

Grammar and Conversion
in the Early Iberian Empire
Jesús Rodríguez-Velasco
Columbia University

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"Venid los que nunca fuisteis a Granada"

(Rafael Alberti)

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS] Let me, first of all, thank Ana Pairet Viñas and Mathilde Bombart for their kindness in inviting me to come today to Rutgers. I hope they won't regret their decision.

[INTRODUCTION] Grammar is art. Not *an* art. It is *the* art among all arts. As Martin Irvine demonstrated in his beautiful book of 1994, this claim is not very new -it is perhaps as old as grammar, and as old as the greek concept of τέχνη. But it is useful to delve into it a little bit more, in order to understand the concrete issue of what did grammar and language teaching mean in Late Medieval Castile and Early Modern Iberian Empire -Spain.

Baltasar Gracián, in his very portable address to "el político" -the politician, considered the specifically difficult task for the

Spanish Empire to control all its possessions both in the Iberian Peninsula and Overseas:

"Ay tambien grande distancia de fundar un Reino especial, y homogeneo, dentro de una Provincia al componer un Imperio universal de diversas Provincias, y naciones. Alli la uniformidad de leyes, semejanza de costumbres, una lengua, y un clima al passo, que lo unen en si, lo separan de los estraños. Los mismos mares, los montes y los rios le son a Francia termino connatural, y muralla para su conservacion. Pero en la Monarquía de España donde las Provincias son muchas, las naciones diferentes, las lenguas varias, las inclinaciones opuestas, los climas encontrados, asi como es menester gran capacidad para conservar, assi mucha para unir." (13-14)

[There is a big difference between the foundation of a particular and homogeneous kingdom within a given province, to the creation of a universal Empire combining several provinces and nations. The uniformity of laws of the former, its similarity in customs, and its single language and climate, are unifying factors that also distinguish this kingdom from the others: the same seas, mountains, and rivers are, to France, natural borderlines and the walls for its preservation. The Spanish Monarchy, however, is composed of many provinces, diverse nations, different languages, opposed

desires, contrary climates, and, in it, as much as it is necessary a great capability to preserve, it is also necessary a great capability to unite.]

El Político don Fernando el Católico is a work published in 1640, the emblematic year in which Spain lost the domain over Portugal, and the beginning of the decline of the Iberian Empire. For Gracián, the perfect politician should pay heed to the history and sayings of Fernando el Católico, who had been the first king to find himself at the head of a multilingual and multicultural Monarchy, and thereafter Empire, bigger than any other in Europe. The main matter in question for Gracián is that the Empire is the fruit of *composition* or *combination* of different provinces and nations. To preserve and to unite constituted, according to Gracián, a manifold, yet seamless task, vital for the integrity of absolute power. To preserve and to unite seem, in effect, the two main concerns of linguistic and cultural politics in the post 1212 Iberian Peninsula -the official start of the Christian conquest over Muslim Iberian domains as a Crusade-, and even more so after 1492. The issue, here, is how to define and understand both "preserve" and "unite", and how to understand this seamless and heterogeneous project from the perspective of the role of national languages in Early Modern Empires.

Berkeley Anthropologist and linguist Bill Hanks became fascinated by the vocabulary used by Franciscan missionaries related

to the political linguistics of the Iberian Empire. He realized that the central notion or piece of vocabulary used by these missionaries to speak about language teaching was the verb "to reduce." Reduce is equivalent to teaching the language, and it is, as well, equivalent to translate from one language to another. This reduction, Hanks studied, was also developed in other milieus, like the mission itself -reducing indigenous people to the mission, for instance- and the whole process of cultural adjustment from indigenous, non Christian, grammarless -and therefore artless- languages, to a Christian grammar based on the unifying and purifying power of Latin and Spanish grammar, adapted to the indigenous spoken reality. The linguistic space of Yucateque -the one studied by Hanks- could be interpreted, I would argue, as one of the many experiences of research encompassed by a complex technology of conversion. Reduction, here, meant the activation of a multifaceted art involving the oldest concept of grammar as a both heuristic and hermeneutic research, the art of arts, the art that gives birth to the rest of arts, reducing them to grammar analysis, cognitive structures, and semantic utterances that make present the grammatical speech.

