

READINGS III

THE INQUISITION, JEWS, MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS

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59. HERESY AND INQUISITION

A. Descriptions of Two Autos de Fe (1486)

Translated from Castilian by Ronald Surtz

The auto de fe, literally an "act of faith," was intended to be an edifying public spectacle that expressed hatred of heresy and faith in the mercy of the Church. Penitents were marched through the streets to a scaffold from which their sentences were read and they publicly abjured their errors. By means of this ceremony, also known as reconciliation, repentant heretics were received back into the bosom of the Church.

Unrepentant heretics were executed. Burning at the stake was not normally a component of an auto de fe; the emphasis was on reconciliation. Instead, executions took place during a subsidiary ceremony, usually held outside the city. As in the case of the medieval Inquisition, the Church was forbidden to carry out the sentence of blood. Therefore, the guilty were turned over to the secular authorities for execution. (RS)

Toledo, 12 February 1486

On Sunday, 12 February 1486, all the "reconciled" who lived in these seven parishes—Saint Vincent, Saint Nicholas, Saint John of the Milk, Saint Justa, Saint Michael, Saint Justus, [and] Saint Lawrence—marched in a procession; there were as many as seven hundred fifty people [including] both men and women. And they marched in procession from [the monastery of] Saint Peter the Martyr in this fashion. The men were without cloaks, bareheaded, barefoot, and without hose. And because the weather was so cold they were ordered to wear linen soles under their otherwise bare feet, with unlit candles in their hands. And the women were without cloaks or any outer garment whatsoever, their faces uncovered,¹ barefoot like the men, and holding their candles. Many important and respected personages were among such people, and with the extremely cold temperature and the dishonor and disgrace they suffered on account of the great crowd that was watching them—because many people had come from the surrounding areas to see them—they went along shrieking with pain and weeping, and some tore out their hair (it is believed more because of the disgrace they were suffering than because of the offenses they had committed against God).

And thus they marched in great anguish through the entire city, following the same path as the Corpus Christi procession, until they arrived at the cathedral. At the door of the cathedral were two priests who made the sign of

Translated from Fidel Fita, "La inquisición toledana: Relación contemporánea de los autos y autillos que celebró desde el año 1485 hasta el de 1501," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887): 294–296, 299–300. In cases of doubt, the translator checked Fita's transcriptions against a microfilm of MS 9175, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid).

1. Well-born Spanish women did not normally appear in public with their faces uncovered.

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the cross on the forehead of each one of them, saying these words: "Receive the sign of the cross that you denied and lost through being grievously deceived." And they went into the cathedral up to a platform that was erected near the new gate. The father inquisitors were seated on the platform, and on another nearby platform was an altar where mass was said for them and a sermon was preached to them. And afterward a notary public arose and began to call each one by name, speaking in this way: "Is so-and-so there?" And the reconciled raised his candle and said: "Yes." And there in public he [the notary] read off all the things in which he [the reconciled] had Judaized, and likewise was done with the women.

And when this was done, there in public they were given their penance which was to march in a procession on six [consecutive] Fridays, whipping their backs with ropes of knotted hemp and without hose or hats, and [also] that they fast on those six Fridays. And it was ordered that as long as they should live they could hold no public office such as mayor or constable or alderman or magistrate or notary public or gatekeeper, and that those who held such offices should lose them, and that they could not be moneychangers or apothecaries or spice-merchants, nor could they hold any suspicious post whatsoever, nor could they wear silk or fine scarlet wool or colored clothing or gold or silver or pearls or mother-of-pearl or coral or any jewel, nor could they act as witnesses, nor could they rent such things. They were ordered on penalty of being considered backsliders, that is, those who fall again into the same error as before, that if they used any one of the above-mentioned [forbidden] articles, they would be condemned to be burned at the stake. And when all these ceremonies were over, they left the cathedral at two in the afternoon.

Toledo, 16 August 1486

On Wednesday, August 16 of said year of 1486, twenty-five people were burned at the stake: twenty men and five women. Among those burned were Dr. Alonso Cota (a resident of Toledo), an alderman, a public prosecutor, a commander of the Order of Santiago, and other persons of high social standing. And they brought them out in this way: on foot and with conical miters on their heads, dressed in *sanbenitos* of yellow linen with the name of each one written on the *sanbenito*.² They read thus: "So and so, condemned heretic." Their hands were tied to the backs of their necks with pieces of rope. And

2. The *sanbenito* was a defamatory penitential garment that clearly indicated that its wearer had been convicted of heresy. Wearing the *sanbenito* for a certain period whenever the penitent went out in public was one of the punishments meted out to those reconciled. After the garment had been worn for the period specified by the Inquisition or after the execution of the condemned, the *sanbenito* was hung in the parish church with the heretic's name inscribed on it, so that everyone could see it. In this way the infamy of one generation was passed on to future generations.

they were brought to the square, where there was a tiered platform, upon which they were seated in order. And facing it was another platform where the inquisitors, notaries, and other people were [seated]. And there in public the dossier and the Judaizing acts of each one were read in a loud voice. And at the end of each dossier they proclaimed and condemned each one as a heretic and turned him over to the forces of justice and secular powers. And they spent from six in the morning until noon reading the dossiers. And when they had finished reading the dossiers, they turned them [the heretics] over to the secular authorities. And from there they were brought to the plain [outside the city], where they were burned, for not even a single bone remained that had not been burned to ashes.

B. Inquisitorial Trials of Inés López (1495–1496, 1511–1512)

Translated from Castilian by Ronald Surz

Inés López was born in 1464 or 1466 to the shoemaker Diego López de Almadóvar and his wife Elyvra González. She was tried twice by the Inquisition, once in 1495–1496 and again in 1511–1512. In 1494, when Inés was about twenty-nine, she married Alonso de Aguilera, but she was already a widow by the time her first trial began a year later. The couple had no children and Inés never remarried. There was no particular social or legal reason to prevent her from taking a second husband because Spanish law permitted remarriage after a year of mourning. Perhaps Inés preferred the relative freedom she could enjoy as a widow. Spanish law allowed widows to keep their own property and the dowry they brought to marriage.¹ Inés could thus live financially independent and subject to the will of no man.

