

**THE RELIGION OF THE MUSLIMS OF  
MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CASTILE:  
INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH AND  
RECENT STUDIES ON MUDEJAR ISLAM (2000-2014)\***

*La religión de los musulmanes de la Castilla medieval  
y Edad Moderna temprana: investigación interdisciplinar  
y estudios recientes sobre el Islam mudéjar (2000-2014)*

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**RESUMEN:** El presente artículo examina las aportaciones recientes al estudio del islam y de las comunidades de musulmanes de Castilla en la edad medieval y moderna temprana (2000-2014). Nuestro objetivo es identificar las principales áreas de interés, los temas y las cuestiones clave abordadas por los especialistas en este campo, así como valorar la importancia de las nuevas aportaciones al conjunto existente de conocimiento de las fuentes islámicas y de la práctica del islam en Castilla. Se argumentará que las aportaciones recientes en este ámbito

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ponen al descubierto las ricas posibilidades que ofrecen para un acercamiento innovador e interdisciplinario al islam en tanto que religión vivida en minoría.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Castilla. Prácticas Islámicas. Cultura Material. Metodología. Moriscos. Mudéjares. Estudios Recientes.

**ABSTRACT:** The present article examines recent contributions to the study of Islam and Muslim communities in Medieval and Early Modern Castile (2000-2014). Our aim is to identify the main areas of focus, the topics and the key issues addressed by scholars in the field; and to consider the significance of the new findings to the existing body of knowledge of Islamic sources and of the practice of Islam in Castile. It will be argued that recent scholarship in this area demonstrates its rich possibilities for an innovative, interdisciplinary approach towards Islam as a lived minority religion.

**KEYWORDS:** Castile. Islamic practices. Material Religion. Methods. Moriscos. Mudejars. Recent Scholarship.

The Muslims who were allowed to practise Islam in public in the Christian territories of the Iberian Peninsula are generally known as Mudejars, even though this term probably only entered the Castilian language in the late fifteenth century. Although the Mudejars in Castile are known to have been a minority in later times, in some regions they were a numerical majority, especially in the early periods of the Christian conquests<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the term Mudejar, whose meaning in the Arabic sources is ‘the one who has concluded a treaty (Ar. *dajn*) [namely: with the Christian conqueror]’ does not always reflect the processes that occurred when the Christians conquered Muslim territory. Sometimes the indigenous populations did not remain and Muslims who immigrated from other parts of the Christian Kingdoms repopulated the territory<sup>2</sup>. Another pertinent point is that the term Mudejar is useful as a geographical and temporal marker but can nonetheless be exchanged with Muslim in so far as both the Mudejars and their co-religionists in Muslim lands considered them in that light<sup>3</sup>. A final point is that the word is also used with a much broader meaning, namely: for cultural productions that can be associated with their proximity to the Andalusí Islamicate culture. This is how the word Mudejar was originally used

<sup>1</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «La ‘mayoría’ mudéjar en León y Castilla: legislación real y distribución de la población (siglos XI-XIII)», *En la España Medieval*, 2006, vol. 29, pp. 7-30.

<sup>2</sup> As was the case in Andalucía and Murcia in the aftermath of the Mudejar uprising in 1264 CE. GARCÍA SANJUAN, A., «Causas inmediatas y alcance de la revuelta mudéjar de 1264», in *Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, 2002*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2004, pp. 505-518. Or the examples provided by Ladero Quesada of the morerías of Sevilla, Écija and Córdoba. LADERO QUESADA, M. A., «Los mudéjares de Castilla cuarenta años después», *En la España Medieval*, 2010, vol. 33, pp. 383-424; p. 391. On the term Mudejar see in particular LAPIEDRA GUTIÉRREZ, E., «Sobre ahl *ad-dāyn* y *mudāyḡan* en el discurso histórico literario», *Sharq al-Andalus*, 1999-2002, vol. 16-17, pp. 23-43.

<sup>3</sup> As rightly noted by Ana Echevarría Arsuaga. ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Los mudéjares: ¿minoría, marginados o ‘grupos culturales privilegiados’?», *Medievalismo*, 2008, vol. 18, pp. 45-65; p. 48.

in art historical studies but in the last few years its use has expanded to the study of other aspects of material and literary culture as well<sup>4</sup>. Since we shall focus on Islam as it was defined by the anthropologist Talal Asad, namely, as a Tradition referring to the (canonical) sources of Islam, we shall remain close to the meaning of ‘a Muslim living in Christian territory’<sup>5</sup>.

These considerations explain the title of this paper, in which we discuss trends in recent publications (2000-2014) about the Muslim communities in the Castilian territories during Medieval and Early Modern times, focusing on their Islamic beliefs and practices<sup>6</sup>. Although the Mudejars of Castile are the focus of our interest, we also pay some attention to studies of the period after the forced conversions. The overarching question we ask is in what way have the recent contributions increased our knowledge of the Islamic beliefs and practices of the Castilian Muslims.

