

AN APPEAL OF THE MORISCOS TO THE MAMLUK SULTAN  
AND ITS COUNTERPART TO THE OTTOMAN COURT:  
TEXTUAL ANALYSIS, CONTEXT,  
AND WIDER HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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In his article «A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire», James Monroe offered an account, including the Arabic text and an English translation, of a *qaṣīda* preserved in al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyād*.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Maqqarī, who is followed in this respect by Monroe, it was composed by an anonymous Morisco after the conquest of Granada and was sent to the Ottoman emperor Bayāzīd II (who reigned between the years 1481/1512), in an appeal for help. The poem contains a reference to the burning of copies of the Quran (verse 42); it mentions both an Ottoman letter to the Catholic Kings (verse 82) and an Egyptian delegation which had arrived in Spain earlier (verse 84). Furthermore, it mentions several incidents which occurred between 1499 and 1501 during the first revolt in Granada, one of them being the massacre of the Muslim inhabitants of Huéjar which took place in 1500 (verse 92).

Drawing his conclusions from a number of arguments, Monroe dated the composition of the poem in 1501. Among other grounds, he pointed out that «none of the historical events which occurred after 1501 are mentioned in the *qaṣīda*». Another argument he uses to support this date was that «we are informed by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza that around this time the Moriscos had sought the intercession of the Ottoman emperor». <sup>2</sup> Monroe refers here to Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*.<sup>3</sup> In fact Hurtado de Mendoza is not so clear about the precise year. He makes his remark in the context of his description of the second uprising of the Moriscos of Granada, in 1568, remarking: «Habian ya *muchos años antes* enviado á solicitar con personas ciertas, no solamente á los principes de Berbería,

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<sup>1</sup> *Al Andalus*, XXXI (1966), 281-303.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, 283.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. B.A.E., Madrid, 1946, vol. 21, 72.

mas al emperador de los Turcos dentro en Constantinopla, que los socorriese y sacase de servidumbre...».<sup>4</sup>

The *qaṣīda* is also quoted by the Moroccan author Muḥammad al-Ṭālib Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī (d. 1857), in his book *Riyāḍ al-ward fīmā 'ntamā ilayhi hadhā 'l-jawhar al-fard*, and account of the life and the ancestors of his father, Abū 'l-Fayd Ḥamdūn Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī.<sup>5</sup> He quotes the poem within the context of his discussion of why one of his ancestors had emigrated from al-Andalus to Fes.

It seems that Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī also quoted the poem from al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*, a source he explicitly mentions many times elsewhere in his book. Nevertheless, there are *three differences* between al-Maqqarī's version and that of Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī.

First of all, the text of Ibn al-Ḥājj contains four lines not to be found in the printed edition of al-Maqqarī's *Azhār*. These are lines 96-99, to be discussed below. This difference can be explained by assuming a lacuna in the manuscript(s) on which the printed edition of al-Maqqarī's *Azhār* was based.

The second difference between the texts of al-Maqqarī and Ibn al-Ḥājj consists of the prose introduction given by al-Maqqarī, addressing the Ottoman emperor, which is not quoted by Ibn al-Ḥājj.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly and finally, Ibn al-Ḥājj introduces and concludes the poem with some interesting historical remarks, not to be found in al-Maqqarī at all. He attributes the *qaṣīda* in question to a particular group of Muslims who actively resisted the assimilation policy of the Catholic Kings, after having withdrawn to the mountains around Granada. After mentioning the treaty concerning the surrender of Granada to the Christians and the departure of numerous inhabitants, together with the Sultan, to Morocco, Ibn al-Ḥājj remarks:

«God Almighty had ordained that after they had arrived at Fes, the people were afflicted by severe starvation, a rise in prices, and the plague. Some of them even returned to their country. They informed [those who had stayed behind] about that hardship, so that those who had wanted to cross [the sea] became reluctant to do so. When the Tyrant saw that, he started to break the capitulations, one after another, until he had broken them all. The inviolability of the Muslims had come to an end and they were subjected to disgrace and

<sup>4</sup> See also the edition by B. Blanco González, of the *Guerra de Granada*, Madrid, 1970, 111. Though, unlike the BAE edition, Blanco-González's edition is based on a contemporary manuscript, the passage in question reads the same.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. J. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, vol. 1, Damascus, 1993, 195-201.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. our translation of this introduction below.

humiliation. Heavy fines were enforced upon them and they were deprived of the prayer-call from the minarets. He ordered them to leave Granada for the outlying districts and the villages. So they left, in degradation and abasement. Then, in the year 904 [1498] he gave them the choice between conversion to Christianity or death. He gave them a month [to make their choice]. On this occasion, they split up into three groups. One group said: "We shall defend our children to the death". *Another group said: "We shall leave with our children for a high mountain where we shall fortify ourselves. We shall send our messengers to Sultan Abū Yazīd Khān Sulaymān al-'Uthmānī, to ask him for help"*. A third group said: "We shall hide our religion and take care of the [proper education] of our children". Then these groups were separated [from each other]. The first group fought until all of them died. They were exterminated and their women and children were taken captive. The second group committed apostasy outwardly, while hiding their Islam until they died. Their children grew up in Unbelief. *The third group fortified itself in a rocky mountain and sent its messengers to the Ottoman Sultan with a poem in which the members complained about the condition of disgrace and humiliation they were living in, which curdles the blood of those who listen to it. It runs as follows:...*<sup>7</sup> (there follows the text of the poem).

The three groups distinguished by Ibn al-Ḥājj faithfully reflect the tendencies and tensions within late fifteenth-century Granadan Mudejar Islam. There can be little doubt that the high mountain on which the third group planned to hide is a recollection of the fortifications in the Alpujarra in which the Muslims took refuge, to be discussed below.

At the end of the poem, Ibn al-Ḥājj draws the following historical conclusion:

«Sultan *Abū Yazīd Khān* wrote an intimidating letter to the Tyrant. He swore to him that if were to do them a mischief, he would kill and burn all the Infidels under his protection. Thereupon, the Tyrant refrained from [attacking], so they took their children and properties and betook themselves to the coastal area. He embarked them in ships and disembarked them on the mainland of the Western shore. All of al-Andalus had thus become a Territory of Unbelief. There was no one left who publicly professed the Testimony of Monotheism.<sup>8</sup> This was the greatest disaster that happened in Islam after the disaster of the loss of the Chosen One, peace be upon him!».

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, 195-196.

<sup>8</sup> Arabic: *kalimat al-tawḥīd*.

In addition to the preceding data, a *shorter and slightly different version* of the poem, recently came to our attention. This version proves that there was another, similar appeal for help made by the Moriscos which was directed, not to the Ottoman court, but to the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo.<sup>9</sup> The existence of this text confirms the hypothesis of L. P. Harvey<sup>10</sup> about a twopronged diplomatic Morisco offensive. This offensive aimed in the first place at Cairo because it was nearer, and more able at this stage to make its influence felt. And when that initiative produced no useful results, steps were taken towards Istanbul.

The text in question is preserved in a privately owned manuscript in Morocco, containing an anonymous literary anthology.<sup>11</sup> A close examination of the Mamlūkī and the Ottoman versions shows that the shorter version, directed to the Mamluk Sultan, was the original one. During the reign of Bāyazīd II, the Ottomans were rapidly growing into a very prominent world power and it was a logical thing to send them an identical appeal, slightly reworked, of course, to fit the new addressee and to include the most recent events. This was even more logical to do after the Mamluks (who were profiting of Spanish military support against the Ottomans) had failed to show a sufficient amount of muscles to the Spanish Kings in order to help the Moriscos effectively.<sup>12</sup>

In the present article we shall, first of all, present a comparative analysis of the Mamluk and the Ottoman versions of the *qaṣīda* (I). In the second section, we shall try to sketch the wider historical framework of the international relations between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms of Spain on the one hand, and the Mamluk and Ottoman empires on the other hand. Special attention will be paid here to the repercussions of Spanish-Mamluk relations on the position

<sup>9</sup> For this dating, see our arguments below, under III: «Date and Historical Context».