I should add something more to Hanks observation about the lexicon of reduction. This notion springs from an even more complex world of politics, theology, and urban life: reduction is the order given from the Papal Government to all mendicant congregations, as well as some hermits, to *re ducere*, to reconduct them, from the city

streets to the intramural realm of a monastery during the Late Middle Ages. This notion of reduction, therefore, complicates even more the idea of language and culture teaching, in the sense that it also becomes a practice of spaces, a location in which the art is performed, and this space -the monastery, the mission, and others, like the city, that we will see a little bit later- is also the space of political theologies. The art of grammar, the rules of speech, are also the structural fiction of the space, within which grammaticalization of language becomes the foundations for conversation, for faith dogma, for social and political life in this particular space.

In this sense -that I would call here "linguistic theologies"- reduction is, also, an action that involves to preserve and to unite. To preserve indigenous languages and theological vocabularies while, at the same time, uniting them with the concepts of conquest and Empire. Reduction, from this point of view, is, therefore, some version of what Bruno Latour would call "purification," which is tantamount to "modernize." Exploring the grammars of Yucateque studied by Hanks, one can see how the "national grammar" underlies and supports the forefront of a Yucateque expression, the birth of an indigenous language to the meta-art of conversion, theological concepts, and, ultimately, subjection by means of reduction.

Grammar is, and must be considered, not only art, but also meta-art, arch-art. I started my intervention mentioning Martin Irvine's

book, *The Making of Textual Culture*. Let me add a tiny anecdote: Martin Irvine promised a second installment of his book covering the Late Middle Ages, but, instead, he became a personality in the world of contemporary art in Washington D.C. From Medieval Grammar scholar to contemporary art gallerist, multimedia expert, and new media researcher and professor is, I would argue, not a big leap. His book demonstrated the extent to which grammar had become a full system of cognitive analysis and synthesis using all the new media possibilities in codices and codex-creativity. Grammar, thus, is not simply -and definitely not essentially- a particular set of rules useful to learn a language. Grammar is the whole universe, the multimedia research of codex-making, colors, glosses, the semantics and the pragmatics of the present examples, the calculated ways by means one grammar handbook refers to itself and to other grammar handbooks in the metropolitan languages and, hence, cultures. For instance -and of this we will see an example a bit later- there is no grammar of Arabic that does not refer to the foundational cultural machine of the Grammar of Latin, be it Aelius Donatus, Varrus, Priscian or Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae*.

~~When Ramon Llull devised his different "art machines" as we know them today in some extant codices, he was thinking of the relationship between grammar and conversion, between the full universe of language and the reduction of the humankind to the theological truth; it is grammar what underwrites the enormous~~

~~complexity and technologies of his *Ars Magna*, his *Ars Inveniendi Veritatis* and his trilingual project to develop *The Art* (<http://orbita.bib-ub.es/ramon/>).~~

[GRANADA 1493-1567] The art of grammar is a technology alright. However, just like the gallerist designs and governs the gallery as well as the aesthetic and technical negotiations that take place therein -creating thus the space and the dynamics of the work of art at work-, the action of preservation, union, and reduction by means of grammar requires the creation of the space.

The space I will be exploring hereafter is that of the city of Granada. A kingdom, but also sometimes a taxed city-state, it became, from 1493 onwards, and as a part of the new configuration of the nation in the Empire, a new space of government as well as a political-theological laboratory. This, I would argue, could only be achieved by dint of a specific construction of space, which consists on turning the city into an Archbishopric. The task was undertaken by the person who was, arguably, the one most important and influential intellectual in late 15th century Spain, the hieronimite monk, prior of the Monastery of Santa María de Prado, and long-term confessor to the Catholic Queen Isabel I, fray Hernando de Talavera. Before Talavera, there were Granadan bishops *in partibus infidelium*. The Archbishopric, however, gives Granada -and Talavera- a higher

position in the hierarchy of Catholicism, and a completely different perception of the reinvention of the city.

