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Francisco Núñez Muley, *Petition* (Granada, 1566)

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Introduction

In 711 CE the forces of the Umayyad dynasty,¹ under General Tariq ibn Ziyad's command, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, and occupied Hispania,² ruled by Christian Visigoths. Areas under Muslim control were soon consolidated as a province of the Umayyad caliphate. Thus began almost eight centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula. In 759, the province became an independent emirate with capital in Cordoba until 929, when Abd Al-Rahman III proclaimed himself caliph. In 1003, the Cordoba caliphate disintegrated into *tajfa* kingdoms³ that were soon invaded by the Almoravid dynasty (1085-1145) and, sixty years later, by the Almohad dynasty (1147-1238), both of Berber and Maghrebi origin. After the final Almohad defeat, only the Nasrid kingdom of Granada (1238-1492) remained, since Christian kings had conquered over the major Andalusí cities (Toledo in 1085, Córdoba in 1236, Valencia in 1238, and Seville in 1248).⁴

In the 13th century, the only Islamic state in the Iberian Peninsula was the Kingdom of Granada, where in 1238 Sultan Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr I founded the Nasrid dynasty; it included the modern provinces of Granada, Malaga, and Almeria. The Sultan offered his friendship to King Fernando III and Granada became a feudal state that paid tribute to Castile. However, tensions between Christians and Muslims remained. On January 2, 1492, Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, known as the Catholic Monarchs, entered Granada after defeating King Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII, also known as Boabdil. The entire Iberian Peninsula was once again under Christian government.

On November 28, 1491, the Catholic Monarchs signed the Capitulations offering Andalusian Muslims the choice of either remaining in Granada, preserving their laws, religion, and Arabic language, or leaving the Peninsula. Many Granadan noblemen went into exile, but the majority of Mudejars stayed in their native land. Contrary to the Capitulations, the Catholic Church pressured Mudejars to convert. Initially, Fray Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, sought a slow and peaceful evangelization, but in 1499 the Catholic Monarchs sent Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who opted for a faster, more strict method of conversion that led to a Mudejar rebellion in the Alpujarras that same year. In 1502, the monarchs annulled the Capitulations and ordered the conversion of all Muslims in the Kingdom of Castile. The edict was not imposed uniformly in Castile until 1526 when King Charles I mandated to enforce the law without any further delay. Castilian Mudejars were forcibly baptized. These new converts from Islam were known as Moriscos.⁵

The Morisco community remained under the eye of the Spanish Inquisition, an institution that persecuted and condemned them for, supposedly, being heretics and traitors who conspired with the Ottoman sultan to

¹ They were Muslim Arabs who, after controlling the Middle East and North Africa, advanced towards the Iberian Peninsula.

² Hispania was a former province of the Roman empire occupying the territory of contemporary Portugal and Spain.

³ Among these were Malaga, Seville, Cordoba, Toledo, Valencia, and Saragossa.

⁴ Muslims who stayed in territories under Christian rule were called Mudejar. The word comes from Arabic *mudajjan* meaning 'those who stayed.'

⁵ Moriscos did not enjoy the same privileges as Old Christians (those who could prove no Muslim or Jewish ancestry). For example, Moriscos were often under surveillance.



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invade Spain. Moriscos stayed in Spain until 1609, when King Philip III, claiming that all attempts to assimilation had failed, ordered their final expulsion.

Francisco Núñez Muley and his *Petition*

Little is known about Francisco Núñez Muley, except for the information that he provides in his *Petition*. He was born around 1490 and died shortly after 1568, which is why he may have written his famous text at the age of eighty. Having converted to Christianity as a child, he served as a page to Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, for more than three years. He was of Nasrid royal lineage, and his surname, Muley ('prince'), was an honorific used among Granadan nobility. He was of Moroccan descent from his uncle, Fernando de Fez, who was married to the daughter of Sultan Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali (Muley Hassan), penultimate King of Granada, and Boabdil's father.

Due to his aristocratic ancestry, he likely enjoyed a privileged position within the Morisco community. He was the collector of the *farda*,⁶ and a representative voice of Granadan New Christians. His social standing is evident in his trip to Valladolid in 1517 as part of a team of Granadan emissaries to honor the new king, Charles I. Francisco Núñez Muley's position, and likely that of his entire family, must have been a complex one; on one hand, he was loyal to a Crown that had granted him favors, such as his coat of arms and the privilege of bearing arms. On the other, he maintained strong ties with the Morisco community, whom he served as a mediator. After the 1567 edict, his community entrusted him with writing a petition addressed to Pedro de Deza, President of the Royal Court and Chancery of Granada. The *Petition* was their attempt to delay an order detrimental to the Moriscos' cultural and religious identity because it forbade their customs, rites, and language. Possibly written in collaboration with individuals favorable to the Morisco cause, it is a meticulous defense of Morisco language, celebrations, and customs, vindicated as regional cultural practices similar to those of the Christian communities in the Islamic world, rather than expressions of Islamic religious practice.

