MUSLIM AND JEWISH "OTHERNESS" IN THE SPANISH NATION-BUILDING PROCESS THROUGHOUT THE RECONQUISTA (1212-1614)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

EVRİM TÜRKÇELİK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN STUDIES

AUGUST 2003

ABSTRACT

MUSLIM AND JEWISH "OTHERNESS" IN THE SPANISH NATION-BUILDING PROCESS THROUGHOUT THE RECONQUISTA (1212-1614)

Türkçelik, Evrim

M.Sc. Department of European Studies

Supervisor: Assist.Prof.Dr. Mustafa Soykut

August 2003, 113 pages

In 1492, the Catholic Monarchs Isabel and Ferdinand conquered Granada, the last Muslim Kingdom in Spain, issued the edict of expulsion of Jews and charged Christopher Columbus to find out a western route to Indies who by coincidence discovered America. These three momentous events led to construction of Spanish national unity and of the Spanish world empire. In this study, what we are looking for is the impact of the first two events, the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews, on the formation of the Spanish national unity and the Spanish nationhood vis-à-vis Jews and Muslims in its historical context. In this study, the concept of nation-building would be employed not in economic but in political, religious and cultural terms. This study, by using the historical analysis method, found that centuries-long Muslim and Jewish presence in Spain and the Spaniards' fight for exterminating this religious, cultural and political pluralism led to the formation of unitary Catholic state and society in Spain in the period under consideration.

Keywords: Crusades, Reconquista, Catholic Monarchs, Spanish Inquisition, the Papacy, Christianity, Islam, Castile, Aragon, Morisco, Jews, Turks

ÖZ

RECONQUISTA BOYUNCA İSPANYA'NIN ULUSLAŞMA SÜRECİNDE
MÜSLÜMAN VE YAHUDİ "ÖTEKİ" KİMLİĞİ (1212-1614)

Türkçelik, Evrim

Master, Avrupa Çalışmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd.Doç.Dr. Mustafa Soykut

Ağustos 2003, 113 sayfa

1492 yılında, Katolik Hükümdarlar Isabel ve Ferdinand Granada'yı fethettiler, Yahudilerin İspanya'dan sürülmesi amacıyla bir ferman yayınladılar ve Hindistan'a batıdan bir yol bulmak için yola çıkan ancak tesadüfen Amerika'yı keşfeden Christopher Columbus'u görevlendirdiler. Bu üç önemli olay İspanya'nın ulusal birliğini ve İspanyol Dünya İmparatorluğu'nu kurmasına temel oluşturdu. Bu çalışmada, ilk iki olayın (Granada'nın fethi ve Yahudilerin sürülmesi), tarihsel bağlamı içerisinde, Yahudi ve Müslüman "öteki" kimliği karşısında İspanyol ulusal kimliğinin ve ulusal birliğinin oluşum sürecine etkisi araştırılmaktadır. Uluslaşma kavramı politik, dini ve kültürel açılardan ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışma, tarihsel analiz yöntemini kullanarak, İspanya'da yüzyıllar süren Müslüman ve Yahudi varlığının ve İspanyolların bu dini, politik ve kültürel çoğulculuğu yok etme mücadelesinin İspanya'da saf Katolik devlet ve toplumun gerçekleşmesinde söz konusu dönemde oynadığı rolü ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Haçlı Seferleri, Reconquista, Katolik Hükümdarlar, İspanyol Engizisyonu, Papalık, Hıristiyanlık, İslam, Kastilya, Aragon, Morisco, Yahudiler, Türkler

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In acknowledging the help I received during this study, I, first of all, express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Soykut for his precious advice and comment and especially for his kindness throughout the study.

I am also grateful to Assist. Prof. Dr. Galip L. Yalman for his support and encouragement throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies. Special thanks go to Assist. Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur for his careful reading and valuable comments.

Finally, I would like to express my indebtedness to my parents for their patience and moral support throughout my life.

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: Signature:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1492, the Catholic Monarchs Isabel and Ferdinand conquered Granada, the last Muslim Kingdom in Spain, issued the edict of expulsion of Jews and charged Christopher Columbus to find out a western route to Indies who by coincidence discovered America. These three momentous events led to construction of Spanish national unity and of the Spanish world empire. In this study, what we are looking for is the impact of the first two events, the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews, on the formation of the Spanish national unity and the Spanish nationhood vis-à-vis Jews and Muslims in its historical context. In this study, the concept of nation-building would be employed not in economic but in political, religious and cultural terms.

The interpretation of the Spanish past is unlikely to be carried out without taking into account the works of Americo Castro and Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz. Castro's book, *The Spaniards: an Introduction to their History,* whose first edition was published in Spanish in 1948, paved the way for continuous debates over Spanish national identity and formation of the Spanish nation-state. As a response and as a refutation of Castro's thesis, Sanchez-Albornoz wrote *Spain: a Historical Enigma* in 1956, only eight years after Castro's book.

According to Castro, Spain and Spanish identity were the result of eight centuries of *convivencia*, that means coexistence, of the three religions, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, in the medieval peninsula. All the attempts to explain the Spanishness of the inhabitants of the peninsula in reference to the Roman and Visigothic periods are futile as stated by Castro. However, contrary to Castro, Sanchez-Albornoz claimed that, the pre-Islamic period had to be taken into the consideration when assessing the later developments in Spain. He believed in *homo hispanus,* an idea of Spanish identity, which he thought it was shaped even before the arrival of the Romans. He discarded any idea of fusion of the Christian, Muslim and Jewish cultures and he suggested that Muslim culture did not have any significant effect on the evolution of Christian Spain. Although they possess attitudes opposing each other, both Castro and Sanchez-Albornoz are in consensus that Middle Ages are of crucial importance in the historical evolution of Spain in terms of identity and nation-state formation. While Castro was arguing that Spain was the product of the "embeddedness" of the three religions, Sanchez Albornoz's claim was that *homo hispanus* was the element lying beneath the Spanish identity. According to Sanchez-Albornoz, the main point is that Spain had never surrendered its Christian identity to the political and cultural dominance of Islam in the peninsula, and the maintenance of Christian identity, inwardly or outwardly, led to the formation of Christian Spain, at the expense of Islamic dominance, with the end of Reconquista in 1492.

In fact, since the work of Sanchez-Albornoz was written primarily with an endeavor to refute Castro's thesis, it includes an obvious downgrading of the influence of non-Christian inhabitants in the history of Spain. It was Castro's extreme concentration on the significance of interaction of Christians, Muslims and

2

Jews in explaining the modern Spain that motivated Sanchez-Albornoz to challenge him.

Throughout this study, while making use of these two disputatious books, it is acknowledged that Islam played a decisive part in the construction of Spanish-Christian identity, not as an essential component in the origin of Spanish nationality, but as an "other" against which the Christian inhabitants defined themselves.

In order to make a better comprehension of the Islam's "otherness" in the formation of Spanish nationality, a wider European perspective of the relevant periods should be developed. For such a perspective John Tolan's book, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* is the one mostly utilized. Also, some specific themes in Gerard Delanty's *Inventing Europe: idea, identity, reality* is implemented into the study as much as they are relevant.

John Tolan provides us a general framework of the European perceptions of the non-Christians by specifically assessing the primary sources. In general, he suggests that the Western attitudes towards Islam have its roots in the middle ages. Although he does not think that it is still the same attitude, he advocates that the problematic approach of European culture to Islam evolved throughout the history by the emphasis put on Western superiority over Muslim world. According to him, Europeans of thirteenth century saw themselves religiously superior than the Islam. Twentieth century counterparts continued to stress again superiority, but this time, it was the cultural and intellectual superiority. Tolan's main attempt was to show how the certain representations of Islam were created for specific objectives and how these representations worked as ideological tools. According to him, these ideological tools were the indicators of how a culture could use its difference from

another culture as a weapon to label it as "enemy". In his *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Samuel P. Huntington wrote about the role of Islam in the new world order as such:

> With the end of the Cold War, America needed a new ideological bogeyman to serve as an alleged external threat; and perhaps this explains the recent resurgence of anti-Islamic imagery…[1]

This passage appears to be demonstrating how valid the arguments of Tolan are, in terms of the continuity of the portrayals of Islam for particular purposes in the modern age. Tolan's work, while presenting us the first hand official rhetoric of Christian Kings in Spain, which was the microcosm of what was happening in the broad-spectrum of European milieu of the time, becomes extremely illuminative when linkage of his arguments was extended up to contemporary European and North American conceptualizations of Islam.

Gerard Delanty's *Inventing Europe: idea, identity, reality* is very valuable in terms of its theoretical conceptualizations over the significance of "rhetoric of otherness" in the formation of European identity. According to him, European identity developed by accentuating the cultural and religious distinction between the Christian Self and the Muslim Other. The permanent implication of the Islamic expansion was that Europe acquired a connotation identified with Christianity and defined as a community with a distinct territory, a *respublica christiana.* Christianity and Europe became identical terms representing each other: Christianity represented Europe and at the same time, Europe represented Christianity. This mutual representation paved the way for an image creation of 'Others' defined as non-

---

[1] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), p. 226.

Christian and non-European. Clear demarcation lines were set that distinguish the Christian-European Self from the others, this, as a consequence, led to the augmentation of rhetorical dichotomies.

Throughout the research, the basic concepts introduced by Delanty about the European identity are implemented to the Spanish case necessarily within a broad European framework. As the Spanish nation-state and national unity and identity was created in opposition to the Islam and as Spain invested massive effort in eliminating Moors (Jews should not be forgotten) and Moorish culture from the freshly constituted nation, the consolidation of the Spanish state is tried to be conceptualized by employing the theoretical skeleton of Delanty as much as it is applicable.

Throughout the study, the basic method that will be pursued will be built on textual interpretation and historical analysis. Since our subject requires the explanation of historical events, interpretative technique would inevitably require the critical assessment of the relevant historical period. However, any critical evaluation of the Spanish history can not be carried out without taking into account the political milieu of the period during which some of our essential sources were written.

The rise of nationalism against the republican Azaña government in the 1936's brought into the agenda the ideas of the historian M. Menendez y Pelayo, who wrote a prejudiced and chauvinistic account of the Spanish history in his book *Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles* (History of the Spanish Heterodoxies). As we learn from the article of D.W. Foard, "The Spanish Fichte: Menendez y Pelayo", the escalation of the nationalist rise took its rhetorical supports from the work of Menendez y Pelayo. General Franco, who had described his National Movement as a "crusade" seems to be inspired mostly by the writings of Menendez y Pelayo. The

book of Americo Castro, *The Spaniards: an Introduction to their History*, was written in 1948 during the Francoist dictatorship. His book, composed in a manner free from nationalist concerns, generated a debate about how the Spanish past would be conceptualized. Sanchez-Albornoz's reply came eight years later in 1956 again in a period of the on going dictatorship. The attitude of Sanchez-Albornoz towards Spanish history was at odds with the Castro's, as we mentioned above. Sanchez-Albornoz had patriotic preoccupations such as proving that the ancestors of Spain were truly Spaniards. Since both of Castro's and Sanchez Albornoz's books are the basic sources of this study, their stance towards Spanish past should be critically evaluated in the context of political circumstances that surrounded them. The method, then, would extend its scope by trying to penetrate into the preoccupations that motivated both of the writers.

Also, in this study, a selection of primary sources is introduced as much as they are accessible. For a better understanding of the historical times it seems to be necessary to make a way into the spirit of related periods. In order to grasp the soul of Reconquista, the primary sources, such as chronicles, poetries, letters, speeches, which have the characteristics of being first hand knowledge, are presented. The centrality of the primary sources throughout the research undertaken is of crucial significance because of their informative aspects on how the particularity of certain events and peoples were perceived, thus creating certain images.

Chapter II traces the evolution of the Reconquista until the fourteenth century from merely being a "just war" to a "holy war" as a result of the penetration of crusading ideas to the peninsula by means of the Papacy, subsequently transforming the war into the defense of Christendom against Islam.

Chapter III is an attempt to explain the Spanish perceptions of Islam with regards to its European counterparts and to reveal the how the hostile definitions of Muslim enemy worked for creating particular images of Islam for particular political and religious purposes.

Chapter IV deals with the developments of the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century focusing on the impact of Inquisition on Muslims and Jews until 1492, also the date of the end of Reconquista culminated by the conquest of Granada.

Chapter V looks at the consolidation of Spanish national identity by dealing with the developments after 1492. The expulsion of the Jews with a governmental edict and later the forceful conversion of Moors to Christianity will be analyzed as being the cornerstone of the formation of Spanish identity. Moreover, this chapter tries to clarify the particular developments in the sixteenth century European political scene concerning the vulnerabilities of Spanish national unity taking into account the Ottoman and Protestant involvement with the converted Muslims, the Moriscos.

