread Islam. The reference to this concept is undoubtedly relevant to the ideological frame of Ms. Oc., especially as the

[219] Ms. Oc., fols. 108^{r}-115^{r}; two other occurrences of the word *jihād* are found in fol. 73^{r} (most probably with the specific meaning of Holy Fighting), and fol. 158^{v} (used in its literal sense of 'struggle').
[220] There is evidence that in spite of the hard conditions of crypto-Muslims, some of them were able to perform this rite; on the fifth pillar of *Ḥajj* and the Morisco community, Cf. Harvey, 'The Moriscos and the *Ḥajj*', and Xavier Casassas-Canals, 'Tres riḥla-s mudéjares.'
[221] One of the *aljamiado* versions, RAH, Ms. T 17 (fol. 177), also retains this element; according to Chejne in *Islam and the West*, this points at the belief that the ascension incident took place before the conversion of the Qurayš to Islam, p. 104.
[222] Colby, *Narrating*, p. 143.
[223] The compiler writes *yafnā* (perish), instead of 'survive', a mistake that results into a counter sense; Ms. Oc. fol. 37^{r}; the original reply is 'I sent you with it, and with it you will become victorious,' cf. Colby, *Narrating*, Appendix B, p. 230.

context in which it was written/copied and delivered was one of a spiritual struggle against Christian oppression.

The identification of the potential sources of Ms. Oc. helps us create an inventory of the books that the compiler might have read. This tentative retrieval of lost sources has shown that a library of Islamic popular culture is imbedded in this one volume. Many of these books are not reputed as canonical texts and usually not used by the knowledgeable *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) in Islamic territories. The two works that make the exception, Ibn al-Jawzī's and as-Samarqandī's parenetic collections, were famous in *Dār al-Islām* (Islamic lands) as they were in Christian Spain. This small group of retrieved sources is a good specimen of what Morisco libraries looked like. The 'original reader' in this case is someone of a decent level of knowledge; and the diversity of religious trends in his/her readings indicates that s/he bears no allegiance to a particular school. This, on the other hand, may be indicative of a limited ability to engage in interpretive debates about the subtleties of authoritative texts and uphold certain exegetical creeds against others.

As mentioned in Chapter I, many Mudejar *fuqahāʾ* (scholars) were itinerant and travelled far away, to Granada and even to North Africa, in search for answers to their most pressing questions about the application of Islamic law in a Christian context. As leaders of the exclave Muslim community, those scholars preserved the ties with the renowned *ʿulamāʾ* (scholars) in *Dār al-Islām* (Islamic territories) to be able to regulate the daily activities of Muslims in the *aljama* and outside of it. Kathryn Miller traces the orthodoxy of Mudejar texts back to the scholars' intent to express their 'deference to authority' and preoccupation about the exactitude of their worship. Paradoxically, it was this extremist loyalty to authoritative texts that made them stick to their abridged manuals to the letter, copy *verbatim* individual passages taken out of context, and eventually be accused of lack of originality and frequent misinterpretation of canonical texts.[224] The orthodox nature of Mudejar texts is unequivocally perceived in the selection of copied sources and cited authorities in Ms. Oc., as well as in the ethos established throughout the miscellany.[225] The extremist aspect of the moral code of conduct in Ms. Oc. will be studied in detail in Part II of this thesis.

The confluence of sources in the text of Ms. Oc. makes it a perfect sample of summary books of Islamic teachings and a proof of the richness of the Andalusian heritage in spite of the clear decline in intellectual/literary quality. Known for the flourishing of Sufi mysticism,

[224] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, pp. 110-11.
[225] Refer to Chapter III of this thesis for a study of the ethical code of Ms. Oc. through close textual analysis.

the intellectual life of *al-Andalus* was driven to the margins of the middle eastern orthodox canon. Although L. P. Harvey infers from his research that 'the Sufi element […] is relatively absent' from the Morisco manuscript culture, he himself warns that 'it is dangerous to base too much on an absence of evidence.'[226] The subject is still under study by many scholars who suggest that many elements of the Sufi tradition, the remnants of the spiritual renaissance of *al-Andalus,* can be unearthed in Morisco literature.[227] Textual analysis will prove that Ms. Oc. bears some Sufi traits without going as far as being a Sufi work *per se*. Unlike the *alfaqui* (Islamic scholar) of Cútar, whose documents reveal a pronounced Sufi allegiance, the compiler of Ms. Oc. is an orthodox scholar who believes that divine presence is only possible to reach through the fulfilment of devotional acts and the observance of a strict Islamic code of conduct.

3. Outline: Beyond the Extant Demarcations

The following outline goes beyond the extant demarcations of the compiler to list the content of Ms. Oc. Less detailed than the index provided in Hofman-Vannus's thesis,[228] it offers thematic divisions that are not meant to impose an extrinsic order on the miscellany, but are added for pure methodological reasons. The aim is to organise the critical textual analysis rather than the original content, and approach as close as possible the intention of 'the original reader' behind this compilation: the reasons for his/her selection and the impact s/he wanted to create in the audience. The few titles that the compiler gives to some sections appear in bold in this outline. Apart from these, all the headings are here added to group the successive passages that share the same theme. The passages where the complier/preacher directly addresses an audience is here signaled to point at the extensive use of this rhetorical device, hence the preponderant orality of the text.

As seen in the outline, the general framework of the compendium is homiletic, made up of a series of reports illustrated with tales. The division of material proposed here sheds light on a unifying thread that runs throughout the whole book: it is a hortatory address for the coreligionists to shun the pleasures of the world, repent from sins, and remember that Death is near and Hell is awaiting. Most of the narrative material of the miscellany will be included in the textual analysis offered in Part II of this thesis, for a discussion of the rhetorical techniques of story-telling as the principal mode of space construction in the manuscript.

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[226] *Muslims in Spain*, p. 150.
[227] López-Baralt, Casassas-Canals, and Lugo-Acevedo, to name but a few.
[228] *Historias religiosas*, pp. 82- 93.

1r- 1v: Incipit
2r: Titlepiece
2v-6v: The Story of Genesis
7r: Since Allah is great, His servants should be pious
The five daily prayers are the most virtuous of all deeds: Prayer is an encounter with God

-The story ends with Direct Address: An invitation to reflect on Allah's great wonders.
-Transition to the following report on the encounter with God.

7r- 17v: On Death and Hell (Prevalent Direct Address)
- 7r: A report about the encounter with God
- 7v- 8r: The Story of the Israelites at the Cemetery
- 12v-13r: Conversation between Noah and the Angel of Death
- Direct Address: 'Take a lesson, Remember Death'
  - Fears and Tears: On the fear of God, humility, and crying
- Reports of Moses, Jesus and others on patience and abstinence.

-This section is characterised by its graphic descriptions of the horrors of death, inciting the audience to shed tears.

17v-24v: **'A Chapter on the Nature of Life'** (Prevalent Direct Address)
- Life Vs the Afterlife
- The Performance of Rituals
- On Greed
- On Repentance and Mercy
- Love of God Vs Love of Life
- Humility and Crying
- 'The End is near!'

This section is based on dichotomy, with the aim of exhorting the audience to abhor Life and abstain from worldly pleasures.

25r-28r: **'A Chapter on the Remembrance of Death'** (Prevalent Direct Address)
- 'Death does not forget you!'
- Moses on Death
- Direct Address: Fears and Tears

Although this section has a title of its own, it is a continuation of the untitled part about death and Hell (7r-17v).

26r- 40v: The Ascension Narrative (fragment)
- 41r: Direct Address: On the Favour of Muhammad

This section and the following one belong to the biography of the prophet Muhammad.

41v- 51v: About the Prophet Muhammad
- 41v-43r: How Muhammad's Light was the first creation
  - Muhammad's intercession ensures salvation
- 43r-50v: The Birth of the Prophet (after the report of Sahl at-Tustarī)
- Interspersed with the scene of Iblīs (Satan) and his consortium discussing the Prophet's birth and followed by a passage on the name of Muhammad (51r- 51v)

52r-56v: A Miscellany on Death
- 52r-53v: Direct Address: *Duʿāʾ* (invocation)
  - Fears and Tears: 'Remember death and cry over your sins!'
- 53v-54r: Poem 1: About reaching fifty of age: Old Age as Harbinger of Death
- 55r- 56v: Reports on Death

A homiletic section that returns to warning against the imminence of death and transitions to the following chapter entitled 'on Repentance.'

56ᵛ: Direct Address: On Repentance

56ᵛ-60ʳ: **'A Chapter on Repentance'**

57ʳ: Direct Address with reports and Coranic verses on Repentance

60ᵛ-107ᵛ: **'A Chapter on the Remembrance of Graves'**

Reports and Coranic verses

61ᵛ: Direct Address: 'Be prepared for the grave!'

62ʳ-63ᵛ: Direct Address: Death, the Grave, and Repentance

63ᵛ-72ᵛ: The Story of Jesus and the Skull [229]

The story of Jesus and the Skull that closes this chapter starts in the grave and ends in Hell, thus making a perfect transition between the two chapters.

72ᵛ-107ᵛ: **'A Chapter in Remembrance of the Resurrection'**

107ᵛ: Direct Address: 'Pray for salvation through the Prophet's intersession!'

-Here the story of the End of the World, Resurrection, and Judgement is copied from different sources.

108ʳ-115ʳ: Conversation between the Prophet and the bedouin on the pillars of Islam

-The last point mentioned in the conversation is the rewards of the abstinent youth in Heaven.

115ʳ-: On Youth and Old Age

115ʳ: Direct Address: to the youth, calling for chastity

115ᵛ: Direct Address: on old age and good deeds

Jesus on youth and old age

116ʳ: An abrupt return to the end of the conversation between the Prophet and the bedouin

116ʳ: Back to Direct Address: to the youth, then to the elders: Old age is the harbinger of death

116ᵛ-128ᵛ: On Hell

116ᵛ-117ʳ: Direct Address: 'Ponder suffering in Hell!'

117ʳ-125ʳ: The Prophet's Nightmare about Hell, and its aftermath

125ʳ: Direct Address: 'Take a lesson and cry upon remembering Hell, ye who hear and do not fear!'

125ᵛ-128ᵛ: On the virtues that ensure salvation from Hell and the vices that Allah abhors

Direct Address: 'Avoid these vices and perform the Prayer Ritual as this is the best virtue!'

The last recommendation in this section comes as a transition to the following one.

128ᵛ-137ʳ: On the Prayer Ritual (*ṣālāt)*

137ʳ: Direct Address: 'Do not raise your voices in mosques!'

The Prophet's *ḥadīṯ* (saying) about the signs of corruption that ignite God's wrath

Raising voices in mosques and alcohol-drinking are included in these signs.

137ʳ-140ʳ: On Alcohol- drinking and Unchastity

Direct Address: 'Do not drink alcohol!'

137ᵛ- 139ʳ: The Tale of the Raped Woman

139ʳ – 140ʳ: Direct Address: 'Avoid alcohol- drinking!'

This section is based on a blatant correlation between

[229] An error of foliation: fol. 71ᵛ is marked 72ᵛ.

Reports on the punishment of alcohol drinkers
140r: Direct Address: 'Avoid fornication!'

the two sins: alcohol-drinking and unchastity.

140v-141v: Miscellany on Vice and Virtue
Direct Address: 'Do not be greedy!'
Reports on alcohol- drinking, the Devil Enemy, and Repentance
141v: Direct Address: 'Strive against the Devil Enemy!'

Hereafter the content of the compendium becomes visibly less coherent.

141v-143r: Miscellany on Youth and Old Age
141v: Jesus on youth and old age (repeated)
141v-143r: The Parable of the Youngster and the Dog- Devil
143r: Direct Address: 'Take a lesson!' On life, death, and old age

143v-146v: On Neighbourship
Direct Address
Reports on the virtue of being a good neighbour, the punishment of being a bad one
146v-147r: A report on ten types of detestable men (the bad neighbour included)

147r-148r: Second conversation between the Prophet and the bedouin:
What to be done to deserve Heaven and what to avoid to be saved from Hell

148r-149v: Miscellany on Arrogance, Greed, and Generosity
Direct Address: 'Do not be arrogant! Be generous!'

149v-155r: The Story of the Orphan
Followed by a miscellany on women
156r-157v: God to Moses on Burial
157v-159r: Back to the miscellany on women
159r: Direct Address to women

159r: Direct Address: Fears and Tears (Remembrance of Allah)

159v-165v: Miscellaneous
On the Prayer Ritual, charity, and alcohol- drinking
162r: Poem 2: Life and the Afterlife
Report on the Night Prayer
Direct Address: On the Morning Prayer
More on Life and the Afterlife

The Night Prayer was mentioned in the previous poem.

162v-165v: On Greed and Generosity
Direct Address with reports on greed
164v: Direct Address: 'Give up the pleasures of life and prepare your assets for the long journey!'
165r: Reports on charity: 'Charity will grant you Heaven!'

165v-167r: Miscellany on Resurrection, Heaven and Hell
Direct Address: 'Remember the fire of Hell and be virtuous!'
166r-167r: God describing Hell to Moses (unchastity mentioned)
Direct Address: 'Remember Hell!'

167r-171r: Miscellany on Communal Relations
Direct Address: 'Avoid fornication!'

On unchastity, gossiping (*ġayba*), helping the needy, and the Prayer Ritual

170^{v}-171^{r}: Conversation between the Prophet and ʿUkāf about marriage as a duty

171^{r}-187^{r}: Miscellaneous (Prevalent Direct Address)

171^{r}-172^{v}: The Prophet seeing corruption and apprehending the imminent End of the World

172^{v}: On Repentance

173^{v}: On the Pursuit of Knowledge

God to David about the quest for knowledge

175^{v}-176^{r}: 'Do not let Life deceive you; remember Death!'

176^{r}: 'Watch over the sick!'

176^{v}: About the pious woman

177^{r}-186^{r}: Conversation between the Prophet and the Devil Iblīs.

186^{r}-End: Final Homiletic Address: 'Servants of Allah, ye are the addressees!'

186^{r}-187^{r}: On Repentance before Death: Fears and Tears

188^{r}: Final *duʿāʾ* (invocation) for mercy

Conclusions: Ms. Oc. as a Space of Interstice

Towards a Reconstruction of the Book's History

From a Text to an Object

At the onset of its life, Ms. Oc. was created to be an archival trove in which precious texts are inscribed in the sacred language of the Holy Book. The archivist, and 'original reader,' was an *alfaqui* (scholar) who crafted the little codex to keep it with him/her at all times, and jotted down annotations to assist him/her in the delivery of sermons in the mosque of the *aljama* (Muslim district) and/or in the private *majālis* (gatherings), and remind him/her and his/her coreligionists of death and the final judgement. Based on the study of rubrication, palaeographical features, and the organisation of the book's content, it is clear that less care was taken in the writing of the second part of the compilation, and that the task was undertaken over a long period of time.

The *memento mori* was later passed down to another archivist who is less proficient in Arabic, but not less caring than the first owner. The Morisco reader attentively spotted the words that s/he did not understand and added glosses in the margins to help him/her read, re-read, and explain the text to the coreligionists if need be. For him/her, the manuscript is an invaluable relic that s/he should protect for generations to come. His/ her children may not be able to read it; but it will be bequeathed to them; and they will know how to take care of it. They can carry it as an amulet; for a book that is written in Arabic is as sacred as the Book. It can shun evil and keep reminding them of their Muslim ancestors. Then the time came for the book to lurk in the interstices of a double-wall, away from the reach of the Inquisitor who would inspect every nook and cranny of the house, looking for inscribed papers to feed the fire of Biblioclasm.

The special value of this codex lies in its liminal position between the two stages of the history of the Muslim minority under Christian rule: the Mudejar and the Morisco stages. It should be recalled once again that the delineation that researchers draw between these two stages is purely methodological; and many are the scholars who wrote about this to stress the sense of continuity between the legacy of *al-Andalus* and the experience of the Muslim minority.[1] In the course of the study of Ms. Oc., the fine thread that separates the two stages is deliberately highlighted in order to situate the manuscript in space, as accurately as possible, in the absence of sound contextual clues about its production and readership.

[1] See for instance Viguera-Molins, 'Les mudéjars et leurs documents écrits en arabe,' p. 158.

Characterising the position of the manuscript as 'liminal' hints at the anthropological work of Victor Tuner. 'The thick description' of the text-object—as he would call it—was meant to grasp and underscore the liminal features of its maker(s), annotator(s), reader(s), and of the Spanish Muslim community in general. Those who held Ms. Oc. are 'threshold people' *par excellence*. They are according to Turner's definition, 'neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.'[2] Living on the edge of the Spanish society, the minority also dwelt in the margins of Islamic orthodoxy. And Ms. Oc. is one of those marginal texts that best illustrate how canonical religious sources are adapted to the understanding of the laymen. Besides, this audience is not any group of illiterate laymen; it is made of people living in *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the lands of war) who should profess a religion they do not believe in, and who are in a position to be rejected both by their coreligionists in *Dār al-Islām* (the lands of Islam) and their persecuting compatriots. Such an elusive and 'ambiguous' community would 'slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space,' to dwell in the interstices of society.[3] Looking at Ms. Oc. as a Manuscript Matrix was meant to explore the way in which this community created a myriad of possibilities to survive in this alternative space, mainly through reading and writing.

The Manuscript Matrix and the Production of Space

The analysis has shown that the manuscript under study is a multi-layered text-object that more than one hand touched and in which more than one voice can be heard. Looking at it in this light, a space of interstice unfolds to the researcher, involving scribes and readers of different profiles and entailing various modes of reading. In this regard, a multi-disciplinary approach that is flexible enough to account for the malleability of the object of study was necessary.

In the space of interstice that unfolds in Ms. Oc., the symbolic representations of a virtual Islamic space are embodied and the conception of time, in all its dimensions, is fashioned by the Ethics of Reading. It is the gaze of the 'original reader' that brings forth an imaginative space of being, to be shared with the subsequent readers, according to an ethical code that governs the construction of space in Ms. Oc. This 'spatial code' is for the Muslim community 'a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it.'[4] The method suggested in this study, to have a grasp of the spatial practice of the Islamic minority, is to

[2] 'Liminality and *Communitas'*, in *The Ritual Process,* p. 95.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* p. 47-8.

access their everyday life through the study of the representations of space in Ms. Oc. This close examination will eventually elucidate how ideology and knowledge are combined in the process of space creation 'within a (social-spatial) practice.'[5] As the production of space is always ideological, it is necessary to examine how knowledge transmission and ideological rhetorics are embedded in the discourse of the space-constructor, the story-teller of Ms. Oc.

In Part II, the study of the representations of space in the manuscript will focus on the compiler's rhetorical devices, to uncover the ideological undertones of this work. The everyday life in the marginal Islamic district, on the other hand, will be seen as an enactment of a representational space that operates by prohibition, confining the individual, and more precisely the body, under a set of religious moral indictments. The study of how cultural values are enacted—or not—in daily life, will then bridge the gap between abstract ideology, as manifest in the virtual space of the manuscript, and the concrete formation of social space.

[5] Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* p. 45.

PART TWO: THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN MS. OC.

Life is the Believer's Prison;
The Grave his Fortress;
Heaven his Refuge.[1]

[1] Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{v}.

INTRODUCTION

In Christian Spain, the Islamic district (*aljama/morería*) was a Space of Exclusion that turned into an arena in which religious cultural identity was produced and preserved. The function of the symbolic narrative space created in Ms. Oc. is the construction of a strict ethical code that delineates the virtual borders of the Islamic *aljama* in its Christian context and regulates its internal life. It is here argued that an understanding of the process of space creation is a threshold to the historical study of a marginal community, based on Henri Lefebvre's reassertion of space in critical social theory. The history of the Mudejar/Morisco community can be described as the story of the creation of their own space, both literally— in the Islamic districts— and metaphorically— in the 'representational spaces' of their manuscripts. By definition, a 'representational space overlays the physical one and is appropriated by the collective imagination that makes symbolic use of its objects.'[1] Being one of the material objects that exist in the physical space of the Mudejar/Morisco community, and a text that opens up a window on a virtual realm, Ms. Oc. is the symbol of the liminal existence of Muslims in Spain.

As little is known about the content of Mudejar and Morisco sermons in the Christian Spanish archives, an examination of the texts themselves is necessary to recover clues about both the actual space in which the homily was delivered and the virtual space produced in the text. To determine how Mudejar/Morisco preachers instilled Islamic values in their audiences to model their own idealistic design of a Muslim community living in *Dār al-ḥarb* (the Land of War), a study of the choice of themes, the selection of adapted sources, and the rhetorical devices employed, is the best method to complicate the sparse contextual data available. In this part of the thesis, the religious representational space constructed in the sermonic miscellany of Ms. Oc. will be explored through a close textual analysis that targets these aspects.

Since story-telling is the main mode of rhetorical discourse in Ms. Oc., the analysis will be focused on the perception of space in the series of narratives that can be divided into two general groups: the first group of stories are taken from the prophets' (pseudo-) biographies. Muhammad has the biggest share of these stories, including his birth, ascension to the heavenly spheres, eschatological dream, and instructive daily interaction with family members, companions, and other Muslims. As for the second group, it consists of a

[1] Lefebvre, *Production of Space,* p. 39.

compilation of short *exempla* that relate the horrid consequences of alcohol-drinking, greed, lust, and other condemned behaviours; and are, unlike the first group of stories, ahistorical. The dialectic nature of most of the material included in Ms. Oc. testifies to the didactic rhetorical aspect of the manuscript and its use as a discursive tool for the construction of an alternative Islamic space for the marginal community.

The space paradigm in the manuscript is based on the dislocation of the marginal community towards the centre of the narrative. Narrative time in Ms. Oc. deconstructs historical time and reconstructs it anew, in the fashion of Islamic tradition, as the story of the Muslims' legacy of superiority is narrated throughout the pseudo-historical tales. The compiler portrays the horrors of divine punishment and stresses the importance of devotional acts as the only path to salvation. Through religious ritual, a virtual time continuum is enacted and an abstract ideal space that transcends the physical one is constructed. The collage of tales that seems to make up a randomly selected miscellany, is governed by a very fine thematic thread that can be discerned through an approach to spatiality, tracking representational spaces and their symbolic ideological import.

This Part is comprised of three chapters: the first one unearths the ethical ground that sustains the narrative body of Ms. Oc., investigating some aspects of daily life in the Islamic space, the 'City of God,' constructed in the manuscript. The second chapter will step into the otherworldly realm to which this earthly space is attached, in an attempt to trace the features of the universe as conceived and perceived in the mindset of the community: the genesis of the cosmos will be looked at in juxtaposition with the narrative of its final annihilation, the story of Muhammad's birth, and his ascension to the heavenly spheres; with the aim of shedding light on the teleological aspect of the historical worldview that unfolds in the manuscript. The third chapter will then focus on the Hereafter, exploring the prospects of life beyond death. The three chapters will make up together a comprehensive overview of the spatial paradigm in Ms. Oc., its ideological purports, and rhetorical tools. The following table summarises the representational spaces constructed in the narrative units of the manuscript:

Narrative Unit	Corresponding Representational Space(s)		Chapter in this thesis
-Genesis of the World	**OTHERWORDLY REALM: The Universe:** **The Teleogical Argument**	-The Earth in the Universe	IV. I
-Birth of the Prophet		-The Microcosm and Macrocosm united	IV. II
-End of the World		-Liminal Spaces of Judgement	IV. I
- Ascension Narrative	**OTHERWORDLY REALM: The Afterlife**	-Heavenly Spheres (and the Divine Station)	IV. II
-Jesus and the Skull -The Israelites at the Cemetery		-The Grave - Hell	V
-The Prophet's Dream		- The mosque - The Prophet's House -Hell	V
-The Prophet and the Orphan	**THE CITY OF GOD: THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY**	- The Prophet's City - The House of a sinner -The Cemetery	III
-The Youth and Dog-Devil -The Erring Ascetic and the Devil -The Raped Woman		Symbolic spaces	III
***Sayings of prophets, companions, et al.** ***Conversations:** -The Prophet and the Devil -The Prophet and his Daughter -The Prophet and other people	**THE CITY OF GOD: THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY**	The Prophet's city	III

Table 1: Representational Spaces in Ms. Oc.

CHAPTER III
LIVING IN THE MARGINAL CITY OF GOD

Celebrating the 1492 re-conquest of Granada, the last foothold of Muslims in Spain, archbishop Fray Hernando de Talavera was royally commissioned to compose a liturgy to be performed on each anniversary of the victory. His *Oficio* (service) was sung in all the religious buildings, commemorating the conversion of Granada into a Christian city.[1] As Mercedes García-Arenal observes, turning into 'a sacred space right at the core of the Catholic Monarchs' plans for constructing and legitimating their own royal power,' Granada was 'both a space of conversion and a converted space.'[2] The conversion of the conquered territory into a holy New Jerusalem, as Arenal describes, was a messianic process that aimed at the restoration of the Church, the elimination of Islam and the creation of the ideal Christian city, guided by the model of Saint Augustine's City of God.[3] This model was indeed an explicit reference in Talavera's *Oficio*, as in many of the ideological writings of the time.[4] In the *Oficio*, Talavera was trying to persuade Muslims, as well as New Christians, to forget the memory of their ancestors, to lay down the burden of past sins, and partake in the construction of the new City of God. The compiler of Ms. Oc., on the other hand, was nourishing Islamic collective memory, laying down the foundations of what s/he believed to be the City of God. The early modern Spanish city, as both a physical and a symbolic space, was contested. While the Christian City of God was being concretised, the Muslim one was turning into a representational space that could not exist outside the imaginary realm of the Muslim community, in their memory, and in their manuscripts.

In this chapter, the ideas of the Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre are brought up to discuss the obstacles that hampered the production of an Islamic public space. The Lefebvrian concept of 'the right to the city' falls within the remit of this project that explores the mechanisms of space production and the relationship between the centre and the margins of space. No study of the life of the Muslim minority in the Spanish *aljamas* (districts) can evade the political implications of the discussion. Indeed, the recognition that 'the right to the city'

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[1] *Oficio de la toma de Granada* (Office of the Taking of Granada), or *In festo deditionis nominatissime urbis Granate*; the Latin text was edited and translated into Spanish in Francisco Javier Martínez-Medina and Martín Biersack, Fray Hernando de Talavera: arzobispo de Granada. Hombre de iglesia, estado y letras (Universidad de Granada, 2011), an English translation of some passages is provided in García-Arenal, 'Granada as a new Jerusalem.'

[2] 'Granada as a new Jerusalem', p. 16.

[3] *De ciuitate Dei contra paganos* (The City of God against the Pagans), 5th century CE; cf. García-Arenal, 'Granada as a new Jerusalem', pp. 36, 40.

[4] García-Arenal seconds Francisco Javier Martínez-Medina that the *Oficio* contains passages that are 'almost literally copied from the *City of God*.

was denied to the Muslims of Spain is meant to better understand the alternative space that they created for themselves. The concept of 'the right to the city' is so versatile that it has been previously applied outside the context of struggle against capitalism, in many studies that address the issues of citizenship, access to public space and transportation, and the rights of immigrants, women, and other marginalised social categories. Calling for 'the right to the city' has then become a vindication of the rights of the marginalised inhabitants and an invitation to reconstruct the urban landscape from below. As García-Arenal notes, the Castilianisation of the city of Granada was not only symbolic, but included a physical transformation of infrastructure and 'reached into even the smallest details of city life.' She comments:

> According to contemporary accounts, works of 'cleaning, ordering and draining' were undertaken. Streets were widened and houses realigned to allow swifter urban traffic, although that involved demolishing the *ajimeces* or wooden balconies that has allowed residents to see out without being seen.[5]

The disfiguration of Islamic buildings in Granada was meant to confer a new Christian appearance to the urban space of living, as a preliminary to the change that the superstructure would undergo.

In the context of sixteenth-century Spain, 'the crisis of the city,' as Lefebvre calls it, emanated from the project of homogenisation of lifestyles that invaded all aspects of daily life, and ultimately led to the complete exclusion of Muslims from the urban space. Accounts of the Inquisition clearly show that the authorities intruded in the daily activities of the Moriscos, with the aim of effacing all traits of Muslim culture. As Henry Charles Lea reports, the 1526-Edict of Granada imposed restrictions, the most prominent of which was the ban on using Arabic and wearing Moorish dress.[6]

> Tailors were not to make garments nor silver-smiths jewels after their (Moorish) fashion; their baths were prohibited; all births were to be watched by Christian midwives to see that no Moorish rites were performed; disarmament was to be enforced by a rigid inspection of licenses; their doors were to be kept open on feast-days, Fridays, Saturdays, and during weddings, to see that Moorish rites were abandoned and Christian ones observed. [...] No Moorish names were to be used and they were not to keep unbaptised Moors either free or as slaves.[7]

Muslims were then driven to the outskirts of cities, in rural areas outside the walls, giving them 'the pseudo-right' to an 'urbanized countryside.'[8] So if the 'city' is taken in its broader

[5] 'Granada as a new Jerusalem', p. 31.
[6] The ban on Arabic started in this edict (*Congregación de la Capilla Real de Granada*) of 1526, was refinforced in the *Concilio Provincial de Granada* of 1565, and finally culminated in Philip II's decisive *Pragmática* of 1567.
[7] *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion*, pp. 215-6.
[8] Lefebvre, 'The Right to the City,' p. 158.

sense, being both a metaphor and a concretisation of an ideal space, it can be posited that the Muslim community was denied the right to construct this space. And as Lefebvre theorises, although the city is gone, the urban remains in a state of dispersed and alienated actuality, as kernel and virtuality.' The virtual ideal city, in the case of this religious minority, is edified in the 'representational spaces' of the Islamic text. The challenge of everyday life was to rebuild a concrete space on the vestiges of the abstract one, of 'the historical city that is no longer lived.'[9]

The communal space portrayed in Ms. Oc., is based on an acute paradox between the project of constructing an ideal 'City of God' and the clash of this utopian plan against the stark realities, not only of the hostile surrounding of 'infidels,' but of the legacy of the original sin that haunts Man. In *De ciuitate Dei*, the same 'magnitude of the first transgression by which eternal punishment is due to all who are outside the Saviour's grace,' hovers over the earthly city, in which men 'have pursued the body or their own mind, or both.'[10] The similarities between the Christian model of the ideal city and the Islamic one that underlies Ms. Oc. are striking: the representations of the sinful human body can be a window to grasp the construction of the ethical spatial paradigm in Ms. Oc. Indeed, Henri Lefebvre maintains that 'the relationship to space of a "subject" who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship with his own body and vice versa […] and under the pressure of morality, it is possible to achieve the strange result of a body without organs—a body chastised, as it were, to the point of being castrated.'[11] This chapter will explore the moral indictments that refrain the body from indulging in earthly pleasure and the rhetorical strategies that the compiler/preacher uses to inculcate these laws in the individual, the household, and the community, in order to construct a model of the ideal City of God.

The traditional moral code of Ms. Oc. operates on a pattern of three concentric circles that mark the constituents of the Islamic living space that is here called 'City of God': the individual, the family, and the community. This three-fold ethical system was threatened by the hostile context in which it existed, and the moralist had to cope with impediments that put the three spaces under surveillance. It is then in the light of the ideological contest between Christianity and Islam in early modern Spain that space in Ms. Oc. should be examined. What the marginal Islamic habitat ought to be is different from what it really looked like. This difference is at the heart of the historical narrative of the Muslim minority

[9] Ibid. p. 148.
[10] Augustine, *The City of God againsnt the Pagans*, Book XXI, 12; Book XIV, 28; see also Book XIII, 14; Book XIV, 3 and 13.
[11] *The Production of Space*, p. 40.

and should be studied through a juxtaposition of the representational space, or the fictional space in the manuscript, and the real physical space allotted to the community under Christian dominion.



<u>Picture 1</u>: Gabriel presenting Muhammad and his companions with a miniature city
Miʿrājnama, The Book of Muhammads' Ascension, Tabriz (Iran), beginning of the 14th century.
From the Sarai Albums, Topkapi Palace Library (Istanbul), Hazine 2154, fol. 107a

The Ethical Project of Ms. Oc.

The close study of Ms. Oc. shows that the book as both an archival trove of miscellaneous Islamic teachings and a sermon guide, is a testimony of the compiler's/preacher's belief in his/her mission as a guardian of Islam. This conviction is most apparent in one of the homiletic passages of Ms. Oc., where the preacher encourages the audience to 'take pains to transmit knowledge, [as] teaching is a great merit, according to the Prophet.' S/he reports, illustrating the saying with two images:

> As two men entered the mosque, one started praying, the other sat to be taught. The knowledge seeker has greater reward. The scholar, compared to the worshipper, is a full moon among the planets. Allāh sent word to Dāwūd (David); 'O Dāwūd, blessed is he who does neither tread the path of iniquity, nor stand among the sinners, nor sit in the gatherings of disparagers; but rather spend his nights and days studying the Book of God. He is to me like a tree on a waterside; it never loses its leaves.'[1]

The pursuit of knowledge, the right path of good Muslims, starts with the reading of the Holy Book; and it is implied that this should be guided by skilful readers, such as the preacher of Ms. Oc.[2] These readers are not only learned scholars, but also moralists, since reading is an ethical act that delineates the borders between good and evil and sets the basis of the 'City of God.'

According to the compiler of Ms. Oc., the ideal city of Muslims is a communal space that should be governed by rules that comply with the cosmic order; for as will be seen in the next chapter, the cosmos, the ideal space constructed in the compiled stories of Ms. Oc., is governed by a divine plan in which the course of earthly life is inscribed. '*Islām*,' the name of this religion, literally means surrender; and it is all about faith in the Higher Truth of the divine plan and acquiescence to it. When a Muslim recites *aš-šahāda* (literally the testimony), the basic token of allegiance to Islam, they do not say that they *believe* in Allāh—this Truth needs no reasonable justification, but that they *testify* that there is no God but Him.[3] *Aš-šahāda* refers back to the Dawn of Creation, when Adam's offspring replied 'Yes, we bear witness' to God's question, 'Am I not your Lord?'[4] This covenant is the cornerstone of monotheism, the origin of the presupposed omnipresence of Allah, and the reason behind

[1] Ms. Oc., fols. 173^{v}-174^{r}.
[2] On the Ethics of Reading and the role of Islamic scholars in the Mudejar/ Morisco context, refer to Chapter II. II.
[3] For a thorough discussion of theocentric faith in Islam and the absence of the concept of belief in the Coran, see Smith, *Faith and Belief: The Difference between Them*, esp. chapter 3, 'The Islamic Instance: Faith as Theocentric,' pp. 33-52.
[4] Q7:172.

human complete surrender to His will, even when the reasons are obscure to human understanding.

In Islamic thought, the sacred tie that joins the macrocosm to its microcosmic representation should not be severed; and it is Man who is responsible for its maintenance. The preservation of the holy bond between the two realms is indeed central to all confessions. As the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, explains; assuming that the space created by a religious community 'is always the replica of the paradigmatic universe created and inhabited by the gods, this space comes to 'share the sanctity of the gods' work;' and this 'consecration is [but a] repetition of the cosmological order.'[5] This chapter will explore the features of the Islamic 'City-Cosmos,' this in-between space that joins the earth to the firmament, as represented in Ms. Oc.

Mircea Eliade introduces the concept of space consecration that he deems central to any religious system, especially in the case of wandering communities that find in it a fixed sense of direction in their unsettled habitat. Muslims preserve this constant direction in their prayer wherever they go. They turn towards *al-qibla* [6] and perform prostration to a unique God in a way that attaches them all to the same *umma* (community) worldwide, regardless of their geographical location. Steering the daily prayer ritual to a sacred direction marks the repetition of the cosmological divine order and recovers sacred time in the human course of life. Preserving these rituals is meant to ensure the continuity of the tie with the Divine, and eventually the consecration of the space of humans. It is in this regard that the mosque, the house of Allah is a sacred space; and the Muslim's own house can well turn into a sanctuary, as long as they keep performing their religious rituals. As expressed in Ms. Oc., everyday mundane activities in houses of Muslims are sacred acts that perpetuate the remembrance and celebration of the divine bond. It is in these terms that the present in Ms. Oc. is deferred and suspended between remembrance of the past and projection into the future. The only aspect of daily life that punctuates present time in the manuscript is the performance of devotional acts.

Denied the right to consecration, of both public and private spaces, the Spanish Muslim minority did not forsake their practice of actualising sacred time, but pursued it covertly. The only possible way to persevere in this actualisation of the past was through the reading, translation, adaptation and circulation of classical Islamic sources, and of instructive

[5] *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 34, 32.
[6] 'The term has the general meaning of 'a direction' or 'a direction of focus' and was used as such until the advent of Islam with its injunctions regarding the prescribed daily prayers;' the direction shifted from Jerusalem to Mecca when the early Muslims migrated to Medina, cf. *EIMW*, s. v. qibla.

compendia such as Ms. Oc. It is this transmission of basic knowledge from a generation to another that guaranteed the performance of rituals, and hence the sacredness of the *aljama* (Islamic district). The activity of reading should be considered a central ethical ritual among the other daily religious observances, marked by the inevitable shift from the public space to the private one under the circumstances that propelled crypto-Islam.

Ms. Oc. should be studied in this light, as a text that propels collective imagination to engage in the consecration of physical living places (houses, mosques, streets), through the construction of alternative 'representational spaces.' As Henri Lefebvre theorises, these complex symbolic spaces are 'linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined […] as a code of representational spaces).'[7] Ms. Oc., as an artistic production, hosts a communal code of spatial practice, whereby the different ways of inhabiting the space are fixed according to the precepts of Islam. What follows is a study of the moral spatial code that the compiler devises in Ms. Oc., with special emphasis on the preacher's rhetorical purport.

I. The Rhetoric of Choice: The *Dunyā-Āḫira* (Life-Afterlife) Divide

The ethical system in Ms. Oc. is dualistic, where human existence is summarised in a struggle between the two antagonistic cosmic forces of Good and Evil. The foundations of this system are laid down in the dichotomy between Life and the Afterlife that governs the compendium and boil down to a set of oppositions created through a predominant mirror effect.

The compiler consecrates a chapter for a discussion of the base characteristics of earthly life[8] that s/he repeatedly calls the 'House of Annihilation.'[9] S/he reports that 'when [the Caliph] ʿAlī b. abī ṭālib *Aṗwḥ* was asked to describe Life, he said; "[It is] a house, the front of which is bliss in abundance[10] and the back is decay."'[11] In the original report of the saying, the front of the house is usually described as 'exertion.'[12] The variation is clearly not a matter of inadvertence. We may think that the diacritical point that distinguishes 'abundance' (*ġanāʾ*) from 'exertion' (*ʿanāʾ*) in Arabic might have been mistakenly added, but the compiler's

[7] *The Production of Space*, p. XVI.
[8] باب في صفة الدنيا 'A Chapter on the Characteristic[s] of *ad-Dunyā* (Earthly Life)' starts at fol. 17^{r}.
[9] Ms. Oc., fol. 12^{r}.
[10] The word غناء is not vocalised in the Ms.; it is here translated as 'abundance'(*ġ**a**nāʾ*) rather than 'glee' or 'delight'(*ġ**i**nāʾ*) to further expand the meaning; this choice is congruent with the many instances of compiler's severe condemnation of wealth, greed, lust, and all kinds of excess.
[11] Ms. Oc., fols. 17^{v}-18^{r}.
[12] Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā (aš-Šarīf ar-Raḍī), *Nahj al-balāġa* (The Path of Eloquence), p. 107, report n 82.

addition of 'bliss' to the original metaphor shows that the move is deliberate. This choice is made to accentuate the contrast between the outward appearance of Life and its true hidden nature and emphasise deceitfulness as one of its main characteristics. Indeed, the preacher engages in a fervent call against Life, the Deceiver. 'Do not trust the flamboyant ornaments of deceitful life;' s/he warns. 'For Glorified Allāh created it thus to test His servants. Behold! Do not let earthly Life deceive you!'[13]

Life is portrayed as a test, a transient journey that would lead to the eternal dwelling in the adobe of Heaven, if the provisions are enough to survive the length of the trip. The preacher apprises his coreligionists; 'Prepare your assets! The Journey is long,'[14] and insists that the travellers would usually run out of supplies before they reach the destination. S/he proclaims:

> The assets are scarce; the voyage is long-lasting! And you are careless and callous-hearted people, unaware of the bitterness of this lengthy ordeal. Some of you are after assorted comestibles[15]; others aspire to [live in] the widest, vastest dwellings; but none of you remembers the Resurrection Day or ponders the time of departure from wide houses to narrow graves. Woe to the man who persists in this sinful heedlessness. Woe to the one who persists in this arrogance.[16]

In this address, it is perspicuously assumed that the audience have gone astray and the possibility of the presence of any righteous people among the crowd is excluded. Clearly driven by the deep-seated belief in the perpetuance of sin, the assumption thrives on a contrastive description of two earthly spaces that both serve as dwelling for the body. One is extended above the surface of the earth, while the other lies beneath it.