Moriscos and the Edict of 1567

The Edict of 1567, or Anti-Morisco Edict, was promulgated by King Philip II on January 1, after being approved in Madrid on November 17, 1566. Its purpose was to eliminate specific Morisco customs, such as their language, dress, and dances. Pedro de Deza, President of the Royal Chancery of Granada, oversaw enforcing the prohibitions, which sparked a second Rebellion in the Alpujarras.⁷

The Edict prohibited the following:

- The use of spoken and written Arabic. Therefore, it mandated the cancellation of all contracts and documents written in that language. Additionally, Moriscos had to learn Spanish within a period of three years.
- The use of Arabic names and surnames.
- Wearing Morisco clothing and dress. This sanction was aimed mainly at women, who were also prohibited from covering their faces with a veil.
- Gatherings and celebrations with Morisco music and instruments, in particular *zambras*, *leilas*,⁸ and Morisco songs.

⁶ A special tax imposed on Moriscos.

⁷ On November 15, 1568, the Granadan Moriscos rose in arms and chose Hernando de Córdoba y Valor, better known as Aben Humeya, as their king. The war lasted three years (1568-1571) until royal troops under the command of Prince John of Austria, King Philip II's half-brother, defeated them.

⁸ *Zambras* were Morisco feasts with a lot of joy, music, and dance. *Leilas* were celebrations that took place at night.

- Using public baths.⁹
- Keeping doors closed on Fridays, Sundays, and holidays.¹⁰
- Having *gacis*¹¹ or black slaves.

Commentary on the *Petition*

Núñez Muley's *Petition* is an attempt to persuade Christian authorities to delay enforcing the 1567 Edict. The author lists each of the prohibitions and refutes their effectiveness. He compares Morisco customs to those of other Christian and Muslim communities in the Mediterranean and argues that the prohibitions will not eradicate any putative Islamic practices but instead erase Morisco cultural identity. Moriscos, he claims, are sincere Christians and loyal subjects who support the king's decisions.

The *Petition's* points respond to those addressed in the Edict. Regarding Morisco clothing and dress, Núñez Muley points out that it is the traditional garb of Granadans, especially women, just as there are different types of clothing in other Spanish provinces or in Islamic nations, such as Turkey or North Africa, where Muslim clothing is very different from that worn in Granada. He also explains how expensive Morisco traditional dress is, so the people of Granada must pass them on from generation to generation to save money. He asks for a grace period of two or three years to dispense with their clothing. Núñez Muley refutes the claim that Moriscos use public baths to perform Islamic rituals and prayers; he argues that it is impossible because baths are dirty and, according to Islamic laws, those rituals must be performed in clean spaces exclusively. He claims that music, instruments and *zambras* are part of Granada's regional culture. Moriscos enjoy them not because they are Muslim, but because they are an integral part of their tradition. Finally, he asks for the same two-to-three-year grace period to learn Spanish. Once again, he argues that use of Arabic language is not proof of crypto-Muslim heresy, but rather a part of Granadan cultural identity. He gives the example of Christians in Jerusalem, who do not speak Spanish but only Arabic; similarly, Christian Granadans only know Arabic because it is the language spoken in Granada.

Memoria ¹²	Petition
Memoria para el Muy Ilustre y Reverendísimo Señor Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chancillería de esta nombrada y gran ciudad de Granada y su reino, de las cosas que su señoría reverendísima debe ser informado, de lo que hay en pro y contra de la premática que ahora nuevamente se pregonó públicamente y para que su señoría sea informado de la verdad, para que favoreciese a los naturales de este reino con su majestad y con los señores de su muy alto consejo real; en tal cargo que les fue	A petition to the most illustrious and most reverend President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery of this great city of Granada and of its kingdom, regarding the things that his most reverend lordship should be informed in regard to the decree that has now been publicly proclaimed once again. And so that your honor may be informed of the truth, so that he may favor the natives of this kingdom ¹³ with his grace and with the lords of his very high royal council, whose position was granted to them by his

⁹ It was believed that Moriscos used baths for their ablutions and, therefore, for praying or for celebrating Islamic rites in secret.

¹⁰ If Moriscos left their doors open, Inquisitors and Old Christians could verify that they were not performing Islamic ceremonies.

¹¹ Muslims from North Africa.

¹² Adapted and modernized from Foulché-Delbosc, R., "Memorial de Francisco Núñez-Muley", *Revue Hispanique*, 1899, pp. 205-234.

¹³ The people of Granada.