<sup>10</sup> Harvey, L. P., «The Moriscos and their International Relations», in *L'Expulsió dels moriscos. Conseqüències en el món islàmic i en el món cristià. Sant Carles de la Ràpita, 5-9 de desembre de 1990. 380è aniversari de l'expulsió dels moriscos. Congrés internacional*, Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, 1994, 135-139, see also *idem*, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500*, Chicago, 1990, 267.

<sup>11</sup> We should like to express our gratitude to our dear friend Mustafa Naji (Rabat), for having drawn our attention to this item and having provided us with a photocopy of it. Unfortunately, we cannot describe the manuscript (which might date back to the 17th or 18th century) in any more detail, as we possess only a photocopy of the two pages with the *qaṣīda* (cf. the attached reproduction of the manuscript).

<sup>12</sup> See also 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥamīd, *Mawqif al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya tijāh al-muslimīn fī 'l-Andalus 891 H-1017H/1486 M-1609 M*, Al-Riyāḍ, 1993; Hess, A. C., «The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain», *The American Historical Review*, LXXIV, 1 (1968), 2-25; Saḥar 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim, «'Alāqat Miṣr al-Mamlūkīya bi-Gharnāta qabīl wa 'aqība suqūṭihā», *Actes du V Symposium International d'Études Morisques sur: Le V<sup>e</sup> centenaire de la Chute de Grenade 1492-1992* (A. Temimi, ed.), Zaghuan, 1993, vol. 2, 83-119; Temimi, A., *Le Gouvernement Ottomane et le problème morisque*, Zaghuan, 1993.

and treatment of Muslim and Christian minorities, as a consequence of the application of the principles of *reciprocity* and *retaliation* (II).<sup>13</sup> In the final section we will discuss the date of both versions of the *qaṣīda* and its authorship (III).

#### I. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A comparison between the two versions of the poem shows that we can distinguish between *four constituent elements*.

In the first place, the Ottoman version starts with an address in prose, which is lacking in the Mamluk version. Secondly, at the beginning of the poem there is a passage of eight lines that is found only (with the exception of a few passages and one complete line) in the version sent to the Mamluk Sultan (lines 2-9 of our MS), with an invocation directed to the Mamluk Sultan. In the third place, there is the corpus of the poem which is shared, to a great extent at least, by both versions. Fourthly and finally, there are several lines that are unique for the version sent to the Ottoman Sultan. These refer, first of all (with exception of a few passages and one complete line), to the opening lines (lines 2-8 of the version published by Monroe), with an invocation directed to the Ottoman Sultan. In addition to these opening lines, the version published by Monroe also contains some extra lines at various places in the corpus of the poem.

Below we shall give an analysis of and make a comparison between both versions. We will begin by presenting a translation of the prose address of the Ottoman version, as preserved in al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyāḍ*, which was not translated by Monroe. In the second place, the (unpublished) pieces which are unique to the Mamluk version will be quoted in full (both in Arabic and English). The lines that can be found only in the Ottoman version will then follow, in the English translation published by Monroe which we have revised in a few points. The common elements of both versions will be no more than briefly summarized. Its full text is found in the article of Monroe.

<sup>13</sup> See on the repercussions of this mechanism for the expulsions of Jews and Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century in a comparative perspective: Harvey, L. P., «When Portugal Expelled its Remaining Muslims», *Portuguese Studies*, 11 (1995), 1-14, esp. p. 3.

I.1. The prose address of the Ottoman version as preserved in al-Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyād*

The Moroccan manuscript containing the Mamluk version merely introduces the text of the *qaṣīda*, after some customary formulas (*basmala*, *du'ās*, and *taṣliya*),<sup>14</sup> with the simple sentence: «This is the letter written by the Andalusians as an epistle to the Best of Friends».<sup>15</sup> Evidently, these sentences do not belong to the original text but are due to the author of the literary anthology of which the *qaṣīda* forms part.

Also al-Maqqarī added an introductory line to his presentation of the (Ottoman version of) the *qaṣīda*, viz. in the following words: «After the Infidels had gained complete control over the Peninsula, someone of its inhabitants wrote [a request] to Sultan Bāyazīd<sup>16</sup> Khān al-'Uthmānī —may God have mercy upon him!— the text of which runs as follows, after the opening sentence».<sup>17</sup>

The following prose address reproduced by al-Maqqarī contains some valuable materials for our critical discussions and is given here in our English translation:

«To the lofty Court —may God bestow on it happiness, let its words stand before all men, flatten its regions, honour its upholders and debase its enemies!—, the Court of Our Lord, the Pillar of our Religion and our World, the Sultan, Victorious King, Helper of the World and of Religion, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Subduer of the Infidel Enemies of God, Cavern of Islam, Helper of the Religion of our Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him!), Reviver of Justice, Establisher of the Right of the Oppressed in the Face of the Oppressor, King of the Arabs and Non-Arabs, of the Turks and the Daylamites, Shadow of God on His Earth, Upholder of His Sunna and Law, King of the Two Continents, Sultan of the Two Seas, Protector of Honour,

<sup>14</sup> *Bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīmi. Rabb yassir wa-a'in wa-atmim wa-kammil [...] Allāh wa-ṣallā 'llāhu 'alā sayyidina Muḥammad wa-'alā ālihi wa-sallama taslūman.*

<sup>15</sup> *Hadhā kitāb al-Andalus alladhī katabūhu risālatan ilā khayri 'l-aḥibbati.*

<sup>16</sup> The Cairo edition reads *Abī Yazīd*, following the Tunis edition of 1322 H. However, the editors indicated in a note that the (only) Cairo MS consulted by them, reads *Bāyazīd*, a reading which should be given preference, because al-Maqqarī must have been aware of the correct spelling of the Sultan's name. The prose-address itself (see below) reads also *Abū Yazīd* (the Arabic form of the name), and in this case the editors have not indicated a different spelling in the Cairo manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyād fī akhbār 'Iyād*, ed. M. al-Saqqā, I. al-Abyārī and 'A. Shalbī, Cairo, 1939, vol. 1, 108. The «opening sentence» (Ar.: *ṣaṭr al-iftitāh*) would have merely contained customary formulas like *basmala* and *taṣliya*, and is therefore omitted by al-Maqqarī.

Subduer of the Infidels, Our Lord and Our Pillar, Our Cavern and Our Aid, *Our Lord Abū Yazīd* —may his kingship continue to grow its abundance of upholders and to achieve victories without cease, may its influence and glorious deeds remain forever, may its elevated and noble qualities not be forgotten, by monopolizing those noble deeds for which God doubles His bountiful reward and His graceful praise in the Hereafter, as well as victory in This World. May his lofty decisions continue to stand out by the virtue of the holy war, so that the enemies of religion be deprived of their strength, thus quenching the breasts of nails and the blades of swords, and the tongues of weapons that sacrifice the most precious treasures in the lands where the superior [warriors] are longing for the departure of their souls from their bodies, thus following, by God's favour and by obedience to Him, the path of their victorious predecessors, on the Day the Witnesses Shall Stand Up [to Bear Witness]!».<sup>18</sup>

As indicated above, we possess no parallel text in the Mamluk version for comparison. It is therefore impossible to conclude with certainty whether the complete text of this prose-address was especially composed for the Ottoman version, or had merely resulted from a revision of an unknown prose-address of the Mamluk version, which is likely to have existed.

## I.2. The opening line of the poem

The opening line of the Mamluk version of the poem reads as follows:

*Salāmun karīmun dā'iman mutajaddidan*  
*akhaṣṣu bihi mawlāy khayru 'l-bariyya*  
 Noble greetings for ever renewed  
 for which my lord, the Best of Mankind, is most qualified!