Inés was about thirty years old at the time of her arrest. She was not the only member of her family to have dealings with the Inquisition. Her father, who died in 1481 when Inés was about eighteen, was tried posthumously in 1484–1485. He was absolved, thanks to the efforts of his daughters, his son-in-law, and a good lawyer.² Inés's mother was also brought before the Inquisition and made to abjure her crimes of heresy. Inés's sister Leonor was tried in 1495–1496 and found guilty of Judaizing. She was condemned to life imprisonment and to public abjuration of her Jewish practices. Inés's sisters Mayor and Violante were also tried by the Inquisition. Violante was burned at the stake in 1494, the year before Inés's own trial.

More than a formal trial in the modern sense, an Inquisitorial trial was a series of

Translated from *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, edited by Haim Beinart 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1985), 2:59–125.

1. María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, "La condición de la viuda en el medievo castellano-leonés," in *Las mujeres en las ciudades medievales*, ed. Cristina Segura Graño (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1984), pp. 87–101.

2. This was more than an instance of filial piety, for had the father been found guilty, his property — his children's inheritance — would have been confiscated and the whole family shamed.

audiences. The accused was never told the reasons for his or her imprisonment. Instead, he or she was given three warnings, over a period of weeks, to confess. This was a strategy the Inquisition used to elicit spontaneous confessions of unreported instances of heresy. In her three confessions, Inés López submitted to observing some Jewish precepts, many of which had less to do with beliefs than with social and culinary customs. (RS)

Confession of 22 October 1495

Most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, a resident of Ciudad Real, wife of the late Alonso de Aguilera, appear before Your Reverences with the greatest contrition and repentance for my sins of which I am capable, and I beg Our Lord Jesus Christ for His pardon and mercy, and I beg of Your Reverences a saving penance for my soul, and for those [sins] that I have committed by which I have offended My Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Catholic Faith, which are the following in this manner:

I declare, My Lords, that I did not do servile work on some Saturdays, and on Saturdays I put on clean clothes. And sometimes I ate food that was prepared on Friday for Saturday, and I lit candles on Friday evening in accordance with Jewish ritual.

Likewise, I observed some of the Jewish fasts, [fasting] until nightfall. Moreover, I sometimes observed Jewish holidays, when I found out about them from a cousin of mine named Isabel de Lobón, when I was [staying] with her, for she was a widow. And she told me to do so for the benefit of my soul, especially [to observe] Passover, for the aforementioned Isabel de Lobón every so often gave me [unleavened bread], warning me not to tell anyone. The aforementioned Isabel de Lobón has left Villarreal [Ciudad Real]; for where, no one knows.¹

Likewise, I removed the fat from meat whenever I could.

Likewise, My Lords, I declare that I ate on low tables at funeral banquets. . . .

Additional Confession of 14 January 1496

My most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, daughter of Diego López, a resident of Ciudad Real, appear before Your Reverences to say that, because I had made a confession of the sins I had committed against Our Lord in which I said that if any further sin came to mind I would declare and reveal it, I now declare, My Lords, that what I further remember is the following:

1. By accusing her cousin Isabel, Inés was able to satisfy the tribunal's demand that she report instances of heresy. However, Inés was able to do so without actually incriminating anyone, for Isabel had already fled from Spain and was safely ensconced in Constantinople.

I declare and confess to Your Reverences that on some Friday nights my sister [Violante], the [wife] of [Pedro de] San Román, and I tidied up the house and cooked Saturday's food on those nights. We did this sometimes, and other times we didn't, so that we wouldn't be found out, etc.

Moreover, My Lords, I had little desire to eat pork, and when I could, I didn't eat it, and neither did my aforementioned sister, who told me that I shouldn't eat [it] nor anything cooked with it because I was younger than she.

Moreover, My Lords, sometimes when I went to Mass it was my custom and habit to chatter and not to pray . . .

Moreover, My Lords, on Sundays and holidays I sometimes sewed things I needed and also performed other tasks . . .

Moreover, My Lords, on days of abstinence in Lent and the vigils of other holidays and on ember days, I often prepared and ate food, and I saw that my aforementioned sisters ate meat and other [forbidden] delicacies.

Moreover, My Lords, I declare that when my father died, I saw Diego Díez's wife and Sezilla, the wife of Martín González, put a pot of water in the parlor where [his body] was. I don't know why, except that I heard it said that it was to bathe my aforementioned father, who was dirty. And I placed a basin of water and a cloth in said parlor—I don't remember who told me to do so, except that I believe that it was Mayor Alvarez, my sister, who was there.²

Moreover, I often lit candles on Friday nights in San Román's house, because I usually lived with San Román and his wife, my sister, for I was twelve or fifteen years old.

Moreover, my Lords, I saw that my mother did not spin on Saturdays, and I saw this during the whole time that I lived [with her]. . . .

Addition of 19 January 1496

My most reverend Lords:

I, Inés López, a resident of Ciudad Real, appear before Your Reverences and declare that, in addition to what I have declared and confessed to you, I often porged meat³ and removed the tendons from legs of lamb.

On 17 September 1496 Inés was sentenced to be reconciled in an auto de fe. As part of her sentence, Inés was required to wear a sanbenito whenever she went out in public. Inés was also sentenced to life imprisonment. This punishment actually meant a sort of house arrest, and even that was seldom enforced.⁴ Also, such sentences were

2. According to Jewish custom, the bodies of the deceased were washed before burial.

3. That is, she removed the forbidden fat, veins, and sinews according to Jewish ritual.

4. Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 186–187.

often committed upon payment of a fine. In any case, after her reconciliation and despite her sentence of life imprisonment, Inés seems to have enjoyed relative freedom of movement. Nonetheless, she continued to engage in Jewish religious practices and made some imprudent statements, which, in time, were duly noted and reported to the Inquisition by her friends and neighbors. Fifteen years after her first trial, Inés's imprudence caught up with her. On 4 June 1511, the Inquisitorial Court met in Toledo and, deeming the evidence sufficient for a trial, ordered the arrest of Inés López. She was imprisoned, and her property was confiscated.