My research explores how Jews and Muslims, even after they were baptized as Christians, were labeled as "other" in the process of defining the Spanish nation. In the Spanish world of overlapping civilizations, the Jews and Muslims were forcibly converted to Christianity. Thus, in the sixteenth century Spain, neither Judaism nor Islam existed. However, the Spaniards did not cease to create further dichotomies by regarding these new converts as *Nuevos Cristianos* (New Christians) and began to create categorizations in terms of ethnic lineage. It is the self-definition of the Spanish Christians in terms of their differences from Jews and Muslims that the research focuses on.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST AND THE CHRISTIAN RECONQUEST OF SPAIN UNTIL THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Muslim conquest, which was regarded as the beginning in Spanish history of the period known as the Middle Ages, was a very significant historical event not only for Spain but also for Western Europe in general. In the previous centuries, Roman Empire had collapsed due to the nomadic movements from the north and the state of affairs in the east and south was rapidly changing as a result of the Islamic proliferation. The Mediterranean, once being a Roman sea and a channel of intersection of Roman and Hellenic culture, turned to be a frontier line of two clashing civilizations. Islamic civilization was carrying out advancement towards Europe while the unity of imperial Christianity was collapsing at the same time, caused by the separation between Eastern and Western Churches. The political and religious paradigms of the East and the West was diverging while the East supported the view that the church should be subordinated to the emperor, the West was in the beginnings of viewing the pope and the emperor in the role of synchronized forces in alliance with each other; the Hellenic and the Latin-Germanic empires were thus pursuing divergent paths. Islam united the Arab tribes, which were, up to that time, divided by regional disputes. These tribes were practicing Christianity and Jewry and

8

it was the spirit of toleration of Islamic conquests that enabled Islam to preserve its domination over the areas that include various and different belief systems.

Following the arrival and settlement of Muslims in the peninsula, Spain became the point where two civilizations thus came into conflict and fusion, therefore the significance of the Muslim invasion transcended the limits of the Spanish peninsula.

2.1 The Struggle in the Peninsula up to the End of the Eleventh Century

In 711 a Berber Muslim army, under their leader Tariq ibn-Ziyad, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar from northern Africa into the Iberian Peninsula. Roderick, last of the Visigothic kings of Spain, was defeated at the Battle of Río Barbate. By 719 the invading forces were supreme from the coast to the Pyrenees. Their progress to the north was blocked at a battle fought in France, between Tours and Poitiers, in 732 by the Frankish ruler Charles Martel. The first years of their rule, the Moors, as the Berber and Arab conquerors came to be known, held the peninsula (except for Asturias and the Basque country) as a dependency of the Province of North Africa, a division of the caliphate of Damascus. After 717 the country was ruled by *emirs*, appointed by the *caliphs*, who were frequently neglectful of their duties; misrule resulted in the appointment and deposition of 20 successive *emirs* over the next 40 years.[1] This state of affairs ended by a struggle between the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties for the control of the caliphate. The last of the Spanish *emirs*, Yusuf,

---

[1] H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia*, (London: Methuan Publishing Ltd., 1933), pp. 20-22.; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal, Volume One: Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, (Wisconsin, MA.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), pp. 18-21.

favoured the Abbasids, but the local officials of the empire supported the Umayyads. The Umayyad faction invited Abd-ar-Rahman I, a member of the family, to become the independent ruler of Spain.[2] In 756 Abd-ar-Rahman founded the powerful and independent emirate, which later developed into the caliphate of Cordoba.[3]

During the establishment of Moorish power, a remnant of Christian rule was preserved in the northern portion of the peninsula. The most important Christian state of the northern peninsula, the small kingdom of Asturias, was founded about 718 by Pelayo, a Visigothic chieftain.[4] Pelayo's son-in-law, Alfonso, conquered nearly all the region known as Galicia, recaptured most of Leon, and was then crowned Alfonso I, king of León and Asturias.[5] Alfonso III greatly extended these territories during his reign, which ended in 911.[6] During the 10th century the region of Navarre (Basque Principality) became an independent kingdom under Sancho I. The kings of León expanded their domains to the east in the early 10th century. Because of the castles built to guard the frontiers of newly acquired territory, this region became popularly known as Castilla, or Castile. Under Count Fernan Gonzalez the region became independent of Leon, and in 932 the Count declared himself the first king of Castile.[7] In the 11th century a considerable part of Aragon was captured from the Muslims by Sancho III, king of Navarre, who also conquered Leon and Castile, and in 1033 he made his son, Fernando I, king of Castile.[8] This temporary unity came to an end at Sancho's death, when his domains were divided among his sons. The most prominent of Sancho's sons was Ferdinand, who acquired León in 1037, took the

[2] Stanley G. Payne, p. 20.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., pp. 32-34.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p.37.
[7] Ibid., p. 50
[8] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

Moorish section of Galicia, and set up a vassal county in what is now northern Portugal.[9] With northern Spain consolidated, Fernando, in 1056, proclaimed himself the Emperor of Spain (from the Latin Hispania), and he initiated the period of full-fledged reconquest of the peninsula from the Muslims.

2.2. Spain, Europe and the Papacy: the Evolution of the Reconquista as a Crusade

During the next seven years, following their arrival to the Peninsula, the Muslims conquered the weak kingdom of the Visigoths and firmly established themselves in the Iberian Peninsula. They called their territory al-Andalus or the "Vandal land".[10] Christian resistance to Muslim advances began almost immediately. However, the notion of a Christian holy war designed to exterminate or at least to expel the Muslims, and not simply to reconquer Spanish Christian territories, did not set in until the eleventh century during the reign of Alfonso VI (1065-1109).

The struggle for independence in the northwest in the kingdom of Asturias-León in the eight-century was firstly a fight for survival, but it gradually created a broad objective of identifying their kingdom with the legacy of the Visigoths. It was a paradigmatic linking with the Visigothic heritage through which they tried to introduce a Hispano-Christian monarchy by the revival of Neo-Gothic idea. Neo-Gothic idea that emerged among the Christians meant that the Christians were the

---

[9] Ibid., p.57.
[10] Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Princeton N. J: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 14. However, there is no consensus among philologists and historians over the origin of this term as Glick tells us. Glick continues that the Berbers of North African regions that are adjacent to the peninsula might have referred to the Peninsula as the " land of the Vandals." Glick says "since many Berber nouns have genitives with a prefixed *w-,* the Arabs would have translated this as *bilad al-Andalus,* the 'land of the Andals'."

successors of the Visigoths and the struggle that they pursued against the Muslims would lead to the revival of the Visigothic heritage. As a result of the influence of Visigothic Christian emigrations from Al-Andalus and of the fundamental role played by the Church, the kingdom of Asturias-León increasingly became a Christian kingdom. Rulers attempted to recreate the image of the Visigothic monarchy, through re-establishing the ecclesiastic structure of Visigothic past.[11] Before the eight century, in these northern regions, there was an ambiguity in their Christian identity. The awareness of the Christian identity emerged as a reaction to the faith of their Muslim opponents. In the ninth century an extraordinary tomb was found in Galicia. The discovery of that tomb immediately created its own legend. The tomb was the sepulchre of Santiago-St. James who is considered as the brother of Jesus Christ. An important element in the process of rising consciousness of Christian identity was the cult of apostle Santiago, which appeared in that age and which was to be promoted in the upcoming centuries as an image of the 'patron Saint' in the fight against the Muslims.[12] The idea of the restoration of the lost Visigothic Kingdom was the first statement of the Reconquista.[13] While seeing themselves as the heirs of the Visigoths, the rulers of Asturias-León were also associating themselves with the responsibility of the mission of reconquest. However, the notion of the Reconquista in the minds of the rulers of Asturias-León did not include throwing out the Muslims in the course of restoring dominance of the Christians. As Stanley G. Payne tells us:

---

[11] Ibid., p.45

[12] Payne, p. 36.

[13] Although many resources on the Spanish history term the process as a 'Reconquest', some scholars drew attention to the ideological overtone of the notion of Reconquista. According to Glick, the notion of Reconquest involves a cultural misinterpretation since the notion implies that ones who lost Spain and the ones that retook it later were culturally identical, Glick, p. 44.

> … in the ninth and tenth centuries the notion of regaining
> domination over the peninsula did not imply the expulsion or
> extermination of Muslim rivals. What was involved was
> political sovereignty and religious authority, something not
> incompatible with the limited system of "discriminatory
> toleration" practiced in Al-Andalus vis-à-vis Christians and
> Jews, save that the roles of superior and subordinate would be
> reversed.[14]

This attitude was because the warfare between Christians and Muslims in the peninsula was not carrying for all intents and purposes ideological and religious meanings. It was essentially a struggle for political power and survival as well as of gaining lands, prestige spoils, booty and prestige across the southern frontier.[15] It was not until the late 11th century that the Reconquista took the form of crusading religious warfare. Until that time the Reconquista cannot be considered as a crusade in its broadest sense. Since the idea of a crusade is a later appearance that was embodied in 1095 by proclamation of pope Urban II for the recovery of Holy Land, the Reconquista, began, only in the very end of the eleventh century, to be the European laboratory of crusades, which originally targeted the Holy Land. According to the crusade historians, a campaign, to be qualified as a crusade, must be sponsored and blessed by the pope or his representative and highlighted by the notion of warfare as spiritually praiseworthy. The participants in the campaign must receive a special type of ecclesiastical privilege, the crusading indulgence, and their intention must be strengthened by a vow.[16] As indicated by Fletcher the course of the

---

[14] Payne, p. 37.

[15] Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492" in Harry W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, vol. 3: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (Wisconsin, MA.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p. 398.; Payne, p. 66.

[16] Jonathan Riley Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

Reconquista did not involve any of these characteristics.[17] However, it is important to note that the drama on the Iberian Peninsula marked a shift in Western thought about fighting Muslims. The institutionalisation of the Latin Christian ideal of religious crusade and the incorporation of Reconquista to the Crusades was achieved, then, through broader European influences.

The impact of the European crusade on the characteristics of the evolving Reconquista was an important factor in the confrontation of the Christians and the Muslims (Moors) in the peninsula. However, it was not the only one. The impact of the Crusades was in confluence with the internal developments in the peninsula. Iberian Christian kingdoms were growing faster and expanding at the expense of the Muslims. The reunification of León and Castile under the Castilian monarchy by Fernando I accelerated the progression of the Reconquista. Under Alfonso VI the Castilian-Leonese Kingdom captured Toledo in 1085, which was a major decisive moment not only in the development of the Reconquista but also in the imperial claims of the Castilian-Leonese crown.[18] The effort for providing the peninsular recognition of the Neo-Gothic legitimacy did not encounter an approval by other Christian states, reversely, a rejection. It is important to emphasize now that the Iberian Christian unity against Islam was not stable and that the Christian kingdoms of peninsula were also fighting with each other allying with the Muslims. Muslims

---

[17] Richard Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 297.

[18] Toledo was the ecclesiastical capital of Visigoths and its recapture provoked their ambitions for imperial entitlement. Since they were the heirs of Visigoths, they were charged with the mission of recovering the Visigothic monarchy. Both Ferdinand I and Alfonso VI made attempts to establish a pan-Iberian federation of Christian and Muslim states, which would entail an imperialistic hegemony of Castile-Leon. Their basic argument upon which they established their claims to the title of Emperor was that the Visigothic kings were both kings and emperors (reges and imperatores), Payne, pp. 55-59.; Bishko, p.398.

were also allying with Christians when they were fighting with rival Muslims.[19] It was a common practice for both Christians and Moors even in times of mutual Muslim and Christian militancy. The Catholic Europe's war against Islam converged in the peninsula with the revival of counter-reconquest movement of the Muslims through the intrusion of Almoravids from North Africa bringing with them the ideal of Islamic holy war, jihad, against the Christian advance.[20]

A determined course of reconquest was launched under the leadership of Alfonso VI. This era of the Reconquest witnessed the ascendance of unification around religious-national characters. These figures were important in the sense that they were capable of gathering Iberian Christians since they occupy a common place in peninsular imagination.[21] Santiago (St. James) and El Cid were two figures, which came out as symbols of Iberian Christianity. Having been idealized as models, they satisfied the desires of Christians for identification in their struggle against Moors in the peninsula. Santiago and El Cid began to have more and more national and religious prevalence because it was a religious and historical necessity to emphasize the supremacy of Christianity over the faith of their Muslim adversaries.

The cult of Santiago, before the reign of Alfonso VI, had already been regarded as the patron Saint of the Christians in the peninsula. In the ninth century,

---

[19] Bishko, p. 399.

[20] Almoravids (Murabits) were fanatical in their interpretation of Islam. Beginning from 1039, their leader Ibn Yasin was making preachments of militant Islam arguing for a holy war. Almoravid (al-murabi-tun) literally means "united for holy war". They were seemingly subordinated to the Fatimids, in fact they established an independent state. They were invited to the Peninsula by the Taifa states due to their desparate sitiuation under the Christian advance. Their militant Islamic fervour and their devotion to the notion of Jihad were reacted by equivalent response by the ascending Christian militancy; see Bishko, p. 399., Payne, pp. 61-63, Richard Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon in the Twelfth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 13-16.