The poet reminds the person he is addressing that the person most qualified to receive his «ever renewed noble greetings» is the Prophet, who is, of course, the one to be identified with the person alluded to with the words «the Best of Mankind». The author first pays homage to the Prophet, before directing himself to the Mamluk Sultan. In the Ottoman version, edited by Monroe from al-

<sup>18</sup> Al-Maqqarī, *op. cit.*, 108-109.

Maqqarī's *Azhār al-Riyād*, the words *khayru 'l-bariyya* are read as *khayra khalīfatī*, whereas the words *akhaṣṣu bihi* are read as *ukhiṣṣu bihi*, with the result that the poet immediately addresses the (Ottoman) Caliph: «A noble, enduring, ever-renewed peace do I attribute exclusively to His Highness the best of Caliphs» (Monroe). In our view, an emendation of the text edited by Monroe is possible which might approach more closely the original spirit of the poem, viz. the reading of *khayru khalīqa* («the Best of Creatures»), merely a synonym for *khayru 'l-bariyya*. In this case, also the Ottoman version duly pays homage to the Prophet in the first line.<sup>19</sup>

### I.3 The poetical invocation of the Mamluk version

In the Mamluk version, the Mamluk Sultan is directly addressed in lines 2-11, as follows:

- 2 *Salāmun 'alā maulāy sultāni Makka*  
*wa-sultāni dāri 'l-Muṣṭafā khayri buq'a*  
Greetings to my lord the Sultan of Mecca,  
the Sultan of the House of the Chosen One,<sup>20</sup> the best of places!
- 3 *Salāmun 'alā man ḥāza mulkuhu*  
*qubūra kirāmi 'l-rusuli fī arḍi Ayla.*<sup>21</sup>  
Greetings to him whose kingship encompasses  
the graves of the Messengers in the country of Ayla!<sup>22</sup>
- 4 *Wa-ḥāza bilāda 'l-Shāmi wa-'l-masjida lladhī*  
*bihi ṣakhratu 'l-mi'rāji aḍḍali ṣakhra*  
It also encompasses the country of Syria and the mosque in  
which is the Rock of the Ascension, the best of rocks!
- 5 *Salāmun 'alā man mulkuhu mulku Yūsuf*  
*'alayhi salāmu 'llāhi fī kulli laḥza*

<sup>19</sup> The expression *khayru 'l-bariyya* denoting the Prophet is used also in verses 49 of the Mamlūkī and 67 of the Ottoman version.

<sup>20</sup> Medina.

<sup>21</sup> Viz. Palestine, in which the sea-port Ayla, present-day al-Aqaba was found. Our MS reads *'bla*, emended by us to Ayla.

<sup>22</sup> Palestine.



Greetings to him whose kingship is the kingship of Joseph  
The blessings of God be upon him at every moment!

- 6 *Kadhālika ḥāza 'l-Qudsa wa-'l-Ṭūra mulkuhu  
wa-mulkuhu [...] kullu faḍīla*  
His kingship encompasses Jerusalem also and Sinai,  
his kingship [enshrines] every virtue!
- 7 *Salāmun 'alā man Dāru Miṣra maqīluhu  
wa-maskanuhu ukrima bi-[hā min] madīna*<sup>23</sup>  
Greetings to him whose citadel and dwelling-place is the  
Capital of Egypt. What a noble city it is!<sup>24</sup>
- 8 *Salāmun 'alā man kiswatu 'l-Bayti 'indahu  
lahu kulla 'āmin kiswatun ba'da kiswa*  
Greetings to him who provides the House<sup>25</sup> with its  
covering, a fresh one year by year.
- 9 *Salāmun 'alā man zayyana 'llāhu mulkahu  
wa-zayyanahu bi-'l-Nīli mithla 'l-'arūsa*  
Greetings to him whose kingship was adorned by God  
with the Nile, like a bride
- 10 *Salāmun 'alā man wasa'a 'llāhu mulkahu  
wa-a'ṭāhu mulkan fi-l-biḥāri 'l-thalātha*  
Greetings to him whose kingship was expanded by God,  
who gave him sovereignty over the three seas<sup>26</sup>
- 11 *Salāmun 'alaykum sharrafa 'llāhu qadrakum  
wa-zādakum mulkan 'alā kulli [mill]a*<sup>27</sup>  
Greetings to you, may God honour your rank  
and ensure your sovereignty waxes over every religious community!

<sup>23</sup> Following AR line 4: *Salāmun 'alā maulāy man dāru mulkiḥy Qusanṭīna akrim bi-hā min madīna.*

<sup>24</sup> Probably a reference to Cairo.

<sup>25</sup> The Ka'ba.

<sup>26</sup> Viz. the Red Sea, the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea?

<sup>27</sup> Text completed from AR line 6.

#### I.4 The poetical invocation of the Ottoman version

The address just quoted is missing in the Ottoman version which is addressed to the Ottoman Sultan. A few passages and one complete line of the Ottoman version are also found in the Mamluk version. These passages are given in italics, in order to facilitate a critical comparison between both versions.

- 2 *Greetings to my Lord,*<sup>28</sup> the possessor of glory and lofty stature, who has clothed the infidel in a robe of humility!
- 3 *Greetings to him whose kingship was expanded by God,*<sup>29</sup> supporting him with victory in every region!
- 4 *Greetings to him the Capital* of whose realm is Constantinople. *What a noble city it is!*<sup>30</sup>
- 5 *Greetings to him whose kingship was adorned by God* with armies and subject populations of Turks!<sup>31</sup>
- 6 *Greetings to you, may God honour your rank and increase your sovereignty over every religious community!*<sup>32</sup>
- 7 Peace be upon the judge and upon whomsoever of the noble, exalted men of learning resemble him!
- 8 Peace be upon the men of religion and piety and whomsoever among the counsellors is gifted with sound judgment!

#### I.5 The common corpus of the poem in both versions and the extra lines of the Ottoman version

After these invocations, to the Mamluk and the Ottoman Sultan respectively, both versions continue with a common corpus, apart from the additional lines to

<sup>28</sup> Arabic: *Salāmun 'alā maulāy*. The second line of the «Mamlūkī version» has the same opening words.

<sup>29</sup> Arabic: *Salāmun 'alā man wassa'a 'llāhu mulkahu*; these words are identical to the first half line of verse 10 of the «Mamlūkī version».

<sup>30</sup> This line is reminiscent of line 7 of the «Mamlūkī version» (see above).

<sup>31</sup> This line is reminiscent of line 9 of the «Mamlūkī version».

<sup>32</sup> This line is identical to line 11 of the «Mamlūkī version».

be found in the Ottoman version only. First of all, the invocations are continued and completed with a common text (lines 12-19 of the Mamluk version; lines 9-19 of the Ottoman version). The senders of the letter containing the *qasida* describe themselves as slaves living in a diaspora situation (Ar. *arḍ ghurba*<sup>33</sup>) in al-Andalus. The old men tear their hair with grief; the women have been compelled to give up the use of the veil.

A. Galán Sánchez states that the stipulations of the extant capitulation (i.e. conversion) treaties with the Granadan Muslims between 1499 and 1501 show a common pattern, also mentioning the concession that the groups in question were allowed to wear Islamic dress until the latter was worn out,<sup>34</sup> i.e. even though this use was expected to disappear no specific time limit is mentioned. This stipulation was denied in those places which had participated in the Rising. Hence it is not found in the capitulations of the Val de Lecrín and Alpujarras (both signed on 30 July 1500) and Habla (October 1500).<sup>35</sup> Dress was to some extent seen as religiously neutral, and hence it was not forbidden to wear the *hijāb*. A general edict in Granada against Morisco clothing was promulgated only in 1511.<sup>36</sup> This circumstance suggests that the author belonged to a group of Muslims who had been engaged in the revolt and had been defeated by the Christians, who were therefore no longer permitted to wear Islamic dress.

