# Alcuzcuz and Muslims "de nación": Naturalizing Religious Difference in Debates about Enslavement in Early Modern Granada and Manila

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## Abstract

It is no accident that the literary and historical paper trail of early modern Spain and the Spanish empire is littered with racialized names and terminologies that activate associations with Islam. This article analyzes the roles of naming choices across different genres of writing via integrated case studies of the 1567 Pragmatic, a local rebuttal to that pragmatic, and royal orders and laws regarding enslavement practices in Granada and the Philippines, as well as the play, *Amar después de la muerte* by Calderón de la Barca to shed light on the traffic of rhetorical strategies between literary and historical documents, as well as between Spain and the Philippines. It argues that early modern writers—from playwrights to court and colonial officials to King Felipe II—frequently drew on racialized vocabularies that mobilized naturalized understanding of religious inheritance as they entered into debates regarding the enslavement of Muslims (in the Philippines) and converts from Islam and their descendants (in Spain).

## Article

It is no accident that the literary and historical paper trail of early modern Spain and the Spanish Empire is littered with racialized names and terminologies that activate associations with Islam. Building on literary critic Eric Calderwood's recent observations, this article takes as its starting point the position that religiously inflected racial terms like *moro* (Muslim or Moor) reveal more

about those who employed them than those named and maintains that related terms like *morisco*, but also *chino* and *indio* (among many others) merit sustained analysis, as the way that historical actors applied them often responded to political or economic aims.[1] Historian Tatiana Seijas, for example, has shown how mid-sixteenth-century slave traders active in the Philippines and across the Pacific Ocean circumvented prohibitions on the enslavement of *indios* (Indians) by strategically referring to enslaved individuals from across Asia as *chinos* (Chinese).[2]

Many scholars have argued that early modern understandings of race grew out of notions of *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity), which construed religion as a bodily trait that passed from one generation to the next through fluids such as blood and breast milk. These naturalizing understandings of religious inheritance maintained that, despite their baptism, converts from Judaism and Islam as well as their descendants retained traces of their ancestors' previous religion in their bodies. This racialization of perceived religious difference was deployed to justify the marginalization and exclusion of converts and their descendants, and ultimately contributed to defenses that supported the expulsion of *moriscos* from Spain, which occurred between the years 1609 and 1614.[3]

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[1] Eric Calderwood, *Colonial Al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 33.

[2] Tatiana Seijas, "Native Vassals: *Chinos*, Indigenous Identity, and Legal Protection," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (New York: Ashgate, 2012): 155-57.

[3] When the author refers to racialization, she refers modes of thought that attribute of social or cultural traits, such as religion, the body. The scholarship on the racialization of religion in the early modern period and its connections with *limpieza de sangre* as well as the institution of the

The repercussions of religious racialization extended beyond the confines of the Iberian Peninsula. Historian Karoline Cook's research has shown that early modern ideas about the supposed invariable nature of the bodies of converts and their descendants contributed to the formulation of prohibitions that barred them from traveling to the Americas.[4] Her conclusions underscore the discursive flow between both sides of the Atlantic to signal the "dialogue between the articulation of the policies imposed on *moriscos* and the policies imposed on indigenous people, and the way in which the representation of the bodies of *moriscos* and the autochthonous

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Inquisition is robust. See Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations* 23 (1988): 118-34; Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University for Chicago Press, 2007); María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), esp. 1-87; Max Hering Torres, et al, eds., *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2012); David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013); Jean-Frédéric Schaub and Silvia Sebastiani, "Between Genealogy and Physicality: A Historiographical Perspective on Race in the *Ancien Régime*," *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Papers* 35, nos. 1-2 (2014): 23-51.

[4] Karoline P. Cook, "Linaje, conversión y naturalezas inestables en el atlántico ibérico: comparación entre la incorporación y exclusión de los moriscos y de los pueblos indígenas," in *De sangre y leche: raza y religión en el mundo ibérico moderno*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2021), 106.

population were utilized to support or justify those policies."[5] In particular, she has argued that participants in debates over "just war" and the enslavement of semi-nomadic indigenous people in Northwestern Mexico, frequently called Chichimeca, sometimes elaborated comparisons between these indigenous people and Iberian or North African Muslims or *moriscos* in order to bolster arguments that favored the enslavement of Chichimeca individuals.[6] In this way, Cook's research has demonstrated that Iberian Muslim-Christian relations and the popular images that they produced played an unsettled, yet significant, role in negotiations between Spaniards and indigenous peoples in the Americas.

This article extends the scope of inquiry to the Pacific. It moves between Spain and the Philippines to argue that at times and in both places interested parties employed racialized vocabularies that mobilized naturalized understandings of religious inheritance to support policies of marginalization or enslavement. While there are local particularities that distinguish the enslavement of indigenous Muslims in the Philippines and converts and their descendants in Granada, a paired analysis reveals that those who advanced positions in favor of slavery in both Granada and Manila relied on similar naming strategies that construed a relationship with Islam to uphold their positions.

In the 1560s governor Miguel López de Legazpi and colonial officials in the Philippines corresponded with Felipe II regarding the enslavement of Muslims who came to trade in Cebu from islands to the north, such as Mindoro and Luzon. These discussions began just three years

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[5] Cook, "Linaje, conversión y naturalezas inestables," 106. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

[6] Karoline P. Cook, "Muslims and *Chichimeca* in New Spain: The Debates over Just War and Slavery," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 70, no. 1 (2013): 15-38.

before the War of the Alpujarras (1568-1570)—a devastating civil war waged between Granadans and Castilians—during which the practice of enslaving Granadan converts from Islam and their descendants forced Felipe II to rule regarding its legality. Both of these situations produced debate regarding the legitimacy of enslavement. Pertinent to such arguments in the Philippines, a series of laws and papal bulls prohibited the enslavement of indigenous peoples; while in Granada, despite having taken up arms against Castile, captives of the War of the Alpujarras were baptized Christians, and thus not to be taken as slaves. The transoceanic perspective of this article shows, on the one hand, that arguments about the enslavement of Muslims in the archipelago in 1565 preceded—and perhaps primed the king for—debates regarding the enslavement of Granadan converts from Islam and their descendants during the War of the Alpujarras. On the other hand, it reveals how Iberian understandings of religion as an inherited trait played a role in how Spanish officials drew distinguishing lines between indigenous peoples in the Philippines and argues that those in favor of the enslavement of Muslims mobilized such understandings to advance their positions.[7]

[7] This is not to say that Spaniards were the only ones who used religion to draw distinctions between indigenous people in the Philippines and the surrounding region. One sixteenth-century chronicler recorded the words of a Muslim chief in Manila who also elaborated distinctions between himself and his coreligionists and the non-Muslim indigenous people on the island of Luzon. Though filtered through a report written by a Spaniard, this observation suggests that religious affiliations formed part of the region's social fabric and means of group distinction. See Issac Donoso, "Manila y la empresa imperial del sultanato de Brunéi en el siglo XVI," *Revista Filipina* 2, no. 1 (2014):17-18. Recent research by Adrian Masters has shown that indigenous people in Mexico played active roles in the formation of categories of distinction and calls for

The Word *morisco* and *morisco* Names

For specialists in the history and culture of early modern Spain, *morisco* refers to religious converts (whether forced, willing, or somewhere in between) from Islam to Christianity and their descendants. It is the diminutive form of the word *moro* (Moor), which was used in medieval and early modern Spain and Portugal (*mouro*), and was employed, broadly speaking, to refer to Muslims.[8] Before it came to indicate converts and their descendants, *morisco*, was used as an

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similar lines of inquiry in other regions of the Spanish empire. See Adrian Masters, "A Thousand Invisible Architects: Vassals, the Petition and Response System, and the Creation of Spanish Imperial Caste Legislation," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (2018): 377-406.