[21] William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, (New York: Italica Press, 1993), p. 15.

some of the preambles of the charters that were prepared after Alfonso III (866-911) conquered some lands from the Moors give evidence to the closeness of the king and Santiago. In these preambles, "St. James is the king's *patronus*; he promises 'an ample recompense' (*remuneratio copiosa*) to the king his servant; he is the giver of victory over the king's enemies."[22] The phrase of patron saint, then, takes place continuously in the royal charters and it became a very intimate relation since the time of Alfonso III. By the tenth century the fame of St. James became so widespread that the church of Santiago at Compostela in Galicia became the center of pilgrimage not only within Spain but also from the rest of Europe. Santiago, while stimulating the pilgrims as a point of holy attraction, was gradually pulling the European influences into Spain and leading to a common religious identification with Christendom. The reputation of Santiago throughout Christendom became a significant source of pride for the Castilian-Leonese Kingdom. Moreover, in Stanley G. Payne's words "by the eleventh century the road to Santiago through the Pyrenees and across the north of the peninsula was a major force for Europeanization and modernization."[23]

The Europeanization that is referred requires an explanation in terms of the ecclesiastical reorganization of Hispanic Catholicism by the penetration of European Roman Catholicism. The eleventh century was undergoing certain movements of reform in the religious sphere of the rest of Europe. Iberian peninsula could not remain unaffected from the developments taking place nearby. Alfonso VI (1065-1109) was the contemporary of the religious reformers such as Abbot Hugh the Great

---

[22] Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, p. 70.
[23] Payne, pp. 132-133.

of Cluny and of the Popes Gregory VII, Urban II, and Pascal II.[24] In Cluniac order

and in Rome, the religious ambitions were not limited to narrow localities since they

had international aspirations such as realization of their aims on a continental scale.[25]

The authority of Rome was being felt in the kingdom of Castile-León, even before

Alfonso VI. However, it was under Alfonso VI that, a profound relation was found

with the Cluniacs and the Pontiff's authority. As the Cluniac reform spread to

Christian Spain, ecclesiastical hierarchy permeated into the peninsula by the French

Cluniac clerics[26]. During the eleventh century, the towns along the route to Santiago

Compostela as a pilgrimage point, turned out to be the focus of French Cluniacs and

under their influence the elements of religious culture of Hispanic Catholicism began

to be changed.[27] They were, according to Payne, "…important agents of religious

Europeanization."[28] The kingdom of Castile-León could not, from now on, remain

isolated from European Christianity since they needed the papal protection in their

aims to restore the dominance of Christianity, but they did not accept the papal

sovereignty over their realm. However, prior to the establishment of links between

Castile-León and Papacy, the kingdom of Aragon had already accepted to recognize

papal suzerainty through the diplomatic influence of Pope Alexander II (1061-

---

[24] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso* VI, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.93.
[25] Ibid. Cluniac order was the medieval organization of Benedictines, which was under the papal protection. They were established in 910. They were the important agents of the reform programme of Gregory VII.
[26] Glick, pp. 49-50.
[27] Ibid., p. 50
[28] Payne, p. 134.

1073).[29] The kingdom of Aragon accepted to be the feudatory state of popes with the

purpose of protecting itself from the pressures of Castile.[30]

The joint action of Pope Gregory VII (1020-1085) and Cluniac monks

demonstrated itself as a pressure on the reign of Alfonso VI of Castile-León. Having

been the leader of Latin Christendom, the Papacy was insisting on uniformity of the

liturgical practices. Gregory VII wrote a letter to Alfonso VI asserting that the he

should abandon the usage of Mozarabic liturgy[31] and replace it with the Roman rite

under his realm:

> I exhort you to acknowledge the Roman Church as your
> mother in very truth … to receive the order and office of the
> Roman Church … as you are bound, like other kingdoms of
> the west and north.[32]

Alfonso VI was enthusiastic to agree to the papal claims just so long as

Roman purposes coincided with his own and he was able to control the day-to-day

activity of its agents. Such a demand was acceptable to Alfonso VI; however, another

demand from the Papacy to accept the papal sovereignty was rejected. The Roman

rite was officially adopted by Castile-León at a church council in 1080, indicating the

---

[29] Ibid.

[30]Americo Castro, *The Spaniards: an Introduction to their History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 446.

[31] Mozarabic liturgy is the native rite of Christians under Muslim rule. The name Mozarab refers to the Arabized Christians. The word derived from the Arabic term musta'rab which means Arabized person, a person who adopted Arab customs. However, this liturgy was present before the arrival of the Moors to the peninsula. It was originally a special Hispanic Rite. After the Muslim conquest, since the Christians following this liturgy was living under Moorish rule, they were called Mozarabs and the liturgy is called Mozarabic, see Catholic Encyclopedia http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10611.htm.

[32] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, (London: Penguin Press, 1993), p. 249.

full integration of the Castilian-Leonese church into the network of Roman Catholicism.[33] Yet, the monarchy continued to control indirectly the elections of the bishops. The rejection of the claims put forward by Gregory VII to papal sovereignty, and the acceptance of the institutionalisation of the Latin Roman rite depicts the formation of a new connection between the Papacy and the monarchy. According to Bernard F. Reilly:

> This incident illustrates very well the character of the new relationships coming into existence between the reinvigorated monarchy, which viewed the church of the realm in part as an extension of its own authority, and the reformed papacy, striving to reinforce its moral authority with an administrative and judicial superiority over the local churches of Europe. By and large the crown was quick to see and to use the new papal prestige to reinforce its own desires and purposes.[34]

Thus, Rome, while looking for loyalty to its authority, was aware of the fact that an alliance requires the fulfilment of mutual interests. The ecclesiastical policies and demands related to these policies could be tolerated and welcome unless they were converted to claims for full obedience to Pontificate's hegemonic assertions on Spain.

As a counter-measure to the papal assertions of suzerainty, Alfonso VI declared himself as the " King of all the Christian and pagan kingdoms of Spain" and " Emperor of the two religions". Such a declaration signifies that he sees himself as the patron of his Muslim neighbours, "the patron who exploited even as he 'protected'

---

[33] Payne, p. 134.
[34] Reilly, p. 96.

19

them."[35] The pope, Gregory VII, did not raise papal claims again and wrote letters to Alfonso addressing him as 'regi Hyspaniae' or 'glorious king of the Spanish'.[36] After the adoption of Roman liturgy instead of the Mozarabic one, Gregory VII wrote a celebration letter:

> Your excellency, most dearly beloved, know that one thing pleases us greatly -or rather, pleases God's clemency- namely, that in the churches of your realm you have caused the order of the mother of all, the holy Roman Church, to be received and celebrated in the ancient way.[37]

As a consequence, rather than having antagonist positions towards each other, the Papacy and Alfonso VI were establishing collaborative relations. However, during the course of the Reconquista, as the royal power consolidated itself, the Roman administrative and judicial matters were accompanying and therefore making themselves confirmed as an authority.

As we said before, Alfonso's pronouncement of himself as the 'Emperor of the two religions" was involving a protection over the Muslims indicating a relative tolerance towards them. For Alfonso VI, dealing with the Muslims was not, then, religiously motivated. It was simply political. As long as the political authority of the Christians was recognized by Muslims there would be no problem of religious enmities.[38] In fact, the idea of the Reconquista was not entailing a desire to expel the infidel. It even did not involve any stimulus to subject the politically subordinated Moors to a forceful conversion into Christianity. Nevertheless, this also did not mean equality, on the contrary, the Moors, from the Christian point of view, were

---

[35] Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, p.12. See also Reilly, p. 103.
[36] Reilly, pp. 99- 106
[37] Bartlett, p. 249.
[38] Payne, p. 136.

religiously and legally inferior. The notion of religious superiority of Christians did not cease to be emphasized. But keeping a degree of "convivencia", a peaceful coexistence, no matter the existence of certain antagonisms and confrontations between Islamic and Christian understandings, was perceived as an element of royal official policy.

However, the circumstances were gradually changing and the idea of the Reconquista was taking the shape of a crusade as a result of the influences of papal Curia of Gregory VII, Abbot Hugh the Great of Cluny and his Cluniacs in the peninsula and of the aristocratic circles of Northern and Eastern France.[39] These were the ones, who were formulating the ideas of the crusade even before the Council of Clermont.[40] The incorporation of the Spanish Reconquista to the crusading ideals of these pioneering figures and communities, then, had its roots outside the peninsula. From then on, Alfonso VI had to change his previous perceptions and gradually integrate into the Latin Christian ideal of crusade. Step by step the dichotomies of Christian self and the Muslim other were being confessed and exclusivist ideas were being imported through alien channels.[41]

Under these influences, Alfonso VI, after his conquest of Toledo in 1085, made a declaration in 1086 through which he emphasized an explicit hostility towards Moors:

> By the hidden judgment of God, this city was for 376 years in
> the hands of the Moors, blasphemers of the Christian name…

---

[39] Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, p.13. It is said that in some campaigns waged against Muslims, French allies of Castilians and Aragonese were having disagreements because of the latter's rejection to slaughter the conquered Muslims, Payne, p. 137.
[40] Fletcher, pp. 13-14.
[41] Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult,* p. 298. See also Bartlett, p. 23., Payne, pp. 136-138.

> after many battles and numberless slaughter of the enemy, I
> seized populous cities and strong castles from them, with the
> help of God's grace. Thus, inspired by God's grace, I moved
> an army against this city, where my ancestors once reigned in
> power and wealth, deeming it acceptable in the sight of the
> Lord if that which the perfidious race under the faithless
> leader Muhammad took from the Christians, I, Alfonso the
> Emperor, with Christ as my leader, should restore to the
> adherents of that faith.[42]

The monarch's objective entailed uniting all of Spain under one crown and one religion. Tolerance and coexistence with the Muslims were no longer options if Alfonso sought to create a truly unified Spanish Christian kingdom.

As a response to the ongoing Christian expansion, al-Mutamid, the ruler of Seville who was paying tribute to Castile (Granada and other important regions were also reduced to vassalage and paying a tribute) invited the Almoravids from North Africa. Following their appearance in the Peninsula, Almoravids introduced a unity in al-Andalus between the separate Muslim states (*taifas*), which were disintegrated after the fall of Caliphate of Cordoba in 1031. The arrival of Almoravids into the Peninsula revived the Muslim power against the Christian reconquest. However, the Almoravids were the fierce adherents of the ideal of holy war (*jihad*), and their intervention, while restoring balance against Alfonso VI, brought a prevalent religious antagonism between Christians and Muslims.[43] They began to employ militant and intolerant policies against Christians remaining under their realm.

---

[42] Bartlett, p. 23.

[43] Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), pp. 27-29.; James William Brodman, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic Frontier*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 1-2.

Correspondingly, Muslim intolerance was matched by the provoked Christian belligerency and aggressiveness.

Thus, the warfare in the peninsula was gaining a religiously polarized dimension as a result of the heightening religious objectives of both Christians and Muslims. The injection of crusading ideals to Christians and Muslims, respectively from Europe and North Africa, led to the emergence of intolerantly opposing religious, cultural, political ideologies, therefore, widening the gap and increasing the tension between Muslim and Christian domains.

The peninsula turned to be a crusade scene at least, since the promulgation of the first crusade in 1095. Since 1095, the warfare in the peninsula converted into a crusade frontier recognized explicitly by the Papacy and the Occidental world.

During the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157), the conquest of surrounding Muslim towns continued. The second Crusade was being organized by the Papacy as a result of the fall Edessa (Urfa in Modern Turkey) in 1144. This development set out new preparations in Western Europe, which would have repercussions in Iberia. In 1147, while pope Eugenius III was issuing papal bulls for the Second Crusade, he listed Iberia among the legitimate crusading areas.[44] By the encouragement of crusading enthusiasm and financial and military support from rest of Europe, Christian control had extended to the centre of the Peninsula. Around the same dates, Almoravids were overthrown by another Islamic revivalist group from North Africa, the Almohads. With an even more puritan interpretation of Islam, they would have no toleration in the encroaching Christians. In 1148 they arrived in Spain and shored

---

[44] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031-1157*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), p. 211.

up the Muslim defences, retaking some of the towns lost to the Christians. In 1157 Upon Alfonso's death, the Castilian lands were divided between León and Castilla, while Portugal had already emerged and Navarre and Aragon had split in 1134. The Reconquista then stopped into the thirteenth century, mostly due to the lack of Christian political unity.