It is explicitly stated in the Coran that 'life in the *dunyā*' that can literally be translated as 'the baser life,' 'is but a distraction' from the nobler and wiser pursuit of eternity in the otherworldly realm;[17] and as the editors of *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* explain:

> In the usual contrast between *dunyā* [life in this world] and *āẖira* [the afterlife], the concepts are seen as two clear moral alternatives; the individual is enjoined to choose one abode over the other as the focal point of his or her attention. *Dunyā*, when balanced against *āẖira* in this sense, is as the negative to the positive.[18]

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[13] Ms. Oc., fols. 161^{v}-162^{r}.
[14] Ms. Oc., fol. 165^{r}.
[15] 'الطلع النضيد' is a phrase that is found in Q50:10; the annotator paraphrases (in Arabic) the archaic expression in a horizontal gloss in the left outer margin of fol. 54^{r}, in the same hand of the core text: 'that is food, a wide variety.'
[16] Ms. Oc., fols. 54^{r-v}.
[17] Q29:64.
[18] Idleman-Smith, and Yazbeck-Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding*, p. 7.

This stark dichotomy permeates the moral project of the compiler of Ms. Oc. and generates an overall pessimistic understanding of the course of human life. The *dunyā-āḫira* moral divide is very often illustrated in the manuscript deploying the metaphor of the house:

> Allāh only created *ad-dunyā* for labour and *al-āḫira* for retribution. You will be rewarded according to your deeds. For this life is a house of devotion, not of judgement, whereas the afterlife is a house of judgement, not of labour.[19]
>
> Indeed, *ad-dunyā* is the house of misfortune leading to decay. As for *al-āḫira*, it is the house of judgement leading to salvation. Beware, lest earthly Life should deceive you![20]

It is then an inexorable choice that the Muslim should make. To live ethically is to build and dwell in the house of *al-āḫira*, the afterlife, even before death.[21] This untimely settlement anticipates the decay of the body and paves the way to the castigation of the pursuit of corporeal pleasure. The antithetical image of the two houses, each erected on or dug into one extreme of existence, is best rendered in one of the two anonymous poems that appear in the manuscript, the authorship of which can tentatively be traced back to the Caliph ʿAlī as well:[22]

> They who buy[23] the Garden of Paradise, will dwell in it,
> For a prayer in the darkness of night they hide
>
> There is no house for one to inhabit after death
> Except the one they had built before they died
>
> If they built it with Good [deeds], good they will find in it their stay
> And if with Evil [deeds] they built, wretched be the one who did.[24]

'The Garden of Paradise' is a dwelling, the construction of which needs to be planned in advance. Planning presumes that the ersatz building that is at hand is relinquished, and the move towards the new house is undertaken. The preacher admonishes the people again and again; 'O ye servants of Allāh; renounce life and get provisions for the afterlife to enter Heaven. So long is the sojourn! Know that the most sustainable asset [along the way] is devoutness and fear of Allāh whose punishment is harsh.'[25] Perpetual residence in Heaven,

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[19] Ms. Oc., fol. 19[r].
[20] Ms. Oc., fol. 18[r].
[21] This may corroborate the hypothesis that the tradition of building one's grave when they are still alive, still in practice in Testour, the Morisco village in Tunisia, might be of a Morisco origin; refer to the Introduction of Part Two.
[22] The alleged attribution of the poem to the Caliph is contested.
[23] The literal translation of the Arabic verb is opted for, to highlight the materiality of the exchange; 'to aspire' would be another accurate translation of the Arabic verb *ištarā* (to buy) in this context; a similar instance is found in Q9:111: 'Allah hath purchased of the believers their lives and their wealth; that they shall have Heaven [in return].'
[24] Ms. Oc., fol. 162[r].
[25] Ms. Oc., fol. 165[r].

according to the poem, is warranted through a transaction in which the performance of a ritual is bartered for the ideal adobe. The execution, easy as it might seem to be, is bound by tight-time and long-distance constraints.

The pattern that is recurrently traced in the manuscript is a timeline in which the end is very near. In many instances, the compiler/preacher adverts that the end of time is looming ahead and that there is not enough time to repent.[26] S/he interjects: 'How far the beginning is! How close the End is!'[27] This minimalisation of time serves as a foil for the spatial configuration that brings the House of the Afterlife to the forefront, alongside its counterpart, the House of Life. Indeed, the depiction of Life and the Afterlife in Ms. Oc. as coexisting spaces rather than separate periods of time, makes the necessity of choice between them impending.[28]

Taking it for granted again that those carelessly sinful people will be caught unawares by Time and any enterprise of sustainable construction aborted, the preacher sounds hopeless in his/her scathing reprimand:

> O people; do not neglect the afterlife. Do not let the joy of life and its freshness deceive you. O people; had you reflected on your vicissitudes and your [destined] appointment, remembering resurrection and what Allāh prepared for the disobedient ones, you would have laughed less and cried more. Alas, you neglected Death and turned your backs on Allāh's covenant, repudiating His right, as if you will never die, nor be judged. How often do you speak and not act, promise and not fulfil, pledge and break the vow? Had you remembered the roughness of earth in the dark forlorn grave, you would have stopped blathering and multiplied your [devout] words of remembrance and [righteous] deeds. Beauty is that of the afterlife; Bliss is its bliss; *the utmost* bliss! Heaven is the ultimate residence of blessing.[29]

This long homiletic address is constructed around the *dunyā-āḫira* duality, harping on the truthfulness of the former and the falseness of the latter, bemoaning human forgetfulness, the tragic flaw that will eventually lead to Man's downfall. It is for this reason that the manuscript can be labelled a 'book of remembrance,' comprising hortatory sermons imbued with a sense of urgency about the necessity of abandoning oblivion and abjuring *ad-dunyā* (Life,) before it is too late to attain *al-āḫira* (the Afterlife). The short life span that one spends on earth should comply with a set of moral regulations that optimises its propinquity to the essence of eternal Life. The moral code is installed on the basis of honed propensity for

[26] Ms. Oc., fols. 24^{v}, 52^{r}, 116^{v}, and the poem on fols. 53^{v}-54^{r}; for more on the imminence of death in Ms. Oc., refer to Chapter V.
[27] Ms. Oc., fol. 16^{v}.
[28] More about the coexistence and permeability of life and the afterlife in Ms. Oc. will be analysed in detail in Chapter V of this thesis.
[29] Ms. Oc., fols. 175^{v}- 176^{r}.

Good and stiff resistance to evil temptations. Nevertheless, the realisation of this foundation and its maintenance are obstructed by a perennial battle against the Devil.

II. The Rhetoric of Strife

1. Warfare against the Devil

One of the succinct references to the existential Man-Devil warfare in Ms. Oc. is found in the account of an early Islamic scholar, Manṣūr b. ʿAmmār, who reported:

> I heard a Bedouin calling loudly; 'O servants of Allāh, wield your weapons to face your enemy.' He was asked what enemy he meant and he replied; 'Iblīs!' And he was asked again what weapon should be deployed for this struggle. He answered; 'Devotion in obedience to Allāh and abstinence from the Forbidden.'[30]

That the call is coming from a Bedouin is not surprising, considering the Sufi background of the original reporter.[31] If well-instructed, a layman can possess the wisdom that prepares him for the struggle against the Devil; and so is the Mudejar/Morisco audience expected to be disposed to the preacher's guidance in order to be well equipped for this strife.

This same Bedouin is encountered in two other occasions in the manuscript, receiving lessons from the Prophet himself about the details of this strategy that he calls 'devotion in obedience to Allāh and abstinence from the Forbidden.'[32] For his/her part, the compiler expatiates in many instances on this strategy, recommending in one of them: 'Allāh, Allāh, ye people! Make your eyes cry and your heart bend in awe. Refrain your tongues from lying and strain your bodies in the worship of your Lord. [This is how you] strive to vanquish Iblīs, your enemy.'[33] According to the preacher's lessons, bodies are not created to be pampered with the momentary pleasures of life, but to be exhausted in devotion to God. This is elaborately evoked in the conversation between the Prophet and Iblīs (the counterpart of the Judeo-Christian Satan). In this conversation, the warfare between the believer and the Devil is best imparted, as Iblīs, known as *ʿadūw Allāh* (the Enemy of God), clearly wins the discursive contest against Muhammad, and by extension his *umma* (community). The sweeping victory of the Devil intimates that, seen through the compiler's eyes, the landscape of human strife against sinful temptations is bleak, especially as this conversation closes the manuscript, creating a gloomy last impression.

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[30] Ms. Oc., fol. 141^{r}.
[31] Manṣūr b. ʿAmmār b. Kaṯīr as-Salmī al-Ḫurasānī (d. 225 AH/ 840 CE); For further discussion of Sufi undertones in Ms. Oc., refer to Chapter II.
[32] References to these dialogues (fols. 108^{r}-116^{r} and fol. 147^{v}) will be scattered throughout this chapter.
[33] Ms. Oc., fol. 141^{v}.

1.1. The Conversation between Muhammad and Iblīs (fols. 177^{r}-186^{r})

Right from the onset of the conversation in Ms. Oc., the Prophet is positioned as a passive auditor. He says; 'Iblīs visited me on Allāh's command; and I enquired about [certain] matters.'[34] This short introduction sets the tone for the reverse-catechism that the Devil will offer. The main questions that Muhammad asks during the dialogue are the following ones:

- Who are your enemies?
- Who are the people you hate the most?
- How do you feel when prayer is called for?
- How do you feel when my *umma* (community) fasts?
- How do you feel when the Coran is read/recited?
- And when my *umma* gives alms?

The enquiry targets some of the Pillars of Islam and the effect of the performance of Islamic devotional acts on the Enemy of God. The Prophet's questionnaire is interrupted by the rhetorical questions of Iblīs that put into doubt the resistance of Muslim faith against his temptations. The most considerable part of the conversation is Iblīs' soliloquy, in which he boasts about his remarkable feats against vulnerable humans, thanks to the battalion of devils that he mobilises against Muslims in all aspects of their daily life, in order to hamper the performance of their religious rituals.[35] This belligerent image is a strong rhetorical device employed to instil fear in the audience. In terms of space construction, the metaphor of this battle is used to dramatise the adversity of Evil and its intrusion into the slightest details of daily life. The proximity of the Devil to the human space of living symbolises the precarious situation of Muslims in Spain and raises a challenge for those Muslims to win.

A comparison of the report in Ms. Oc. against popular versions of the account, shows that the compiler allows him/herself certain freedom in the adaptation. As an example, in the table below, each of the Muslim's righteous action is matched with its effect on Iblīs, referring to the compiler's intervention (in italics):

The Muslim's Righteous Action	The Effect on the Devil
Prayer	Fever and shivering *(copied verbatim).*
Fasting	Bridled mouth until the fast-breaking meal *(added)*; shackled until the end of the fasting period *(copied verbatim).*
Pilgrimage	Going mad *(omitted).*

[34] Ms. Oc., fol. 177^{r}.
[35] Ms. Oc., fols. 178^{r}-182^{v}.

Reading the Book	Melting like lead on fire *(copied verbatim).*
Almsgiving	His head *(specified)* being split in half with a saw *(copied verbatim);* each half is thrust into a layer of Hell *(added).*

Table 1: The Effects of Righteous Deeds on the Devil

Although the original source that the compiler used is unknown, there is a possibility that this adaptation is his/her own work. Such an assumption incites an attempt to explain his/her intention behind the changes: the additions are clearly meant to intensify the effect of each virtuous act on the Devil and enhance its emotional appeal through more vivid pictorial description. As for the omission of Pilgrimage *(al-ḥajj)* from the list, it might be interestingly revealing: while this fifth pillar of Islam is dictated by the Coran on all adults who have the means to afford the expenses of the trip,[36] in the crypto-Islamic phase of the life of the community, the possibility of fulfilling this fundamental religious ritual was very low.[37] At least one case is known, that of the Aragonese Morisco Puey Monçón who managed to reach Mecca in the early sixteenth century, and put into verse an account of his travel.[38] The omission of the ritual from the dialogue in this section of Ms. Oc. is pertinent to the overall disregard noted throughout the manuscript.[39]

A different type of omission occurs in the case of the last question that the compiler picks up from the long original series of questions that the Prophet addresses to the Devil: 'what melts your body?' The traditional answer, 'repentance,' is also omitted; but the compiler devotes a separate chapter to Repentance,[40] along with richer material about this concept, found scattered outside the delineations of the section. In Ms. Oc., atonement, cleansing one's self from past sins, is considered to be the ultimate purpose of life. It is a pursuit of reconciliation with God that is deemed a personal endeavour in Sunni Islam, as it is clear in the manuscript.[41] The preacher enjoins the mass to seize the day for repentance: 'Labour in tender age for the stern scowling day. Repent and ask forgiveness from the All-Hearer, All-Seer. He [is the one who] has power over all things.'[42] It is declared in Ms. Oc. that Repentance is a door that is made wide open for everyone who is willing to atone for their

[36] Q3:97.
[37] Cf. Harvey, 'The Moriscos and the *Ḥajj*,' and Xavier Casassas-Canals, 'Tres riḥla-s mudéjares.'
[38] BTNT, Ms. J 13; the account is in the Aragonese dialect; the pilgrim went by sea from Valencia across North Africa to reach Mecca via Egypt; the Ms. was found hidden inside the wall of a house in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon).
[39] Very brief references to Pilgrimage, always listed with other religious obligations, are found in Ms. Oc., fols. 49^{v}, 133^{v}, and 174^{r}.
[40] Ms. Oc., fol. 56^{v}; باب في التوبة (A Chapter on Repentance).
[41] Cf. Talmon-Heller, 'Charity and Repentance in Medieval Islamic Thought and practice,' esp. p. 269.
[42] Ms. Oc., fols. 56^{r-v}.

sins: 'Allāh opened in the west a seventy-year wide door that will not be shut until the sun rises from there.'[43] The opening of this door is introduced in Ms. Oc. as a courtesy of the Prophet: when Muhammad's pagan tribe, *Quraysˇ*, wanted him to turn the sand of *aṣ-Ṣafā* Hill into gold as proof of his prophecy, God asked him whether he wanted the miracle to be fulfilled, and in that case unbearable torture will await the disbelievers, or a door of repentance and mercy to be wide open to them. The Prophet preferred the second option.[44] The relief that such a statement about the possibility of repentance *in perpetuum* may offer in Ms. Oc., is curbed by the more acute assertion that the end is impending. Since the Coran proclaims that last-minute repentance is not accepted,[45] and that no one can know the exact time of their death or of the end of human existence, it is implied in the preacher's discourse that any attempt at arranging repentance would be a miscalculation. This message, transmitted in the homiletic passages of Ms. Oc., is illustrated in two parables that dramatise Man's tragic error of misjudgement in his strife against the Devil.[46]

1.2. The Parable of the Youngster and the Dog-Devil (fols. 142^{r}-143^{r})

In the end of a miscellaneous section on Youth and Old Age (141^{v}-143^{r}) in Ms. Oc., the compiler narrates that a youngster once asked an old man to show him Satan, so the latter pointed at 'a big dog that feeds on [the remnants of] oxen in a slaughter house and said; "Behold! This is Satan!"'[47] When the young man talked with the Dog, the latter informed him that he would die in sixty years. The youth then decided to indulge in alcohol-drinking and other earthly pleasures, thinking that he could spend half of his allotted lifetime in sins and the other half in penitence, but he was killed in a quarrel at a tavern and only spent three days of those falsely-promised sixty years. Many symbols come into play in this tale to better articulate the message that the preacher advances in the sermonic passages: the Devil's primordial mission is to mislead Man and induce him to err. Trusting the Devil's words, the gullible young man misreckons the remainder of time allotted to him in life and ends up drinking his life away. His symbolic untimely death in the tavern alludes to the fatal nature of alcohol-drinking, and by extension all forbidden earthly pleasures.[48]

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[43] Ms. Oc., fol. 172^{v}.
[44] Ms. Oc., fol. 173^{r}.
[45] Q4:18.
[46] This tale can be considered a parable, in view of its allegorical nature and plain didactic message.
[47] Ms. Oc., fol. 142^{r}; for a discussion of age in the manuscript, and youth and old age in relation to devoutness, repentance, and death time (*ajal*), refer to Chapter V.
[48] For a discussion of the consequences of alcohol-drinking, its judgement and punishment in Islam, and particularly in this manuscript, refer to section II. 2. 2 of this chapter.

The incarnation of the Devil in a dog feeding on cadavers is one of the gripping allegorical devices in this parable. The Dog-Devil is an unfamiliar motif in Islamic literature, although in the mentality of some Muslims, hostility towards the animal is not unwonted. The dog is mentioned three times in the Coran,[49] and is praised in another instance as a cleaver hunting animal.[50] In the Islamo-Arabic mindset, this beast is considered to be Man's best companion as the story of *Ahl al-Kahf* (the People of the Cave,) related in the Holy Book, demonstrates.[51] The only Coranic occurrence with a pejorative connotation is the one in which Man's submission to the Devil's temptation is likened to the dog's subservient behaviour.[52] Nevertheless, these verses are certainly not behind the orthodox pre-conceived belief in the devilish nature of this animal, around which this parable in Ms. Oc. is shaped. Although no similar story in classical Arabic sources could be identified, the long-established legacy of some weak *ḥadīṯ* reports may account for the compiler's negative representation of the dog.[53] 'The vast majority of Muslim jurists consider this anti-dog tradition to be falsely attributed to the Prophet, and therefore, apocryphal.'[54] However, such hostile sentiments were common and still prevail nowadays in dogmatic thinking around the Islamic world. Many Muslims still believe that blessing angels would not enter a house in which a dog lives, and that some dogs are incarnations of the Devil. The story that the compiler of Ms. Oc. narrates in these folios may indicate that hostility to canines was a prevalent superstition in their *aljama*, or that this parable cultivated the prejudice.

The preacher's interminable warning against the deceitful nature of the Devil that stands out in his conversation with the Prophet, becomes all the more imposing with this instance of incarnation in the Parable of the Dog-Devil, as it does in the Parable of the Erring Ascetic.

1.3. The Parable of the Devil and the Erring Ascetic (fols. 141^{v}-143^{r})

In his conversation with the Prophet, the Devil claims that he charged some of his sons 'to take care of the ascetics living on the edges of mountains at the outskirts of towns.' He proudly describes how 'they would break all doors to get inside them, make them fickle, and induce them to forsake their faith, forget and neglect Allāh. They would become so numb that they could hardly make their lips utter the name of Allāh, and hardly see their allegiance

[49] Q7:167; 18:18, 22.
[50] Q5:4.
[51] Q18.
[52] Q7:175-6.
[53] For a survey and discussion of these views, see Abou-El Fadl, 'Dogs in the Islamic Tradition and Nature.'
[54] Ibid., para. 2.

being withdrawn from them.'[55] The Devil then alludes to the story of the ascetic Barṣīṣ 'who was honest in his intent on devoting seventy years to the worship of Exalted Sublime Allāh.' 'I had never left him [in peace] until he fornicated, murdered, and prostrated to me;' says Iblīs.[56] The erring ascetic was denied access to heaven; and his tragic fate sends an alarming message about the insignificance of the time one spends in devotion if s/he dies a sinner.

The counterpart of the two disconsolate parables of the gullible youngster and the erring ascetic with the Devil, is a more straightforward and much more positive message communicated to the youth earlier in the manuscript. In his conversation with the Bedouin, extolling the meritorious status of a penitent youth, the Prophet avers that 'nothing is dearer to Exalted Allāh than a repentant youngster.' He explains:

> For Exalted Allāh tells the pious repentant youth; 'O boy, you broke your youth for my sake; and for my sake you covered your face in earth. I look on you as one of my angels.' Then He, may His Glory be exalted, turns to the angels and says; 'Behold my servant! Look how he is after my satisfaction! By my Honour and Glory, I will bestow on him recompense worthy of seventy friends.' Then the Prophet *pbuh* said; 'O Bedouin, by Him who justly sent me [both] a bearer of good tidings and a warner, if a servant was reared on the worship of Exalted Allāh and did not enjoy his youth, no one could attain his rank in Heaven.'[57]

The preacher then interposes in his usual condescending tone, betraying his/ her contempt: 'Ye youngsters, put aside foolishness and keep away from obscenities and abominations.' To be foolish is to heed the Devil's call and lose the battle, as it was the case of the young dupe of the parable.

As seen in the conversation between the Prophet and Iblīs, and in the two illustrative parables, the perpetual state of warfare reigns over the space that the compiler constructs in the manuscript, as Iblīs' 'seventy thousand children, each mobilising seventy thousand devils,' are in charge of ensuring Man's downfall.[58] All the teachings that will be discussed in what follows, examining the rhetorical tools that the compiler deploys in his/her conception of the ideal individual, family and community, should be seen in this context of ethical warfare and within the framework of the preacher's counterplan: the restrictions imposed on the body are meant to reshape it as a site of devotion. The consecration of the body, and by extension of domestic space and communal life, is carefully carried out to the extent that even the most trivial of daily human actions are accounted for. Yawning in prayer, eating

[55] Ms. Oc., fols. 179^{v}-180^{r}.
[56] Ms. Oc., fol. 180^{r}.
[57] Ms. Oc., fols. 114^{v}-115^{r}.
[58] The Devil informs the Prophet about this battalion during their conversation (Ms. Oc., fol. 179^{r}).

with the left hand, and stepping out of one's house with the right foot are all signs to be deciphered in light of the ongoing combat against the Devil. These seemingly trifling matters are not overlooked in this ambitiously comprehensive code of moral conduct that the compiler of Ms. Oc. designs.

2. The Strife against One's Self: On Abstinence, Contentment, and Modesty

In Ms. Oc., the body is portrayed as a wild organism that should be tamed by a set of rituals, *ʿibādāt* (devotional acts) that temper its physical drives and ensure the individual's belongingness to the Muslim *umma* (community). The sanctification of the pious individual is a process that starts with mortifying the sinful flesh of one's body, turning it into site of devotion, renouncing the self, and turning towards Allāh, or practising what is considered to be inner *jihād*, a strife against one's carnal desires.[59]

Some jurists in the lands of Islam believed that the Mudejars' choice to remain in Spain emanated from a triumph of the baser self over what they considered to be the pious quest for divine Truth.[60] Conversely, Mudejar/Morisco scholars thought that *Jihād an-Nafs* (the Strife against the Self) is particularly salient in the context of the Muslim exclave, where *taqiyya* (dissimulation) is required to protect one's life. The covert nature of Islamic devotion in the Christian context—dictated not by choice but by necessity— intensifies, rather than hinders, this form of struggle: forbearance and perseverance in practising Islam in the hostile milieu of infidels was a veritable *Jihād*.[61] Indeed, some other *fuqahāʾ* (shcolars) in *Dār al-Islām* (Islamic territories) encouraged Spanish scholars to show Muslims how to adapt their rituals to that milieu in order not to endanger their lives. Along this line of thought, the *aljamiado* sixteenth-century religious miscellany, Ms. J 3 (BTNT), provides precautionary measures for the Morisco to take during the Fasting Month in order to comply with the obligation without running the risk of his/her Islam being discovered:[62]

> If in the month of Ramadan, a Muslim is obliged to take the road with some Christian, and can by no means be excused, he is exempt from fasting on account of the journey. And if during the trip, or in any town, the eating time arrives, he should politely excuse himself before the Christian. If that is not possible, he

[59] The Prophet is reported to have said; 'the true flight or *hjjra* is the flight from evil and the real holy war or *Jihād* is the warfare against one's passions', qtd. by al-Ġazālī, *The Beginning of Guidance in the Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī,* trans. by William Montgomery Watt (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1935), p. 131.

[60] This was the case of the North African jurist, Ibn Miqlāš; cf. Chapter I of Miller, *Guardians of Islam,* esp. p. 33 for the views of Ibn Miqlāš on inner *Jihād* (strife) and the Mudejar case, and refer to Chapter II of this thesis.

[61] On the concept of *taqiyya*, see Devin, 'Dissimulation in Sunni Islam and Morisco Taqiyya', along with the other articles in Sección Monográfica of *Al-Qanṭara,* 34:2 (2013), coor. by Mercedes García-Arenal, pp. 345- 546.

[62] The *aljamiado* text is translated into Spanish in Longás, *Vida religiosa,* pp. 220-1.

> should eat, lest he endanger himself; but he has to eat the least amount possible and not gorge himself on food and drink. He just has to eat and drink a little to maintain his energy [for the trip] and should not have more during that day.

This explicit reference to the crypto-Islamic context of Fasting is absent in Ms. Oc. The general aspect of the compendium is maintained in the compiler's insistence on the necessity of abstinence from food and drinks during the holy month of Ramaḍān, as the Coran dictates.[63] Besides, in the manuscript, Fasting is loaded with a metaphorical significance that goes beyond this literal restrictive sense.

The standpoint of the compiler of Ms. Oc. as a traditional moralist, is best illustrated in his/her discourse about the many facets of Fasting as the ultimate penitential act. For instance, according to the preacher, 'the fasting of the hands means that these should not hold money unrightfully but should be held out with the money of Glorified and Exalted Allāh for charity.'[64] Fasting is a way of life; it is to live religiously, consecrating the body through the restriction of its whimsical desires, and devoting it for the benefits of the community. The rhetorical purport of the sayings and tales reported in Ms. Oc. is the construction of a communal space in which collective welfare matters more than individual needs.

2.1. The Rhetoric of Supplication: Communicating with the Divine

The strife against one's self and the process of turning the body into a site of devotion is epitomised in the Prayer ritual. Prayer is the cornerstone of Islamic devotion; and it is indeed the performance of this ritual that the compiler of Ms. Oc. dwells on the most. Tracing back the origins of the obligation, dealing with some of the rudiments of its proper performance, and sketching out the punishment for its neglect, the manuscript is not a practical prayer guide *per se*, but it rather provides background knowledge about the ritual.

In the manuscript, two versions are narrated about the origins of the daily five-prayer commission. The first one is found in the Ascension episode, at the moment of encounter between the Prophet and God in the highest celestial station,[65] whereas the second one traces the inception back to the dawn of Post-lapsarian time:

> Some knowledgeable people have been reported to inform that Adam performed those five prayers upon his fall from Heaven: As soon as he was exposed to the heat of the sun, wind, and earth, he was scorched black. So Allāh inspired him to perform the Morning and the Noon Prayers. And as he

[63] Q2:185.
[64] Ms. Oc., fols. 111^{v}-112^{r}.
[65] Ms. Oc. fols. 27^{r}-41^{r}; the encounter (fols. 34^{v}-38^{v}); the narrative will be analysed in section II. 2 of this chapter.

> did, his head turned white. Then Allāh inspired him to the Afternoon Prayer; his torso turned white. Then he performed the Sunset Prayer and became white from head to knees; the Darkness [Prayer] and went all white.[66] Allāh then commanded him, his offspring, and his community to observe the five prayers so their faces may turn white on the Resurrection Day, when some faces are whitened and others blackened;[67] and so their bodies, darkened with sins, may become white with prayers. It was thus that Allāh enacted those five prayers, five times a day.[68]

The story evokes the same dualistic pattern that governs the ethical landscape in the manuscript. The metaphorically dark human body, believed to have been immersed in sin since the Fall, may attain purification through prayer. Re-enacting this primeval myth of body cleansing, the Muslim's day is punctuated by five prayers, in a concerted attempt at thorough purification.

Indeed, any day that is not interspersed by the five-prayer ritual is believed to be lost time that is not worth being lived. In this regard, the performance of daily prayer acquires an ontological dimension in Ms. Oc., and is considered to be the prime quality that distinguishes Man from animals, as described in this metaphor:

> The man who forsakes prayer is like the livestock driven to the field and then carried to stables to be fed and have rest. So is he who goes back home, have dinner and go to bed without praying. This is not one of Allāh's servants, neither does he belong to Muslims. He and animals are alike; and Allāh equated him with them.[69]

The downright message, expressed in this image, is reiterated for an infinite number of times in the manuscript: neglecting prayer is relinquishing Islam altogether. As reported in Ms. Oc., in his conversation with the Bedouin, the Prophet firmly attests that the one who neglects the ritual for three days with no sound excuse is a disbeliever (*mušrik*,)[70] and that 'none of the good deeds of he who does not pray will be admitted.'[71] These categorical statements about the observance of religious rituals testify to the compiler's fanaticism.

The superiority of Prayer over all the other Islamic rituals emanates from its physical embodiement of the Muslim's affirmation of servanthood to the Creator and concretisation of the concept of individual unmediated communication with Him. Along with bowing and

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[66] Note that *ʿatama* (darkness) is not the standard appellation of the fifth daily prayer that occurs in the Coran, *ṣalāt al-ʿišāʾ* (Evening Prayer); the former name was discarded by many scholars such as as-Suyūṭī.
[67] The phrase is taken from Q3:106.
[68] Ms. Oc., fol. 129^{v}.
[69] Ms. Oc., fols. 186^{r-v}.
[70] Ms. Oc., fol.109^{r}; a similar statement is reported on fol. 136^{r}: 'He who neglects prayer is not an allegiant of Muḥammad's confession (*milla*).'
[71] Ms. Oc., fol.132^{v}.

kneeling, the prayer ritual includes prostration, the highly symbolic position that connotes extreme submission to God. In Ms. Oc., the Prophet is reported to have said that 'modesty in worship is the exquisiteness of Faith.'[72] Pride is decried in the manuscript, as it is in the Coran and tradition;[73] the preacher employs the metaphor of burning straw to illustrate ephemeral vainglory:

> Servants of Allāh, beware of Pride! For those who think themselves superior than people in life, even to a slight degree, will steer away from the path to Heaven. Pride is Allāh's exclusive quality; and He does not want to see it in people.[74] The proud man is like a gigantic head made of straw that frightens the beholder. When the straw is burnt, the head turns into a heap of ash. As for the man with a strong heart, he withstands death more strongly and nobly. The Devil deceives Man throwing in his heart the illusion of being stronger and tougher than his fellow.[75] He instigates him to err and drags him towards Hell. Servants of Allāh, if you avoided pride, you would evade all sins. Allāh would love you for not harming people and helping them with good words and intention of honesty. Your righteous deeds are the token of your devotion to Allāh.[76]

The compiler falls back again on the idea of the Devil's plot against mankind to animate the audience to be modest towards the Creator and strengthen their bond with Him. S/he points at the symbolism of prayer through the examination of its name, *ṣalāt*. S/he reports the Prophet's saying that the appellation refers to the servant's reaching out to God.[77] The verb *waṣala,* deemed to be the root from which the name is derived, does not only mean to reach, but also to unite, to join, to combine. The ritual concretises the sacred bond with the Divine and consecrates any space in which it is performed. 'Oh that bond! That bond! That bond;' the preacher interjects; 'Everyone who performs immaculate ablution and prays will be forgiven all the faults he might commit between that prayer and the next. Persevere in seeking Allāh's mercy, in the mountain, as in the mosque.'[78]

In the Morisco context, it was important to stress the role of the prayer ritual in clinching contiguity between the divine and human realms, even outside the mosque. At the time of

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[72] Ms. Oc., fol.162^{v}; the literal translation would be 'the sweetness of faith;' but the more interpretive equivalent, 'exquisiteness,' is here chosen to stress the sense of delicacy that is infused in the intended meaning of delightfulness.
[73] For instance, 'It will be said, "Enter the gates of Hell to abide therein forever. Such an unfortunate abode for the arrogant ones!' (Q39:72); on arrogance, see also Q16:23; 17:37; 31:18-9; 38:74.
[74] 'And your Lord says: "Call on Me; I will answer your [prayer]; but those who are too arrogant to serve me will surely enter Hell in humiliation!"' (Q40:60).
[75] This recalls the episode of the Devil's refusal to prostrate before Man, God's perfect creation and the arrogant claim that caused his banishment, 'I am better than him'(Q38:72-6).
[76] Ms. Oc., fols.147^{v}-148^{r}.
[77] Ms. Oc., fol.129^{r}.
[78] Ms. Oc., fol. 173^{v}.

the Inquisition, when it was impossible to perform the ritual in *al-Jāmiʿ* (the mosque, literally the gathering place), this statement would have encouraged Muslims to turn their homes into private sanctuaries. Indeed, in 1504, the North African scholar, al-Wahrānī issued the Oran *fatwā* (legal opinion), allowing the Morisco community to postpone their day prayers to nighttime in order not to jeopardise their lives.[79] An echo of this mitigation is found in the previously quoted poem, where the compiler of Ms. Oc. confirms that the Muslim can buy the Garden of Paradise with a secret night prayer.[80] The same idea is also articulated in the report of the Prophet's saying: 'Night prayer, performed when people are sound asleep, is light in *ad-dunyā* (this world), light on the Resurrection Day, light in the Standing Place [of Judgement], and a guiding light on *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* (the Bridge) towards Heaven."[81] It is this nocturnal encounter with the Divine in the privacy of one's chamber that is believed to guarantee God's ultimate satisfaction.[82] This statement that brings much light to the darkness of the devotee's night is one of the rare exceptions to the preacher's negative approach to the Muslim's everyday life. In another instance of this positive appeal, the Prophet is reported to have used a beautiful allegory to describe prayer as a luminous ladder that joins the worshipper to the Creator:

> To everyone who fulfils ablution, sets to praying, and completes all its genuflections, prostrations, and [Coranic] recitations, *aṣ-Ṣalāt* (Prayer) will say; 'May Allāh preserve you, as you preserved me.' S/he would then ascend with it through a beam of radiant light until *aṣ-Ṣalāt* reaches Allāh [at] the Highest [realm] to intercede for him/her.[83]

This concise image eloquently recalls the episode of the Prophet's Ascension to the celestial spheres, alluding to the inception of the ritual obligation in the highest heavenly station, where the Prophet of Islam met God.[84] However, the positive depiction of the luminescent thread that ties the Islamic City of God to the divine realm, is overcast by the shadows of its counterpart. For the preacher, there is always an overpowering gloomy side to the fate of humans:

> But if neglected, *aṣ-Ṣalāt* would say; 'May Allāh forsake you as you forsook me.' And they rise with it, groping their way to the sky in the dark, only to find its doors shut. *Aṣ-Ṣalāt* will be tightened around their neck like a scarf and keep slapping them on the face.[85]

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[79] Cf. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, p. 63 and 'Crypto-Islam.'
[80] Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{r}.
[81] Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{r-v}.
[82] Refer to the beginning of the poem, analysed in section I of this chapter:' 'He who buys the Garden of Paradise, will dwell in it/ For a prayer in the darkness of night they hide (Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{r}).
[83] Ms. Oc., fol.160^{r-v}.
[84] The Ascension Tale is narrated in Ms. Oc. (fols. 26^{r}-41^{r}) and will be analysed in section II. 2. of this chapter.
[85] Ms. Oc., fol.160^{v}.

This anticipatory flash of harsh final retribution is not the only preview of the dire consequences of contravening God's law. In Ms. Oc., the suffering starts in death, and is carried to the grave. The reprobate would die 'in abject misery,' 'perplexed,' suffering a 'thirst that all the rivers on Earth cannot quench.'[86]

> Allāh will narrow his dark grave; and in it he will be like a waterskin in a clamp.[87] The grave will terrify him three times a day, saying; 'I am the house of worm, the house of forlornness; I am the house of qualm.' Allāh will then cast upon him two gigantic snakes: one will start eating his head; the other swallowing his feet, until in his middle they finally meet. Thus will be his suffering until the end of time.[88]

The description of the gruesome punishment in the grave further upholds the strong effect that prayer has on the body. The ritual does not only cleanse corporeal filth, but it also protects flesh from unnatural decay in the grave. A non-praying body will become a prey for supernatural beasts and incur a dreadfully slow process of annihilation until the Judgement Day. But the torture does not end when body and soul are revived and reunited. In a no less horrid depiction of the final punishment, the sinner's body is afflicted from head to toe with the blazing heat of Hell:

> Servants of Allāh, do not let occupations divert you from prayer. Woe to them who miss prayer for other occupations. When the Resurrection Day comes, the heat under their feet will make their brains boil in the top of their heads. Thereupon, no occupation, nor wealth, nor regret would avail. Only prayer and righteous deeds would have.'[89]

This passage offers a clear view of the central position of the ritual in the Muslim's everyday life, as seen through the idealistic representation of the manuscript. Believers are supposed to interrupt the course of their daily activities to observe the laws of religious practice. The preacher expands his/her imaginary representation of the sufferings that the prayer-neglecter will incur on the Resurrection Day. 'Chained with fiery shackles, they will walk among the crowd' towards the Halting Place (*al-maḥšar*) for Judgement.[90] As they reach it, 'Allāh will neither talk to them nor look at them; and on their forehead two lines will be inscribed in fire: 'Oh you who overlooked Allāh's rights! […] Have no hope today in His mercy.'[91]

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[86] Ms. Oc., fol.134^{r}; on the other hand, the Prophet is also reported to have said that 'prayer alleviates death agony' (Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{v}).
[87] كالزّقّ في المِلزَم is an unusual expression.
[88] Ms. Oc., fols.134^{r-v}.
[89] Ms. Oc., fol. 160^{r}.
[90] Ms. Oc., fol. 135^{r}.
[91] Ms. Oc., fols. 134 ^{v}-135^{r}.

Graphic descriptions of punishment in Hell, such as this image, are the preacher's favourite device to instruct his/her audience, arousing fear of the fate of sinners.[92]

Along with this preview of the fate of prayer-neglecters on the Resurrection Day, the manuscript is fraught with statements about the immediate drastic repercussions of the neglect of prayer on the individual and on their family and close surrounding. The compiler reports that the Prophet said; 'even when everyone in the house prays, except one, sharing home with one who does not pray will reduce your subsistence, as Allāh will withdraw His blessing.'[93] The neglect of prayer is depicted as a plague that affects the household as a whole. This underlines the collective facet of this private ritual. Not only does prayer epitomise a sacred tie with the Divine, but also a communal bond. In this respect, as reported by the preacher, the Prophet maintains that the one who neglects prayer is an outcast:

> He should not be greeted or given alms. His testimony is inadmissible. Living with him under the same roof is forbidden and will be accounted for on the Resurrection Day. […] He who neglects prayer has no share in Islam, and none in the prayers of the righteous people. None of these prayers would reach the sky. He is an idolater.[94]

This is one instance of the cruel exclusion of certain members of the community, on the basis of religious ethics. Indeed, the critique of outlaws, especially alcohol-drinkers and fornicators, is scathing in Ms. Oc.

2.2. The Rhetoric of Sobriety

The proper observance of the prayer ritual is contingent on soberness, as the Coranic verse reads; 'O ye who believe! Do not approach prayer when ye are drunk, until ye know that which ye utter.'[95] This further indicates that the ritual necessitates a holistic implication of body, mind, and spirit in the performance. It is at this junction between prayer and alcohol-drinking that the fierce castigation of the latter arises in the manuscript. The transaction metaphor used to illustrate the reward of prayer in the poem analysed in the previous section, is here extended: instead of 'buying the Garden of Paradise' with a prayer, the alcohol-drinker 'sells the Garden for a glass of beverage. Such a losing trade!'[96] The preacher judges that 'the alcohol-drinker does not possess any [record of] righteous deeds' to be offered access to Heaven. S/he expounds with a syllogism; 'Righteous deeds can only be validated with prayer;

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[92] This will be further discussed in Chapter V.
[93] Ms. Oc., fol. 136^{r}.
[94] Ms. Oc., fols. 133 $^{r\text{-}v}$.
[95] Q4:43; some scholars contend that this verse does by no means insinuate that drinking is allowed outside of prayer times; according to them, the proscription of alcohol consumption needed to be carried out gradually because of its prevalence among the Arab community; and this verse was revealed at the early stage of the process.
[96] Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{v}.

and as long as they persist [in this habit,] the alcohol-drinker's prayer is not credited; so if their prayer is not, none of their deeds will be.'[97]

Drinking alcohol was forbidden in Islamic law, based on the interpretation of several Coranic verses.[98] One of the related sayings in *ḥadīṯ* tradition is that of the Prophet's wife, ʿĀʾiša, who reported that he said; 'That which intoxicates in excess is also forbidden in moderation.' The saying is the corollary of the Coranic verse quoted above, expanding the scope of the proscription of drinking at prayer time to be valid at all times.