Recent scholarship on the Mudejars of Castile has produced a large number of studies about the governance and demography of the population and the *aljamas* in various towns of the kingdom (for instance, Valladolid<sup>7</sup>, Villarrubia de los Ojos<sup>8</sup>,

<sup>4</sup> See ROBINSON, A. and ROUHI, L., «Editor’s Introduction», in ROBINSON, A. and ROUHI, L. (eds), *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* [The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 22], Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2005. FELICIANO, M. J. and ROUHI, L., «Introduction: Interrogating Iberian Frontiers», *Medieval Encounters*, 2006, vol. 12, nº 3, pp. 317-328.

<sup>5</sup> ASAD, T., *The idea of an Anthropology of Islam*, [Occasional Papers of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies], Washington, D. C., Georgetown University, 1986.

<sup>6</sup> For state of the art of studies of the Mudejars in various areas of the Iberian Peninsula since the turn of the century see, ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Los mudéjares de los reinos de Castilla y Portugal», *Revista de historia medieval*, 2001-2002, vol. 12, pp. 31-46; HINOJOSA MONTALVO, J., «Balance y perspectivas de los estudios mudéjares en España: 1975-2005», in *Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2005, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 23-110; LOPES DE BARROS, M. F., «Mudéjares de Portugal: 30 años de historiografía», in *Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2005, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 111-135; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, «Los mudéjares», 2008; LADERO QUESADA, 2010; and, MOLÉNAT, J. P., «Douze années d’études mudéjares (2001-2013)», *Hamsa. Journal of Judaic and Islamic Studies*, 2014, vol. 1, pp. 41-54. In preparing the present article, we have used the extant bibliographical tools as well as the impressive series of publications of the proceedings of the Mudejar conferences organized by the Centro de Estudios Mudéjares in Teruel, and the special issue of *Medieval Encounters* on Mudejar Studies, which grew out of the conference held at Cornell University in 2004, organized by María Judith Feliciano and Cynthia Robinson, *Interrogating Iberian Frontiers*. We have not included monographs and articles dealing with Mudejars in a more general way such as that by MILLER, K. A., *Guardians of Islam. Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2008; and CATLOS, B. A., *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050-1614*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> MORATINOS GARCÍA, M., and VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., «Consecuencias del decreto de conversión al cristianismo de 1502 en la aljama mora de Valladolid», *Sharq al-Andalus: Revista de Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 1999-2000, vol. 16-17, pp. 121-144; *Ibid.*, «Los alcáceres moriscos vecinos de Valladolid», in *Actas VIIº Congrès International sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée*, Atenas, 2003, pp. 351-362; GÓMEZ RENAÚ, M<sup>a</sup> M., «La aljama de Valladolid: nuevas aportaciones», *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 2004, vol. 15, pp. 141-163; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., «Las olvidadas de una minoría: las mujeres moriscas castellanas», in SANTO TOMÁS PÉREZ, M. *et al.* (eds.), *Vivir siendo*

Ávila<sup>9</sup>, Talavera, Plasencia<sup>10</sup> and Hornachos<sup>11</sup>) and about groups of *aljamas* in particular regions, among them the Cuenca del Duero<sup>12</sup> and the Campo de Calatrava, the latter under the jurisdiction of the Order of Calatrava<sup>13</sup>. In these studies, three

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*mujer a través de la Historia*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2005, pp. 75-85; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., «Vivir y convivir bajo la señal de la media luna: mudéjares y moriscos en Valladolid», in *El arte mudéjar en Valladolid*, Valladolid, Diputación de Valladolid, 2007, pp. 19-33; *Ibid.*, «La alcajería mudéjar en Valladolid con nombres propios. La familia Alcalde», in VAL VALDIVIESO, M<sup>o</sup> I. del, and MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, P. (coords.), *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón Baroque*, Valladolid, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 69-86.

<sup>8</sup> The various articles and books by Dadson: DADSON, T. J., «Literacy and education in Early Modern Rural Spain: the case of Villarrubia de los Ojos», *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 2004, vol. 81, n<sup>o</sup> 7-8, pp. 1011-1037; *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV-XVIII): historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*, Madrid, Iberoamericana & Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007; «The Moriscos of Villarrubia de los Ojos», in INGRAM, K. (ed.), *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change [The Morisco Issue]*, 2 vols., Leiden, Brill, 2012, vol. 2, pp. 51-74.

<sup>9</sup> JIMÉNEZ GADEA, J., «Acerca de cuatro inscripciones árabes abulenses», *Cuadernos abulenses*, 2002, vol. 31, pp. 25-72; TAPIA SÁNCHEZ, S., «Las huellas y el legado de las tres culturas religiosas en Ávila», *Anuario de Estudios Místicos*, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 41-62; ROYO BERMEJO, A., «Los mudéjares de Ávila y sus conflictos», *Historia 16*, 2005, vol. 355, pp. 26-39; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Los mudéjares al Norte del Sistema Central: nuevas aportaciones sobre la aljama de Ávila», in LOPES DE BARROS, M. F., and HINOJOSA MONTALVO, J. (eds.), *Minorías étnico-religiosas en Península Ibérica. período medieval e moderno*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2008, pp. 291-308; *Ibid.* «Los Caro-Alfágame de Ávila, una familia de alfaquies y comerciantes mudéjares», in ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A. (ed.), *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría. Biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008, pp. 203-232; JIMÉNEZ GADEA, J., «Estelas funerarias islámicas de Ávila: clasificación e inscripciones», *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie I, Prehistoria y Arqueología*, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 221-267.