Arraignment: 16 September 1511

I. First, that the aforementioned Inés López, after her aforementioned false reconciliation and abjuration, often and at many times and in many places disclaimed the confession that she had spontaneously made, declaring and affirming that she had never perpetrated or committed the crimes of heresy that she had confessed to and for which she was reconciled, and [declaring] that false witnesses had imputed [such crimes] to her and to others, and that she had never done or committed such things, saying: "See how my life hangs on the words of a drunken man or a drunken woman" and that the Lord should preserve her from false witnesses, always declaring and affirming that she had never done any of those things for which she had been reconciled, and that she had only been reconciled so that they wouldn't burn her at the stake, . . .

II. Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, after her reconciliation and abjuration, defended and continued to defend many condemned heretics, declaring and affirming that they had been unjustly condemned, that they were no heretics, except that they had been falsely accused and condemned without their deserving it; in particular, she said that her mother and her sisters, who had been condemned, had been unjustly condemned, for they were good Christians and had not committed any crime of heresy whatsoever that would justify their being burned at the stake. . . .

[III. Inés is also accused of defending certain deceased "heretics" whose bodies were discovered to be shrouded in the Jewish manner and buried without any crosses.]

IV. Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, often speaking after her reconciliation about the Inquisition and about heretics, said that everything had been fabricated by false witnesses and that the Inquisition had been set up for the sole purpose of extracting money and robbing them . . .

V. Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López did not know how to cross herself nor did she ever cross herself, until such time eight or ten months ago when they said that the Inquisition was coming to Ciudad Real.

And afterwards, if she ever did make the sign of the cross, it was not done as a Christian, crossing herself and saying "In the name of the Father and of the Son, etc." And if ever they got her to say "In the name of the Father," she was reluctant and even refused to say "and of the Son" or "of the Holy Spirit."⁵

VI. Moreover, that the aforementioned Inés López, an unbeliever and a mocker of our holy Catholic Christian faith and of the things of the Church and the Eucharist, sometimes when she returned from hearing mass, which she only attended in order to look good in the eyes of her neighbors, would make jokes, saying that she had come from such and such a church and that she had heard a smoked mass, which she said because they had used incense, . . .

Inés was never told the names of those who had testified against her. However, as was standard procedure, on 17 February 1512, the judges gave the defense fifteen days to produce a list of tachas, that is, enemies of Inés López whose testimony should be discounted as biased. This section of the trial offers a glimpse of everyday life in a medieval Spanish village with all its gossip and petty arguments.

Questionnaire for Tachas Witnesses

IV. Moreover, if they know, etc., that the aforementioned Catalina Alonso was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López and has hatred and enmity towards her, because a daughter of the aforementioned Catalina Alonso was living with the aforementioned Inés López and the aforementioned Catalina Alonso removed her from the house, which caused them to quarrel, and the aforementioned Catalina Alonso went around saying that Inés López should be burned at the stake. And they also quarreled because the aforementioned Catalina Alonso stole a kneading trough from the aforementioned Inés López. . . .

VI. Moreover, if they know, etc., that Teresa Muñoz and the sacristan of Santa María and Catalina García, a companion of the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz, were and continue to be enemies of the aforementioned Inés López, because the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz stole two pieces of ribbon from the aforementioned Inés López, who quarreled with her and called her a whore and a procurer and a sorceress, as she is, for she [Teresa] procured a daughter of Pedro Amarillo for the aforementioned sacristan, and likewise she [Inés] quarreled with the aforementioned Catalina García because she [Catalina] had the aforementioned Teresa Muñoz [living] in her house, which is why all three had it in for her [Inés].

5. This practice was common among Judaizing *conversos* because they abhorred the notion of three divinities embodied in the Christian Trinity and preferred to pray to one God only, in this case the Father.

VII. Also, if they know, etc., that the aforementioned Juana de Torres, a holy woman, was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López because she [Juana] stole a lace-trimmed piece of cloth from her, and she fell out [with her] over that, and [also] because the aforementioned Inés López discovered and disclosed that the aforementioned Juana de Torres had given birth [out of wedlock] to a son and a daughter, and out of enmity she [Inés] made the whole matter public, and from that moment on they [Juana and her children] had great enmity towards her. . . .

IX. Also, if they know that the aforementioned Alonso de Carmona [Camargo] was and continues to be an enemy of the aforementioned Inés López and holds hatred and enmity towards her, because while the aforementioned Camargo was away traveling, the aforementioned Inés López lived in Camargo's house, and as soon as she took possession of it, she made off with a wardrobe she was renting from him, concerning which the aforementioned Alonso de Camargo summoned the aforementioned Inés López to appear in court, and also concerning a certain pile of manure that she left in the house, about which they fell out and ended up enemies. . . .

XVI. Also, Catalina de Salzedo is her enemy, because she adopted the honorific title "Doña" and the aforementioned Inés López said: "Confound it!" for since she [Catalina] was the daughter of a purse-maker, she had no right to call herself "Doña." And the aforementioned Catalina de Salzedo found out about it and showed and continued to show enmity toward her. . . .

XXII. Also, Marina, the wife of Montegudo is her enemy, because when she was Montegudo's mistress, the two of them quarreled and the aforementioned Inés López called the aforementioned Marina a whore. . . .

XXVIII. Also, if they know that Elvira González, mother of the aforementioned Inés López, was and continues to be her enemy, for she would say publicly that the aforementioned Inés López was no daughter of hers, and she [Elvira] is a woman who often has bouts of delirium.

