CHRISTIANS AND MUDEJARS: PERCEPTIONS AND POWER IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGUESE SOCIETY

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Abstract

The perception of otherness implies a new terminology that reduces the *Muslim* to the *Moor* in the parameters and contexts controlled by Christian powers. The assumption of this semantics by the group itself reveals a common cultural background based on a Portuguese linguistic community. Nevertheless, as a frontier group another terminology emerges from the *dār al-Islām*, the *Garīb*, in a re-interpretation from the external Muslim world that bounds the *Christian* Moor to the Muslim-Arabic culture and religion. The landmarks of a new Muslim identity in the Portuguese Kingdom shapes the group's ethnocentrism in a double ascription to one culture, one king and one territory, as *Moor*, and to a transnational religious dimension, as *Garīb*.

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Muslims under Christian rule shaped a new social reality as a *frontier society* within the territorial boundaries gradually demarcated by the peninsular kingdoms[1]. The process of integration within another power structure constituted, necessarily, the progressive transformation of these groups, especially when combined with the demographic influence of the emigration to *dār al-Islām*, particularly among the elites, whose social reproduction was destabilized in this new context.[2]

The demarcation of territorial boundaries implied a domestication of behavior to ensure the desired homogeneity, involving the construction of a language that perceived and embraced the new reality under construction.[3] For the Muslims, this process was particularly incisive. Coming from Muslim rule, with a consensus in both morality and political praxis, the integration into the emerging Christian political units became a movement from an Islamic *ethos* to a *Mudejar ethos*, a transformation of the group's social psychology and, necessarily, of the parameters of its identity.

1. First question

Peninsular sociology in the 11th and 12th centuries was marked by a vague and porous perception of borders (both as regards territorial boundary and social or even cultural demarcations). El Cid (Campeador), or the Portuguese, Geraldo the Fearless,[4] demonstrated this reality as warriors who travel through Christian and Muslim spaces and peoples without distinction. Border territories were marked by this cultural cross-over through a particular degree of bilingualism that permitted communication between the different actors.

The unstoppable advance of the Christian conquest, however, would reverse these premises. Transversality would become a verticality expressed politically in different Christian political entities, determining an asymmetry of power that was necessarily projected into linguistic expression. Regarding the use of language as a vehicle of power for the dominant group, the first documents that legitimized the presence of Muslim communities in the emerging Christian kingdoms were written in Latin, making recourse to Arabic descriptors to define roles and tributes that the Latin language cannot convey. As such, a process that would relegate Arabic to a residual space of living in the different Spanish monarchies had begun.

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1. Abreviations uded: T.T.: Torre do Tombo.

2. Marín, Manuela. "Des migrations forcées: les *culama'* d'al-Andalus face à la conquête chrétienne", *L'Occident musulman et l'Occident chrétien au Moyen Âge*, coord. Mohammed Hamman. Rabat: Faculté de Lettres, 1995: 43-59.

3. The idea of domestication informs the Arabic root *dağana*, from which the participle *mudağğan*, *mudéjar* is derived. La Granja, Fernando. "El problema del mudejarismo en la lengua y en la literatura". *Qurtuba: estudios andalusíes*, 3 (1998): 184-194.

4. Pereira, Armando Sousa. *Geraldo Sem Pavor. Um guerreiro de fronteira entre cristãos e muçulmanos c. 1162-1176*. Porto: Fronteira do Caos, 2008. For an analysis of this process in the Penisular West see: Fernandes, Hermenegildo. *Entre Mouros e Cristãos. A sociedade de fronteira no sudoeste peninsular interior (séculos XII-XIII)*. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa (PhD. Dissertation), 2000.

In some cases, the language of the 'other' would be included, even given political significance. The treaties of capitulation entered into by the Christian kings and Islamic lords convey this factor, agreeing to write the texts in the language of the respective contractors. The survival of two of these treaties, both from the Kingdom of Valencia, negotiated by James I with the authorities of Jativa and Al-Azraq (in 1244 and 1245 respectively), presents us with the version of the Arabic texts, with a line-by-line translation into Castilian in the first case, and in the second, with a more problematic and less decipherable Latin translation, due to the partial conservation of the document.[5] If the differing perceptions, in both cases, of the producers of the documents are revealing, the completeness of the treaty of Al-Azraq[6] clearly demonstrates the divergences in the two texts. Not all the binding terms in the Castilian are included in the Arabic, particularly the vassalage of the lord to the Aragonese monarch.[7]