<sup>10</sup> REDONDO JARRILLO, M<sup>a</sup> C., «La comunidad mudéjar de Plasencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos», *Medievalismo*, 2013, vol. 23, pp. 291-341.

<sup>11</sup> MOLÉNAT, J. P., «Hornachos fin XV<sup>e</sup> - debut XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles», *En la España Medieval*, 2008, vol. 31, pp. 161-176.

<sup>12</sup> VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., «Regulación de la convivencia con los mudéjares en las ciudades de la cuenca del Duero», in ARIZAGA BOLUMBURU, B., and SOLÓRZANO TELECHEA, J. Á. (eds.), *La convivencia en las ciudades medievales. Encuentros internacionales del medioevo 2007, Nájera, del 24 al 27 de julio de 2007*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2008, pp. 351-367.

<sup>13</sup> The Mudejars and Moriscos of the Campo de Calatrava have been the subject of a great number of studies dealing with their assimilation and integration. GÓMEZ VOZMEDIANO, M. F., *Mudéjares y moriscos en el Campo de Calatrava: reductos de convivencia, tiempos de intolerancia: siglos XV-XVII* [Biblioteca de autores manchegos, 119], Ciudad Real, Diputación de Ciudad Real, 2000; in particular pp. 9-28. DADSON, T. J., «Convivencia y cooperación entre moriscos y cristianos del Campo de Calatrava: de nuevo con Cervantes y Ricote», in CIVIL, P. (coord.), *Siglos Dorados. Homenaje a Augustin Redondo*, 2 vols., Madrid, Editorial Castalia, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 301-314. VILLEGAS DÍAZ, L. R., «Acerca de la permanencia de población musulmana en el Campo de Calatrava», in TORO CEBALLOS, F. and RODRÍGUEZ MOLINA, J. (coord.), *VI Estudios de Frontera: población y poblamiento. Homenaje a Don Manuel González Jiménez*, Jaén, Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2006, pp. 779-792. DADSON, T. J., «Educación y movilidad social entre los moriscos del Campo de Calatrava», in MARISCAL HAY, B. (ed.), *Actas del XV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas (Monterrey, 17-24 de julio de 2004)*, 4 vols., México, Fondo de Cultura Económica-Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas-Tecnológico de

major areas of interest to students of Islam can be distinguished: a) the functioning of the *aljamas* as social bodies; b) the transmission of knowledge, more particularly Islamic knowledge, within these communities; c) the relations between Muslims, Christians and Jews.

Inquiries into the Muslim *aljamas* as social bodies (a) have been formulated into a set of questions about the relationship between the social strata and structures of power within these communities. Among the most important in this respect are the various publications by Echevarría Arsuaga and by Molénat that deal with some Mudejar families with a high level of economic prestige and social standing, and with the high offices held by some of their members, as judges (*alcaldes* or *qāḍīs*)<sup>14</sup> or as religious scholars (*alfaquíes*)<sup>15</sup>. Echevarría Arsuaga argues that there is above all a historical continuity between the office of chief justice (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) in Al-Andalus on the one hand and that of *alcalde mayor* (Chief Judge) in the Late Medieval Castilian territories on the other. This continuity can be noticed, for example, in the fact that, under both Muslim and Christian rule, similar structures continued to exist, and that the judges were both in Christian and Islamic Iberia often members of the social, economic and intellectual elite. There is some discontinuity as well, as illustrated by the involvement of the Christian nobility in the appointment of the *alcaldes*. In the context of these questions, scholars have also looked at the social mobility and social competition that unfolded through networks of power and extended throughout the Iberian territories. These studies show that social