In Toledo on 1 March and 2 March 1512, witnesses testified that to the best of their knowledge the persons Inés claimed were hostile to her were not, in fact, her enemies. On 3 July and 5 July the Inquisitors met and noted that Inés's property be confiscated and that she be turned over to the secular authorities to be burned at the stake.

60. MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS IN VALENCIA

A. Socializing and Violence on Corpus Christi Day (1491)

Translated from Catalan by Mark Meyerson

Many historians would maintain that by the later fifteenth century Christian-Muslim coexistence in the Spanish Christian kingdoms was practically impossible for a number of reasons: Christians despised Muslims as infidels; Christians feared the Muslims in their midst as a fifth column who would aid the Christian kingdoms' Muslim enemies when the opportunity presented itself; Muslims in regions like the kingdom of Valencia could speak only Arabic and therefore could not socialize with Christians; and Christians had grown more intolerant of non-Christians in general. The following excerpts suggest that this viewpoint is debatable and that the state of Muslim-Christian relations was more complex. These excerpts are from the trial of Azen Muzá, a Muslim accused of murdering another Muslim, Abdalla Centido, who had killed his half brother. The murderer took place as Christians and Muslims were watching the Corpus Christi procession together. The attendance of members of both faiths at an important Christian religious festival indicates the breaching of religious and social barriers. However, the readiness of Christians to take up arms against the Muslims after the murder had been committed points to the fragility of the modus vivendi between Muslims and Christians. (MM)

On 3 June 1491, before the court of the bailiff general of the kingdom of Valencia, Mariem, widow of the murdered Abdalla Centido, and Abdalla's two sisters, Axa and Nuça, all Muslims of the village of Alacuas, with the assistance of the royal prosecutors, make the following accusations against the defendant Azen Muzá, Muslim of the village of Serra.

... Some time ago the defendant had conceived, for no reason, great hatred, rancor, and ill will against the said Abdalla Centido, thinking about how he might kill him or gravely wound him. And this is true and public knowledge.

... On the day of Corpus Christi—on which day is made a great celebration and ceremony of the precious body of our [the scribe's] Lord God Jesus Christ [and] on which day many Muslims and Christians from diverse parts of the kingdom come to see the great celebration—the said Abdalla Centido, along with his wife and others from the village of Alacuas, came to the present city [of Valencia] to see the said celebration simply and without any fear of the said defendant. And this is true and public knowledge. . . . The said defendant, knowing that the said Abdalla Centido was in the present city to see the

celebration without fear of him and therefore without carrying arms, seized a large dagger and went searching for the said victim [Abdalla] in the *bogeria* [pursemaking center] and other places where the Corpus Christi procession passed in order to kill him. And this is true and public knowledge. . . . The defendant, seeing the said Abdalla Centido standing near the butcher shop of the *moreña* [Muslim quarter] and watching the said procession, drew his dagger from under his cape and approached Abdalla Centido. . . . And so the said defendant . . . stabbed Abdalla Centido in the chest . . . from which the said Abdalla Centido quickly died and passed from the present life into the next. And this is true and public knowledge.

... Because of the very foul deed committed by the said defendant on the person of the said Abdalla Centido, a great disturbance was caused in the present city, especially in the *bogeria*, *moreña*, and other places near where the said foul deed was done, inasmuch as all the [Christian] people moved to take arms against the Muslims. Were it not for the assistance of the officials of the present city, a very great inconvenience would have occurred in the present city. And this is true and public knowledge.

On 7 June 1491, witnesses for the prosecution testify. The following is the testimony of Miguel de la Serra, a Christian tailor of Valencia.

And he said that it is true that on the day that the said Centido, Muslim, arrived in the present city of Valencia it was the day of Corpus Christi. In the morning he [Abdalla Centido] came with other Muslim lads to eat in the home of the witness . . . and while they ate the said [Muslim] lads said they were from Chiva [Alacuas]; the witness was incorrect], and they asked the said witness and others to accompany them to the celebration. . . . And so the said witness and the others went with them. And while they were watching a certain wagon or float [on which biblical stories were enacted for the edification of the crowd] they heard a commotion; and then the said witness went towards the commotion and discovered how the said Centido had been stabbed.

On 9 June 1491, another witness for the prosecution, Joan de Bolea, a Christian weaver of Valencia, made the following testimony.

... The said witness along with a neighbor named Bernat Canon [another Christian weaver] came [to watch the Corpus Christi procession] in the company of certain Muslims from Alacuas and of the deceased Muslim [Abdalla Centido], who said they had come to see the celebration. When they were

Translated from Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia, Bailiff General, Reg. 1431, fols. 64v-99r (3-28 June 1491).

near the butcher shop of the *morería*, the said deceased Muslim said that the sun was in his face and that they should move to the shade. And so the said witness and the said Bernat Canon and the said deceased Muslim moved to the wall of the house of the apothecary Monsoñu, and the three of them leaned there and spoke among themselves. . . . And so the said witness, while he was there with him [Abdalla Centido], saw coming behind him a Muslim dressed in a cape [Açen Muça]; the Muslim came on furiously . . . and with great violence stabbed the said deceased Muslim in the chest. And the said witness stood there shocked, and then turned towards the victim and saw a great amount of blood gushing from his chest. And then the witness ran after the said Muslim [Açen Muça] to apprehend him.

On 28 June 1491, the bailiff general finds Açen Muça guilty of the murder of Abdalla Centido and sentences him to have his right hand amputated in the place where he committed the murder, to pay a fine of 200 morabatinis—100 to the royal authorities and 100 to the heirs of Abdalla Centido—and to banishment from the kingdom of Valencia. Among the factors considered by the bailiff was the fact that the murder had been committed by "an infidel on a day so solemn and of such great celebration, in honor and reverence of the holy body of our Lord Redeemer Jesus Christ, and in the place of the procession and celebration and in such great disregard of the said holiday and with commotion, disturbance, and danger of scandal in the present city."