<p>puesto por su majestad por relaciones de perlados y otras personas, diré en ello lo que mi pobre juicio alcanza y memoria.</p>	<p>grace, by virtue of the accounts by prelates and other people, I will say here what my poor judgment and memory allow.</p>
<p>[Sobre el hábito y el traje]</p> <p>[...] ahora se proveyó en estas premáticas por relaciones de prelados y otras personas que le han informado y fundado a su majestad que el dicho hábito y traje es de moros. Y continuando las ceremonias y manera de moros en el dicho traje y calzado, en esto, señor, veo con mi pobre juicio, según he alcanzado de algunos mis ancianos, que sus relaciones no son bastantes ni ciertas porque el hábito y traje y calzado no se puede decir de moros ni que es de moros; puédese de decir que es traje del reino y provincia, como en todos los reinos de Castilla; y los otros reinos y provincias tienen los trajes diferentes unos de otros y todos [son] cristianos,</p>	<p>[Dress and Clothing]</p> <p>[...] now it has been expressed in these decrees, as a result of accounts by prelates and other people who have informed your grace, that they [the natives of Granada] dress as Muslims, and that they continue performing Muslim ceremonies where they wear that clothing and footwear. Regarding this, my lord, I see with my poor judgment inherited from my elders, that those accounts are neither sufficient nor true because the dress and clothing and footwear cannot be said to be Muslim nor that it belongs to the Muslims. It can be said that it is the dress of this kingdom and province, as in all the kingdoms of Castile. And the other kingdoms and provinces have different dresses and yet they all are Christians.</p>
<p>y así el dicho hábito y traje de este reino [es] muy diferente de los trajes de los moros de allende y Berbería, y allá también en muy grandes diferencias de un reino a otro: lo que traen en Fez no lo traen en Tremecén por el todo, y en la Turquía muy diferentes del todo, y todos moros; de manera que no se puede fundar ni decir que el traje de los nuevamente convertidos es traje de moros, ni se puede fundar pues los cristianos de la santa casa de Jerusalén y todo ese reino de cristianos y doctores de ella, como se han visto en esta ciudad, que se vinieron a ella en hábitos y tocados como los de allende y no en castellano, y escriben en arábigo y hablan en arábigo y no en castellano y son cristianos y no la saben la lengua castellana y son cristianos católicos;</p>	<p>And thus, dress and clothing in this kingdom is very different from those that Muslims from beyond¹⁴ and from Barbary¹⁵ wear. And in those lands, there are also great differences from one kingdom to another: what they wear in Fez they do not wear in Tlemcen¹⁶ or in Turkey, and all of them are Muslims. So, it cannot be claimed nor said that the clothing of the new converts is Muslim dress. And neither can it be said the same about the Christians from the holy house of Jerusalem and from all that kingdom of Christians and doctors of Christianity. As it can be seen in that city, those Christians did not arrive in Castilian dress but in clothing and headdresses that are worn in other places. Also, they write in Arabic and speak in Arabic and not in Castilian, and yet they are Catholic Christians even though they do not know the Castilian language.</p>
<p>y de ello y por esto y por lo que dicho tengo, la cristiandad no va en el hábito ni en el calzado que ahora se calzan, ni la secta de los moros también porque nos acordamos de viejos y ancianos, que este reino ha se mudado al hábito y traje en muy gran diferencia de lo que solían vestir y calzar en cosas a la manera castellana, sino usanza del hábito</p>	<p>And because of this and because of what I have said, Christianity is not manifested in the dress or the footwear that they now wear, and neither is the religion of Islam. Also, we elders remember that this kingdom has changed the dress and clothing to the Castilian style and now clothes and shoes are very different from what people used to wear. Now</p>

¹⁴ He's referring to the Muslims in North Africa.

¹⁵ The zone of North Africa that includes Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

¹⁶ Fez in Morocco and Tlemcen in Algeria.