[8] The word *moro* came into use in medieval Iberia shortly after Arabs and Berbers took control of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century. Residents of the Peninsula indiscriminately called them *mauri* (or the vernacular version of the Latin word) because they had arrived from Mauritania (present day Morocco and Algeria). By the time that the *Poema de mío Cid* was anonymously penned in the early thirteenth century, the use of the term to indicate a Muslim, and usually an Iberian Muslim, was firmly established. However, as Nevill Barbour observes, *moro* could refer to Muslims of any geographic origin. In this way, *moro*, which at its most basic is a geographical term, lost its regional specificity and came to denote religious difference. Nevill Barbour, "The Significance of the Word *Maurus*, with its Derivatives *Moro* and *Moor*, and of Other Terms Used by Medieval Writers in Latin to Describe the Inhabitants of Muslim Spain," in *Actas IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes y Islâmicos* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 264. On the history of the term, see also Israel Burshatin, "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem, and Silence," in "'Race,' Writing and Difference," ed. Henry Louis Gates, special issue, *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1: (Autumn, 1985), 98-118; and Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "El Islam en los autos

adjective to describe an object or custom associated with Iberian Muslims. The term's employment as a marker of religious distinction—one that emphasized converts' religious heritage and associated them with Islam, rather than their new (official) religion, Christianity—gained popularity around the year 1560. It functioned both as a legal category, and as a scurrilous barb hurled in the streets.[9] Yet Spanish-language writers and authorities named converts from Islam and their descendants under a variety of terms in addition to *morisco*, such as: *nuevamente convertido* (recently converted), *cristiano nuevo* (New Christian), *cristiano nuevo de moro* (New Christian from Moor), and even *cristiano viejo de moro* (Old Christian from Moor).[10] In Aragon,

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sacramentales de Pedro Calderón de la Barca," *Revista de literatura* 53, no. 105 (1991): 63. For further reflections on the term *moro*, see L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2-6; for the Portuguese context, Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa* (University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 2.

[9] Bernard Vincent, "*L'Islam d'Espagne au XVIe siècle. Résistances identitaires des morisques* (Saint-Denis: Éditions Bouchene, 2017), 16-17.

Vincent also indicated that the first known instance of *morisco* as a noun in reference to a person is found in a document from the Ayuntamiento de Baza which prohibits serving wine to *moriscos* in the year 1521. He is careful to caution that that does not mean that it was not used in this way before that date, but hypothesizes that the word's use as a noun began around the year 1520.

[10] While this article examines the rhetorical value of names applied to converts in Spanish-language writing, terms in Arabic and Aljamía that referred to Andalusi Muslims and converts in name also circulated in the Iberian Peninsula. Just as Spanish-language writers deployed terms

*tagarino,* like *cristiano viejo de moro,* was applied to individuals who had converted at earlier dates and who were considered to have assimilated to a higher degree than converts from Valencia or Granada.[11] *Natural* (native) or *natural del reino de Granada* (native of the Kingdom of Granada) were also used to refer to the residents of Granada, who had been forcibly converted from Islam to Christianity between the years 1500 and 1502, though these terms do not indicate

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with an argumentative bent, so too did authors writing in Arabic and Aljamía. For an example concerning the use of the word, *gharīb* (pl. *ghurabā'*) in Arabic, or *algaribo* in Aljamía, which means stranger or foreigner, see, Maribel Fierro, "Spiritual Alienation and Political Activism: The ġurabā' in al-Andalus during the Sixth/Twelfth Century," *Arabica* 47, no. 2 (2000): 230-60; and Mayte Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance: Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 89-90. It should also be noted that for historians of Spanish colonies in the Americas, *morisco* is not primarily a religiously inflected racial term, rather, one that was used to refer to mixed-race individuals. It could denote an individual whose mother was *mulata* or *parda* and whose father was *español* (or, vice-versa, though this was less frequent). However, this was not stable, as census records from Mexico also name individuals with one *mestizo* and one *mulato* parent as *morisco*. Ben Vinson III, "Estudiando las razas desde la periferia: las castas olvidadas del sistema colonial mexicano (lobos, moriscos, coyotes, moros, y chinos)," in *Pautas de convivencia étnica en la América Latina colonial (indios, negros, mulatos, pardos y esclavos*), ed. Juan Manuel de la Serna Herrera (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), 290-91.

[11] Youssef El Alaoui, "Ignacio de las Casas, jesuita y morisco," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14-15 (1997-1998): 320-21.

convert status per se.[12] This list of examples shows the complexity of Spanish practices for naming converts and their descendants. Authorities developed terms to categorize them with a great deal of specificity, and yet, they also often employed vocabularies in inconsistent ways or relied on more general terms like *morisco* in ways that scrambled categories. The stakes of these simultaneously precise and jumbled terms were high, as they often carried legal effects.[13] For example, in sixteenth-century Granada, individuals categorized as *cristiano viejo de moro* (which indicated that they or their ancestors had converted to Catholicism by a particular date) maintained the right to bear arms that was denied to individuals who converted at later dates.[14]

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[12] These forced conversions made converts subject to Church law and to the Inquisition, however religious belief as well as religious and cultural practices varied significantly from one individual to another.

[13] On *morisco* as a legal category, though a slippery one, see Karoline P. Cook, *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 5-7. Max Deardorff has argued that the term *morisco* was not used as a noun in legal writing before the outbreak of the War of the Alpujarras, "¿Quién es morisco? Desde cristiano nuevo a cristiano viejo de moros: Categorías de diferenciación en el Reino De Granada (siglo XVI)," *forum historiae iuris* 20 (2018): par. 1.

[14] These dates varied according to different officials, however they frequently determined that individuals who converted before the War of Granada (1482-1492) or the first uprising in the Alpujarras (1499-1501) to be *cristianos viejos de moros*, who maintained many of the same privileges as Old Christians who did not descend from Muslim families. Deardorff, "¿Quién es morisco?," par. 17-19.

The word *morisco* and its shifting, historically specific semantic range makes it difficult to define the term in a way that captures how both its legal consequences and cultural undertones varied across different regions, time, and textual aims. This challenge is clear in early modern writing about the word. The lexicographer, Sebastian de Covarrubias defined *morisco* in a way that simultaneously indicated and undermined its communication of convert status: "*Moriscos*, those converted from *moros* (Muslims) to the Catholic faith, and if they are Catholics, God has granted to them a great gift, and to us as well."[15] Yet, because this very challenge responds to discursive negotiations of social and legal belonging, it calls for a central position in our critical engagement with the wide range of textual production in which this and other racialized terms were employed. This article brings together an analysis of the terms applied to converts in historical documents—pragmatics, correspondence, and laws from Spain and the Philippines—and the naming of convert characters in early modern theater—the play, *Amar después de la muerte* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca—because like *morisco* and related terms, personal names also carried group distinctions and evoked cultural associations (in relation to class, religion, profession, language, and place of origin). Close attention to the naming and terminological choices that authors made across diverse kinds of sources allows us to identify uses of rhetorical strategies that transcended the customs or grammar of a particular genre.

## What's in a Name?: Religion and the Regulation of Granadan Naming Practices

In the sixteenth century, Granadans were required to conform their traditional naming practices to those of Christian Castile. This began with the forced conversions that occurred from 1500 to 1502, which entailed the performance of the sacrament of baptism and the imposition of a

[15] Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: 1611), 556.

Christian name. In this ritual, the assignment of a Christian name acts as "a symbol of the consecration of the infant or neophyte to God […] in signaling an new life, a new designation is placed on them."[16] As such, as Bernard Vincent has pointed out, a close relationship was construed between having been baptized—i.e., being a Christian—and using a Christian name.[17] In the case of Granadans who underwent forced conversions and baptisms, their new names were chosen and recorded in the parish's baptismal records by the priest who performed the sacrament.[18] In the years following the mass conversions, Iberian Muslims who continued to practice their previous religion adapted traditional ceremonies—known as *fadas*—to counteract the effects of the baptism and rename the infant. The ceremonies often included the pronunciation of the *shahāda* (profession of faith) by the newborn's father, the washing of the child with warm water, and/or or shaving or rubbing the child's forehead with breadcrumbs to annul the baptism, as well as the election of a name pertaining to Islamic traditions.[19] As a result, many converts used two names, an official Christian name as well as a Muslim name that was

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[16] Gonzalo Carrasco García, "La onomástica de la conversión: señas de identidad y transformación antroponímica de los moriscos de Granada (1500-1569), *Sharq al-Andalus* 19 (2008-2010): 162.

[17] Bernard Vincent, *L'Islam d'Espagne au XVIe siècle*, 111-12.

[18] The most common names assigned to men in Granada in 1500 were: Juan, Françisco, Alonso, and Fernando; to women: Leonor, Marya, Catalina, and Ysabel. Carrasco García, "La onomástica de la conversión," 163; 173-74.

[19] Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos: los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1978), 56-58; Carrasco García, "La onomástica de la conversión," 180.

employed in the home and among coreligionists.[20] Sixty-seven years following the first forced baptisms in Granada, Castilian authorities' put into effect the requirements of the 1567 Pragmatic, which prohibited the use of Arabic-derived names as well as Granadans' traditional sartorial practices, celebrations and dances, use of bathhouses, holding of captives and slaves, and use of Arabic.[21] Historians, writing in both the sixteenth and twenty-first centuries, have pointed to this series of laws as a controversial turning point in the relations between the Granadan *naturales* and Castilian authorities who worked to impose their modes of life on Granadans, citing its restrictions as one of the principal causes of the War of the Alpujarras.[22] Its

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[20] Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco*, trans. Antonio Luis Cortés Peña (Valencia: Universitàt de Valencia, 2006), loc. 3716-21 of 5257, Kindle. Vincent adds that there were many cases in which converts quickly forgot their Christian first names. See also Vincent, *L'Islam d'Espagne*, 111-34 for a study of names used by converts from Islam and their descendants in Granada and Valencia.