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Monterrey-El Colegio de México, 2007, vol. 2, pp. 127-138. ALMAGRO VIDAL, C., and VILLEGAS DÍAZ, L. R., «Sobre la persistencia de población mudéjar en el Campo de Calatrava: algunas noticias más» in TORO CEBALLOS, F. and RODRÍGUEZ MOLINA, J. (coord.), *Estudios de frontera. Islam y Cristiandad, siglos XII-XVI. Homenaje a la profesora M<sup>a</sup> Jesús Viguera Molins*, Jaén, Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2010, pp. 37-55. ALMAGRO VIDAL, C., «De nuevo sobre la pervivencia mudéjar en el Campo de Calatrava: el sector sudoccidental» in TORO CEBALLOS, F. and RODRÍGUEZ MOLINA, J. (coord.), *VIII Estudios de frontera. Mujeres y fronteras*, Jaén, Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2011, pp. 29-40. IBID., «La Orden de Calatrava y la minoría mudéjar», in FERNANDES, I. C. F. (coord.), *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI encontro sobre ordens militares 10 a 14 Março 2010*, 2 vols., Palmela, GEsOs, 2012, vol. 2, pp. 617-630. DADSON, J. T., *Tolerance and Coexistence in Early Modern Spain: Old Christians and Moriscos in the Campo de Calatrava*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (I)», *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes*, 2003, vol. 24, n<sup>o</sup> 1, pp. 139-168. *Ibid.*, «De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV (II)», *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes*, 2003, vol. 24, n<sup>o</sup> 2, pp. 273- 290. MOLÉNAT, J. P., «La question de l'élite mudéjare dans la Péninsule Ibérique médiévale», in THEMUDO BARATA, F. (ed.), *Elites e Redes Clientelares na Idade Média. Problemas Metodológicos. Actas do colóquio, [junho de 2000, Universidade de Évora]*, Lisbonne and Évora, Edições Colibri-CIDEHUS, 2001, pp. 45-53; *Ibid.*, «L'élite mudéjare de Tolède aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Alfaquíes, alcaldes et alcaldes mayores de moros», in BARTHÉLEMY, D., and MARTIN, J. M. (coords.), *Liber Largitorius. Études d'histoire médiévales offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, Paris, Droz, 2003, pp. 563-577.

<sup>15</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, «Los Caro-Alfageme de Ávila», 2008; MOLÉNAT, J. P., «Alfaquíes anonymes dans la Castille des Rois Catholiques: un procès d'héritage entre moros d'Estrémadure, 1495», in ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, *Biografías mudéjares*, 2008, pp. 417-470.

stratification on economic and social grounds is certainly one key to understanding the internal governance of the Muslim communities in Castile<sup>16</sup>.

These particular studies have largely focused on archival documents extant in Castilian archives, however we are convinced that it is precisely research on the combination of sources, archival documents, material culture and Mudejar codices and manuscript sources in Arabic and Castilian that will lead the way to a better understanding of the transmission of religious knowledge among the Castilian Mudejars (b). One of the problems in the textual research carried out so far, we would argue, has been the difficulty in identifying manuscripts in Arabic and Spanish (both in Latin script and *Aljamiado*) as originating from a Mudejar background. Having enumerated the problems, we shall now turn to the progress made in the last few years and discuss some of the findings.

In the discussion about the textual transmission of religious knowledge, Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva shows that the Castilian manuscript of the *Leyes de Moros* did indeed circulate in Latin script in fourteenth-century Castile and was used by Christian authorities involved in the administration of Islamic law<sup>17</sup>. This finding is consistent with the earlier research by Soha Abboud Hajjar on the sources of the *Leyes de Moros*, namely: the work on jurisprudence, *Al-Tafīrī fī-l-fiqh*, written by the

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<sup>16</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Las aljamas mudéjares castellanas en el siglo XV: redes de poder y conflictos internos», *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 2001, vol. 14, pp. 93-112; MOLÉNAT, «La question de l'élite mudéjare», 2001; *Ibid.*, «En los últimos años del siglo XV. El fin de los 'mudéjares viejos' de Castilla», in GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, J. A. *et al*, *Fines de siglo y milenarismo*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2001, pp. 31-56; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Conversión y ascenso social en la Castilla del siglo XV: los casos de Farax de Belvis y García Ramírez de Jaén», in *Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, 1999*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002, pp. 555-565; ROYO BERMEJO, «Los mudéjares de Ávila», 2005; ORTEGO RICO, P., «Elites y clientelas mudéjares de Guadalajara durante el siglo XV», in *Actas del XI simposio internacional de mudejarismo, 2008*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2009, 645-658; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Desplazamientos de población y movilidad social en los inicios del mudejarismo castellano», in *Actas del XI Congreso de Estudios Medievales, Ávila-León, Fundación Sánchez Albormoz, 2009*, pp. 499-520; REDONDO JARRILLO, «La comunidad mudéjar de Plasencia», 2013. Important here is the publication by Echevarría Arsuaga on the Moorish guard of the Castilian Kings Juan II and Enrique IV. ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., *Caballeros en la frontera. La guardia morisca de los reyes de Castilla (1410-1467)*, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2006/ Engl. Trans. *Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410-1467)*, Leiden, Brill, 2009.

<sup>17</sup> VILLAVARDE AMIEVA, J. C., «Un papel de Francisco Antonio González sobre 'códices escritos en castellano con caracteres árabes' (Real Academia de la Historia, año 1816) y noticia de las copias modernas de *Leyes de Moros*», in SUÁREZ GARCÍA, R., and CEBALLOS VIRO, I., *Aljamías. In Memoriam Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes y Jacob M. Hassán*, Gijón, Ediciones Trea, 2012, pp. 131-214. See also Wiegiers's hypothesis regarding the origins of this text in WIEGERS, G. A. *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, 1994, Leiden, Brill, pp. 57-59. See also VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., and ARAUS BALLESTEROS, L., «La identidad musulmana de los mudéjares de la Cuenca del Duero a finales de la Edad Media. Aportaciones desde la aljama de Burgos», *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 2014, vol. 27, pp. 525-546; p. 532, who also find evidence for the use of the *Leyes de Moros* in Castile.

tenth-century author Ibn al-Jallāb al-Baṣrī. This text has been the subject of various publications, including a recent edition by Abboud Hajjar<sup>18</sup>.