In Ms. Oc., alcohol-drinking is considered to be one of the major sins, actually the key of the house of all sins, as phrased in an anonymous report.[99] Referring to the Coran, the major sins are usually identified to be idolatry, homicide, and unchastity.[100] The compiler of Ms.Oc., like many orthodox exegetes, adds drinking to the list, along with parental disobedience, false witnessing, usury, and illegal dissipation of the orphans' money. 'Wrathful Allāh will curse these sinners, sending them to Hell where they will eternally dwell.' [101] Before being dispatched to their final abode, 'alcohol-drinkers, each bearing a snake in their mouth and a belly stuffed with scorpions, will be flogged with the fiery iron [whips] of *az-Zabāniya* (the torturing Guardians of Hell).'[102] The punishment targets the two parts of the body that partook in the deed against God's forbiddance. According to the compiler, the foreshadowing of suffering in Hell is encountered at the moment of death, when the departing person finds themselves incapable of uttering the two *šahāda*-s (testimonies) before the delivery of their soul.[103] The envisioned faltering speech is clearly a reminiscence of the effect of intoxicants on the consciousness of the drunken consumer.

Like the neglect of prayer, alcohol-drinking is a concomitant sin to idolatry. The preacher impels the audience to 'avoid intoxicants,' reporting:

> The Prophet *pbuh* said; 'if the alcohol-drinker uttered "there is no God but Allāh," *al-ʿaršˇ* (the Divine Throne) and its Chair would be shaken. Allāh would assign as many angels as the number of the words he uttered to keep cursing him until the Resurrection Day. He who drinks at night will wake up

[97] Ms. Oc., fol. 99^{v}; the same saying is reiterated in fols. 137^{r-v}.
[98] Q2:219; 5:90; 4:43 (this only states that it nullifies ablution); 16:67 (paradoxically, this verse states that the production of intoxicants from grapes and dates is a token of God's might and a proof of His existence).
[99] Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{v}.
[100] Q25:68.
[101] Ms. Oc., fol. 114^{r}.
[102] Ms. Oc., fol. 156^{r}; *az-Zabāniya* are the angels of punishment; these are reported to be God's own words to Moses.
[103] The two testimonies that 'there is no God by Allah and that Muhammad is His messenger,' make up the first Pillar of Islam; uttering the two testimonies is one of the principles of the Islamic *ars moriendi*; this is also quoted from the report of Moses' conversation with God in fol. 156^{r}.

> as an idolater. He who drinks in the morning will sleep as an idolater. Repent to Allāh from this chronic sin. Ask for His forgiveness and make your hearts honest in your intention before earth swallows you.'[104]

Shaking the Divine Throne, as a metaphorical illustration of idolatry, alcohol-drinking is deemed one of the most abominable sins. Describing it as 'chronic,' the preacher points at the addiction it can create. Depending on intoxicating beverages, rather than Allah, elucidates the idolatrous aspect of the misconduct that distracts humans from regular religious worship. The gravity of the misdeed is here explained by its reverberation in the heavenly sphere. The preacher always alludes to this link between the wordly and otherworldly realms, to stress the omnipresence of God and remind the audience that He oversees all their deeds. Earlier in the manuscript, the sin of alcohol-drinking is even thought to affect natural order, accounting for certain catastrophes that strike the earth. The Prophet is reported to have said; 'Had it not been for […] alcohol-drinkers, the sky would have rained every Friday, the earth brought forth barley, the sheep delivered every three months, and the cows every six months; all people would have lived in assurance.'[105]

Such condemnations of sinners were at the root of the prevalent belief, expressed in later Morisco prophecies, that the suffering of the Muslim community [is a] just punishment for moral degradation and irreligiosity.[106] The harsh castigation of alcohol consumption in Morisco sermons and prophecies should be seen against the backdrop of the conversion campaigns in early-sixteenth-century Castile. L. P. Harvey notes that 'as far as alcoholic drink was concerned, […] there is plenty of evidence that the [Christian] ways were inculcated with some excess, and that some converts readily availed themselves of what was offered.'[107] Relevant to this discussion is a letter that Queen Juana[108] wrote in 1515 in response to public order offenses resulting from the drunkenness of the New Christians in Granada:[109]

> I have been informed that some of the newly converted […], because of the great amounts of wine which they drink, become so intoxicated that they fall down in public in the street, so that the Old Christians mock them. When they are drunk, they cause disorder (*escándalos*), and since it is my duty, as Queen, to deal with such matters, […] I command you […] that on each and every occasion that you find a New Christian drunk outside of his house or garden, that you have him brought to the prison of the place where he is

[104] Ms. Oc., fol. 161^{v}.
[105] Ms. Oc., fols. 155^{v}-156^{r}.
[106] Perry, *Handless Maiden,* p. 75 n36; 'Three of these legends were translated for the Inquisition in Granada and are included in Mármol-Carvajal, *Historia del rebellión,* pp. 169-74.'
[107] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain,* p. 49.
[108] Joana of Castile, known as *Juana la Loca* (Mad Joana), daughter of the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel; she ruled in Castile from 1504 and in Aragon from 1516.
[109] The Crown of Castile reconquered the Kingdom of Granada in 1492; this was the last foothold of Islamic rule in the Peninsula.

found, where he is to be held for one day and one night as a punishment for his misdemeanour.[110]

The exceptionally scathing castigation of alcohol consumers in Ms. Oc. may be explained by the inclination of some Muslims towards this Christian habit. On their part, the Inquisitorial authorities kept a watchful eye on the newly converted individuals. They charged many of them with abstinence from wine that they automatically interpreted as a sign of crypto-Islam, even when the detainees cultivated vines to produce their own wine.[111] Be it during the indoctrinating addresses of their scholars or in the unexpected Inquisition inspections, the daily behaviour of the Moriscos and their drinking and culinary preferences were under close vigilance.

In the Muslim community, the alcohol-drinker is treated as an outcast because of the idolatrous charge that he carries. In Ms. Oc., the rules dictate that 'no one should greet the alcohol-drinker or pay him a visit in illness.'[112] Avoiding him like the plague, 'people should run fifty parasangs (leagues) away from the alcohol-drinker.'[113] Besides, 'no one is allowed to rent his house or his/her mill for the production of intoxicants. And if s/he does, s/he is an accomplice in the sin, carrying the same burden' as the perpetrator.[114] To devise this communal code, the compiler of Ms. Oc. must have had in mind the long-standing tradition of sayings against this sin;[115] but in this section when s/he introduces a report, s/he rarely specifies its origin. The missing chain of transmission that would usually attest to the unreliability of the account creates at this point a contrary effect, tuning the saying into a general truth.[116] The import of the exclusion of an individual from the moral space of the community is reminiscent of the dogmatic views of the Kharijites (*al-Ḫawārij*). According to them, sinners are guilty of unbelief and should be systematically excommunicated and killed, unless they repented. The echo of this fanatic religious murder, called *istiʿrāḍ*, is found in Ms. Oc., as the compiler reports that the Prophet commanded Muslims to kill the alcohol-drinker if s/he persists in the sin.[117]

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[110] Trans. by Harvey in *Muslims in Spain*, p. 50.
[111] This was the case of Juan Herrador in the Campo de Calatrava (Castile-La Mancha) who was accused in 1543 of not drinking alcohol although he produced his own wine; AHN, *Inquisición, Legajo,* exp. 194, mentioned in Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain*, p. 209; Chapter 4 of this book is devoted to the Herrador family.
[112] Ms. Oc., fol. 137 ^{v}.
[113] Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{v}.
[114] Ms. Oc., fol. 137 ^{v}.
[115] An example of that is the widely quoted (Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Māja, and Ibn Ḥanbal) saying of the Prophet: 'Allāh damned wine, the drinker, the cupbearer, the buyer, the seller, the maker, the carrier, and the receiver'
[116] For further analysis of the compiler's use and adaptation of reports and other traditional sources, refer to Chapter II. II.
[117] Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{v}.

Ibn ʿAbbās, one of the few named transmitters in Ms. Oc.,[118] is reported to have said that 'he who goes to bed intoxicated, sleeps as bride to the Devil.'[119] The report suggests a connection between alcohol-consumption and utmost lewdness. This has been intimated in the compiler's use of a Coranic verse, which also condemns promiscuity, to express God's abomination of drinking: 'It was a vile abominable deed, an evil way [to take] indeed.'[120] Be it a lapse or an intended hint, the pairing of the two sins is factual in the code of moral conduct that the manuscript endorses. The following tale imparts the connection in the best possible way; and it is worth noting that the Coranic verse in question occurs at its epilogue. This corroborates the contention that the verse is adapted with a deliberate change of context that subtly reveals the connection of the two sins in the compiler's mind and his/her intention to correlate them.

The Tale of the Raped Woman (fols. 137^{v}-139^{r})

In the Tale of the Raped Woman—as it is called in this study, it is narrated that a group of men who intend to go on pilgrimage discuss repentance in their meeting before the trip: each one of them confesses his sin, expressing his willingness to atone for it. Then appears a nursing mother holding her baby and asks; 'why don't you repent from the greatest of all sins and trespasses?' When they enquire about it, she answers: '[drinking] alcohol!'[121]

The woman summarises all that she thinks is a great transgression against divine law in alcohol consumption, and starts narrating her tragic story that she introduces with a shocking statement: 'behold this infant! This is my son and the son of my son.' She relates how she was impregnated by her drunken brother who raped her one night. She then forsook the newborn who 'grew up quickly,' left the country to return some years later to his homeland rich and ready to get married. The young suitor paid a high *mahr* (dower) for the bride-to-be. After having spent one year with him and given birth to a baby, she discovered that he was the child of the incestuous rape: 'At that moment, I realised beyond doubt that he is my son, and that this is his son, and my son [too]; the son of my son, and the son of my brother.'[122] The ending of the tale is left hanging in this realisation of a terribly intricate network of

[118] 'He was born three years before the *hijra* (the migration of Mohammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina); 'He is considered to be the greatest scholar of the first generation of Muslims' and 'the father of Coranic exegesis;' cf. *EI*, s. v. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās; that Ibn ʿAbbās is the chief reporter in Ms. Oc. testifies to the primitive nature of the compilation.
[119] Ms. Oc., fol. 141^{r}.
[120] Part of Q4:22 that forbids the Pre-Islamic tradition of indulging in sexual intercourse with widowed step- mothers, used in Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{r} against alcohol-drinking.
[121] Ms. Oc., fol. 138^{r}.
[122] Ms. Oc., fol. 139^{r}.

incestuous family relations. The complier of Ms. Oc. instantly moves to his/her homiletic condemnation of alcohol-drinking with no further ado:

> Avoid alcohol, servants of Allāh! It is forbidden (*ḥarām*) to you and would drive you to Hell. Exalted Allāh said; 'It was a vile abominable deed, an evil way [to take] indeed.'[123]

The tale is not only meant to arouse repugnance in the audience and turn them away from the evil path; it is also a prelude to a brutal instigation to persecute the alcohol-drinker. The compiler confidently reports, backing up the saying with no chain of transmission, that the Prophet commanded to 'flagellate' the sinner, the first, second and third times they are caught drinking. 'And if they drink a fourth time, kill them; for they are *kāfir* (an apostate.)'[124] This death penalty is meant to amputate the rotten member of the social body. ʿĀʾiša, the Prophet's wife, is also reported in Ms. Oc. to have offered a ghastly description of the impact of the sinner on their surrounding, hence turning death penalty into a necessary safety measurement:

> Upon him who feeds the alcohol-drinker, be it with a mouthful, Allāh will cast a snake and a scorpion from Hell [to torture] his body. Giving [this heretic] a service is like partaking in demolishing Islam. Lending him something is like being an accomplice in the murder of a believer. Sitting with him will make one walk blind among the crowd on the Judgement Day; and they have no excuse.[125]

As it is the case with prayer-neglect, the transgression of the law of sobriety is portrayed as an epidemic. Tresspassing affects the near surrounding of the perpetrator and especially their family members. In Ms. Oc., the narrow circle of the individual's body, this site of devotion in which carnal needs are curtailed, and the wider circle of the family, are concentric ethical spaces that should be examined in juxtaposition.

The body in Morisco culture is very commonly likened to a house. This metaphor shows the importance of both the tenor and the vehicle. Both the body and the house are for the Moriscos the sites of their private life experience; and their conception of both is steeped in a religious field. An Aragonese Morisco once wrote; 'The good Muslim should never go without an amulet; for he who goes without amulets is like a house that, lacking doors, cannot be closed. To a house without doors, anyone can enter if they will. To a person with no amulets, demons can enter from all sides.'[126]

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[123] Part of Q4:22; on the use of Coranic verses in the manuscript, refer to Chapter II, section II. 1.2.
[124] Ms. Oc., fols. 139^{r-v}.
[125] Ms. Oc., fols. 139^{v}-140^{r}.
[126] Julián Ribera y Tarragó, 'Supersticiones moriscas', in *Diserticiones y opúsculos* I, p. 524, qtd. in Labarta-Gómez, 'Inventario', p. 130.

The Inquisition violated the privacy of the Moriscos' bodies and homes. The Synod of Granada decreed in 1565 that doors must be left open, especially during special occasions, to make sure that the New Christians (baptised Moriscos) do not engage in 'Moorish rites.'[127] King Philip II was then reassured by Alonso de Granada Venegas that the situation was under control as the unruly Granadan Moriscos succumbed to the law: the women roamed the streets with their heads unveiled and the doors of their homes were kept open on Friday (the day of congregational prayer) and festive days.[128]

In the conversation between Iblīs and Muhammad in Ms. Oc., we find an interesting passage where the Devil depicts the siege that he lays to a Muslim's house. 'No house door is spared the vigilance of twelve thousand devils;' he says.

> If one leaves his house to perform the morning prayer [at the mosque], stepping out with his right foot, saying: "In the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful; I have faith in Him and on Him I rely. There is no power or strength except with Allāh, the Highest, the Great." Allāh will send an angel to stand by his right side all day long to protect him and preclude his wrongdoings. But if he does not say that in the morning, the devils will return to accompany him all day long, putting into his mouth only the words that Allāh hates to hear. The angel will then retreat, entrusting him to his devil companions.[129]

Like the twelve thousand devils, the Inquisition officials were besieging the house of the believer. A Morisco who would listen to the preacher, indirectly encouraging him/her to step out of the house with the right foot, was unable to go to the mosque; but s/he would most probably utter the protective words to safeguard both his/her body and home. Judging by the high number of excavated amulets and books of divination and magic, the Moriscos were definitely superstitious people whose insecurity drove them to those supernatural practices.

The Morisco household occupies a central position in the process of transmission of faith from a generation to another. Be it seen as a physical locus of private ritual performance, a node of an emotional and ethical network of human relations, or a micro-representation of the authoritative system that sustains the foundations of the ideal 'City of God,' 'Home' connotes an intricately knit fabric that should be carefully examined in order to grasp the belief system of the minority and reconstruct its embodiment in daily life practices.

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[127] López de la Plaza, 'Las mujeres moriscas granadinas,' p. 317.
[128] Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelión,* p. 178.
[129] Ms. Oc., fols. 182^{v}- 183^{r}.

2.3. The Rhetoric of Chastity: Against Adultery and Fornication

The compiler's harsh condemnation of out-of-wedlock sexual intercourse aims at protecting the family as a nucleus of faith. One of the central ethical concepts in Ms. Oc. is 'the Fasting of the Eye,' or 'abstinence from eye contact and aversion of one's gaze to the Forbidden.' The preacher explains: 'For the eyes of he who casts a forbidden glance over a woman will be plucked with fiery nails on the Resurrection Day before he is sent to Hell.'[130] S/he interjects, urging the audience, specifically men, to make downcast their looks:

> O people, avoid looking at the beauty of women so your eyes be not plucked with fiery nails on the Resurrection Day. Relinquish beauties to those who were destined to enjoy them and content yourselves with what Allāh destined you to have.[131]

Unchastity (*az-zinā*,) is a sin, the repercussions of which are, like those of alcohol-drinking and prayer neglect, metaphorically rendered in the manuscript through the image of cosmic tribulations:

> Unchastity is a terrible deed, a besetting sin indeed. Roaming the earth from east to west is more endurable than [the charge] of taking off a woman's garment illegitimately. At the union of two sinners[132], the earth quakes and would almost sink down; and the sky would fall down on them; for this is the most outrageous of deeds.[133]

The emphasis is put as usual on retribution rather than reward. The preacher warns his/her coreligionists against the sin, referring to the Prophet's description of its punishment: 'He who kisses a woman illegitimately will have his lips clutched with fiery pincers.'[134]

> The Prophet *pbuh* said: 'For him who fornicates with a Muslim, or any other woman, Allāh will open many a door of Hell in his grave from which scorpions and burning flames will burst to torture him until the Resurrection Day. He will then walk stinkier than a cadaver among the swarm towards Hell, unless he repents and never commits this sin again.'[135]

In this passage, the preacher warns men against fornication with any woman, regardless of her confession. Although we know that inter-confessional sexual intercourse, including

[130] Ms. Oc., fols. 111^{r-v}.
[131] Ms. Oc., fols. 111^{r-v}.
[132] The Arabic verbal noun *zānī* is here translated as 'sinner' to render the two meanings of fornicator and adulterer imbedded in it.
[133] Ms. Oc., fols. 167^{r-v}.
[134] Ms. Oc., fols. 168^{r}.
[135] Ms. Oc., fols. 112^{r-v}; the same saying is reported again on fol. 140^{r} with slight modifications; on the adaptation of *ḥadīṯ* and the quoted reporters in the Ms., refer to Chapter II, section II. 1. 2.

marriage, was forbidden in early modern Castile, the evidence that those relationships existed is abundant; and the compiler's reference to the issue is then pertinent.[136]

The punishment of fornication is illustrated in a highly pictorial way in the Prophet's saying, reported in Ms. Oc. as follows:

> He who copulates with a woman illegitimately and impregnates her will pass on *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* [Bridge]on the Resurrection Day in a way that fits what he did in life: He will be grovelling upon his face,[137] dragged with a seventy-feet chain tied around his neck towards the blazing fire of Hell and its flame blasts. Then he will have to climb a high fiery mountain, carrying the baby on his back. 'Go up!' He will be commanded. And as soon as he reaches the peak, Mālik, the Gatekeeper of Hell will direct the mountain to judder; and so it does. He will fall down to the foot, only to be asked to climb again. Thus will be the ordeal; and it will go on as long as Allāh wills. He shall not die, for Allāh said that he who enters it *shall neither die nor live*.[138]

The Sisyphean ordeal depicted in this excerpt reveals a severe condemnation of this sin that threatens the sacred institution of marriage and the integrity of the family. The rhetorical stance of the preacher of Ms. Oc. against unchastity is visibly misogynistic, holding women accountable for unleashing men's base desires. This derogatory portrayal of the female body is at the root of the patriarchal construction of the domestic space that unfolds in the manuscript.

III. The Rhetoric of Patriarchal Domesticity

1. Domestic Hierarchies

The Inquisitorial policy of surveillance, adopted in sixteenth-century Castile, fostered the disintegration of familial bonds, manifested in both the physical separation of family members and the moral rift of mistrust and disloyalty created among them: Many of the so-called New Christians who claimed to have sincerely converted, were encouraged to sue their crypto-Muslim relatives as a token for their loyalty to the Holy Inquisition. The archival records are replete with cases of family members witnessing against their kinfolk. As an example, studying the secret network of book circulation in the Castilian town of Pastrana, Mercedes García-Arenal brings up the case of the Morisco family of Alonso de Mendoza, working as dry cleaners. In 1617, Alonso, his mother, sisters, and niece were all indicted for

[136] For a study on marriages between Mudejars and Christians in late medieval Castile, cf. Ortego-Rico, 'La "ley" infringida.'
[137] 'Is he who walks grovelling upon his face better guided, or he who walks upright on the straight path?' (Q67:22).
[138] Ms. Oc., fols. 167^{v}-168^{r}; the expression in italics is found in Q87:13 and 20:74.

owning Arabic books and speaking the language. They were inculpated by Alonso's wife and his niece's husband.[139]

At a time when family relations started to disintegrate under the threat of the Inquisition, the instalment of ethical cornerstones would serve to sustain the domestication of religion and the construction of Morisco Home as a space of resistance.[140] Up until the seventeenth century, many Morisco compendia continued to tackle familial issues with great care, testifying to the centrality of the household in the Morisco ethical system. For instance, in Ms. RAH, J 8, the husband's rights over his wife and vice-versa, parental obedience and other details of ideal family relationships are all discussed to help lay down some of the basic Islamic pillars for the construction of a resilient underground household. [141]



<u>Picture 1</u>: A Depiction of a Morisco Family
Source: Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (*Costume Book*) (1530s)
Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, fols. 105, 106.

As discussed in Chapter I, Mudejar-Morisco scholarly lineages very often corresponded with blood ties, which highlights the role of the family as an institution in the perpetuation of Islamic instruction. Indeed, under the construction of the household as a space of resistance stands a micro-representation of the two hierarchical patterns of Man's allegiance to God and a Muslim's dependence on the guidance of learned scholars to cope even with the most trivial of daily matters. The minutiae of domestic activities and behaviour in the Spanish Muslim exclave, were governed by the edicts that the scholars in *Dār al-Islām* (Lands of Islam) issued to provide answers for questions that the Coran does not address. In his turn, each Muslim man had the duty to inculcate piety in his home, based on the scripture, the Prophet's tradition and the *fatāwā* (pl. of *fatwā*,) the legal opinions of Islamic scholars. One of the

[139] AHN, *Inquisición, legajo* 2106, exp. 17, and *legajo* 195, exp. 25 and 26), mentioned in García-Arenal, 'La Inquisición y los libros de los moriscos,' p. 60.
[140] The Inquisition records are replete with cases of family members witnessing against their relatives.
[141] Catalogued in Ribera and Asín- Palacios, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados,* 48-9.

sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscripts summarises in three points 'the obligations of the father towards his child: the first is conferring on him a good name for a Muslim; the second is teaching him to read the Book of Allāh; the third is arranging his marriage.'[142]

Marriage is a consecration of the body and its sexual drives. In Ms. Oc., the compiler reports that when a 'well-to-do' young man called ʿUkāf responds with 'no' to Muhammad's question if he has a wife or bondmaid, the Prophet extrapolates:

> Verily, you are either one of Satan's brethren or of Christian monks; for if you were one of us—and not of them—you would do as we do. Copulation is in my *sunna* (tradition). The evilest ones among you are the single ones and the most wretched ones are those who die single. Married men are those who cleansed themselves. Woe to you, ʿUkāf! '[143]

The Prophet then relates to the young man the story of an ascetic who had spent three hundred years worshipping God in seclusion until he fell in love with a woman and dissipated his virtue in her love. The religious discourse of Ms. Oc. perpetuates a patriarchal ideology, as the objectification of women as source of temptation and the belief in their propensity for sin and inferiority as wives permeate the compilation. 'Staring at the beauty of women is one of the arrows of Iblīs;[144] says the compiler. 'Avert your eyes from the beauty of women;' s/he warns. 'These are the ropes that the Devil uses to drag you to misdeeds. When you avoid them, you steer away from burdensome sins.'[145] If the reader of Ms. Oc. is inclined to think that the compiler is a man, it is in this misogynist stance that one can find the argument.

2. Misogynistic Representations

There is a stark contrast between the representation of women in the domestic patriarchal system of Ms. Oc. and their status in Morisco history, discussed in Chapter I. Indeed, despite the honourable status of women in the Morisco community, as the archival documents testify, their image in Morisco religious manuscripts does not always do them justice. In *aljamiado* texts, especially the literary ones, the portrayal of women is certainly brighter than the faithful rendering of dogmatic traditional reports and popular Islamic stories in religious texts, such as Ms. Oc.[146] Overall, emotional relationships and sexual intercourse are

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[142] RAH, Ms. J 3, fol. 101^{r} (16th century).
[143] Ms. Oc., fol. 170^{v}; the expression is used for squanderers in Q17:27.
[144] Ms. Oc., fols. 168 $^{r-v}$.
[145] Ms. Oc., fols. 115^{r-v}.
[146] Raḥma, the wife of Job in the *aljamiado* version of his story is the best example, see chapter 'Patience and Perseverance' in Perry, *Handless Maiden;* the story of the devotion of the maiden Carcayona in six extant mss. is another more secular instance in the Morisco-*aljamiado* literary corpus, see Valero-Cuadra, *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*.

overriding themes in Morisco writings, in orthodox religious compendia, as in books of superstition.



Picture 2: BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22) El libro de dichos maravillosos, fol. 56^{v}
'Write these seals with the blood of a black goat or a black cat on a towel. Then, bury [the amulet] under the threshold of the house. That she be [sexually] inhibited towards [other] men and commit no adultery.'

In the most prominent Morisco book of magic, *Libro de dichos maravillosos*,[147] we find an amulet made for a woman to protect her against fornication (Pic. 2), another one for her to use when her husband stops loving her, and a third one made for a man to know if his wife is harming him.[148]

All these examples profess a disdainful view of women that we find reflected in Ms. Oc., especially in the Story of the Orphan, a symbolic tale of an adulterous woman who reaches salvation, thanks to the sincere plea of her innocent child.

2.1. The Story of the Orphan (fols. 149^{v}-155^{r})

The Story of the Orphan is about the prophet Muhammad's intercession for the salvation of a dead sinner, the mother of a boy that he meets in the street. The story in Ms. Oc. is characterised by an elaborate narrative structure, with highly dramatic effects, as the five-part plot indicates:

[147] BTNT, Ms. J 22 (RESC/22), about 300 folios, discovered in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon), ed. in Labarta-Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos*; refer to Chapter I of this thesis.
[148] BTNT, Ms. J 22, fols. 58^{r}, 65^{r}, and 67^{r}.

Exposition	-The boy narrates his story to the Prophet: his father died (twelve days before), followed by his mother (three days before). -The Prophet asks, 'how come that no funeral has been heard in the city?' The orphan answers, 'my mother was a stranger (*ġarība*) and had no one to wash and shroud her.' -The Prophet sends Bilāl, his *muʾaḏḏin* (the summoner for prayer), to his wife ʿĀʾiša, commanding her to take proper action to honour the dead woman (washing and shrouding).
Rising Action	**Intrusion of the supernatural element:** ʿĀʾiša heads to the house of the deceased. Horrified by the gigantic snake dwelling in the woman's nostrils, she turns back to describe the scene to the Prophet. - '**This woman is a sinner,'** says the Prophet, with no further comments. He hands ʿĀʾiša his magical ring that will repel the snake, for the mortuary rituals to be accomplished. -The beast comes back as soon as ʿĀʾiša fulfilled her tasks. -The funeral procession and the Prophet's hortatory address to Muslim women. - The woman is buried with the snake coiled around her neck
Climax	-The crying orphan stands by his mother's fiery grave and prays for God's forgiveness.
Falling Action	-The Prophet blesses the deceased and pledges for God's mercy.
Denouement	- The Prophet narrates how the snake fled into the wilderness and the sinful woman was saved from Hell.

Table 2: The Story of the Orphan: Narrative/Dramatic Structure

The Tale of Muhammad and the Orphan was circulating in the Aragonese Morisco community, as more than one sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscript discovered in Zaragoza (Aragon) contains a version of it: one manuscript, (Ms. II/3226), was found in 1728 in Ricla[149]; another one in Urrea de Jalón in 1984;[150] and a third one, (Ms. T 12), buried in Morés.[151]

In one of her articles, Iris Hofman-Vannus transcribes the tale of Ms. II/3226 into modern Spanish and compares it to the version of Ms. Oc. She contends that the former is posterior, judging by the more fluid *ductus* of Ms. Oc., the richness of its descriptive details, and the fluency of its narrative.[152] This contention can be corroborated in this study by the detailed comparison of the tale in three Morisco manuscripts, summarised in the following table:

[149] BRM, Ms. II/3226, fols. 58^{v}-63^{v}; the date of the discovery is mentioned in Villaverde-Amieva, 'Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos,' p. 107; the manuscript was hidden under the pillar of a house.

[150] UUL, Ms. Urrea de Jalón, fols. 180^{r}-182^{r}, entitled 'L-alḥadīṯ de laísi^{y}erpe;' ed. in Corriente-Córdoba, *Relatos píos y profanos,* pp. 268-70; the date of the discovery is mentioned in the Prologue of the book, p. 10.

[151] RAH, Ms. T 12 (11/9409), fols. 25^{r}-26^{r}.

[152] Hofman- Vannus, 'El Ḥadīṯ de "El Profeta Muḥammad y el niño huérfano"', p. 148.

Ms. Ocaña (fols. 149^{v}-155^{r})	**Ms. II/3226** (fols. 58^{v}-63^{v})	**Ms. Urrea de Jalón** (fols. 180^{v}-182^{r})
Prologue: The Prophet meditating about the end of the world, crying, and encouraging his followers to 'trade' with people.[153]		
The Prophet and his followers strolling in the city, and running across the orphan: The description of the boy is the same across the Mss.		
The orphan: 'My mother died *ġarība*' (a stranger).	'My mother was *extranjera'* (a stranger).	My mother was *sola* (a solitary woman).
The Prophet sends Bilāl, his *muʾaḏḏin* (the summoner for prayer), to command ʿĀʾiša to do the necessary to honour the dead woman.	The full name of the *muʾaḏḏin* is used: Bilāl b. Ḥamāma, without mentioning his task.	
On her way to the house of the deceased, ʿĀʾiša meets a group of women		
Not specifying that the women are from *al-anṣār* [154] (but the detail is added as a supra-linear gloss) on fol. 151^{v} 'They were gossiping, jesting, and laughing.'	Not specifying that the women are from *al-anṣār* 'They were laughing, jesting, and singing.'	Specifying that the women are from *al-anṣār* 'They were making fun, jesting, laughing, and telling *assires* (sung poems).'
Intrusion of the supernatural element: A gigantic Snake coiled itself around the dead woman's neck		
Foreshadowing the Intrusion: Adding the smell detail before the uncovering of the corpse, as soon as the door is opened.	Ø	
The magical effect of the Prophet's ring on the Snake		
'There came sighing and rumbling sounds as if a howling wind were uprooting trees.'	'Then a sound like that of a very strong wind was heard.'	Just mentioning that the snake runs to a hole in the wall upon seeing the ring.
The Return of the Snake after the Washing		
-'The Snake tossed her so briskly that the house shuddered and was about to be destroyed.' -A few details about the funeral procession	-'He shook her so briskly, she was flipped over.' -Less details about the funeral procession: prayer and coffin	Ø -Just mentioning that the snake was back after the washing and shrouding. -No details of the funeral procession apart from prayer
The Prophet's Address to Muslim Women		
-'This will be the fate of every woman who looks daggers at her husband and parents. Her eyes will be lined with fiery kohl on the Resurrection Day' (fol. 153^{r}). -No detailed description of the woman's duties towards her husband. Instead, the sentential statement 'the rights of husbands over their wives equal the rights of God over His servants' and the nose bleeding detail (*al-mahr* (dowery) detail added).	-The same punishment for the same sin committed. -Detailed description closer to that of Ms Oc.	-'Swallowing fiery rocks' is the punishment. -Detailed description of woman's duty towards her husband.

-The detail of swallowing fiery rocks then added. -Adding mistreating parents in the list of sins. -Adding prayer neglect in the list of sins.	-Adding mistreating parents in the list of sins.	
Same description of the grave across the Mss.: The grave bursts into flames and smoke.		
Ø	-Intervention of the caliph ʿUmar (He is the Intercessor instead of Muhammad). Insisting in the end that it was thanks to her son, the Prophet and ʿUmar that the sinner was saved.	Ø -A final note about the poor (The end of the Ms. is unintelligible)

Table 3: The Story of 'the Prophet and the Orphan': Three Morisco Versions

The version of Ms. Oc. proves to be more elaborate than the two other Morisco versions, with a pronounced fantastical aspect, manifest in the technique of foreshadowing the intrusion of the supernatural element in the story. Like the characters, the readers are immersed in the world of the narrative and allowed no escape. The fictional world of the tale is an in-between space that is characterised by an intial clear demarcation between the two realms of reality and fiction. The story in Ms. Oc. is set in al-Madīna (*yaṯrib*) in Saudi Arabia, Muhammad's destination of his migration from Mecca. In the prologue, the Prophet sits among his *anṣār*, literally meaning 'advocates', the local inhabitants of the city; and the *muhājrīn,* those who migrated with him from Mecca in 622 CE. Although the realistic setting gives the impression that the story did actually take place in the past, the gradual intrusion of fantastical elements drives the pseudo-historical narrative to the threshold of the supernatural realm. The gigantic snake that resides around the neck of the deceased, sticking its mouth in her nostril, the Prophet's magical ring that could subdue the beast, and the sinner's grave that bursts into flames and smoke in the end of the story are the components that tinge the tale with a surreal hue. The characters of the story keep striving until the end to defeat the intrusive element that brings horror and amazement. This escalation is created to amplify the effect of the supernatural element on ordinary events.

There is a stark contrast between the public and private spaces in the narrative of Ms. Oc. 'The narrow streets of the city,' where the Prophet meets the orphan, give the impression that daily interaction between the inhabitants is inevitable and that communal bonds are eventually very strong. Hence, Muhammad is surprised to hear about the woman's death, three days after it happened; 'how come that no funeral has been heard in the city?' The

[153] Ms. Urrea de Jalón adds 'trading with Allah.'
[154] Literally, the supporters; the local inhabitants of al-Madīna (also called *Yaṯrib,* in Saudi Arabia) who received the Prophet and his followers upon their flight from Mecca.

orphan answers, 'my mother died a stranger (*ġarība*) and had no relative to wash and shroud her.' The use of the term '*ġarība*' (stranger) is reminiscent of the famous *fatwā* (legal opinion) of the North African jurist, al-Wahrānī,[155] issued in 1504 to instruct the Moriscos in covertly fulfilling their religious obligations in *dār al-ḥarb* (the Land of War). This document is explicitly addressed to the '*ġurabā*'' (strangers.) As L. P. Harvey notes in his commentary on this *fatwā*, the jurist 'may have been suggesting, by his choice of vocabulary, that these people were "outsiders," in the sense that they are physically outside the bounds of *dār al-Islām* (the Lands of Islam).'[156] Describing the woman as *ġarība* (a stranger) in Ms. Oc., foreshadows the torture that her corpse will incur as the body of a sinner. In the manuscript, sinners, such as alcohol consumers, are treated as outcasts that should be warned, rebuked, and punished if they persist in disobedience.[157] The estrangement that this woman was living in the city is metaphorically imparted in her being locked dead inside her house for three days.

In the epilogue of the Story of the Orphan, the compiler introduces a passage from God's conversation with Mūsā (Moses) in *Ṭūr Sīnā* (Mount Sinai).[158] The divine commission is to help the needy and the elderly and honour the dead. Among the instructions, the virtue of the performance of funeral rites and the necessity of hastening the burial are highlighted in the compiler's report: Allāh tells Mūsā, 'Dig a grave and I will build you a castle in Heaven […]. Wash a dead person and I will cleanse your sins.'[159] In the Tale of the Orphan, no one of the neighbours of the dead sinner accepted to treat her body as it should be treated in Islam: wash, shroud, and bury it as soon as possible; and no one watched over the body, as the compiler recommends elsewhere in the manuscript: Praying for the dead person on the first night of his/her departure and performing two prayer units so that Allāh alleviate his/her solitude and pain, equal two years of devotion;' s/he asserts.[160]

In the story of Jesus and the Skull in Ms. Oc.,[161] we find a comprehensively detailed description of the process of mortuary rites: washing, shrouding, the funeral procession, and the burial. The Moriscos continued to practise the Islamic mortuary rituals that Pedro Longás introduced in his seminal work, *Vida religiosa de los moriscos*, based on their manuscripts.[162] It is beyond doubt that Islamic death rites practices were not only preserved on paper in

[155] (d. 909 AH/1504 CE).
[156] *Muslims in Spain,* p. 63; an English translation of the document is provided in pp. 61-3.
[157] Refer to section II. 2. 2. 2. of this chapter.
[158] Ms. Oc., fols. 155^{r}-157^{r}.
[159] Ms. Oc., fol. 156^{v}.
[160] Ms. Oc., fol. 62^{r}.
[161] Refer to Chapter V, section III. 1. of this thesis.
[162] Chapter 17, entitled '*Ritos de la Muerte*' (Death Rituals); see also 'Isa de Jabir, *Brevario Sunni* in *Memorial histórico español,* 5 (1853), pp. 299-300; for a description of the Islamic preparation of the body for burial, see Tritton, 'Muslim Funeral Customs.'

Morisco religious compendia, but were actually performed despite Christian coercion. The head-on clash between Christians and Muslims on burial rites is recurrently reported in Inquisition records. In 1591, the Inquisition tribunal of Toledo charged Isabel Ruiz ten thousand *maravedís* for shrouding her husband in clean linen before the burial.[163] Isabel Perales, a forty-year-old woman living in Ocaña, was more careful and buried her husband in the Catholic way. As his tomb was deposited at a depth that is considered insufficient according to Islamic tradition, the Morisco relatives returned to the site on the same night of the burial to dig deeper in earth and adjust the grave.[164] Re-opening the tomb for a third time, the Christian authorities discovered that the man was washed, shrouded, and buried in the Islamic fashion and charged his wife with heretical practices.

Along with these instances that attest to the survival of Islamic funerary rites in the Castilian Morisco context, thanks to the study of Galia Hasenfeld, we also know about a peculiar Morisco mortuary practice that was prevalent in Arcos, at the borders between Castile and Aragon, and in Daimiel (Castile).[165] Around 1578 in Arcos, Beatriz del Sastre adorned her daughter's body with jewellery before the burial. Though this popular custom is alien to Islamic traditions, the decoration of corpses was condemned by Christians at that time as an evil Islamic burial rite, since according to them, Muslims believed that 'a young woman should be as pretty as possible when meeting God, imagined as a male.' [166] It is patently obvious that this rite is in stark contradiction with Islamic principles. The symbolic act of offering the young deceased as a bride for God flouts the most fundamental article of faith in Islam, that no human traits should ever be attributed to Allah, the Absolute.[167] Out of ignorance of Islamic culture, prejudice about the popular rites of the Muslim minority was prevailing. And in counter reaction, Christian clergy engaged in strangely vile practices. In Arcos, 'the priest exhumed the cadavers of María González [Beatriz's daughter], as well as other corpses of Moriscas and confiscated the jewellery.'[168]

It is through the writings of the Morisco community that we can grasp the truth about Islamic mortuary rituals and their survival. In the Story of the Orphan in Ms. Oc., there is an invitation to stick to the practice of death rituals, following in the footsteps of Muslim

[163] Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc. 20, I, fol. 127, mentioned in Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain*, p. 130.
[164] Library of the University of Halle, Ms. Yc 2°20, fol. 169^{r}; Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo*, p. 100.
[165] 'Gender and Struggle for Identity,' pp. 79-100.
[166] Ibid., p. 91-2.
[167] Refer to the short four- verse chapter 112 of the Coran, entitled *al-Iḫlāṣ* (Literally 'Purity,' 'Sincerity,' or 'Loyalty,' sometimes translated as 'Absoluteness') considered to be the chapter of monotheism.
[168] 'Gender and Struggle for Identity,' p. 92.

ancestors. As nobody undertook the task of preparing the body of the orphan's mother for the burial, the Prophet commissioned his wife to fulfill this obligation.