<p>limpio y corto y liviano y de muy poca costa. No se habla en los vestidos de sus bodas y placeres, porque aquellos vestidos tiénelos guardados para los tales días, y los heredan en tres o cuatro herencias para gozarse y aprovecharse de ellos para aquellos tiempos o para cuando de necesidad los vienen a vender o empeñar, y lo ordinario entre ellos, en sus casas o fuera de ella, son hábitos de muy poco valor tales como sabanas y alcandoras, que con poco valor de un ducado va vestida una morisca o poco más, y se sirven del vestido muchos vecinos de ellos, así de noche en el dormir en ellos como hacer de ellos hardas para su servicio, y esto se hallará en todas las Alpujarras y lugares y en toda la Axarquía, y por todo lo susodicho vuestra señoría reverendísima nos ha de hacer merced de ayudarnos y favorecernos con su majestad, vista la relación tan notoria y verdadera y no en perjuicio de nuestra santa fe católica [...]</p>	<p>people wear outfits that are clean, short, light, and inexpensive. I am not speaking about wedding clothes or fancy attire because people keep them stored and used them exclusively on those days. They pass them as inheritance for three or four generations to enjoy them and to wear them for those events or if they need to sell them or pawn them. The ordinary clothes they wear both inside or outside their houses, such as shawls and shirts, are of very little value so with as little as a ducat or more a Morisco woman can be dressed. And many of them [Moriscos] make use of their dresses at night to sleep in them, as well as to make serviceable <i>hardas</i>.¹⁷ And this can be found in all the Alpujarras and the Axarquía¹⁸. And from the above-mentioned, your most reverend lordship must grant us the mercy of your help us and the favor of your grace, seeing that this information is well-known and true and not in detriment of our holy catholic faith [...]</p>
<p>[Sobre las bodas y zambras]</p>	<p>[Weddings and <i>Zambras</i>]</p>
<p>[...] la zambra e instrumentos de ella no es cosa en que se ofende a la santa fe católica, ni que es de moros y ceremonias ni ritos tocante a la secta de moros: antes vuestra señoría sabrá que el buen moro no se hallaba en instrumentos de zambra ni en placer con ella, y si algunos alfaquíes o alcaldes eran convidados a alguna boda, cesábase de tañer la dicha zambra y instrumentos de ella hasta que los dichos alfaquíes saliesen de la dicha boda o placer, y el Rey moro queriendo salir a algún viaje con sus añafiles y instrumentos de zambra, llegado al puente del Río de Darro, y tenía necesidad de pasar por el Albaicín, callaban todos los instrumentos hasta que pasase el Rey la Puerta de Elvira, y entonces se tañía, porque en el dicho Albaicín había alcaldes y alfaquíes que presumían de buenos moros: les cataban aquella cortesía para que no tañesen en la dicha zambra adonde ellos estaban; pues siendo esto así muy notorio entre las personas que acuerdan de ello, ¿cómo se puede decir que los</p>	<p>[...] the <i>zambra</i> and its related instruments do not offend the holy catholic faith; they are not Muslim nor connected to the ceremonies or rites of the Islamic religion. Rather, your lordship must know that a good Muslim would not enjoy <i>zambra</i> instruments or draw any pleasure from them. Whenever <i>alfaquíes</i>¹⁹ or judges were invited to a wedding, both the <i>zambra</i> and the sound of its instruments paused until the <i>alfaquíes</i> left the wedding or recreation. Even when the Muslim king, going on a trip with his <i>añafiles</i> (trumpets) and other <i>zambra</i> instruments, arrived at the bridge of the River Darro and needed to pass by the Albaicín,²⁰ all the instruments were silenced until he passed through the Door of Elvira, and only then they were played again. This was because there were judges and <i>alfaquíes</i> in the Albaicín who boasted that they were good Muslims. As a courtesy, the king did not play the <i>zambra</i> where they were. So, if this is well known among the people who remember it, how can it be claimed that Muslim instruments and</p>

¹⁷ *Fardas* = a sack

¹⁸ A region of Andalusia located east of Malaga.

¹⁹ Religious leaders

²⁰ A neighborhood in Granada.

instrumentos y zambras de moros no es más de vicio y placeres?	<i>zambbras</i> are anything more than pleasurable entertainment?
<p>No se hallará ni averiguará a ello lícita información porque, como tengo dicho de los instrumentos y zambras y instrumentos de moros, [no son] sino costumbres de reinos y provincias; y esto hallará vuestra señoría que los instrumentos y zambras de este reino no son como los de Fez ni allende ni en toda Berbería ni la de Turquía, sino en muy grandes diferencias instrumentos de otros y cantares de otros, y si fuese ceremonia o ritos de moros había de ser toda una igual por cumplir su secta, lo cual no se averiguará ni se puede averiguar por las causas arriba declaradas; y yo me acuerdo de personas y más ancianas que se acordasen a lo que quiero decir, que en el tiempo de santo arzobispo don Hernando de Talavera, primer arzobispo que los Reyes Católicos proveyeron en esta ciudad,</p>	<p>No reasonable information about it can be found or exposed because, as I have said before, Morisco instruments and <i>zambbras</i> and instruments are just part of the customs of this kingdom and its province; and your lordship will find that the instruments and <i>zambbras</i> of this kingdom are not like those of Fez or beyond or those of Barbary or Turkey. They are very different from other instruments and songs. And if those <i>zambbras</i> and instruments were a part of Islamic ceremonies or rites, they would have to be identical everywhere to obey their religion. But this will not and cannot be demonstrated for the reasons stated earlier. And I remember people older than me who remember what I mean. At the time of the holy Archbishop Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop who was appointed to this city by the Catholic Monarchs,</p>
<p>[...] permitió en su tiempo que la zambra se usase con todos instrumentos, pues era en placer de los naturales y cosas de placer y alegría y de sus bodas y de otras cualesquier cosas que para ello se juntasen, y con la dicha zambra e instrumentos de ellas entraban los santos sacramentos de las procesiones del Corpus Cristi con todas las zambras, cada maeso con su bandera. Y en su tiempo eran las fiestas del Corpus Cristi tan solemnes y tan sonada como era la de aquí, y no había en ella cosa alguna contra la santa fe católica. Demás de esto puedo decir que yo serví al santo arzobispo por tres años y más por paje, y fui con él a una visita que visitó a todas las Alpujarras; [...] y saliendo para ir a la iglesia, tañían todos sus instrumentos y zambras que iban delante de él y toda gente que se hallaba hasta entrar con él a en la iglesia; y cuando su señoría decía la misa en persona, estaba la zambra en el coro con los clérigos [...] pues como dicho tengo no caen en ofensa contra la santa fe católica, sino [son] usanza y de reinos y costumbres de provincia y vicio placiente en ello en juntarse en sus bodas y placeres con ello, y no [h]a sido ni es contra la santa fe católica. [...]</p>	<p>[...] he allowed the <i>zambra</i> to be played with its corresponding instruments, for it was for the entertainment of the Granadans, for the events that brought them pleasure and joy and for their weddings and any other gatherings. At the Corpus Christi²¹ processions the holy sacraments (that is, the host) proceeded at the rhythm of <i>zambbras</i> and its instruments, and each guild master [<i>maeso</i>] carried his banner. In his time the Corpus Christi celebrations were as solemn and famous as the ones here, and there was nothing in it against the holy Catholic faith. In addition to this I can say that I served the holy Archbishop for more than three years as a page, and I went with him to visit the Alpujarras; [...] and leaving for the church, all the <i>zambbras</i> and its instruments preceded him and the people who stayed there until all of them entered the church; and when his lordship said the mass in person, the <i>zambra</i> was played in the choir with the clerics [...] for as I have said, they do not offend the holy catholic faith, but they are the usage of this kingdom and one of the customs of this province. They offer a pleasant entertainment when people gather at weddings and celebrations. And it has</p>