Another important problem that has puzzled scholars is the whereabouts of the lost translation of the Qurʾān made by the Segovian *faqīh* and *alcalde*, Yça Gidelli, in collaboration with the theologian Juan de Segovia, and its precise contents. This work has inspired several new contributions. First among them, the recent edition and study by López-Morillas of the Qurʾān T 235 preserved in the Public Library of Toledo, copied out in Latin characters (T235) (from an *Aljamiado Vorlage*). This is an important contribution to our knowledge about the transmission of knowledge of Islam in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *aljamas*<sup>19</sup>. T 235 presents the only complete version of the translation (-cum-commentary) of the Qurʾān circulating among Mudejars and Moriscos that has come down to us. López-Morillas sees no evidence of a textual relationship between T 235 and the now lost translation of the Qurʾān by Yça Gidelli. Instead, her important study places T 235 in the tradition of transmission of Qurʾānic learning in Aragón<sup>20</sup>. However, Roth and Gleis have shown that some passages in a Latin manuscript extant in Seville are indeed fragments of Juan de Segovia's lost Latin translation of the Qurʾān made in collaboration with the Segovian Mudejar<sup>21</sup>.

A hitherto unknown Mudejar travel account (*rihla*) written at the end of the fifteenth century by a Mudejar from Ávila has been the subject of a preliminary survey by Casassas Canals. Importantly it might shed new light on Yça Gidelli's biography, as well as on the milieu of the people known as the Mancebo de Arévalo and other Mudejars in Castile. Omar Patún, very probably the name of the author of

<sup>18</sup> All translations and adaptations of this work seem to have been carried out in Aragón. ABBOUD HAJJAR, S., «El tratado jurídico islámico de Al-Tafri' en el ms. Morisco T232 de la B. P. de Toledo, en caracteres latinos, fechado en 1607», in MONFERRER SALA, J. P., and MARCOS ALDÓN, M. (coords.), *Graphicon: códigos, manuscritos e imágenes: estudios filológicos e históricos*, Córdoba, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2003, pp. 241-257. SHABOU, I., *El manuscrito morisco de Al-Tafri' de Ibn al-Ġallab: edición, estudio lingüístico y glosario del manuscrito 232 de la Biblioteca Pública de Toledo*, Madrid, Editorial Académica Española, 2012.

<sup>19</sup> LÓPEZ MORILLAS, C., *El Corán de Toledo: Edición y estudio del Manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha*, Gijón, Ediciones Trea, 2011. This edition serves as point of departure for many studies. Roberto Tottoli, for example, discusses the use of calques from Arabic in eschatological terms in T235, see TOTTOLI, R., «The Toledo Qurʾān and Islamic Eschatology: Translating the Names of Hell in Aljamiado Literature», *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes*, 2014, vol. 35, n° 2, pp. 527-553.

<sup>20</sup> LÓPEZ-MORILLAS, C., «Textos religiosos de mudéjares y moriscos», in *Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, 2002*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2004, pp. 157-164. DE EPALZA, M., *El Corán y sus traducciones: propuestas*, Alicante, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2008.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ROTH, U., and GLEI, R. F., «Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund», *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2009, vol. 11, pp. 109-154. ROTH, U., and GLEI, R. F., «Eine weitere Spur der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia», *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2011, vol. 13, pp. 221-228; and ROTH, U., «La traducción del Corán de Juan de Segovia», *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes*, 2014, vol. 35, n° 2, pp. 555-578.

the *rihla*, recounts the death of one Don Isa's death on his journey back from the *haji*. He says that he had died in Tunis and was buried there. Casassas Canals identifies 'Don Isa' as Yça Gidelli<sup>22</sup>. The manuscript in question is preserved in the Library of the Cortes de Aragón, shelf-mark MS L 771-4, and can be found online on the website of this library. Until some years ago it had remained in private possession, and hence has only recently become available for research. The identification seems likely, but further study of the text needs to be carried out.

There has also been important progress in other studies of Mudejar manuscripts. This can be seen in the research done by Hofman Vannus<sup>23</sup> into the Mudejar codices in the collection discovered in Ocaña in 1969 and that done by María Ángeles Pérez Álvarez and María José Rebollo Ávalos on the Arabic texts discovered a few years ago in Hornachos. In both cases the discoveries were made during building activities. Apparently, these manuscripts had been in the possession of Morisco owners, who had hidden the manuscripts of their Mudejar forebears in their houses.