The Ottoman version adds in lines 14-15 that girls have been forced by clerics to share their bed, while old women were coerced to eat pork and carrion:

Peace be upon you on behalf of some faces that have been  
bared to the company of non-Arabs after having been veiled

Peace be upon you on behalf of some young girls  
whom the priest drives by force to a bed of shame

Peace be upon you on behalf of some old women  
who have been compelled to eat pork and carrion<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See on this concept Rosenthal, F., «The Stranger in Medieval Islam», *Arabica* 44 (1997), 35-75.

<sup>34</sup> «Hasta que rasguen los vestidos que agora tienen ellos e sus mugeres», capitulation of Huéscar of 26 February 1501.

<sup>35</sup> Galán Sánchez, A., «Notas para una periodización de la historia de los moriscos granadinos. De las capitulaciones de la conversión a las medidas de la capilla real», *Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. La Sociedad Medieval Andaluza: Grupos no Privilegiados*, Jaén, 1984, 77-98 and 82-90.

<sup>36</sup> See Domínguez Ortiz, A., and Vincent, B., *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1978, 20; Garrad, K., «The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley», *Atlante*, 2, n.º 4 (1954), 199-226, 201, 205.

<sup>37</sup> Viz. «the flesh not killed according to ritual prescriptions» (Monroe).

Lines 19-20 of both versions state the main issue of the complaint: the Granadans have been betrayed and converted to Christianity (verse 20).

This is followed by a description of the vicissitudes leading to the fall of Granada (lines 20-39 of both versions). In his passage, there are only two irregularities. First of all, line 21 of the Mamluk version corresponds to line 10 of the Ottoman version; secondly, line 38 of the Ottoman version (containing a repetition of what has already been said in the previous lines) does not figure in the Mamluk version at all.<sup>38</sup> The first difference is what deserves our attention here, as it might help us in the dating of the two versions. The line in question reads:

They are encompassed by a swelling sea of the Rūm as  
well as a deep, gloomy and fathomless ocean.

The «swelling sea of the Rūm» is, of course, the Mediterranean (*Baḥr al-Rūm*). The «deep, gloomy and fathomless ocean» refers to the waters of the Atlantic Ocean. On either side, they now conspire to isolate the Muslims in the Peninsula. In the Mamluk version this line functions as a dramatic description of the immediate consequences of the fall of Granada. In the Ottoman version this particular historical context is absent: here, the line is part of the invocation, and functions as an (additional) explanation of the general situation of the Muslims in al-Andalus, who are now living in what amounts to exile. Such a generalizing description of their position would be more appropriately used to address the Ottoman party, who at the time were much less familiar than the Mamluks with the details of Andalusian history and geography.<sup>39</sup>

In the following eight lines common to both versions (40-47) a detailed description of the Christian betrayal is provided, the forced nature of the conversion is stressed,<sup>40</sup> and the indignities suffered by the Andalusian Muslims are enumerated: their Qurans and other religious books were defiled and burned; those who fasted or prayed were themselves burned; those who did not attend church-services were chastised, their property was confiscated, and they themselves were put in prison.

We agree with Monroe that the burning of Qurans and other religious books (verse 42 of the Ottoman version) is most likely a reference to the burning of the

<sup>38</sup> Monroe's translation of this line runs as follows: «Showing us documents containing a pact and a treaty, saying to us: "This is my amnesty and my protection [over you]"».

<sup>39</sup> See also below under section II.

<sup>40</sup> From these lines it becomes apparent that the author himself belonged to a group of Granadan Muslims who had been compelled to convert to Christianity.

Arabic books perpetrated by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros in 1499.<sup>41</sup> This method of dealing with Arabic books became the official policy applied by the Spanish authorities (State and Church) towards the Arabic MSS in the possession of the Muslims after they had been forced to convert to Christianity.

This policy was in fact a continuation of the policy applied by them to the treatment of Hebrew books.<sup>42</sup> The implication was that religious texts were to be burned, while the ownership of medical, philosophical, and historical books was permitted. In this manner, in October 1501 the King and Queen ordered all the copies of the Quran and other Arabic religious books in the Kingdom of Granada to be handed in, to be burnt publicly, so that nothing would remain of them. Ownership of Islamic religious books in the future was to be considered a crime for which the sentence was capital punishment.<sup>43</sup> A decade later, a decree of 20 June 1511, Queen Juana ordered that the «recently converted Christians» had to hand in all their Arabic books for inspection. The religious ones were to be burnt. Only the medical, philosophical, and historical books were to be returned to their owners.<sup>44</sup>

After this passage the Ottoman version has an additional 18 verses which do not figure in the Mamluk version (lines 48-65). These verses describe several historical events, providing clues for an accurate dating:

- 48    Moreover, during Ramadan they spoiled our fast time after time with food and drink.<sup>45</sup>
- 49    And they ordered us to curse our Prophet and to refrain from invoking him in times of ease or hardship.
- 50    They even overheard a group chanting his name, and the latter suffered a grievous injury at their hands.

<sup>41</sup> See also del Mármol Carvajal, L., *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada*, ed. Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. 21, Madrid, 1946, 154, according to whom Cisneros had the books dealing with profane matters sent to the recently-founded University in Alcalá.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. van Koningsveld, P. S., «Andalusian-Arabic manuscripts from medieval Christian Spain. Some supplementary notes». *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer. Zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main etc., 1991, 811-823, esp. 814.

<sup>43</sup> Ladero Quesada, M. A., *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid, 1969, 318-319. Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, A., and Vincent, B., *Historia de los Moriscos*. 1978, 20-22, 32-33 (prohibition of all Arabic books of 1567).

<sup>44</sup> See also Simonet, F. J., *El Cardenal Ximenez de Cisneros y los manuscritos arábigo-granadinos*, Granada, 1885, 9; cf. 17.

<sup>45</sup> If taken literally, this verse could not have been written in 1501, for it suggests that several years have already passed since the forced conversions to Christianity.

- 51 For their judges and governors punished them with beatings, fines, imprisonment and humiliation.
- 52 Whosoever lay dying, and did not have in attendance one who could preach [their religion to them], in their deceit, they would refuse to bury him.
- 53 Instead, he was left lying prostrate on a dungheap like a dead donkey or [some other] animal.
- 54 [They committed] many other similar, shameful deeds, as well as numerous wicked acts.
- 55 Our names were changed and given a new form with neither our consent nor our desire.
- 56 Therefore, alas, for the exchanging of Muhammad's religion for that of the Christian dogs, the worst of creatures!
- 57 Alas for our names when they were exchanged for those of ignorant non-Arabs!
- 58 Alas for our sons and daughters who go off every morning to a priest.
- 59 Who teaches them unbelief, idolatry, and falsehood while they are entirely unable to circumvent ([the Christians] by any trick!
- 60 Alas for those mosques that have been walled<sup>46</sup> up to become dungheaps for the infidel after having enjoyed ritual purity!
- 61 Alas for those minarets<sup>47</sup> in which the bells [of the Christians] have been hung in place of the Muslim declaration of faith [being announced from them]!
- 62 Alas for those towns and their beauty! Through unbelief they have grown very dark!
- 63 They have become strongholds for the worshippers of the Cross, and in them the latter are safe against the occurring of raids.

<sup>46</sup> Arabic: *suwwirat*. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, 199, has: *suwwirat*, which was emended to *suyyirat* by the editor, Ja'far Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, 199, reads *ṣawārim* (swords) which makes no sense.