²¹ The *Corpus Christi* (“Body of Christ”) is a Catholic Church’s festivity in which they celebrate the Eucharist, the presence of Christ in the consecrated host.

	never been, nor it is now, against the holy catholic faith. [...]
[Sobre los baños]	[Public Baths]
<p>[...] que habla en los baños que en ellos se puede hacer ceremonia y ritos de moros, esto no se puede averiguar en ninguna manera, ni cabrá en juicio auténtico porque en los baños se juntan hombres cristianos nuevos y viejos, y en algunos de los baños de esta ciudad hay bañeros cristianos viejos y nuevos, y donde se halla número de gente no se puede hacer ceremonia ni ritos, porque las ceremonias y ritos requieren se usar en soledad y no en público y en parte limpia, sin que viniese en ella sospecha de suciedad, y esto he alcanzado²² de hombres ancianos y sabios y los baños son minas de las suciedades y otras muchas cosas porque a ellos vienen los enfermos en diversas enfermedades y llagas y materias, y los de los oficios sucios tales como pescador, herrero, y carbonero, y aceitero, y carnicero, y espadadores de lino, y desolladores en el rastro y fuera de él, y trabajadores en partes sucias tales como vaciar necencias y madres de calles donde se vienen a llegar y recoger las dichas suciedades de cada calle y casas, y otras y otras [sic] personas que trabajan en cosas sucias y de estercoleros e infinitas cosas tales;</p>	<p>[...] In regard to the baths, and to the claim that one can perform Islamic ceremonies and rites there, this cannot be proven in any reasonable manner, because in the baths both new and old Christians gather. In some of the city's baths there are old and new Christian bathers, and where there is a high number of people, neither ceremony nor rites can be performed because the ceremonies and rites should be performed in solitude and not in public, and in a clean space in which there may be no suspicion of dirt. I know this from wise old men, which is that baths are reservoirs of filth and many other things because the sick and those with various diseases and sores use them. Baths are also used by those who work in dirty trades, such as fishermen, blacksmiths, charcoal and oil burners, butchers, those who mash linen to make threads [<i>espadadores del lino</i>], skippers in and out of the flea market, and those who work in dirty tasks, such as emptying waste from sewers, which collect filth from every street and house, and others who work with dirty things, dunghills and many similar places.</p>
<p>y todos estos se vienen a juntar en particular cuando tienen necesidad para limpiar de las tales suciedades susodichas y otras necesidades que se hacen en el mismo baño en hacer cámaras en cubos y en el suelo, y hacen sus aguas de manera que aunque se lavan en los baños con el agua que se vierte de lavar los hombres no se puede limpiar el baño de las cosas sucias, y donde hay toda esta sospecha no cabe que ninguno quiera usar la secta de los moros que la usa en parte de tanta sospecha y suciedad aunque no parezca la suciedad con tanta agua que se vierte de lo que se lavan, ni en parte tan publica, porque, como tengo dicho, las tales ceremonias y ritos requieren soledad y parte limpia como está dicho y no en parte tan sospechosa ni pública como son los dichos baños, y no se fundaron los baños sino para limpiarse de cualquier suciedad, pues con la demasiada calor que hay en ellos, con el agua</p>	<p>And all these people gather when they need to clean themselves up from the filth and to relieve themselves in the buckets located on the floor of the chambers. Because they urinate, even though they wash up with the water that is poured over them, it is not possible to completely sanitize the bathroom. When this suspicion arises, it is not possible for anybody to follow Islamic precepts in a place where there is so much dirt, even though it may seem otherwise with so much water being poured over to clean and wash. It is not possible to perform Islamic rituals in such a public place either because, as I have said, those ceremonies and rites require solitude and a clean space and not in a public place like the baths. The baths were built to cleanse oneself of any dirt because with the heat that comes from them, as well as with the hot water,</p>