The translation of the language also requires a *translation* of perceptions, expectations, and the cultural norms belonging to a group, transmitted by the different linguistic codes rather than by a voluntary projection of intent. This fact, moreover, is demonstrated in another bilingual document. A document from Navarra from the end of the 12th century containing the transaction of property between a Muslim and the Templars offers two distinct versions, one in Arabic and one in Latin; two version exist whether it be on the level of terminology or the very structure of the discourse.[8]

Language, as a vector of identity, simultaneously expresses and shapes perceptions and concepts. And, in this sense, the territorialization of Christian powers brought with it a gradual and growing linguistic comprehension of the new reality that was progressively internalized. The first aspect of this process focused on the very definition of Muslim as an integrated part of the developing political entities. The new reality established a semantics of 'Moor' or 'Saracen' common to all of the Iberian Peninsula. The referents are significant unto themselves, assigning a homogeneity to the *other*, reduced to a mere juridical/religious expression that expunged identity expressing categories (Arabs, Berbers, *Muladi*,..) operational in previous periods.

In fact, this complexity was not lost on contemporary observers, and its expression is found in written documentation relating to the Portuguese kingdom. Thus in a missive of a Norman crusader that describes the conquest of the city of

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5. Burns, Robert Ignatius; Chevedden, Paul Edward. *Negotiating Cultures.Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Christian Spain*. Leiden-Boston-Cologne: Brill, 1999: especially 34-50, 148-167.

6. The terms of surrender are sent directly to Prince Alfonso, son of James I, to whose chancellery the document is owed.

7. Burns, Robert Ignatius; Chevedden, Paul Edward. *Negotiating Cultures...*: 58.

8. Catlos, Brian A. *The Victors and the Vanquished. Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon 1050-1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 243.

Lisbon (1147),[9] a distinction is made between Moors (m*auri*) and Moab (m*oabite*),[10] differentiating the Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula and the Almoravids of North Africa. The descriptors in the letter of a German crusader on the first conquest of Silves (1189) are even more complex. He refers to native Muslims as Andalusian (*Andelucis*) and distinguishes between the Almohad (*Mucimiti, Maximiti,* or *Moedimi*) being from, in his perspective, Africa, and the Almoravids (*Moravidi*) which he designates as being from Morocco.[11]

The homogeneity propagated by the terms *mauri* and *sarraceni* was inserted then in a new vertical understanding of power encompassing the Muslims *within* the borders. The classification of these groups for legal and taxation purposes was a priority for the new Christian lords, who constructed an external perception that ignored social and ethnic differences; differences that were irrelevant in the view of Christian powers, but that nevertheless proved to be operational in the functioning of the communities.

In vernacular Portuguese (as well as in Castilian), it is the term *Moor* that was finally imposed, even replacing *Saracen*, a term with survives mainly in Latin documents, especially those belonging to the Church.[12] The remaining terminological definition was structured according to the processes of mental transformation that accompanied the corresponding social changes.

2. Second question

The first stage in the process refers to an almost total identification of the term *Moor* with servile status. In this way the primary interests of the victors are evidenced, immersed in an economy of war that continued through the middle of the 13th century: the Muslim was the captive/slave of the legal-normative documents or, likewise, in the documents that report their transactions.[13] This imagery, due to the spacial-temporal context in which the vocabulary was consolidated, was internalized

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9. Known for many years as the "Chronicle of the Osberno Crusader," this source is actually a letter written by a Norman crusader taking part in the second crusade whose initial is R (very likely Raul) to Osberto of Bawdsey: Branco, Maria João V. "Introdução", *Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros. Relato de um Cruzado,* Aires A. Nascimento, ed. Lisbon: Vega, 2001: 9-10.

10. Gomes Barbosa, Pedro. *1147: Conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros.* Lisbon: Tribuna da Historia, 2004: 60, 94.

11. Lopes, João Baptista da Silva, ed. *Relação da derrota naval, façanhas e sucessos dos Cruzados que partirão do Escalda para a Terra Santa no anno de 1189.* Lisbon: Academia Real das Ciências, 1844: 17.

12. Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (Séculos XII a XV).* Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2007: 30-40.

13. For examples, see the chapters of the codes of law of 1179 following the model of Santarem in which a tax to be paid for any Moorish man or woman is expressed after mare, cow or donkey and immediately before pig or sheep. This is perfected in the formula for donation to the Saint John of Pendurada Monastery (in the second half of the 12th century) as "*Iº Mauro, et de alteras bestias*". Gomes, Saul António. "Grupos Étnico-Religiosos e Estrangeiros", *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras: do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Séc. XIV,* Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, coords.

in such a way that the new juridical regime implemented in the second half of the 12th century required a more precise terminology.