In the thirteenth century the advance of Christians was carried out by Castilians in Central Spain, by Aragonese in Catalonia and Valencia in the East, and the Portuguese in the West. In 1195, the Almohads had gained their last major victory in the peninsula at Alarcos.[45] In 1212, Innocent III together with Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) believed that

> the great crisis of the reconquest was at hand and that all possible European assistance should be given Christendom's Iberian defenders, addressed bulls and letters to Spain and France, calling upon the Iberian kings to cooperate in the forthcoming crusade, to which as usual he extended the Holy Land indulgence, and urging the French and Provençal hierarchies to preach the cross and raise recruits.[46]

The preparations for the war of Las Navas de Tolosa were then papally backed and pope Innocent III threatened the Christian rulers of Spain by excommunication in order to provide the unity among them.[47] However, the crusaders from across the Pyrenees turned back to their home after having obtained some booty before the war. Despite their abandonment, Iberians gained an important victory and the defeat of Muslim armies in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa gave the Christian kingdoms the control of all of Central Spain. Besides its decisiveness

---

[45] Bishko, p. 422.
[46] Ibid.
[47] MacKay, pp. 33-34.

and its permanent establishment of superiority of Christians, the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa witnessed unification around the term Spaniard against the Moors. Before the war, Alfonso VIII, the king of Castile, called the Christian Kingdoms as 'Spaniards' in his efforts of exhortation against enemy:

> Friends, all of us are Spaniards, and the Moors entered into our land by force and conquered it from us, and the Christians at that time [500 years before] were weak, for they did not expel the Moors and throw them out of the land.[48]

This marked an era after which Castilians, Aragonese, Navarrese, Galicians were beginning to feel themselves to be Spaniards and Saracens (Moors) were the 'Other' for them. It was the first time that the Christian Kingdoms of the Peninsula were officially called Spaniards. Also, as the borders of peninsula enlarged opposed to the Muslim dominance, ecclesiastical organizations began incrementally to be recreated and reorganized so as to consolidate the dominance of Christianity in the region.

In the 1220s, then, Muslim Spain began to politically fragment all over again. At the same time Ferdinand III (1217-1252) of Castile reunited Castile and Leon again but permanently. James I (1213-1276) of Aragon conquered Muslim Mallorca and other Balearic Islands in 1229 and annexed old Moorish kingdom of Valencia in 1238, which had been one of the basic achievements of the Reconquista. Starting from 1229 and lasting to 1250, the majority of Spain was retaken for the Christians. In 1235 fall Cordoba once the Umayyad capital, fell to the Christians and in 1248

---

[48] Castro, p.231.

Seville was conquered under the reign of Ferdinand III. Only the Muslim kingdom of Granada persisted in the southern coast of Spain. León-Castile took the central regions, while Aragon took the east coast. The whole era was characterized by sieges and negotiations with Muslim inhabitants whereby surrender treaties allowed indigenous Hispano-Arabs to keep their property and religion.[49] Thus, in the thirteenth century, the Christian kingdoms in Spain had mostly Muslim-Jewish populations. To attract Christians, kings had recourse to the same preferential policies as were used from Alfonso VI on, including land and legal freedoms better than feudal arrangements elsewhere. A Christian land rush into Iberia emerged in the 1240s- 1260s, providing the demographic backbone and elites for the expanding Christian states into the fourteenth century.

During the reign of Alfonso X (1221-1284), the Learned, el Sabio, there were no significant achievements concerning the territorial enlargement of the Reconquista, however, the cultural developments were carried out in the intellectual sphere. He was not regarded favourably by the historians, as it is clear in what Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana wrote about him in 1601: "While he contemplated the heavens and observed the stars, he lost his lands."[50] Nevertheless, he was the first in the Castilian history to think about the possibilities of ending the triple problems of Granada, Gibraltar and the North Africa. In his time Moroccan Marinids rose as a new Muslim tribe, which had given the possibility of invasion from North Africa.[51] Muslims from North Africa were disembarking their soldiers in Gibraltar and from there, they were assisting their coreligionists. However he was not successful at

---

[49] Payne, p. 74.
[50] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 186.
[51] Payne, p. 145.

managing to stop their intervention and the age of African invasions could only be ended under the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350) who broke the Marinid power on the Spanish side of the straits and occupied nearly all the southern peninsula except Gibraltar which would be under Moorish hands until 1462.[52]

2.3. Idea of Reconquista and Idea of Crusade

What we can do is to establish a relation between the idea of the Reconquista and the idea of crusade. The crusades, being a specific form of an armed pilgrimage, were a military instrument set in the service of determined ideas and necessities. In 12th century it was an instrument used exclusively against the infidels and in 13th century the crusades were employed also against Christians (Albigensians etc.).[53] In the case of Spain, the Reconquista was, first of all, an anti-Islamic war and in this sense it was a manifestation of a crusade. Therefore the Spanish experience could make use of the stimulation for the starting up of the crusade to the holy land.[54]

Nevertheless, in the military advancement of the peninsular Christian Kingdoms, the religious idea was neither always present nor can we consider all the battles as true crusades, since they did not always rely on papal authorization and the granting of indulgences. But, although there was not a preachment expressing a crusade, the Papacy and the European authorities perceived the Reconquista as a religious war. In fact, we can consider the justification of the Papacy and Christian

---

[52] Bishko, p. 447.
[53] A. Forey, "The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the thirteenth century, Military Orders and Crusades", *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, VII (1994), p. 1.
[54] D.W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, (London-New York: Longman, 1978), p. 61.

monarchs for the Iberian non-participation in the crusade to the holy land as a clear demonstration of this reality.

Just like we can see the certain influences of the peninsular Reconquista in the origin of the crusades to the Holy Land, starting from the twelfth century, the crusades noticeably influenced the peninsular military activities. In fact, the principal exponent of this reality was the preachment, in various occasions, of the crusade, whose immediate consequences was the arrival of expeditions from all Europe converting the form of the Reconquista to an object of entire Christianity.

Another demonstration of association of the Iberian problem with that of the Holy land is the implantation of the Military Orders such as Calatrava, Alcantara, and Santiago. Emerging in the kingdom of Jerusalem to defend holy places and protect pilgrims, the military orders were directly subject to the papal authority. In the beginnings of the twelfth century, they were introduced in the Iberian Peninsula. Its principal mission was to defend the Christian faith and religion and to contribute to the expulsion of the Muslims, following the established patterns in Jerusalem, in a moment especially fragile due to the Almoravid advance.[55] Its effectiveness in the war against the infidel can explain its acceptance in the rest of the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula.

Nevertheless, the confidence of the Iberians in the International Military Orders was not always corresponded by the orders. It is possibly because its essential object continued to be the Holy Land and they were considering the West more as economic centres than as places of combat. Therefore, in the Christian kingdoms of

---

[55] Forey, p. 24.

the peninsula, indigenous and autochthonous Military Orders were established. In this sense, we can emphasize how the Military order of Calatrava emerged as a result of the failure of Templars in resisting the Arab incursion. At the request of his monks, Raymond, the abbot of Fitero, took the charge of that force and established the first native Iberian Military order.

The principal function of all the Military orders, according to the conserved documents, was to fight against Muslims, to propagate the Christian religion, to enlarge and protect the Christian Kingdoms. The documents talk in the language of the crusades and maintain their spirit. Thus, the popes sanctioned, with their blessings and privileges, the function of the Military Orders in the Peninsula, emphasizing its value in the defence and the expansion of Christianity. In this way, we can see how, in the words of Benito Ruano, "the Hispanic Military Orders are considered as a kind of crusade army of permanent character, a professional crusade connected to the papal discipline by corresponding promises". [56]

However, although the fundamental activity of the Hispanic Military Orders was to combat against infidels in the Peninsula, since its origins they were contemplating the possibility to actuate in different spheres in the defence of Christianity. Thus, when in 1172 the monks of Avila became the member of the Order of Santiago, promised to help them in expelling the Moors from Spain, and subsequently, as the master the of the Order told, from Morocco and finally from Jerusalem.

---

[56] E. Benito Ruano, "Las Ordenes Militares españolas y la idea de Cruzada", *Hispania*, 16, Madrid (1956), p. 12.

In the same manner, in the thirteenth century the manifestation of possibility to fight against Muslims in North Africa was declared, as a result of the organization of a crusade by Alfonso X, ratified by the papal authority in the form of various crusade bulls. The result was the realization of various expeditions to Morocco. The Military Orders participated animatedly in these crusades with the promise of fifth of the cavalry.

However, although it was always obvious to fight in the Orient, the Papacy and the political authorities as well, thought that the military activity of the Hispanic Military Orders were limited to controlling the Muslim power in the peninsula. The popes were conscious that they had to fight against Muslims in the west, as much in the east and that the principal attribution was the defence of Christianity. Therefore, they invested enormous effort to intervene in the Iberian struggle, releasing, between the second half of the eleventh century and the later thirteenth century, abundant documentation supporting and consecrating the Reconquista as a form of a crusade.[57]

The papal intervention in the Iberian struggle was carried out through two means: promoting the recruitment of the combatants for the wars in the Peninsula and retaining at home the peninsular combatants who were intending to go to East to fight against the infidel. This is attained by means of associating the crusades of Spain and the Holy Land in the beneficiaries and indulgences.[58] Even, we can consider that some popes were preoccupied with the Muslim threat in the West more than in the East. By various means the popes intended to prevent and even prohibit the Hispanic expeditions towards Holy Land in such a manner that the participation

[57] E. Benito Ruano, *Espana y las Cruzadas*, (Buenos Aires: Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval, 1951-52), p.111.
[58] Ibid., pp.113-117.

of Hispanics in the Crusades towards East consisted only of isolated acts protaganized by seigniorial armed entourage, by independent knights and exceptionally by some peninsular monarchs for fulfilment chivalric ideals of the epoch.

We cannot talk about a holy war since the beginnings of the Reconquista. In fact, at first there was only interest in recuperating lands and they united around a sentiment of Visigothic restoration introduced by the Mozarabs in the middle of the 9th century which gives place to "just war" but not to "holy war". Vicente Cantarino says, "the notion of crusade is not compatible with the symptoms of contact"[59], indicating that the permanent relation between Christians and Muslims cannot be considered within the notion of a crusade which implies an animosity among the different faiths. However, Norman Housley advocates that crusade and living togetherness are solutions to different problems: "government by Islamic powers and the existence of a conquered Muslim population."[60] In the structure of the new character of the war along the eleventh century and which extended its real outcomes in to the twelfth century, the significance of Cluny and its relation with the Papacy along with the pilgrimages to Santiago should be emphasized. Santiago, far beyond being a mere point of pilgrimage turned out to be a way along which the propagation of a crusade was carried out. Since the First Crusade in 1095, the Papacy had been recognizing the importance of the peninsular scene and equalizing it with Oriental crusades. Yet we cannot consider the principal cause of the Reconquista as a defence

---

[59] Jose Manuel Rodriguez Garcia, "Historiografia de las Cruzadas, Espacio, Tiempo y Forma", *Medieval*, Serie III, H° t. 13 (2000), p. 384.
[60] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 274.

of *Christianitas* but as a territorial enrichment until the reach of crusading enthusiasm into the peninsula.[61]

---

[61] Garcia, p. 385.

CHAPTER III

ISLAM THROUGH SPANISH CHRISTIAN EYES

3.1 Anti-Muslim Polemic: Spain and the Rest of Europe

From the eleventh to the end of the fifteenth century were the time periods in which the identity of Christian Kingdoms in Spain developed on the grounds of their antagonism with Islam. The convergence of politically separated and competing kingdoms of Spain (Castile, Aragon, León, Navarre, Portugal) around a common religious cause, especially in the thirteenth century, in opposition to Muslim invader was the precursor of forthcoming unification of Spain. The confrontation of Christianity and Islam in the Iberian Peninsula was different from that of the rest of Europe. The contact of other Europeans with the Islamic world was occasional and infrequent in comparison with the case of Spain. The Crusades and pilgrimages of European Christians to the Middle East and Anatolia brought to the fore a confrontation with Islam far-off from Europe. They were periodic. However the situation in Spain was that the experience of the Muslim "other" was as intense as it could be. This gave Spain a character that distinguished it from the rest of Europe.

The Spanish experience of Islam required the invention of tools that would be deployed in their rejection of everything Islamic. Reconquista was carried out, at least after 1095,the First Crusade, as a crusade, a "holy war", aiming to reinstate the

entire peninsula to the Christians. The issue of Islam in Spain, then, entailed the ideological and cultural opposition as well as the military one. The tools employed in the rest of Europe was similar, however, they were predominantly intellectual. Other Europeans carried out military oppositions through the Crusades, but these cannot be considered a culturally close encounter as much as Spain experienced, as we mentioned above. The rest of Europe did not have to strive to contemplate too much for developing various instruments in order to eliminate the cultural threat imposed by Islam as Christian Kingdoms of the Peninsula had to. The people of Spain had to cope with the prevalence of another religion, language and life style in their mainland. Europeans could be content with the creation of intellectual and theological repudiations of Islam by portraying it by means of an image as heresy. The European depictions of Islam would, then, work as an ideological apparatus, which could restore the confidence of the Christians to the pre-eminence of their religion in opposition to Islamic threats. Christian Kingdoms, although in no way remote from these intellectual constructions, were aware of the inevitability of the task of generating a concrete mixture of cultural, religious, military and political discourse as well. The close encounters with the Islam, thus, constitute the crucial point of the "national question" in Spain.