[21] For a study of how the requirements of the 1567 Pragmatic affected naming practices in Granada, see Florence Lecerf, "Une identité imposée, une identité revendiquée: Les morisques grenadins au XVI$^{e}$ siècle," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 79 (2009): 73-93.

[22] Luis Mármol de Carvajal suggested this as early as the sixteenth century, but it has also been pointed out in recent scholarship, see Javier Irigoyen-García, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 3; and Claire Gilbert, *In Good Faith: Arabic Translation and Translators in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 47-51. Offering a different perspective, Kenneth Garrad emphasized the crisis of the silk trade as a factor that contributed to the war's outbreak, "La industria sedera granadina en el siglo XVI y su conexión

mandate regarding the names that Granadan converts were permitted to use attests to Castilian authorities' concerns that Arabic-derived names and their associations with Islam reminded converts of their previous religion.

This perspective was not exclusive to court and council rooms. Literary works frequently feature Muslim and convert characters with Hispanicized versions of Arabic names or words as well as Christian characters with traditional Castilian names. This practice, employed by many early modern writers of fiction, served as a way to make the religious identity of their characters visible. In Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel*, for example, a character named Francisco insists on the connection between his name and the fact that he is a Christian and will die as such. Moreover, in the same breath, he also indicates that he is not named "Azán, Alí, nor Jaer."[23] Francisco's observations regarding his own name as well as Castilianized versions of three others derived from Arabic shed light on how early modern Spaniards associated personal names with belonging to particular religious communities. Similarly, lawmakers' ban on Arabic-derived names sought to eliminate community identification among converts who shared a Muslim background as well as interrupt their identification of kinship relations.

The 1567 Pragmatic stipulated: "the said newly converted (*nuevamente convertidos*) may not take on, nor have, nor use the names or *sobre nombres* of Muslims, and those who have them

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con el levantamiento de las Alpujarras," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 5 (1956): 73-104.

[23] Miguel de Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel* (Barcelona: Red Ediciones S.L., 2011), lines 1373-77, accessed May 14, 2019, http://www.digitaliapublishing.com/visor/13429.

must cease to use them."[24] As is the case with each section of the pragmatic, officials framed this section on name usage with precedents from earlier laws. Here, they cited limitations on naming ordered in a pragmatic from the year 1526, maintaing that the prohibitions it enacted were necessary because, even if the proscribed actions did not have to do with the practice of Islam per se, they might revive memories of converts' previous religion and Muslim community.[25] What was at stake, at least according to the justification offered in the document itself, was that converts forget Islam by adapting their behaviors and traditions—including their choices of names—to those of Castilian Christians.

Defending the *naturales* of Granada

[24] "Pregmaticas y provisiones de su M. el Rey don Philippe nuestro señor, sobre la lengua y vestidos y otras cosas que an de hazer los naturales deste Reyno de Granada" (Granada, Hugo de Mena: 1567), n.p. "*Sobre nombres*" likely contemplates the *nasab* (name of the father, grandfather or great-grandfather), *nisbah* (geographical or tribal reference), and/or *laqab* (reference to title, profession or nickname) that often follow the personal name in Arabic-speaking cultures. Carrasco García, "La onomástica de la conversión," 149-50.

[25] The reference to the 1526 Pragmatic occurs in several places throughout the 1567 Pragmatic, however other decrees are also mentioned. In the section that regulates sumptuary practices, for example, laws put in place by Queen Juana in 1511 (in Seville), 1512 (in Burgos) and 1513 (in Valladolid) are also cited. It is important to note that the 1526 Pragmatic was never put into effect, as representatives of the community (among them Francisco Núñez Muley, discussed below) negotiated a payment of the *servicio ordinario,* a tax of 21,000 ducats, alongside the payment of a lump sum of 90,000 ducats to suspend the requirements of the 1526 Pragmatic. Garrad, "The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley," *Atlante* 2 (1954): 206.

In his oft-cited response to the 1567 Pragmatic, *Memoria* (*Memorandum*, 1567), Francisco Núñez Muley—a respected Granadan elder of royal descent known for his defense of Granadan interests before Castilian authorities—rejected the very premise of its proscriptions.[26] He painstakingly argued that the practices the pragmatic prohibited were long-established customs that were not religious, but rather cultural in nature and disassociated them from the practice of Islam.[27] Pointing out the importance of the colonial dynamics in Kingdom of Granada, one scholar has emphasized that Núñez Muley "engages in a difficult, risky, and textually mediated struggle to renegotiate the terms of the Granadan Moriscos' relation to their Castilian overlords."[28] In addition to the foundational idea that there is no contradiction between localized Granadan practices and belonging to the Catholic Church, Núñez Muley firmly *reassociates* Granadan practices with the Christian community of *naturales* in that particular region.

Throughout his rebuttal Núñez Muley pointedly refers to Granadans as *naturales*. He consistently opts for this term throughout the document, employing it, as Vincent has underlined, over sixty times.[29] Leveraging over fifty years of experience in mediating on behalf of

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[26] On the royal connections of Núñez Muley's family see, María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "La familia morisca de Muley-Fez, príncipes meriníes e infantes de Granada," *Sharq al-Andalus* 13 (1996): 159–67.

[27] Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the Fictions of Spanish Identity," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001): 15-16.

[28] Vincent Barletta, introduction to *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, by Francisco Núñez Muley, trans. and ed. Vincent Barletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 29.

[29] Vincent, *L'Islam d'Espagne*, 18.

Granadans, Núñez Muley was an seasoned negotiator who would have had an insightful grasp on contemporary implications of the category.[30] His election of *natural* over other terminological options expressed that Granadans were legitimate residents who maintained the corresponding protections and privileges.

Tamar Herzog's extensive research on *naturaleza* (nativeness) and the related juridical category of *natural* (native) across Spain and the Spanish Americas explains that the concept of *naturaleza* was about making distinctions between community members and *extranjeros* (foreigners), and assigning a different set of rights and obligations to each group.[31] In both Spain and the Americas being a *natural* of a certain place was not determined by birthplace alone. It depended, rather, on the combination of a series of factors, which included: place of birth, chosen place of residence, family, and participation in the community as demonstrated through paying taxes, joining the militia, speaking the same language, attending a Catholic Church and celebrating the corresponding holidays.[32] One's status as a *natural* was most frequently established implicitly as individuals carried out their daily lives and exercised the privileges

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[30] In the first several pages of his response, Núñez Muley establishes his deep knowledge of previous legislation that had delineated the protections of Granadans' customs. Francisco Núñez Muley, "Memoria," ed. Antonio Gallego Burín and Alfonso Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), XXXV-XXXVIII. For a summary of his negotiations with kings Fernando and Carlos V, see Garrad, "The Original Memorial," 201.

[31] Tamar Herzog, "The Appropriation of Native Status: Forming and Reforming Insiders and Outsiders in the Spanish Colonial World," *Rechtsgeschichte – Legal History* 22 (2014): 141.

[32] Herzog, "The Appropriation," 141.

conferred to *naturales* within a community who saw and accepted them as such.[33] Historian José Manuel Nieto Soria has similarly emphasized that being a *natural* was based on actions and attitudes as well as place of birth, observing that the status entailed remaining faithful to the interests of the kingdom to which one belonged as well as to the king.[34] Because of the reliance on individual claims and community recognition, there was some variation in the traits that defined *naturales*, yet in Spain, Christianity remained a non-negotiable factor.[35]

Núñez Muley's employment of the term aligns with the above observations regarding the ways in which *naturaleza* was most frequently established by everyday acts that assumed the status. It painted a picture of belonging according to the local traditions, which, he points out, not only varied from region to region across Spain and the greater Mediterranean, but more importantly were key to ordinary daily life, from the social and commercial functioning of the kingdom to the celebration of mass. He was sure to report, for example, that the first archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera, included traditional *zambra* music and dance during masses.[36] By consistently naming Granadans as *naturales* and by reassociating practices like the dancing of *zambras* with expressions of Christianity, Núñez Muley reinforces the legitimacy of the very factors that define *naturaleza* in the region and calls for the protection of Granadans and

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[33] Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 66.