In fact, the primary document of Portuguese *Mudejarism*, a town charter (*carta de foral*), granted to Muslims in Lisbon, Almada, Palmela and Alcacer do Sal in March of 1170, sets out the formula "*vobis mauris qui estis forri*", as opposed to the *Moors* who were not free, undoubtedly a more numerous group. Later, the expression was shortened to *mouros forros*, in a definition of religious-legal status that would remain in use for centuries to come, solidifying the definition of the Muslim minority.

The concept therefore requires an external perception of the subjects and collectives designated as such in a set of semantics defined by the agents and the language of power. The documentation does not permit an evaluation of the process of self-identification of Muslims in this first period of their redefinition of identity. The texts belong to the sphere of the new Christian authorities and are an expression of the power emanating from particular situations. With the state of contracts in the emergent communicative context of writing that involved an individual legal entity (*homo legens*) of the grantor among those considered, Muslim political participation was legitimized on the Peninsula, along with the consequent dialog between these groups and the different powers involved. However, the asymmetrical documentation, profoundly influenced by a selective memory, determines an exteriority of the Archive, attributable to Christian production. Only in the 15th century can one find a few written samples which allow the self-perception of Muslim groups and individuals to be measured.

In this sense, it is interesting to draw a parallel with the Castilian and Aragonese cultural environment using the first treatises of Islamic law written in Romance. First, we have the so-called *Leyes de Moros*,[14] and the *Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Çunna* (or *Breviario Sunni*), dated in 1462, credited to the mufti and the *alfaqui* of the *aljama* of Segovia, Isā ibn Ǧābir.[15] In the context of internal Muslim production in Castilian, both documents exhibit an interesting oscillation between two self-identifiers: *Muslim*, from Arabic, and *Moor*, from the vernacular. In fact, in the introduction by Isā ibn Ǧābir to his work, he uses only the latter to define his community ("*los moros de Castilla*"),[16] demonstrating a

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(*Nova História de Portugal. III*, Joel Serrão, António Henrique de Oliveira Marques, dirs.). Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1996: 313.

14. This is a fragmented, abbreviated, partial translation of the legal text *Kitāb Al-Tafrīc*, by Ibn Al-Ǧallāb (m. 988), broadly distributed among the Mudejars and, later, among the Moriscos. Abboud-Haggar, Soha. "Las Leyes de Moros son el libro de Al-Tafrīc". *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, 4 (1997): 163-201; Abboud-Haggar, Soha. *El Tratado Jurídico de Al-Tafrīc Ibn Al-Ǧallāb. Manuscrito aljamiado de Almonacid de la Sierra*. Saragossa: Institución "Fernando El Católico", 1999.

15. Gebir, Ice de. *Tratados de Legislación Musulmana. Suma de Los Principales Mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Çunna*, ed. Pascual Gayanos. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: V, 2-9.

16. Gebir, Ice de. *Tratados de Legislación Musulmana...*: 248-249: "Y por que los moros de Castilla con grande subjeccion y apremio grande y muchos tributos, fatigas y trabajos han descaeçido de sus riquezas y an perdido las escuelas del arabigo, y para reparo desos daños muchos amigos mios trabaron de mi, especialmente los honrrados repartidores, los quales con tan gran clemencia me rogaron que quisiese en romance recopilar y traducir tan señalada escritura de nuestra sancta Ley y Çunna de aquello que todo bon moro debe saber y usar, sobre lo cual yo no me pude escusar de satisfacer su ruego". "And because

self-perception that fully coincides with a heterogeneous perception of power. The term *Muslim* appears only in the context of the translation of Quranic commentary (*tafsir*), which the author provides *"de lengua arábica en alchamia"*.[17]

Similarly, the Catalan cultural environment is projected onto the anonymous *Llibre de la Çuna e Xara Dels Mors*, dated March 3, 1408,[18] with the use of the term Saracen (*'sarrahín'*), only occasionally interrupted by the use of *Moor* in subtitles that structure the body of the work and that should be attributed to later interpolations of a Christian copyist (as should the title itself).

In Portugal, as in Castile, Muslim self-identification was also guided by the word *Moor*, as a definition of legal-religious category, in an internalization that was fully realized by the 15th century. Once again using a text of Islamic law in Romance to demonstrate the discourse of this minority, a regulatory text on Islamic inheritance law drafted during the reign of King Alfonso V (1438-1481) stands out; the text was published in the General Ordinances of the Kingdom with the meaningful title, *De como El Rey deve herdar os Mouros forrros moradores em seus Regnos, e Senhorio*.[19] The text reflects the recognition of Islamic law as part of the general body of law, although that perspective, by subverting the aims of the law of succession, was assimilated into a broader concept of royal duty.