The polemical anti-Islamic imageries and their incarnations as discourses was crucial for the Europe's religious, cultural and political construction of itself beginning from its confrontation with Islam. Spain, in particular, was the battleground of hostile agitations against the Islamic presence in the peninsula. The Christians in Spain had to cope with the task of creating anti-Muslim propaganda in

order to unite determinedly against them much more enthusiastically than their counterparts in the rest of Europe.

Within the process of Christian self-definition, the significance of the conceptual vision of Christians in terms of perceiving the history of the entire world through dis-identifying themselves from the religious and racial others should be emphasized. Previous to the appearance of Islam as a threat to the Christianity, the Christians had already systematized their point of view against the religious other as "Jew, pagan, and heretic."[1] The conceptualisation of the Islamic other, then, once they confronted with Muslims, would be implanted into that predetermined ideological kit in order not to destabilize the Christian vision of history no matter how unsuitable the facts to the schema in hand. The Christian definition of the non-Christians with the constructions of a taken for granted mind would, in a sense, facilitate highlighting the difference between themselves and their opponents. The initial encounter of Christians and Muslims would lead to pre-established definitions as John Tolan indicates:

> … when they first meet Muslims they will try to understand their military success and their religion in terms familiar to them, to fit Islam into already existing Christian categories by portraying them, variously, as a divinely sent punishment, as pagan idolaters, as Christian heretics, as followers of Satan, or as devotees of Antichrist.[2]

Writing in the thirteenth century, the Florentine Dominican missionary Riccoldo da Montecroce who went to a pilgrimage to the Levant, was caught in a

---

[1] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 3.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.

dilemma of admiration and disgust towards the state of being in the Islamic world. After having expressed his fascination over the prosperity he observed in Baghdad and having noticed the consternation and uneasiness in which Christians live there, he changes his language into the one of an anti-Islamic polemicist and employs the Christian perception of history and Islam in his search for answer to the successes of such a 'perfidious race' and in his aspiration for the confirmation of the superiority of Christianity as a religion:

> Suddenly, in this sadness, swept up into an unaccustomed astonishment, I began, stupefied, to ponder God's judgment concerning the government of the world, especially concerning the Saracens and the Christians. What could be the cause of such massacre and such degradation of the Christian people? Of so much worldly prosperity for the perfidious Saracen people? Since I could not simply be amazed, nor could I find a solution to this problem, I decided to write to God and his celestial court, to express the cause of my astonishment, to open my desire through prayer, so that God might confirm me in the truth and sincerity of the Faith, that he quickly put an end to the law, or rather the perfidy, of the Saracens, and more than anything else that he liberate the Christian captives from the hands of the enemies. [3]

For the Christian writer, it is irreconcilable to think the juxtaposition of the perfidious nature of the Saracens and the prosperity that surrounds them. If the wealth of the Saracen people were the preference of God, then, the notion of the superiority of Christianity would not be a valid conceptualisation in terms of the inferior situation it was experiencing in contrast to Islam. However, from the standpoint of Christian perception of history and comprehension of other religions and races within the framework of this pre-arranged theological, ideological

---

[3] Ibid., p. xiii.

construction, the role specified to Islam could not be that of a sympathized and glorified. On the contrary, the necessity to explain the reasons of prosperity of the opponent civilization at the expense of Christianity through making use of the exclusionary Christian hypothesis arose from the fact that the Christians should be confirmed in "the truth and sincerity" of their religion and its supremacy over its religious and racial 'others'.

Ever since its advent in the 7th century, Islam became the subject of Christian stereotypical discourses that originated from the pre-established norms of Christian orthodoxy. The above passage is an example from thirteenth century, but the religious ideology inherent in it was the conceptual heritage of the anti-Islamic polemical tradition that had been developed since the appearance of Islam.

3.2 Islam As Seen by Spanish Christians

Eleventh century had witnessed major events between Christians and Muslims in Spain. Since the conquest of Toledo in 1085, the Christian North had been gradually growing much stronger. The contact with Northern Europe through the pilgrim way of Santiago (St. James), the influence of Cluny, and the beginning of the Crusades motivated the intensification of polemical argumentations against Islam. In addition, Muslim South was reinforced by the military and religiously fanatical Almoravids and Almohads. The mutual rise of antagonisms, jihad for Muslims and crusade for Christians, led to escalation of polemical anti-Islamic propaganda in the Iberian Peninsula as an extension of the hostile perceptions of Islam in the general European context. Thus, since the second half of the eleventh

century, the polemics were intensively put forward. However, these polemics were transmitted from the Early Eastern Christian perceptions and they were repeated in a context peculiar to the realities and preoccupations that the Spanish Christians were experiencing.

The early attitudes towards Islam from the beginning was shaped by hostility and distortion and compounded by prejudice involving unwillingness to understand the 'other'. The images associated with Islam were not consistent with the facts. The Prophet Muhammad became the central focus of attention while Christians were constructing "one single picture of the life of Muhammad."[4] The images associated with the Prophet Muhammad were created in contrast with Jesus Christ. Muhammad was viewed as anti-Christ and incarnation of evil and the Islamic religion was depicted as a Satanic one. Isidore of Seville who wrote his Etymologies in a pre-Islamic context in the early seventh century described anti-Christ as follows:

> He will impersonate Christ when he comes and will contend against him. And he will oppose the Sacraments of Christ so that the gospel of his truth may be weakened. And he will repair the temple at Jerusalem and will attempt to restore all the ceremonies of the Old Law. But the Antichrist is also he who denies that Christ is God. He is therefore the contrary of Christ. Therefore all who depart from the church and who cut themselves off from the unity of the faith are Antichrists.[5]

This will be the context in which the attributed Antichrist nature of Muhammad would be located by later Christian polemicists. The earlier hostile polemics were held in Spain during the time of Cordoban Martyrs Movement (850-859). The participators in the Movement were Christians who were publicly insulting

---

[4] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West, The Making of an Image,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), p. 107.
[5] Tolan, p. 8.

the religion of Muslims and swearing at the Prophet Muhammad as a result of which they were given the death penalty. Through such actions, they were trying to attract the attention of Christian public and to provoke them against the Muslim rule. However, the movement soon proved to be unpopular among the Christians due to the higher levels of assimilation and acculturation that the Christians had been undergoing almost for one hundred and forty years.[6] Cordoban priest St. Eulogius, who was also one of the martyrs (martyred in 859) and Paul Alvarus wrote polemics in defence of the martyrs presenting at the same time their perceptions of Islam.[7] For Paul Alvarus, " the martyrdom of Cordoban Christians are the persecutions of Antichrist"[8], and for Eulogius, Muhammad is a "precursor of Antichrist."[9] They had been trying to spread detested images of Islam, which even could reach to the point of absurdity. For instance, Eulogius claimed in his Liber Apolegiticus Martyrum that the Prophet Muhammad predicted that he would resurrect third days after his death but he did not and his rotten body was eaten by dogs, therefore, an annual slaughter of dogs had been carried out in places where his followers lived.[10] Although these writers might have had the access to accurate information about Islam and its prophet since they were living under Muslim rule. However, they cannot be expected to write in contrast to the interests of polemic due to the fact that they were stimulated by the need to propagate against Islam.

---

[6] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Medieval Spain" in John Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, (New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 95-96.
[7] Ibid., p. 96.
[8] Tolan, p. 90.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Celia Margaret Wallhead, *Cultural Contact in the Iberian Peninsula between Christianity and Islam, As Reflected in Specimen Texts of Early Castilian literature: Primera Cronica General, Calila e Digna and El Conde Lucanor,* (London: Queen Mary College, London University, 1974), p. 14. " … he predicted that he would be revived on the third day by the angel Gabriel … as Muhammad himself said … when on the third day he was rotting … dogs followed his stench … and in vindication of this injury, they ordered dogs to be slaughtered every year…", Tolan, p. 92.

Islam was putting into practice an official policy of religious tolerance in the territories they had conquered. The religious toleration was theoretically backed by the doctrines of the Koran, which says that those non-Muslims also believe in a holy book and they should be protected as the 'peoples of the book' or '*Ahl al-Kitab*'. Those protected people were allowed to practice their religion but in return for a payment as a result of their *dhimmi* status.[11] Another policy of the Islamic rule in Spain was the prevention of non-Muslims from right to acquire and read the Koran. Thus, while the Christians living under the Muslim rule could observe the daily practices of Muslims, they could not easily approach in terms of knowledge to the origins, realities or principles of the Islamic religion.[12] Besides, Muslims were not allowed to enter in a discussion or argumentation about Koran or any characteristic of the religion with non-Muslims.[13] Moreover, in order to prevent uncontrolled influence of Christians over Muslims, especially harmful religious contact, a policy of physical separation was carried out by establishing garrisons sometimes out of the Christian urban centres.[14]

As the Muslim conquests reduced the Christians into the *dhimmi* status, the conversions (apostasy) to Islam gained access under the Islamic rule. The reasons for the emergence of vast collection of hostile images were extending from discouragement of the apostasy of Christians to refutation of the legitimacy of the Muslim rule.[15] Islam was depicted as a heresy, a perversion of Christian doctrine and as having commonalities with Arian heresy denying the trinity. Islam was not

---

[11] Wallhead, p. 12.
[12] Ibid., p. 13.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Wolf, pp. 90-91.
[15] Tolan, p. 69.

perceived as a religion of its own.[16] The Christian writers were studying Islam by

gathering information about it and its founder, however they were prejudiced in their

evaluation of the facts they had found. Although they were profoundly misinformed

since the resources they had used were also written by previous Christian writers,

they encountered many truths about Islam and its prophet. But they preferred to omit

these truths because their main aim was to attribute inverse characteristics to Islam as

a consequence of the will to affirm the superiority of Christianity in terms of the pre-

established categories of classification of 'the other'. As Bernard Lewis said:

> Medieval Christendom did, however, study Islam, for the
> double purpose of protecting Christians from Muslim
> blandishments and converting Muslims to Christianity, and
> Christian scholars, most of them priests or monks, created a
> body of literature concerning the faith, its Prophet, and his
> book, polemic in purpose and often scurrilous in tone,
> designed to protect and discourage rather than to inform…[17]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the previous tendencies to place Islam

in already established categorization were still dominant among polemicists. The

chronicles of the first crusade describe Muslims as pagan idolaters, polytheist.

According to these chronicles the idols of Saracens were Jupiter, Apollo or

Muhammad.[18] And the crusaders were fighting against these pagans so as to liberate

the Holy Land.[19] Muhammad was not their prophet, according to these chronicles,

but their God. Saracens were seen as the extension of Roman pagans who crucified

Jesus Christ. That's the way the war against Muslims was justified on the grounds

---

[16] Catholic Christianity acknowledged Islam as an independent religion of its own only in the Second
Vatican Council in 1962. Until 1962, Islam was perceived as a heretical sect of Christianity.
[17] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 85-86.
[18] Tolan, p. 109. Chanson de Roland is among the medieval epics which represents Saracens as
pagans. In the epic the Saracens worship the idols of Mahomet, Apollin and Tervegant.
[19] Ibid., p. 110.

that they were the followers of these ancient Roman pagans. The Christians in Spain were sufficiently aware that they were not idolaters or polytheists. However, although they did not portray Muhammad as the god of Saracens, they possess the old tradition to represent Islam as a heresy of Christianity and the Prophet Muhammad as a heresiarch.[20]

Among the polemicists of the twelfth century Spain, Petrus Alfonsi, a Christian convert from Judaism had said he had "always been nurtured among Muslims."[21] No other European Christian could have closeness to Islam as much as that of a Spanish Mozarabic Christian. The Christian who knew Islam in real life were expected to be able to comprehend and challenge Islam much more sophisticatedly. However, the authors were writing for Christian audience and that's why they did tend to write realities about Islam as much as these realities did not undermine their aim to "inspire in their Christian reader disgust and ridicule for Islam."[22] Thus, while misrepresenting Islam by distorting the facts, they also gave realistic accounts in order to reach plausible refutations of Islam. They ceased to call Islam a pagan idolatry but because of its close similarity to Christianity, they labelled it schismatic and heretical in relation to Christianity.[23] The Christian polemicists were offering an image of Islam "as a heretical deviation from Christianity, attacking Muhammad as a false prophet who feigned a spiritual mission to satisfy his lust and ambition."[24] For example, Petrus Alfonsi wrote:

---

[20] Ibid., pp. 135-169.
[21] Thomas E. Burman, "'Tathlith al-wahdaniyah' and the Twelfth-Century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam", in John Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, (New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1996), p. 109.
[22] Tolan, p. 152.
[23] Wallhead, p. 25.
[24] Tolan, p. 148.