²² “Alcanzar” significa “entender”

caliente que hay en ellos, saca el sudor de los cuerpos en que salen las tales suciedades y los malos humores,	it takes the sweat out of the bodies and thus the dirt and bad humors exude from the body,
[...]. De mujeres habló que en ir a los dichos baños se concertan con sus galanes, para que en los dichos baños se junten con ellos: esto no se puede averiguar por ninguna vía porque estando las mujeres en los dichos baños, así cristianas viejas como nuevas, se juntan mucho número de mujeres y bañeras que las lavan, y durante las dichas mujeres en el baño no entra ningún varón por la puerta de él; pues siendo esto así notorio, ¿cómo se puede decir que se juntan en el baño para hacer los tales pecados? [...] Pues podemos decir que si los dichos baños se quitasen y que no los hubiese, pues cerrar que nadie no lavase su cuerpo en su casa ni fuera de ella, ni en río ni en arroyo, pues ¿qué harían los enfermos y las personas que tuviesen necesidad de limpiarse de las tales suciedades susodichas? [...] Puédesse decir que el que tuviere necesidad de lavarse o de bañarse su cuerpo que fuese a los baños naturales, y en esto se puede gastar cualquiera que tuviese necesidad tres o cuatro ducados, lo que podía excusar con ocho maravedís, y fuera mejor servido y lavado que en los baños naturales, pues uno entre ciento no puede tener posibilidad para esto. [...]	[...]. Regarding women, they say that they meet with their lovers and they have sex with them in the baths: this cannot be ascertained by any means because when the women are in the baths, whether Old or New Christians, there is a great number of them, as well as of female bath attendants who wash them. And while the women are in the bath no man is allowed to enter there. Since this is so well known, how can it be said that the women gather in the bath to commit sin with men? [...] So we can say that if the baths were eliminated, and if there were no baths, and no one was allowed to wash in or outside their house, not even in a river or in a stream, what would the sick and the people who need to wash up their dirt do? [...] It could be claimed that whoever needs to wash up or bathe could go to the spring baths and spend three or four ducats. But the public baths cost eight <i>maravedís</i> ²³ and the people are better served and cleansed there than in the spring baths, which only one person out of a hundred can afford to pay. [...]
[Sobre la lengua árabe]	[On the Arabic language]
[...] digo, con mi pobre juicio, que ningún inconveniente hay en que quede la lengua arábiga por dos cosas: la una y principal no toca la lengua a la secta ni contra ella porque, como tengo arriba dicho, que los cristianos católicos de la casa santa de Jerusalén y todo nuestro reino de cristianos hablan en lengua arábiga y escriben sus libros de evangelios o cualquier ciencia o sabiduría que tienen y leyes y todo lo que toca a la cristiandad y escrituras y contratos, lo que no se hallara que en este reino se haya hecho escritura ni contrato ni testamento en arábigo como la premática lo dice; pues como tengo dicho en lo que toca a los reinos de cristianos de la casa santa de Jerusalén y esas partes, y esto es muy notorio, dice más cerca que es la isla de Malta donde hay los católicos cristianos hijos de algo así	[...] I say with my poor judgment that there is no inconvenience in keeping the Arabic language and this is for two reasons: first and foremost is that the language is neither for nor against Christian religion, as I have said above, Catholic Christians of the holy house of Jerusalem and all our kingdom of Christians speak in the Arabic language and write their books of Gospel or any science or wisdom they have, and the laws and everything that relates to Christianity, and its deeds and contracts, in Arabic. In this kingdom one will not find any writing or contract or testament in Arabic as the edict claims. For, as I have said, regarding the kingdoms of Christians of the holy house of Jerusalem and those places, and this is well known in the island of Malta, there are Catholic Christians

²³ Ducats and maravedis were coins made of gold that Medieval and Early Modern Spanish people used as currency.