The task was entrusted by the monarch to the mayor (alcaide) of the community of Lisbon, with the recommendation to include "*os mouros letrados e sabedores em sua lei*"[20] in the reformation of an earlier document, considered *imperfect* and unclear.[21] The discourse of these Muslims is exceedingly significant. First, because the word *Moor* is not only applied in the self-definition of this community, but also pervades the text, excluding any other terminology, even naming the *fiqh* (formal Islamic law) as "*law of the Moors*". Furthermore, the assumption of Portuguese as the language of the text is complete, in contrast to the other texts mentioned here, and there are no recurrences to Arabisms or semantic models derived from Arabic. It should be

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the moors of Castile have been under strong subjection and great pressure and subject to many tributes, hardship and labour, their wealth has declined and they have lost the schools of Arabic, and in order to compensate for these damages many of my friends have approached me,especially the honourable messengers, who, with such great kindness, haveasked me to compile and translate into Romance such special writings as the holy Laws and Çunna, which every good moor should know and use, forwhich I cannot excuse myself from satisfying his request.

17. Gebir, Ice de. *Tratados de Legislación Musulmana...*: 246.

18. The work survives in a copy made between 1460 and 1475: *Un tratado catalán medieval de derecho islâmico: El Llibre de la Çuna e Xara dels Moros*, ed. Carme Barceló. Córdova: Universidad de Córdoba, 1989: XIII-XIV.

19. *Ordenações Afonsinas*, ed. Martin de Albuquerque. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984: II, 222-242, title XXVIII.

20. "Moors who are literate and knowledgeable in their laws".

21. The previous document dates from the reign of King John I (1385-1433) and was written by four Muslims from the Lisbon community: Bucar, Brafome Capelão (very likely the *imām* of the community), Mafomede de Avis and Faras. There are two copies: T.T. Inquirições de D. Afonso III, livro 4, fls. 14 v. – 15 v; Gaveta 10, maço 12, doc. 17, fls. 9 v. –13. On this matter: Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. *A Comuna Muçulmana de Lisboa (sécs. XIV e XV)*. Lisbon: Hughin, 1998: 65; Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. *Tempos e Espaços de mouros...*: 398-399, 422.

noted, for example, that the *sadāq* (legal giving of a husband) appears in the *Leyes de Moros* and *Breviário Sunni* as alçidaque[22] or *açidaque*[23], and in the *LLibre de la Çuna e Xara dels Moros* in forms that vary from *açidach* to *ocidach*.[24] In the Portuguese document the term is *translated* as *arras*, in line with the existing Christian reality.

In the 15th century, therefore, a common communicative context was advocated, involving not only the adoption of a single linguistic code, but also the consequent internalization of perceptions and conceptual categories defined by the Latin-Christian world that end up being imposed (voluntary and involuntarily) in the spheres of the Muslim and Jewish minorities. This comprehensive cultural context was, moreover, perceived from the outside.

In the 16th century, after the edict of expulsion/forced conversion decreed by the Portuguese king, Manuel I, in December 1496,[25] a chronicle written by Bernardo Rodrigues, stationed in Arzila, fully conveyed this reality. Regarding the capture of five Muslims by the Portuguese of that city, the author states that one of them"*era tão português como eu, por ser nascido na Mouraria dessa cidade de Lisboa*".[26] Moreover, in the narrative of the capture and subsequent rescue of this Muslim, the affirmation is stated in the first person: "*Eu sou português e nascido na Mouraria de Lisboa e ei nome Bençude*".[27]

Portuguese-ness, both recognized by others and taken on by individuals, was particularly significant here because it pointed out his social importance, stating that, after having been a prominent member of the Lisbon community, he was a judge for orphans in Fez.[28] The domain of Arabic would undoubtedly mark his journey in North Africa, projecting the bilingualism that characterized the Peninsular *Mudejar* elites (as an individually established linguistic function between two languages, rather than a social one[29]) in their adherence to Arabic —used in terms of a liturgical language, principle identifier, and means of communication within the *'umma*, in the broadest sense of the term.[30] This would, moreover, become more powerful

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22. Gebir, Ice de. *Tratados de Legislación Musulmana...*: I, 25, title XXI.

23. Gebir, Ice de. *Tratados de Legislación Musulmana...*: I, 43.

24. *Un tratado catalán medieval de derecho...*: 117.

25. See: Soyer, François. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.

26. "He was as Portuguese as I was, all for being born in the Moorish quarter of the city of Lisbon", Rodrigues, Bernardo. *Anais de Arzila*, ed. David Lopes. Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1915: I, 175.

27. "I am Portuguese and born in the Moorish district of Lisbon and I'm named *Bençude*", Rodrigues, Bernardo. *Anais de Arzila...*: 177.