> Purity of lifestyle was for Mahomet violence, for by force he ordered that it be preached that he was prophet of God. He joyed in theft and rapacity. He burnt so with the fire of lust that he did not blush to pretend that the Lord ordered him to soil another's marriage bed through adultery, as we read about Zaynab, daughter of Ias, wife of Zayd: 'God', he said 'orders you, Zayd, to divorce your wife.' Once [Zayd] divorced her, [Mahomet] copulated with her continually.[25]

Similar depictions would continue to exist in the thirteenth century Spain as the Reconquista progressed. The varieties of arguments carried out in the earlier phases of confrontation with Islam in Spain would be reproduced as the ideology of Reconquista. Throughout the Reconquista, military successes against Islam dictated the necessity to emphasize the illegitimacy of Muslim presence by reintroduction of the earlier polemics in the thirteenth century context.

Primera Cronica General de España that was compiled under the auspices of Alfonso X (1221- 1284), the Learned King, gives a history of the Spain glorified by the achievements of Castile. The period in which the Chronicle was written coincide with the Christian polemical discussions brought about through Europe in reaction to the spread of Arabic philosophy from Spain by the translations of Averroes, Avicenna and Avicebron.[26] In 1240, a discussion platform was arranged under St. Louis in France, in 1263, a similar platform was organized in Barcelona under Jaime I. Moreover, St. Thomas Aquinas was writing his Summa Contra Gentiles, which is constructed as a denunciation of Judaism and Islam by a Christian.[27]

Alfonso X initiated an extensive agenda of translation from Arabic to Castilian Spanish collecting around his intellectual domain Muslims and Jews as

---

[25] Ibid., p. 149.
[26] Wallhead, p. 9.
[27] Ibid.

43

well. Alfonso, nevertheless, presents a religious ideology as fusion of earlier Christian imagination of the Muslims with both truths and fictions. Some legendary constructions of earlier Christians, whether Mozarabic or from rest of Europe, was still dominating the polemical pattern of the chronicle.

The prophet Muhammad was depicted as a magician having powerful skills and reading horoscopes, as a partner of devil performing miracles against Christianity, as a monk who deviated heretically from Christianity.[28] Furthermore, the same legend about eating of Muhammad's dead body by dogs was repeated.

What is more interesting is the myth, which claims that Prophet Muhammad visited Spain and preached there his religion. According to legend, Muhammad came to Cordoba and began to preach. St. Isidore, the champion of Christianity in Spain, ordered his men to arrest Muhammad. But, Muhammad managed to escape to Africa by the help of devil who warned him.[29] The Prophet Muhammad and St Isidore were contemporaries but any contact between each other is fictitious. This legend is quite naturally original as a Spanish phenomenon.

As well as the other argumentative stories about Islam, Primera Cronica General did not break with earlier tradition of denigrating Islam. However, it also includes truths about Muslim religion such as the unity of God, the denial of Christ's deity as Son of God, the Koran, and Ramadan.[30]

Primera Cronica General was a mixture of truth, fiction both of which were used for polemical purposes. The truths were critically told as being not identical to

---

[28] Ibid., p. 43.
[29] Tolan, p. 181. See also Wallhead, pp. 32-33.
[30] Wallhead, p. 42.

Christian concepts[31], and fictions were invented "… to shape the past to fit a political

agenda."[32] According to Celia M. Wallhead:

> Alfonso X and his court may have had direct contact with Muslims in diplomatic matters and in the translation of Arabic scientific works, but the Reconquest was still continuing, the Pope was urging the forced conversion or expulsion of Jews and Muslims, so it was not in the interests of Christendom to persuade Christians that Muhammad and his followers were not bad after all. The Primera Cronica General was undoubtedly limited by the constraints of the Christian propaganda of the day, and what one might judge to be ignorance or intolerance on the part of Alfonso and his compilers may really be lack of information as a result of the propagandist ban by the Church on the truth about Islam, or an unwillingness to spread the truth when it might be considered harmful to Christian Spain.[33]

Christians of Spain had to give an explanation for the Muslim presence on

their lands and to find answers why God permitted Muslim invasion in terms of the

Christian divine plan. Attitudes to such an explanation had given way to a variety of

conceptions. First of all it was the anger of God sent to punish Christian for their

sins. Muslims were tools of God to punish them for their un-Christian activities. Don

Juan Manuel (1282-1348), nephew of Alfonso X of Castile, wrote a notable

explanation " why did God allow Islam to emerge?" in his Libro de los Estados in

1330:

> Good Christian people think that the reason why God allowed the Christians to take such great harm from the Moors is so that they [the Christians] should be able to make war justly against them [the Moors], and so that those dying in such war, having obeyed the commandments of Holy

---

[31] Ibid.
[32] Tolan, p. 188.
[33] Wallhead, p. 46.

Church could be martyrs, their souls being absolved by such martyrdom of the sins they might have committed.[34]

It is clear that author had found a justification of the warfare between Christians and Muslims which would be a means for Christians to reach martyrdom. The assertion that Christians would be rescued from their sins through such martyrdoms becomes, then, an element of the Christian divine scheme. Among his argumentations, a polemic about Muhammad also took place as a follower of the older generations, and besides, author believes that if only Moors had surrendered, there would be no reason for war between Christians and Moors:

> Then, long after Christ was crucified, there arose a false man named Muhammad. He preached in Arabia, convincing certain ignorant people that he was a prophet sent by God. As part of his reaching he offered them wholesale indulgences in order that they could gratify their whims lustfully and to an altogether unreasonable extent. In this way the lower kind of people, thinking that by indulging their whims they could save their souls, as long as they believed in him, took those vain things which Muhammad was telling them as a new Law. So many people believed him that they took over many lands, including many that had once been Christian from the time their inhabitants were converted by the apostles to the faith of Jesus Christ; and they still have these lands today. That is why there is war between Christians and Moors, and there will be, until the Christian have recovered the lands which the Moors have occupied; for neither on account of their faith nor on account of their deviant religion is there any reason why there should be war between them. Christ never ordered that anyone should be killed or put under pressure in order to convert, for He does not wish for any obligatory service, only for that which is given voluntarily and with a good heart.[35]

---

[34] Colin Smith, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1988), pp. 94-95.
[35] Ibid., p. 95.

The author's attitude towards prophet Muhammad was not unusual, but the idea that there should be no compulsory conversion of Muslims to Christianity implies a certain expression tolerance. However, Don Juan Manuel did not cease to express his dislike of Islam in the same fashion of the his precedents, thus, he wrote "the religion of the Moors in so many ways is foolish and unreasonable that any person of understanding can see that nobody could possibly achieve salvation by it."[36] He continues, "… that religion was not given by any of God's prophets, and so is no sort of faith, but an erroneous belief into which that evil man Muhammad deceived them."[37]

The imagination and judgements of Spanish Christians since the arrival of Muslims pursued a narrow minded set of attitudes in line with the perspective of the rest of Europe. A sense of collective identity is established against the religion of the Moors, which was perceived as the antithesis of Christianity. Since religion is very effective in the process of boundary construction between communities, collective mobilization against the presence of Muslims in Spain aimed the intellectual, religious demarcations as well as military ones.

---

[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

SPAIN IN THE FOURTEENTH AND THE FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

4.1 Political Situation in Spain in the International Context Until the Catholic Monarchs

The political configurations in the peninsula began to be multifaceted in the following decades both for Castilian and Aragonese policies. Since they were preoccupied with each other's increase in power, Castile and Aragon were not demonstrating a sincere interest in forming an alliance against Granada and the Muslim forces coming from Morocco. On the contrary, as Norman Housley tells, Castile and Aragon took the assistance of Granada in order to fight against other Muslims. For instance, Granada assisted Castilian King Sancho IV (1284-1295) in his siege of Tarifa, a strategic port, against Moroccans, and also assisted Aragon in capturing Murcia.[1] From now on, the Papacy was unwilling to support the Kingdoms by delivering crusade indulgences. Therefore, Sancho IV used the old papal bulls of previous popes while he was arranging the siege of Algeciras.[2] Tarifa and Algeciras were important strategic ports near the Strait of Gibraltar and the disembarking of

---

[1] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 277.
[2] Ibid.

Moroccan Marinids into the Peninsula could be prevented, if these ports were captured.[3]

However, for an uninterrupted expansion towards the south, Castile realized that there should be a mutual agreement with Aragon in order to counterbalance Aragonese hostility. Since Aragon was also seeking a southwards enlargement, there was the need to provide a fair partition of the gains of the Reconquista for both parts. This led to the treaty of Monteagudo in 1291 between Sancho IV of Castile and James II (1291-1327) of Aragon. This treaty was significant in the sense that it was the first time the division of North Africa between Castile and Aragon was envisaged "showing how firmly rooted was the concept of extending the Christian advance southward beyond the peninsula into the Maghrib itself."[4] This treaty showed Aragonese and Castilian ambition and enthusiasm in their future prospects of enlarging the Reconquista out of its original native land.

Another agreement was accomplished between James II of Aragon and Ferdinand IV (1295-1312) of Castile in 1308 at Alcala de Henares through which the two major Kingdoms of peninsula arranged a joint attack against Granada. Moreover, the agreement also contained, as an ally, the Moroccan Marinids. The Marinids were in quest of retaking Ceuta (a port in North Africa) from Granadans who took in 1306. Interestingly, this triple Christian-Muslim alliance against Granada was granted a crusade status and partially financed by the pope Clement V.[5] However, this alliance soon proved to be a failure when Marinids shifted to the side of Granada after having

---

[3] Ibid.

[4] Charles Julian Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492" in Harry W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, vol. 3: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (Wisconsin, MA.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p. 435.

[5] Housley, p. 277., Bishko, p. 436.

regained Ceuta.[6] The Papacy, then, began to exhibit certain scepticism towards the offers of Spanish representatives yearning for crusade bulls in view of the fact that "promises and guarantees had not been kept."[7]

The reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350), who was one year old when he was accessed to the throne, witnessed new disorders and conflicts for power. When he reached adult age in 1325, he suppressed the rebellious nobility and took upon himself the power personally and revitalized the Reconquista, which had been slowed down due to the internal struggles.[8] The Castilian, Portuguese and Aragonese defeat of the allied forces of Moroccans and Granadans at the battle of River Salado made him "… the most successful king in the Reconquista between Ferdinand III and the Catholic Monarchs…"[9] The Salado war pointed that Granadans would no longer pin their hopes on outside help from Morocco for salvation from the Christian expansion.[10] Furthermore, Christian Kingdoms would not be able to pursue active reconquest policy after the war due to the factors such as the innate strength of Granada, economic crisis after 1350, war between Castile and Aragon, dynastic troubles within Castile, the Hundred Years' War and the issue of Great Schism (1378-1417), which broke Latin Christendom into two rival popes.

According to Norman Housley, there were three strong points of which Granada was taking the advantage. First of them was the mountainous geography of Granada which Granadans stood up for by establishing reinforced advanced defence mechanisms and therefore discouraging the offensive Christian operations. Secondly,

---

[6] Housley, ibid., Bishko, ibid.
[7] Housley, pp. 277-278.
[8] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 193.
[9] Housley, pp. 278-279.
[10] Reilly, p. 190., Housley, p. 280.

Granada was very capable in making use of the diplomatic manoeuvres through which they maintained a balance of power between Morocco, Castile, Aragon and Portugal. Finally, it was the 'defensive social ethos' of Granadans in which preachment of jihad was pragmatically exploited as a self-protective discourse against Christian enlargement.[11] The religious Muslim Jurists of Granada were, then, easily putting into practice influential exhortations against the Castilian dominated Reconquista.[12]

Pedro the Cruel (1350-1369), who accessed to the throne of Castile, was unable to canalise his military sources against the Moors, quite the opposite, he brought about a war with Aragon which lasted ten years between 1356-1366. The war between Aragon and Castile coincided with the Hundred Years' War in which both Aragon and Castile partially attended. There were also dynastic troubles within Castile between Pedro and his illegitimate brother Henry of Trastamara (Henry II). Thus, the correlation between these coincidental conflicts brought fight between fellow Christians rather than war against Muslims in the peninsula as a result of the extra-peninsular involvement to the peninsular politics.