[34] José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid: EUDEMA, 1988), 240.

[35] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 119. This would experience some flexibility in Spanish colonies, as discussed below in reference to the Philippines.

[36] Núñez Muley, *Memoria*, XLIV.

their regional customs against the invasive stipulations of the 1567 Pragmatic. Or, as one scholar has put it, because Granadans' conversion to Christianity did not entail their abandonment of the region's cultural practices, their adhesion to Granadan traditions fit the locally defined Christian "schema."[37] The negotiator's insistent claim of the status of *natural* thus engaged Castilian authorities in a debate about how *naturaleza* was to be defined in colonial circumstances where local customs differed from those of newly governing Castilians. The resounding implications were that the contents of the 1567 Pragmatic contradicted the protections that Granadans retained as *naturales*, that is, as members of a Christian community that paid taxes to the king and exercised privileges that were not to be negligently limited.

*Naturales, moros extranjeros,* and Debates about Enslaving Muslims in the Philippines

Soon after the establishment of Spanish colonies in the Philippines in 1565, Manila became a central port for the transpacific slave trade. From the city, enslaved people from across the Indian Ocean, South, and Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, were purchased and transported to Acapulco, Mexico aboard the Spanish galleons.[38] In Manila itself, slaves performed the majority

[37] Vincent, *L'Islam d'Espagne*, 19.

[38] A conservative estimate indicates that at least 8,100 enslaved individuals were carried from Manila to Acapulco between the years 1565 and 1700. Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 83-84. Somewhat less conservatively Rubén Carrillo Martín estimates that between 10,000 and 20,000 slaves were transported from Manila to Acapulco during the years of the galleon trade. Rubén Carrillo Martín, "Los 'chinos' de Nueva España: migración asiática en el México Colonial," *Millars* 39, no. 2 (2015): 15.

of the city's labor.[39] Despite the fact that the enslavement of indigenous men and women in the Spanish colonies had been prohibited in 1526 and 1542, local exemptions and legal maneuvering created loopholes that allowed for the capture, enslavement, and sale of indigenous people.[40] By the year 1620, one-quarter of the city's population of forty thousand was comprised of enslaved individuals.[41] Among Spanish officials' earliest requests to the king was that he grant them permission to enslave Muslims who lived and traded on several islands in the northern half of the island chain where Legazpi had established settlements. Furthermore, from 1565 to 1663 Spaniards engaged in military conflict in the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu, in what has come to be known as the Moro Wars. Recent research has concluded that the century-long violence was driven principally by the desires of Spanish soldiers and colonizers to benefit from the sale of enslaved captives seized during the military conflict.[42]

Around the year 1565, Spanish officials serving under Miguel López de Legazpi addressed a letter to King Felipe II in which they asked for approval of a list of different privileges. Among other items, they requested permission to enslave Muslims—in their words,

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[39] Tatiana Seijas, "Slaving and the Global Reach of the Moro Wars in the Seventeenth Century," in *Philippine Confluence: Iberian, Chinese, and Islamic Currents, c. 1500-1800*, ed. Jos Gommons and Ariel Lopez (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020), 288.

[40] In 1526 Carlos V issued a decree on slavery that prohibited the enslavement of indigenous individuals in any of Spain's colonies. William Henry Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines* (Manila: De la Salle University Press, 1991), 20; Tatiana Seijas, "Slaving and the Global Reach," 290.

[41] Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, 33.

[42] Seijas, "Slaving and the Global Reach," 287.

*moros*—who entered the area around Cebu for commercial purposes. Significantly, and in contrast with those involved in the raids of the Moro Wars that occurred in the southern part of the archipelago, those whom the officials sought to enslave were not involved in military conflict with Spaniards. The officials characterized them as traders whose activities posed serious obstacles to evangelization and commercial pursuits in the archipelago:

> They ask and plead, Your Majesty, that because in these kingdoms and dominions of yours *moros* trade and take the gold that is in these islands as well as other fruits like wax and cinnamon and other things […] and because they impede and make sure to impede the trade between the natives (*naturales*) and us and they preach to them the Muhammadan sect (*seta maometana*) and do not allow for the holy gospel to be cultivated in them. Let such (*tales*) *moros* be slaves and lose the properties that are taken from them considering that they effect the damages indicated above and that they are harmful to the holy Catholic Church and the growth of the royal Crown.[43]

[43] "Otro si piden y suplican a su mag[estad] porq[uan]to en estos reynos y senorios suyos se tratan moros y lleban el oro que en ellas y los demas frutos como es çera y canela y otras cosas […] y porque estorban y procuran estorbar la contraçion de los naturales con nosotros y les predican la seta maometana y no dan lugar a que en ellos se cultibe el sancto evangelio q[ue] los tales moros sean esclabos y pierdan las haziendas q[ue] se les tomare atento a que hazen los daños arriba significados y ser en perjuicio de la santa fe catolica y aumento de la rreal corona[.]" Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Filipinas, 29, N.2, 11r. This letter is also transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y*

As this passage shows, Legazpi's officials argued that those whom they wished to enslave jeopardized the evangelization missions by spreading Islam throughout the archipelago as they engaged in trade with the non-Muslim indigenous population, or in the words of the officials, the *naturales*. They asserted that the Muslim traders acquired products for commerce and monopolized the trade within regions to which Spain had laid claim (*reinos y señoríos suyos*), preventing Spaniards from developing their commercial pursuits.[44] In addition to the alleged damage to the Church, Legazpi and his cosigning officials cast the threat to the Crown as commercial rather than political. According to the highly influential political theorist Francisco de Vitoria, however, if anyone interfered with Spaniards' right to engage in lawful trade or to preach the Gospel and pursue conversions, it was permissible to take up arms against them and to enslave them in just war.[45]

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*organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de ultramar*, vol 3, no. II, document 45 (Madrid: 1887), 319-29.

[44] Similar arguments are repeated in other letters in which Spanish officials argued in favor of the enslavement of Muslims. See for example, "Carta de los oficiales al rey" and "Carta del factor y veedor Andrés de Mirandaola al rey," in *Los primeros de Filipinas: crónicas de la conquista del Archipiélago de San Lázaro*, ed. Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera (Madrid: Polifemo, 1995), 198-200 and 206-9, respectively.

[45] Francisco de Vitoria, *Vitoria: Political Writings*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 279, 281-83. It is worth noting, however, that Vitoria specifies that war is only an option after Spaniards have attempted to reach a solution through reason and persuasion and only if it will not jeopardize evangelization.

Of equal importance, the use of the words *naturales* and *moros* establishes an argumentative contrast that reflected the two groups' differing statuses of inclusion in or exclusion from Spanish society. In Spanish colonies in the Americas, the term *natural* was also applied to indigenous people in a way that played an assimilating role. It assumed the eventual conversion of indigenous individuals to Catholicism, projecting them into a future community of Christians under the Crown and protecting them (in theory) from enslavement.[46] Like in Spain, classifying indigenous peoples as *naturales* "was never meant to reflect an evident reality," rather it "was geared towards attributing them with a particular legal status, from which other groups were excluded."[47] It was in this way that officials in the Philippines deployed contemporary understandings of "nativeness" and "foreignness" to connote the inclusion of *naturales* and the exclusion of *moros*.[48] Indeed, in a letter that Legazpi had delivered to the king in 1567 the contrast between inclusion and exclusion is emphasized by the addition of the adjective "*extranjero*" (foreigner or stranger) to the term *moro:* "in these islands foreign Muslims (*moros extranjeros*) live and reside under the pretext of being traders."[49] The distinction between *moro extranjero* versus *natural* in this letter reflects the exclusion of Muslims from the

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[46] Herzog, "The Appropriation of Native Status," 143.

[47] Herzog, "The Appropriation of Native Status," 140.

[48] This is similar to observations Bernard Vincent has made regarding the concept of *natural* within Spain, which he indicates was defined in opposition to *extranjero,* Vincent, *L'Islam d'Espagne,* 23.

[49] "Petición de Miguel López de Legazpi sobre las islas del poniente," in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, 326-27. "entre estas yslas biben y rresiden algunos moros estrangeros so color de ser tratantes[.]"

community as defined by Legazpi in support of his argument for the enslavement of those he places outside of it.

Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza": Religion, the Body, and Enslavement

In 1568, Felipe II drafted a response to Legazpi's request for permission to enslave Muslims. In this letter, the king upheld the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim indigenous people that had been advanced in the previous petitions. Significantly, he drew a further line of differentiation. In order to permit the enslavement and the seizure of property requested by Legazpi and other Spanish officials, the king distinguished between Muslims who had come to the religion via conversion and Muslims who were born into the religion, or in Felipe II's words Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza," explicitly stating that it was licit to enslave those in the latter category. The king's response was copied verbatim and included in the book of royal orders, *Cedulario Indiano* (1570), thus codifying it in the collection of legislation:

> Considering that in those lands there is an island of *moros* and that they come to trade and who impede the preaching of the holy gospel and perturb you, we give you license to make such *moros* slaves and take their properties from them and you are informed that if such *moros* are *de su nación y naturaleza moros* and come to teach the dogma of their Muhammadan sect or make war against you or the *indios* that are subject to us or our royal service, you are permitted to enslave them. But those who are *indios* and who have taken up the sect of Muhammad, you are not to make them slaves in any way or manner, rather you are to procure

> their conversion and to persuade them of our holy Catholic faith by good and licit means.[50]

While some scholars have interpreted this passage in a way that emphasizes the limitation that Felipe II put on enslavement and the protection from slavery that he extended to non-Muslim indigenous people as well as those who had recently converted to Islam, it is essential to recognize that his decision equally endorsed the enslavement of Muslims who were understood not to have recently converted.[51] As his response makes clear, Felipe II permitted the enslavement of Muslims in the archipelago based on alleged political opposition, the spread of

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[50] "[A]tento que ay en essa tierra isla de Moros, y ellos vienen a tratar y contratar, los quales impiden la predicación del santo Evangelio, y os inquietan, os demos licencia para hazer a los tales moros esclavos, y tomarles sus haziendas estareis advertido que si los tales Moros son de su nacion y naturaleza Moros y vinieren a dogmatizar su secta Maometica o hazer guerra a vosotros o a los Indios que estan a nos sugetos o a nuestro Real servicio, los podreis hazer esclauos, mas a los que fueren Indios y ouieren tomado la secta de Mahoma no los hareis esclauos por ninguna via ni manera que sea, sino procurareis de los conuertir y persuadir por buenos y licitos medios a nuestra santa Fe Catolica." AGI Filipinas, 339, L.1; AGI Mexico, 1090, L.6; *Cedulario Indiano recopilado por Diego de Encinas*, Libro 4, ed. Alfonso García Gallo (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1946), 374.

[51] Francisco Franco Sánchez and Isaac Donoso, "Moriscos peninsulares, moros filipinos y el islam en el extremo oriental: estudio y edición de la *Segunda carta para la S.C.M.R. acerca de los mahomentanos de las Philipinas* de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)," *Sharq al-Andalus* 20 (2011-2013): 567, 570; Isaac Donoso, *Islamic Far East: Ethnogenesis of Philippine Islam* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2013), 197.

Islam and its disruption of Christian missionary projects, and the perceived degree of religious difference. Crucially, the line he drew between Muslims who had converted to Islam and those who were not converts, but rather Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza," presents the nature of the perceived religious difference of each group in different ways. It reflects engagement with historical and contemporary Christian-Muslim-convert relations in Spain as well as with contemporary ideas regarding the heritability of religion.

As we have seen, in the Americas and the Philippines, the application of *naturales* to indigenous peoples could play an assimilating role, anticipating the conversion of indigenous peoples to Catholicism and incorporating them within the Spanish empire and the Castilian body politic. At the same time, *natural* and *naturaleza*, like other concepts and terms of distinction, appear to have experienced some fluidity in meaning and use. The definition of *naturaleza* in Covarrubias' 1611-dictionary suggests that the word was employed with multiple valences: "Sometimes it means constitution and being, like so-and-so is of a strong constitution. *Naturaleza* is understood as *casta*, and as *patria*, or *nación*."[52] For Covarrubias, *casta* was a reference to one's (good) lineage; *patria*, to the land where one was born; *nación*, to one's kingdom or province.[53] This definition suggests that *naturaleza* was, at times, used to refer to the characteristics of an individual that were understood to be natural or unchanging such as one's strong constitution or place of origin. Both Covarrubias' inclusion of the concept *nación* in his definition of *naturaleza* as well as Felipe II's distinction between Muslims who had converted to

[52] "Algunas vezes vale condicion, y ser, como Fulano es de naturaleza fuerte. Naturaleza se toma por la casta, y por la patria, o nacion." Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 561r.

[53] See the entries for *casta*, *patria*, and *nación*, in Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua*, 209r, 581r, and 560r, respectively.

Islam and Muslims who were so "*de naturaleza y nación*" construe a relationship, though an ambiguous one, between the two concepts. As historian Yanna Yannakakis has explained, in the Americas, *nación* was a "collective category created by the Spanish that mitigated against the homogenization implied by *indio* while reflecting Iberian notions of difference" based on blood or lineage.[54] The concept, she observes, cannot be separated simplistically from other concepts of distinction as it "folded language, region [of birth or residence], and culture, into the notion of lineage."[55] Felipe II's use of *nación* in the phrase *moro de nación* appears to correspond with the functions of the concept as explained by Yannakakis. It signaled further distinctions between indigenous people in order to separate those whose enslavement he endorsed from those whom he protected from enslavement.

Regarding indigenous people who had converted to Islam, Felipe II's response commands that they should simply be converted again, this time to Christianity, suggesting the mutability—even ephemerality—of their attachment to the religion. As with non-Muslim indigenous individuals, the king's letter presents indigenous people who had recently converted to Islam as potential Catholics, which protects them from enslavement. The same protection, however, is not extended Muslims who were born into the religion (Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza"). Read in the inverse, Felipe II's endorsement of the enslavement of Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza" excludes them from potential conversion.[56] The professed religion of the

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[54] Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), loc. 504 of 5269.

[55] Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-between*, loc. 509 of 5269.

[56] As Giuseppe Marcocci has explained, Portuguese evangelists generally did not consider Muslims (*mouros*) as candidates for conversion to Christianity, but rather the "recurrent call for

individual was not what was at stake; rather what mattered was one's religious heritage. In this way, the king's justification of his decision recuperates the language and logics of racialized understandings of religious inheritance that were common in Spain and redeploys them in the Philippines, placing the distinction between those whom Spaniards could and could not enslave on religious lineage.

Fifteen years after Felipe II issued his decision to Legazpi, the first judge of the Audiencia of Manila, Melchor de Ávalos, wrote a series of letters in which he addressed the treatment of indigenous people in the archipelago, promoting starkly different actions among Muslims and non-Muslims.[57] In one letter, penned in Manila in July of 1584, the judge reopened the subject of slavery and explained that he had found the response Felipe II had written to Legazpi years before. Reciting the king's previous words back to him, Ávalos homed in on the distinction that the king had drawn between Muslims "de su nación y naturaleza" and converts to Islam in order to reject it and to argue that the same violent measures should be taken up against

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the 'war against Moors' (*guerra dos mouros*) tended to exclude the prospect of converting Muslims[.]" Giuseppe Marcocci, "Trading with the Muslim World: Religious Limits and Proscriptions in the Portuguese Empire (ca. 1480-1570)," in *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Cátia Antunes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 97. Marcocci's observations signal the promise of comparative studies of Portuguese and Spanish approaches to the evangelization of Muslims and its place in the expansion of their respective empires (unified between 1580 and 1640).

[57] These letters began in 1583 and continued, with increasingly violent propositions, through 1585.

all Muslims, converts or not. Ávalos drew on language that posited ancestral connections among Muslims to insist: "*It seems to me that all* Muslims are enemies of the Church, they must have written on their hearts, all the Ishmaelites and their allies, collaborators, and descendants, the words of the scripture, Genesis, Chapter Sixteen, hic erit ferus homo, manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum.[58]

To affirm the legitimacy of his proposed enslavement of Muslims as well as the conquest of their territories, Ávalos jointly employed the word *ismaelitas* and the reference to the Biblical story in which Hagar conceives Ishmael, drawing on the Christian tradition to situate all Muslims (*todos los mahometanos*), from the Mediterranean to Southeast Asia, along the same line of familial descent. Ávalos' choice of terms reflected his lineage-based argument, which would not have been lost on his addressee, Felipe II. Moreover, in the cited portion of Genesis 16:12—"he shall be a wild man, his hands will be against men, and all men's hands against him"—are precisely the words that the angel who appeared to Hagar pronounced regarding the future of the child she was bearing."[59] Ávalos' incorporation of the Biblical verse argues in universal and bodily terms that all Muslims, as descendants of Ishmael, had the angel's words inscribed on their hearts, whether in the Philippines or Spain. By signaling that their opposition to all men, and in turn all men's opposition to them, was predicted in scripture, Ávalos intimated that the

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[58] "*[M]e parece que todos* los mahometanos son enemigos de la yglesia, deven tener escritas en el coraçon todos los ysmaelitas y sus aliados y confederados y desçendientes las palabras dela escriptura, genesis. 16 cap[ítu]lo, hic erit ferus homo, manus eius contra omnes, et manus omnisum contra eum[.]" Emphasis in the original, AGI Filipinas, 18A, R. 2, N.9, f.9r.