28. Rodrigues, Bernardo. *Anais de Arzila...*: 175.

29. For more on this topic, in a different spacial and temporal context in the Iberian Peninsula, see: Areces, Ana. "Análisis documentado de la situación linguística de las comunidades mudéjares y moriscas de Andalucía Oriental", *Comunidades e individuos bilingües. Actas do I Simposio Internacional sobre o Bilingüismo*, Carmen Cabeza Pereiro, Anxo M. Lorenzo Suárez, Xoán Paulo Rodríguez Yáñez, eds. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2003: 642-641.

30. This aspect is corroborated, for example, by the existance of a work by Ibn al-Ǧazarī al-Dimašqī (1350-1429), written in Syria at the end of the 14th century, and translated in Aragon in Aljamiado Romance probably during the first half of the 15th century. Abboud-Haggar, Soha. "'Udattu l-ḥiṣni l-ḥasīn de Ibn al-Ǧazarī al- Dimašqī. Una muestra de la transmisión de los asuntos religiosos islámicos de Oriente al Occidente mudéjar en el XV". *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 16 (2006): 5-63.

in the Portuguese kingdom during the African expansion (which began with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415) that paradoxically acted to bring Muslims together from both sides of the Strait. The mobility of population, whether voluntary or forced (represented in this case by prisoners of war), in fact characterized the 15th century with a movement of peoples from North Africa to Portugal, changing the sociological and cultural character of the *Mudejar* communities within the kingdom.[31]

However, this 15th century chronicle refers to a symmetrical reality when, after 1496, North Africa became an important destination for the Muslims of the kingdom. Furthermore, it was the perceptions of this population that introduce another layer of cultural differentiation, with the use of "*aljamiados*"[32] (from Arabic *al-ğamiyya*, foreign language, as opposed to *al-carabiyya*, Arabic) to refer to those Muslims who did not speak Arabic and resorted to Romance.

3. Third question

Another perspective becomes evident in the global Muslim community (*'umma*) through an evaluation of the *Mudejars* that reveals not cultural parity, but rather a common religious practice. In this regard, two documents prove to be enlightening relative to another perspective connected directly to religious affinity. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al- Ruᶜtaynī, a servant to the Portuguese monarchs, King John II and King Manuel I, translated two letters, in 1486 and 1504 respectively, into Arabic for these kings addressed to the inhabitants of Azamor. In the opening of the first letter he identifies himself with his name and role as interpreter and servant to the crown, then at the end introduces a more personal phrase: "*E escreveu este texto o servidor de nosso senhor por sua ordem, o vosso irmão sincero Garīb Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ruᶜtaynī, ḥaṭīb dos vossos irmãos gurabā* [sic] *(que Deus perdoe e melhore a sua situação) que vos saúda*"[33]

The message, directed to a Muslim recipient, reveals another allegiance: to religious community in a broad sense, appealing to the fraternity of the Islamic *'umma*. Yet even in this fraternity the *Mudejars* are differentiated with an Arabic word (*garīb* pl. *gurabā'*), meaning "foreigner" or "strange", probably refering to living outside the *dār al-Islām*.[34] In another document dated in 1504, the famous

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31. Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. "The Portuguese Muslim Minority and North Africa", *Europe's Economic Relations With The Islamic World 13TH – 18th Centuries. Atti della 'Trentasettesima Settimana di Studi' 11-15 aprile 2005*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi, dir. Prato-Florence: Instituto Internazionale Di Storia Economica "F. Datini"-Le Monnier, 2007: 339-350.

32. Rodrigues, Bernardo. *Anais de Arzila...*: 496.

33. "And he wrote this text as servant to our lord by his order, your sincere brother *ġarīb* Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ruᶜtaynī, haṭīb of your ğurabā [sic] brothers (may God forgive and better their situation) who greets you", *Les Sources Inédits de l'Histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845*, ed. Pierre de Cénival. Paris: Ernest Leroux/Paul Geuthner, 1934: I, 14 (Arabic version), 23 (French version).

34. This concept is also used in other contexts, as in the case of the Sufis, who considered themselves on *ġurabā'* in a world dominated by corruption García-Arenal, Mercedes. *Messianism and Puritanical Reform.*

fatwā of the mufti of Oran, the same term is used, this time for the definition of the Muslims forcibly converted by royal decrees.[35]

In any case, the word was applied in the Arab-Islamic world to the Muslims under Christian rule, constituting a perspective that was necessarily divergent from that of the Latin-Christian world. Thus, if modernity imposed the parameters of forced conversion, creating a break in the sociological future of these communities, these individuals continued, in any case, to be considered Muslim. The *fatwā*, as is shown in the text, addressed the new conditions imposed, those that made the practice of Islam clandestine and subordinate to the public affirmation of Christian dictates, doctrines, and behaviors. The Christian exterior is therefore countered with an interior Islam, based on a constant silent clarity of intention.[36]