On her way to the house of the deceased, ʿĀʾiša passes by a group of women sitting in the front yard of their homes, chatting and laughing, whereas the corpse is decaying inside the enclosed space of the house. This barrier that sets the two spaces apart is the threshold that leads to the supernatural realm in the story. The house of the sinner turns into a lair for the fantastic creature that persecutes her body. The scene is so 'terrifying' that the women cannot find the proper words to describe it. 'You should see it with your own eyes;' they tell ʿĀʾiša; 'and you will be horrified!'

As soon as she steps inside the house, ʿĀʾiša is struck by the putrid smell of the rotting corpse. The foul smell of the uncovered cadaver recalls the previously quoted homiletic passage against unchastity[169] and corroborates that the sin of the orphan's mother is adultery. ʿĀʾiša then removes the cover to see the woman's darkened face, her stretched lips and dark eye circles; and a gigantic snake that coiled itself around her neck, with its mouth stuck in her nostril. Although there is no clear reference to the sin committed, the nature of the punishment inflicted upon the dead woman suggests that she was an adulterer, as Hofman-Vannus notes in her study of the tale.[170] The moment when ʿĀʾiša, called *umm al-muʾminīn* (the Mother of Believers) discovers the sinner's corpse unfolds a symbolic encounter between the two opposite representations of Muslim woman in Ms. Oc. The Mother of Believers, as she is called by the Prophet himself in the beginning of the narrative, did not leave the house before putting on her veil, a detail that alludes to her chastity and is to be contrasted with the cloth that covers the body of the sinner. This encounter is a narrative rhetorical device that the preacher of Ms. Oc. employs to illustrate his/her edifying discourse to the women in his/her audience.

[169] 'For him who fornicates with a Muslim, or any other woman, […] will walk stinkier than a cadaver among the swarm towards Hell' (Ms. Oc., fols. 112^{r-v}); Refer to section III. 2. 2. 3 of this chapter.
[170] 'El Ḥadīṯ de "El Profeta Muḥammad y el niño huérfano"', p. 152, n 30 and 31.



<u>Picture 3</u>: Contrasting Depictions of Morisco Women
'Maures de Grenade' (the Moors of Granada) in Boissard, *Recueil de costumes étrangers* (1581), fol. 29
Source: Open access on the website of BNF < https://gallica.bnf.fr>.
Note that the second woman in this picture is portrayed with her upper garment revealing her chest, while all the others are covering their bodies with large gowns, *atabe* (the third woman) or *almalafa* (the rest of the women).

Indeed, a look at the position of the tale in Ms. Oc. shows that the main purpose behind the narrative is moral and that the main targeted audience is Muslim women.

Prologue (fols. 149^{v}-150^{v})	Sitting with his companions, brooding over the mutability of life, the Prophet recommends that Muslims should help the slaves, the orphans, the hungry, and the poor. The narrative then shifts to the street: 'And as they walked in the narrow streets of the city, a crying boy burst out.'
The Body of the Story (fols. 150^{v}-155^{r})	A sinful woman, whose corpse is badly tortured, reaches salvation thanks to her son's prayer and the Prophet's intercession. The burial of the woman includes the Prophet's moralising address to Muslim women.
Epilogue (fols. 155^{r}-157^{r})	-The Prophet's conversation with his wife ʿĀʾiša about the three types of cursed women: The witch, the slanderer and the wailer, or hired mourner). -God's conversation with Moses about the same cursed women—along with other sinners—and about mortuary rituals.
Following Section	-The Conversation between the Prophet and his daughter Fāṭima about her conjugal relationship, reported by Salmān al-Fārisī. -The Conversation between the Prophet and a woman who enquires about her duties towards her future husband.

<u>Table 4</u>: The Position of the Story of 'the Prophet and the Orphan' in Ms. Oc.

As seen in Table 4, the tale of the Prophet and the Orphan and the following reported conversations make up a considerably expansive section in Ms. Oc., interspersed with the preacher's direct addresses to the women present in his/her audience, as a continuation of the Prophet's reported discourse in the story. Both the epilogue and the section that follows the tale are centred on a moralising address to Muslim women about virtue, the honourability of marriage, and the secrets of successful conjugal relationship. Marital issues are tackled in

a way that reveals a conspicuous patriarchal bias: It is argued in this section of Ms. Oc. that the woman is the pillar that sustains the household, but the resilience of this pillar lies in her submissiveness to men.

2.2. The Cult of Female Piety

Whereas in the Coran, the women among the believers are addressed as *muʾmināt* (believing women),[171] they are always addressed in Ms. Oc. as *nisāʾ al-muʾminīn* (women of the believers). The two appellations are used interchangeably across the English translations of Coranic verses, disregarding that the latter may indicate a certain passivity and look down on women as subordinate believers. Although the Coran makes no difference between men and women, as far as their relationship to God is concerned, the proliferating orthodox exegetical literature and *ḥadīṯ* manuals—reports of the Prophet's sayings and deeds, compiled two centuries after his death—have tended to stress the inferiority of women, as *nāqisāt-u ʿaql-in wa-dīn* (lacking in judgement and piety).[172] Those orthodox segregational beliefs are widely echoed in Ms. Oc., and best articulated in the section where both the Prophet and the compiler address the women of the believers, sermonising on the virtue of subservience: 'Women of the believers, take pains to honour your parents, husbands and [male] relatives;' commands the preacher.[173] S/he narrates that during the funeral procession of the orphan's mother, the Prophet addresses women declaring that 'the rights of husbands over their wives are as proper as the right of Allāh over His servants.' S/he expounds:

> The eyes of every woman who angrily looks daggers at her husband or parents will be lined with fiery Kohl on the Resurrection Day […]. So if blood was running out of one of the husband's nostrils and rust from the other, and his wife licked them, this would not be enough for her to fulfil her obligation towards him.[174]

The grotesque image of the nosebleed, a trope that we find reported in other *aljamiado* passages on the rights of husbands,[175] is here correlated to the frightening picture of the burning eye make-up, one of the many punishments allotted to women in Hell. Indeed, in Ms. Oc., as in most traditional accounts of the Last Judgement, the amorality of women is exclusively related to their status as wives and objects of sexual desire. For instance, in the fifteenth-century Persian *Miʿrājnama*, the book of the Prophet's ascension to the celestial

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[171] Q9:71-2; 24:12; 24:23; 33:35-6, 49, 58, 73; 74:19; 48:5; 57:12; 60:12; 66:5; 71:28; 85:10.
[172] A saying of the Prophet, believed to be reported by his companion, Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī (d. 693 CE).
[173] Ms. Oc., fol. 157^{r}; the Arabic word used is *jiwār*, the literal translation of which is proximity, usually referring to neighbourhood (both the relationship and the physical space); but in this context, the intended meaning is rather kinship.
[174] Ms. Oc., fol. 153^{r}.
[175] Cf. RAH, Ms. T 19, fol. 207^{v}, ed. in López-Morillas, *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma,* p. 108: '*Y fue recontaḏo por el annabī ʿlm que si el marīḏo le corriese sangre por el un fornillo ḏe las narices y por el otro poḏre, que aún no le pagaría el marīḏo el ḏerecho que tiene sobrella.*'

spheres, a series of three illuminations depicts the suffering of sinful women in Hell, also focusing on their sexuality.







<u>Picture 4:</u> Persian Miniatures of Hell-Punishment: Sinful Women
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama***,** The Book of Muhammads' Ascension**,** fols. 59^{r-v}, 61^{v} (details), Herat (1436).
(a) Shameless women who showed up unveiled to strangers are hung by their hairs.
(b) Women strung up with hooks in their tongues, for being rude to their husbands and leaving their homes without permission.
(c) Women hung by their breasts, for giving birth to illegitimate children that they falsely attribute to their husbands.

Whereas the sixteenth-century *aljamiado* Ms. RAH, J 8, mentioned earlier, acknowledges that the wife also has rights over her husband, Ms. Oc. denies this fact. Indeed, according to the compiler of Ms. Oc., men's obedience to their wives is one of the catalysers of God's wrath that sparks His decision to put an end to human existence.[176] On the other hand, 'a woman who performs her five daily prayers, fasts the month [of Ramadan], obeys her husband, and safeguards her body, will enter Heaven from whatever door she chooses.'[177]

When a woman who intends to get married visits the Prophet, enquiring about the rights of her future husband over her, [178] Muhammad enumerates the rewards that a good wife would reap with simple everyday gestures she performs to please her husband, such as serving him food and drink. These daily little tasks are hyperbolically equalled to the major pillars of Islamic devotion: fasting and pilgrimage, and would grant her access to Heaven. Both her wifely and maternal services (pregnancy, labour, and child care) are considered a type of *jihād* (holy strife). Muhammad sums up: 'One day of a wife's devotion is worth a thousand years of that of a single woman.'[179] The virtuous Muslim woman is an obedient wife that can only

[176] Ms. Oc., fol. 137^{r}.
[177] Ms. Oc., fols. 176^{v}-177^{r}.
[178] Ms. Oc., fol. 157^{v}.
[179] Ms. Oc., fol. 159^{r}.

leave the house with her husband's permission or 'will incur a penalty for each step she makes' (Pic. 4b); 'when he calls her, she should heed right away, or else all her [good] deeds will be thwarted. She should pray for him, or else none of her prayers will be answered.'[180] A wife should by no means contradict her husband's thoughts or deeds or quarrel with him on any matter. The compiler relates that upon her dispute with her husband ʿAlī, Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, resorted to him for advice.[181] Without even enquiring about the reason behind the argument, the Prophet adjudged her guilty. He firmly said: 'if you die before your husband forgives you, I will not pray for your soul. O Fāṭima; didn't you know that through her husband's satisfaction, a woman can ensure that of Allāh?'[182] The unfair judgement of the Prophet that is related in this report of the conversation is a testimony of the compiler's ungrounded sexist discourse about female piety. The belief in the inferiority of women, expressed in this section, as in many instances throughout Ms. Oc., is the backbone of the patriarchal ethical system that underlies the social structure described in the manuscript.

IV. The Rhetoric of Collectivity

In the Prologue of the Story of the Orphan, the compiler reports that, brooding over the transcience of life, the Prophet recommended that Muslims should invest their money in helping the slaves, the orphans, the hungry, and the poor.[183] This is what is meant by 'spending substance in the cause of Allah' in Islam.[184] As stated in the Coran, 'true righteousness is to […] spend wealth—no matter how much cherished—on kinfolk, on orphans, on the needy, on the wayfarer, on those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer and practise regular charity.[185] Being a religion of a social character, in which the community (*umma*) matters more than the individual, Islam is not only about private devotion; it is also a public confession of faith and fulfilment of duties towards the community.

[180] Ms. Oc., fol. 158^{r}.
[181] Salmān al-Fārisi is the reporter of the conversation; about the recurrent disputes between Fāṭima and her husband, cf. *EI*, s.v. Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad.
[182] Ms. Oc., fol. 157^{v}.
[183] Ice de Gebir (Yça Gidelli) transmits a similar commandment to Spanish Muslims in his fifteenth-century *Brevario Sunni:* 'Use your money to free the slave; give counsel to the orphan and the widow; so shall you resemble your Lord;' cf. *Memorial histórico español,* 5 (1853), p. 253 and RAH, Ms. T 13, fol. 166; qtd. in Longás, *Vida religiosa,* p. 12.
[184] Q2:195.
[185] Q2:177.

1. Individual Wealth for Communal Welfare

In Ms. Oc., there is a strong sense of social solidarity that characterises Morisco writings in general.[186] The preacher informs his/her audience that fasting in Ramadan is incomplete, if not followed by due charity; for 'he who does not discharge the duty of almsgiving, his fast will be suspended between the earth and the sky, until he complies.'[187] Indeed, the Coran explicitly requires *az-Zakāt*, the offering of a set proportion of one's wealth (2. 5%) each year to benefit the poor. This is the third Pillar of Islam and the cornerstone of Islamic social justice that is often placed alongside prayer when discussing a Muslim's basic duties, as it is the case in Ms. Oc.[188] *Az-Zakāt*, as its name indicates, is on the one hand a cleansing ritual—the verb *zakā* meaning to become pure—and on the other an increase of one's wealth through the blessing of sharing—with *zakā* meaning to thrive.

In *al-Andalus* (Islamic Spain), as it is still the case in some Muslim regions today, the yearly practice of *az-Zakāt* was institutionalised, meaning that the government was in charge of collecting donations and redistributing them.[189] In the case of the Mudejar *aljama* (district), *al-faqīh* (Islamic scholar) was in charge of this dispensation and the distribution of alms to the poor. The absence of an Islamic government that would levy the statutory alms was one of the main reasons behind the categorical stance of Islamic scholars outside the peninsula who preached the necessity of emigration.[190]

Apart from the compulsory *zakāt* (almsgiving), the Coran and Islamic tradition also encourage voluntary charity, called *sadaqa*. The echo of this resonates in Ms. Oc. in many instances.[191] 'Generosity is a tree in Heaven;' proclaims the compiler of Ms. Oc. 'Cling to one of its branches and it will lead you thither.'[192]

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[186] Cf. RAH, Ms. T 19, fols. 132^{r}-v, ed. by Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz in *Edición, estudio y glosario del manuscrito aljamiado T19 de la Real Academia de la Historia*, pp. 419-20.
[187] Ms. Oc., fols. 112^{v}-113^{r}.
[188] Q2:43,110, 277; Ms. Oc., fol. 149^{r}.
[189] For the institutional practice of almsgiving in al-Andalus, see Carballeira-Debasa, 'Forms and Functions of Charity in al-Andalus'; for the continuity of the practice just before the reconquest of Granada and in the aftermath, see Zomeño, '"When Death Will Fall Upon Him:" Charitable Legacies in 15th Century Granada.'
[190] See Harvey, 'the Mudejars', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. by S. K. Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992) vol.1, 176-87, pp.178-9.
[191] Esp. in Ms. Oc., fols. 160^{v}-165^{v}.
[192] Ms. Oc., fol. 148^{v}.



<u>Picture 5</u>: Persian Miniatures of Hell-Punishment: Those who did not give alms
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama,* The Book of Muhammads' Ascension**,** fol. 63ʳ, Herat (1436)
The coins will be seared in the fire of Hell and the greedy will be branded with them (cf. Q9: 34-5).

A conversation between the Prophet and ʿAlī on piety and wealth is reported in Ms. Oc., along the same line. The Prophet claims that he who utters "there is no God but Allah," pure and simple, with no amalgamation, is destined to Heaven.' Faith, or love for God, should not be marred with love for wealth.[193] In the Mudejar/Morisco context, such discourse on the virtue of contentment and pure piety was not uncommon. The fourteenth-century North African jurist, Ibn Miqlāš, encouraged the Muslim minority in the Spanish exclave to adopt *aṣ-Ṣabr* (forbearance), to accept their poverty, as prosperity was the vice of the 'infidels.'[194] Similarly, the preacher of Ms. Oc. warns against covetousness, implicitly calling for penance through self-inflicted poverty, as s/he claims that Solomon was the last prophet to enter heaven, because he was wealthy.[195]

This praise of poverty has no reference in the Coran, but is rather one of the principles of Sufism, the ascetic trend of Islam that correlates *tawba* (repentance) to charitable giving and voluntary deprivation of wealth. The rhetoric of collectivity in Ms. Oc. revolves around the idea of exploiting minimal assets for the benefit of the community, based on the individual's abstinence from luxury, as a kernel of pure devotion. On the other hand, along with the concrete material contribution of the individual to communal welfare, symbolic acts, such as the performance of collective rituals, can exhibit his/her belongingness to the community.

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[193] Ms. Oc., fols. 163ʳ.
[194] Cf. Miller, *Guardians of Islam,* p. 147; for more on Ibn Miqlāš's views on inner *Jihād* (strife) and the Mudejar/Morisco case, refer to Chapter II. II and Chapter III, section II. 2 of this thesis.
[195] Ms. Oc., fols. 163ᵛ; in the story of Solomon in the *aljamiado* BNM, Ms. 5305 (Gg. 196) (fols. 64-103), Solomon had to lose his magical ring and wander for forty days as a beggar, because of his excessive wealth and vainglory; cf. Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas,* I, pp. 281-311.

2. Collective Prayer Ritual

It is the duty of the Muslim individual to take part in the collective prayer ritual, at least once a week. This public manifestation of allegiance was problematic in the Mudejar context and impossible in the Morisco one. The weekly Islamic prayer ritual should be initiated with a call (*al-āḏān*) from the mosque's minaret to summon all the inhabitants of the district for the mandatory worship. The preacher expatiates on the merits of both the performer and the heeder of this call.[196] In a grotesque manner, 'the neck of the summoner' (*al-muʾaḏḏin*) is described in Ms. Oc. to 'be the longest of all necks on the Resurrection Day; so long that it cannot be strangled.'[197] ʿĀʾiša, the Prophet's wife, is reported to have said; 'he who hears *al-āḏān* and does not heed the call will be willing to feel molten lead be poured in his ear.'[198] However, in the Morisco context, no call for prayer was heard, as summoners were silenced by law. As Kathryn Miller notes, 'the most recurrent legislation preserved in the Christian archives against Mudejar freedom to practise Islam was […] the royal restriction of Muslim call to prayer.' For centuries, 'Christian officials [had] continued to demand the Mudejars to lower their voices when chanting for their community in the daily *ṣalāt* (call to prayer),' until the decrees of conversion put an end to Islamic rituals.[199]

As clearly articulated in Ms. Oc., in Islam, the sanctity of communal prayer generates the sacredness of the day on which it should be performed. 'Know that Friday is the best of all days. The sun does not shine on a better day than Friday,' says the preacher. 'For on Friday evening the Prophet *pbuh* was born;' s/he explains. But according to him/her, the reason behind the predilection of this day predates Islam: 'Adam entered Heaven on Friday; on Friday he left it; and on Friday he will return thither.' The preacher reiterates that 'the sun does neither rise nor set on a day that is better than Friday.' Then s/he reports that the Prophet said that 'there is a particular hour on Friday in which one, if found praying, will be granted all that they wish for.'[200] The fortunate hour is of course not determined, making every single hour of the day potentially blessed. The handling of time is very interesting in this statement, as it is in the following one: 'He who properly performs ablution, and goes to the mosque on Friday and comes near [the congregation] to carefully listen to the recitation [of the Coran] will be forgiven [any trespasses he might commit] from that Friday until the

[196] Ms. Oc., fols. 136^{r}-137^{r}.
[197] Ms. Oc., fols. 136^{r-v}.
[198] Ms. Oc., fols. 136^{v}-137^{r}.
[199] Miller, *Guardians of Islam*, p. 133.
[200] Ms. Oc., fols.131^{r}-132^{r}; there is a binding error at this point; refer to Chapter I. I for an analysis of what this error may reveal.

one to come, and three more days after.'[201] These three extra days of blessing are obviously part of the second week that also runs from one Friday to the next. The nonsensical double counting reveals an erroneous conception of the week as a time unit. The commonplace time structure falls apart, and holy Friday becomes the only temporal point of reference. Time is but a sequence of Fridays.

On Friday, the Muslim would go to the mosque not only to pray, but also to listen to the scripture being recited and commented upon by the *imām* (the Islamic priest) who administers the prayer ritual. Be it during the pre-prayer two-part sermon or outside the ritual time, the congregation would sit on the floor, facing the reciter and engaging in emotionally active reading of the Coran that symbolises the broader dimension of prayer as remembrance of Allah. On Friday afternoon, the shops should be shut, and any source of distraction shunned in order to join the congregation at the mosque (*jāmiʿ*), literally meaning the gathering place. The collective religious space then turns into a hub of social interactions.

The proper preparation for the spiritual purification of prayer starts with the literal cleansing of the body in ablution (*al-wuḍūʾ*). The preacher adjures the believers to complete *al-wuḍūʾ* that the Prophet describes as key to prayer.[202] Indeed, to sleep *ʿalā wuḍūʾ*, that is to perform ablution just before going to bed, is part of the manuscript's *ars moriendi*. Dying well is to expect Death's visit at any time and be well prepared for it, not only with righteous deeds, but also with regular devotional practice. So, the preacher's advice is 'not to go to bed unless you are *ʿalā wuḍūʾ* (abluted), so Death should not catch you off-guard.'[203] The metonymic use of the first step of the ritual to mean the whole proves that body purification is the ultimate purpose of prayer. According to Iblīs, 'seventy hundred thousand devils assist one of [his] children […] in thwarting ablution. They would sit on the left of the Muslim as s/he sets about performing this preliminary to prayer. The one who does not commence with *al-basmala*, saying "in the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful," will only get themselves wet with water. Neither ablution is fulfilled, nor purification.'[204] The performance of ablution was very often reported in the Inquisition courts as one of the decisive proofs against New Christians accused of crypto-Islam. In 1574, a group of Granadan Moriscos deported to Ciudad Real (Castile-La Mancha) 'were seen washing their feet with water and earth […] many times a day although it was winter time, talking with one another in *algaravía*

[201] Ms. Oc., fols. 131^{r}-132^{r}.
[202] Ms. Oc., fol. 130^{v}.
[203] Ms. Oc., fol. 57 ^{v}.
[204] Ms. Oc., fols. 184^{r-v}.

(Arabic).[205] Clearly, the witnesses in this case did not know that if the suspects were really performing ablution, they were not chatting in Arabic but rather uttering the *basmala* [206] and the other formulas that should accompany the purification.

As discussed in Chapter I, the New Christian community was entrapped in an intricate web of espionage to uncover crypto-Islam. When the Edicts of Conversion were promulgated in the beginning of the sixteenth century, New Christians (Moriscos) had to mingle with their Old Christian fellows, and their houses were under regular inspection. In Ms. Oc., we may find glimpses of the state of paranoia into which the Spanish society went under the Inquisition. In the conversation between the Prophet Muhammad and the Devil Iblīs, the latter explains how some of the Muslims' wrongdoings affect him.[207] An examination of the list of deeds enumerated reveals their societal aspect, and hence the compiler's interest in intercommunal peace.

The Muslim's Wrongdoing[208]	**Its Value for the Devil**
False swearing (Perjury)	The bliss of his heart
Al-ġayba: Backbiting	His fruit
Gossiping	His counsel
False testimony [209]	His light and the apple of his eye

Table 5: The Effects of the Muslim's wrongdoings on the Devil

The condemnation of calumny and false witnessing is expressed in the Coran and Islamic tradition; but the repudiation in the Morisco context is tinged with the urgency of maintaining strong communal ties under the threat of Inquisitorial policies that bread mistrust and insecurity. In many instances in Ms. Oc., the compiler/preacher deplores tarnishing the reputation of others and warns against its punishment on the Day of Judgement.[210] The feeling of shame is stirred with the image of the naked body, 'for he who

[205] AHN, *Inquisición, Legajo*. 2.105, exp. nº 12: *Visita del inquisidor Juan Llano de Valdés a Ciudad Real y al Campo de Calatrava*, mentioned in Moreno- Díaz, 'Notas', p. 52, n 3.
[206] 'In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,' a phrase recited at the beginning of Coranic chapters, used in Islamic rituals such as prayer and ablution, and recited in the beginning of the simplest everyday activities such as eating, drinking and entering a place.
[207] Ms. Oc., fols. 177^{r}-186^{r}.
[208] On the Judgement Day, inquisition about these specific trespasses happens on the fourth bridge of *as-ṣirāt* (Ms. Oc., fols. 97^{r-v}); refer to the analysis of the Story of the End of the World in Chapter IV.
[209] The Devil also tells the Prophet: 'Don't you know that I am the origin of lying, being the first one to lie when I deluded Ādam and Ḥawwāʾ (Eve) in heaven to think I was a good counsellor? The liar is my companion; the perjurer my beloved' (Ms. Oc., fols. 180^{r-v}).
[210] Ms. Oc., fols. 97^{r-v}, 185^{v}, 168^{v}-169^{r}.

pursues the path of uncovering people's defects and shameful imperfections will walk naked in public on the Resurrection Day before he is dispatched to Hell.'[211]



Picture 6: Persian Miniatures of Hell-Punishment: False Witnesses
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama*, The Book of Muhammads' Ascension, fol. 65r, Herat (1436)

Reading Ms. Oc., one is struck by the way the supposedly utopian space, the City of God, is constructed. As demonstrated in the previous sections, the features of the Islamic city portrayed in the manuscript are rather dystopian, evoking the feeling of anxiety lurking underneath a grotesque representation of daily life. It is at this point that the new self-created space turns into a second hegemonic system that operates negatively, through prohibition. Rigid Islamic ideology intervenes as a counter reaction to the repressive Christian authority. The rhetorics of this new autocratic ideology can be noted in the representational strategies of space construction: In this manuscript, there is no space allotted for the sinner in the community. The outlaw is excluded from the 'City of God,' if not exterminated. The compiler/preacher establishes a negatively operating ethical system, as s/he exhorts the mass to follow the right path for salvation, showing them the chaotic landscape that awaits at the end of the opposite way. Intolerance, exclusion, and propensity for violence permeate the ethical system that underlies the compiled texts of Ms. Oc. Overall, the compendium professes a gloomy perception of human existence, with a gleam of light that ties the community to the holy figure of the Prophet, and to Allah. Indeed, this flicker does only appear as an attribute to them. Apart from that, everything else is enveloped in darkness.

[211] Ms. Oc., fol. 112r.

CHAPTER IV
LIVING IN THE UNIVERSE: ON LIGHT AND FIRE

The limits of human existence, delineated in Ms. Oc., are stretched to comprehend a wide spatio-temporal span. The compiler digs deep in collective memory to retrieve bits and pieces for his/her composition of an Islamic narrative of origins that opens his/her miscellany. Reading the signs of God's grandeur in the episode of Genesis gives sense to human existence and reactualises the sacredness of time and space. As Mircea Eliade postulates, 'this ritual of reactualizing the *illud tempus* in which the first epiphany of a reality occurred is the basis for all sacred calendars.'[1] The sacred history that the compiler of Ms. Oc. composes, traces the story of the world from its Genesis (fols. 2^{v}-6^{v}) to its annihilation (fols. 72^{v}-107^{v}), punctuated by the narrative of the Prophet's birth (fols. 41^{v}-50^{v}) and his ascension to the highest station of Heaven to meet God (fols. 26^{r}-40^{v}). This Islamic teleological view of history that we find reflected in Ms. Oc., is encapsulated in Franz Rosenthal's description:

> The entire world in all its variety was created by the one creator at one particular moment. It follows that oneness was the ideal state for it at all times and that to which it should always aspire. As the beginning was one, so the expected end of the world is one for everyone and everything. Whatever is and takes place in between these two definite points of created time, no matter how varied in detail, follows a set overall pattern. Thus, the history of the past and of the future, including that of the present, is fundamentally uniform. No distinction between the three modes of time need be made by the observer of human history.[2]

The fundamental uniformity of time, captured in this description, is rendered in Ms. Oc. through the prefiguration of the otherworldly space to be inhabited in the future, based on the contemplation of the origins of human existence. The remarkable feature of this pseudo-historical narrative, related in Ms. Oc., is the omnipresence of the infernal space that underlies the topography of the universe and constantly threatens cosmic order. The imminent eruption of Hell in the Story of the World is akin to the intrusion of the supernatural element that disrupts the course of events, causes unexpected chaos, and arouses fear, in both the characters of the story and its audience.

[1] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 81.
[2] Rosenthal, 'History and the Qurʾān', p. 430.

I. The Story of the World: 'Bound Upon a wheel of Fire'[3]

1. The Story of Genesis (A Prelude): The World Stands on Hell (fols. 2^{v}-6^{v})

The theocentric nature of the world is what construes Islamic ethics and steers the Muslim's attention away from the narrow outlook of their human life to the transcendent power that governs the all-encompassing universe. It is particularly this fatalistic broadening of perspective that made the plight bearable for the people of strong faith among the Muslims of Spain. The ethical dimension of reading the past in Ms. Oc. manifests itself in the dislocation of Man from the centre of the historical narrative of the creation and annihilation of the universe.

In the cosmological perspective of Ms. Oc., the world is not believed to be eternal. The manuscript rather presents a view of a universe that had a beginning and an end at some points in history. This history is of course purely religious, as it tracks the passage of time and explains the mutability of space according to orthodox Islamic precepts. History is in this sense a theophany, a proof of God's omnipresence and omnipotence: The metaphysical principles of Islam are then applied in the construction of a cosmic view in Ms. Oc., the ultimate aim of which is the manifestation of the divine power of creation that needs to be acknowledged, admired, and constantly remembered and extolled.

According to the Coran, Allah, the sole creator and sustainer of the universe had created the Heavens and the Earth from the same substance before they were separated:[4] 'Have those who disbelieved not considered that the Heavens and the Earth were joined together as one entity, before We clove them asunder and made of Water every living thing? Then will they [still] not believe?'[5] The link between creation and revelation that is clear in this verse is more conspicuous in another one, stating that 'We shall show them Our signs upon the horizons and within themselves, until it becomes manifest to them that it is the Truth.'[6] God reveals himself through a set of *āyāt*, meaning both material signs and written verses. Pondering these signs is contingent on a constant act of reading, since God's creation is believed to be a Cosmic Book (*al-Kitāb at-takwīnī*) that should be read alongside the Coran (*al-Kitāb at-tadwīnī*, literally the Written Book). Faith is in this regard the logical consequence of knowledge; and obedience towards the Creator emanates from an awareness of His grandeur. The overview of Creation that opens Ms. Oc. yields to this interpretation, as it ends with the compiler

[3] The metaphor is taken from William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, IV. 7. 44-5.
[4] Cf. Q3:191 and Q 2:29; 6:1, 73; 25:61; 36:81; 46:33.
[5] Q21:30.
[6] Q41-53.

pointing at the connection between God's creative might and human observance of His laws: 'His wonders are grand indeed; His miracles glorious; His might great;' the compiler affirms. 'And since His might is great and He an Almighty God, He is entitled to be worshipped by His servants with many righteous deeds.'[7]

The account of Ms. Oc. sustains the Coranic statement that creation took place at a specific time before which nothing had existed. It describes how the Earth and the Heavens were set apart and testifies that Water was the primordial element of creation: 'Allāh, the Exalted, the Majestic, cast wind upon water. The wind stirred the water, producing vapour and foam. He then created the skies out of the vapour and the earths out of the foam.'[8] The compiler quotes from the Coran: 'Then He directed Himself to the Heaven while it was smoke and said to it and to the Earth, "Come [into being], willingly or by compulsion." They said, "We have come willingly."'[9]

The first concise narrative ends here, picturing the substance of the Earth as a fragile fusion between the two intermediate elements, water and air, and drawing on the words of the Coran to claim that at some point, God expanded the earth in preparation for the beginning of life in it and erected the mountains upon it like pegs to sustain it.[10] The image of the mountainous relief tinges the flatness of the smothered earth with movement, texture, and solidity and endows its dull vastness with more definite pictorial features. The disposition of this relief is evoked in the compiler's description of the genesis of Mount Qāf:

> From that green Gem, He had a Mountain sprout to encircle the Seven Earths, like a ring around the finger. Then He made all the mountains on the face of earth, in land and in sea, grow out of the roots of that Mountain, as He said: 'Have We not flattened the earth and made the mountains as pegs?'[11] That Mount had a human head and face and an angelic heart, fearful and reverent.[12]

Qāf in Islamic topography is a mysterious mountain renowned in Near Eastern culture as the boundary between the terrestrial sphere and the netherworld. Based on the tradition of Wahb b. Munabbih,[13] this mountain range acts as a shield that protects the Earth from the

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[7] Ms. Oc., fols. 6^{v}-7^{r}.
[8] Ms. Oc., fol. 3^{r}.
[9] Ms. Oc., fol. 3^{r}; Q41:11.
[10] Ms. Oc., fol. 3^{r}; Yusuf Ali translates Q78: 6-7: 'Have We not made the Earth as a wide expanse/ And the mountains as pegs?' For the word *mihād* that describes the earth, the 'wide expanse' is replaced by 'cradle' in Arberry's more literal translation. Q71:19, the Earth is likened to a carpet (*bisāṭ*); a verb form rather than a noun is chosen to translate the meaning of these words. Neither 'cradle' nor 'expanse' evokes the meaning better then verbs such as 'flattened,' 'laid down,' and 'spread.'
[11] Q78:6-7.
[12] Ms. Oc., fol. 6^{r}.
[13] Refer to Chapter II. II for an introduction of this reporter.

heat of hellfire.[14] The compiler of Ms. Oc. alludes to this idea, stressing the liminal location of this mountain and the precarious state of the Earth that it entails. S/he then illustrates the insecurity of the Earth as a living space in a final remark: 'When Allāh intends to wreck a village, He [just] hints to the Mountain [Qāf] to shake its roots [beneath it].'[15]

Just after this threatening closing note, another account about the construction of the universe, attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās and Wahb b. al-Munabbih, is relayed:[16] The account offers a continuation of the story that is far more sophisticated than the introduction. Whereas in the first description, the superposition of the elements gives the impression that the Earth is a flat arena suspended between the water and the air, the second part of the story reveals a more intricate pattern of spatial construction: From their dwellings in the sky, the angels looked at the Earth and prostrated themselves in admiration of God's craft. But the Earth was shaking like a boat unsteadily floating on water. The angels urged God to make it more stable for its future inhabitants; and in response to their request, He started piling elements one after another at the foundation of the Earth to support it. This comes out to be an astounding spatial structure:

> Allāh ordered one of the eight angels who sustain *al-ʿarš* (the Divine Throne) to carry the [seven] earths on his back and shoulders. The Angel did so and stretched his arms from east to west, but his legs had no ground to stand on. So Allāh sent down a green square gem so that the Angel's feet rest on it, but the Gem had no ground to be placed on. So Allāh sent down a bull from *Jannat al-Firdaws* [17]—*al-Firdaws* is the vineyard of Heaven and the Bull is the leader of the herd—Between his horns and his tail is a walking distance of five hundred years. The Bull had no ground to stand on, so Allāh commanded a whale in the Seventh Sea to raise its back to bear the Bull's limbs; and the Whale obeyed. So the seven earths were borne on the back of the Angel who was standing on the Green Gem—[...][18]; the Gem was perched on the Bull; and the Bull on the Whale.[19]

The superposition of the cosmic elements in this order brings the Earth back to water, the Whale being the cornerstone that bears all the weight of the foundation. Although this image is commonplace in the classical cosmological tradition, with slight variations across the numerous versions, the choice of this particular organisation and not another is telling. Indeed, similar accounts are found in the texts of the Islamic trend usually called the *Wonders of Creation*, prevalent in the medieval and early modern Islamic world. In the thirteenth-century geographical treatise of the Persian scholar Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī, *The Wonders of*

[14] About this Near-Eastern theme, see Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, esp. p. 257.
[15] Ms. Oc., fols. 6^{r-v}, this may be an allusion to the story of the twin cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.
[16] Refer to Chapter II. II for an introduction of these two reporters.
[17] The highest level in heaven.
[18] To introduce the rock, the compiler quotes part of the verse Q31:16 in which the word 'rock' appears: '...though it be in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring it forth.'
[19] Ms. Oc. fols. 4^{r}-5^{r}.

Creation and Oddities of Existence, the pattern of creatures supporting the world in the firmament is slightly different from the one set in Ms. Oc.[20]



Picture 1: A Depiction of the Construction of the Universe
Zekeriya Kazvinî, *Acaib-ül Mahlûkat* (The Wonders of Creation), translated into Turkish from Arabic
Istanbul (*ca.* 1553 CE)
Source: Library of Congress (Near East Section, African and Middle Eastern Division)

Knowing that those accounts were most probably adapted from the *Tales of the Prophets* genre,[21] the abundance of versions and the difference in the order displayed can explain the conflicting nature of later reports such as al-Qazwīnī's and that of Ms. Oc. As seen in Picture 1, the earth is depicted as a flat disk surrounded by the mountain chain of Qāf. In the fashion of aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī's version of the *Tales* (eleventh century), al-Qazwīnī places the Angel at the basis of the structure.[22] Conversely, the account in Ms. Oc. is rather closer to the description of al-Kisāʾī (eleventh century)[23] who narrates:

> [Allāh] commanded the rock to settle beneath the angel's feet. The rock, however, had no support, so God created a great bull with forty thousand heads, eyes, ears, nostrils, mouths, tongues and legs and commanded it to bear the rock on its back and on its horns. The name of the bull is ar-Rayyan. As the bull had no place to rest its feet, God created a huge fish, upon whom no one may gaze at because it is so enormous and has so many eyes. It is even said that if all the seas were placed on one of its gills, they would be like a mustard seed in the

[20] Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283 CE) was a Persian physician, astronomer, geographer and proto-science fiction writer; the book is entitled *ʿAjāʾib al-Maḫlūqāt wa Ġarāʾib al-Mawjūdāt.*
[21] Refer to Chapter II. II for more about this genre.
[22] Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Nīsābūrī aṯ-Ṯaʿlabī or aṯ-Ṯaʿālibī (d. 427 AH/ 1036 CE) was an Islamic scholar of Persian origin, *ʿArāʿis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā,* known as *Lives of the Prophets.*
[23] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī (11th century CE), *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (*Tales of the Prophets).*

> desert. This fish God commanded to be a foothold for the bull, and it was done. The name of this fish is Behemoth. Then He made its resting place the waters.[24]

Making the Earth find its ultimate 'resting place' in 'the waters' is the intention that the compiler of Ms. Oc. shares with al-Kisāʾī. In this pattern, the state of the Earth is visibly less secure, as unlike the rock carried by the Angel in the first model, water has a mutable quality that threatens the balance of the structure.

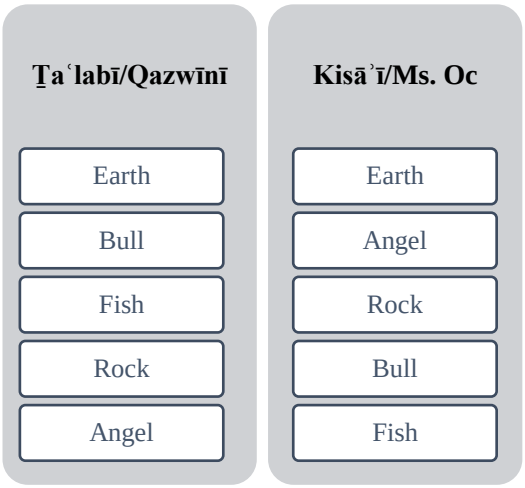


Diagram 1: Sustaining the World: Two Patterns

The instability of the Earth is further highlighted in Ms. Oc., as the compiler comments, right after the passage: 'On every earth, there is a sea. On this Earth, there are seven [...], and on the verge of Hell, there is a sea that sheathes it. Had it not been for the greatness of that Sea, Hell would have burnt everything above it.'[25] Proximity to the underworld where hellfire is blazing, reinforces the insecurity of life on Earth and its contingency on God's clemency, materialised in the soothing water of the occluding Sea. As will be shown in all the coming sections, this proximity is the principle that governs the spatial conception throughout the compilation, as Hell seems to be haunting its imaginative world.

[24] Al-Kisāʾī, *Tales of the Prophets-Qisas al-anbiya*, trans. by Thackston Jr., pp. 8-10.
[25] Ms. Oc., fols. 5^{r-v}.

2. The Story of the End: The World Returns to Hell (fols. 72v-107v)

In Ms. Oc., the ethics of reading the future and foreseeing its course to a well-determined end, is based on the compiler's vindication of divine justice. The belief in theodicy is an ethical necessity in Islam and for the Spanish Muslim minority, it is the source of stoutness in the face of momentary adversity, no matter how long it may last. As L. P. Harvey notes, 'much of the behaviour of the Moriscos is best understood against the background of their beliefs in the imminent coming of the end of all things. The very awfulness of their situation tended to confirm them in their faith.'[26] It is in these terms that the Coran defines piety: the truly pious believers are the ones who 'believe in Allāh and the Last Day' and prove 'steadfast in distress, hardship, time of peril; such are the people of Truth; the Allāh-fearing.'[27] Thinking about the inevitable demise of all creation and divine punishment arises fear that is nonetheless easier to cope with than the feeling of purposelessness.

The belief in the Day of Resurrection (*Yawm al-Qiyāma*) is one of the six Articles of Faith of Islam. The Coran testifies that there will be a physical resurrection of the dead on the Judgement Day, when every single human will face God individually for retribution.[28] Only with this ultimate return to God can the Divine Plan be completely fulfilled and the oneness of God and His creation be proven.