Finally, there has been new evidence presented by the second author of the present contribution in her research into the Mudejar polemic against the Christians and the Jews entitled *Kitāb al-Mujādala ma'a l-Yahūd wa'l-Naṣārā* ['The Book Called Disputation with the Jews and the Christians']<sup>24</sup>. She has concentrated in particular on the *maqālāt* attributed to the *qāḍī* Abū-l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Lakhmī ash-Sharafī, who is referred to in the preface of the polemic as the 'glorified/exalted and well-born *qāḍī*' (al-qāḍī al-ajal al-ḥasīb, Ms. AF 58, f. 31v). In an earlier publication about Mudejar polemics, Wiegiers has followed a suggestion of P. S. van Koningsveld, who thinks that this *qāḍī* was a member of to the well-known Sharafī

<sup>22</sup> CASASSAS CANALS, X, «La Riḥla de Omar Patún: el viaje de peregrinación a la Meca de un musulmán de Ávila a finales del siglo XV (1491-1495)» in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 2015, vol. 28, pp. 221-254; for don Isa see p. 248.

<sup>23</sup> See MARTÍNEZ RUIZ, J., and ALBARRACÍN NAVARRO, J., «Libros, árabes, aljamiado mudéjares y bilingües descubiertos en Ocaña», *Revista de Filología Española*, 1972, vol. 55, n° 1-2, pp. 63-64, with images. In spite of the fact that they were discovered some thirty-five years ago, we still lack an accurate description and localization of the manuscripts in their historical Castilian context, as noted by CASASSAS CANALS, X., «La literatura islámica castellana: siglos XIII-XVII (Catálogo de textos de mudéjares y moriscos escritos en caracteres latinos)», *Al-Andalus-Magreb*, 2009, vol. 16, pp. 89-113, note 39. HOFMAN VANNUS, I., *Historias religiosas musulmanas en el manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña: edición y estudio*, (Unpublished PhD Dissertation), Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001; ID., «El manuscrito mudéjar morisco de Ocaña», *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 2003, vol. 14, pp. 119-128; ID., «El trono (de Dios), en el mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña», *Ilustración. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones*, 2004, vol. 9, pp. 91-100; ID., «El Ḥadīth de 'El profeta Muḥammad y el niño huérfano', en el Manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña, cotejado con la versión aljamiado-morisca en el Manuscrito II/3226 de la Biblioteca Real en Madrid», *Sharq Al-Andalus: Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 2003-2007, vol. 18, pp. 145-163; ID., «El manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña: un breviarario musulmán recuperado», in *Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2005, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 593-603.

<sup>24</sup> This polemic is preserved in a unique manuscript, Ms. AF 58 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and was copied in 1405 CE in Piṭrūla, a town that most probably should be identified as Pedrola (Aragón).

family<sup>25</sup>, and adduces the possibility that his work might have been adapted by an anonymous Mudejar author<sup>26</sup>. Some of the Sharafī's were *qāḍīs* in Castile –*alcaldes* or *alcaldes mayores*<sup>27</sup> and Abū-l- Abbās al-Lakhmī ash-Sharafī might have been one of them, in particular, the mid-fourteenth-century Toledan *qāḍī* 'Hamete' or Aḥmad Sharafī.

The possibility that Hamete was the *qāḍī* Abū-l- Abbās Aḥmad al-Lakhmī ash-Sharafī in *Kitāb al-Mujādala* is reinforced by the fact that a certain Hamete Sharafī, or Xarafī, is mentioned in a letter signed in Santorcaz (Madrid) in 1351 CE, in which it is said that he was 'moro allcall de los moros' [Moor, *alcalde*, or *qāḍī*, of the Moors] and that he owned houses in Alcalá (that is, de Henares) adjacent to the '*chemin de ronde*' of the Jewish *aljama* ('adarve de la judería')<sup>28</sup>. The minutes of the meetings of a Muslim funerary brotherhood in Toledo during the years 1402-1414 CE, recently published by Echevarría Arsuaga and Mayor, contain references to an ibn Muḥammad [al-Lakhmī] ash-Sharafī<sup>29</sup>. This combination of *nisba* also appears in a document discussed in a recent article by Villanueva Zubizarreta and Araus Ballesteros. This document refers to a lawsuit in 1501 CE that had been brought in Valladolid. In it, the *faqīh* Ibrahim al-Lajmī Xarafī is mentioned<sup>30</sup>. This adds to the evidence that the *qāḍī* ash-Sharafī in the said polemic could have been Hamete Sharafī, or one of his descendants. Internal evidence suggests that these '*maqālāt*' are one of the major sources of the *Kitāb al-Mujādala*. They seem to have been incorporated into this polemic to reinforce the arguments of a later, unknown, author, who might very well have been located in Castile, within the circles of the Sharafī family<sup>31</sup>. Should Hamete himself have indeed been the author, he would be the first Mudejar *qāḍī* whom we know was involved in religious polemics.

<sup>25</sup> WIEGERS, G. A. «Biographical elements in Arabic and Spanish anti-Christian and anti-Jewish Mudejar writings», in ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, *Biografías mudéjares*, 2008, pp. 497-516; p. 507. There might have been various branches of the family, one in cities in Castile such as Toledo and Valladolid, and the other in Aragón (Huesca).