- 64 We have become slaves; not captives who may be ransomed, nor even Muslims who pronounce their declaration of faith!
- 65 Hence, were your eyes to see what has become of our lot, they would overflow with abundant tears.<sup>48</sup>

These are followed by eleven identical lines in both versions (lines 48-58 in the Mamluk and 66-76 in the Ottoman version), leading to a strong appeal based on the common bond of Islam. It is even suggested that the (Mamluk and/or the Ottoman) Sultan make reprisals against the Christians in the Holy Land and that he urge the Pope to intercede with the Spanish sovereigns (verses 55 and 58 of the Mamluk, 73 and 76 of the Ottoman version). The first verse (55/73) requires our special attention. It says:

*Wa-dīnu 'l-naṣārā aṣluhu taḥta ḥukmikum  
wa-mā<sup>49</sup> thamma ya'tīhim ilā kulli kūra.<sup>50</sup>*

As for the Christian faith, its [place of] origin is ruled by your authority, and what happens there reaches them in every region.<sup>51</sup>

If we understand this verse to be a reference to the City of Jerusalem, then this seems to contradict the date (1501) proposed by Monroe for the Ottoman version, because the Mamluks ruled Jerusalem until 1517, when it was conquered by the Ottomans. It is also possible, however, to relate these words, in a broader sense, to the old areas of Christianity, including Asia Minor, and, more specifically, Constantinople. In this case, there is no contradiction.<sup>52</sup>

In the Ottoman version, the justification of the cause of the Andalusian Muslims is emphasized by an additional three lines (77-79) containing a reference to the honest treatment of their Christian subjects by Andalusian Muslim sovereigns in the past:

<sup>48</sup> The translation quoted is Monroe's.

<sup>49</sup> Following our MS; AR has: *min*. Consequently, Monroe translated: «and it was from there that it spread to them in every region». This seems, however, to be less correct, as *ya'tīhim* does not denote the past.

<sup>50</sup> AR: *bulda*.

<sup>51</sup> Monroe's translation.

<sup>52</sup> This is a correction of our earlier observation to the contrary in Van Koningsveld, P. S., and Wiegers, G. A., «Islam in Spain during the early sixteenth century: The views of the four Chief Judges in Cairo (introduction, translation and Arabic text)», O. Zwartjes, G. J. van Gelder and E. de Moor (eds.), *Poetry, politics and polemics. Cultural transfer between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa*, Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1996 (=«Orientations» IV), 133-152, 137-138.

- 77 And why they harmed us with their betrayal with no wrong or crime on our part?
- 78 When their people who had been conquered [by us] were under the safeguard of our religion and the protection of [our] glorious kings who fulfilled their promises,
- 79 Neither were they converted from their faith nor expelled from their homes, nor did they suffer betrayal nor dishonour.

These lines are lacking in the Mamluk version. Contrary to the Ottomans, the Mamluks had age-old relations with al-Andalus and were very well informed about the details of Andalusian history. Apparently, the author deemed it useful to add this piece of information in order to nip any possible doubts about the previous treatment of Christians under Muslim rule in al-Andalus in the bud.

After these lines follow four lines that are shared by both versions (verses 59-62 of the Mamluk, 80-83 of the Ottoman version). In these identical verses it is said (verses 61-62/82-83) that a letter from the Sultan had arrived in Spain but the Spanish rulers did not heed a word of it.

The Ottoman version continues with 16 lines that are not to be found in the Mamluk text. Again these deserve our special attention. The last four of these verses (96-99) are to be found only in Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī's *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, and Monroe had no knowledge of them:

- 84 The envoys of Egypt reached them and they were not treated with treachery nor dishonour,
- 85 Yet [the Christians] informed those envoys on our behalf, that we had voluntarily accepted the religion of unbelief,
- 86 And that they had proposed agreements of falsehood to those who had submitted to them; yet, by God, we will never accept that testimony!
- 87 They have lied about us with the greatest of falsehood in their words and arguments in saying that.
- 88 Rather, it was the fear of death and of burning that caused us to convert. We merely repeat what they say, without any intention.



- 89 While the faith of God's Prophet has not been extinguished among us, since in every glance our recognition of God's monotheism can be observed.
- 90 Moreover, by God, we neither accept our change of religion nor what they say on the subject of the Trinity,
- 91 And if they claim that we have accepted their religion unharmed by them,
- 92 Then ask Huéjar<sup>53</sup> about its inhabitants: how they became captives and slaughterlings under [the burden] of humiliation and misfortune,
- 93 And ask Belefique what was the outcome of their affair: they were cut to pieces by the sword after undergoing anxiety.
- 94 As for Munyāfa, its inhabitants were sundered by the sword. The same was done to the people of Alpujarra.
- 95 As for Andarax, its people were consumed by fire. It was in their mosque that they all became like charcoal.<sup>54</sup>
- 96 The situation of Málaga is also the same: our hearts have been torn to shreds!
- 97 Our properties and slaves have been taken as spoils; our properties sometimes by treachery and guile.
- 98 We have become the property of others living on [their] lands; slaves of the Barbarians, without any religion.
- 99 How severely did they not punish those who refused to comply with them and convert to their religion!

These verses describe several actions of war which can be dated with the help of other sources.

We turn first to the events in Huéjar (line 92). A number of the Mudejars who had participated in the rebellion of the Albaicín fled to Huéjar, which, being located high up in the mountains was of crucial strategic importance. Huéjar had

<sup>53</sup> Arabic: *Waḥarā*. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, 200, reads *Wājarā*.

<sup>54</sup> The following four lines (96-99) are found only in Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Sulamī, *Riyāḍ al-Ward*, 200.

already risen at the end of december 1499<sup>55</sup> and its c. 1,500 Muslims refused to surrender. The revolt was suppressed by force of arms in january 1500.<sup>56</sup> According to our source its inhabitants «became captives and slaughterlings» (verse 92, *lacking in the Mamluk version*).

We then proceed to the events in Belefique, of which the inhabitants were «cut to pieces by the sword» (verse 93, *lacking in the Mamluk version*). The revolt of Belefique started in october 1500<sup>57</sup> and was repressed at the beginning of 1501, the inhabitants «fueron presos y muertos por justicia, y las mujeres dadas por captivas».<sup>58</sup>

The next reference is to the events in Andarax, where the people were consumed by fire in their mosque (verse 95, *lacking in the Mamluk version*). The events alluded to here occurred in early 1500. Mármol writes that the Count of Lerín went to Andarax. Some of the Muslims of that province had taken refuge in the castle of Lauxar, which the Spanish took by force «destroying the main mosque in which women and children had sought shelter».<sup>59</sup>

Then come the events in Málaga (verse 96, *lacking in the Mamluk version*). The Sierra Bermeja and Sierra de Ronda y Vallaluenga to the West of Málaga were the last regions to rise in january 1501 and the last to capitulate, sometimes under the condition of free emigration to North Africa. Complaints about «agravios y demasias» committed in Málaga against the «recently converted Muslims» even reached the authorities.<sup>60</sup>

Finally, there follow 10 concluding lines that are again shared by both versions. Of these verses 64-65/101-102 (97-98 in Monroe's article) leave no doubt that the Andalusian Muslims would prefer «expulsion to the Maghrib, the homeland of our dear ones, with our belongings» to remaining in unbelief. This justifies the question of whether the expulsion edict of 1501, when Andalusian Muslims were given the opportunity to leave, though without their belongings, is in any way related to an intervention on the part of the Mamluks and/or the Ottomans.

<sup>55</sup> Ladero Quesada, M. A., *Granada después de la conquista. Repobladores y mudéjares*, Granada, 1988, 296, doc. 98, 432, see also doc. 107.

<sup>56</sup> Hurtado de Mendoza, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>57</sup> Ladero Quesada, M. A., *Granada después de la conquista*, 298.

<sup>58</sup> del Mármol Carvajal, L., *Rebelión*, 157; Ladero Quesada, M. A., *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 128.

<sup>59</sup> Mármol, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>60</sup> Ladero Quesada M. A., *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, doc. 129, see also: López de Coca Castañer, J. E., and Ación Almansa, M., «Los mudéjares del Obispado de Málaga (1485-1501)», *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel, 1975, 307-347, 340-341.