The compiler of Ms. Oc. does explicitly aver that 'the end is near.' The eschaton is not just described as the ultimate end of existence that awaits, but as the immediate future that should always be remembered and expected. The impending nature of the eschaton that unfolds in the manuscript is indeed the result of this fusion between the past and the future. The compiler proclaims that the future has already been written and sealed, as the narrative about the end of time is engulfed in an ancient past, in an uncanny *déjà-vu* fashion.

Apart from the scattered references to the story of the End in Ms. Oc., the longest full-fledged narrative about Resurrection and the Judgement Day is found in fols. 72v-107v, in a clearly demarcated chapter that bears the title of 'on the Remembrance of Resurrection.' The tale is considerably different from the two sixteenth-century *aljamiado* versions found in BTNT, Ms. J 4 and RAH, Ms. T 17.[29] As mentioned in Chapter II, the story of Ms. Oc. is

[26] *Muslims in Spain*, p. 63.
[27] Q2:177.
[28] Q19:93-95; the main classical texts that elaborate on this creed are *ad-Durra al-fāḫira* (The Precious Pearl) of al-Ġazālī (11th century), *Kitāb ar-Rūḥ* (The Book of the Soul) of al-Jawziyya (14th century), *Bušrā al-ka'īb bi-liqā'i al-ḥabīb* (The Consolation of the Dejected [Believer] with the Meeting of the Beloved) of as-Suyūṭī (15th century), and the anonymous *Kitāb aḥwāl al-qiyāma* (The Events of Resurrection.).
[29] BTNT, Ms. J 4 (fols. 27v-56r) and RAH, Ms. T 17 (fols. 138v-161r); the two versions are edited and studied in parallel in Mohamed 'Ali Ben M'rad, *Estudio y edición del códice misceláneo aljamiado-*

mostly copied from the thirteenth-century book of the Hanbali scholar Ibn al-Jawzī, *The Grove of Hortatory Preachers.*[30] The compiler of Ms. Oc. summarises the second chapter of the book, entitled '*Majlis* in Remembrance of Resurrection and its Horrors,' and interpolates passages from Ibn al-Wardī's fifteenth-century *Pearl of Wonders* into the narrative.[31] The latter is a book of geography in which the last four sections are devoted to the End of Time and the Resurrection Day. Judging by the clumsiness of its composition, the text may seem to be a rough draft, as despite the compiler's care for conciseness, the Intercession Scene is narrated twice from two different sources.[32] However, the strenuous work of copying reveals the complier's keen interest in the Story of the End in particular and his/her intention to archive more than one version of the narrative.

The Narrative of the End is central to the compilation of Ms. Oc., not only as it occupies a considerable space in the manuscript (more than 35 folios), but also as it traces many of the topographical features of the otherworldly spheres. The topography of the otherworld that can be drawn from the story in Ms. Oc. is a complex structure. The overview that the manuscript offers is a selection of some of its elements that serve the compiler's scheme: emphasising the liminality of this space, stretching the time of waiting for Judgement, aggrandising the hardship of passage, and glorifying Muhammad and his privilege as the only Intercessor capable of paving the way to salvation. All these focal points are portrayed through a set of contrasts, in which the Light of Muhammad and his community is the chief element, defeating both Darkness and Fire, and epitomising the superiority of Muslims. All the stations and sites mentioned in Ms. Oc., and introduced in the forthcoming analysis, are portrayed in the following Islamic map of the cosmos:

morisco nº IV de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios (PhD tesis) (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1991); the narrative of T 17 is also found in Guillén- Robles, *Leyendas moriscas* III, pp. 351-88; the story is also narrated in BNM, Ms. 4871 (*Al Kitab de Çamarqandí*) (16th century).

[30] *Bustān al-Wāʿiẓīn wa-Riyāḍ as-Samiʿīn* (The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners).

[31] *Ḫarīdat al-ʿajāʾib wa-Farīdat al-Ġarāʾib* (The Unique Pearl of Wonders and Strange Things).

[32] Ms. Oc., fols. 83ᵛ-89ʳ; fols. 102ᵛ-107ᵛ.



<u>Picture 2:</u> Islamic Map of the Cosmos
Ibrāhīm Hakkı, *Maʿrifatnāma* (Book of Gnosis); Possibly Istanbul (1237 AH/ 1822 CE)
Source: Special Collections, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Isl. Ms. 397, p. 46.

The story in Ms. Oc. starts with an enumeration of the signs of the End, with the degradation of human behaviour as the chief catalyser of its advent. This degradation is believed to have triggered God's wrath that lies behind His decision to put an end to life. The advent of the end is in this sense ethical; and the conception of the space in which the last events happen, is bound by the belief that the time of divine retribution has come. The outcome is a horrid representation of an infernal space of transition between the two worlds. The resurrection is hence portrayed as a curse, and all the successive events as a war waged against humanity.

Announcing this war, God solemnly charges Isrāfīl (Seraphiel) to blow the Horn. At the First Blast, death catches all living beings unawares. The Earth is flattened and everything on it is

swallowed inside, except the four archangels[33] and the mosques. These spaces of worship are preserved because in Islam they are believed to be 'the houses of Allāh.' One of the many Coranic verses that warn against idolatry reads: 'And do not invoke with Allāh another deity. There is no deity except Him. Everything will be destroyed except His Face. His is the Judgement, and to Him you will be returned.'[34] Pointing at the Day of Judgement, the verse pictures the sweeping annihilation of everything on Earth except the Face of God that connotes His essence. In the narrative of Ms. Oc., the mosques are presented as the icon of this divine essence. 'No building on Earth is kept undestroyed, except the pillars of the mosques,' the compiler avers. 'For these are Allāh's privileged [places] in which He was exclusively idolised and magnified; [His unity] chanted; and His words recited.'[35] Part of the same Coranic verse is then quoted: 'As everything will perish except His Face. And the mosques do not perish because they were built for the Face of Allāh'—meaning built for His sake as a tribute.[36] The mosque as a space of religious worship is loaded with a highly symbolic value, particularly in the Mudejar context, as it occupies the centre of the *aljama* (Islamic district).[37] This building is the epitome of the religion of Islam and the site in which the prayers and the teachings take place.

God then orders the Angel of Death to catch the souls of Jibrīl (Gabriel), then Mīkāʾīl (Michael), and at last Isrāfīl (Seraphiel). The Angel of Death retreats to a place located between Hell and Heaven to deliver his own soul. This place is very significant as it introduces in-betweenness as an apparent feature of space in the narrative. The scene of the End unfolds in a vacuum that neither belongs to Heaven nor to Hell and seems to be suspended in time as it is in space.

When only He remains, God addresses Life asking: 'where are your trees, rivers, and inhabitants? Where are your kings and their sons, your tyrants and their sons who thrived on my bounties yet worshipped me not. To whom is kingship today?'[38] As this *ubi sunt* discourse receives no answer, God replies to the question himself, exalting His absolute dominion over the universe. Forty years of nothingness follow before the Sea of Life descends from the seventh sky, letting water revive the dead bones, recomposing the bodies that remain

[33] Jibrīl (Gabriel), Isrāfīl (Seraphiel), Mīkāʾīl (Michael), and the Angel of Death.
[34] Q28: 88.
[35] Ms. Oc., fols. 74^{r-v}.
[36] Ms. Oc., fol. 74^{v}.
[37] Refer to Chapter I. I of this thesis.
[38] Ms. Oc., fol. 77^{r}.

soulless. Isrāfīl is then resurrected. He stands up on the rock of *Bayt al-Maqdis*[39] to call for Judgement.

It is worth noting that the compiler omitted a considerable part of the story that s/he copied from *The Grove* (twelfth century)[40] to insert the passage that introduces the resurrection of the prophet Muhammad. Intercalating this passage is not uncommon in the *aljamiado* narratives of the End, and points at the importance of this scene in the Morisco retelling of the story.[41] Indeed, in Ms. Oc., the scene is copied again from a second unknown source, immediately following the first version.[42] The resurrection of Muhammad is highlighted, as it represents an interlude to the central Intercession episode that will come up later. In Ms. Oc., the second version of the Prophet's resurrection is also truncated, and the sequence of the rest of the events is copied in alternation from three different sources:[43]

On the First Blast, souls are described to be 'scattered between the Heaven and the Earth like bees. The believers' souls are radiant with the light of faith and righteous deeds; those of the disbelievers burst out darkened with the shadows of infidelity.'[44] Indeed, the depiction of this otherworldly suspended space and all the events subsequent to resurrection is based on the duality of light and darkness. When each soul returns to its body, all humans head towards *al-Maḥšar* or *as-Sāhira* (the Land of the Concourse)[45] (Pic. 2, n°8). As al-Ġazālī notes in his *Remembrance* (twelfth century),[46] this land does resemble no other place on Earth. He quotes from the Coran and comments:

> God (Exalted is He!) said: 'On that Day, when the earth shall be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens;' and Ibn ʿAbbās said [commenting on this text], 'It will be raised up and lowered; its trees, mountains, valleys and all else that it contains shall disappear, as it is stretched out like the leather of

[39] A name for Jerusalem, the third holiest site in Islam after Mecca and al-Medina, where the Farthest Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*) is located.
[40] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Bustān al-Wāʿiẓīn wa-Riyāḍ as-Samiʿīn* (*The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners*), cf. Chapter II, section II. 2. of this thesis.
[41] Cf. RAH, Ms. T17 (16th c.)
[42] Jibrīl, Mīkāʾīl, and Isrāfīl are sent to Raḍwān, the Treasurer of Heaven, to take the Burāq (the magical horse), the Flag of Praise, the Crown of Pride, and the two heavenly Gowns and head to the Prophet's tomb 'to wake him up.' Muḥammad enquires about his *umma* and is told that he is the first one to be revived. He rides the *Burāq* (magical horse) till he reaches God's station.
[43] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Bustān al-wāʿiẓīn wa-riyāḍ as-samiʿīn* (*The Grove of Hortatory Preachers and [their] Listeners*) (12th c.), Ibn al-Wardī, *Ḫarīdat al-ʿajāʾib wa-farīdat al-ġarāʾib* (*The Unique Pearl of Wonders and Strange Things*) (15th c.), and another unknown source; cf. Chapter II, section II. 2. of this thesis.
[44] Ms. Oc., fol. 80v.
[45] Q79:14.
[46] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (d. 1111 CE), Book 40 of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Sciences), entitled *Kitāb dikr al-mawt wa-mā-baʿdah* (The Remembrance of Death and what follows it).

> ʿUkāẓ to form a land as white as silver, upon which no blood shall have been shed nor any sin committed.[47]

This place is described in Ms. Oc. in the same fashion, as a 'white silver land on which no blood has ever been shed and no idol worshipped. Upon it, pulpits were erected for the Prophets, chairs placed for the righteous ones, and adobes set for the creatures [who await their fate] in queues that expand from east to west.'[48] (Pic. 2, n°7) The same deserted liminal space in which the annihilation of the world happened is now endowed with a new life. The topographic features start to become clearer as the space is reshaped; and movement is resumed as soon as the souls are re-infused in the bodies. When Life takes over again, hierarchy is restored among humans who were all equated under the sway of Death. The description of the virgin land and its spatial organisation imparts this hierarchical order and heralds Judgement in a highly theatrical fashion. The image of the endless queues of people dramatises the event and sets the tone for the perpetual state of waiting that will freeze the passage of time in the rest of the narrative. All creatures walk towards the *Mawqif* (The Halting Place) under the sun that blazes down seventy times more than usual, boiling down their brains.[49] Quoting Ibn ʿAbbās, the compiler then narrates how Muhammad's *umma* (community) is guided out of the dark by the light of their faith. The degree of light bestowed on each Muslim depends on their deeds.

Here comes the Intercession episode, a key passage to the concept of the superiority of Muslims upon which is based the Islamic worldview: Having stood up in the excruciating heat of the *Mawqif,* endlessly waiting for God's Judgement, people beg the prophets to intercede for them with Allah, so He put an end to their suffering and send the people of Heaven and Hell, each to their destined dwelling. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus all answer: 'This is none of my business. Intercession is not my prerogative.' Jesus points at the Highest Pulpit behind which the Great Intercessor stands; 'No prophet's pulpit is higher, bigger, and lighter than that of the *Muṣṭafā* (the Chosen one), Muḥammad.'[50] People made their way thither; and there the Prophet stood, 'like a full moon. They called him all at once: "Oh messenger of the Almighty, so long is the standing, so fierce the torment, so hot the halting spot. Prithee, intercede for us with our God, so those promised of Heaven be sent to Heaven and those of Hell be sent to Hell." The Prophet prostrates himself to their

[47] Al-Ġazālī, *Remembrance*, p. 178; the words in italics are taken from Q14:48.
[48] Ms. Oc., fol. 81^{v}; described as 'white and perfectly smooth, and *upon which is to be seen neither unevenness nor any protrusion*' in al-Ġazālī, *Remembrance*, p. 178; the expression in italics is taken from Q20:107.
[49] Ms. Oc., fol. 83^{r}.
[50] Ms. Oc., fol. 86^{r}.

request'[51] and asked God to hasten the Judgement. Hell then unfolds to the creatures, displaying its tortures as a manifestation of God's wrath. 'Muḥammad takes hold of its bridle, turns it back on its heels and girds it up warning: 'Keep away! Away from my *umma*!' God orders Hell to subdue in reverence for the Intercessor, His 'beloved Muḥammad.' Its fire is then extinguished.[52]

The scene describing the creatures facing Hell and the Prophet's epic wrestling with it is duplicated. The second version follows the first one immediately and narrates how in the face of Hell, all the Prophets take refuge with God, each begging Him for his own salvation, denying his dear ones, whereas Muhammad cries out: 'Oh my Lord! [Have mercy on] my *umma*! My *umma*!' God sends Gabriel to Hell ordering it to obey Muhammad whose light would freeze its fire. This scene bears Sufi undertones, apparent in the symbolic confrontation of the light of Muhammad and his *umma* with the fire of Hell; for as Christian Lange notes, 'Sufi authors liked to quote the Prophetic *ḥadīṯ* (saying) that Hell, on the Day of Judgement, will tell every believer to "pass on, for your light has quenched my flame!"'[53] The passage that is referred at is the crossing of the Traverse called *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* (Pic. 2, n°11).

People are commanded to make their way towards *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* after the Erection of the Scales when each human being reads from his/her Book of Deeds before they are weighed (Pic. 2, n°9 and 10).[54] The description of the great Bridge in Ms. Oc. evokes the idea of dangerous passage upon which is based the rhetorics of traditional hortatory accounts of the end of times. As the compiler describes: 'Sharper than a sword and thinner than a hair, this traverse is fixed over the flames leaping from dark black Hell. People cross up *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ*, carrying their sins on their backs.'[55] The compulsory passage over the Traverse is done in the dark, for it is as dark as black Hell. 'If one drop of its [inky] darkness reached the earth, it would become pitch-black from east to west and all creatures on it would perish. So that Day, only those who possess Light will be able to pass on.'[56] The compiler keeps reiterating that this Light, vital for salvation, is contingent upon the believers' good deeds in life. '*Az-Zabāniya* (The Angels of Hell)[57] stand on *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* and look at the faces of people. Those who have no Light will hurl down[58] into Fire.' *Aṣ-Ṣirāṭ* is a complex construction that is made of seven overlaid

[51] Ms. Oc., fol. 86^{v}.
[52] Ms. Oc., fol. 89^{r}.
[53] *Paradise and Hell*, p. 231.
[54] The first sentence inscribed on the Book of Deeds is 'Read thine own record: Sufficient is thyself this day to take thy own account against thee' (Q17:14), cited in fol. 93^{v}; other references to the Book of Deeds are found in Q84:7-15, 69:19-37, and 45:29.
[55] Ms. Oc., fols. 49^{r-v}.
[56] Ms. Oc., fol. 95^{r}.
[57] The name is mentioned in Q96:18; on the torturers of Hell cf. Q69:30-2; 44:47-50; 56:51-6; 88:5.
[58] The verb is taken from Q26:94.

bridges of different degrees of darkness, narrowness, and sharpness. Everyone has to pass over all the bridges to undergo the Inquisition. On each bridge, a different subject is investigated. A comparison of the list of subjects and their order in Ms. Oc. to what is found in *aljamiado* versions can yield interesting clues about the compiler's choices.

The Bridge	**The Subject of Inquisition**	
	Ms. Oc.	***aljamiado* versions** [59]
1	The Prayer Ritual	The Prayer Ritual
2	Honesty	Fasting in *Ramaḍān*/ *Az-Zakāt* (Almsgiving) [60]
3	Parental Obedience	Almsgiving/ Fasting in *Ramaḍān*
4	Bridling the tongue[61]	Pilgrimage to *Makka*
5	The Permitted and the Forbidden	Parental Obedience
6	*Az- Zakāt* (Almsgiving)	Honouring Kinship
7	Gaze aversion [62]	Abiding by the Scripture

Table 6: Inquisition on the Bridge *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ*

While four of the five pillars of Islam appear on the top of the list in the *aljamiado* versions, only two of them are mentioned in Ms. Oc. It is particularly salient that according to the compiler of Ms. Oc., what matters most are good morals, rather than acts of devotion. The ethical dimension of the text is conspicuous, revealing a strong intention to regulate social life according to Islamic rules of conduct. There are several ways of crossing the Traverse, depending on the answers provided. These are described in a passage copied from the *Grove* with substantial omissions.[63] Whereas some swiftly pass like a flash of lightning, and others crawl their way, the people whose good deeds equal their wrongdoings linger on the Bridge. 'With their light dimmed, they stand on the tips of their big toes, endlessly waiting for Allāh's mercy' in the heights called *al-Aʿrāf*, located on the borders between Heaven and Hell (Pic. 2, n°5).[64] *Ahl al-Aʿrāf* (the People of the Heights), stuck in between, can look at both sites

[59] RAH, Ms. T 17, fols. 138ᵛ-161ʳ, ed. in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas* III, pp. 374-5; and BTNT, Ms. J 4, fols. 27ᵛ-56ʳ.
[60] One of the five pillars of Islamic faith, the compulsory charity called *az-Zakāt* consists of 2.5% of every Muslim's revenue to be given for the benefit of the needy.
[61] This translation of حفظ اللسان(*ḥifẓ al-lisān*) relies on the Biblical counterpart of this virtue: 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain' (James 1:26).
[62] Turning the gaze away or casting down the eyes to avoid promiscuity, adultery, and fornication; cf. Q24:30-1.
[63] Ms. Oc., fols. 98ʳ-101ʳ.
[64] Ms. Oc., fol. 103ʳ; In the absence of the Purgatory as an intermediate space in Islamic tradition, some scholars consider *al-Aʿrāf* to be the equivalent of the Christian Purgatory.

and talk to the fortunate believers and wretched infidels.[65] They bread vain hopes to rewind the clock and be sent back to life to atone for their sins.[66]

It is not surprising that the story of *Ahl al-Aʿrāf* occupies a considerable section in the narrative of the End in Ms. Oc.[67] The story would attract the Mudejar/Morisco audience who could identify with the People of the Heights, in terms of their mid-way position between two conflicting sides. Both undergo a state of seemingly endless waiting for salvation. For crypto-Muslims, the path of Christianity is the one that leads to Hell. Avoiding it, however, does not seem to guarantee their access to Heaven, since the burden of professing a religion other than Islam may outweigh their pious deeds. The story of the salvation of *Ahl al-Aʿrāf* also serves the compiler's exaltation of Muhammad's intercession for them so that the Judgement be hastened and the torture of waiting ceased. The compiler concludes: 'Allāh only confined them to make manifest Muḥammad's glory, holiness, favour, [high] rank, and [privileged] status that granted him the [exclusive] ability to intercede [for salvation].'[68]

In the sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscripts, the Prophet's intercession is driven to the extreme as he is to intervene in favour of the people of Hell.[69] There, a proper Purgatory is found, called the 'Fountain of Life:' the sinners 'will bathe in it and go out [as bright] as a full moon, with an inscription on their faces: "these are whom Allāh liberated from the fire of *Jahannam* (Hell) so that they then enter Heaven and dwell in it forever, in an eternal time, that Death cannot reach."'[70] The image of the cleansing source of water is also encountered in traditional Arabic narratives, such as that of al-Ġazālī, where the Prophet intercedes for the salvation of the damned sinners, sprinkling water from al-Kawṯar Pond on them.[71] However, the compiler of Ms. Oc. chooses to focus on the fate of the People of the Heights and summarises in one sentence the Intercession episode of the *Grove* where the Prophet's ascent to the Highest Sphere where God resides is described. 'He went on, followed by the People of Heaven, until he reached the Veils. Then, the Lord of the Universe appeared. When I

[65] Q7:46- 8.
[66] Q7:53.
[67] Ms. Oc., fols. 101^{r}-107^{v}.
[68] Ms. Oc., fol. 107^{v}.
[69] BTNT, Ms. J 4 and RAH, Ms. T 17; cf. the edited text of T 17 in *Leyendas moriscas,* p. 385.
[70] This statement can be placed at the heart of a heated theological debate about the everlastingness of Hell; for an overview of the debate between Universatlist and Dannationist scholars on this point, see Mohammad Hassan Khalil 'Is Hell Truly Everlasting? An Introduction to Medieval Universalism,' in *Locating Hell,* pp. 165-74.
[71] On intercession in Islam, cf. Riad, 'Shafâ'a dans le Coran', and Bowker, 'Intercession in the Qur'an and the Jewish Tradition'; in al-Ġazālī, *Remembrance*, p. 217, the Prophet is reported to have said: 'Upon the river al-Kawṯar lies a Pool to which my nation will repair on the Day of Arising.'

(Muhammad) looked at Him, I prostrated myself to Him.'[72] The abrupt change of the narrator is the result of the inadvertent omission of the section in which the Prophet describes his ascent. In the highest station of Heaven, Muhammad supplicates God to 'complement the light of these people for them to pass into Heaven like their fellows. So Allāh sent the Angels to bring light from His Garden of *ʿAdn* (Eden). That they be immersed in light and cross *aṣ-Ṣirāṭ*, with light in their hands and faith [in their hearts]!'[73] It is thus that the Intercessor could save *Ahl al-Aʿrāf* (the People of the Heights) and all Muslims. Although in Ms. Oc., the world seems to be perched on the brink of Hell, the gleam of Muhammad's light is believed to come to the rescue of all Muslims, like a ladder that will lift them as high as the divine station.

[72] Ms. Oc., fols. 106r-v.
[73] Ms. Oc., fols. 107r-v.

II. The Pursuit of Light and the Dislocation of the Marginal

In the Story of Genesis, as related in Ms. Oc. (fols. 2^{v}-6^{v}),[74] the universe is described as a dualistic spatial construction: between the earthly sphere, the realm of visible matter, and the world of the invisible, there is a 'Veil of Darkness' that obstructs human knowledge.[75] It is this liminal area that Ms. Oc. touches upon, in an attempt to unveil the unknown and pursue the light that symbolises the essence of the Supreme Creator; for 'Allāh is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth,' as the Coran proclaims and He 'doth guide whom He will to His Light.'[76] The Pursuit of Light is a leitmotif in the miscellany, where the images associated with this element are recurrent, especially those in which light and darkness are contrasted. The culmination of this light metaphor in Ms. Oc. is found in the story of the Prophet's birth that relates the fate of Muslims to their luminous genealogy;[77] for it is this same light that is believed to guide Muslims on the Day of Judgement through darkness towards salvation, as seen in the previous analysis of the narrative of the Judgement Day.

The story of the Prophet's birth is narrated in Al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-anwār* (Book of Lights) (second half of the thirteenth century), of which numerous sixteenth-century *aljamiado* translations have been excavated.[78] Along with the versions of the story found in this popular book, several other Morisco *aljamiado* manuscripts include a narrative of the birth.[79] Mercedes García-Arenal points to 'the close conjunction' between the proliferated versions of the *Book of Lights* and 'the religious expression of the Maghrib at that time, [marked by] an unusual reverence for the figure of Muhammad as *uswa ḥasana*, the perfect and inimitable model.'[80]

No miracles are attributed to Muhammad in Ms. Oc., unlike the proliferated miraculous tradition that is found in later *aljamiado* tales, and that was clearly influenced by the Christian stories of Jesus's miracles.[81] Apart from the account of his ascension to the heavenly spheres

[74] Refer to section I. 1. of this Chapter for an analysis of the story.
[75] Ms. Oc., fol. 5^{v}.
[76] Q24:35.
[77] Ms. Oc., fols. 43^{r}- 52^{r}.
[78] BNM, Ms. 4955 (Gg. 84); RAH, Mss. T 17 and T 18; UUL, Ms. de *Urrea de Jalón*, fols. 19^{v}- 97^{r}, ed. in Corriente-Córdoba, *Relatos píos y profanos* (text n° VI); along with a fragment in RAH, Ms. T 12 (all 16th -century Mss.); for an English synopsis of all the sections of the *aljamiado Book of Lights* (the version found in BNM, Ms. 4955), see Chejne, *Islam and the West*, pp. 98-101.
[79] RAH, Ms. T 8 (11/9405) (16th century), fols. 176- 96; and T 13 (16th century), fols. 252-66; BTNT, Ms. J 8 (17th century), fols. 1-17.
[80] *The Orient in Spain*, p. 288.
[81] His resurrection of a dead girl (BNM, Ms. 4953, no. 12, fol. 63^{v}, ed. in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, II, pp. 217-32); making the blind see (BNM, Ms. 9067, no. 14, ed. in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, II, pp. 159-66); splitting the moon (RAH, Ms. T18, fols. 1-4, ed. in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, II, pp. 259-65.)

(fols. 26^{r}-41^{r}), the detail of his magical ring in the story of the orphan (fols. 149^{v}-155^{r}),[82] and the tale of his birth that bears some supernatural elements, all the stories portray him with human features that are idealistic but not supernatural. The only miracle related to Muhammad is his creation from the Primordial Light that predates all existence, a symbolic myth that epitomises the superiority of Islam: As a prelude to the story of the Prophet's birth, the compiler proclaims that 'Muḥammad's Light is what Allāh created first.'[83] The share of Adam, as he explains, is but one fourth of that Primordial Light, a beam that He sowed in Adam's loins. And when Adam wondered why the angels in heaven were following him, God answered: 'For that which I lodged in your backbone; a Prophet of your offspring whose name is Muḥammad.' A hundred daily prayers for the promised Prophet were later assigned as a dowry for Eve.[84] This short prelude legitimises Muhammad's prophetic mission through the existence of his luminous substance that preceded his corporeal presence. The prelapsarian origin of the prophet of Islam, depicted in this short prelude, illustrates the compiler's statement that 'Muḥammad's superiority over all the other prophets'—including Adam himself— 'is like the pre-eminence of water over everything else.'[85]

[82] The tale will be analysed in Chapter III, section III. 2. 1.
[83] Ms. Oc., fol. 41^{v}.
[84] Ms. Oc., fols. 42^{r}- 42^{v}.
[85] Ms. Oc., fols. 41^{r}- 41^{v}

1. The Birth of the Prophet: The Luminous Genealogy of Muslims (fols. 41^{v}- 50^{v})



Picture 1: A Persian Depiction of Muhammad's Birth
Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, Or. Ms. 20: *Jāmiʿ at-Tawārīḫ* (Compendium of Chronicles), Rašīd ad-Din Ṭabīb, written in ca.1306 or 1314/15 CE, Tabriz (Iran), fol. 44 and detail
Source: Open access at the University Image Collection, <https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/>

The pre-existence of the Light of Muhammad is particularly salient in Sufi thought. It is not surprising that in the *isnād* (transmission chain) of the story of the Prophet's birth in Ms. Oc.—the longest chain in the manuscript—more than one reporter is known to bear allegiance to Sufism.[86] The narrative, with its extended metaphor of Light, is loaded with manifest spiritual overtones.

The compiler narrates the events of the betrothal of Āmina, Muhammad's mother, to his father ʿAbdullāh, the bearer of the Prophet's Light; the transmission of this Light to Āmina's womb; and the portents that foreshadowed the birth. Interspersed with the pseudo-historical narrative is a depiction of the reverberation of the events in the otherworldly sphere of 'Allāh's Enemy,' Iblīs (Satan). The epic tone of this parallel section, depicting the tremendous effect of the birth on Iblīs and his followers, invigorates Muhammad's prophetic mission and his community. Lamenting his fate and that of his offspring, Iblīs summons all the devils and cries out:

> This is our outright downfall […]. Here comes Muḥammad, Abdullāh's son, the messenger who wields the peremptory sword that will bring about [our] annihilation […]. There will be no place on earth that monotheism will not reach; for this is the *umma* (community) for which Allāh turned me into an accursed devil; these are the ones who worship one God and no other; and much harm of them will befall me.[87]

In the otherworldly sphere as it is on earth, the coming of the Prophet is described as a prophecy come true. Āmina foresaw his coming in an illuminating dream and his grandfather,

[86] Abū'l-yaman al-Kindī is the last transmitter in the chain that goes back to Sahl at-Tustarī as the first reporter, passing by *al-ḫaṭīb* al-Baġdādī.
[87] Ms. Oc., fols. 45^{v}- 46^{r}.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, would spot Muhammad's 'luminous silhouette' each time he set out to perform the pagan ritual of rotating around the *Kaʿba*.[88]

The thread that relates the Light of Muhammad to the fate of the Muslim community is found in the concept of Intercession (*aš-šafāʿa*) in the narrative of the Judgement Day in Ms. Oc.:[89] In the tale, not only does the Light of Muhammad extinguish the fire of Hell,[90] but it is also handed down to his *umma* (community) to grope their way along the dark passage towards salvation.[91] This Light is the prerogative of Muslims and the symbol of their superiority.

2. The Prophet's Ascension to the Heavenly Spheres (fols. 26r-41r)



Picture 2: The Fire of Hell Vs Muhammad's Light
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama*, The Book of Muhammads' Ascension, fol. 53r (detail), Herat (1436): Mālik, the Hell Keeper (on the left) opens up the Gate of Hell to Muhammad (sitting on the Burāq, on the right) and Gabriel (standing in the middle).

In Ms. Oc., the narrative that best illustrates the belief in the superiority of Muslims is the story of *al-Miʿrāj*, Muhammad's ascent to the celestial spheres. This popular tale has been introduced earlier in this thesis as a case study for the discussion of imitation and innovation in the compiler's work.[92] In this section, it is argued that the narrative, abridged and adapted to the compiler's purpose, is meant to dramatise the dislocation of the marginal Muslim community to the highest heavenly abode, vicariously experienced through the Prophet's

[88] Ms. Oc., fols. 48r-v; according to the Coran, *al-Kaʿba*, the cubic construction that occupies the centre of the site of Islamic pilgrimage was the first house of worship built by Abraham and Ishmael on God's command; cf. Q2:127; 3:96; 22:26.
[89] Ms. Oc., fols. 72v-107v; analysed in section I. 2. of this chapter.
[90] Ms. Oc., fol. 89r.
[91] Ms. Oc., fols. 83r-v.
[92] Refer to Chapter II, section II. 1. 3. 3.

journey. The Ascension Narrative has a significant symbolic value in Islamic thought, as it attests to the superiority of Muhammad and his mission. Muhammad's ascent through the heavenly layers where the other prophets dwell, reaches its climax in the encounter with God. The manifestation of the Divine is the event that positions this narrative at the heart of Islamic faith in Muhammad's prophetic message, and at the centre of the narrative body of Ms. Oc. The story reveals aspects of the Islamic worldview, developing the order of the chain of beings and setting the hierarchy among the messengers of God, and opening up the horizons of imagination to transcend the earthly realm and draw the features of the otherworldly spheres.

Since ascension narratives challenge rationalistic tendencies, with their central marvellous aspect, they have been very much contested; and a leap of faith is necessary to adhere to this tradition. Explaining what he calls 'the necessity of belief,' Ronald Buckley writes that 'the orthodox view is that it is necessary to believe in [the story] since to deny it would be an implicit denial of the Coran and of sound *ḥadīṯ,* the chief basis of Islamic law, doctrine and practice.'[93] It is on this condition that the covenant between the preacher and his/her audience is based. As they embark with the Prophet on this mythological journey, the audience of Ms. Oc. should leave behind all reasonable doubts, with their senses fully awakened to experience the events as they happen to the protagonist. The story unfolds as the Prophet rides a magical horse through the layers of the firmament, accompanied with Gabriel, his tour guide. The action keeps rising, at the threshold between the two realms, to reach the climactic moment when the Prophet encounters God. Throughout the journey, the audience's trajectory of knowledge acquisition is identical to that of the protagonist and the amazement and horror are equally shared. As seen in the following table, the falling action in Ms. Oc. is interrupted with homiletic passages that can elucidate the preacher's intention behind the retelling of the story and the transition techniques s/he uses to make the sequence of narratives more coherent.

[93] *The Night Journey and Ascension in Islam,* p. 22.

	Location	Event
Rising Action	Lower than the 5th sky	Meeting the Angel of Death (27r-27r)
	Rising up with Gabriel towards the 5th sky (28r-30r) **From the Camphor Door: An Overview of Hell, located at 'the boundaries of the lowest seventh earth'**	**Scenes of Hell Punishment**[94]
	Reaching the Lote Tree of Boundary, 'above the seventh sky'	Meeting the Crying Angel (30r-31r)
	Passing through the Seas of Light (31r-32v)	Here the Prophet travels alone, Gabriel stopped at the Tree of Boundary
		* Meeting Archangel Michael (33r-v) *Meeting Archangel Israphel, 'carrying the Divine Throne, awaiting God's command to blow the Trumpet and herald the Jugdement Day' (33v-34r)
	'Under the Divine Throne'	*Meeting the Rooster Angel (34r-v)
Climax	The Veil of Oneness is removed; the Prophet stands before the Lord The Intimate Colloquy (34v-38v)	* The Heavenly Host Debate * The Prophet: 'I see you with my heart' * The Sword of Vengeance is seen dangling under the Divine Throne * The Favours of the Prophets * The Fifty-Prayer Command
Falling Action	Descent back to the Lote Tree: Meeting Gabriel and Moses (38v-40r)	* The Bargaining Scene: Moses advises Muhammad to ask God to alleviate the command * The Prophet hears the voice of God cutting down the number of daily prayers to five
Interrupting Sermon (40r- 40v)		Direct address: Highlighting the merciful mitigation of the duty, insisting on the necessity of the observance of the ritual, and the Devil's attempt to induce Muslims to neglect it
Back to Falling Action	Heaven (40v- 41r)	Very quick mention of the Paradise Tour: 'Jibrīl, *pbuh*, took me by the arm to Heaven and made me stand by the rivers of *al-Kawṯar*,[95] the Water of Life, and the rivers of *Salsabīl*[96]'
Back to the Sermon (41r- 43r)		Direct address: Merits of Muhammad/ Light of Muhammad/Adam and the Light of Muhammad/Intercession of Muhammad/Transition to the following tale: Muhammad's Birth

Table 7: The Ascension Narrative: Its Structure and Position in Ms. Oc.

[94] This overview will be analysed in detail in the next chapter.
[95] The short three-verse chapter (Q108) is entitled *al-Kawṯar*; although the meaning of this gift is not revealed in the Coran, it is unanimously claimed through the *ḥadīṯ* tradition that it is one of the heavenly rivers of goodness.
[96] The only Coranic reference to this fountain is found in Chapter 76, entitled *al-Insān (Man).*

The terrestrial part of the traditional two-episode story of the Night Journey and Ascension, known as *Isrāʾ*, is not copied in Ms. Oc. The portal of the otherworldly sphere is here found wide open at the onset of the story, and the readers/listeners are thrust into the realm of the supernatural with no introduction, to find themselves suspended with the Prophet in the highest skies. Considering the abrupt beginning of the story, one may think that a substantial number of folios describing the events that took place in all the lower skies are lost. However, the traditional ascension-only narratives do not always start with a description of the first heavens. Indeed, the journey in the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās begins at the sixth heaven.[97]

In Ms. Oc., the first angel that Muhammad meets during his celestial journey is the Angel of Death. Although the exact location of this first encounter is not specified, when looking closer into the text that follows the description of the encounter with the Angel of Death, one can deduce from this transitional sentence, 'when we arrived to the fifth heaven' that the event that precedes this point in the narrative, namely the encounter with the Angel of Death, takes place in the fourth heaven. [98]

Noting the presence of a tablet next to the Angel of Death, Muhammad enquires about its use and Jibrīl (Gabriel), his tour guide, explains:

> 'The Angel of Death gazes at the Tablet five times a day.' I [the Prophet] asked him: 'When is that, Jibrīl?' He answered: 'On prayer times, Muhammad! For any man or woman who is humbly perseverant in prayer, he [the Angel of Death] will alleviate the extraction of their spirit at the moment of death. And in agony, he will torment the one who overlooks his prayer.'[99]

The compiler of Ms. Oc. did not reproduce the dialogue that occurs between the Angel of Death and Muhammad in the traditional narratives. S/he just picked up the detail of the Tablet, an eschatological symbol that links death to the prayer ritual, in order to highlight his/her message: observing the ritual that brings Muslims near to God, prepares them for the encounter in the afterlife and ensures their salvation. In the passage that depicts the Tablet, it is also indicated that the observance of Prayer can help Muslims endure the moment of agony. The compiler/preacher then comments with a recommendation: 'So remember your prayers and believe in them, for the Angel of Death to look upon them and soothe your suffering upon the extraction of your souls.'[100] This link between The Angel of Death and Prayer that the compiler chooses to open the Ascension Narrative, explains the position of

[97] Cf. Colby, *Narrating,* p. 37; cf. Chapter II, section II. 1. 3. 3. of this thesis.
[98] Ms. Oc., fol. 28^{v}.
[99] Ms. Oc., fol. 27^{r}.
[100] Ms. Oc., fol. 27^{r}.

the tale in Ms. Oc. and its function. The Ascension Narrative pertains to a chapter entitled 'on the Remembrance of Death'[101] and is introduced, on the one hand, to encourage Muslims to observe the ritual. On the other hand, the Ascension Narrative is followed by a panegyric on the favours of the prophet Muhammad that starts with a homiletic passage that focuses on his light (fol. 41^{r}-51^{v}).

Although the Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc. is copied from another source, it is characterised by a unique undertone that recalls the mood of 'fears and tears' that pervades the miscellany.[102] At the liminal location, known in the traditional accounts as *Sidrat al-Muntahā* (the Lote Tree of Boundary), Muhammad narrates in Ms. Oc.: 'I saw him next to the Lote Tree of Boundary; and this is located above the seventh sky.'[103] Assuming that the object pronoun 'him' refers to God, one would expect the Divine Colloquy to be the next scene in the storyline, as it is usually the case in the classical versions of the tale. However, the compiler of Ms. Oc. flouts this expectation with the introduction of an encounter with a peculiar angel of his/her own invention—judging by its absence from the different extant versions of the story. Muhammad expresses his surprise to notice the presence of 'a sad angel, crying in dismay' under the Lote Tree. As the Prophet comes nearer to him to ask about the reason of his sadness, he answers:

> '*Yā* Muḥammad, know that none of the angels had bigger wings than the ones I had, nor more feathers. None was a greater creation than I. Until I read your name at the foot of the throne, Muḥammad. Then, I asked God—*Almighty and Majestic He is* [104]—to show me your face. He said, 'Fly up with all your wings'. And I did until I became unfeathered, and fell down to this place to wait for you, *yā* Muḥammad.[105]

The encounter with the Crying Angel ends with these words, with no further comment, neither from Muhammad and Gabriel, nor from the compiler. The scene is followed by Gabriel's short disappearance that is also unusually added to the classical narrative. He 'goes down' for a while to 'bring me one of the verses (*āya*) of Allāh's Book [...].'

> And so he came back with a verse in which fire (Hell) is mentioned. He read it to me and said, '*Yā* Muḥammad! What an intense reminiscence [of Hell] this is; let alone entering it, *yā* Muḥammad! [...]' So I beseeched Allāh to emancipate me from Hell. Then when I turned to Jibrīl, I could not see him.[106]

[101] Starting on fol. 25^{r}.
[102] Refer to Chapter II. II., Section 1. 1.
[103] Ms. Oc., fol. 30^{r}.
[104] عزّ وجلّ (*ʿazza wa-jalla*).
[105] Ms. Oc., fols. 30^{v}-31^{r}.
[106] Ms. Oc., fols. 31^{r-v}.