B. Confessions of a Muslim Prostitute (1491)

Translated from Catalan by Mark Meyerson

The religious and social order of the Spanish Christian kingdoms left Muslim women particularly vulnerable to exploitation by Christian men. According to the laws of the kingdom of Valencia (the Fuero), if a Muslim man slept with a Christian woman, both parties were to be burned alive; however, if a Christian man slept with a Muslim woman, the Christian man received no punishment at all, while the woman was punished according to Islamic law for fornication or adultery—that is, by flogging or death by stoning. The royal authorities usually commuted these Islamic penalties to enslavement to the crown. Muslim women thus enslaved were then sold and frequently forced into prostitution by their Christian masters. The royal policy regarding prostitution—Muslim or Christian—was to license it, regulate it, and tax it. By the fifteenth century, the royal authorities seem to have become avid to acquire Muslim prostitutes in particular to staff royal brothels. However, they went beyond apprehending the few Muslim women who had slept with Christian men. Realizing that in Muslim society the honor of the

Translated from Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia, Bailiff General, Register 1431, fols. 57r–61v (23 June 1491).

family was to a significant degree dependent on the sexual purity of its womenfolk and that Muslim women who had been involved in premarital or adulterous liaisons with Muslim men were spurned by their own families and communities and then condemned by Islamic courts, the royal authorities focused their attention on these marginalized Muslim women and again intervened to commute the Islamic penalties to enslavement to the crown. Royal mercy often meant a life of prostitution for these women. (MM)

[23 June 1491] Confessions exacted from the prostitute Mariem, Muslim woman [*morra*] of Alasquer [in the kingdom of Valencia].

First she was asked her name. She answered that it is Mariem.

She was asked whose daughter she is. She answered that she is the daughter of Yuseff Algumeli, Muslim of the village of Alasquer.

She was asked how she came here [that is, to the city of Valencia]. She answered that it was because of her mother, for her mother had forced her to return to her husband.

She was asked with whom did she come [to Valencia]. She answered that [she came] with a procurer by the name of Cutaydal [a Muslim], whose place of origin, she said, is unknown to her.

She was asked if she is with that one [Cutaydal] freely or by compulsion. She answered that presently she is no longer with him, since he mistreated her; however, previously she was and came with him out of her own free will, for he had promised to make her his wife.

She was asked if he [Cutaydal] put her to work [as a prostitute] with her free consent or by compulsion. She answered that in the beginning she, the said defendant, traveled with the said Cutaydal voluntarily, for he had promised to make her his wife.

She was asked if she, the said defendant, is in the brothel voluntarily or if the said Cutaydal was forcing her to be there. And she answered that before she, the said defendant, became a prostitute, the said Cutaydal threatened her, telling her that the agents of the Lord Cardinal [of Valencia; a major landholder in the kingdom with a reputation for mistreating Muslims] would enslave her. And therefore it was decided [by Mariem and Cutaydal] that she should be sold to the noble Don Altobello [de Centelles] and that thus she would be secure [that is, safe from the Cardinal's men as Don Altobello's slave, a more benign master]. And so she was led to believe that she had been sold to Don Altobello, and thus they have put her in the brothel. And thus she has had to endure being there and is there voluntarily.

She was asked if she would like to return to the custody of her husband or of her mother and return to freedom, instead of being where she is. She answered that she does not wish to return to her husband, but that she desires to return to her mother rather than being where she is.

She was asked for what quantity [of money] she was sold to the said Don Altabello. She answered that the said Cutaydal led her to believe that he had sold her for twenty pounds, but that the said Don Altabello has told her that it was for thirty pounds.

She was asked what she does with her earnings [from prostitution]. She answered that she has worked for two days, and that everything she earns she gives to Don Altabello. And that he [Don Altabello] has told her that he will take her earnings into account toward her ransom.

She was asked if she has taken any clothing or jewelry from the said village of Alasquer. She answered that she has not taken anything other than the clothes she is wearing.

Mariem is released into the custody of Cahat Belbis and Yuceff Maymo, commanders of the Muslim community of Valencia, and of the representative of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, the lord of Alasquer. The questioning of Mariem resumes on 4 July 1491.

She was asked if she is married and has a husband. She answered yes, she was married with a letter of *ṣādāq* [Arabic, dower], according to the custom of the Muslims. Her husband is named Mahomat Jahupi.

She was asked if she has worked [as a prostitute] and has committed adultery with any Muslim in the present city of Valencia. She answered that she has been a prostitute and has worked in the brothel of the *morería* [Muslim quarter] of Valencia.

She was asked if she had committed adultery before she was put in the brothel of the *morería* of Valencia. She answered yes, that is, that she slept with the said Cutaydal in the city of Valencia.

She was asked if she was adhering to the aforesaid confessions. She answered yes, that she will always adhere to them.

Juan Sobrevero, the representative of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, lord of Alasquer, appears before the bailiff general and argues that Mariem was unlawfully sold to Don Altabello de Centelles, since she was a free vassal of Don Rodrigo. Sobrevero also produces evidence that Mariem purchased a license to practice prostitution from the bailiff general, and maintains that therefore she cannot be penalized for unlicensed prostitution. The bailiff general concurs with Sobrevero's arguments and nullifies the sale of Mariem to Don Altabello. He frees Mariem to practice prostitution or to return to her parents or husband.