<sup>26</sup> WIEGERS, *op. cit.*, p. 507, note 28.

<sup>27</sup> WIEGERS, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-507, cf. MOLÉNAT, J. P., «Une famille de l'élite Mudejare de la Couronne de Castille: Les Xarafi de Toledé et d'Alcalá de Henares», in TEMIMI, A., and CARDAILLAC, L., *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac*, 2 vols., Zaghuan, FTERSIS, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 765-772.

<sup>28</sup> FERNÁNDEZ Y GONZÁLEZ, F., *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid, Imprenta a cargo de Joaquín Muñoz, 1886; p. 383-384.

<sup>29</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., and MAYOR, R., «Las actas de reunión de una cofradía islámica de Toledo. Una fuente árabe para el estudio de los mudéjares castellanos. Años 1404 a 1414», *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 2010, Tomo 207, n° 2, pp. 257-293.

<sup>30</sup> VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, O., and ARAUS BALLESTEROS, L., «La identidad musulmana», 2014, pp. 530-531.

<sup>31</sup> See, COLOMINAS APARICIO, M., «Notions of Minority and Religious Authority in the Polemics of the Mudejars of Christian Iberia», in *Conference 'Minorities in Contact'*, Woolf Institute and Faculty of History, University of Cambridge, St Catharine's College, Cambridge, 23-24 April 2015 (Unpublished paper).

The continued use of Arabic by the Muslims in Castile until the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century is confirmed by the above-mentioned publications by Echevarría Arsuaga and Mayor on a Muslim brotherhood in Toledo and by that by Villanueva Zubizarreta and Araus Ballesteros on the *aljama* of Burgos. These studies show that Arabic continued to be used in specific documents such as inscriptions and texts in mosques and cemeteries<sup>32</sup>. Questions about Muslims' knowledge of Arabic are directly related to the more general issues on literacy problematized by Dadson in the particular case of Moriscos in the Early Modern period. This author does not restrict literacy to the ability to read and write but expands it to a broader activity that includes owning books and placing a signature. By focusing on four distinct groups in the Castilian town of Villarrubia de los Ojos (the nobility, the clergy, the merchants/artisans, and the workers and peasants), Dadson challenges the view that at that time the countryside was illiterate while the urban space was literate. He shows, moreover, how the Moriscos in this village sought to integrate and wanted to have access to forms of education similar to those available to the rest of the population<sup>33</sup>. We mention his studies here because the questions posed are directly relevant to the Mudejar period as well.

There have been a smaller number of publications about Mudejar women<sup>34</sup> and about the relations of the Muslims in Castile with Christians and Jews (c). In the last category we find the volume dealing with interreligious and intercultural relations edited by Robinson and Rouhi<sup>35</sup>, various publications on Christian-Muslim relations<sup>36</sup> and Jewish-Muslim relations in Castilian cities, such as Guadalajara<sup>37</sup>, and some

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<sup>32</sup> JIMÉNEZ GADEA, «Acerca de cuatro inscripciones», 2002; *Ibid.*, «Estelas funerarias», 2009; ORTEGO RICO, P., *Las comunidades mudéjares del arzobispado de Toledo. Siglos XI-XV*, (Third cycle Unpublished Thesis), Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009; ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, and MAYOR, «Las actas de reunión de una cofradía islámica», 2010; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, and ARAUS BALLESTEROS, «La identidad musulmana», 2014.

<sup>33</sup> DADSON, «Literacy and education», 2004; *Ibid.*, «Educación y movilidad social», 2007; *Ibid.*, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos*, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> MOLÉNAT, J. P., «Privilegiées ou poursuivies: quatre sages-femmes musulmanes dans la Castille du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle», in DE LA PUENTE, C. (ed.), *Identidades marginales*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003, pp. 413-430; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, «Las olvidadas», 2005; HOFMAN VANNUS, I., «Espejo de mujeres mudéjares. Ideales de mujer reflejados en el manuscrito mudéjar de Ocaña», *Encuentro islamo-cristiano*, vol. 416, serie D: Islam, pp. 1-15.

<sup>35</sup> ROBINSON and ROUHI, *Under the Influence*, 2005.

<sup>36</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «'Vassal and Friend'. Strategies of Mudejar Submission and Resistance to Christian Power in Castile», in HAMES, H. J. (ed.), *Jews, Muslims and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon*, Leiden, Brill, 2003, pp. 183-196; *Ibid.*, «Pautas de adaptación de los mudéjares a la sociedad castellana bajomedieval», in *Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2002, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2004, pp. 47-60. DADSON, «Literacy and education», 2004; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, «Vivir y convivir», 2007; VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, «Regulación de la convivencia», 2008.