In the case of Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ruᶜtaynī this rupture is clearly visible. In the second letter, which he translated for King Manuel I in 1504, the parameters of his identification already deviated substantially from those in the previous letter: *"Escrito e traduzido pelo vosso servidor devotado e sincero, o humilde escravo de Deus, Ruᶜtaynī, que vos saúda da capital de Lisboa (Ušbūna), 22 de Abril do ano de 1504 (fī 22 min Abril cāmi 1504)"*[37] The implicit admission of conversion is structured according to the silences now brought into the discourse: the failure to identify himself as *garīb*, given his situation as a new Christian, and the omission of his name and surname (*nasab*), which would now be replaced with Christian counterparts after baptism.

Nevertheless, there is still an onomastic statement in Arabic in the self-identification. The *nīsba* (*Ruᶜtaynī*) represents a cultural particularity and does not emanate directly from Islamic symbolic religious capital. Furthermore, the clandestine allegiance to Islam emerges, although well camouflaged, in the phrase "servant of God" (*"escravo de Deus"*/*ᶜabd Allāh*), which was commonly used in an Islamic context and indeed constituted a proper given name in this cultural-religious environment.

Mahdīs of the Muslim West. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006: 22-23.

35. This legal consultation of the mufti of Oran was sought in the context of the forced conversion of Muslims in the kingdom of Granada and the Crown of Castile. One copy in Arabic has survived, along with its aljamiado translation, Spanish written in Arabic characters. Although it does not expressly state a recipient, it is address to the "alġ̌aribóš" in the aljamiado text (transcription courtesy of Jean-Pierre Molénat, following the manuscript of the Biblioteca Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence), and to the *ġurabā'* in the Arabic version. Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain (1500 to 1614)*. Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 2005: 60. For further analysis see: Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain...*: 60-64.

36. This principle of intention underlies any situation. For example, if they were forced to drink wine, they should do so, but without the desire to make use of it. If they were forced to blaspheme against the Prophet, they were to think of the Christian pronunciation "Mamad" as meaning the Devil and therefore that he be reviled. See Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain...*: 61-63.

37. "Written and translated by your sincere and devoted servant, the humble servant of God, Ruᶜtaynī, who greets you from the capital Lisbon (Ušbūna), the 22 of April of the year 1504 (fī 22 min Abril cāmi 1504)", *Les Sources Inédits...*: 98 (Arabic version), 99 (French version).

4. Fourth question

The cultural and religious ascriptions of these Muslims pointed out distinct perceptions to outside observers, which, however, would be internalized and assumed within the same identifying discourse. The processes that constitute the transition from Muslim to Moor, and later between Moor and *Morisco*, necessarily conveyed different responses in the adaptation of these groups to conditions imposed from the outside and imply a transformation of the social psychology of these communities.

For the *Mudejars* of the Portuguese Kingdom, the social reconstruction that was initiated by the Christian conquest of the territory became increasingly framed by the jurisdiction of royal power. This is not insignificant when compared with the other Peninsular Crowns, where Muslims found themselves divided among many jurisdictions and lordships,[38] thus molding other sorts of perceptions and discourses.

The first link between the king and the Muslim communities was established with the town charters (*carta de foral*). The surviving documents (from 1170, Lisbon, Almada, Palmela and Alcacer; from 1269, Silves, Loulé, Tavira and Santa Maria de Faro; from 1273 Evora; and Moura in 1296)[39] verify this relationship, which was neither absolute nor total. In fact, in the first phase, these documents are addressed to the *Moors* who are *free* or *forros* ("*vobis mauris qui estis forri*"), as in the Lisbon, Algarve and Evora charters. In the Moura charter, the nomenclature evolved to became "*meus mouros forros*," in a formula that would be part of the address of royal missives for centuries to come. In the body of the texts, however, the possessive already appears in the charters of 1269 and 1273 when referring to the Muslim community of Lisbon, enabling an evolution in the discourse that indelibly bound Muslims to royal domain in a movement that paralleled that of other populations in the Kingdom.

However, these individual and personalized ties diffused central power. A parallel movement occurred in the seigniorial domains under the Orders of Avis and Santiago with the incorporation of Muslim groups organized and legitimized by *cartas de foral*, following the royal model. The Moors of the King were therefore differentiated from the Moors under the control of the Orders despite attempts to appropriate them through royal jurisdiction, leading to ongoing conflicts between the powers in question. For the *espatários*, the conflict was created directly by King Alfonso III and King Dinis, leading in 1310 to the categorical affirmation by *Mestre* D. Diogo Moniz: "*que os mouros forros que moram na terra da Ordem que som seus e de sua jurisdiçom*"[40] In the case of the Order of Avis, the conflict was manifested indirectly in 1331 in a royal mediation between *Mestre* D. Gil Peres and the mayor and respective Muslim community of Avis. Nevertheless, the actions of the king

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38. See for an overview of Peninsular Mudejars: Hinojosa Montalvo, José. *Los mudéjares. La voz del Islam en la Espanã cristiana. I.* Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002.

39. Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. *Tempos e Espaços de mouros...*: 49-56.

40. "That those free moors that live in the lands of the Order that are theirs and are under their jurisdiction". T.T. Chancelaria de D. Dinis, livro 3, fls. 73-73 v.

appear to be decisive for the outbreak of the conflict by confirming the election of the mayor when the *Mestre* claimed full authority in the appointment of that office and additionally in favouring, during the entire process the Muslim community against his powerful contender.[41]

This sentence, however, is the last visible sign of the conflict. And if, as with King Alfonso IV (1325-1357), the opposition to *his Moors* was still conveyed in legislation directed at the Muslims "de *seu senhorio*[42]," excluding, therefore, the *Mudejars* under other leaders, subsequent evolution brought increasing royal jurisdiction over the Muslims of the kingdom by the Crown. These developments set up a retrospective ideological construction, claiming, in a royal order of King Alfonso V (1438-1481) that the Muslims (like the Jews) of his *kingdoms and seignioria* had *always* been under the *guardianship and order* of the sovereign, *"e nos bem assy os avemos recebido."*[43] The ideological message fit with the reality of the time, although not with the past, and evoked a process whose turning point occurred during the reign of King John I and whose tenants were based on the *foral* of Lisbon and on the privileged relationship between this community and the monarch.

The uniformity of tributes based on Islamic law supported centralization as justified by a royal discourse regarding the legitimate successors of the former Islamic powers. The seizure by King Alfonso III (1245-1279) of *"todas as tendas que os reis sarracenos tinham no tempo dos sarracenos,"*[44] a phrase which was repeated in the charters of Silves, Faro, Tavira and Loulé,[45] implicitly conveys this perception. In the *Chronicle of Algarve* it was conveyed with even greater accuracy in a reproduction of the only text of a pact concluded on Portuguese territory. In this specific case, for the capitulation of the city of Faro, at the hands of King Alfonso III, it is stated that the Moors should do to the King as they had done to their own king: *"aquelle mesmo foro que em todas as couzas fazião ao seo Rey"*[46].

Similarly, this perspective focuses on the invoked analogy with the living situation in Islamic territories. Thus King Dinis (1279-1325) granted an exemption from taxes on wage-earners for the Muslims of Lisbon, justifying the action based the fact that *"em terra de mouros"*, one does not pay *"ao senhor da terra algum dereito per razom do trabalho de sas mãos."*[47] This was expressed even more explicitly in the

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41. Barros, Mª Filomena Lopes de. "A Ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana", *Ordens Militares: Guerra Religião e Poder: Actas do III Encontro sobre Ordens Militares: Palmela, 22 a 25 de Janeiro de 1998*, Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, coord. Lisbon: Edições Colibri/Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 1999: II, 167-173.

42. *Ordenações Afonsinas...*: II, 534, title XXVIII.

43. *Ordenações Afonsinas...*: II, 562-563, title XXVIII.

44. "All of the tents that the Saracen Kings collected in the times of the Saracens".

45. See Lopes de Barros, Maria Filomena. *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros...*: 109. A different interpretation that broadens the apprehension of royal rights in these documents is found in: Picard, Cristophe. *L'Océan Atlantique musulman: De la conquête árabe à l'époque almohade*. Paris: Maisonneuvre & Larose-Éditions Unesco: 20.

46. *Crónica da Conquista do Algarve (texto de 1792)*, ed. José Pedro Machado. *Anais do Município de Faro* 8 (1978): 251.

47. T. T. Chancelaria de D. João I, book 5, fl. 32: "In the lands of the moors," one does not pay, "any rights to the moor kings in their lands and jurisdiction to the seignior of the land for the work done with

aforementioned regulation on the Islamic law of succession by King Alfonso V, in which the king based his law on the partition of inheritance on the fact that the same would be due "*aos Reyx Mouros em seus Regnos e Senhorios*."[48]

In this document, moreover, the perspective inherent in the conceptualization of *Mudejarism* is reflected by a rigid division between the temporal and the spiritual in the application of the epithet "*o Princepe da Terra*,"[49] to the sovereign, in contrast to what happens in the land of the Moors, "*honde elles [os muçulmanos] (...) ham antre sy o Rey por cousa piadosa*"[50].