61. THE CHRISTIAN CONQUEST OF GRANADA (1492)

A. Hernando del Pulgar (1436–1492), *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla* (1492)

Translated from Castilian by Teofilo Ruiz

In the last days of 1491, with the city of Granada besieged by Christian armies, its ruler, Boabdil, began to negotiate the surrender of his kingdom. Hernando del Pulgar's chronicle provides a brief but dramatic narrative of the Christians' victorious entry into the city and of the end of Muslim rule in the peninsula on 2 January 1492. His account captures the emotional character of the closing of the reconquista and inscribes the ethnic culture of the age. (TR)

In the month of December, not having enough provisions left, the citizens of Granada requested a parlay with the Christians. The negotiations [between the Muslims and the Christians] lasted thirty days and on 30 December [1491], the Moors surrendered the fortresses held by their king—the most important of which was the Alhambra—to the king Don Ferdinand and to the queen Doña Isabella. The terms of the treaty allowed the Moors to keep their religion and property, as well as other privileges. The Moors also gave concessions [to the Christians] and, to guarantee the surrender of the fortresses and of all their weapons, many of Granada's most important citizens were surrendered as hostages.

A mad Moor went around the streets of Granada, clamoring for the people of Granada to reject the treaty, and so many followed him that the Moorish king [Boabdil] did not dare to leave. Thus, on Saturday, the king of Granada gathered his counselors, as well as those in the city who were rioting. He spoke to them with such words as to pacify them, explaining that the time was already past for such actions, because they no longer had the supplies to withstand the Christian siege. Since they [the people of Granada] had no hope of help and had given hostages, resistance would bring harm rather than any remedy. Having said that, the Moorish king returned to the Alhambra, which he had agreed to surrender on the Day of the Epiphany [6 January 1492]. And [then] the Moorish king wrote to the [Christian] king to give as

Translated from Hernando del Pulgar, "Crónica de los señores reyes católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel," in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla* III, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 70 (Madrid: Atlas, 1953), pp. 510–511.

surance that he would comply with the terms of surrender and advising that it be carried out as soon as possible.

Reading this, on 2 January the king and queen led their army to Granada. The queen, the prince [the infante] heir to the throne, and the infanta Doña Juana remained on a hill overlooking Granada, while the king and his men rode to a place across the river Genil from the city. The Moorish king came out to surrender [to King Ferdinand] the keys of the city. While doing so, Boabdil tried to descend from his horse and kiss Don Ferdinand's hand, which the Christian king did not allow. Instead Boabdil kissed the king's arm and gave him the keys [to the city]. And Don Ferdinand gave them to the count of Tendilla, to whom he had given authority [*alcaydía*] over Granada and to Don Gutierre de Cardenas, *comendador* major of León. They [these two officials and their troops] entered the Alhambra; on top of the tower of Comares they raised the cross and the royal banners, and the heralds cried out: "Granada, Granada for the kings Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella."

Once the queen saw the cross, her clergymen sang a *Tè Deum laudamus*. And such was the happiness that they all began to cry. Later [that day] all the great lords, who were with the king, went to where the queen was and kissed her hand [in obeisance] as queen of Granada. And next to the royal banners also rose the banner of the Order of Santiago which had been brought to Granada by the Master of the Order.

B. Capitulations of Granada (1491)

Translated from Castilian by L. P. Harvey

Versions of this text survive in both Arabic and Castilian, but the Castilian versions are by far the more complete and include official transcripts dating from 1492. The text records the terms for the surrender of Granada laid out in 1491 and arrangements for the subsequent treatment of its Muslim inhabitants. Because of the length of the text, some clauses have been translated in full (indicated by [F]) whereas others have been summarized (indicated by [S]). (ORC)

"Firstly that the Moorish king and his *alcaldes* [sic] and lawyers, judges, *mufitís*, ministers, learned men, military leaders, good men, and all the common folk of the city of Granada and of its Albaicín and other suburbs will in love, peace, goodwill, and with all truthfulness in their dealings and their

Introductory information derived from L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1200-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 314-315. English text reprinted from the same volume, pp. 315-321, with permission of the publisher.

actions yield and surrender to their highnesses, or to a person by them appointed, within forty days from this date, the fortress of the Alhambra and the Alhizan with all towers, gates to the city and the Albaicín and to suburbs connecting directly with the open country, so that they may occupy them in their name with their own troops, at their own free will, on condition that orders be issued to the justices that they should not permit the Christians to climb onto the wall between the Alcazaba and the Albaicín from where the houses of the Moors may be seen; and if anybody should climb up there, he should be punished immediately and sternly." [F]

2. The second clause related to the arrangements for the actual surrender: it should be carried out within forty days "freely and spontaneously," and in order to ensure against trouble, one day before the actual handover, Yánufo b. Kumásha (Aben Comixa) and fifty other hostages from important families should give themselves up (once the city, etc., was surrendered, they were to be released). [F]

3. Isabella, Ferdinand, and Prince Juan (their son) would after the surrender accept all Granadans, from King Abi Abdilehi (Boabdil) down, "great and small, men and women," as their vassals and natural subjects. In return the monarchs guaranteed to let them remain in their "houses, estates and hereditaments now and for all time and for ever, nor would they allow any harm to be done to them without due legal process and without cause, nor would they have their estates and property nor any part thereof taken from them, rather would they be honored and respected by all their vassals." [S]

4. To avoid creating an uproar (*escándalo*), those who came to take over the Alhambra would enter by two named gates or from the side facing the country. [S]

5. The same day that Boabdil surrendered the fortresses, the king and queen would return to him his son and all the other hostages and their families, unless they had turned Christian. [S]

6. "Their highnesses and their successors will ever afterwards [*para siempre jamás*] allow King Abi Abdilehi and his *alcaldes*, judges, *mufitís*, *alguaciles*, military leaders, and good men, and all the common people, great or small, to live in their own religion, and not permit that their mosques be taken from them, nor their minarets nor their muezzins, nor will they interfere with the pious foundations or endowments which they have for such purposes, nor will they disturb the uses and customs which they observe." [F]

7. "The Moors shall be judged in their laws and law suits according to the code of the *shari'ra* which it is their custom to respect, under the jurisdiction of their judges and *qādis*." [F]

8. "Neither now nor at any future time will their arms or their horses be

taken from them, with the exception of cannons, both large and small, which they will within a short space of time hand over to whomsoever their highnesses appoint for that purpose." [F]