This quick reference to Hell and its remembrance is not gratuitous; it is one among the many hallmarks that are scattered in the manuscript to help keep track of its main purpose: recalling death and fearing the advent of the Last Judgement in the hereafter.

Unlike his uncommon short disappearance, Gabriel's departure from Muhammad in the end of this stage of the journey is a traditional trope that is found in most Al-Bakrī versions: Gabriel stops at the Lote Tree of Boundary and Muhammad has to ascend on his own. He mounts a green vehicle called *rafraf*[107] and is thrust into the Seas of Light, 'like an arrow shot from a string of a bow.'[108] Although no special indication is given in Ms. Oc., in Ibn ʿAbbās Primitive Version, this lucent passage takes place at the tenth station of the High Realm, the highest station that no angel can reach. As Frederick Colby notes, 'most official Sunnī ascension narratives[…] emphatically reject the idea that Muhammad travelled higher than the seventh heaven and its famous sites, the celestial temple known as the Inhabited House (*al-Bayt al-Maʿmūr*), and the immense tree known as the Lote Tree of the Boundary (*Sidrat al-Muntahā*).'[109] The compiler of Ms. Oc. chooses to make him trespass the border and keep the controversial encounter scene, omitting many of the details that are source of dispute, especially the anthropomorphic depiction of the divine figure.

Meeting the Rooster Angel at a Higher Station

In Ms. Oc., before his Intimate Colloquy with God, the Prophet meets the Rooster Angel. He narrates:

> I looked right and saw under the Throne an angel in the shape of a rooster with a long neck. His feet reach the boundaries of the lower seventh earth. I asked, '*Yā* Isrāfīl (Israphel), who is that?' and he answered me, '*Yā* Muhammad, this is an angel that God created in the shape of a rooster. Had it not been for him, the times of prayer would not have been known. For he crows on these times, and crowing he says: "Remember God, oh negligent ones!" And as he crows, all roosters on earth hear him, crow to his crowing, and quieten down when he does.'[110]

Since in the traditional accounts, Muhammad meets the Rooster Angel earlier in the narrative (in the first heaven), it is usually Gabriel who answers the Prophet's query about him. Archangel Israphel is here a substitute for Gabriel whose ascent with the Prophet ended at the Lote Tree. Though the correspondence between the Rooster Angel and the earthly roosters is already established in the Primitive Version, his function in it is restricted to

[107] Q55: 76; the colour of this vehicle is not specified in the Primitive Version, but is taken from the later Al-Bakrī tradition.
[108] Ms. Oc., fols. 32r-v; Colby, *Narrating,* Appendix B, p. 222.
[109] *Narrating,* p. 37.
[110] Ms. Oc., fols. 34r-v.

'shrieking out a glorification to God, "Glorified be God, the Great and Exalted! There is no God but [H]e, the Alive and Manifest!" [And] when it did that, all the roosters of earth glorified God.'[111] The tale of Ms. Oc. is unique, building upon this idea and introducing the detail of the call for prayer. The preacher did not miss this opportunity to remind the listeners of the paramount importance of the ritual. To this purpose, the Rooster is raised up from the first heaven—his usual location in the traditional accounts—to the highest heavenly station where God will be met.[112]

The Vision of God and the Intimate Colloquy

Just after his encounter with the Rooster Angel, Muhammad reaches the Veil of Oneness that stands between him and God. He narrates, 'As we reached [it], God's voice was heard, commanding the angels, "[...] remove this veil that lies between my prophet Muhammad and I!"'[113] This encounter scene has been the most controversial moment in the history of the traditional narrative. In this scene, known as the Intimate Colloquy, the metaphor of Light in Ms. Oc. reaches its apogee. While the meeting is briefly mentioned in the Intercession section of the Story of the End in the manuscript,[114] it is here related in detail, with special emphasis on the spiritual aspect of the encounter. In Ms. Oc., there is no mention of any physical contact with Muhammad. The Prophet rather hears the voice of God thrice reassuring him and calling him to come near the Throne. The description of the Throne or of the divine figure is completely absent. The first two calls from God, following His command to the angels to take off the Veil of Oneness, are addressed to the Prophet himself, just uttering his name: '*Yā* Muhammad!' After each call, the Prophet describes his fright upon hearing the voice. The third call is yet a more explicit invitation for the Colloquy, asking Muhammad to 'come nearer, for I am your Lord.'[115] Starting the encounter in such a fashion is a unique characteristic of Ms. Oc. On the one hand, the Primitive Version rather starts with a dazzling sight: 'I saw a great matter, which tongues cannot discuss and imagination cannot reach.'[116] The later Al-Bakrī narratives, on the other hand, reproduce the same idea: 'I tried to look, but the light dazzled and blinded my eyes,' but foreshadow it with a quick reference to the call: 'I heard a voice call out, "Have no fear!"'[117] The compiler of Ms. Oc.

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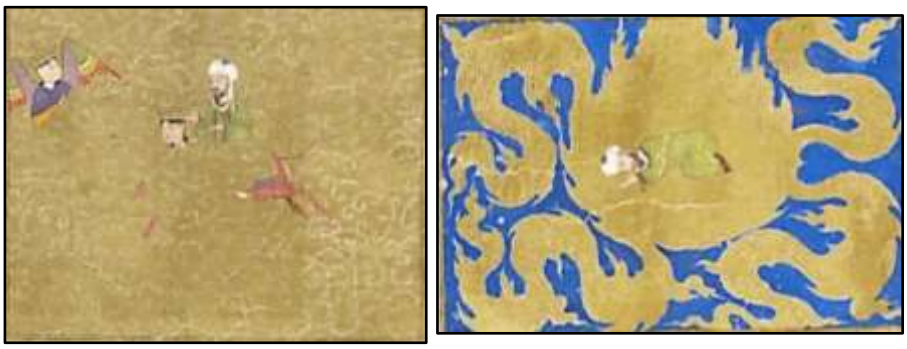
[111] Colby, *Narrating,* Appendix A, p. 176.
[112] In *Liber Scale*, Muhammad meets the Rooster twice: once just before the first heaven and another time in the seventh one; cf. Hyatte, *The prophet of Islam,* p. 113 (ch. 9) and pp. 134-5 (ch. 29); in chapter 69, he is portrayed to be just under God's throne, as it is the case in Ms. Oc.
[113] Ms. Oc., fols. 34^{v}-35^{r}.
[114] Refer to Chapter IV. I. 2.
[115] Ms. Oc., fol. 35^{v}.
[116] Colby, *Narrating,* Appendix A, p. 185.
[117] *Ibid.*, Appendix B, p. 226.

expatiates on this reference, multiplies the call, and postpones the light vision for a while, as will be seen later.

The resort to the light vision is but a way to dematerialise the description of the divine figure that can very easily be deemed a sign of the reprehensible anthropomorphism of God. In one of his articles, Josef Van Ess cites an interesting *ḥadīṯ* to illustrate the idea that 'anthropomorphism can be avoided by dematerializing the object of vision:'

> I said to Abu Dharr al-Ghifārii, the well-known companion of the Prophet:
> 'If I had met the Prophet, I would have asked him a question.'
> 'What question?'
> 'I would have asked him whether he had seen God.'
> Abu Dharr replied: 'But this is exactly what I myself once asked him.'
> 'And what did he say?'
> 'Light! How could I have seen Him?!'[118]

Just as the Prophet's companion denies that God has any material form that can be perceived by the human eye, Al-Bakrī narratives adhere to this conviction and very often resort to light as a formless matter that can best represent the unrepresentable. In these accounts, the Prophet's eyesight is then completely blocked, and another kind of vision, a spiritual one, comes as a substitute: 'Nevertheless, vision was reflected in my heart, and I saw my Lord in my heart, not with my eyes.'[119] Evoking the same image of blinding light, later in the encounter scene, Ms. Oc. also refers to this alternative heart-vision: Interposed into the dialogue, without any transition, is the question that conveys the light-vision conceit. God inquires if Muhammad is able to see him; and the latter answers: 'No, my Lord, for my eyes are blinded by your light. But I see you with my heart.'[120] The Light-vision, perceived by the Prophet's heart, is positioned just before the prayer commission in Ms. Oc., to underscore the importance of this ritual as a luminous ladder to the divine realm and of its observance as a maintenance of the holy bond.



Picture 3: The Depiction of Light in Persian Miniatures of the Prophet's Ascension
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama*, The Book of Muhammads' Ascension, fols. 28^{r} and 44^{r} (details), Herat (1436)

[118] Ibn Khuzayma, *Kitāb at-Tawhīd* (Cairo, 1354/1935) p. 134, 4ff; qtd. in Van-Ess, 'Vision and Ascension', p. 54.
[119] Colby, *Narrating*, Appendix B, p. 226.
[120] Ms. Oc., fol. 36^{v}.

On the Way Back Down: The Bargaining Scene

In the original account of Ibn ʿAbbās, the prayer commission is ambiguously set forth: the veil separating God from the Prophet is drawn back as soon as 'He commissioned me with his commission;' and the reader/listener is left in the dark as to the nature of the agreement.[121] This secret covenant had stirred the imagination of Islamic scholars and storytellers, including the most reliable Sunnī *ḥadīṯ* transmitters, such as Ibn Isḥāq, one of the historians who undertook the task of composing the Prophet's biography.[122]

The Bargaining Scene comes in the end of the tale of Ms. Oc.: The Prophet descends back to the Lote Tree of Boundary where he finds Gabriel and Moses awaiting him. The latter inquires if God has imposed any law on Muhammad, and is astonished to learn about the heavy load of the fifty-prayer command. However, unlike in the traditional tales that portray Muhammad succumbing to the tempting prospect of reduction, in Ms. Oc. the Prophet does not implore God to cut down the number of daily prayers. It is rather God who addresses him from above, 'Call on me, *yā* Muhammad, for I am near and responsive,'[123] alleviating the duty to five prayers a day. Although Moses induces Muhammad to ask for further reduction, the latter expresses his shame to make such a request. This encounter is central to the tale of Ms. Oc. and acquires this position because of two main reasons: its emphasis on the ritual as a symbol of the non-severable tie with the Divine, and its insistence on Muhammad's privileged rank among the other prophets.

The Ending and Suspension of Disbelief

The Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc. then comes to an end with the final Tour of Paradise that usually follows God's suggestion in traditional Al-Bakrī accounts: 'Muhammad, would you like to cast your eyes upon what I have prepared for you and your community in paradise?'[124] This invitation, the prelude that follows it, and the Tour of Hell that is also described in some of Al-Bakrī recensions, are all omitted from the narrative of Ms. Oc.[125] The Prophet is shown the bounties of paradise in a tour guided by Gabriel; but all the conventional detailed descriptions are completely absent. The tour is abridged to one

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[121] Colby, *Narrating,* Appendix A, p. 188; none of the three recensions of the Primitive Version reveal the context of this ʿ*ahd* (covenant) between God and Muhammad; Cf. Colby, *Narrating*, p. 290, n36.
[122] Cf. Ibn Hishām, *as-Sīra an-Nabawiyya* I, p. 407; Ibn Isḥāq, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 187, qtd. in Neuwirth, 'From the Sacred Mosque', pp. 386-7.
[123] Ms. Oc., fol. 39^{v}; the responsive is also one of the ninety-nine greatest names of God; the phrase 'near and responsive' is taken Q11:61.
[124] Colby, *Narrating,* Appendix B, p. 233.
[125] The Turkish manuscript, Amcazade Hüsayın Paşa 95/2 (one of Al-Bakrī versions), involves a detailed description of the final tours of Paradise and Hell; cf. Colby, *Narrating*, p. 294, n44.

sentence: 'Jibrīl, peace be upon him, took me by the arm to heaven and made me stand by the rivers of *al-Kawṯar,*[126] the water of life, and the rivers of *Salsabīl*.' [127] The abrupt beginning of the Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc. is in tune with its brusque ending that is far from being impetuous. Suspending the story in heaven, the compiler/preacher calls to mind the necessary act of suspending disbelief that conditions the popularity and survival of a historical tradition that overlaps with the genre of miraculous mythology. As no earthly trip to Jerusalem opens the narrative to anchor it in a realistic setting—as it is the case of some traditional accounts—no return to Mecca brings the story to an earthly closure. There is obviously no need to relate the final episode in which the Prophet is subject to the doubtful scrutiny of disbelievers: recalling the saying of *Imām* Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq, 'whoever denies the *miʿrāj* is not one of our *Shiʿa*.'[128] '*Shiʿa*' can be understood in its literal meaning to refer to Muslims in general and Moriscos in particular, not to a specific denomination.

In the critical situation of Morisco crypto-Islam, doubt is the feeling that should be averted by the Islamic leaders. And as it is very often the case, the Ascension Narrative turns into a proper 'Test of Faith' against any kind of extrinsic appeal, and even against rational common sense.[129] Morisco scholars believed that faith is an intrinsic drive that no harsh misfortune can ever shake; and they preached this conviction and disseminated it to stand fast against both the alluring and the threatening discourses of dominant Christianity.

After the Prayer Bargaining scene in which Moses advises Muhammad to ask God to cut down the number of prayers per day for his community, the compiler wraps up the narrative with a call for the observance of the ritual: 'Oh people, as you were commanded to make fifty prayers per day and night, you are now allowed to make but five.'[130] The narrative of Ms. Oc. confirms Brooke Vuckovic's statement that 'in addition to being a transformative spiritual experience, the Prophet's journey to heaven is cited as the source of the rules governing the prayer of Muslims.'[131] Indeed, the version under study perfectly fulfils the legislative function with no digression, as it offers a very minimalistic description of the marvellous side of the journey, compared to the early medieval versions.

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[126] The short three-verse chapter (Q108) is entitled *al-Kawṯar*; although the meaning of this gift is not revealed in the Coran, it is unanimously claimed through the *ḥadīṯ* tradition that it is one of the heavenly rivers of goodness.
[127] Ms. Oc. fol. 40^{v}; the only Coranic reference to this fountain is found in Chapter 76, entitled *al-Insān* (Man).
[128] Qtd. in Buckley, *The Night Journey*, p. 22; Cf. Chapter II. II, section 1.3.3. of this thesis.
[129] Buckley introduces this idea in *The Night Journey*.
[130] Ms. Oc., fol. 40^{r}.
[131] *Heavenly Journeys,* p. 1.

The story takes the duality of Good and Evil that permeates Ms. Oc. to its apogee, foreseeing the fate of the virtuous and wicked Muslims in the afterlife. Steering the purpose of the Ascension Narrative from the glorification of the figure of the Prophet to the vivid depiction of reward and punishment, the compiler of Ms. Oc. professes a concern about communal morality. More specifically, the graphic scenes of torture in Hell that occupy a central position in the tale of Ms. Oc., act as illustrative vignettes for the moral code established in the manuscript. The ultimate purpose of the introduction of the Ascension Narrative in the manuscript is then clear: dramatising and legitimising the five-prayer law, for in a nutshell, 'the *miʿrāj* [...] is the miraculous event surrounding the enjoining of prayer for Muhammad. Muhammad's miraculous journey frames the event with all the necessary mystery that we have seen with Jesus and Moses.'[132] Through the *miʿrāj*, Muslims also claim their transcendent narrative that does not only offer them a space among the People of the Book, but that raises them far above all. Being one of the few miraculous episodes in the Prophet's biography, the *miʿrāj* narrative is the perfect testimony of Muhammad's superiority. It can also be considered the most appealing polemical tale to the Mudejar/Morisco audience who lost or started losing the linguistic and intellectual skills that enable deep reflection on the meanings of the Coran and its poetic devices.

Preaching the superiority of Islam and its Prophet, the narrative symbolises the spiritual ascent of a marginal community that is vicariously able to reach the Divine realm, and pick up the signs of the existence of God and His justice. At a time when their Islamic faith was confronted with the massive campaigns of Christian conversion that ended with Inquisitional persecution, Morisco religious leaders must have found in this tale the persuasive assets that would allow them to propagate the word of Allah and preserve the Prophet's tradition within the crypto-Muslim community. Finding solace in the hereafter that the *faqīh* (Islamic scholar) describes in detail, the Morisco individual can endure present hardships, in the hope of reaching ultimate salvation.

The tale of the Prophet's ascension in Ms. Oc. is characterised by its clear focus on the devotional aspect of the account, fulfilling the task of a veritable *Miʿrāj* story that 'depicts the Muslim community as the true inheritors of Abraham's original monotheism, with ritual prayer as one of its central components.'[133] This devotional characteristic is aligned with the main function of the manuscript: exhorting the community to repent, remembering death and what awaits sinners in the Hereafter. The invocation of the story in a sermon book that

[132] *Ibid., p.* 65.
[133] Colby, *Narrating,* p. 103.

gathers miscellaneous tales of eschatological nature has a conspicuous hortatory didactic objective. As Roberto Tottoli notes, 'eschatological themes as found in *miʿrāj* narratives have attracted little scholarly attention.'[134] It is nevertheless very conspicuous through the content of this compendium, that eschatological themes, and journeys beyond the earthly realm in particular, are central to the Mudejar/Morisco belief system.

[134] 'Tours of Hell and Punishment of Sinners in *Mi'rāj* Narratives,' p. 11.

CHAPTER V

LIVING IN DEATH: IN THE GRAVE AND BEYOND

O people!
Persevere in remembering Death,
as you do in remembering Allāh;
for He, [Death] remembers you.[1]

> Death too has a 'location,' but that location lies below or above appropriated social space; death is relegated to the infinite realm so as to disenthral (or purify) the finiteness in which social practice occurs.[2]

In Testour, a small town in the North of Tunisia, constructed by the exiled Spanish Muslims and Jews in the seventeenth century, inhabitants build their own graves in their lifetime, exactly as they build their houses. This mortuary tradition allegedly has a Morisco origin, though there is no sound evidence for the claim.[3] The same town is the home of the Minaret of the Grand Mosque on whose top is found a unique clock that turns anti-clockwise, with numerals inscribed in reverse order on its dial. Those same Spanish refugees built the mosque and designed its clockface. Joining these two facts together raises questions about what they may reveal about the mindset of the people. What can the peculiar tradition of grave construction in one's lifetime disclose about the community's concept of mortality and their sense of space? And what may a clock that turns backwards reveal about their views of time and history? Dwelling on these questions leads to a discussion of the belief system of the exiled Morisco community and how it affected their settlement in Tunisia. Such a discussion requires knowledge about the history of their experience as a Muslim minority in Spain.

The study of Ms. Oc. as a *memento mori* can be the kernel of an anthropological investigation that explores the Morisco communal experience of time and space through the analysis of a religious discourse that has a predominant eschatological tone. This kind of discourse is not exclusively Mudejar/Morisco. Eschatology has been an essential component of classical Islamic tradition, since the early age of its formation. Among the abundant classical Arabic sources about death and the afterlife, the most prominent are the works of Ibn Abī ad-

[1] Ms. Oc., fol. 10^{v}.
[2] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 35.
[3] Refer to the poem in Ms. Oc., fol. 162^{v} about building of 'the house of death,' analysed in Chapter III, section I of this thesis.

Dūnyā,[4] al-Ġazālī,[5] as-Suyūṭī,[6] al-Qurṭubī,[7] and as-Samarqandī.[8] As a matter of fact, it is not surprising that a wide array of critical studies has been devoted to this avenue of research. From the seminal work of Miguel Asín-Palacios[9] to the recent collections of Christian Lange, the issue has been open to debate from different perspectives. Lange's *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions* (2015) is, as the author himself confidently maintains, 'the most complete overview of Islamic eschatology hitherto available in the literature.' Offering a comprehensive study of the development of the Islamic eschatological tradition that accounts for the richness, vastness, and diversity of the materials, is a challenging endeavour; and 'although the small body of scholarship […] has substantially increased in the last decade or so, much remains to be done.'[10]

This chapter that explores the realm of 'Last Things' in Ms. Oc. is meant to contribute to the field, studying how a marginal text adapts canonical sources to construct its own otherworldly space. Being a central aspect of Spanish Islam, the concern about the hereafter and divine retribution has been highlighted in many studies of Morisco *aljamiado* literature. The works of Manuela Manzanares-de Cirre,[11] Medardo Rosario-Rivera,[12] and María Rosario Suárez-Piñera—[13] to name but a few—addressed the thematic field of death and afterlife in the *aljamiado* literary production. More recently, Pablo Roza-Candás[14] and Xavier Casassas-Canals[15] published articles on the subject, following the work of Miguel Ángel Vázquez that proclaims a concern about the study of the classical Arabic sources or 'antecedents' of eschatological *aljamiado* tales.[16] Roberto Tottoli also shares this interest in tracking the sources

[4] Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr Ibn Abī ad-Dūnyā (d. 894 CE), *Kitāb al-mawt wa-Kitāb al-qubūr* (The Book of Death and the Book of Graves).
[5] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (d. 1111 CE), Book 40 of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Sciences), entitled *Kitāb ḏikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdah* (The Remembrance of Death and what follows it) and *ad-durra al-faḫīra fī kašf ʿulūm al-āḫira* (The Precious Pearl: Revelations about the Afterlife); at least eight of his works were found in Morisco lots, cf. Villaverde-Amieva, 'Glosas marginales', p. 142.
[6] Jalāl ad-dīn ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505 CE), *Kitāb šarḥ aṣ-ṣudūr bi-šarḥ ḥāl al-mawtā wa-al-qubūr* (The Expansion of Breasts: A Commentary on the State of the Dead in the Grave) and *Bušrā al-kaʾīb bi-liqāʾ al-ḥabīb* (The Consolation of the Dejected [Believer] with the Meeting of the Beloved).
[7] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273 CE), *at-tadkira fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-āḫira* (A Reminder about the State of the Dead and the Events of the Afterlife).
[8] Abū al-Layṯ Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarqandī (d. 983 CE), *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn bi-aḥādīṯ sayyid al-anbiyāʾ waʾl-mursalīn* (Admonition for the Neglectful).
[9] Asín-Palacios studied Islamic otherworldly journeys in comparison to Dante's work, cf. *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*.
[10] Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, pp. 30-1.
[11] 'El otro mundo en la literatura aljamiada-morisca.'
[12] 'El ars Moriendi Morisco.'
[13] 'La leyenda de los dos amigos en la literatura española aljamiado-morisca.'
[14] 'La "carta del muerto."'
[15] *La muerte y el más allá según el Islam.*
[16] Several articles and a book entitled *Desde la penumbra de la fosa.*

of Morisco eschatological literature in his articles.[17] The same path will be followed in this comparative analysis.

On the side of anthropology, the work of Amalia García-Pedraza addresses the concretisation of Islamic eschatological beliefs in sixteenth-century Granada.[18] The author relies on different testimonial sources, both literary and notarial documents, to study the Moriscos' attitudes towards mortality. Her study exposes the differences between Christian and Muslim eschatological beliefs and highlights the conflict that arises from the practice of rituals that reify these precepts. Maintaining these beliefs and rituals would have been more challenging for Muslims in the Crown of Castile that was the first region to fall under Christian Reconquest. Toledo has also been covered in a similar multi-disciplinary study by Ana Echevarría in an article about the Mudejar burial rites in Ávila.[19] The archaeological data she gathers from the Mudejar cemetery enable a discussion of the embodiment of classical Islamic tenets through the mortuary rituals that were preserved despite the repression of Islamic religious performance. A similar study is unfortunately impossible to undertake given the paucity of testimonial archival material and archaeological sites in Ocaña. All the information that can be gathered will be drawn from the text and other primary and secondary sources about the enactment of Islamic laws and traditions about death and the afterlife in neighbour regions.

Approaching Ms. Oc. as a Mudejar-Morisco eschatological text can bridge the gap in the literature between the studies of Classical Arabic sources and later *aljamiado* versions, in search of the missing ring in the chain of transmission. As Kathryn Miller points out, 'the forced conversions in the early sixteenth century [...] gave birth to some sermons of the narrative or storytelling (*qaṣaṣ*) genre, which underlined the consequences for those who yielded to Christian pressure: admonitions concerning heaven and hell, eschatological in tone, seem common in the [...] aljamiado texts dating to the Morisco period.'[20] This account stresses the reprimanding nature of later Morisco sermons and paves the way to this discussion of the rhetorical stance behind the otherworldly landscape that unfolds in Ms. Oc. at an earlier stage of Morisco history. The recurrent detailed description of Hell in Ms. Oc., expatiating on its suffering, stands out as an overtly powerful manipulation of the audience's emotions.

[17] 'The Morisco Hell.'
[18] *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI.*
[19] 'Islamic Confraternities and Funerary Practices.'
[20] *Guardians of Islam*, p. 149.

This token of Spanish Islam offers a selection of narratives that take place in the bleakest and most ruthless spaces, complicating research on Islamic tradition that 'has tended to privilege notions of spiritual ascent over descent into the nether regions of the otherworld,' as Christian Lange points out.[21] Graves, thresholds, doors and traverses are all liminal spaces that keep delaying and intensifying the effect of the imminent torture of Hell. These spaces will be in focus throughout the analysis of the texts that appear in this part of the thesis in order to tackle the rhetorical use of space in the manuscript.

[21] Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, p. 27.

I. Towards the Necropolis

Ms. Oc. is a *memento mori* that the preacher uses to stimulate the vigilance of his/her audience against 'Death, the mute counsellor:'[1] 'Allāh Allāh, dear ones!' S/he says;

> Remember the damper of pleasures and separator of kinfolk and companions. Remember him when you are asleep and do not lose sight of him when you are awake. For he is the demolisher of your bounties and strongholds[2] and can annihilate you as he did to those before you. Beware and do not forget him; for he does not forget. Do not overlook him, for he does not overlook you.[3]

Although a separate chapter is devoted to Death in Ms. Oc., many of the sayings and stories are found outside the delineations of this chapter.[4] Indeed, one of the most conspicuous homiletic sections about Death in the manuscript is located in its beginning.[5] This sermonic passage follows the story of the Genesis of the World that opens the miscellany and is comprised of a series of reports of sayings and short stories about the agony of death, intermitted by hortatory addresses to the audience.

To illustrate the Coranic statement that 'every soul will have a taste of Death,'[6] the preacher reports what Jibrīl (Gabriel) tells the prophet Muhammad:

> 'Live as long as you please, Muḥammad, for you will be dead; love whatever you please, for you will part with it; and do whatever you please, for all will be retributed.' O people, had pious ones chosen to live or die, the Prophet Muḥammad, *pbuh*, would have been alive and never died. So, take a lesson, Allāh's servants; all the prophets and messengers are dead; and we will follow them. For *we belong to Allāh and to Him we shall return*.[7]

Death is not only portrayed as an inevitable sequel to life; it is above all an imminent event that pervades the homiletic passages of Ms. Oc., where the preacher exhorts people to repent before it is too late.[8]

> By Allāh, I beseech you not to overlook him who does not overlook you! Do not forget Death; for he does not forget you! Labour in undisturbed age for the stern scowling day. Repent and ask forgiveness from the All-Hearer, All-Seer; for He has power over all things.[9]

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[1] Ms. Oc., fols. 55^{r-v}.
[2] The word used here is *maṣāni'*, meaning castles or fortresses in reference to Q26:129.
[3] Ms. Oc., fol. 8^{v}.
[4] Ms. Oc., 'Chapter on the Remembrance of Death,' starting at fol. 25^{r}; the chapter is then followed by the description of the Angel of Death in the beginning of the Ascension Narrative.
[5] The section starts on fol. 7^{r} and ends on fol. 17^{r} where the 'Chapter on the Nature of Life' begins.
[6] Q3:185.
[7] Ms. Oc., fols. 11^{v}-12^{r}; the sentence in italics is the second half of the Coranic verse, Q2:156
[8] Ms. Oc., fols. 24^{v}, 52^{r}, 116^{v}, and the poem on fols. 53^{v}-54^{r}.
[9] Ms. Oc., fols. 56^{r-v}.

This incessant warning gives the impression that the End is actually looming ahead and that 'God's deadline [for salvation] is right now.'[10]

In Ms. Oc., the journey towards the grave should start early in one's lifetime. One should know according to his/her moral conduct and degree of piety if the destination is Heaven or Hell. The preacher spurs his/her audience: 'consider ye people, that when a man reaches forty of age, and his righteous deeds and devotion in worship do not exceed his wrongdoings, and he has not repented; he should set out for Hell.'[11]

> When ʿIsā (Jesus) *pbuh* passes by youngsters, he says; 'Many a plantation is still waiting to be harvested; and I mean that many a youth still has not reached old age.' When he passes by the elderly, he says; 'What does a plantation hope for when it reaches harvest time? And I mean what does the old man hope for when his *ajal* (death time) approaches.' By Him who holds my life in His hands, [swears the Prophet,] nothing is more hideous and loathsome to Allāh than an old man who disobeyed his God on the last days of his life.[12]

The metaphor in this passage is reminiscent of the image of the Tree of Souls in the Ascension Narrative in Ms. Oc.[13] It is a 'tree, the branches of which reach the Throne of our Great Lord, and whose leaves no one can count but He.'[14] Muhammad sees this tree on the left side of the throne of the Angel of Death in the fourth heaven, and relates how the name of each creature is written on one of its leaves:

> So, when the time comes, forty days before one's death, [the leaf] turns yellow and the name written on it fades away. Only then, does the Angel of Death know that the hour [of that person] has come, his life finished, and his labour ceased. So as the time of his death arrives, the leaf falls down in the lap of the Angel of Death who will seize his soul.[15]

The encounter of Nūḥ (Noah) with the Angel of Death in Ms. Oc. expands on the Coranic verse that states that 'no one dies except with Allāh's permission, at a predetermined time.'[16] The story is related as follows:

> Nūḥ had lived for a thousand four hundred and twenty years before the Angel of Death visited him when he was sitting in the sun. [The Angel] greeted him and he greeted him back then said: 'what do you want from me, Angel of Death?' 'I have come for the reason you know,' he replied. Nūḥ said: 'for death!' 'Yes,' answered the Angel. Astonished, Nūḥ said: 'O Angel of Death,

[10] This was a leitmotif in Arabic exhortatory homiletics; see for instance the sermons (*ḫuṭab*) of Ibn Marzūq (d. 1379 CE), Ms. 4070 (al-Ḥizāna al-Mālikiyya, Rabat), fol. 6, qtd. in Jones, *Power of Oratory*, p. 101.
[11] Ms. Oc., fol. 115^{v}.
[12] Ms. Oc., fols. 115^{v}-116^{r}.
[13] Ms. Oc., fols. 26^{r}-41^{r}.
[14] Ms. Oc., fol. 27 ^{v}.
[15] Ms. Oc., fols. 27^{v}-28 ^{r}.
[16] Q3:145.

> you have come hastily!' 'After waiting a thousand four hundred and twenty years, you think I hastened?' Nūḥ then asked him: 'may I move away from the sunlight to the shade?' The Angel did not mind; so Nūḥ moved to the shade and said: 'O Angel of Death, by Him who charged you to catch the souls, couldn't you wait as long as you did for me to move from sunlight to the shade? Is it too much to ask for?' The Angel replied: 'Alas, alas! Allāh will never delay the soul's allotted lifespan.' So, learn from Nūḥ's life, and 'let not this worldly life delude you; nor let the Deceiver deceive you about Allāh.'[17]

The moment of death is concisely described in the Coran as the rise of one's soul, his/her breath of life, to the throat.[18] The verses that follow this short description stress that what happens during that moment is unknown to the people surrounding the dying person on the deathbed: 'And you are at that time looking on/And We are nearer to him [the agoniser] than you; but you cannot see.'[19] As it is always the case, the imagination of traditional accounts overcomes the inability to see the invisible, and lingers the depiction of the moment of death, adding details about the Angel of Death who is in charge of extracting the soul out of the body, and about the state of the person who is about to deliver his/her soul.

Whilst the same Coranic chapter cited above testifies that the nature of the person's deeds determines his/her destination in the hereafter,[20] the accounts relating the precise moment of death surmise that the experience itself is also contingent upon this. Based on other verses that allude to the merciless extraction of the disbeliever's soul from the body,[21] along with sayings attributed to the Prophet and his companions, the traditional literature wove two different descriptive narratives in which the features of the Angel of Death and his treatment change according to the agoniser's profile: during the Angel's visitation of a righteous agoniser, the soul of the believer is usually thought to leave the body smoothly, more easily than a water drop would fall from a waterskin.[22] However, there is no echo to this tranquil deliverance in Ms. Oc.

Throughout the compendium, the transitory moment from life to death is rather depicted as an excruciating experience, reported either *a priori* or *a posteriori* by prophets and returning dead people. The images that are gathered from the prophets' sayings are characterised by a vivid materiality that intimates that the torment is corporeal rather than spiritual. 'When inflicted upon the believer, death,' in Muhammad's words, 'is more intense than three

[17] Ms. Oc., fols. 12^{v}-13^{v}; the concluding warning is taken from Q31:33 (the Deceiver being the Devil).
[18] Q56:83.
[19] Q56:84-5.
[20] Q56:86-94.
[21] Q4:97; 8:50-51; 16:28
[22] Cf. as-Suyūṭī, *Bušrā al-kaʾīb bi-liqāʾi al-ḥabīb* (The Consolation of the Dejected [Believer] with the Meeting of the Beloved), p. 24.

hundred strokes of a sword.'[23] It is, as Kaʿb al-aḫbār describes it, 'a thorny branch that penetrates the cavity of one's body.'[24] Everyone in the compendium either reports to have suffered in death or predicts such suffering and warns against it. The following passage about the death of Ibraḥīm (Abraham) best imparts this general anxiety:

> When Ibraḥīm, *pbuh*, died and his soul ascended to the sky, all the prophets and messengers gathered and said: 'Since Allāh, the Blessed and Exalted, chose you among all the prophets and messengers to be His friend, it must have been for you, if for anyone, that death was alleviated. So, tell us, how did you find it?' He answered; 'By Allāh, I found it harsher on me than the strokes of saws; and I found myself as if I had been flayed at the butcher's. Had I been boiled seventy times in pots, this would have been easier on me than death.' They said; 'O Ibraḥīm, if this was your case and death was alleviated for you, then how will it be for sinners?!'[25]

The preacher then concludes: 'learn from this, [people]; if Death tormented Allāh's Friend (Abraham), how will it not torment you?'

All humans are equal before Death; but as expressed in Ms. Oc., there is an *ars moriendi* that, if mastered, can alleviate the intensity of agony. The observance of the prayer ritual, as mentioned in the Ascension Narrative, can guarantee a smoother extraction of the Muslim's spirit.[26] The fulfilment of the obligation, being the cornerstone of Islamic devotion, is also believed to soothe the suffering of the grave, an inevitable hardship that all dead people are meant to undergo, with variable degrees that match their sins.

A controversial subject in Islamic theology, the suffering, or pleasure, that awaits the dead in the grave, is discussed in detail in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Kitāb ar-Rūḥ* (The Book of the Soul). The fourteenth-century scholar concludes that the events of the grave are widely believed to be experienced by both soul and body.[27] Congruent with the overarching philosophy of suffering that pervades Ms. Oc., the materiality of punishment in the grave is sustained in the detailed accounts of the returning dead in the manuscript.

II. In the Grave: Between Death and Resurrection

The Coran sporadically alludes to the interim state between Death and Resurrection; and according to it, the dead never come back to life until the Day of Arising:

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[23] Ms. Oc., fol. 8^{r-v}.
[24] Ms. Oc., fol. 11^{r}.
[25] Ms. Oc., fol. 8^{v}; Mūsā (Moses) is reported to have used the same image of being flayed and boiled to describe death agony on fol. 25^{v}.
[26] Ms. Oc., fol. 27^{r}; cf. Chapter IV, section II. 2. of this thesis.
[27] Esp. p. 59; 'A prolific writer and much-appreciated Hanbali theologian and jurist' (d. 751 AH/ 1350 CE); cf. *EMIC*, s. v. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.

> When Death comes to one of them, he says, 'My Lord, send me back [to life]; /That I do righteousness in that which I left behind.' Nay, it is but a word he speaks; and behind them is a *barzaḫ* (barrier) until the day that they shall be raised up.[28]

These verses clearly evoke the impossibility of atonement after Death and set the two worlds apart in time and in space. Many are the Coranic verses in which sinners are denied return to this world for repentance,[29] but only this one explicitly states that the request happens in a transitory intermediate space. The Coran also makes it clear that the dead are not conscious during this liminal stage and certainly not aware of the passage of time.[30] The grave can be considered to be this impregnable barrier (*barzaḫ*) mentioned in the above-quoted verse. An echo of the impermeability of this space is found in Ms. Oc. where the compiler states that the dead reside 'in the darkness of the graves. Not a motion of them you can feel; not a whisper you can hear, until the Horn is blown,' announcing Resurrection for Retribution.[31] However, the compendium is fraught with instances showing the contrary, expanding on the dead person's own description of what they experienced inside the grave.

The return of the dead to report the events of the afterlife is a recurrent trope in Ms. Oc., and in Morisco literature in general. It is attested that in Toledo, the Mudejars/Moriscos would often discuss this subject in their religious assemblies. Louis Cardaillac narrates the episode of the man who would convene gatherings in his house in 1540 Toledo, pretending he could communicate with angels and ghosts.[32] Cardaillac notes that such prophetical gatherings had above all an educational purpose. In the words of the Inquisitors, that same Toledan fortune-teller would tell his auditors 'many such things of Moors to dogmatically teach them the precepts of Mahoma's sect, and among those things, he would tell them how in their lands, the Moors managed to observe the Law.'[33] The eschatological note of the themes discussed during the religious meetings was then added to attract a wider audience and foster their reception of the much denser topics of Islamic Law.

Returning dead people are also the main reporters in Islamic traditional eschatological texts. As Christian Lange notes, in Islamic treatises and *ḥadīṯ* (report) collections, 'graves are described as entry gates, […] called the "first way-station (*manzil*) of the otherworld."' He explains:

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[28] Q23:99- 100.
[29] Q6:27; 7:53; 14:44; 23:107; 32:12-5; 35:36-7; 39:58; 42:44; 63:10.
[30] Q2:259; 10:45; 17:52; 18:9-26; 20:103-4; 23:112-4; 30:55; 46:35.
[31] Ms. Oc., fols. 14^{r-v}.
[32] Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 62.
[33] AHN, *Inquisición, legajo* 193, n. 14, qtd. in *Ibid.*, p. 62.

> People on earth, in this perspective, live their lives on top of countless mini-entries to paradise and hell. The ground, especially in cemeteries, is perforated with holes, like a sieve. Through these holes, the otherworld beackons [sic] large.[34]

This proximity between life and death makes the liminal space of the cemetery, the threshold to the otherworldly spheres, a predilect setting in eschatological reports.

The Story of the Israelites at the Cemetery (fols. 7ᵛ-8ʳ)

A full-fledged tradition in Islamic eschatological manuals had grown out of the sporadic Coranic allusions to the interim space between life and death. The concept of the torment of the grave, known as *aḥwāl al-qubūr* (The Events of the Graves) describes in detail what happens in the tomb as *ʿaḏāb al-qabr* (the Suffering of the Grave).[35] The belief in this concept seems to have a Jewish origin, as the *ḥadīṯ* (saying) of the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾiša, reported in *Saḥīḥ al-Buḫārī* attests: When she asked him about the truthfulness of a Jewess's claim that the dead suffer in their graves, Muhammad first denied the existence of such a thing; but then she would hear him seeking refuge from this punishment in every prayer. Although it is mentioned in the *Saḥīḥ* (a collection of sound reports), this weak *ḥadīṯ* (report), the reliability of which is questioned, reveals the shaky ground upon which Jewish stories stand in Islamic traditions. These stories, however, were woven into the fabric of Islamic tradition and reconciled to the theological doctrine, becoming the main source of most of the beliefs related to death and the afterlife.[36] We find one of the most popular accounts about death reproduced in Ms. Oc.: It is a weak *ḥadīṯ* (saying) of Muhammad, first reported by his companion Jābir b. ʿAbdillāh, about a resurrected dead man who describes his death agony to a group of Israelites at the cemetery.[37] The short story is found in several classical eschatological treatises, including the tenth- century book of as-Samarqandī, *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn*,[38] proved to be in circulation inside the Mudejar-Morisco community, and of which an *aljamiado* version was made in the sixteenth century.[39] In search of the 'Arabic antecedents' of the Israelites' story in the sixteenth-century *aljamiado* BNM, Ms. 5223, Miguel-Ángel Vázquez compares it to five classical Arabic sources.[40] Picking up on his conclusions and adding the

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[34] Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, p. 122.
[35] Q6:93; 8:52; 9:102; 14:32; 25:21; 32:21; 40:11; 40:49; 47:29; 52:47; 71:25.
[36] Cf. Idleman-Smith, and Yazbeck-Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding*, p. 47; many Islamic groups, theologians, and philosophers debunked the concept of the grave torments; refer to Chapter II. II for an introduction to Jewish sources in Islamic tradition, called *isrāʾīliyāt*.
[37] Ms. Oc., fols. 7ᵛ-8ʳ.
[38] Abū al-Layṯ Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarqandī (d. 983 CE), *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn bi-aḥādīṯ sayyid al-anbiyāʾ wal-murasilīn* (Admonition for the Neglectful).
[39] BNM, Ms. 4871, ed. by Busto-Cortina in his doctoral thesis, *El alkitāb de Çamarqandī.*
[40] 'Antecedentes árabes de leyendas aljamiadas sobre la muerte', Table p. 31.

passage in Ms. Oc. to the comparison, the following table proves that *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* is undoubtedly a direct source of the tale of the Israelites in the Cemetery in this manuscript.