The Archbishopric of Granada under the rule of Hernando de Talavera, included many different projects, and some of them are related to the humanistic and political ideas of which Talavera, a graduated from the University of Salamanca, was the champion. Prior to the conquest of Granada, he had been the one who had put in contact the University of Salamanca, and all it stood for, with the Catholic Kings, a connection that would still be worth of study.

Once in Granada, Hernando de Talavera promoted the creation of a printing press, asking a group of German printers from Seville, Meinard Ungut and John Pegnitzer, to install theirs in the city. With only one typographical set, they printed a meager total of two books, Francesc Eiximenis' *Vita Christi*, translated into Spanish from the Catalan *Vida de Jesucrist*, with a prologue by Hernando de Talavera himself, and another volume of 228 folios containing the following eight shorter works by Hernando de Talavera: (1) An abridged christian doctrine, (2) a handbook for confession *reduced* to the ten commandments, (3) a handbook on christian life for children, (4) another handbook for confession, (5) a treatise against gossiping and slandering, (6) a handbook explaining the mass ceremonies, (7) another treatise on clothing and footwear legislation and politics, (8) and finally an older treatise dedicated by Hernando de Talavera to María Pacheco on the way of life of a noble Catholic woman. After

Meinard Ungut and John Pegnitzer had finished these two books, the printing press was packed back to Seville, and there is no other printing press in the city of Granada until 1502, when Juan Varela, a printer from Salamanca, establishes his industry, first in Granada, and then in Seville.

Juan Varela prints, in 1502, a book containing two works by Pedro de Alcalá, a hyeronimite monk and a pupil of Hernando de Talavera. The first work from this book is his *Arte para ligeramente aprender la lengua aráviga* (Art to learn easily the Arabic Language), and the second one, the *Vocabulista arávigo* (An Arabic Lexicon).

In 1502, things had changed a lot in Granada. During the 1499 embassy of the Catholic Monarchs to Granada, the Cardinal and Great Inquisitor Jiménez de Cisneros had diagnosed a situation the Monarchs did not expect. Apparently, Catholicism had not been sufficiently enforced, and most of the inhabitants of the city remained in their cultural habits, in spite of the message included in the printed program devised by Archbishop Talavera. Talavera had tried to learn Arabic, but he had, above all, deposited his trust on a clerical body who celebrated both masses and sermons in Latin or in Spanish. In spite of his interest in disseminating some early *cartillas*, that would allow some muslims to learn the rudiments of a Catholic version of the Spanish language, most people in Granada simply spoke Arabic and attended the mosque.

Pedro de Alcalá's work might be related to this new situation of conflict, in which the first revolts in the Albaicín of 1499 and the policies enforced by Cisneros thereafter, had created an enormous pressure in the new Archbishopric of Granada.

In the circumstances he was living, Pedro de Alcalá turned his eyes toward the particular problem of conversion through linguistic knowledge, in a sense that would include the art of grammar. His work certainly depends on his master's failing to teach the full extent of the art to the full extent of the population. Talavera's work, in this sense, had been that of a Humanist, and therefore a private kind of education, rather than a public, collective one. According with the handbooks, treatises, and *cartillas* either composed or used by Talavera, it is likely to understand what was going on in the Archbishop's palace. Talavera's learning of Arabic was the result of a private interest indeed, but also his teaching was kept private among his *moçuelos*, the children who worked as his "pages" or valets; one of those valets is Francisco Núñez Muley, who evokes his life in Talavera's service in his important *Memorial* of 1567, of which we will speak a bit later. Although Hernando de Talavera had a deep knowledge of academic Grammar, both in Latin and in Spanish, and he had worked

closely with Elio Antonio de Nebrija in both his *Introductiones Latinae* (1480) and the Spanish *Gramática* of 1492, he used a completely different approach in his teaching of Spanish to the *moçuelos*, who would learn essentially a catechetic form of Spanish: those children would *store* the Spanish language not through rules and grammar, but rather through the use of the *cartilla* in which the language forms a seamless unity with the Christian doctrine and prayers.