9. "Those Moors, both great and small, men and women, whether from Granada or from the Alpujarras and all other places, who may wish to go to live in Barbary or to such other places as they see fit, may sell their property, whether it be real estate or goods and chattels, in any manner and to whomsoever they like, and their highnesses will at no time take them away, or take them from those who may have bought them." [S]

10. Those who wished to leave with their families and all their possessions of any kind whatsoever, except firearms, might do so. Those wishing to cross immediately might make use of the ten large ships provided for the purpose for the next seventy days from the port of their choice to "those ports of Barbary where Christian merchants normally trade." After this, and for three years, ships would be made available free at fifty days' notice. [S]

11. After the end of the three years, they should be free to go, but would have to pay one ducat a head and also the cost of the passage. [S]

12. If those going to Barbary were not able to sell their real estate in Granada (etc.) they could leave it in the hands of a trustee who would be entirely free to remit to Barbary any proceeds. [S]

13. "Neither their highnesses nor the Prince Juan their son nor those who may follow after them for all time will give instructions that those Moors who are their vassals shall be obliged to wear distinctive marks like those worn by the Jews." [F]

14. Neither Boabdil nor any other Moor of Granada would have to pay taxes on their houses, etc., for three years, they would simply have to pay a tax of one-tenth in August and in autumn and one-tenth on cattle in their possession in April and May "as the Christians are accustomed to pay." [S]

15. All Christian captives were to be handed over at the moment of surrender, with no entitlement for ransom or compensation, although if the Granadan owner of the captive had taken him to North Africa and already sold him before the Capitulations came into force, he would not have to hand him back. [S]

16. Boabdil and his principal officers, etc., were exempt from having their transport animals requisitioned for any form of service (apart from work willingly undertaken for payment). [S]

17. No Christians might enter mosques where the Muslims perform their prayer without permission of the *alfaguiles*: anyone entering otherwise was to be punished. [S]

18. Their highnesses would not permit the Jews to have power or command over the Moors, or to be collectors of any tax. [S]

19. King Boabdil and all his dignitaries, and all the common people of Granada, etc., would be well treated by their highnesses and their ministers, "and that what they have to say will be listened to, and their customs and rites will be preserved, and all *alcaldes* and *alfaguiles* will be allowed to collect their incomes and enjoy their preeminences and their liberties such as by custom they enjoy, and it is only right that they should continue to enjoy." [S]

20. "Their highnesses order that the Moors should not against their will have boarders forced upon them, nor have their linen, or their poultry or their animals or supplies of any sort taken from them." [F]

21. "Law suits which arise between Moors will be judged by their law *shari'a*, which they call of the *sunna*, and by their *qadis* and judges, as they customarily have, but if the suit should arise between a Christian and a Moor, then it will be judged by a Christian judge and a Moorish *qadi*, in order that neither side may have any grounds for complaint against the sentence." [F]

22. No Moor may be tried for another. [S]

23. A general pardon would be accorded to Moors found in the prison of Hamet Abi Ali "his vassal," and neither they nor the villages of Captil would be prosecuted for any Christians they had killed, nor would any harm be done to them, nor would they have to restore stolen goods. [S]

24. Any Moorish captives in Christian hands who succeeded in fleeing to Granada or other places included in these Capitulations would become free, and their owners were barred from attempts to recover them making use of the law. Not included under this clause were Canary Islanders, and negroes from "the islands" (Cape Verde). [S]

25. "That the Moors will not be obliged to give or pay more tribute to their highnesses than they used to give to the Moorish kings." [F]

26. Any Granadan Moors in North Africa could, if they wished, be included in the terms of the Capitulations; they had three years to return if they wished to do so. (If they had had Christian slaves and sold them, they would not be obliged to return them or the money so obtained.) [S]

27. If any Moor were to go to North Africa and then find he did not like the way of life, he could return and have all the benefits of the Capitulations, so long as he returned within three years. [S]

28. Any Moors accepting the Capitulations who wished to cross to North Africa for purposes of trade would be freely permitted to do so; also to any places in Castile or Andalusia, with no tolls to pay other than those commonly paid by Christians. [S]

29. Nobody would be permitted to abuse by word or by deed any Christian man or woman who before the date of the Capitulations had turned Moor, and if any Moor had taken a renegade for his wife, she would not be forced to become a Christian against her will, but might be questioned in the

presence of Christians and Moors, and be allowed to follow her own will; the same was to be understood of children born of a Christian mother and a Moor. [S]

30. "No Moor will be forced to become Christian against his or her will, and if for reasons of love an unmarried girl or a married woman or a widow should wish to become Christian, she will not be received [into the church] until she has been questioned. And if she has taken away from her parents' house clothing or jewels, these will be restored to the rightful owner, and guilty persons will be dealt with by the law." [F]

31. Neither the King Abi Abdilehi nor any of the Muslims included in the Capitulations might be called to account for any cattle, property, etc., taken during the war, whether from Christians or from Muslims who were Mudéjars or who were not Mudéjars. If any persons recognized objects as theirs, they were not entitled to ask for them back and indeed could be punished if they did. [S]

32. If any Moor had wounded or insulted any Christian man or woman held in captivity, no legal proceedings could be instituted against him ever. [S]

33. After the initial three-year tax holiday the Muslims would not have heavier taxes imposed on them than was just, bearing in mind value and quality. [S]

34. "The judges, *alcaldes*, and governors which their highnesses appoint in the city and region of Granada will be persons such as will honor the Moors and treat them kindly [*amorosamente*], and continue to respect these Capitulations. And if anyone should do anything which he ought not to do, their highnesses will have him moved from his post and punished." [F]

35. Neither Boabdil nor anybody else would be called to account for things done before the city surrendered. [S]

36. "No *alcaldé*, squire, or servant of the King al-Zagal may hold any office or command at any time over the Moors of Granada." [F]