	***Kitāb al-mawt*[41] (9th c.)/*Dikr al-mawt*[42] (11th c.)/ *Šarḥ aṣ-ṣudūr*[43] (15th c.)**	***Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* in Arabic [44] (10th c.)**	***At-Tadkira*[45] (13th c.)**	**Ms. Oc. (ca. 1490s)**	***Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* in *aljamiado* (ca. 16th c.)**	**BNM, Ms. 5223 (ca. 16th c.)**
Isnād (transmission chain)	Jābir is the only reporter.	The longest *Isnād* of all versions, metioning Jābir.	A relatively long *Isnād*, metioning Jābir.	Jābir is the only reporter.	A shorter *Isnād* than the original Arabic, metioning Jābir.	Jābir is the only reporter.
Introductory Comments	Ø	There is no harm in quoting Jews.	Ø	There is no harm in quoting Jews.	Quoting Jews is not a sin.	Ø
Narrative Details	Ø	The dead man's head is blackened.	The dead man's head is white.	The dead man's head is blackened.	The dead man's head is blackened	The dead man's head is blackened.
	A prostration mark is spotted on the forehead of the resurrected man.	Ø (The detail is introduced later)	A prostration mark on the forehead.	Ø (The detail is introduced later)	Ø (The detail is introduced later)	Ø (The detail is introduced later)
	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	A short dialogue with the dead man.
	50 years of death before resurrection.	90 [or 100][46] years.	100 years.	90 years.	70 years.	70 years.
	Ø	A prostration mark on the forehead.	Ø	A prostration mark on the forehead.	A prostration mark on the forehead.	A prostration mark on the forehead.

Table 8: The Story of the Israelites in the Cemetery

The tale in Ms. Oc. and the original tenth-century Arabic *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* are almost identical. Indeed, the only version in which the number of years that have passed since the man died corresponds to the one stated in this classical source is that of Ms. Oc. Besides, the account in Ms. Oc. shares the same detail of the blackened colour of the dead man's forehead with the manuscript family of *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* (both the *aljamiado* translation of the book and the

[41] *Book of Death and the Book of Graves*, Ibn Abī ad-Dūnyā.
[42] *The Remembrance of Death and what follows it*, al-Ġazālī.
[43] *The Expansion of Breasts: A Commentary on the State of the Dead in the Grave*, as-Suyūṭī.
[44] *Admonition for the Neglectful*, as-Samarqandī.
[45] *A Reminder about the State of the Dead and the Events of the Afterlife*, al-Qurṭubī.
[46] According to the Arabic version consulted in this thesis, ed. by As-sayyed Al-ʿArabī, the text reads: 'I have been dead for ninety or a hundred years, and I can still taste the bitterness of death as if it were now,' §18, p. 17; Vázquez's omission of this detail may be due to his consultation of a different version.

tale found in the *aljamiado* BNM, Ms. 5223). However, only Ms. Oc. reproduces the exact same descriptive expression of the Arabic original: 'Black *ḫillāsī.*' This archaic adjective is usually attributed to the mixed skin colour of a child of white and black parents; and in this context, it attenuates the darkness of the colour described, referring to a blackened forehead rather than a black one. The uncommon use of the word that is exclusive to the version of *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn,* suggests that this version was the direct 'antecedent' of the tale in Ms. Oc. An Arabic marginal note written in diagonal on the left margin of the folio in Ms. Oc. explains the adjective: '*ḫillāsī,* i.e. black and white.'

The use of this adjective can also reveal something about how the tale was reproduced. In terms of structure, it is clear that the scribe of Ms. Oc. copied *verbatim* the original passage from *Tanbīh,* with very few slight omissions and modifications. Three hypotheses can ensue from this comparison: s/he either reconstructed the story from memory, or had the original tale at hand and omitted some words to serve his/her abridging intention, or was listening to the text being read and simultaneously taking notes, dropping some words in the process.

The first hypothesis is very difficult to sustain, judging by the high degree of accuracy and seems all the more improbable, considering the whole sequence of citation that the passage unfolds: As a matter of fact, the tale of the Israelites in §18 of *Tanbīh* is not quoted separately in Ms. Oc. The copied sequence starts before the tale, with §17, and ends with §19, covering thus a substantial part of the beginning of the chapter entitled 'the Horror and Intensity of Death."[47] It is unlikely that the scribe memorised the entire three passages word by word and reproduced them in the original order with no gaps or mistakes.

The clue that supports the third hypothesis, rather than the second one, can be extracted in that same archaic adjective used to describe the colour of the forehead: in the classical text, *Tanbīh*, the adjective *ḫillāsī* has a desinential inflection.[48] In other words, the original sentence is parsed, with a case marker added to the final short vowel of the adjective to indicate its syntactic function: the adjective is written with the particle 'an,' indicating an accusative case, and should be read /xɪl-la:sɪ-j-an/ rather than /xɪl-la:si:/.[49] The latter pronunciation, in which the inflection is hidden, is typical of dialectical Arabic and is very often a sign of orality. The main contention is that someone was reading out loud from *Tanbīh,* pronouncing the word in its uninflected form and that the compiler transcribed it as s/he heard it. The marginal

[47] باب هوْل الموت وشدّته

[48] Called *iʿrāb* in Arabic grammar: a final short vowel added to a base form to indicate nominative (-u, -un), genitive (-i, -in), or accusative (-a, -an) case.

[49] خِلَاسِيًّا

note, written in the same hand as the core text, suggests that the compiler later revised the text, adding the gloss to explain the obsolete word.

The proliferation of versions and the differences noticed in them attest that the story of the encounter between the Israelites and the dead man had been orally transmitted. It is most probably thanks to its macabre setting and mysterious tone that this story had gained such popularity. Despite its brevity, its succinct description of death agony must have eloquently transmitted the preacher's message and powerfully affected the audience's mood; the dead man, with the prostration mark on the forehead that hints at his piety, is only resurrected to utter two sentences. First, he testifies: 'By Allāh, I died ninety years ago but I can still taste the bitterness of death!' Then he desperately supplicates his visitors: 'Prithee, pray to our Lord for my return.'[50] While the dead man plea is left unanswered, confirming the Coranic denial of similar requests, another dead person could make his way back across the barrier that separates life and death. This fellow appears in another popular story narrated in Ms. Oc., the Story of Jesus and the Skull, providing a much more vividly detailed report of what happens to the dead in the intermediate space.

III. Beyond the Grave: Visions of the Otherworld

The preview of the otherworldly space, offered in Ms. Oc., is mostly made of visions of Hell. Setting the tone for the series of detailed accounts, a short description of this space of punishment is offered in Ms. Oc., in the report of the dialogue between God and Moses.[51] Allah asks Mūsā if he wants Him to describe *Jahannam* (Hell) and then tells him about its 'seven superposed Layers: in each of them seven thousand rivers.' He says:

> In each river, seven thousand creeks; by each creek, seven thousand houses; in each house, seven thousand coffins; in each coffin, seven thousand faces; on each face, seven thousand mouths; inside each mouth, seven thousand snakes; with each snake, seven thousand scorpions; and each scorpion is as gigantic as *Ṭūr Sīnā* (Mount Sinai). There will be no disbeliever, no disobedient offspring, no usurer, no wine drinker, no fornicator, but confined in those coffins to incur the [doings] of the *Zabāniya* [Guards of Hell], scorpions, and snakes.' Mūsā was astonished to hear about the suffering of *Jahannam* and its horrors.

This hyperbolic depiction of Hell as a multi-layered space of endless punishment is very common in Islamic tradition. In his *Taḏkira* (Reminder) (thirteenth century), al-Qurṭubī offers a similar description relying on the account of Wahb b. al-Munabbih where seventy

[50] Ms. Oc., fol. 8r.
[51] Commonly known in Islamic tradition as *Munājāt Mūsā* (his secret supplication to God); Ms. Oc., fols. 166r-167r.

thousand snakes and seventy thousand scorpions partake in the torture of disbelievers.[52] These creatures, 'believed to shuttle back and forth between the earth and the hellish netherworlds,'[53] are not the only go-betweens in Ms. Oc., as angels, prophets, and ordinary people are able to move to and fro, transmitting stories about the Hereafter.

1. The Returning Dead: The Story of Jesus and the Skull (fols. 63ᵛ-71ᵛ)[54]

The story of Jesus and the Skull symbolises the intrusion of pictures of Hell punishment into the course of human life, portrayed in Ms. Oc. As in the traditional story, it is reported in Ms. Oc., that one day, when ʿĪsā (Jesus) was having a walk, he stumbled on a skull and asked him about his experience in the afterlife. As the skull is that of a sinner, his encounter with death is described as an ordeal, starting with his agony moment, passing by his funeral, and ending with his otherworldly journey to Hell, assisted by the two monstrous tour guides who questioned and tortured him in the grave. ʿĪsā then resurrected the dead sinner, offering him a second chance to live virtuously and eventually be granted access to Heaven.[55]

Apart from his story with the skull, Jesus's presence in Ms. Oc. is minor;[56] and even the majority of the compiled sayings are attributed to prophets other than Jesus.[57] It is also noteworthy that Jesus' appearance in Ms. Oc. is always eschatological, related to death and the afterlife. This is no exception to the typical presence of this Prophet in popular Islamic tradition. In his study about the features of Jesus in Islam, Tarif Khalidi makes a distinction between two portraits of the Prophet: 'the Jesus of the eschaton was enshrined in authoritative Hadith collections, becoming a somewhat distant figure of no immediate or pragmatic relevance to Muslim piety;' he notes. 'But another Jesus continued to prosper—the Jesus encountered in works of piety and asceticism and in a genre of religious literature called "Tales of the Prophets" (Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ).'[58] It is this second figure that the corpus of Morisco texts portrays. Many are the stories translated from the different versions of the *Tales of the Prophets* into *aljamiado* in the sixteenth century, and the share of Jesus in these adapted tales is considerable.[59] With the exception of the story of his birth that is the most

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[52] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273 CE), *At-tadkira fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-āḫira* (A Reminder about the State of the Dead and the Events of the Afterlife), p. 397; about Wahb b. al-Munabbih, refer to Chapter II. II, section 1. 2 of this thesis.
[53] Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, p. 9.
[54] Mistakenly foliated as 72ᵛ.
[55] Jesus's resurrection of the dead is attested in Q5:110.
[56] Refer to the Story of the Judgement Day (Ms. Oc., fols. 72ᵛ-107ᵛ) analysed in Chapter IV, section I. 2.
[57] Refer to Chapter II, section II. 1. 3.
[58] Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus,* p. 26.
[59] Six tales, including the story of the skull, are ed. in Vespertino-Rodríguez, *Leyendas aljamiadas*; also see his article on Jesus and Mary, 'Las figuras de Jesús y María;' on the stories of Biblical Prophets in Islam, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*.

prevalent one, the eschatological import of the Islamic tales on Jesus is apparent; but, as Khalidi notes, all these tales 'stress the fact that [he] is no better informed than any mortal about when the "Hour" shall come. Rather, the coming of the "Hour" is still, for him, cause for dread and renewed prayer.'[60] This applies to the figure of Jesus in Ms. Oc., who appears in two instances, expressing his concern about the sudden coming of death and about his own fate on the Judgement Day.[61]

The story of ʿĪsā (Jesus) and the Skull that is under study in this section is a very popular tale, the diffusion of which is characterised by the abundant and versatile nature of the versions. Roberto Tottoli devotes an article to a discussion of 'the emergence and growth' of this tradition in Arabic literature, with a comprehensive survey of all the studies that have been conducted about the tale, the majority of which are editions and translations.[62] Tracking the sources of this tale is a very challenging enterprise, due to the proliferation of very different versions that lack in many cases an *isnād* (transmission chain). The *isnād*-less feature of tales such as this is very often a sign of its archaic nature. Khalidi explains the absence of a reliable transmission by the fact that 'Jesus sayings were allowed to circulate in the Islamic environment in relative freedom and without the increasingly rigorous standards which Muhammadan Hadiths were expected to satisfy. '[63] Indeed, the tale of the Skull in Ms. Oc. is not preceded by any reference to its origins. This is also the case of the two later *aljamiado* versions found in BNM, Ms. 5305 (Gg 196)[64] and EPZ, Ms. 11.[65] Two other Morisco versions have not been studied to date; and these are the tales found in NLM, Ms. 481 in *aljamiado*,[66] and in BTNT, Ms. J 64 in Arabic. The latter is a file of loose folios containing fragments of stories of the prophets (Pic. 1). The tale of J 64 is the most poetic of all versions, characterised with the use of *as-sajʿ*, a stylistic device that endows the prose with a monotonous rhythm, similar to the effect of poetic rhymes. This version is different from that of Ms. Oc., in both form and content.

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[60] Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus*, p. 33.
[61] Ms. Oc., fols. 85^{v}-86^{r} and 90^{v}-91^{r} (Judgement and Intercession episode in the Story of the End of the World); 105^{r}-105^{v} (the same episode copied from a different source); 116^{r} (on youth, old age and death).
[62] 'The Story of Jesus and the Skull in Arabic Literature.'
[63] Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus*, p. 30-1.
[64] Ed. in Vespertino-Rodríguez, *Leyendas aljamiadas*, pp. 342-8; the tale is this Ms. was formerly edited under its old classmark (Gg. 196), in Guillén-Robles, *Leyendas moriscas* I, pp. 159-70; In the most recent list of Mss. compiled in 2011 by Barletta and Ruiz-Bejarano, 'Relación de manuscritos aljamiados conocidos,' the Ms. is mentioned by its old classmark 'Gg. 196,' p. 17, which is misleading; in 'The Morisco Hell', Tottoli counts three *aljamiado* versions, also thinking that BNM, Ms. 5305 is different from Ms. Gg. 196; the frequent change in the cataloguing of Morisco *aljamiado* Mss. is confusing and more work should be done to ensure accuracy.
[65] Ed. in Vázquez, *Desde la penumbra de la fosa*, pp. 158-64.
[66] Fols. 241v-233v: '*Hadiz de 'Içа con la calavera*', described in Wiegers, 'Un manuscrito aljamiado en la Biblioteca de Malta', *Aljamía*, 15 (2003), pp. 85-9.



<u>Picture 1</u>: The Story of Jesus and the Skull in the Morisco Manuscript, BTNT, Ms. J 64 (detail)
Unedited photo, taken at the BTNT archives

All the versions mentioned above were examined in this study, along with the five Arabic versions that Miguel Asín-Palacios edits and translates into Latin in his *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu*.[67] The closest Arabic version to the tale in Ms. Oc. is the fifth and last version in *Logia*. Palacios indicates that the text in question is found in Ms. J 26, a lost Morisco manuscript of which very little is known.[68]

[67] 102 quinquies—CA (anonymous codex), fol. 136ᵛ, 1 inf., p. 426.
[68] In Barletta and Ruiz-Bejarano, 'Relación de manuscritos aljamiados conocidos,' p. 61, it is mentioned that BTNT, Ms. J 91 is made of loose folios taken from Ms. J 27, but nothing is said about the source Ms.; in 'Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos', p. 105, Villaverde-Amieva notes that the Ms. was lost.

		Ms. Oc. Arabic (fols. 63ᵛ-71ᵛ)	**BNM, Ms. 5305 (Gg. 196)** *aljamiado* (fols. 16ᵛ-22ᵛ)	**EPZ, Ms. 11** *aljamiado* (fols. 83ʳ-86ᵛ)
Isnād (Transmission Chain)		Ø		Almost identical to BNM, Ms. 5305, with slight variations, most conspicuously a different ending.
Introduction		ʿĪsā (Jesus) is walking alone when he stumbles on a skull; God inspired him to talk to it. ʿĪsā performs ablution, prostration and Islamic invocation. The Skull reacts to Muhammad's name, mentioned in the invocation: 'O Spirit of Allāh (Jesus)[69], the most honourable of all names you have uttered!'		
	The Encounter	*Ubi sunt*-dialogue		
	Background Information	The dead man belonged to a cursed people		
	Death and its Agony	The Angel of Death visited him when he was in the bath	The Angel of Death visited his people all together; **He died 300 years ago**	
		Description of the Angel and the suffering of death		
	Towards the Cemetery	Mortuary rituals in which the shroud, the coffin, **and the grave** talk	Mortuary rituals in which the shroud and the coffin speak	
		Mentioning the distribution of the dead man's heritage followed by the preacher's warning against illegal trade	Ø	
	In the Grave	Description of two anonymous Angles visiting the dead man in the grave, described as 'darkened blue, 400 feet-long'/The questionnaire/ The book of deeds: '**By Allah, [reading my book,] not a single *ḥasana* (good deed) I could spot!' (fol. 68r)**	Description of two anonymous Angels 'black, 400 feet-long'/The questionnaire/ The book of deeds: only one *ḥasana* (good deed) is found	
		Two other visiting Angels, 'darkened blue, with voices like thunder and eyes like lightning;' the name Munkar is mentioned later, followed by 'his brother'—each asking same questions as the two first angels—One	Two other visiting Angels, 'very proud and foul.' Their names (**Munkar and Nakīr**) are mentioned—One of them asking same questions as the two first angels	

[69] Some Coranic verses intimate that Jesus is the Spirit of God that He breathed into Mary (Q21:91; 66:12; and 4:171; 2:87, 253; 5:110); although most exegetes interpret this Spirit to be the Angel Gabriel, based on Q19:16-21.

		of them 'thrust [him] in the depth of Hell and tortured me as hard as Allah pleased.' (fol. 68v)		
	Tour of Hell and the Categories of Sinners	The Writing Angels take him to the dwellings of Hell. Behind the doors, he sees those who those who waste the orphans' properties, false witnesses, wine-drinkers, those who earn forbidden money, women who calumniate their husbands, **female mourners (wailers) and shameless women who do not hide from men's gaze.** He then sees the River Falaq[70] behind the seventh door (insistence on the horrors he sees there, **without any description**)	The Writing Angels take him to the dwellings of Hell. Behind the doors, he sees those who waste the orphans' properties, perjurers, wine-drinkers, those who earn forbidden money, women who calumniate their husbands and look daggers at them, adulterous women. He then sees the River Falaq behind the seventh door (insistence on the horrors he sees there, **with very concise description**)	
Ending	The Wish	ʿĪsā asks the Skull to make a wish- the man comes back to life and lived for 12 years.		
	The Fate	'He died and was one of those destined to Heaven.' (*mata wa-huwa men ahl al-janna*)	'He was redeemed, with God's will.' (*Fu^{w}e a/deraçado kon el kerimi^{y}ento de Al.lah*)	'And he was one of those destined to Heaven.' (*Fue de los del paraíso*)

Table 9: The Story of Jesus and the Skull: Three Morisco Versions

The comparative table shows that the three Morisco versions of the story are very similar. The *aljamiado* ones are faithful translations of an Arabic text that is most probably the source that the compiler of Ms. Oc. consulted, or at least one that belongs to the same textual family. All the classical themes and narrative details found in early Arabic versions are reproduced in the Morisco remakings, with some additions and modifications.[71] Indeed, the Morisco versions exhibit a unique feature that is not found in the classical texts: whereas almost all

[70] As Tottoli notes, 'the name is not very frequent in medieval larger remakings; It appears in Saqsīnī, *Zahrat ar-riyāḍ*, p. 37, and MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sprenger 2005, fol. 22^{r}, where it is identified with a castle with a thousand houses; in Asín-Palacios, *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu*, as in Saqsīnī, *Zahrat ar-iyāḍ*, it is a river above which is the seventh layer of Hell, in which the damned undergo terrible punishments'; cf. 'The Morisco Hell', p. 284, n57.

[71] 'The Morisco Hell', p. 283; Tottoli counts three versions, also thinking that BNM, Ms. 5305 is different from Ms. Gg. 196.

the traditional versions of the story attribute the skull to a king[72]—some name him (and the names differ) and some do not,[73] the Morisco tales do not preserve this detail. The effect of this omission is a generalisation that brings the story closer to commoners. The communal aspect of the Morisco versions is conspicuous, as the Skull narrates—in the two *aljamiado* texts, as in Ms. Oc.—that he belonged to a cursed *umma* (community) that incurred drought 'for seven years, seven months, and seven days.'[74] The compiler of Ms. Oc. elaborates further on this idea, specifying that the community lived on agriculture. If deliberately added, this detail may reveal that the compiler/preacher wanted his/her audience, mostly made of farmers, to easily identify with the Skull and his people.

Jesus is not surprised to hear the Skull answering him; and neither are the Israelites who talked to the dead man in the cemetery.[75] The apparition of the resurrected dead man, in both stories, is neither frightening, nor considered strange. There is a negation of the sense of wonder that accompanies the invitation to the readers/listeners to come to the eschatological world of Ms. Oc. with the assumption that the dead can trespass the barrier back to life.

The story of Jesus and the Skull, in all its versions, offers a very rich account of the events that take place during the dead sinner's journey, since the moment of death until his visit to the abode of Hell. All the versions of the story start with a vivid description of the separation of the soul and the body. The image is very similar to the one we find in the tale of Muhammad's companion, Salmān al-Fārisī who, feeling his death is near, asks to be taken to the cemetery to question the dead about the afterlife. This tale was also very popular among the Moriscos: it is found in the sixteenth-century *aljamiado* manuscripts, Ms. 5313, Ms. J 55, and Ms. Urrea de Jalón.[76] The reporter in this tale is also a resurrected dead man who describes death agony to Salmān, stressing the excrutiating pain of the extraction of the soul from the body.

The story of Jesus and the Skull, as retold in Ms. Oc., retains the detailed account of this process, as well as of all the following events that take place before the burial and in the grave: the washing and shrouding of the body, the funeral procession, the visitations of the

[72] The tale edited and translated by Asín- Palacios in *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu* is an exception (102 quinquies—CA (anonymous codex), fol. 136^{v}, 1 inf., p. 426.)
[73] BL, Ms. Or. 4376, fols. 12^{r}-14^{v}.
[74] BNM, Ms. 5305, fol. 18^{r}; EPZ, Ms. 11, fol. 83^{v}; Ms. Oc., fols. 64^{v}-65^{r}; the latter adds seven hours to the draught period.
[75] Cf. the previous section in this chapter.
[76] BNM, Ms. 5313, fols. 182^{r}- 195^{v}, ed. in Vázquez, *Desde la penumbra*, pp. 145-50; Ms. Urrea de Jalón, fols. 182r-185r ed. in Corriente-Córdoba, *Relatos píos y profanos*, pp. 270-4; and BTNT, Ms. J 55, fols. 21^{v}- 44^{r}; cf. Vázquez, 'Un morisco muere ante nuestros ojos.'

Angels, their inquisition, and punishment (Table 9). According to the Skull, the dead person is aware of all that happens around him/her; and this is indeed a common belief in Islamic eschatological tradition.[77] The grave is then depicted as a threshold to an otherworldly trip in which the dead person is offered a preview of the fate that awaits him/her in the Hereafter. This can be considered a minor resurrection that happens during the tarrying time before the D-day. The journey that the soul of the dead person undertakes in the grave is reminiscent of *al-Miʿrāj,* the archetypical ascension of the Prophet to the heavenly spheres.[78] As the reporter's soul does not seem to be disembodied, experiencing corporeal effects in its visit to Hell, the story of the Skull raises controversy about the truthfulness of the reunification of soul and body in the grave. Indeed, as Idleman-Smith and Yazbeck-Haddad note, most traditional manuals 'commonly attest to the belief that there is a joining of the spiritual and the physical at this point,'[79] as it is the case of this story.

2. Hell is Now: The Prophet's Premonitory Dream (fols. 117r-125r)

There is a fine generic line, setting eschatological and apocalyptic texts apart. As Bernard McGinn explains in his *Visions of the End,* 'general eschatology becomes apocalyptic when it announces details of the future course of history and the imminence of its divinely appointed end.'[80] So, while eschatological texts depict the 'Last Things' and final events from a timeless universal perspective, the apocalyptic sub-genre takes a step further, relating the present to the near future, and this world to a parallel supernatural realm. In apocalyptic texts, prevalent in *aljamiado* literature and known as *aljofores* (pl. of *aljofor*), the imminence of the End was meant to strengthen the wavering faith of crypto-Muslims, promising the devoutly patient ones of deliverance and warning those who went astray of castigation.[81] The apocalyptic stories that circulated among the Moriscos, in written and oral forms, ignited hope in their predestined victory over 'the infidels.' Indeed, according to Luis del Mármol Carvajal and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the contemporary chroniclers of the 1570 Morisco revolt in the Alpujarras, those prophecies were one of the direct incentives for the rebellion.[82] The most remarkable miscellany of Morisco apocalyptic prophecies is Ms. 774, comprised of texts on

[77] Cf. for instance, as-Suyūṭī, *Bušrā al-kaʾīb bi-liqāʾi al-ḥabīb* (The Consolation of the Dejected [Believer] with the Meeting of the Beloved) (15th century), p. 34.
[78] Refer to Chapter IV, section II. 2.
[79] Idleman-Smith, and Yazbeck-Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding,* p. 40; as an example, al-Jawziyya affirms this reunification in *Kitāb ar-Rūḥ,* p. 59.
[80] McGinn, *Visions of the End,* p. 3, 5, qtd. in O' Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse,* p. 61.
[81] See Alvarez, 'Prophecies of Apocalypse in Sixteenth-century Morisco Writings.'
[82] See Green-Mercado, 'The Mahdī in Valencia: Messianism, Apocalypticism and Morisco Rebellions,' p. 201.

death and the Day of Judgement, foretelling the imminent End of the World.[83] The compendium contains four prophecies predicting the fate of Spanish Islam in the Peninsula whereby the Turks will help the Spanish Muslims regain their territories.[84] Although Ms. Oc. does not include any explicitly prophetic text, maintaining its timeless character, there is an overall concern about the impending end of times that divulges the same communal anxiety, disguised with a false hope of victory in Ms. 774.

Ms. Oc., and more specifically the Tale of the Prophet's Dream that will be analysed in what follows, trespasses the fine border between eschatology and apocalypticism. It is yet another instance of the liminal position that the manuscript occupies in the Mudejar-Morisco literary corpus. The generic liminality of the tale is best illustrated in the equivocation that lies at the root of the whole narrative: the Prophet had an eschatological nightmare that he and his followers interpreted as an apocalyptic divine vision. In chapter 'Vision from Allāh' in the 'Book of the Interpretations of Dreams' in *Ṣaḥiḥ al-Buḫarī*,[85] ordinary dreams are distinguished from visions; and it is the Prophet himself who warns against the folly of telling one's bad dreams to people as portents of evil. Paradoxically, that is what he does in this tale, first opting for a three-day silence in seclusion but then ending up narrating the nightmare to his partisans and wreaking havoc among them. As the Apostle's wife, ʿĀʾiša, witnesses that all the visions that he sees do come true, that such a nightmare was considered a visionary oracle is no surprise.[86]

As reported in the tale in Ms. Oc., the Prophet fell asleep when he was at the *masjid* (mosque). 'And as he was asleep, he opened his eyes, to suddenly see Jibrīl *pbuh* sitting by his side, looking unusually sad.' Then the narrator reports a vividly-descriptive didactic conversation that took place between Muhammad and the Archangel about the gates of Hell and its torments (fols. 117^{v}-119^{r}).

The story is eschatological, inasmuch as it depicts a virtual visit to the afterlife; and it can even be deemed apocalyptic, judging by the definition of John J. Collins. According to him, the genre pertains to 'revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality

[83] BNF, Ms. 774, ed. by Sánchez-Álvarez, *El Manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris*; the four prophecies of the Ms. were previously published by Lincoln, 'Aljamiado Prophecies;' see also López-Baralt, 'El oráculo de Mahoma' and 'Cuatro profecías moriscas.'
[84] For more details of this victory, cf. López-Baralt, 'The secret literature,' pp. 33- 4.
[85] One of the six major *ḥadīṯ* (the Prophet's tradition) collections of Sunni Islam (ca. 232 AH/846 CE;) '*Ṣaḥīḥ*' means 'authentic' or 'correct' and '*al-Buḫārī*' is the name of the compiler.
[86] *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*, Book of the Interpretation of Dreams, Chapter 'the Commencement of Divine Revelation to the Prophet, *pbuh*, was in the Form of Righteous (or Truthful) Visions.'

which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.'[87] The Prophet's Dream fulfils all the required elements to be considered an apocalyptic tale. A close analysis of it, centred on the construction of space and its symbolic value, proves to be an interesting reading of the rhetorical production of space that has an informative purpose, with an emotional appeal.

The storyline is rich, abiding by the tripartite narrative pattern: an initial calm situation, a state of unrest, and a denouement; bearing all the characteristic features of the pattern: a climactic moment, poetic leitmotifs that are meant to arouse an acute emotional response, and a tightly arranged sequence of events that creates the accelerated rhythm of the narrative. The plot can also be depicted as a five-point trajectory in order to underscore its dramatic effects (Table 10). Apocalyptic narratives usually conform to this model since they are dramatic in nature. For as Bernard McGinn observes, 'whether we wish to call it allegorical, symbolic, figurative, or confused, it will be obvious that apocalyptic presentation is usually highly dramatic in form.'[88]

Exposition (fols. 117^{r}-119^{r})	**Rising Action** (fols. 119^{r}-122^{v})	**Climax** (fols. 122^{v}-124^{r})	**Falling Action** (fols. 124^{r-v})	**Denouement** (fols. 124^{v}-125^{r})
-The Prophet falls asleep at the *masjid* (mosque). -The conversation between the Prophet and Jibrīl (Gabriel) about the Seven Layers of Hell and the abode of Muslim sinners.	The Prophet's seclusion and the attempts of his family, companions, and followers to console him.	-The Prophet reveals the reason for his dejection and the havoc that ensues from the revelation. -Salmān's flight to the desert.	-Jibrīl's visitation with a verse reassuring the righteous believers and promising them salvation. -In his turn, the Prophet reassures his followers.	-The Prophet seeks Salmān whom Jibrīl promises heaven.

Table 10: The Prophet's Premonitory Dream: Narrative / Dramatic Structure

An Eschatological Dream or an Apocalyptic Vision?

First, it is noteworthy that the dialogue in the tale of Ms. Oc. starts with Jibrīl telling Muhammad to read (*Iqra'*!). This is a conspicuous allusion to the Revelation Episode in Islam that marks the beginning of Muhammad's prophetic mission. The Prophet's answer to Jibrīl's order in this tale is also reminiscent of his reaction in that first conversation when he expressed his inability to read. The parallelism drawn between the beginning of the tale in

[87] 'Apocalypse: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,' in *Semeia*, 14 (1979): 1-20, esp. 9, qtd in Alvarez, 'Prophecies of Apocalypse', p. 583.
[88] McGinn, *Visions of the End*, p. 6.

Ms. Oc. and the Revelation Episode in Islamic tradition is very telling. It recalls one of the reported sayings of the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾiša, quoted in the Book of the Interpretations of Dreams in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*. The chapter in which the saying appears is entitled 'the Commencement of Divine Revelation to the Prophet, *pbuh*, was in the Form of Righteous (or Truthful) Visions.'[89] ʿĀʾiša declares that 'the first signs of Revelation that appeared on the Prophet were the Truthful Visions he would get in his sleep. He never had a vision but that it came true like bright daylight.'[90] Then she narrates the story of his frequent visits to the cave of *Ḥirāʾ* to worship Allāh in seclusion, and how Jibrīl came to him on the day of the Revelation with the first verse of the Holy Book, asking him to read.

Visions had been very often associated with Muhammad's prophetic mission. Indeed, the distinction between a dream and a vision appears to be blurred when it comes to the kind of experience the Prophet lives when he sleeps. In the Book of Ablution in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḫārī*, one of the Prophet's companions narrates how he would sometimes sleep and then go straight to prayer without ablution. This means that sleep does not always disable his consciousness. It was then hard to tell if he was sound asleep when his eyes were closed. A group of followers ask ʿAmr, one of Muhammad's companions: 'It is said that the Prophet's eyes sleep, but not his heart; [is that true?]' ʿAmr replies: 'I once heard ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr say: "What the prophets see [in sleep][91] belong to Revelation," then he recited, "I saw in a sleep that I slaughter thee."' The recited Coranic verse about Abraham's visionary dream of his son's sacrifice points at the deeply enrooted Abrahamic tradition of considering the prophets' dreams as manifestations of divine inspiration.[92]

The story of Ms. Oc. is based on this tradition, as the narrative embarks on a transitional state from wakefulness to sleep. The latter catches the Prophet unawares as this sentence shows, 'Sleep suddenly dawned upon him.'[93] The narrator then clearly states that 'he fell asleep.' The statement is nevertheless followed by this ambiguous sentence: 'and while he was asleep, he opened his eyes to see Jibrīl sitting by his side.'[94] The hypnagogic state of consciousness that usually characterises the onset of sleep is coupled with an allusion to dream; for how can he open his eyes while asleep, if not in dream?

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[89] Unlike the translation of Muhsin-Khan of *ruʾyā* as 'dream,' 'vision' is here opted for, to stress the difference between the two terms, upon which the following analysis of the tale is based; cf. al-Buḫārī, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari*.
[90] *Ibid.*, report n° 9. 111.
[91] In this context, *ruʾyā* is translated thus to preserve its initial neutral use.
[92] Q37:102.
[93] إذ أصابته نومة ; literally, he was struck by Sleep.
[94] Ms. Oc., fol. 117r.

The end of the first part of the story does not resolve the ambiguity. Nothing is mentioned about an awakening: 'The Prophet burst into tears. Jibrīl leaves, and so did the Prophet.'[95] It remains unknown whether this threshold consciousness brought lucid dreaming that might be considered a truthful vision, or just a nightmare that should be discarded. The effect is a perplexity created in the audience, a hesitation as to what is reality and what is a dream. In this story, sleep is the portal that opens up for a short while, letting some elements of the otherworldly realm sneak back into the world of reality: Hell looms ahead, as the Judgement Day is lived before time, through the Prophet's account of the scenes of punishment that he saw in the dream/vision.

Sleep as a Gate to the Afterlife

In the first revealed chapter of the Coran that starts with '*Iqraʾ*!' (Read!), the story of the creation of man is told: 'Proclaim! (or Read!) in the name of thy Lord and Cherisher who created—/created man, out of a clinging clot.'[96] In this episode, however, when the Prophet asks, 'And what should I read, my dear Jibrīl?' the Angel replies with two verses about the Judgement Day, and more specifically about punishment in Hell: 'Read: "In the Name of Allāh, Most Gracious, Most Merciful; And verily, Hell is the promised abode for them all/ It has seven gates. For every gate is of them a portion designated,"'[97] or 'for each gate is a (special) class (of sinners) assigned.'[98] Through the parallelism set between this story and the Revelation episode, a circle that joins the stories of creation and annihilation is traced.

Through the tale, sleep is portrayed as a gate to the otherworldly realm. The Prophet's sleep is reminiscent of the transitory state of the souls of the dead prior to Resurrection. Indeed, as Christian Lange indicates, 'in several passages, […] the Coran suggests that the souls of the dead fall into sleep until the Day of Judgement, so that the intermittent time span seems of no consequence to them when they wake up at the end of time.'[99]

As one of the reported sayings of the Prophet goes, 'Sleep is the brother of Death.'[100] Commenting on the statement, the prominent twelfth-century theologian al-Ġazālī thinks that the chief similarity between the two is that 'sleep raises the cover from the unseen world so that the sleeper comes to know what will happen in the future.' He wonders, 'what, then, must be the situation in the case of death […] which rends the veil apart and removes the

[95] Ms. Oc., fol. 119^{r}.
[96] Q96:1-2; the Arabic word, here translated as 'clinging clot,' is *ʿalaq*, referring to the embryo, a germ-cell that resembles a leech.
[97] Q15:43-4; Ms. Oc., fol. 117^{v}.
[98] Yusuf Ali suggests this interpretive translation.
[99] Lange, *Paradise and Hell*, p. 39; cf. also Q10:45; 20:103-4; 23:112-3; 36:52.
[100] Al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, VII, p. 90.

cover completely […]?'[101] In one of his books, a section is devoted to 'the States of the Dead […] known through Unveiling [*mukāšafa*] in Dreams,' but none of the visions he reported were attributed to the Prophet. Muhammad's dream, and its repercussions on his partisans, related in Ms. Oc., is a unique story that is found nowhere in the Morisco literary corpus and could not be traced back to any canonical Islamic account in this study. The compiler of Ms. Oc. tries to legitimise this narrative with a considerably long *Isnād* (transmission chain) that goes back to Ibnʿ Abbās as the original narrator.[102]

The compiler must have relied on the concise allusions to the Prophet's visions, such as ʿĀʾiša's saying, to construct this intricate story with the aim of dramatising his teachings about Hell. This intention can be deduced from the homiletic section that precedes the tale in which the preacher digresses from the discussion of age and the imminence of death to a fervent call for reflection about Hell:

> O ye people, ponder upon the description of Hell and its agony, its fierceness, and its grudge. It is bitter and harsh. May Allāh spare us [Hell] with His Mercy and Grace. Hell is an ordered [space], as Allāh's words in the Coran testify, 'It has seven gates/For every gate is of them a portion designated.'[103]

Starting with the same verses that Jibrīl asks the Prophet to recite, the preacher foreshadows the conversation, glossing his/her main purpose of representing Hell as an ordered space, and echoing the teaching voice of the Archangel to strengthen his/her position as an instructor. The spatial features of Hell, as described in this story, will be analysed later, in juxtaposition with its depiction in other narratives in Ms. Oc., to offer a more comprehensive view of this otherworldly space.

On the other hand, the analysis of the second part of the story of the Prophet's Dream can reveal the ideological aspects of the narrative and the compiler's desired effect on the audience. When Jibrīl disappeared, the Prophet returned back home 'crying sadly.' He did not answer ʿĀʾiša when she enquired about his sadness, and asked her to 'leave [him] alone; close the door; hide [him] from people; and not allow anyone to enter. He then faced the *miḥrāb* (altar) and kept kneeling and bowing, crying for three days, neither eating nor drinking. Jibrīl would come to him at each prayer time to call him to pray.'[104]

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[101] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ġazālī (d. 1111 CE), Book 40 of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn* (The Revival of Religious Sciences), entitled *Kitāb dikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdah* (The Remembrance of Death and what follows it); cf. *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife,* trans. by Winter, p. 154; for the ambiguous relation between Sleep and Death, cf. Q39:42, 6:60, and 36:52.

[102] 'He was born three years before the *hijra* (the migration of Mohammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina); 'He is considered to be the greatest scholar of the first generation of Muslims' and 'the father of Coranic exegesis;' cf. *EI*, s. v. ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās.

[103] Ms. Oc., fol. 117r.

[104] Ms. Oc., fol. 119r.