[59] Genesis 16:12 (Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate), https://vulgate.org/ot/genesis_16.htm.

military action against all *ismaelitas* for which he was advocating was not only justifiable, but rather inevitable—it was already written—and even desirable—as it would, from the perspective of Christians, reveal the truth of their scripture.[60]

Literary Reverberations: Enslaving Alcuzcuz (and not Arroz)

In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, Spanish historians and biographers repeatedly recounted the contents of the 1567 Pragmatic.[61] The famous set of prohibitions also made fictionalized cameos in early modern theatrical works, manifesting points of connection between the textual production of the state (in the form of legal mandates) and that of playwrights.[62] Pedro Calderón de la Barca incorporated it into the first act of his play, *Amar después de la muerte* (written sometime between 1630 and 1650). Indeed, the pragmatic makes early and repeated appearances, reminding audience members and readers of the legal implications of characters' actions—such as decisions to change their names, or gather on Fridays behind closed doors. Centering Calderón's strategic positioning of the 1567 Pragmatic as

[60] The strategy of connecting Muslims to Ishmael to justify violence against them would extend also to converts from Islam in Spain and the justification of their expulsion, see Burshatin, "The Moor in the Text," 114; Cook, "Linaje, conversión y naturalezas inestables," 130-31.

[61] See for example, Antonio de Fuenmayor, *Vida y hechos de Pío V Pontifice Romano, dividida en seis libros; Con algunos notables sucessos de la Christiandad del tiempo de su Pontificado* (1595); Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada* (1600); Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia del [sic] rebellion y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (1600); Jaime Bleda, *Crónica de los moros* (1618); Ginés Pérez de Hita, *Guerras civiles de Granada*, parte 2 (1619).

[62] Diego Ximénez de Enciso's play, *Juan Latino, comedia famosa* (published posthumously in 1652), also contains lengthy references to the 1567 Pragmatic.

the legal backdrop of the play leads to more critical readings. While using the pragmatic as a measure for the actions of *morisco* characters casts those who defy its demands as disobedient subjects, or even knowing rebels, it is crucial to note that *moriscos* are hardly the only characters who do not conform their actions to its stipulations.

The play's opening scene transports audiences to a secret gathering where Cadí, Alcuzcuz, and several anonymous characters are preparing their Friday (*al-jum'a*) celebrations. Cadí—whose name is a reference to the *alcadí* or judge in Islamic Spain (from the Arabic verb *qaḍā,* to conclude or to judge)—is in the midst of encouraging Granadan Muslims to continue to honor the Islamic holy day, even though it must occur behind closed doors and under the protection of a password. However, the celebrations are halted almost immediately after they get underway, as Malec—a respected *veinticuatro* of Granadan and North African royal families—interrupts them to announce that yet another set of laws limiting the practices of converts and their descendants had just been publicly proclaimed.[63] He reports that the law (like the actual 1567 Pragmatic) prohibited traditional Granadan ceremonies featuring music and dancing, the wearing of silk, the frequenting of bath houses, and the use of Arabic.[64]

By opening the play onto a scene in which a group of mostly unnamed individuals is gathered for *al-jum'a,* and with explicit references to the 1567 Pragmatic, Calderón frames his *comedia* within the concerns of sixteenth-century lawmakers. Indeed, the historical pragmatic upon which this theatrical one is based outlawed the closing of doors on Friday afternoons. In this scene, audiences do not suspect Alcuzcuz, Cadí, and the rest of the worshippers—Todos,

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[63] The term *veinticuatro* refers to one of twenty-four voting members of the city council.

[64] Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Amar después de la muerte*, ed. Erik Coenen (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2008 [c. 1633]), lines 88-101.

Uno, and Otro (All, One, and Another, respectively)—of maintaining Islamic religious practices; they see them doing just that. In this way, the playwright populates the stage with anonymous Granadan converts gathering according to the requirements of Islam and thus sets the stage in a way that also sets in motion the idea that many other Granadans—like Cadí, Alcuzcuz, or perhaps all of them (Todos)—maintained Islamic rituals behind closed doors. The scene gives way to the suggestion that Castilian lawmakers were both correct and justified in taking actions that limited the privileges of Granadan converts. The anonymity of the characters in this scene extends easily to other Granadan characters, establishing expectations (though based on fictions) for the behaviors of any Granadan converts who appear in the play.

Later on, Calderón reminds audiences of this legal backdrop with a scene in which characters change their names in direct defiance of the law's stipulations. In the second act, a group of rebelling Granadans names the character Don Fernando de Válor their king. His first exercise as their leader is to reverse the demands of the laws with which Calderón opened the play. He commands his supporters not to go by Christian names or perform Christian ceremonies, to speak only in Arabic, wear only traditional clothing (*traje moro*), and honor only Islamic law. Setting an example, Don Fernando changes his name to Abenhumeya.

Here, Calderón fictionalizes another real event.[65] The historical figure for whom his character is named, Hernando de Córdoba y Válor, was indeed proclaimed king of Granada and the Alpujarras by Granadan rebels at the outbreak of the conflict, upon which, he changed his name to Muley Muḥammad Aben Humeya. This name claims descent from the Umayya

[65] For more on the historical inspirations for the play, see Christina H. Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 190-99.

(Humeya) Caliphate (711-1031), which established Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.[66] In the play, the rejection of the name Fernando in favor of Abenhumeya is doubly significant. Not only does Abenhumeya defy the demands of the 1567 Pragmatic by choosing a name derived from Arabic, he also casts off the name Fernando, and its strong evocations of the installation of Catholicism and Spanish sovereignty in the Kingdom of Granada. The most famous Fernando in early modern Spain was King Fernando II of Aragon, whose marriage to Isabel I of Castile resulted in the dynastic unity of Spain. In 1492, the last Nasrid king of Granada, Abū ʻAbd Allah Muḥammad XII (1460-1527), surrendered the city to Fernando and Isabel, who then became known as *los reyes católicos* (the Catholic Monarchs), due to Pope Alexander VI's granting them the honorific title.[67] Fernando was thus a name associated with both the Christian conquest of Granada and the installation of Catholicism and Castilian culture throughout the region. Abenhumeya's rejection of that name renounces Fernando's associations with Catholicism, the Spanish crown, and the end of Nasrid Granada in favor of Abenhumeya and its evocations of a thriving caliphate.

Significantly, another character in the play, Alcuzcuz, the *morisco gracioso* character, also attempts to change his name, but is unsuccessful. The *gracioso* is a stock character that reappears in many forms of early modern Spanish drama, one version of which, the *morisco gracioso*, draws on stereotypes of converts from Islam and their descendants.[68] In *Amar después*

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[66] Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance*, 77.

[67] Barletta, introduction, 2.

[68] The *gracioso*'s humorous effects are elaborated through slapstick, bodily functions, marked speech, and confusions provoked by eating or drinking in excess or by a perceived lack of intelligence, as well as his pragmatic movement between political and religious groups.

*de la muerte*, as in many other *comedias*, the *morisco gracioso*'s name contains mocking references to Andalusi culture.[69] Alcuzcuz, is a Castilianized version of the Arabic word *al-kuskus* (couscous), which was highly associated with the cuisine of Iberian Muslims. Inquisitors often considered preparing or eating couscous to be evidence against individuals who were accused of Islamicizing heresies.[70]

The character Alcuzcuz acts as a servant to the play's protagonist, Don Álvaro Tuzaní, who becomes a key leader in the rebellion that sets off the civil war that rages over the course of the play. Alcuzcuz bounces back and forth between claims of Christianity and invocations of Allah, as well as between claims of allegiance to Granadan and Castilian troops. In the second act of the play, in a scene that takes place in the Alpujarras after the war's outbreak, Garcés, a soldier standing guard for Castilian troops under Don Juan of Austria, apprehends Alcuzcuz. The soldier catches him hiding in a tangle of bushes, and assuming that he is a spy, ties him up and takes him captive. When Garcés asks him what his name is, Alcuzcuz responds: "Rice, for if I was Couscous among *moriscos*, among Christians I shall be Rice, so that it is understood that a Muslim stew becomes a Christian stew."[71]

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[69] Calderón de la Barca also names the *morisco gracioso* character Alcuzcuz in his works, *El cubo de la Almudena* and *El gran príncipe de Fez.*

[70] For example, accusations that Jerónima de la Franca, a *morisca* from Toledo, consumed couscous and ate "like a Muslim," built a case against her that landed her before the Inquisition in 1547. Olivia Remie Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, ed. Robin Vose (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 104.