37. As a favor to King Abi Abdilehi and the inhabitants both men and women of Granada, the Albaicín, and other suburbs [no mention of the Alpujarras here], they would give orders for the release of all Moorish prisoners, whether male or female, without any payment at all: those in Andalusia within five months, those in Castile, eight. Within two days of the handover by the Moors of any Christian captives in Granada, their highnesses would have two hundred Moorish men and women released. "And in addition we will place at liberty Aben Adrami, who is held by Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba, and Hozmin [ʿUthmān] who is held by the count of Tendilla, and Ben Reduan, held by the count of Cabra, and Aben Mueden and the *alfaguís* Hademi's son, all of them leading residents of Granada, also the five *escuderos*

who were taken when Brahem Abencerrax [Ibrāhīm Ibn Sarrāj] was defeated, if their whereabouts can be discovered." [S]

38. The Moors of the Alpujarras who had accepted vassalage would surrender all their Christian captives within two weeks for no payment. [S]

39. "Their highnesses will order that the customs of the Moors relating to inheritances will be respected, and in such matters the judges will be their own *qāḍīs*." [F]

40. "All Moors other than those included in this agreement who desire to enter their highnesses' service within thirty days may do so and enjoy all the benefits of it, other than the three-year period of tax exemption." [F]

41. "The pious endowments [*habices*] and the emoluments of the mosques, and the alms and other things customarily given to colleges [*madrasas*] and schools where children are taught will be the responsibility of the *alfagués*, to distribute them as they see fit, and their highnesses and their ministers will not interfere in this nor any aspect of it, nor will they give orders with regard to their confiscation or sequestration at any time ever in the future." [F]

42. North African ships in Granadan ports would, so long as they carried no Christian captives, be free to leave, and while in port were free from vexation and requisition of property, but they must submit to inspection on departure. [S]

43. Muslims would not be conscripted for military service against their will, and if their highnesses wished to recruit cavalry [no mention of infantry] for service in Andalusia, they would be paid from the day they left home until the date of return. [S]

44. No changes would be made in regulations affecting water courses and irrigation channels, and anybody throwing any unclean thing in a channel would be prosecuted. [S]

45. If any Moorish captive had arranged for someone else to stand as proxy for him in captivity and had then absconded, neither of them would have to pay a ransom. [S]

46. Nobody as a result of the change of sovereignty would be allowed to escape from contractual debt obligations. [S]

47. Christian slaughterhouses would be separated from Muslim ones. [S]

48. "The Jews native to Granada, Albaicín, and other suburbs, and of the Alpujarras and all other places contained in these Capitulations, will benefit from them, on condition that those who do not become Christians cross to North Africa within three years counting from December 8 of this year." [F]

"And their highnesses will give orders for the totality of the contents of these Capitulations to be observed from the day when the fortresses of Gra-

nada are surrendered onwards. To which effect they have commanded that their royal charter and deed should be signed with their names and sealed with their seal and witnessed by Hernando de Zafra their secretary, and have so done, dated in the *vęga* of Granada on this 28th day of the month of November of the year of our salvation 1491." [F]

C. *Nubdhat al-'aşr*

Translated from Arabic by L. P. Harvey

There is much less information on the surrender of Granada from the Muslim point of view than that provided by Christian sources. However, the anonymous Arabic chronicle Nubdhat al-'aşr describes the process of public debate that led to the decision to surrender the city to Ferdinand and Isabella. (ORC)

When the month of Safar of the year in question [897 = 1491] came, the situation of the people became very much worse because of starvation and lack of food supplies, even many rich people being affected by hunger.

So there came together the leading men, nobles [*khāṣṣā*] and common folk alike, with the Islamic lawyers [*fuqahā'*], the guild wardens, the elders, learned men, such courageous knights [*anjād al-fursān*] as were still alive, and anybody in Granada with some insight into affairs. They all went to see their Amir Muḥammad b. 'Alī [Boabdil], and informed him of the condition of the people, how weak they were, and how afflicted by hunger, how little food there was. Their city was a great one, for which normal food imports were hardly sufficient, so how could it manage when nothing was being brought in at all? The route used to bring in food and fruit supplies from the Alpujarras had been cut. The best of the knights were all dead and passed away, and those that remained were weakened by wounds. The people were prevented from going out to seek food, or to cultivate the land, or to plough. Their heroes had been killed in the battles.

They then went on to say to him: "Our brethren the Muslims who live across the sea in the Magrib have already been approached, and none of them has come to help or risen to our assistance. Our enemy has already constructed siege works and is getting ever stronger, whereas we are getting weaker. They receive supplies from their own country, we receive nothing. The winter season has already begun, and the enemy's army has dispersed and is thus not at

English text from L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 310-311. Reprinted with permission of the publisher. For further discussion of this text, see the same volume, pp. 307-314.

full strength, and military operations against us have been suspended. If we were to open talks with them now, our approach would be well received, and they would agree to what we ask. If we wait till spring has come, his armies will assemble to attack us, and we will be weaker still, and the famine even worse. He will not again be prepared to agree to the terms we are seeking, and we and our city may not be saved from military conquest. What is more, many of our folk have fled to his camp, and they will act as guides to point out to him our vulnerable spots, and he will make use of them against us."

The Amir Muḥammad b. 'Alī [Boabdil] said to them, "Give consideration to what seems best to you, and reach a unanimous agreement on what will be to your good."

It was agreed by nobles and commoners alike that they should send an emissary to have talks with the Christian king about their concerns, and those of the city.

Many people alleged that the amir of Granada and his ministers and military chiefs had already made an agreement to hand over the city to the Christian king who was invading them, but they feared the common people, and so kept them duped, and simply told them what they wanted to hear. This was why, when they [the people] came saying what the king and his ministers had been keeping secret from them, they pardoned them on the spot. This was why military operations had been suspended at that time, to give scope for them to find a way of introducing the idea to the common people. So when they sent to the king of the Christians, they found he readily agreed, and was happy to grant all their requests and all their stipulations.