<p>mismo hablan arábigo y escriben arábigo lo que toca a la santa fe católica y lo demás de cristianos, y creo que dicen las misas en muchas partes susodichas como en esta isla en arábigo y no saben hablar ni escribir castellano los unos ni los otros.</p>	<p>who speak and write in Arabic the facts that relate to the holy Catholic faith and to the rest of the Christian community. I believe that they say mass in Arabic, both in many of the aforementioned places and in Malta, and that they do not know how to speak or write in Castilian.</p>
<p>Pues si fuese cosa contra la santa fe católica no lo usaran como la usan sus doctores y sacerdotes como la usan los cristianos: pues digamos que en aprender la lengua castellana los de este reino todos desearan hablar en castellano o escribirlo, más las personas que tengan entendimiento; pero visto la dificultad grandísima en no la poder aprender, no es en su mano cumplir el deseo por las dificultades de esa lengua arábiga, que personas infinitas habrá y hay en las villas y lugares fuera de esta ciudad y aun dentro en ella que aun su lengua arábiga no la aciertan a hablar sino muy diferentes unos de otros, y no es en su mano poder, más por la usanza y lo que han acostumbrado, pues ¡cuánto más dificultosa será de apremiarles a que aprendan la lengua castellana, pues que siendo toda una la suya no la aciertan a hablar en algunas partes! Certifico a vuestra señoría que el mayor número de los nuevamente convertidos de este reino que aunque les diesen veinte años, no tres años, no la aprendieran; y algunos y muchos habrá que aunque los descuartizasen no la puedan aprender, pues estos tales no tendrán otro fin sino ganarles sus haciendas y echarlos del reino como la pena de la premática lo dice: pues en esto no será nuestro señor dios servido ni su majestad, ni los dichos naturales tendrán remedio; pues considerado esto es muy notorio, ¿cómo han de venir a ser apremiados a que lo cumplan dentro en tres años?</p>	<p>So, if the Arabic language were against the holy Catholic faith, they would not use it as their doctors and priests do. Let us say that those of this kingdom [Granada], including those who have understanding, would like to learn to speak and write in Castilian. That, unfortunately, will be difficult due to the complexities of Arabic, and it will not be in their hands to fulfill their desire. There are many people in the villages and places outside and within this city who speak different forms of the Arabic language and it is not in their hands to change that since they have learned the language by habit, so how much more difficult will it be to force them to learn the Castilian language, when they do not manage to speak Arabic correctly in some places! I certify to your Lordship that the majority of newly converted of this kingdom would not learn Castilian, even if they were given twenty years, not three years, to do it. And there will be some who, even if they were cut into pieces, would not be able to learn it, so they will lose their estates and be driven out of the kingdom, as the decree mandates.²⁴ And in this neither our lord God nor his majesty will be served, and the natives will not have any solution. So, considering that this is a well-known matter, how can they be compelled to comply with it within three years?</p>
<p>Es muy claro que quien lo ha ordenado quiere el destruímiento del reino y de sus naturales, y esto es muy cierto por las causas susodichas y por lo que más adelante se dirá. [...] Pues entremos al perjuicio notorio que hay en que no hubiese escrituras ni títulos ni libros ni cosa escrita en arábigo: pues que las escrituras y títulos hay extrema necesidad de ellas para sus pleitos, especial en lo que toca a la comisión del doctor Santiago, que no ha juzgado ni juzga sino por los títulos, pues digamos que estos se</p>	<p>It is very clear that whoever ordered the decree seeks the destruction of the kingdom and of its natives, and this is proven by the aforementioned reasons and by what it will be said later on. [...] Well, let us now speak of the damage that the absence of deeds, titles, books, or anything written in Arabic will cause. Also, Morisco lawsuits need deeds and titles desperately, especially those regarding the commission led by Doctor Santiago, who pronounces sentences based on the titles provided</p>

²⁴ The edict threatened Moriscos with taking their properties if they did not learn Spanish.