<sup>37</sup> ORTEGO RICO, «Élites y clientelas», 2009. VIÑUALES FERREIRO, G., «Aproximación al estudio de la comunidad mudéjar de Guadalajara», in *Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2005,

contributions dealing with Christian views on and policies towards Muslims in Castile in particular and in the Iberian Peninsula generally<sup>38</sup>. Some attention has been paid to the changes that inevitably had to occur when an *aljama* changed jurisdiction (for example, when it moved from being ‘*de señorío*’ to ‘*de realengo*’, or vice-versa), and in the transitions of *aljamas* from the Mudejar to the Morisco periods<sup>39</sup>. The contact of old Mudejars with the new Mudejars from Granada has also attracted the attention of a number of scholars: several publications emphasize that the migration of the latter group disrupted the equilibrium in the Castilian society and was perceived to be a danger by the Christians, perhaps offering an explanation of the latter’s changing policies towards one or the other group<sup>40</sup>.

These studies make it increasingly clear that a substantial number of important Mudejar texts and intellectual contributions can be linked to the *aljamas* in northern Castile. The recent interdisciplinary researches on various aspects of Mudejar life have been represented in recent monographs and articles, among which we would like to mention Ana Echevarría Arsuaga’s study of funerary practices<sup>41</sup>, her monograph *The City of Three mosques: Ávila and its Muslims in the Middle Ages*<sup>42</sup>, and Villanueva

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Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007, pp. 501-512; *Ibid.*, «Aspectos de la convivencia entre moros y judíos en la ciudad de Guadalajara en la Edad Media», in *Actas del XI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, 2008*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2009, pp. 635-643. A comprehensive study of the relations between Muslims and Jews in Castile still needs to be carried out.

<sup>38</sup> LADERO QUESADA, M. A., «Isabel y los musulmanes de Castilla y Granada», in VALDEÓN BARUQUE, J. (coord.), *Isabel la Católica y la política. Ponencias presentadas al I Simposio sobre el reinado de Isabel la Católica, celebrado en las ciudades de Valladolid y México en el otoño de 2000*, Ámbito, Instituto Universitario de Simancas, 2001, pp. 91-114. MENDIZÁBAL, M. F., «Las imágenes del Islam y de los musulmanes en la corona de Castilla: construcciones discursivas cristianas (ss. XII-XV)», *Estudios de Historia de España*, 2010, vol. 12, n° 2, pp. 353-368; CARRASCO MANCHADO, A. I., *De la convivencia a la exclusión: imágenes legislativas de mudéjares y moriscos. Siglos XIII-XVII*, Madrid, Sílex, 2012; GHAZALI, M., «Marginalisation et exclusion des minorités religieuses en Espagne: Juifs et Maures en Castille à la fin du Moyen-Age», *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 2004, vol. 69, pp. 129-140; REDONDO JARRILLO, «La comunidad mudéjar de Plasencia», 2013. Also, the detailed survey of the Muslim population and the impact of Christian policies towards Muslims in the Crown of Castile on majority-minority relationships in the fifteenth century by Montes Romero-Camacho. MONTES ROMERO-CAMACHO, I., «Las comunidades mudéjares en la Corona de Castilla durante el siglo XV» in *Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, 1999*, Teruel, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 367-480.

<sup>39</sup> GÓMEZ VOZMEDIANO, 2000; MORATINOS GARCÍA, and VILLANUEVA ZUBIZARRETA, «Consecuencias del decreto de conversión», 1999- 2000; REDONDO JARRILLO, «La comunidad mudéjar de Plasencia», 2013.

<sup>40</sup> MOLÉNAT, «En los últimos años del siglo XV. El fin de los ‘mudéjares viejos’ de Castilla», 2001; GÓMEZ RENAU, «La aljama de Valladolid», 2009; GARCÍA LÓPEZ, A., «Reflexiones en torno a la expulsión de los moriscos en Guadalajara», *Wad-al-ayara*, 2008-2009-2010, vols. 35-36-37, pp. 111-136.

<sup>41</sup> ECHEVARRÍA ARSUAGA, A., «Islamic Confraternities and Funerary Practices: Hallmarks of Mudejar Identity in the Iberian Peninsula?», *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 2013, vol. 25, n° 3, pp. 345-368.

<sup>42</sup> Translated from the Spanish by Consuelo López-Morillas, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 2011.

Zubizarreta and Araus Ballesteros' study of the Islamic identity of the Mudejars. These studies also make it possible to evaluate local forms of Islam<sup>43</sup>.

It is indeed with regard to local culture that the scholarship we have just discussed presents some interesting advances. We are referring in particular to precious gifts for the deceased discovered during archaeological excavations. Echevarría Arsuaga considers these customs to be deviations from Mālikite practices, affected by the time spent by the Mudejars under Christian rule, but, we would suggest these practices could also be seen as expressions of popular, that is, local forms of Islam. Hence the findings discussed here might tend to reach beyond the sometimes real, sometimes alleged tension between normativity and practice in Islam and the idea that Mudejar Islam was 'deviant' or 'peripheral'. What these contributions above all demonstrate is that the study of Islam in Medieval Castile has become a field in which an *interdisciplinary* approach (a combination of studying material culture (including funerary objects), texts and (ritual) practices), has become more prominent and promising.

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<sup>43</sup> See for earlier studies on local religion: CHRISTIAN, W. A., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981.