Hernando de Talavera's failure -as it was perceived by both the Catholic Monarchs and Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros- was probably related with this preeminence of the private, and what was deemed an extreme tolerance of the public life. Pedro de Alcalá's plan, instead, was much bigger. His plan would involve a whole body of officers learning Arabic in order to be able to reduce -as in *reconduct*, but also as in *submit*- bigger parts of the population to a certain grammar, semantics, and pragmatics of Arabic -that in which all citizens of Granada would only speak *Christian Arabic*.

Pedro de Alcalá works represent an important change regarding the teaching of Grammar. He explains, at the beginning of his *Arte para ligeramente aprender la lengua*

arábiga, that he is going to submit it to the grammar of Latin as it was taught in Spanish schools -which, around 1500, was through the book popularly known as *El Antonio*, that is to say Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae*. Alcalá understand that those officers of conversion are already fluent in Latin, and know the art, and there is no reason to change that or to invent a different art: Grammar, and Latin grammar in particular, is universal, and has become universal throughout the Middle Ages. In doing this, Pedro de Alcalá operates just like Uc Faiditz in his *Donatz Proensals*, Raimon Vidal de Besalú in his *Rasos de Trobar*, or Nebrija himself in his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* published in Salamanca in 1492.

Unlike them, Alcalá decided not to deal with a general, universal grammar of Arabic, that would therefore include the knowledge of *fusha*, the Literal Arabic from the *Qu'ran*, the one used by Faqihs -the judges expert in the jurisprudence or *fiqh-*, by *Qadis* -the judges of the *shari'a-*, and understood throughout the Islamic world. He was not interested in the least on this kind of Arabic, but, rather, on the very dialect spoken in Granada by its citizens, as he declares: "estudie a la breuedad por la necessidad desta obra, y avn porque mi

intencion fue hazer vocabulista dela habla comun y usada dela gente deste Reyno de Granada" (aii^v) ["I tried to be brief because this work was necessary, and also because my intention was to create a lexicon of the common language actually used by the people of this kingdom of Granada."]

As a matter of fact, most of the scholarship surrounding Pedro de Alcalá's works has been produced by linguists, like Federico Corriente or Elena Pezzi. The works attracted their attention because Alcalá's lexical repertory helps historical linguistics to know a hitherto unknown dialect in which andalusi Arabic also reflects the presence of some *aljamiado*, that is to say Ibero romance, words and expressions.

Pedro de Alcalá's idea of a vocabulary of dialectal Arabic, rooted in a particular territory, and obviously deriving from a local research performed by himself, is completely innovative. Ramon Martí, a 13th Century Dominican friar and the author of the *Pugio Fidei contra Iudaeos*, also composed a *Vocabulista in Arabico*, that contained as well some Ibero-romance words; but, like Ramon Llull's later Trilingual School, his project encompasses not only a particular Muslim domain, but rather the whole Islamic world.

Pedro de Alcalá works out his vocabulary from the grounds up, as a linguistic and cultural machine that can be set in motion in one given time and space, as a fully contemporary tool for conversion of a given population. The fact that this machine cannot be useful elsewhere is, precisely, the secret of its efficacy. Alcalá's grammar, semantics, and pragmatics is, as it were, a still picture of the non-converted Granada of the period 1493-1502.

This still picture is of magnificent dimensions: it pinpoints the difference within the nation, isolates it from other national differences (like other linguistic varieties), and devises the technical way to address the issue. Alcalá's treatises are far from being a tool to educate the muslims of Granada -with the exception of the Faqihs, that he would like to become part of the officers of conversion. His grammar and lexicon are a way to unify, in Arabic, what the officers of mass-conversion (or, I would rather say, collective conversion or public conversion) should be able to say, even if they are not able to listen to what is said back to them by the citizens of Granada. Alcalá teaches how to produce doctrine through the art of Grammar, not how to interpret the other's doctrine -not

even how to listen to the other's language. This is -one would say- what this kind conversion is all about: to get the others -and only them- to turn themselves to you (*converte*). This represents a very different concept of conversion, if we compare it to the disputes that were set up in some medieval cities, in which the *pugiles Christi* (*the boxers of Christ*) were taught not only the language, but also what Christians considered to be the doctrinal pitfalls of both Muslim and Jewish theology: they could dispute insofar as they could listen to the their interactions.