[71] "Arroz; que si entre moriscos era Alcuzcuz, entre crestianos seré Arroz, porque se entienda que menestra mora pasa a ser crestiana menestra." Calderón, *Amar*, lines 1292-99.

Suddenly finding himself among Christian soldiers, Alcuzcuz/Arroz explains that his name change to Arroz is for the very purpose of making it publicly known that, he too, is Christian. Like Fernando/Abenhumeya, Alcuzcuz/Arroz uses his name to express both his religious and political allegiance and, in this case, to assert passage into the Christian community. In true *gracioso* form, he makes light of a serious situation, characterizing his conversion and corresponding name change in culinary terms. In this comical interpretation of the *gracioso*'s words, Alcuzcuz/Arroz implies that becoming Christian is as simple as changing one's preference for couscous to a preference for rice. The suggestion evokes laughter because of its obvious departure from reality. However, as is often the case with humor, there is a more violent side to the remark. Historians have noted that dietary practices that were common among Iberian Muslims became a source of debate and controversy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as authorities who advanced the establishment of orthodox Castilian cultural and religious practices struggled to stamp out Granadan customs. As Olivia Remie Constable has observed, "By the sixteenth century, inquisitors perceived Morisco food habits as un-Christian, while humanists saw them as uncivilized, and both groups believed that these Morisco manners must change before New Christians could be fully assimilated within the Christian fold."[72]

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[72] Constable, *To Live Like a Moor*, 106. In her analysis of inquisitorial records of cases filed against converts from Islam, Mercedes García-Arenal identified the following culinary practices that Old Christians associated with Islam: fasting during Ramadan, avoidance of pork products and wine, consumption only of ritually slaughtered meat, stewing with olive oil, consumption of dried and fresh fruits (especially raisins, grapes, figs, and apples), consumption of cakes called *mizgueme* or *almizgueme*, preference for goat and lamb meat, and sitting on the floor at meals. García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*, 68-74.

After Alcuzcuz/Arroz introduces himself to Garcés as Arroz, Garcés responds: "Couscous, you are now my slave".[73] This response is significant for a number of reasons. First of all, it ignores the captive *gracioso*'s claim to the name Arroz, as well as the pragmatic's prohibition of Arabic and Arabic-derived names. Secondly, given the strong associations between couscous and Islam in early modern Spain, Garcés' insistence on calling him Alcuzcuz doubles down on assumptions about Alcuzcuz/Arroz's religious affiliation and makes manifest Alcuzcuz's (perceived) Muslim status. That is, it does just the opposite of what the *gracioso* intended when he presented himself as Arroz. Indeed, he himself remarks that his taking a new name holds the purpose of making it known that he, a Muslim "stew," had become a Christian one.

The names of this character Alcuzcuz and Arroz—two comestibles—gesture towards the consumption of stereotyped characters, especially of the *morisco gracioso,* playing the role of a servant.[74] Alcuzcuz's indication that he finds himself among Christians refers most directly to the soldiers on stage who capture and plan to exploit him, consuming his labor. Yet, imagining the material space of the theater, this reference also pulls in the playgoers who surround the character in the literal, physical sense, consuming the stereotyped figure that his role embodies. Read in this light, the consumers of Alcuzcuz are not Muslims or converts from Islam (those most readily associated with the consumption of couscous), but Christian soldiers and playgoers

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[73] "Alcuzcuz, ya sois mi esclavo." Calderón, *Amar,* line 1298.

[74] Also commenting on the use of Alcuzcuz as a name, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra has suggested that by choosing a word inspired in cuisine associated with Muslims, Calderón elaborates an attack on Islam from an intimate perspective that was focused on daily lives and habits, "El Islam en los autos sacramentales," 66.

who rely on his labors as a slave (in the first case) and as an actor (in the second). In fact, other characters throughout the play, such as the protagonist, Tuzaní, to whom the *gracioso* attends as a servant, also consume Alcuzcuz's labor. In this way, the commoditization of Alcuzcuz metaphorically as a source of food, and literally as a source of labor responds to racialized conceptions of the character's religious difference as well as stereotyped views of his low socio-economic status. Furthermore, Alcuzcuz's name change goes as far as to attempt to accommodate his own consumption by and assimilation into Christian society. By changing the terms through which he is taken in—as Arroz (a Christian) instead of Alcuzcuz (a Muslim)—he presents himself not only as having adopted Castilian culinary practices, but also converting himself into rice for easy incorporation by the Christian body. He states: "I shall be Rice, so that it is understood that a Muslim stew *becomes* a Christian stew."[75]

Yet, this move is blocked; Garcés rejects the name Arroz, even before it can pass through his lips. The rest of Garcés' line—"you are now my slave"—directs audiences to what is at stake in his persistent use of the name Alcuzcuz. In order to justify his exploitation of Alcuzcuz and benefit from his enslavement, Garcés excludes the *morisco gracioso* from the body of Castilian Christians to which he is actively, and ironically, fighting to subject him. Garcés' reconstruction of the free Arroz as the slave Alcuzcuz leverages the common elision between *moriscos* and Muslims to cast Alcuzcuz as a political and religious enemy in order to justify his enslavement.

Felipe II and the Enslavement of Granadans during the War of the Alpujarras

Calderón's representation of the capture and enslavement of Alcuzcuz/Arroz engages with the ambiguous legal status that this practice had during the War of the Alpujarras. Throughout the

[75] Calderón, *Amar*, lines 1296-98 (my emphasis).

war, soldiers enslaved captives under the theory of just war.[76] According to the Alfonsine legal code *las Siete Partidas*—which served as a theoretical model for Castilian law—the primary case in which the enslavement of another human being was permissible was that of war. The *Partidas* specify, however, that enslavement is not licit in any kind of war, but rather indicates that legally enslaved people are those who are captured in "times of war being enemies of the faith" ["en tiempo de guerra seyendo enemigos de la fe"].[77] One of the factors that produced ambiguity regarding the legality of the enslavement of Granadans taken captive during the conflict in the Alpujarras was that, at least according to official terms, Granadans were baptized Christians. Their enslavement as enemies of the faith thus produced a vexing contradiction that

[76] Rafael M. Pérez García's recent study of documentation from the first four months of the war records the enslavement of 1,286 Granadans between January and April of 1569, "La Guerra y la esclavización de los moriscos de las Alpujarras (enero a abril de 1569): el reino de Granada como mercado coyuntural de esclavos," *Al-Qantara* 41, no. 1 (2020): 196.

[77] *Las Siete Partidas del Rey don Alfonso el Sabio*, tomo III, p. 117, cited in Rafael M. Pérez García, "El laboratorio ibérico de conceptos y prácticas sobre la esclavitud y los mestizajes: diversidad de experiencias, pueblos y cultura," in *De que estamos falando?Antigos conceitos e modernos anacronismos: Escravidão e mestiçagens* ed. Eduardo França Paiva, Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, and Rafael M. Pérez García (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond Ltda., 2016), 13. The second and third legal reasons for enslavement listed in the *Partidas* are being born into slavery and selling oneself, respectively.

would prompt those who advanced arguments in favor of their enslavement to question their Christianity and construe them as Muslims.[78]

Felipe II himself maintained doubts about the legality of the enslavement of Granadans. In winter of 1569 he consulted the Marqués de Mondéjar, Marqués de los Vélez, Pedro de Deza, and the members of the Chancery court, as well as the archbishop of Granada Pedro Guerrero, asking them to advise regarding the enslavement of Granadan captives. His letter expresses that while he understood the need to impose punishments to those who had taken up arms against Castile, it did not appear to him to be just or reasonable to enslave all the Granadans who had fought in the war.[79] An anonymous response titled, "Pregúntase si pueden ser captivos los moriscos y moriscas y sus hijos aunque ayan sido baptizados por averse rebelado contra el evangelio y contra su rey," [You ask if *moriscos* and *moriscas* and their children can be captives even though they have been baptized for having rebelled against the gospel and their king] argued that enslavement was licit and assured the king that he could release a pragmatic publicly stating such. The author (or authors) supported this position with the assertion that *moriscos* were barely Christians, noting that they had cruelly killed many Christians and specifying that

[78] The uncertainty regarding the enslavement of Granadan captives is reflected in several deeds of sale from the year 1569 that include clauses that make the buyer responsible for the purchase of the enslaved individual in question and excuse the seller of any legal obligation in the case that King Felipe II were to issue laws that pronounced the enslavement of Granadan converts as illegal. Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del Siglo XVI: género, raza y religión* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000), 174.