<p>podiesen romanzar, en qué término se bastarían a romanzar o qué romanceadores bastarían para romanzar todo el reino, pues no hay más que uno, de manera que exhibidos en arábigo se perderían, y acabados tres años no valdrán nada, como la premática lo manda. Pues que se puede perder en esto de haciendas y memorias, pues que no les queda las antiguas por donde conozca cada uno lo suyo, pues ¿cómo harán los jelices y oficios que tienen trato de necesidad de escribir en arábigo y no saben otra cosa? y aunque algunos la supiesen, de necesidad han de dar cuenta particularmente en la dicha lengua arábiga porque no pueden cumplir con las personas que acuden a ellos así a vender sus sedas si no les dan cédulas, así del precio como del peso como del valor, como lo que ha de salir de ella de dineros a cada parte para satisfacer los tales dueños de lo que han vendido y dar cuentas particulares a los dueños de la manera susodicha, pues los almotalafes que en sus casas juntan los marchamadores los mazos de las sedas de cada lugar o partido, y los tales no saben escribir en castellano sino arábigo, y estos han de tener fieltad en asentar lo que los marchamadores les vendan, que no haya fiado en la renta de la seda ni factores de ella ni diferencia entre los unos libros y los otros; y para que no pare perjuicio a los dueños de los tales mazos de seda así en llegarlos a la alcaicería a vender como para los tiempos que el arrendador les venga a pedir los albalaes de la seda y dónde la vendéis;</p>	<p>as evidence. If, for the sake of argument, these titles could be translated to Castilian, how long would it take, and how many translators would we need to translate all such documents in the kingdom? Currently there is only one translator. Even if we accepted that these titles could be translated into Castilian, the short period to accomplish it and the fact that there is only one translator in the kingdom make the task impossible. If the documents are kept in Arabic they will be lost, and after three years, as the decree mandates, they will be worthless. So, much will be lost in the matter of estates and reports, since they do not have the original copies which might allow them to recognize their own properties. And how about silk brokers [<i>jelices</i>] who must write their accounts in Arabic and that is the only language they know? And even if some of them knew Castilian, they must keep a record in Arabic because they cannot negotiate with silk vendors if they do not give them a deed of sale. Also, the deeds must state the price, weight, and value, as well as how much money each party will obtain because silk agents [<i>almotalafes</i>], in whose houses customs agents [<i>marchamadores</i>] gather the packs of silk from each place or party, do not know how to write in Castilian, only in Arabic. And these must faithfully record what customs agents sell them because silk is not sold on credit and there cannot be any difference between what is recorded in one's book and what is recorded in the other's. And there cannot be any loss for the owners of the packs of silk when they bring them to the silk markets [<i>alcaicería</i>] to sell or when the tax collector asks them for the silk contracts [<i>albalaes</i>] and for the proof of where they sell it.</p>
<p>y en esto siempre va estrecha cuenta entre los dichos jelices y almotalafes y dueños y el arrendador de la renta de la seda; y en todas estas cuentas no hay escrito en castellano sino en el libro del arrendador y de los marchamadores, y todo lo demás en arábigo, pues ¿qué les podrá quedar en semejantes casos siendo de la manera susodicha o cómo se pueden valer los unos y los otros? Pues tratemos ahora en lo principal de las memorias que han de tener los nuevamente convertidos para tratar unos con otros no siendo los negocios necesarios de obligación ni conocimiento sino memorias asentadas en sus libros de lo que deben o les deben, y demás de ella los oficios tales como tintoreros, que han de tener cuenta en cada madeja que les traen, así de seda como de hilo como de cualquier</p>	<p>And in these transactions silk brokers [<i>jelices</i>], silk agents [<i>almotalafes</i>], silk owners, and collectors of the silk's income all keep a very accurate record. And none of them are written in Castilian except in the books of the tax collector and the customs agents; all the rest is recorded in Arabic. So, what will happen to them in such cases, or how can they ascertain their rights? Let us now speak about the records that the newly converted must write down regarding the informal and unofficial deals they make with each other. For these deals they still need to record the money they owe or the money that is owed to them. And also for tradesmen such as dyers, who must have a record of every skein they receive, whether of silk or thread, as well as of any dress, the master or his apprentice must record the</p>

<p>cosa que se ha de vestir, que ha de asentar el maestro o su oficial la color de cada cosa y poner en ella cédula y del peso de cada madeja y del dueño así en cada cosa como en cada madeja, y estas cédulas atadas en cada cosa y las tiñen con ellas para que no se pierdan las memorias de cada cosa y cuenta, pues han usado esto y no saben otra cosa, ¿qué remedio tendrán en ser apremiados a que todo esto cese dentro en tres años, y como tengo dicho que la mayor parte de los nuevamente convertidos aunque desearan aprender castellano no lo podrán aprender, pues en estos semejantes casos todo viene a parar en muy gran perjuicio e perdimiento, notorio es no se sacará de ello buen fruto ni tendrá buen fin. [...]</p>	<p>color of each clothing, the weight of each skein and the owners' names, and this record is written down on a ticket [<i>cédula</i>] that is tied to each clothing and dyed with them so that the record and account are not lost. Since they have performed all these deals in Arabic, they will be forced to stop them within three years, as they don't know any other language. As I have mentioned before, even if the majority of the newly converted wished to learn Spanish, they will not be able to, and then everything will cause great harm and loss to them. It is obvious that no good will come out from it. [...]</p>
<p>Señor, esto he alcanzado por alguna experiencia y trato en los negocios de calidad así con señores como arzobispos como inquisidores como en corte de sus altezas y sus majestades, y por esto me atrevo y he atrevido de hacer relación a vuestra señoría reverendísima de todo lo que mi memoria ha alcanzado en todo lo contenido en esta memoria, y vuestra señoría por servicio de dios no atribuya a que lo hago de malicia, pues que es cosas tan notorias y verdadera mi relación, por que mi intención ha sido y es muy buena en servir a dios nuestro señor y a su majestad y a los naturales sus vasallos de este reino, pues son mi sangre y soy obligado a ello y no los puedo negar.</p> <p>Las muy ilustres y muy reverendas manos de vuestra señoría besa su servidor</p> <p>Francisco Nuñez Muley.</p>	<p>My lord, I have learned all of this from experience and important dealings with noblemen, archbishops, and inquisitors, as well as at the royal court. And for this reason, in this petition I have dared to give account of all that my memory remembers to your most reverend lordship. And your lordship, by God's service do not think that I do this in bad faith. My account is truthful and my intentions are good because I only wish to serve our lord God, and his majesty, and the Granada natives [<i>naturales</i>], who are his vassals in this kingdom. Because they are my blood, I am obliged to do it, and I cannot say no to them.</p> <p>Your servant kisses the very illustrious and very reverend hands of your lordship.</p> <p>Francisco Nuñez Muley.</p>

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