Alcalá's project is also a way to create a concrete, portable set of borderlines to reduce and produce the space of Granada. These portable borderlines are the same imagined by Hernando de Talavera -the ones that presumably worked with his *moçuelos*: they are a set of prayers, the Christian doctrine abridged in Arabic, and, the longest part of the printed book, a purposefully incomplete vocabulary that only includes necessary words. He finds inspiration, Alcalá says, in the lists included by Nebrija in his *Introductiones Latinae*, but with some necessary changes, excluding some words and including some others. The result is what Richard Rorty would consider to

be major and minor vocabularies, the frontiers of rationality of Christian doctrine and Christian society.

The list is very long, and I would not dare to analyze the presence of every single word in it. Many of them have to do with Christian teachings, prayers, and the lexicon of conversion; they have a close relationship with the techniques of confession, acknowledgment of sins, and the reduction of them to the ten commandments. The lexicographer is also concerned with the vocabulary regarding dressing, footwear, and music. One of the semantic fields that strikes me as important is that related to the book, and I wonder how the officers of conversion would have used the words that mean "to erase from the book" -in the Spanish list "raer del libro." In summary, the list is not only the result of the adaptation of Nebrija's list in his *Introductiones Latinae* -which had also be composed with the collaboration of Hernando de Talavera back in 1480-, but also the rearrangement of Hernando de Talavera's program as he devised it in his printed collection of handbooks of 1496.

The book was printed only once again, by the same printer, Juan Varela, in 1505 or 1506. We really don't know anything about its possible impact. The control of the city and the

kingdom of Granada was taken over by more effective forces after the death, in 1507, of Hernando de Talavera. The Archbishopric, for instance, became also a jurisdictional center for the inquisition, and since 1500, after the closing of the Yusuffiya, or Madrash of Granada, and the burning of its holdings, there was no other educative center available but the church and the officers of conversion -preachers from different congregations. In 1531, a University of Granada was first founded, creating, thus a new center of intellectual dissemination of Christian knowledge.

The closure of the city, the creation of its portable borderlines also had a physical, demographic manifestation. From the inception, the conquest of Granada involved a movement of population that locked the suburbs of the city. Immigrants from Northern Spain -Asturias, mainly- came to the city, but they were not allowed to install their lodgings within the city walls. They, therefore, created a circle around the city; a circle in which the Language used was Spanish, and where the neighbors were allowed to create their parishes and religious congregations with their processions, saints, devotions, and spacial practices. The process of conversion and reduction

cannot, in fact, be understood without this surrounding presence that acts like a second set of walls dominated by specific signs including forms of Christian association, exhibition of religious images for procession, churches bell-towers, and the pervasive presence of a language that was hitherto reserved to the Granadan population of *aljamiados*, a smaller, virtually marginal part of the citizens.*

I have mentioned before the name of Francisco Núñez Muley, who, around 1500 was one of the *moçuelos* or valets of Hernando de Talavera. Núñez Muley's name speaks about his noble origins, as Harvey, Barletta and others have already stated. He was very young when Granada was set under the *capitulaciones* or pact of surrender between the Catholic Monarchs and the Nasri king of Granada in 1491, the inaugural moment of the Christian domination of the city "the common as well as the suburbs." Núñez Muley was thoroughly educated by Talavera, and he became an important individual in the liminal community of citizens of Granada who had converted but still were concerned with the destiny of the moorish population and the violent process of reduction and conversion.