## II. THE WIDER HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The appeal of the Moriscos of Granada to the Mamluk court should be understood against the wider historical background of the international diplomatic relations between Mamluk Egypt on the one hand and the Christian and Muslim States on the Iberian Peninsula on the other. First of all, *the right to perform the pilgrimage to the holy places in Jerusalem* had already officially been guaranteed to the Christian inhabitants of the Kingdom of Aragon by the Sultan of Egypt in the earliest peace-treaty concluded with Egypt, in 1290. In later treaties, the same right was granted to the Christian inhabitants of Castile and Portugal, as well. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the King of Aragon successfully pleaded in Cairo for the *reopening of Christian churches in Egypt* that had been closed down by order of the Sultan. In the early twenties of the same century, the Egyptian Sultan used this diplomatic precedent to argue in Barcelona for the *improvement of the religious rights of the Muslim communities in the Kingdom of Aragon*. On the basis of this evidence we may conclude that Aragon and Egypt had acknowledged the *principle of reciprocity* with regard to the treatment of their Muslim and Christian minorities, from the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Abiding by the same principle, at the end of the fifteenth century the Egyptian Sultan threatened to pursue a *policy of retaliation, especially against the Christians and the holy places of Jerusalem*, were the Muslims of Granada not restored to their former rights. Finally, when some years after the fall of Granada, the Moriscos appealed to the Mamluk court, it seems that they indeed did so in complete accordance with the nature of these long-established diplomatic relations between Egypt and Christian Spain.

As far as we know, the *first peace-treaty between Egypt and Aragon* was concluded on 23 April 1290, between Sultan Qalāwūn and King Alfonso III of Aragon and his brother, King Jaime of Sicily.<sup>61</sup> For our argument, this treaty contains three points of interest. First of all, the King of Barcelona accepted the obligation to redeem any Muslim captive (of whatever origin!) And convey him to the lands of the Mamluk Sultan. Secondly, fugitives from the lands of the Mamluk Sultan were to be send back with their goods, as long as they remained Muslim. In the case of conversion to Christianity, only their properties were to be

<sup>61</sup> The text of this treaty was included by M. M. Ḥamāda in his collection *al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya wa-'l-idāriyya li-'l-'aṣr al-mamlūkī 656-922 H (1258-1516 M). Dirāsa wa-taḥqīq*. Bayrūt, 1983<sup>2</sup>, n.º 127, 485-492, who derived this document from Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's *Tashrif al-anām wa-'l-'uṣūr*. An analysis of this document and an English translation can be found in Holt, P. M., *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995, 25-29, n.º 10, 129-140.

returned. Fugitives from the countries of the kings of Aragon and Sicily to the lands of the Mamluk Sultan were to be treated in the same manner. In the third place, any visitors to Jerusalem (from the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily or from any other European country) upon showing a letter with the official seal of the King of Aragon to the Mamluk governor of the Holy City would be accepted, dealt with benevolently, and allowed to return safely.<sup>62</sup>

On 28 January 1292, a new treaty in the same vein was concluded under Jaime II, this time encompassing not only Aragon, but Castile and Portugal as well (including Corsica and Sicily). This treaty also included (among other important conditions) permission for the Christian parties to visit Jerusalem and had an identical paragraph on the treatment of captives. According to 'Inān, who was unacquainted with the treaty of 1290 mentioned in the previous paragraph, this treaty was to remain the basis for further diplomatic relations between Egypt and the Spanish Christian Kingdoms throughout the next two centuries.<sup>63</sup>

Within the framework of these relations, a delegation from Aragon arrived in Egypt in 1302 to plead for the re-opening of churches which had been closed down, treading the same path as a delegation from Byzantium had done one year earlier. This mission was successful.<sup>64</sup> From this time onwards, the treatment of the Christians in Egypt and of the Muslims in Aragon became a subject of diplomatic consultations, not to mention pressure between al-Mālik al-Nāṣir and King Jaime II of Aragon. In 1306, a delegation of Jaime II demanded that «the treatment of the Christians in the Kingdom of the Sultan and his territory would be the same as the treatment of the Muslims in the Kingdom of Aragon». The Sultan agreed and affirmed the right of the subjects of the Kings of Aragon to visit Jerusalem.<sup>65</sup>

In 1322, the Sultan of Egypt sent a new delegation with a letter relating, among other matters, that he had been informed that the treatment of the Muslims of Aragon had changed. Once, they had enjoyed some protection and could observe their rituals fully in their mosques, without interference. Now, lately they had been deprived of these rights. They had been forbidden to pronounce the *adhān* and to pray in their mosques. The Sultan pleaded with Jaime II that he

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, 490-491.

<sup>63</sup> M. 'A. Inān, *Miṣr al-islāmiyya wa-ta'rīkh al-khiṭaṭ al-miṣriyya*, Cairo, Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1969<sup>2</sup>, 160-171.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, 173-174.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, 174.

restore the Muslims to their former rights.<sup>66</sup> Arié argues that the first half of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of Andalusian efforts to solicit Mamluk aid in the struggle against the Christians in the North. A letter from Muḥammad IX *al-Aysar*, dated 13 Jumādā 845/September 1441 to the Mamluk Sultan, was handed over to Abū Sa‘īd Jaqmaq al-Zāhir by Muḥammad al-Bunyūlī, who put his experiences into writing in a document which is still extant. The said ambassador described the conversation with the Mamluk sultan, who said he would turn to the Ottoman Sultan («Ibn ‘Uthmān»), but was unable to wage war on the Christians of Spain himself, because of the distance between their countries. He did however promise to send arms and money.<sup>67</sup>

In the seventh chapter of the reprint of a number of his historical articles, entitled *Miṣr al-Islāmiyya*, ‘Inān discusses the historical attempts of Egypt to «save al-Andalus».<sup>68</sup> On the authority of the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyyās, he relates how an Andalusian delegation arrived in Egypt at the end of 892 (november 1487) with a letter urging the Mamluk Sultan to fight the Europeans who threatened to conquer Granada.<sup>69</sup> The Sultan decided to send to the priests of al-Qumāma in Jerusalem ordering them to send one of their high-ranking priests with a letter to the King of Naples, urging him to write to the Lord of Seville, exhorting him to leave the inhabitants of Granada in peace and withdraw from there. Should he not comply with this request, the Sultan would interfere with the people of al-Qumāma, arrest their leaders, prohibit all the groups of the Europeans from entering al-Qumāma, and destroy it. This mission took place, but yielded no result.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, 175-176 (letter dated Ṣafar 723/February 1323). It seems likely that this change is in some way related to the Council of Vienna, which stipulated the withdrawal of the permission to perform the *adhān*, see Boswell, J., *The Royal Treasure. Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*, New Haven and London, 1977, 262. It is possible that such actions were the result not of Naṣrid Diplomacy, but of diplomatic efforts of the Mudejars themselves. In 1480, for example, some Mudejars of the Kingdom of Aragon had gone to Egypt and complained to the Mamluk Sultan about the destruction of minarets, and pleaded that the Sultan would pull down (enderocar) certain Christian sanctuaries in Jerusalem in revenge, see *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. by A. de la Torre, Barcelona, 1966-1969, 6 vols., vol. 1, 75-76, and see our article «Islam in Spain during the early sixteenth century: The views of the four chief judges in Cairo (introduction, translation, and Arabic text)», *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> See: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ahwānī, «Sifāra siyāsiyya min Gharnāta ilā ‘I-Qāhira fī ‘I-qarn al-tāsi‘ al-hijrī (sanat 844)», *Majallat Kulliyat al-Adāb Jāmi‘at al-Qāhira*, vol. 16, part 1, May 1954, 95-121; Arié, R., *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris, 1973, 146 and other studies referred to by her. Arié mentions yet another letter sent by Sa‘d al-Musta‘īn bi-llāh in 868/1464.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, 195-206.

<sup>69</sup> According to ‘Inān (*ibidem*, 199-200) this delegation was related to the siege of Málaga, and not to that of Granada, for reasons which he explains in detail, that are irrelevant within the present context. See further on this same mission: Arié, R., *op. cit.*, 172, and the previous studies to which she refers.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, 199.