[79] Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "El cautiverio de los moriscos," *Manuscrits* 28 (2010): 22.

they made light of the sacraments as well as songs and prayers of masses and sacred images.[80] The same document refers to the section of the *Siete Partidas, which* specifies that slaves are captives taken in war and enemies of the faith (the first law of Title XXI of the Fourth Partida). The author of "Pregúntase" thus makes recourse to the *Siete Partidas* as an authoritative source on the legitimacy of slavery and, placing it alongside arguments regarding the lack of Christianity of the *moriscos* (the term used in the document), carefully casts them as enemies of both the Crown and the Church to convince Felipe II of the legality of their enslavement in the context of the War of the Alpujarras.

In March 1569 the king reached the decision that the enslavement of captives in the conflict of the Alpujarras was licit. However, his concern that such a conclusion would exacerbate violence and extend the war, as well as his apprehension regarding how Rome and other Catholic nations would perceive the enslavement of fellow Christians, led him to not to make public his ruling. Instead, he communicated the decision to a small number of interested parties directly involved: the Audiencia of Granada, the Marqués de los Vélez, and the Marqués de Mondéjar.[81] It was not until after the end of the civil war that Felipe II finally signed the pragmatic that directly addressed the enslavement of captives from the war. The document itself explicitly states that the lack of legislation up to that point had produced uncertainty about the

[80] "Pregúntase si pueden ser captivos los moriscos y moriscas y sus hijos aunque ayan sido baptizados por averse rebelado contra el evangelio y contra su rey," cited in Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 471-75. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco suggests that the memorial may have been written by Pedro Guerrero himself, while Martín Casares attributes it more generally to ecclesiastical authorities. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "El cautiverio," 23.

[81] Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "El cautiverio," 31.

legality of enslaving, buying, and selling Granadan captives.[82] As depicted in Garcés' fictional enslavement of Alcuzcuz, despite the lack of a public decision, soldiers fighting for Castile enslaved many Granadans during the conflict. The pragmatic, not made public until 1573, upheld this practice, stating: "We declare and order that the said rebel *moriscos* that were taken and captured, both men and women, being the men older than ten-and-a-half years, and the women nine-and-a-half, are and are understood to be the slaves of those who took and captured them."[83]

The terminology employed in this pragmatic, as well as in "Pregúntase, is strikingly different than that of the 1567 Pragmatic, signed by the same king, Felipe II, just five-and-a-half years apart.[84] The 1567 Pragmatic preferred the expression *nuevamente convertidos* to name the Granadans whose practices it limited. This terminological choice emphasized that the people in question were converts, that is, Christians. However, the pragmatic that upheld the enslavement of captives during the War of the Alpujarras does not employ *nuevamente convertidos* even once over the course of its four pages. Instead, it opts for the term *morisco*, which, due to its derivation from the word *moro*, activates associations with Islam rather than Christianity, despite the word's signaling of conversion. As Ross Brann has explained, the application of the term to

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[82] Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada (AHMG), C.01862.0015, n.p.

[83] "[D]eclaramos, y ma[n]damos q[ue] los d[ic]hos moriscos rebelados q[ue] fuessen tomados e captiuados, afsi hombres como mugeres, siendo los ho[m]bres mayores de diez años y medio, y las mugeres d[e] nueve y medio, fuessen y se entendiessen ser esclauos de los que los tomassen y captiuassen." AHMG, C.01862.0015, n.p.

[84] While the 1567 Pragmatic was announced and printed in that year, it was signed in November of 1566; and while the pragmatic that legalized the enslavement of Granadans captured during the civil war was printed in 1573, it was signed in July of 1572.

Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula served the purpose of marking a lack of belonging: "Because of its potent connotations, *Moor* [translating from the Spanish *moro*] arguably served as the principal linguistic vehicle for suppressing the indigenous nature of the Andalusi Muslim cultural heritage in Iberia and rendering Andalusi Muslims as others in a projected Christian Iberia."[85] The choice of the term *morisco* in this long awaited statement regarding the legality of enslaving captives, as well as in "Pregúntase" plays a similar function.

While the term *morisco* was applied to converts, rather than emphasizing their entrance within the fold of Christianity, it emphasized their Islamic heritage and obscured the fact that they were *naturales*, recasting them as internal enemies in a "just war." As Martín Casares has pointed out: "This assimilation of *moriscos* to the Islamic world […] was beneficial for the interests of the kingdom."[86] In the context of documents upholding the legality of the enslavement of Granadans, the employment of the term *morisco* is a rhetorical move: it casts the individuals in question as unfaithful, barely Christian, as political and religious enemies. Moreover, the pragmatic on slavery repeatedly pairs *morisco* with the modifier *rebelado* (rebel). This adjective added a clear marker of political opposition to the term that functioned as a marker of religious difference (again, despite conversion). The use of the term *moriscos rebelados* builds the notion that those whom it was permissible to enslave were political enemies who were "Muslim-like;" it was to justify its upholding of the legality of enslavement.

Conclusions

For his part, Calderón's fictionalized representation of practices of enslavement during the War of the Alpujarras alongside his inclusions of fictionalized versions of Spanish legislation invites

[85] Ross Brann, "The Moors?" *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): 313.

[86] Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 177.

audiences to contemplate a critical perspective regarding the actions of Castilian soldiers and lawmakers. The irony of Garcés' refusal to call the *morisco gracioso* by the name Arroz and his desire to enslave him reveals an uneasy paradox in the soldier's actions: in order to enslave Alcuzcuz/Arroz, the soldier insisted that he was a rebelling enemy of both the Crown and Church, even as Alcuzcuz/Arroz he expressed his faithfulness. The soldier's appetite for his captive's labor took priority over Castile's project to instill Catholicism in Granada. In pursuit of his own economic gains, Garcés denied Alcuzcuz/Arroz's attempts to identify and behave as a fellow Christian. In other words, in this case the one who clung to an Islamic identity and its immediate associations with political opposition was not the *morisco gracioso,* but the Castilian soldier.

A similar move is observable on the part of Castilian authorities who weighed in on the legitimacy of enslavement in the two examined circumstances that experienced debate: the enslavement of Granadan converts and descendants of converts who participated in the War of the Alpujarras, and the enslavement of indigenous Muslims in the Philippines. As in Garcés' insistence on the name Alcuzcuz and its associations with Islam, the terminological choices and rhetorical strategies of those who argued in support of enslavement reified both religious difference and political opposition in support of their positions. Garcés' insistent opting for the name Alcuzcuz over Arroz fulfills a strikingly similar function as the pragmatic on slavery's consistent employment of the terms *morisco* and *morisco rebelado* and as Felipe II's distinction between *indios*, new converts to Islam, and *moros de su nación y naturaleza.* Each of these choices in naming, whether of an individual (Alcuzcuz), or as a group classification, (*moriscos*, *moros*) referred to those in question in ways that associated them with Islam and cast them as

enemies of the Crown and Church in order to uphold practices of enslavement in situations where its legitimacy was ambiguous.

As discussed at the beginning of this article, recent research has demonstrated that beyond the courtrooms and universities, on the ground actors who promoted the enslavement of indigenous people in Mexico would, at particular and strategic moments, draw on "ideas about the bodies of indigenous people and Muslims, and specifically about their blood and inheritance" to advance pro-slavery arguments.[87] In this way, though understandings of religious inheritance and its implications for the possibility of conversion remained intensely debated, they came to play a significant role in how colonial actors and the Crown articulated policies concerning indigenous people in the Americas.[88] Close attention to the strategic use of terminologies and names in the sources analyzed in this article has revealed instances in which interested parties in both Spain and the Philippines similarly made recourse to prevailing ideas regarding religious lineage as they sought to promote the enslavement of and violence against Muslims (in the Philippines), and converts from Islam and their descendants (in Spain). At the same time, it is important to note that the petitions for the enslavement of Muslims in the Philippines presented by Legazpi and other colonial officials in Manila preceded Felipe II's legitimization of the enslavement of Granadans taken captive during the War of the Alpujarras, which presents the possibility that the enslavement of Muslims in the Philippines and the debates surrounding that practice remained present in the mind of the king as he made determinations regarding Granada. In closing, the sources and rhetorical use of names and terms examined here, invite further research on the discursive flow of naturalized concepts of perceived religious difference across

[87] Cook, "Linaje, conversión y naturalezas inestables," 106 and 107, respectively.

[88] Cook, "Linaje, conversión y naturalezas inestables," 106.

the Spanish empire and the unstable employment of such ideas in debates regarding the freedoms, privileges, and inclusion or exclusion of Muslim, convert, and indigenous populations.