He wrote his *Memorandum* in 1567, when he was already quite aged. Núñez Muley had lived this production of space in Granada from its inception. He was to address a contemporary situation, as well as, in retrospect, what the process of conversion had meant for the original inhabitants of Granada. Of this *Memorandum* we have an holograph manuscript, as well as an almost contemporary collection of highlights by Mármol de Carvajal in his *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada*, published in 1600, in which the author recalls -and perhaps overestimates- the oral performance by Núñez Muley in front of the President of the Royal Court of Granada. The reason why Núñez Muley decides to write his *Memorandum* is to oppose the enforcement of a *prematía* or decree published the same year of 1567 in which the Granadan *moriscos* were forbidden to wear their traditional clothes and footwear, as well as to attend the public baths, and follow some other traditions. In the same decree, they were given order to stop speaking in public their Arabic dialect -the very same dialect that Pedro de Alcalá had tried to register in both his works. The *Memorandum* is a long oratory piece, much more complex than I could explain here. I will only focus on what he says about the issue with the language.

As other decrees regarding politics and language, this one would create a diglossic situation in Granada. The *moriscos* were forced to

learn Spanish within three years time -that is, six semesters of Spanish. The delay seems impossible to many, and so thinks Francisco Núñez Muley. Moreover, he deems the prohibition simply useless. As a matter of fact, Núñez Muley understands that this part of the decree regarding language is yet another way to control the Spanish anxiety toward the possibility that some Granadan citizens were still Muslims. The answer of Francisco Núñez Muley to such anxiety is the following:

En lo que toca al capítulo de la dicha premática que habla en la lengua aráviga, que ay en ella muchos enconvenientes y que se ha de quitar, a esto digo yo con mi provee juyzio que ningún enconveniente ay en que quede la lengua aráviga, por dos cosas. La una e prençipal, no toca la lengua en la secta ni contra ella... (Garrad, ed., 221)

Regarding the chapter in which the decree deals with the Arabic language, stating that it is very inconvenient and that it must be eliminated, I would say, in my humble opinion, that there is no inconvenient in the permanence of the Arabic language, and this for two reasons. First and foremost, because the language is neither in favor nor against the sect [i.e., the practice of Islam].**

Núñez Muley goes on to explain that there are many Christian domains throughout the Mediterranean basin in which the national or official language is Arabic, like, he says, the island of Malta -a Crusader

kingdom-, and that there exists a large number of Christian and Catholic texts written in Arabic. Furthermore, he adds,

“I also believe that they say mass in Arabic... and neither the Maltese nor the Christians of Jerusalem know how to read or write in Castilian. If using Arabic were truly something that went against the Holy Catholic faith, then these priests and philosophers in Malta and Jerusalem would not use it, as they are Christians.” (trad Barletta, p. 92; Garrad: 221-222).

After this, Núñez Muley considers impossible for the “new converts of this kingdom”, who in fact use very different dialects of Arabic, to learn Spanish in the delay of three years and that they “could not learn Castilian if you gave them twenty years” (Barletta: 93).

Núñez Muley’s diagnose is much longer, as his *Memorandum* includes many other external signs that represent the failure of a grammar of conversion as it had taken place in the last seventy five years of Granada as an Archbishopric. Núñez Muley, in fact, rejects the main argument of this grammar of conversion, namely the link between the language and religion -and even theology. From the very beginning of the Archbishopric of Granada, the production of the new space was conceived as a laboratory to reduce language and theology, by means of a grammar that would include both, either in Spanish, like it was the case of Hernando de Talavera, or in Arabic, as in Pedro de Alcalá’s project. Other schools founded in Granada throughout those years -including dominican, franciscan, and jesuit

schools- tried either one or other project, in the understanding that there was a connection between language and religious practices and doctrines. They all had the same underlying program of creating a Christian grammar, an art that would include, as well, urban movement, the practice of the city space, and the footwear and dress. Their aim was to reduce everything to a Christian, Spanish sign system. Núñez Muley, however, unveils a blatant truth: perhaps there is no possible way to perform such a reduction by dint of a single art of speaking and living. Perhaps there is no link whatsoever between external signs and theology, between external signs and the practice of religion -and there is certainly not relationship between language and neither Christian nor Muslim faith. It does not matter whether the citizens of Granada learn Castilian or not, because there is no intimate link between the national language and the proper practice of faith, and there is no proof of the contrary either. For Núñez Muley, the whole process of reduction is based on false premises that have proven to be the causes of more revolts and uprising, mostly in the higher outskirts of the city, the Albaicín.