From 1366 to 1386, the peninsula turned out to be the main confrontation area of England and France, thus raising Castile to the "level of a major west European power."[13] The alliance that Castile established during Pedro I was with England. Against that Anglo-Castilian coalition, conversely, Henry of Trastamara, rival of Pedro, formed a counter-alliance with France and dethroned him after the

---

[11] Housley, p. 278.
[12] Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal, Volume One: Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, (Wisconsin, MA.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), p. 146.
[13] Payne, p. 158.

withdrawal of England.[14] During the reign of Castilian kings Henry II (1369-1379) and his follower John I (1379-1390), the alliance between Castile and French was solidified against the English. Castile, while turning into the southern frontier of Hundred Years' War, neglected its own southern frontier with Muslims of Granada. Thus, it was the Castilian involvement in the Anglo-French conflict which gave Granada " an invaluable breathing space in which to recover from the blows inflicted by Alfonso XI."[15]

There were also repercussions of the involvement of the rival popes of the Schism on the peninsular dynastic struggle which led to the utilization of indulgences granted against the Christians. For example, in 1382, Clement VII, the pope in Avignon, was pro-French and issued a crusade bull in order to support John I of Castile against pro-English Portugal. At the same time, Urban VI, the other pope, was declaring a crusade against Castile with the support of England.[16]

Hence, there were almost no papal crusade bulls against Moors since the death of Alfonso XI, which could have provoked the crusader enthusiasm. It had been nearly 50 years that the interest in Granada was only present in the form of renewal of truces with the Muslims.[17]

Nevertheless, Granada's relative comfort for nearly fifty years came to an end with the revitalization of the Reconquista under the reign of Henry III (1390-1406). It should be underlined that the stagnation of the Reconquista for fifty years should not be seen as a worthless period for Christian enlargement. Although there had been

---

[14] Housley, p. 282.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Housley, pp. 246-248., p. 283.
[17] Bishko, p. 443., Housley, p. 283.

no virtual gains against the Moors, the significance of this period is apparent in that Castile began to consolidate its royal authority against the rebellious nobility in the fifteenth century whose result would be the unification of Castile and Aragon under the reign of Isabel and Ferdinand. Furthermore, during the Great Schism, social and religious tensions had intensified throughout Castile due to the internal struggles that were particularly the extension of the European political and religious situation. The religious state of affairs, especially the case of Great Schism, led to a failure of leadership in Europe and the settlement of the Schism would only be carried out in the ecumenical Council of Constance (1414-1418). Previous to the Council of Constance, there had already been other councils which had similar aims. The reflection of conciliar movements throughout the Great Schism on the peninsula was that it marked the end of relative coexistence between Christians, Muslims and Jews by introduction of uniformity of belief instead of traditional tri-fideism of the peninsula whose immediate consequence was the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1391.[18]

During the reigns of Juan II (1406-1454) and Henry IV (1454-1474), a resurgence of papal interest was observable in the Reconquista. The papal grants were increased and there were huge amounts of money transferred to Castile in order to back up the advance of Christendom. The policy of the Papacy towards the Reconquista gained a much more strategically important context after the fall of Constantinople to Ottomans in 1453. Popes perceived the Spanish crusading enthusiasm as a possible departure point for activating the other Christian powers, which could take Spanish successes against the Moors as a model and, encourage

---

[18] Bishko, p. 445.

them against the Turks.[19] Since Castile was not in a position to attend to an anti-Turkish crusade due to its consistent involvement with Granada, it was necessary to introduce to the rest of Europe a stimulation against Turks by means of a successful case against 'infidel' demonstrated by Spanish Kingdoms. As the Ottoman advancement posed itself as a threat to Christendom, international policy of the Papacy became that of assessing frontier against Granada and frontier against Turks in equivalent terms:

> …there were occasional attempts at forging a financial link between the two crusading fronts, as in 1460, when Pius II allowed the preaching of indulgences for the war against Granada to continue, provided that half its proceeds were donated to the crusade against the Turks. Pius later claimed that his reaction to Castile's capture of Gibraltar in 1462 was 'extraordinary satisfaction, since among so many calamities to Christendom there was at least one piece of good news'. In this way the connection between two fronts, which had been made at periodic intervals since the late eleventh century, was renewed in the early fifteenth century; and following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the growth of Ottoman naval strength led the Curia slowly to evaluate the two arenas in a common strategic context, one which became inevitable as the frontiers of the Ottomans and the Castilians converged.[20]

Although there was a revival of interest in crusade for Castile through papal crusade bulls even before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, in the full European context of the escalation of Turkish threat after that date "successive waves of preaching and negotiations for a major crusade against the Ottomans had the effect of stimulating demands for the same bulls to be granted, *mutatis mutandis*, for

---

[19] Housley, p. 293.
[20] Housley, p. 294.

Iberia."[21] Thus, the unification of Castile and Aragon whose most vital achievement was the culmination of the Reconquista in 1492 would be partly due to the Turkish threat, which polarized the Mediterranean into Christian and Islamic blocs.[22]

4.2 Union of Castile and Aragon: the Catholic Monarchs and the National Unity

The alliance between the two great Christian kingdoms of Spain, Castile and Aragon, through the marriage between Isabel and Ferdinand led to the end of Muslim rule in Iberia in 1492 by the capture of Granada. The Muslims had no longer a state of their own and the political climate in Spain was calling for an end to religious diversity and the beginning of religious intolerance.

The establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 in Castile as a network of tribunals organized by the Catholic Church in the Peninsula intended to search out, identify, prosecute, punish and correct heretics.[23] The Inquisition tended to focus its efforts on recent converts to Christianity from Judaism and Islam. These new Christians were under constant scrutiny and suspicion of maintaining the practices and beliefs of their former religions while outwardly adhering to Christianity.

---

[21] Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 74.

[22] Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 61. See also Bishko, p.449.

[23] Inquisition was firstly introduced in the Toulouse Council of 1229 as an ecclesiastical organization dependent on the Papacy. The structure of the Spanish Inquisition was different since it was not bound with the rules of the Papacy. It was a state instrument.

The Inquisition, through its suppressing practices over the new Christians, was the institution of homogenisation of the society. As the extension of the general Christian polity in the Iberian Peninsula, it served for the homogeneous unity of Spain. The tendency of 'violent' homogenisation whose aim was a unity hostile to any minority, and perceiving that minority as an "other" opposed to the "cultivation of myth of legitimation"[24] in which "there could be no room for even traces of earlier civilizations."[25]

4.2.1   New Composition of Power: Religious and Political Uniformity

The Christian Kingdoms, moving from the North of the peninsula, had achieved to confine Islam in a small territorial border in the South of the peninsula between mountain and sea. Almost compressed, Granada was a pale reflection of a civilization which extends from Gibraltar to Persia crossing all North Africa.[26] The small Muslim kingdom of Granada resulted to be the vassal of Castile to whose sovereigns they paid tributes. Now, the situation was becoming very preoccupying for Granada since the throne of Castile was occupied by Isabel, who was married to Ferdinand, the king of Aragon. However, the accession of Isabel to the throne of Castile and that of Ferdinand to the throne of Aragon was problematic because of the succession crisis in their respective kingdoms.[27] After having overcome the civil wars in their respective territories, their marriage resulted to be a dynastic solution to the succession struggles. This dynastic solution entailed a new composition of

---

[24] Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity,Reality*, (London: Macmillan,1995), p. 43.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Jaime Contreras, *Historia de la Inquisición Española (1478-1834): Herejias, Delitos y Representacion*, (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1997), p.8.
[27] Payne, p. 172.

Christian political power much stronger and aggressive than what used to be in the past. Consequently, Christian discourses boosted which emphasize Reconquista and Crusade with aggressive and tough words by means of which Castilians and Aragoneses were preparing bellicose spirit among their subjects, nobles, and ecclesiastical persons.[28]

However, the manifestation of 'bellicose exclusivism'[29], did not only aim at Muslim presence but also that of Jews. There was an unambiguous policy of achieving religious unity going in hand with political unity. The establishment of the Inquisition in Castile in 1478 then became the indivisible institution of the newly united state. Nevertheless, it was also the pioneer of the contemporary and future European tendencies. In Stanley G. Payne's words:

> For the Catholic Kings and most of their subjects, it had become inconceivable that political unity should not be reflected in the religious realm, for the two were inextricably intertwined and reinforced each other. Thus the united Spanish monarchy became the first major state in Europe to impose the principle of both political and religious unity that became the standard of governments throughout the continent in the century that followed.[30]

After the fall of Granada in 1492, the Catholic Monarchs decided for the expulsion of Jews if they were not willing to be converted to Christianity. However, a popular hatred of Jews had already been existent since the 14th century. That's why, before telling the significance of Inquisition in state-building in Spain through its effect on religious and political unity, it is important to shed light on the problem of

---

[28] Contreras, p.8.
[29] Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 297.
[30] Payne, p. 207.

Jews and Muslims as the potential scapegoats of the Inquisition in the peninsula. The concept of state-building would be employed here as a religious, cultural, political and a social phenomenon.

4.3 Inquisition As the Institution of Homogenization: Jews and Muslims Under Surveillance

As the old habitants of the peninsular terrain, the Jews were occupying a qualitatively important place mainly between eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Without any territorial or political power, being a minority from both Christian and Muslim point of view, the Jews always took places of intermediation. They dominated swiftly the frontier and became capable of organizing business crossing the more or less flexible network that always existed between Christians and Muslims.[31]

Of course that traffic could be dangerous, but it was attractive and beneficial. Finally, and always in the ages of prosperity, Jews acted also as cultural mediators, for that reason, they were transmitters of civilizing spaces that were different among themselves, in which each Christian was a very different "other" for a Muslim and vice versa.[32] In fact, they were a weak connection between Christian North and Muslim South. Weak, but flexible, such a practice can never be neutral since it was always difficult to establish a stable place in the lands that did not belong to them.[33]

---

[31] Contreras, p. 10.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

However, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the frontier, which used to be beneficial, became difficult, each time more closed and more aggressive. The Jews, then, began to suffer from the consequences of the environment of hostile worlds. It is true that the relations between three civilizations were never perfect and violence was the one which determined the relations between each other. Rather than the models of *convivencia* (peaceful coexistence), areas of domination determined the situation in which concrete and conjectural political strategies imposed the times of major or minor levels of coexistence.[34]

The Jews, Muslims and Christians were living together in the Iberian Peninsula and for the greater part of the Middle Ages religious diversity had been relatively tolerated. The three faiths while respecting each other, attempted to maintain to a degree the purity of their own ideology. Although the invasion of the peninsula by the Arabs in the eighth century was followed by the gradual reconquest of Christians by the thirteenth century there was a tradition of peaceful coexistence between Jews, Muslims and Christians.[35] The court of Alfonso X El Sabio (1252-1284) was reflecting the religious and cultural cosmopolitanism of thirteenth century Castile through his employment of Jews and Muslims for intellectual production, and Alfonso even called himself the king of the three religions.[36]

It is certain that in the Christian territories, Muslims and Jews were permitted to practice their religions during many centuries. However, it was always in a controlled form, and always in restricted boundaries. This was also the case on the Muslim side. But later, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the attitudes had

---

[34] Ibid., p. 11.
[35] Alastair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in the Sixteenth century Spain "The Alumbradors"*, (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p.7.
[36] Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, (New York: The Free Press, 1988), p.77.

radically changed. The Christian domination was strong and Jews and Muslims were expecting, at best, a positive determination from Christian kings. Their existence depended on them. But those were not times in which overconfidence could be attached to Isabel and Ferdinand, who, after marrying, joined their respective kingdoms and created common projects of supremacy. These were different and new times and besides all, an era of manifest exclusion. There were discourses of Holy war in the Christian territories:

> …the experience showed that when, in the previous events, such words were pronounced, the Christian armies had always come up threatening the Muslim frontier, while, overexcited masses were getting ready to burn the synagogues.[37]

The mentioned previous events reached its peak in 1391. Jews were forming a political minority, whose head were, as recognition of sovereignty, the Monarchs of Castile and Aragon. They were Christian monarchs, but they were sovereigns of the Jews, and at the same time their protectors. However, at this point of protection, Jews were not too much confident on it. Numerous deceptions had occurred in the past mainly since the Christian hatred against Jews encouraged the tragic events of 1391, the terrible and disastrous year in the history of Spanish Jews.[38] The suppression of Jews was also related with the widespread famine, Black Death of 1348-1349, and the following social unrest resulted in the rise of anti-Jewish attitudes of the successive years.