What the Mamluk Sultan did do was to send a delegation to the Pope and the Kings of various Christian nations. This delegation consisted of two Christian ambassadors (Franciscan monks), one of whom was Antonio Mīlān, abbot of the Monastery of St. Francis in Jerusalem. The Pope in question was Innocent VIII, the sovereigns were Ferdinand I of Naples and Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile. The Sultan of Egypt criticized the Christian kings for what happened in the Kingdom of Granada, comparing the fate of the Muslims of Granada with the rights and protection enjoyed by the Christians in Egypt and Jerusalem. He demanded the ending of hostilities and the return of conquered territories. He insisted that the Pope and the King of Naples should intervene with Ferdinand and Isabel. If not, he would be obliged to retaliate against the Christians of his empire, attacking the leading monks in Jerusalem and prohibiting all Christians from entering the Holy Land, and even resort to destroying the grave of Christ itself and all the monasteries, places of worship, and holy Christian monuments.<sup>71</sup>

The embassy arrived in Spain in the autumn of 1489/894. They met King Ferdinand among the Christian army in front of the walls of the city of Baza (Baṣṭa), during its siege, handing him the letters of the Mamluk Sultan, the Pope, and the King of Naples. They also met Queen Isabel in Jaén. Both the King and the Queen gave them a friendly and welcoming reception, but they refused to change their policies towards the Muslims of Granada. They answered the Mamluk Sultan politely, saying that they did not make any distinction in the treatment of their Muslim and Christian subjects, but they could no longer endure to allow the land of their forefathers to remain in the hands of foreigners. With this unsatisfactory answer, the two priests returned to Egypt. 'Inān assumes that this marked the end of the Mamluk involvement in the affairs of Granada.<sup>72</sup> As we have seen, this was not the case.

Some European sources, however, say that the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II and the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qāyitbāy of Egypt temporarily agreed to stop their wars in order to save al-Andalus. For this purpose, they designed a common strategy, viz. that Bāyazīd II would send a strong force against Sicily in order to keep Ferdinand and Isabel busy there, while at the same time important military

<sup>71</sup> *Ibidem*, 202 (based on Ibn Iyyās and Prescott, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, as well as on W. Irving's *Conquest of Granada*, a «source» known to be thoroughly unreliable).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, 203-204. It is unclear when the former *qādī al-jamā'a* of Granada, Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Azraq (see about his mission also Harvey, «The Moriscos») travelled to Egypt. Ibn al-Azraq left Granada according to al-Maqqarī before 898/1492, and went to Tilimsān, whence he departed for the Mashriq. In Cairo he urged the Mamluk Sultan Qāitbay to recover al-Andalus, which, al-Maqqarī believes, was to ask the impossible. After performing the pilgrimage Ibn al-Azraq repeated his request, but in vain, and became *qādī al-quḍāt* in Jerusalem, where he died after 895 (al-Maqqarī, *Azhār*, I, 71 and *Nafh* 2, 699-703).

detachments from Egypt and Ifrīqiya would cross over to Spain to help the Andalusian warriors.<sup>73</sup> ‘Inān is not convinced of the veracity of this report, because of the rift existing between the Ottomans and the Mamluks at that time. In view of its internal weakness and its fear of attacks by the Turks, Mamluk Egypt in fact would have been unable to send troops to Spain.<sup>74</sup> In spite of an article of 1975, in which Temimi stated that the Granadans sent an embassy to Istanbul in 882/1477, on the basis of the extant Ottoman-Turkish sources the Saudi scholar al-Ḥamīd concluded that it seems that the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (886-918) was the first Ottoman Sultan to have received a call for help from the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>75</sup> He distinguishes two Andalusian embassies: the first in 891/1486, from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Saghīr, which resulted in the sending of a fleet under the command of Kamāl Ra’īs in 1487 which attacked the coasts of Aragon. According to some Ottoman sources the Ottoman Sultan undertook several diplomatic initiatives as well, such as the sending of ambassadors to the Pope in order to exert pressure on the Castilian and Aragonese Kings to end the siege of Granada, threatening to retaliate. The second «embassy» is represented by the *qaṣīda* discussed in the present article. However, M. Meyerson draws the attention to reports which reached Ferdinand of Aragon about a Mudejar embassy to the Ottoman court in 1487, consisting of an inhabitant of Játiva and one of Paterna. According to Meyerson they were to inform the Ottoman Sultan that if they were to attack Valencia, 200,000 well-armed Muslims would immediately rise against the Christian rulers and come to their aid. It is unclear whether Ferdinand attached any value to these reports, or whether he undertook any actions.<sup>76</sup>

Verse 84 of the Ottoman version (lacking in the Mamluk version) mentions an Egyptian delegation which arrived in Spain «to inform the Spanish monarchs Fernando and Isabel that if they forced the Mudejars to convert to Christianity, the Mamluk Sultan would retaliate by persecuting the Christians of his realm» (Monroe).

Mármol says that such a delegation came to Spain<sup>77</sup> following actions undertaken by the rebellious Mudejars of Granada. At that time, he tells us, the

<sup>73</sup> ‘Inān refers here again to Irving, *Conquest of Granada*, who was basing himself, according to ‘Inān, on the «contemporary Spanish report of the events». As said before, this «source» is thoroughly unreliable.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, 201.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Abd al-Latīf Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥamīd, *Mawqif al-dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya tijāh al-muslim ūn fī ‘l-Andalus 891 H-1017 H/1486 M-1609 M*, Al-Riyād, 1993, 56 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Meyerson, M. D., *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991, 66-68.

<sup>77</sup> Mármol, *op. cit.*, 156; Boronat y Barrachina, P., *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, 2 vols., vol. I, 111.

Mudejars of the Albaicín made many efforts to disturb [the process of conversion], and send [a delegation? or perhaps: a letter?] to the Sultan of Egypt, complaining that they were being compelled to convert to Christianity, and begging them to favour them with an embassy to Spain, which was to leave no doubt that should this indeed be so, he would retaliate by doing the same to the Christians in his empire. The embassy arrived and told the Kings not to force the Muslims who had surrendered to them [after their revolt?] to convert. Mármol claims that the Kings replied that it was far from their intention to convert Muslims by force, but that it was also against their inclination to have many Muslims as their subjects, because of their lack of loyalty [a reference to their uprising!], and so they would continue to stimulate either conversion or emigration, giving the emigrants ample opportunity to sell their goods and chattels, and guaranteeing them a safe journey to the ports of their choice.

According to the author of the *qasīda*, who had a totally different view on the conversion process, the Mamluk envoys were mendaciously informed that the Muslims of Granada had accepted Christianity voluntarily. They were at pains to stress that they had not voluntarily accepted conversion to Christianity (verses 85-86, *lacking in the Mamluk version, as well*).<sup>78</sup> Mármol says that the Catholic Kings also send Pedro Martyr as an ambassador to Egypt as a reaction to this particular embassy.

In August 1501 Pedro Martyr departed for Egypt. During his visit to the Mamluk Sultan he once more explained the official views of his masters.<sup>79</sup> But this was not the end of contacts between the Catholic Kings and the Mamluk Sultans. In february 1502 the edict was promulgated ordering all Muslims in Castile to convert to Christianity. Once more the Catholic Kings deemed it wise to convince the Mamluks that there had been good reasons to do so, namely strong indications of an imminent revolt among the Castilian Mudejars. Despite such misgivings, the Mamluks were assured that no plans were afoot to force to convert the Muslims elsewhere in Spain. These views were to be expounded by those most likely to be believed: representatives of the *aljamas* of Zaragoza and Valencia. But to make sure that the message would reach the Mamluks in good order, the Mudejars had to follow models handed out by Royal Chancellery.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> According to Galán Sánchez, A., *Los mudéjares del Reino de Granada*, Granada, 1991, 402-403, the Catholic Kings sent a letter to Egypt in 1500 (AGS Cédulas de la Cámara, Lib. 4, f. 137v).