The awful combination of failure and Christian authorities' deafness was conducive to an entirely different outcome, and a different production of the city space that would empty it out from the Granadan citizens who had occupied the physical and social center of the city life: after years of deportations of *moriscos* to other

regions of Spain, the process concluded with their wholesale expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, decreed on April 9th, 1609.

[CONCLUSIONS] It is time to conclude. Let me simply point to a list of conclusions, or, rather, points for further discussion -today and in the future.

1. An obvious conclusion: a national language is not necessarily a category, and the very fact of pinpointing it can be a slippery experience. The national relates to the particular problem of nation construction and the identification of a language among the rest of the languages spoken in an ever-growing territory, that of the European Empires of the Early Modern period. This means that "national language" is more related to a dynamics than to a concrete category.
2. Henri Lefebvre coined the analysis of the production of space in order to call our attention to the dynamics of social and political space creation. Production, here, is "to put forth", from Latin pro (forth, forward) and duco (carry, drive). A production by reduction -in spite of the paronomasia- is, for sure, a very particular kind of the production of space. Space, here, has to be closed and enveloped by portable borderlines, as it were; borderlines that are brought, transported to a given place, where they serve as a means to reduce the space, and produce it as somewhere where particular tasks of conversion can

be carried on -conversion, here, encompasses a complete set of actions and discourses as those evoked by Michel Zink **but look for a good assessment of conversion. As a matter of fact conversion is also the changes involved in the de-sacralization and re-sacralization of space (see for instance ground zero as a space to be produced and a space of conversion, but bear in mind the differences regarding time -so that one discussion does neither prefigure nor hide the other, they are in no tropological relationship whatsoever)**

3. Those conclusions must however take into consideration the particularities of a question arising during the Early Hispanic Empire, namely that of the diversity of languages spoken within the territory, as well as the early promotion of Spanish as the language of the chancery in Castile, Catalan as the preferred language of the public Generalitat affairs I. The crown of Aragon, and the importance of other languages and dialects throughout the Iberian Peninsula, a situation that becomes all the more complex with the missionary programs in both the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas.
4. The space of the old nasri kingdom of Granada after 1502 and during the whole 16th century, is one of conflict. The politics and practice of conversion is exported and developed to this space in the moment it becomes an archbishopric. A body of officials who do not know the Arabic language needed to be educated to convert

the new subjects, in a double movement of preservation and union. Pedro de Alcalá's works, a grammar of spoken Granadan Arabic dialect, and a vocabulary of the same language, were founded on Latin models -so that the officials could follow the same rules they were taught at University. Both grammar and vocabulary, however, were created to utter definite and well established speeches, not really to listen to the new subjects' language. They were created to constitute a structure to produce space and delimitate it with the semantics, syntax, and pragmatics of conversion.

*The art of conversion required yet another process of cultural unification, namely what we can call the *clothes reading*, and hence the laws regarding the dress and footwear codes within the new city of Granada. Hernando de Talavera was not alone in considering the political and social impact of clothes and shoes in the practice of the new urban space dominated by the power and jurisdiction of the Archbishopric, but his treatise of 1496 *On clothes and footwear* is an overtly political thesis on this specific subject. Chapter one establishes that "los pueblos and quales quier subditos & inferiores deuen simple mente obedesçer asus gouernadores & mayores: sin demandar causas nin razones de los mandamientos quales son hechos." ["people and all the subjects and inferiors must obey their governors and superiors in the simplest way, without asking the causes and reasons why rules are made."] The rest of the chapters deal with the unification of the

**Trad mine.