As *al-Buḫārī* reports in Chapter 'Dreams are from Allāh' in the Book of the Interpretations of Dreams of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'Abū Qatāda narrates that the Prophet said, 'A truthful vision (*ar-ruʾyā aṣ-ṣādika*) is from Allāh, and a [bad] dream (*ḥulum*) is from Satan.' Abū Saʿīd al-Ḫudrī also narrates in the same context that Muhammad said, 'if any of you has a pleasant sight [in sleep][105], then it is from Allāh, and he should thank Him for it and narrate it to others; but if he sees other than that: a sight that he dislikes, then it is from Satan, and he should seek refuge in Allāh from its evil and not mention it to anybody, for it will not harm him.' It is then possible that in the tale of the Dream in Ms. Oc., the reason of the Prophet's subsequent three-day silence is his abidance by his own rule. This reaction is reminiscent of that of Abraham who did not tell his dream/vision to anyone until the moment of the intended execution when he confessed to his son. And as in Abraham's case, the Prophet's stance does not entail doubt about the truthfulness of the vision, though it might well be considered a bad dream of Satanic rather than divine provenance.

Muhammad's seclusion raised a debate among his companions and followers. As she was describing the Prophet's state, ʿĀʾiša was crying; and so did her father Abū Bakr and ʿAlī, Muhammad's son-in-law, when they heard the story. Then came the two other companions and later Caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿUṯmān. 'And they all cried heavily.' The expression 'cry heavily' turns into a refrain that punctuates the tale, for each time a character knows about the Prophet's unusual state of seclusion, s/he bursts into tears. The narrow circle of Muhammad's family and companions is then widened to include Salmān al-Fārisī and the other followers, 'the *Muhājirīn* and the *Anṣār*.'[106] Salmān suggested that the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, is the one who could break his solitude. He then went with her husband ʿAlī to tell her about what happened and ask for her help. When Fāṭima talked to the Prophet, the latter allowed the followers to enter and disclosed the secret of his sadness:

> Jibrīl, *pbuh*, told me about Hell and its horrors, its suffering and its shackles, its groaning and its blazing fire. This has preoccupied me and impeded me from seeing you, eating, drinking, sleeping and having rest;' [says the Prophet.] Upon mentioning Hell, people left his house, with tears running on their cheeks as they cried out, 'Fire, Fire! How to be granted release from Fire?[107]

Crying is a conspicuous trope that marks the rising action of the story and adds to its dramatic effect. In another instance in the manuscript, the compiler very briefly narrates how 'the Prophet was once sitting among his companions when he started pondering the mutability

[105] A literal neutral translation, 'sight,' is chosen for *ruʾyā* here again.
[106] The *muhājrīn* (literally, the immigrants) are those who migrated with Muhammad from Mecca to *yaṯrib* or al-Madīna in 622 CE; and the *anṣār* (literally, the advocates) are the local inhabitants of this city.
[107] Ms. Oc., fol. 122^{v}-123^{r}.

of Life. He then cried heavily, and so did all those in his presence.'[108] The preacher harps on the idea that the remembrance of death should always arouse a desire for crying. If we are to construct the context of the reading of this tale, we should then imagine how the horror that the dream created is transposed to the Mudejar-Morisco audience.[109] As Luce López-Baralt notes, it is not surprising that El Mancebo de Arévalo, one of the most prominent Morisco writers, calls his fellow crypto-Muslims '*lloradores*' (weepers), as 'the flow of tears we find in clandestine Morisco literature is overwhelming.[110] This shedding of tears is typical of *al-Bakkāʾūn*, a group of 'Sufi Weepers' who practised *zuhd* (abstinence from worldly pleasures) in Basra (Iraq) in the second century AH/eight century CE. Indeed, the Sufi overtones in the Story of the Prophet's Dream are abundant.

The apocalyptic character of all the events that follow Muhammad's disclosure of the divine secret, is apparent in the description of the general state of terror that mimics the circumstances of the End of the World. The escalation in the horror aroused in the characters, after the intrusion of the eschatological element into the ordinary fabric of daily life, is a technique that is meant to emotionally engage the audience in the story. The Prophet's sleep in the mosque, an ordinary event, is the disruptive element in the story and a portal to the otherwordly realm that is not crossed, but that brings chaos to the course of life. The narrator zooms out and in, varying his/her depiction techniques of the general state of apocalyptic trepidation that ensued from the Prophet's depiction of Hell. He singles out Abu Bakr, ʿUṯmān, ʿAlī, and Salmān, describing the reaction of each one of them.

Salmān fled to Baqīʿ al-Ġarkadī, the famous cemetery in the outskirts of al-Madīna.[111] The compiler narrates: 'It was an extremely hot day; so he took off the wool gown he was wearing and in tears, he started wandering aimlessly in the torrid heat saying: "how would my thin bones and skin that cannot withstand this heat, endure the fire of Hell?"'[112] In his solitary flight to the cemetery, Salmān epitomises the individualistic drive in Sufism, the ascetic school of Islam. Salmān al-Fārisī or Salmān Pāk, was the first Persian to convert to Islam.[113] A native of *dār al-ḥarb* (the Land of War), and a Magian, whom the Prophet later considered to be one his *ahl al-bayt* (family members) and promised Heaven, Salmān could offer the

[108] Ms. Oc., fol. 149^{v}.
[109] Refer to Chapter II, section II. 1.1 for a discussion of crying in the manuscript.
[110] López-Baralt, 'The secret literature of the last Muslims of Spain', p. 22.
[111] Also called *yaṯrib*, in Saudi Arabia, Muhammad's destination of his migration (*hijra*) from Mecca.
[112] Ms. Oc., fols. 123^{v}-124^{r}; Salmān uses the word *Laẓā* to refer to the fire of Hell; although this is the name of one specific layer of Hell, the choice of this word among the many synonyms of 'Hell' seems to be random. Being a former Magian, Salmān does not employ *al-Jaḥīm* (the layer reserved to this category of disbelievers) to refer to Hell.
[113] He was one of the four venerated companions in Shia who were loyal to ʿAlī after Muhammad's death, along with Abū Ḏarr al-Ġifārī al-Kinānī, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, al-Miqdād b. Aswād al-Kindī.

Moriscos the hope of salvation that they needed. Like the Moriscos who dissimulated Christianity and hid their Islam, the Magian Salmān was the veritable prototype of 'a Muslim at heart,' as the Prophet thought of him. The episode of the flight of Salmān is not common in the traditional accounts about his biography. It is here turned into an elaborate scene loaded with Sufi undertones. Wool, the cloth of which Salmān's gown is made in the story of Ms. Oc., is called *ṣūf* in Arabic, and is believed to be at the root of the name 'Sufism' (*aṣ-ṣūfiyya* or *at-taṣawwuf)*, as the Sufi adepts were thought to put on this kind of frugal coarse garment as a sign of their *zuhd* (abstinence and spiritual seclusion).

The tale of the Prophet's Premonitory Dream in Ms. Oc. pushes the eschatological aspect of the manuscript to the extreme, emulating the apocalypse and bringing it closer to the here and now of the audience. As Stephen O'Leary explains, 'eschatologies offer the doctrine (whether in the form of mythic narrative or theological argument) that history will end at some point in the future, while apocalypticism claims that this End and the manner of its accomplishment is imminent and discernible.'[114] The imminent nature of the Dream Story of Ms. Oc. creates a dramatic effect, meant to instigate fear and incite weeping as a virtuous reaction to the remembrance of the End where divine punishment is awaiting the sinful.
The narrative, unique in its kind, unfolds in a prayer space and departs from it to open up a gate on the horrid prospects of Hell. The first space is meant to be the 'House of God,' and the place of remembrance *par excellence.* The remembrance of God is then correlated with the remembrance of death and judgement. This is the correlation upon which the whole manuscript is centred, basing its theological message on the Fear of God, rather than the Love of Him.

3. Hell in Upper Heavenly Spheres: The Ascension Narrative: (fols. 26^{r}-41^{r})

In the two previously analysed stories, Jesus and the Skull and the Prophet's Dream, Hell is depicted as an orderly space, the presence of which is haunting human life. Nonetheless, the location of this space is not specified. In the Ascencion Narrative, a more precise description of the abode of Fire is offered. On their ascent throughout the layers of the sky, reaching the fifth heaven, Gabriel and Muhammad stand in front of 'a white door made of camphor wood with a red golden lock.'[115] Gabriel knocks on the door and they entered. From there, the Prophet had a glimpse of Hell, located in the manuscript at 'the boundaries of the lowest seventh earth.'[116] In the fashion of the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās, the long Hell Tour

[114] O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse,* p. 61.
[115] Ms. Oc., fol. 28^{v}.
[116] Ms. Oc., fol. 29^{r}.

that is usually described in detail in the later al-Bakrī ascension narratives,[117] is reduced to a very short vision in Ms. Oc., stressing the mysterious aspect of the space of divine punishment and intensifying the feeling of anxiety.

In the tale of Ms. Oc., describing his fear upon the unfolding of hellfire, Muhammad says: 'Had the inhabitants of the earth reached [this place], they would have all died, [beholding] those frightening, dreadful, and astonishing wonders. Seas would have disappeared and all those in them died, and mountains would have melted from their bases.'[118] This kind of hyperbolic description recalls the depiction of the marvellous landscapes encountered in fantastic quests, and the dangerous creatures confronted along the journey, meant to arouse fear in the audience. Indeed, as Frederick Colby informs, the Primitive Version 'makes use of the concept of Muhammad's fear much more than any other Islamic ascension narrative of its time.'[119] The tale of Ms. Oc. is also tinged with shades of fear, rather than the 'tone of joy and celebration' that permeates the major part of other accounts 'aside from the brief tours of hell or trials that Muhammad faces.'[120] The Prophet's fear emanates from the sight of two categories of Muslim sinners being punished. These are the usurers and the abusers of the orphans' properties. The short overview is then curtailed; and the narrator moves to the station located 'above the seventh sky,' by the Lote Tree of Boundaries (*Sidrat al-Muntahā*). In the Ascension Narrative of Ms. Oc., the overview of Hell unfolds in the highest stations of the firmament, an odd occurrence that must have been received with great amazement. The effect of the intrusion of Hell in the narrative that epitomises the closeness of Muslims to their creator, is an anxiety that overpowers the prospects of God's punishment. The compiler's intention to remind the audience of Hell, even as they relish their luminous ascent, is behind his gloomy worldview in which Hell exists in near proximity to the Earth.

The first scene of punishment that Muhammad manages to see in Hell is that of people of his community 'consuming fire like water.'[121] Gabriel explains to him that these are 'the people from your community who unjustly ate up the property of orphans.' This punishment scene is based on a Coranic verse that is eventually quoted in the text of Ms. Oc.: 'Those who unjustly devour the property of orphans, are only consuming fire into their bellies: they

[117] For a survey of the Arabic traditional Ascension Narratives, the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās and the later al-Bakrī versions, cf. Chapter II, section II. 1. 3. 3 and Chapter IV, section II. 2.
[118] Ms. Oc., fol. 29^{r}.
[119] Colby, *Narrating*, p. 38
[120] *Ibid*.
[121] Ms. Oc., fol. 29^{r}.

will soon be enduring a blazing Fire!'[122] Citing this verse, the compiler seizes the opportunity to warn the readers/listeners against this sin: 'God's servants, avoid eating up the property of orphans.'[123]



Picture 2: Persian Miniatures of Hell-Punishment:
Those who misappropriated the property of orphans are swallowing fire (cf. Q4: 10)
BNF, Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190: *Miʿrājnama*, The Book of Muhammads' Ascension, fol. 61^{r}, Herat (1436)

As for the second scene that Muhammad witnesses, it is that of usurers who constantly fall on their faces in fire and stand up to fall again. The corresponding verse about the punishment of usury is also quoted, and the compiler similarly makes a warning against this sin.[124] Expanding on the scene of the usurers' punishment, s/he teaches the readers/listeners about the gravity of usury that equals seventy-two sins. The portrayal of these two scenes is a special feature of Ms. Oc. This choice sets the tale in between the plain account of the vision in Ibn ʿAbbās version and the later detailed Tours of Hell in al-Bakrī narratives. In the Primitive Version of Ibn ʿAbbās, the description of the overview is less detailed than the one in Ms. Oc. The Guardian of Hell opened the gate.

> [A]nd a blaze shot out from it which spread blackness accompanied by grimy dark smoke that filled the horizons and spread the blaze across the heavens with rumble and turmoil. I saw in it abominable terror and a great matter that I am powerless to describe. It almost covered me and made me lose myself. I exclaimed, 'Gabriel, go up to him and command him to close it again.' So, he did.[125]

In Ms. Oc., the two scenes of punishment that occur in the Ascension Narrative are to be studied in parallel with the more detailed description of each sin and its corresponding mode of punishment that is found in the two previously studied tales, the Prophet's Dream and

[122] Q4:10.
[123] Ms. Oc., fol. 29^{v}.
[124] Q 2: 275.
[125] Colby, *Narrating*, Appendix A: 'Translation of the Primitive Version', p. 177.

Jesus and the Skull. In the following section, a topography of Hell is traced, based on a synthesis of these various accounts.

4. The Topography of Hell in Ms. Oc.

In the tale of the Prophet's Dream, Muhammad's enquiry about the gates of Hell triggers an eschatological lesson in which the Archangel names the gates one by one and assigns a category of sinners for each of them. Jibrīl (Gabriel) starts by enumerating the gates from the top to the bottom layers; then describes the general appearance of Hell:

> It was lit and burnt for thousand years till it turned white,[126] then for other thousand years till it turned red, and burnt once again for thousand years to become black. So that is how it is now, black, dark, ready to receive those who will enter it: its suffering is harsh; its bottom is deep; its water is rusty; its food is *Zaqqūm* (bitter seeds); its air *Samūm* (hot wind); its shade *yaḥmūm* (black smoke). The snakes that dwell in it are like mountains; the scorpions like horses. Its guardian, Mālek, was created of wrath: he has never laughed since he was created. The chains that are in it would have melted the earthly world, had they been put on it.[127]

The Apostle weeps upon hearing this description and asks Jibrīl to tell him in detail about the portions of the gates he mentioned. The reply is concise: 'A portion for men, and another for women,' answers the Archangel and then moves to assigning a category of sinners for each of the seven gates he named in the beginning of the conversation. No further details were given about gender division. The list of sinners is then offerd with no marked difference between genders, in the masculine plural form of nouns that is used in Arabic for groups made of men and women. The following table summarises the hierarchical overview that Jibrīl draws:

Gate Name	Sinners
Jahannam	The Capital Sinners among Muslims
Saʿīr	The Christians
Laẓā	The Jews
Al-Jaḥīm	The Magians
Saqar	The Sabians
Ḥuṭām [128]	The Disbelievers and Polytheists
Hāwiya	The Hypocrites

Table 11: The Seven Layers of Hell and their Residents

[126] Most probably in reference to white ash.
[127] Ms. Oc., fols. 118r-v.
[128] The name in Classical sources is *Ḥuṭama*.

Moving downwards in the multi-layered abode of punishment, described by Gabriel, the intensity of hellfire increases. According to this ideologically-loaded classification, Muslim sinners are tortured in the least intense fire, and Christians and Jews are more privileged than disbelievers, as they are the People of the Book, those who possess monotheistic scriptures.[129] While the layers—or gates—are named from top to bottom, *Hāwiya* being the lowest station of Hell, the categories of sinners are enumerated in a reversed order, dramatically unravelling the fate of Muslim sinners in the end. This climactic order made the Apostle burst into tears once again, on the thought of his followers incurring punishment in *Jahannam*. The Archangel then suddenly disappears, leaving the Prophet to his fears.

The description of the kinds of punishment allotted to Muslims, is more detailed in the tale of Jesus and the Skull.[130] The movement of the dead man and his two tour guides is described in this story as lateral: the seven doors of Hell are not superposed, as they are described in two other instances in the manuscript.[131] They are rather depicted as stations on a horizontal alignment. The Skull talks about 'the seven dwellings (*manāzel*) of the People of Fire,' or 'the Gates of Fire,' rather than 'the Gates of *Jahannam*,' as they are called in the Prophet's Dream.[132] In the different stations, however, he could meet 'the People of Fire,' who are divided according to their sins, rather than their allegiance to confessions other than Islam. The name '*Jahannam*' is usually confusing as it is also used to refer to Hell in general, not only one of its layers. 'The depth of *Jahannam*' into which the dead man (the Skull) was 'thrust' might then refer to the pit of Hell or to one of its layers. Set side by side, the descriptions of the constituents of Hell in the two tales can clarify the spatial pattern, suggesting that the infernal sphere is more complex than a seven-layer space. Based on the two-fold depiction, the gates of Hell that the Skull describes are most probably those of *Jahannam*, the station allotted to Muslim Capital Sinners, according to Gabriel's more general account in the tale of the Prophet's Dream.

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[129] The term has been extended first to the Sabians (cf. *EI* and *ODI,* s. v. *Ahl al-Kitāb*) and later to Zoroastrians, Samaritans, Mandeans and others.
[130] Ms. Oc., fols. 63^{v}-71^{v} (mistakenly foliated as 72^{v}).
[131] God describes the seven layers of Hell to Moses (Ms. Oc., fol. 166^{v}) and Gabriel to Muhammad (Ms. Oc., fol. 117^{v} as superposed.
[132] Ms. Oc., fols. 117^{r}-125^{r}.

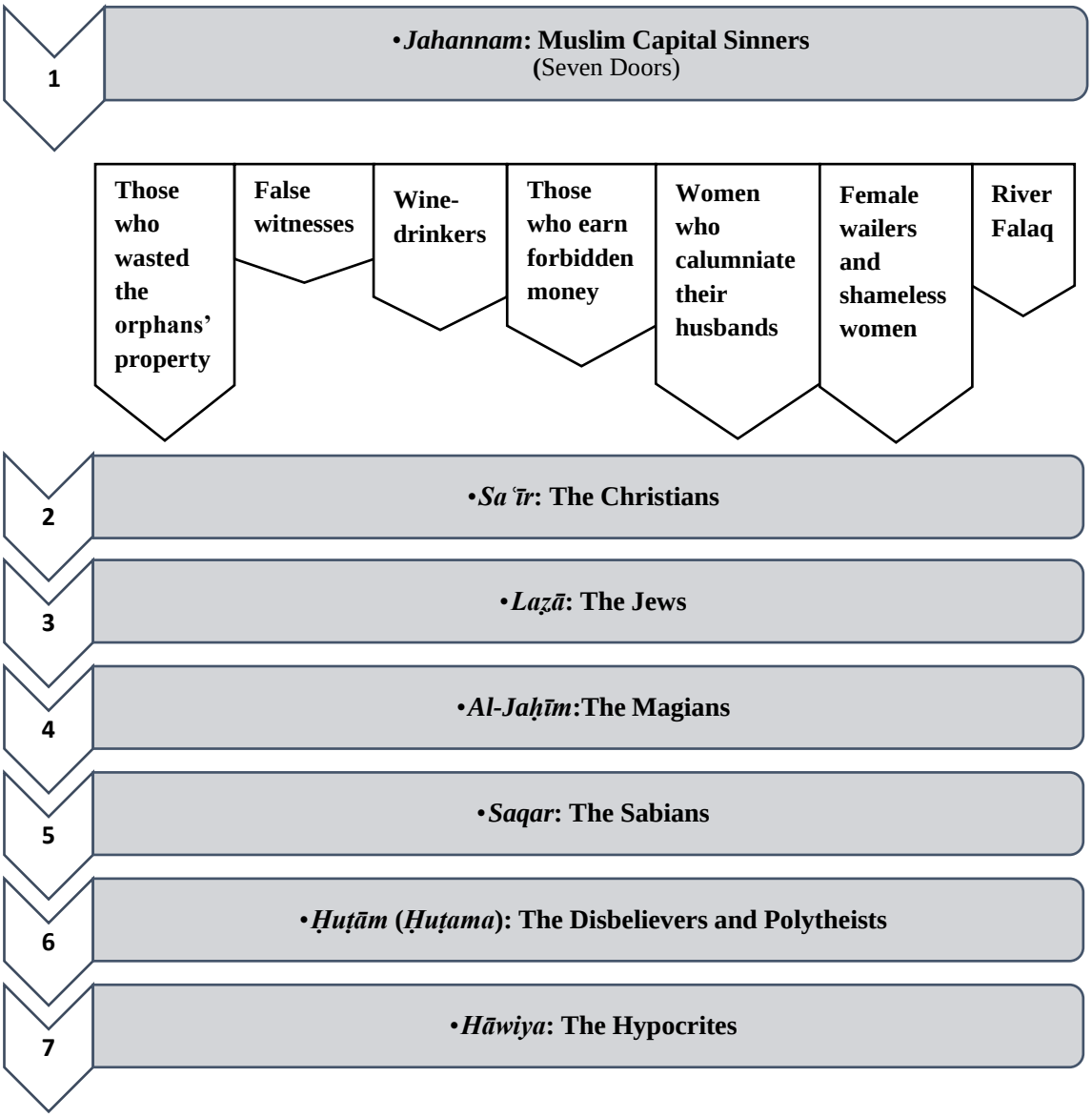


Diagram 1: The Topography of Hell in Ms. Oc.

The eruption of Hell in the narratives that depict the otherworldly space in Ms. Oc. is a rhetorical device employed to arouse amazement and fear: In the Story of Jesus and the Skull, Hell encroaches upon Life through the vivid account of a returning dead person. In the Ascension Narrative, the reader/listener peeps through a window in the Upper Heavens to have a glimpse on the abode of Hell. In the Prophet's Premonitory Dream, Hell trespasses the threshold between this world and the other one, and the apocalyptic vision comes true.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Accused of attending the Islamic gatherings convened by her father Juan Valenciano at their home in Seville, Floriana confessed to the Inquisition that she had observed both Islam and Christianity, not being sure which of them was the true one, and asked God to receive the best. She was sentenced to 'perpetual prison.'[1] Her freedom was nevertheless curtailed long before her actual imprisonment in 1609. Like many of her fellows, called New-Christians, she was entrapped in a space of forced conversion, an in-between space of confinement in which she was neither Muslim nor Christian. The Morisco descendants of Spanish Muslims were, like Floriana, 'threshold people' with fragile identity anchors, making up a 'liminal *communitas*' that, despite centuries of resistance, dropped out of sight.

The Inquisition archives are loaded with cases such as this one, where newly converted families were being spied on, indicted and prosecuted for crypto-Islamic practices. Taking the version of the vanquished party with caution, it is necessary to retrieve the traces that the community left behind, in order to have access to this liminal space they inhabited. What texts were read during the secret gatherings and what was their content? How and why were they produced and distributed and who made them? Seeking answers to these questions, this study is part of a growing body of research on the manuscript production of the Spanish Muslim minority that is meant to complicate the Christian Inquisition records and other state archival documents, for the recovery of the forgotten period in the history of Spanish Islam.

The objective of this study was to offer an alternative historical account of the life of the Muslim minority, in which a communal manuscript is considered the agent and manifestation of a world construction. The Mudejar-Morisco Manuscript of Ocaña was chosen, among a largely untapped primary source of Spanish Arabic manuscripts, as a text-object that materialises the journey of the Spanish Muslim community from the secluded Mudejar districts, pushed to the outskirts of cities, to the underground Morisco households kept under round-the-clock surveillance. Its life-cycle runs in parallel with the history of the Muslim minority that strove to create their own space, and epitomises the story of a religion that fell out of place.

[1] The case of Floriana de los Reyes AHN, *Inquisición, Legajo* 2075, n°19, reported in Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, p. 81 and 'Behind the Veil,' p. 44.

In this study, the exploration of the spatial pattern that unfolds in the text and its ethical dimensions and rhetorical undertones was the chosen lens to grasp the worldview of the marginalised community, the mechanisms of their momentaneous survival in a structured space-within-a space, and the reasons for their ultimate disappearance: It is argued that the denial of their right to publicly practise their religion in a space of their own, led the crypto-Muslims who chose to remain in their land to gradually lose their language and religious rituals. This experience is taken as a ground to claim that religion, unlike faith, is communal, public, performative, and material; and that it needs a physical space to survive, or else it will become, like this manuscript, a text that can no longer be read. As the Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre explains, in his *Production of Space*:

> Any 'social existence' aspiring or claiming to be 'real,' but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity, a very peculiar kind of abstraction unable to escape from the ideological or even the 'cultural' realm. It would fall to the level of folklore and sooner or later disappear altogether, thereby immediately losing its identity, its denomination and its feeble degree of reality.[2]

Drawing on this theoretical statement, it is contended that when the ideal Islamic space constructed in manuscripts such as Ms. Oc. could no longer be represented in everyday life, and the sense of a shared community vanished with the domestication of religion, the end of Islam in Spain was an inevitable consequence.

This study has re-contextualised the concept of 'the right to the city,' testing the Lefebvrian theory of space production in the setting of late medieval/early modern Spain, and showing its applicability to the experience of the Muslim minority. This innovative approach to the Morisco manuscript production has combined the Lefebvrian critical concepts with the study of the rhetorics of story-telling, to grasp the meaning of 'representational space' and reflect on its creation, function, and limitations in the context of the survival of a religious minority. The theory of space production has actually proven feasible and useful for the study of past religious communities, as well as current ones.

The value of this study resides in its multidisciplinary character. The manuscript-centred approach that has been adopted in this thesis, places it at the intersection of manuscript studies, philology, religious material culture, anthropology, cultural history, and literary analysis, to offer a comprehensive study that undertakes to find answers to these research questions revolving around the production of space: What does 'the representational space'

[2] *The Production of Space*, p. 53.

in Ms. Oc. consist in? Why and how is it constructed? How does it work and how far can it be maintained?

The proposed answers to these questions were the results of the examination of the codex of Ocaña, as both an artifact and a text, that proved it to be a multi-layered Manuscript Matrix, carefully designed to produce a space of interstice between the ideal Islamic construction of the universe, at the centre of which stands the Muslim community, and the reality of its marginalisation and persecution in early modern Spain. The investigation has been conducted in two parts.

The first one, entitled 'The Manuscript Matrix as a Space of Production,' was made of two chapters: As a background for the study of the manuscript, Chapter I, 'The Manuscript in Time and Space,' provided a historical overview of the conditions of the Muslim community in Christian Spain, and their life in Castile, and more specifically in Ocaña. It also explored the manuscript culture of the community, the mobility of people and their books, and the prevalent Morisco book-hiding tradition, with a more focused examination of the assemblage excavated with Ms. Oc. In this introductory chapter, the manuscript was looked at as 'a thing in life,' one of the material historical remnants that attest to the presence of Muslims in Spain.

Chapter II, 'The Space of the Manuscript,' explored the 'life imbedded in this thing,'[3] having thoroughly examined Ms. Oc. in two sections, targeting its form and content. Codicological analysis has shown that the codex, modestly made of cheap material, was sustained with recycled scraps of paper, as its leaves were falling apart. Many of those scraps indicate that separate leaves were inscribed then joined together and attached to the codex. The compilation was in these terms a work in progress; and this was substantiated by the incoherence of the content and the reiteration of some reports. The frequency of use that can be deduced from the general condition of the book, is corroborated by its size: Ms. Oc. was certainly meant to be a close companion for its owner. The nature of the text and some of the marginal annotations, especially the Arabic ones, attest to the use of the codex as a prompter during a reading performance: a sermon or a private gathering. The palaeographical study suggested that other glosses, written in *aljamiado* and Castilian Romance, show that a later reader, whose language proficiency is restricted, annotated the text to be able to understand it. Read aloud in public or in secret assemblies, or silently recited in the privacy of one's home, this text-object reveals aspects of the manuscript culture of the community,

[3] Tim Ingold distinguishes between seeking 'life in things' and seeking 'things in life,' preferring the latter to describe the goal of Material Culture studies, cf. 'Comments on Christopher Tilley "The Materiality of Stone,"' p. 122.

their collective emotions, and daily life in Ocaña, through the reconstruction of variegated reading experiences.

Challenging the preconceived assumptions about the date and provenance of the manuscript, found in previous studies, this thesis has compared Ms. Oc. to other codices produced in nearby Castilian towns, and in farther regions. The results of the investigation supported the contention that the manuscript was made in Ocaña, based on linguistic, codicological, and palaeographical evidence that has not been explored previously. It is argued that the first scribe/owner was a Mudejar scholar, and that the codex was later used by a Morisco reader/annotator. This second owner was most probably the scribe of some of the other eight codices in the discovered lot of Ocaña. Ms. Oc., initially used as a sermon guide in public spaces, was later domesticated, read individually, annotated, and finally hidden.

This reconstruction of the history of one of the rare Arabic texts of the Ocañese Muslim community was a micro-historical study, meant to contribute to the recent work of Historical Geography that has increasingly drawn attention to the way different texts are produced, circulated, and read.[4] The 'reading of medieval reading' is the critical method adopted in this project, in order to put manuscript studies in dialogue with cultural history and respond to the intricate questions that the study of medieval manuscript culture raises: what position did manuscripts occupy inside a given community? What do the reading modes and the book-circulation network reveal about the communal daily life and culture? And how can the history of a community be re-written through the study of the books they read?

As the medievalist scholar John Dagenais suggests, 'medieval ethical reading,' or '*Lecturature*,' as he calls it, 'can find ways to build bridges between literature and life experience.'[5] Through the methodology of the Ethics of Reading, bridging the gap is possible as researchers get closer to the manuscripts, considering them as text-objects, studying their slightest details that might seem trivial, renewing the life imbedded in them, while acknowledging at the same time the contingent nature of their observations.

Being contingent on assumptions and presuppositions, the attempt at reconstructing aspects of the history of a manuscript: its production, ownership, and use(s), should be reckoned fallible; for as Michael Ullyot notes: 'histories of reading, like any historiography, rely on interpolations of elusive and irrevocable acts from surviving remnants and "extrinsic

[4] Withers, 'History and the Philosophy of Geography,' p. 69.
[5] A coinage derived from the French word for 'reading,' *lecture,* used in John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading,* p. 26.

patterns" of evidence.' Looking at bits and pieces of the picture cannot be productive, 'but when considered in conjunction, such histories can tell us which texts were in whose hands, and what response they met there.'[6] In the case of manuscripts that do not bear intrinsic clues about their histories, the comparative approach is necessary, not only for dating and locating the codices, but for a better understanding of the network of manuscript culture as a whole.

In this thesis, Ms. Oc. was not studied aloof from other manuscripts, close in form, content, or geographical provenance, the examinations of which complemented each other. The study has shown that the comparative examination of Morisco codices is an insightful perspective that has been so far rarely chosen, as most of the current manuscript studies in the field of Moriscology have been restrictive, consisting in editions of single manuscripts.

The first edition of Ms. Oc. that Iris Hofman-Vannus offers in her doctoral thesis (2001,) followed by a Spanish translation, is an invaluable asset for future research on this manuscript. Together with her work, this thesis has saved one of the rare manuscripts of Spanish Islam from being forgotten in an inaccessible private collection. In the course of this study, a considerable part of the manuscript has been translated into English; and a complete translation is envisaged, along with a new edition that abides by the principles of the medieval Ethics of Reading: Instead of a 'normalised' version of the manuscript, such reproduction would be a more faithful transcription of the text, letter by letter, and sign by sign, preserving rubrication, punctuation marks, abbreviations, scribal errors, corrections, and glosses.

This diplomatic transcription is particularly required in the case of undated and unlocalised manuscripts to help recover clues about their lost histories. In the course of his conceptualisation of medieval 'manuscript experience,' Graham Caie criticises the editions of medieval texts that are 'divorced from [their] physical surroundings and presented in anthologies or individual works in a clinically clean, restored version.' He argues:

> Such an approach would never be permitted by the archaeologist […] who would invariably study an artefact in its immediate surroundings and take particular care to note the other objects found in its proximity. In the same way, everything that physically surrounds a text in its manuscript is potentially significant.[7]

Following his recommendation, an archaeological approach to Ms. Oc. has been adopted in this thesis, shedding light on the site of the discovery and the assemblage excavated with the manuscript. Then the space of the codex has been examined in its totality as a rare literary

[6] Ullyot, 'English Auctores and Authorial Readers,' p. 45.
[7] Caie, 'The Manuscript Experience,' p. 10.

and material product that testifies to a specific period of transition in the life of the minority. Although the manuscript does neither unfold a rich variety of annotations, nor contain glosses of sophisticated nature, the bareness of the glossing system and its corrective, clarifying properties, reveal much about the way and reason why it was read and re-read. These mostly additive explanatory annotations bear witness to the decline of Arabic language proficiency, and mark the elusive inception of the *aljamiado* linguistic system. In this regard, the careful examination of the margins of the text is as crucial as the linguistic study of the core text for any rigorous attempt at dating. Since this manuscript is currently in a private collection, the access to which is not as easy as it is in the case of manuscripts hosted in public archives, it should be edited in a way that optimises the preservation of its material properties. Only through such a minute faithful reproduction of the original text-object can the manuscript as a space of survival be best presented to modern readers and researchers.

In the second section of Chapter II, 'The Layers of the Text,' the content of the miscellany was broken down into thematic units, in order to shed light on the generic features of the compilation, the potential sources copied and adapted, and the compiler's intellectual and ideological background. The investigation of the work of selection and adaptation of traditional material imbedded in the manuscript, demonstrated the adaptability of the Mudejar/Morisco manuscript culture, exemplified in the compiler's considerable freedom as an 'original reader' in selecting material from a myriad of sources, modifying, and adapting it to serve his/her own purpose. The text itself has proved to be a large gloss, a notebook in which this reader/compiler copied passages from heavy volumes of Arabic Islamic lore and stacked them all in one small codex. Joining the beliefs of sometimes conflicting religious denominations, Shia and Sunna, and professing a dark, highly conservative ethos, tinged with some illuminative spiritual hues, this collage epitomises the specificity of early modern Islam in the Spanish exclave: an eclectic breed that leans towards orthodox Sunna, focusing on ritual observance, nourishing the fear of God, glorifying the Prophet and chanting the superiority of Muslims, and nurturing orally-transmitted folkloric stories.

This specificity has been further examined through textual analysis in Part II that turned to the features of the ideal space created in the compilation. The study that encompassed all the tales narrated in Ms. Oc., demonstrated that the construction of the universe, fragile as it might seem, is sustained by a strong ethical system based on the fear of divine retribution. Through the spatial 'homology body-house-cosmos'[8] that governs the religious ethical system of Ms. Oc., the compiler/preacher did not aim at constructing a sound theological

[8] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p. 172.

argument or engaging in polemical debates between denominations, or against the other confessions. His/her purpose was rather the exhortation of believers in *dār al-ḥarb* (the Land of War) to hold fast to their religion and repent of their sins before imminent death takes them unawares, towards Hell.

The study of representational spaces in the seven master narratives of the compendium, along with the *exempla*, parables, and reports included in it, has shown that in the teleology of the manuscript, the world seems to be perched on the brink of the End, whereby the spatial and temporal boundaries of human life are virtually trespassed, mapping a broad religious cartography of existence, and dramatising the reverberations between the macrocosm and the microcosm. In the Mudejar-Morisco map of the world, the sacred space is produced as 'a fixed point into the formless fluidity of [the] profane space, a center into chaos,' as the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade, describes it. He theorises that 'the irruption of the sacred opens communication between the cosmic planes (between earth and heaven) and makes possible ontological passage from one mode of being to another.'[9] Indeed, in Ms. Oc., be it through lucid dreams, spiritual/physical ascension, or accounts of an already experienced afterlife; angels, prophets, dead people, ordinary humans, and through them the reader/listener are all able to cross the boundaries between the Here and the Hereafter, two spheres that are depicted to be permeable and synchronised, at a time when the End is looming ahead.[10]

It is argued that, through the use of figurative language and symbolic tropes, representational spaces in Ms. Oc. are rhetorically constructed. The preacher's authoritative stance is sustained with dominant inter-textuality and recurrent chains of transmission that ensure his/her credibility. With an imposing hortatory tone that is very often reprimanding, the homiletic framework of the miscellany is rounded off with the descriptive tales to serve the preacher's didactic/moral purpose. Assuming the intellectual inferiority of his/her audience, the orator aroused in them strong feelings of fear and guilt, and enticed them to brood their fate and cry over its horrors. The discourse was certainly an appealing one, with its vivid retrospective and prospective accounts of events and picturesque description of insecure worldly and otherworldly places. Suspension, dislocation, projection, and recollection are all recurrent spatio-temporal devices that impart a deep insecurity in both time and space and a constant escape from the present moment, the profane time. The compiler's perception and

[9] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[10] On the 'synchronic view' of the two realms, see Lange, 'Reconceptualising the Dunyā/Ākhira Divide' in the Introduction to *Paradise and Hell,* pp. 4-13.

representation of living spaces as liminal translate the anxiety of the marginal Muslim community as a whole.

The two complementary parts of this thesis were meant to offer a holistic view of the manuscript, bringing to the foreground hypotheses about its reading and readership, so as to pick up clues about the experience of the Muslim minority as 'a community of feeling.'[11]

The study of the tales in Ms. Oc. was meant to highlight the rhetorical power of story-telling and explore the mechanisms of space construction. During the reading of the text, the readers/audience were entrapped in a universe that they partook in creating, engaging in a ritual of remembrance, and embarking on an imaginative trance in which fantasies are believed, and miracles are possible. The recurrence of supernatural elements in the narratives triggered a reflection on the importance of this kind of device in the Rhetorics of Religion. Part II of this thesis demonstrated the effectiveness of the persuasive strategies employed in Ms. Oc.: all the religious narratives of Ms. Oc. include elements of fear and wonder, showing that the chief persuasive mode of discourse is pathos. Indeed, religion is contingent upon a leap of faith that very often transcends the rational sphere and presupposes the believers' propensity and willingness to be immersed in make-believe. Looking at religious discourse in this light, dissecting it into a series of interwoven fantasies, is useful for an investigation into the efficiency of the Rhetorics of Religion in manipulating people's minds.

It is not only belief in only one Truth that underlies fervent religious calls; it is also a conviction that everybody should believe in that one Truth, or not exist at all. The Christian Inquisition, with its obsessional quest for religious uniformity, denied a space for the Other to exist. Muslim scholars, on the other hand, offered their coreligionists a fragile alternative space that is neither less exclusive and restrictive, nor more tolerant than the first one. One can postulate that the inter-religious/sectarian violence that has always existed in the world emanates from a passionate adherence to certain fantasies, and not others.

The story of the Muslim minority in early modern Spain has resonance in our own time. Mathew Carr, one of the authors who wrote about the expulsion of the Moriscos, points in one of his interviews at the actual relevance of Morisco history: 'I wanted to tell a different story; of how what was then the most powerful state in Europe was driven by fear and bigotry to destroy a defenceless minority and act against its own material interests.' He claims that 'these tendencies are present in every society and in every era. I hoped then, as I hope now,

[11] The concept of 'the pervasive community of feeling' is introduced in David Morgan, ed., *Religion and Material Culture*, p. 7; Morgan draws this concept from Raymond Williams's view of culture as a 'structure of feeling.'

that *Blood and Faith* might make readers more alert to the destructive possibilities in our own.'[12] Our world is now caught in the same spiral of hatred and violence towards the Other that sparked the expulsion of the Muslim minority from Spain.

This thesis has contributed to debates around the growing mutual mistrust between religions, sects, and denominations, suggesting that hostility towards the Other is the result of a mis-reading of religious texts; one that does not go beyond the letter. Hence, this approach to the manuscript, essentially centred on reading, is an invitation to reflect on the ways the scripture should be read to grasp the essence of the ethical code that transcends the differences of beliefs and rituals, unifying all confessions. For further scrutiny, final questions are raised about people's need for mediators to be able to read their Books, and about the profiles of these religious leaders and their role in bringing peace, or strife, to Mankind.

[12] 'Spain's Moriscos: a 400-year-old Muslim tragedy is a story for today', in *The Guardian*, Paperback writer: History books (2017); < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/mar/14/spains-moriscos-a-400-year-old-muslim-tragedy-is-a-story-for-today>.

A major scholar, when setting out to do some research, inevitably proceeds by trial and error, making and rejecting different hypotheses; but at the end of the inquiry, all those attempts should have been digested and the scholar should present only the conclusions. In contrast, […] I told the story of my research as if it were a detective novel. […] all research findings must be a sort of whodunnit— the report of a quest for some Holy Grail. And I think I have done this in all my subsequent academic works.[*]

[*] Umberto Ecco, *Confessions of a Young Novelist* (Harvard UP, 2011) pp. 6-7.

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