This conversation of legality and legitimization naturally finds its counterpart within the *Mudejar* communities themselves. The taxation structure based on Islamic law (in use from the time of the *cartas de foral* to the edict of expulsion in 1496) projects the ideology supporting the monarch as the legitimate heir to the former Islamic powers. The very development of the Islamic law, revised and updated over the centuries by jurists in the Muslim community of Lisbon under pressure from the royal bureaucracy, also relays the same perception in addition to an internalization of a sense of belonging. The Muslims of the kingdom are *all* of the king and his chamber, as expressed in a petition from the community of Evora in the second half of the 15th century, "*asy os corpos como os aueres*."[51]

This territorial expansion of royal power can also be seen in other discourses, namely that of the church. The *Chronicle of the Taking of Lisbon from the Moors and the Foundation of the Monastery of St. Vincent of Lisbon*,[52] part of a Latin text (probably dating from the beginning of the reign of King Sancho I) titled the *Indiculum Fundationis Monasterii S. Vicentii*, transformed the original version of the surrender of Lisbon into an actual conquest by force of arms in a deliberate deviation from the original text that intended to apologize for Christian triumphalism given that it was sanctioned by divine assistance. It is an ideological conversation which carves out an intentional rewriting of the past in light of the objectives mentioned above, reinventing a mythologized, justified and, above all, legitimizing understanding of the royal pretense of juridical subordination of the Islamic minority. The continued presence of Muslims in the city is justified by the existence of a few knights who had escaped the slaughter and who had undertaken the duty of delivering to the king all of his treasure, both visible and hidden (in a significant analogy to Islamic law in which the *zakā*, legal alms, includes both visible goods, *zāhir*, as well as hidden

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the hands".

48. "where they the (the Muslims)... have the king as sacred", *Ordenações Afonsinas...*: II, 222, title XXVIII.

49. *Ordenações Afonsinas...*: II, 228.

50. *Ordenações Afonsinas...*: II, 242.

51. "The bodies as their belongngs" T.T. Chancelaria de D. João II, book 16, fl. 10.

52. Whose production is dated at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, Mendes, Joaquim. "Crónica da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros e da Fundação do Mosteiro de São Vicente de Lixboa". *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Giulia Lanciani, Giuseppe Tavani, coords. Lisbon: Caminho, 1993: 176-179. From the text titled: *Chronica da fundação do Moesteiro de São Vicente de Lixboa pello inuictissimo e christianissimo Dom Afonso Henriquez, Iº Rei de Portugal: E como tomou a dita çidade aos mouros,* use publication of *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores,* ed. Alexandre Herculano. Lisbon: Real Academia das Ciências, 1856: 407-414.

ones, *bātin*.) This divestiture would justify the total subjugation of captive Moors to the kings of Portugal, making them forever his servants, *"assi depois que nacem como ate que morrem."*[53]

The perception conveyed by this *scriptorium* of St. Vincent de Fora in Lisbon, although in line with the discourse of the affirmation of royal jurisdiction, also advocates a strongly clerical view that necessarily moves away from the legalistic discourse of the Crown. The change is enunciated in the clear inferiority of these Muslims, reduced to the status of the kings servants in a humiliation that emphasizes the fact that the very knights from Lisbon begged for this statue to save their lives.

Between the ideological discourse and the political praxis, the image of the Moor was, of course, changeable. Indeed, in daily practice the Monastery of St Vincent, like other religious institutions, did not hesitate to oversee properties regardless of them being held in emphyteuses by Christians, Muslims or Jews.

5. Fifth question

The legal-religious status of the *mouro forro*, implied a concomitant process of identity construction in the internalization of a culture, in the broadest sense, as a coherent system of signs common to a community. This construction, on a political level, was integrated into a juridical discourse of subordination to the Portuguese monarch, in an asymmetrical power structure that proposed, determined and consequently molded those very divisions of identity. The extent of this royal jurisdiction brought a homogenization of these parameters to all the Muslim communities of the kingdom. The controlling factor was structured on the regulations of Islamic law and emanated from a central point: that of the jurists of Lisbon. This interaction occurred necessarily within the same linguistic sphere, assuming a gradual internalization of perceptions and concepts held in common. The semantics of *mouro*, as a heterogeneous perception and as a perception of self, thus involved the construction of a new identity, not guided by merely static or mechanistic frames, but shaped through dialectical processes in the definition of the ethnocentrism of the group. A group, moreover, on the border of a duel allegiance, to one culture, to one king and to one land, and, as a *Moor*, to a transnational religious community, as a *garīb*.

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53. *From birth to death, Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Scriptores...*: 408.