<sup>79</sup> Mármol, *Rebelión*, 156, Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos (Hasta ahora inédita)*, Juan de Mata Carriazo (ed.), Sevilla, 1951, 2 Ts., T. I, 267 ff.; Pedro Mártir de Anglería: *Legatio Babylonica y Opus Epistolarum*, Sevilla, 1511. Translation by L. García García, Valladolid, 1947.

<sup>80</sup> Galán Sánchez, *Los Mudéjares del Reino de Granada*, 404, basing himself on AGS, Cédulas de Cámara, lib. 6, f. 19v-20.



## III. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

In the following section we depart from the assumption that the order in which the events are discussed in both versions of *the poems* faithfully reflects the order of the *historical* events. If this is accepted, there can be no doubt that the Mamluk version is the original one. It can probably be dated after the arrival of a letter from the Mamluk Sultan, mentioned in verses 82-83 of the Ottoman version, and in verse 61-62 of the Mamluk version *in exactly the same words*, and before the arrival of an Egyptian delegation (verse 84 of the Ottoman version, *but lacking in the Mamluk version*). This implies that the poem was written in reaction to the negative response given by the Catholic Kings.

Another difference between the Mamluk and the Ottoman version confirms this dating. It is the absence in the former of references to atrocities which had occurred between early 1500 (Huéjar) and Málaga (early 1501). This absence can be explained by assuming that the poem was written during or very shortly after the defeat of Huéjar. This last dating is made even more likely by the absence of references to a more or less established repression of Islam, as we find it in the Ottoman version. The familiarity of the author with these diplomatic affairs and his style suggests that he was a Mudéjar of high standing. It seems likely therefore that we have to look for the author in circles of Granadan Muslims who had belonged to the ruling class and, having accepted Christian rule, decided to accept administrative responsibility. Likely candidates are, for example, several members of the al-Baqannī family (el Pequeñí in the Christian sources), some of whom had first emigrated with Ibn al-Azraq to North Africa, but had returned and become members of the ruling Mudejar class.<sup>81</sup> The Ottoman version must date from after early 1501, but probably from before the general conversion edict of July 1501, which is not mentioned at all in the *qaṣīda*.<sup>82</sup> This made the sending of this particular *qaṣīda* superfluous. Baptism of the complete Granadan Muslim population was a fact, emigration only possible when undertaken secretly.

Monroe (p. 283) states: «A large part of the poem is devoted to a complaint that the Moriscos were being compelled to choose between conversion or expulsion from Spanish soil, *leaving their property behind them (...)*». <sup>83</sup> Strangely enough, this idea is not expressed in any verse of the poem. Indubitably, *both versions* formulate a request for free emigration to North Africa, if the freedom of religion, guaranteed by

<sup>81</sup> *Azhār*, I, 71, cf. Galán, o. c., 146; López de Coca, *art. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>82</sup> We cannot exclude, of course, that there was also an earlier Ottoman version, written at the same time as the Mamluk version, but if that was the case, we are left with the absence of any evidence of Ottoman action.

<sup>83</sup> Monroe's italics.

the original treaty, were not restored (verses 98-99 of the Ottoman version; 65-66 of the Mamluk version). In this request it is asked that the Muslims should be allowed to take with them their properties (*amwāl*, perhaps: «money»?). Against this background, it is indeed feasible to ask whether the policy of intensified conversion campaigns on the one hand, and permission to emigrate on the other, culminating in the edict of July 1501, forcing conversion or expulsion,<sup>84</sup> was not in fact the result of a Mamluk and/or Ottoman intervention, in compliance with the request of the poem. That some sort of connection between the Mamluk interventions and this policy existed seems to be confirmed by Mármol, as we have seen above. From this distance, it is very difficult to know to what extent Mudejars were ever really in a position to emigrate. The massive process of conversions clearly shows that considerable pressure was exerted on the Granadan Muslims.

Be that as it may, in the treatment of religious minorities reciprocity and retaliation remained the leading principles of international political relations for many centuries to come. This is eloquently illustrated by a recent study by Bono on the presence of Muslim slaves in Italy between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In order to defend their coreligionists imprisoned in Italy and used as galley slaves in the war fleet, the Maghribi governors often threatened to retaliate and sometimes actually made reprisals against the Christians living in the corsair towns (salves and missionaries in particular). On the whole, a tacit agreement was reached in order to ensure humane treatment to some extent and, above all, the freedom of religion to the enslaved prisoners and both sides of the Mediterranean.<sup>85</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

The present article deals with a shorter and different version of the poem containing a Morisco appeal to the Ottoman Empire, studied by James Monroe in *Al-Andalus* 31

<sup>84</sup> Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista*, doc. 139, dated 20 July 1501. The document stipulates that almost no Muslims were left in Granada at the time, and those free Muslims (captives were excepted) who remained, should either leave within three days or convert.

<sup>85</sup> Bono, S., «Schiavi maghrebini in Italia e cristiani nel Maghreb. Proteste e attestazioni per la "reciprocità" di trattamenti», *Africa*, vol. 49, 3 (sept. 1994), 331-351, esp. 351. See also Vincent, B., «Musulmans d'Espagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et conversion», unpublished paper presented at the Workshop of the European Science Foundation, programme «Individual and Society in the Mediterranean Muslim World», Rome, September 1997. Vincent discusses the pressure exerted by the Dey of Algiers on the Spanish authorities in Cartagena, threatening to retaliate against the Christian community in Algiers should the Spanish not repair the damage done to a mosque discovered by them in the said place. The said events took place in 1695 [!].

(1966), 281-303. The shorter version proves that there had been another, similar appeal for help by the Moriscos which was directed, not to the Ottoman court, but to the Mamluk Sultan in Cairo. A close examination of the Mamlūkī and the Ottoman versions shows that the shorter version, directed to the Mamluk Sultan, was the original one.

The present article contains (I) a comparative analysis of the Mamluk and the Ottoman versions of the *qaṣīda*, (II) a sketch of the wider historical framework of the international relations between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms of Spain on the one hand, and the Mamluk and Ottoman empire on the other hand, and (III) a discussion of the date of both versions of the *qaṣīda* (in the beginning of 1500 and first half of 1501, respectively) and of its authorship. It seems likely that we have to look for the author of the *qaṣīda* in circles of Granadan Muslims who had belonged to the ruling class and, having accepted Christian rule, decided to accept administrative responsibility, such as for example several members of the al-Baqannī family (el Pequeñí in the Christian sources), some of whom who had first emigrated with Ibn al-Azraq to North Africa, but had returned and became members of the ruling Mudejar class.

#### RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene por objeto dar una versión diferente y más breve del poema que contiene una demanda morisca de ayuda al Imperio Otomano, poema estudiado por James Monroe en *Al-Andalus XXXI* (1966), 281-303. Esta versión indica que había habido otra demanda similar por parte de los moriscos al sultán mameluco de El Cairo, y que ésta era la original.

El artículo contiene: 1) un análisis comparativo de las versiones de la casida dirigidas a los mamelucos y a los otomanos, 2) el marco histórico de las relaciones entre los reinos cristianos y musulmanes de la Península Ibérica por un lado y los territorios mameluco y otomano por otro, y 3) una discusión de la fecha de las dos versiones de la casida (comienzos de 1500 y primera mitad de 1501, respectivamente), así como su autoría. Parece probable que el autor de la casida perteneciera a círculos de musulmanes granadinos que habían formado parte de las clases dirigentes de Granada y que luego habían aceptado puestos en la administración cristiana de la ciudad, como son, por ejemplo, varios miembros de la familia al-Baqannī (el Pequeñí en las fuentes cristianas), algunos de los cuales habían emigrado con Ibn al-Azraq al Norte de África, pero regresaron para integrarse en los grupos dirigentes mudéjares.