> From the fourteenth century on, a series of economic and social crises churn the political and ethnic life of Castile and gave considerable greater prominence to Christian military nobility, Christian superiority over Jews and Muslims, and

---

[37] Contreras, p. 11.
[38] Ibid., p. 12.

forced new legal disabilities upon non-Christians. By the end of the fourteenth century, a very different cultural climate had emerged in Castile, and it was in that climate that the Iberian inquisitions were formed.[39]

Thus, in 1391, pillage, plunder and death extended to the houses and districts of Jews in major cities of Castile and Aragon. The events started in Sevilla where a well-known priest, the archdeacon of Ecija, Ferran Martinez managed to raise the public to a climax in the anti-Jewish campaign by feverish preaching gathering together a crowd of farm workers, craftsmen and minstrels in the name of Christian justice.[40] Uncontrolled Christian masses implanted terror and death everywhere beginning from Sevilla to Cordoba, then to Toledo in the Kingdom of Castile, and also in the cities of Aragon, Valencia, Barcelona, Mallorca.[41] The consequences of these dramatic events were remarkable both for Jews and Christians. For Jews, these persecutions fractured the unity of their social, political and religious structure. For Christians, these were organized laboratories where they developed the classical forms of exclusion and rejection.[42] In any case, these events meant the decline of Hispanic Jewry. Many Jews died in those years of persecution but the problems were not limited to the victims. The Christian slogan of 'death or baptism for Jews' brought Jews to baptism more than maintaining loyalty to their own religion.

Thus, through forceful and voluntary conversions to Christianity, from the events in 1391 to the ultimate expulsion in 1492, the phenomenon of *conversos* became one of the most important problems of 15th century.

---

[39] Peters, p. 77.
[40] Contreras, p. 12.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

It was a problem because the Church declared that such conversion from Judaism couldn't be sincere at all. Many clerics, who believed in a temporal order absolutely regulated by Christianity, spoke with militant and agitated Christian discourses. According to them, the Reign of Christ was within one's grasp and for that reason the reign would only come through necessary combat against the figures of Antichrist.[43] Seeing Jews and Muslims as the appearance of the Antichrist was to a great extent, the perception of Christians. This was not limited to the peninsula. The European conceptual imagination was also participating in the creation of similar exclusionary discourses. The interesting point here is that, anti-Semitism was injected into the Old Christian society intentionally by the use of literal means. This kind of literacy consisted of Christian polemical debates with Jews, in which "Jews were consistently depicted as blind, stubborn, rooted in flesh, unchangeable in time; the debates preserved and echoed a common set of Christian attitudes"[44]. Thus they led to deepening of anti-Semitism in the society. From these circumstances the image of the Jew came as usurer- an exploiter, as well as a danger to all Christians. They were inevitably regarded with suspicion as a fifth column (whose aim was to destroy Christian society) within the Church.[45] For that reason, the circumstances in Spain, where Christianity encountered with believers in Moses and Muhammad, resulted to be an issue of spiritual war, which affected Rome as the main head of *Christianitas*.[46]

The fanatical attitude of Ferran Martinez in 1391 was reproduced by the successive generations through constituting an ideological tool, which demonised the

---

[43] Ibid., p. 13.
[44] Peters, p.78.
[45]Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 8.
[46] Contreras, p. 13.

Jewish religion and culture.[47] Thus, from now on, the converso problem turned out to be a real issue, which imposed segregation and marginalization of the Jews. These conversos were accused of being not truly converted and of continuing to practice their former religion (*Judaizing*)[48] within their individual and family life. Then, this was perceived as a heresy, which meant they committed sin against Christianity. The tragicomical element in such a situation was that they were no more Jews but Christians. Although Christian aggression had obliged the Jews to convert into Christianity, now, the same Christians did not like their Christian way of life. The Conversos and the Jews, hereafter, would take a similar place in the imagination of Christians. Thus, a new dichotomy was introduced into the already agitated atmosphere of Spain: Old Christians and New Christians. The militant Christianity had now three enemies to throw outside, the Muslims, Jews and New Christians.

Hostile attitudes towards the Jews were developed in an ideological form. Alonso de Espina, who was a well-known Franciscan friar and confessor to Henry IV of Castile, wrote his *Fortalitium fidei contra Judaeos* in 1458, in order to agitate hatred against the Jews. In his book the Jews were portrayed as " traitors, homosexuals, blasphemers, childmurderers, assassins (in the guise of doctors), poisoners …"[49] The following sentences belonged to him: " It is more reasonable than profitable to put all of them (Jews) to death or remove from the world", " If a true inquisition were to be held in our time, countless people of those discovered Judaizing would be burned."[50] Alonso de Cartegena, although a convert from

---

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Judaizing* refers to the acts of Jewish converts to Christianity who continued secretly to practice Jewish rituals but outwardly appeared as Christians. It is a common term among the scholars of the literature of the Inquisition.

[49] Kamen, p. 24.

[50] Isidro G. Bango, *Remembering Sepharad, Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain,*

Judaism, wrote in his *Defensorium sanitatis Christianae*, "We must purify and thrust out the uncleanliness and filth of those who relapse into the blindness of Judaism."[51]

A programme was born based on the religious excitement and with calculated pseudo-nationalist implications[52] that would drive towards the removal of religious plurality, which was understood as incompatible with the new political programme of the Catholic Monarchs. The programme contained the principal milestones of the reign: the war with Granada, the expulsion of Jews and the Tribunal of the Holy Office. The Inquisition was born both as an instrument of strategy of religious unity and gradually as an essential part of the raison d'état.[53]

The thing that was preoccupying actually was the necessity to organize a political project with sufficient Christian doctrinal weapons and where heresy represented a disorder. The official discourses that were talking about the existence of heresy were used to persuade the Papacy to grant a special permission to Catholic Monarchs for the establishment of an independent Inquisition. At that point the Monarchs did not seem to have been hiding their intentions. They initiated negotiations in Rome because the Inquisition requested had an ecclesiastical nature and only the Pontificate could authorize its functioning. However, Rome appeared to be very uncommunicative. The Pontificate was also enthusiastic to remove heresy and to purify the patrimony of the Christian faith. However, there was an essential reason for the Pontifical ambiguity: the Monarchs, in accordance with the designed political model, did not want a traditional papal inquisition, which had operated

---

http://www.seacex.com/documentos/09_sepharad_inqu.pdf., 2003., p. 211.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Contreras, p. 19.
[53] Ibid., p. 20.

previously. They wanted an inquisition that did not lose its original nature and whose politico-administrative structure would be organized according to the authority that the Monarchs desired.[54] In a few words, what the Crown desired was to take the initiative in the designation of the General Inquisitor and, therefore, in the appointment of all the rest of Inquisition judges.

In the traditional inquisition, the appointment of the General Inquisitor and other inquisitors was carried out through the ecclesiastical authority of the Holy See. Since Isabel and Ferdinand were secular rulers, their jurisdiction would not make a way into these appointments. That's why they wanted an ecclesiastically legitimate Inquisition but whose jurisdiction would be subject to their rule. Rome knew that such a concession given to Isabel and Ferdinand would mean a surrendering of the authority of the Papacy. However, Rome also knew that the geopolitical conditions became very important after the rise of Isabel and Ferdinand to the united Crowns of Castile and Aragon not only for the peninsula but also for the European Christianity stuck with the extension of the Turkish threat after the fall of Constantinople.[55]

The significance of the Catholic Monarchs of Castile and Aragon was obvious for Rome, which had been striving for maintaining the cohesion of Christendom. The significance was that there was a possibility to secure the expansion of Christianity in the Peninsular lands[56] while the boundaries of Christendom was gradually being demarcated by the Ottomans.

Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) was unwilling to "approve an inquisition under state rather than ecclesiastical control"[57], however, the enemies of the Cross were so

---

[54] Kamen, p. 33. See also Contreras, p. 20.
[55] Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp.297-298. See also Contreras, p. 21.
[56] Contreras, p. 21.
[57] Payne, p. 209.

much in Spain that there should be twofold war against Jews and Muslims.[58] For

Sixtus IV, the establishment of a distinct Inquisition could only be justified if it was

correlated not only with the heresy but also with the larger strategic plan including

the 'infidels of Mahoma [Mohammed]'.[59] Sixtus IV wrote to the Monarchs that an

Inquisition under the authority of the Crown would be conceded if only they had a

Christian programme, which targeted to extinguish both *Judaizing* heresy and Islam:

> …do not only expel from your reigns the perfidy (heresy),
> but also subdue to your authority the Kingdom of Granada
> and the rest of the places they surrounded, which are still
> populated by infidels and work effectively to convert them.[60]

Thus, in 1478, the formation of a new Inquisition controlled by royal power

was announced by Sixtus IV. The judges of the Inquisition would be appointed by

Monarchs according to their loyalty to the royal political projects. Pontificate,

through the approval of the Spanish Inquisition, had given a part of its right of

jurisdiction to the crown and opened a new era for the relation between Church and

State in Spain:

> What gave to the Spanish Inquisition its peculiar and terrible
> efficiency were the completeness of its organization and its
> combination of the mysterious authority of the Church with
> the secular power of the crown. The old Inquisition was
> purely an ecclesiastical institution, empowered, it is true, to
> call upon the State for aid and for the execution of its
> sentences, but throughout Christendom the relations between
> Church and State were too often antagonistic for its
> commands always to receive obedience. In Spain, however,
> the Inquisition represented not only the pope but the king; it

---

[58] Contreras, p. 21.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

practically wielded the two swords--the spiritual and the temporal--and the combination produced a tyranny…[61]

The Inquisition in Spain did not begin to operate until 1480 since negotiations with Rome had been continuing. Rome demanded that war against Granada should immediately start because it would signify the compensation of risk that they made by ceding their rights partially to the Spanish Crown. 1480 was also the year that Turks besieged the island of Rhodes and captured the south Italian city of Otranto. This was considered as a prelude to the conquest of Sicily, which was an Aragonese possession, and of perhaps Rome itself.[62] Besides, there was a perceived threat that Granada could provide a foothold for a naval Ottoman attack from Otranto.[63] Spain sent Italy two fleets, Castilian and Aragonese, to backup the Christian counterattack.[64]

Spain's dominance over Islam both at home and abroad suddenly turned to be insecure due to the fact that Turkish advances made the Sultanate of Granada more intimidating. Ferdinand became anxious about the possibility of a reaction to Ottoman successes within his Muslim subjects (Mudejars) undermining their allegiance to his reign.[65] Ferdinand was preoccupied because the threat that the Turkish entry into Italy posed to Christendom could easily cause a renewal of Islamic menace at home through a potential assistance that could be given by their internal Muslim brethren. For this reason, he commanded that the Muslims under his domination be disarmed and deactivated in order to prevent them from making "…

---

[61] Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, Volume One, (London: Macmillan, 1906-07), p. 289.
[62] Meyerson, p. 64.
[63] Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 298.
[64] Meyerson, p. 64.
[65] Meyerson, p. 65.

some effort in our disservice and that of our Lord God and in damage of that kingdom."[66] Emergence of Ottomans as an imminent peril penetrating into Christendom became exploitable in the relation between Papacy and Isabel and Ferdinand:

> There can be no doubt that the Catholic Monarchs played the Turkish card a great deal in their dealings with the papal Curia, arguing that unless the Granada war received proper funding, the defence of Sicily would be neglected, and promising assistance against Turks once Granada was won.[67]

Thus, the beginning of the operations of Inquisition coincided with the introduction of the Turkish question to Christendom in general and partly to Spain through the Aragonese possessions in the Mediterranean. Papal insistence on the commencement of war against Islam in the peninsula resulted in the War of Granada which initiated in 1482 synchronically with the first inquisitors' activations in Sevilla where Judaizing heresy was said to have taken place of high intensity.[68] In 1483, Tomás de Torquemada was appointed as the Inquisitor General by Isabel and Ferdinand and by the Pope and he was given the authority to over all the Inquisition tribunals of all of Catholic Monarchs' territories. Through the selection of Torquemada, the desired model was institutionalised: a single inquisition based on the existence of several tribunals, each in its district, and a unique authority over them.[69]

---

[66] Ibid.
[67] Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 298.
[68] Contreras, p. 23.
[69] Ibid., p. 26.

4.4 The Culmination of the Reconquista

Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand, after having embarked campaigns in 1482 against Granada, wrote a letter to Pope Sixtus IV which seems to be their manifest animosity against the Moors:

> We have not been moved nor are we moved to this war by any desire to enlarge our realms and seigniories, nor by greed to obtain greater revenues than those we possess, nor by any wish to pile up treasures; for should we wish to increase our sovereignty and enrich our revenues, we could do this with much less danger and travail and expenditure than we are putting forth in this. But our desire to serve God, and our zeal for His holy Catholic faith, make us put all other interests aside and forget the constant travails and dangers which continue to increase for this cause; and although we could not keep our treasures, and further have many more from the Moors themselves, which they would give us most willingly for the sake of peace, yet we refuse the treasures offered to us and pour out our own, hoping only that the holy Catholic faith will be multiplied and that Christendom will be quit of so constant a danger as she has here at her very doors, if these infidels of the Kingdom of Granada are not uprooted and cast out from Spain.[70]

Thus, the existence of Moors in the peninsula was perceived as an intolerable issue. In addition, it is clear that there is an obvious association of Catholic Monarchs' goal of liberation of the peninsula from Moors with the whole Christendom, that is to say, the end of Islamic rule in a part of Spain would also mean the emancipation of *Christianitas*.

From 1482 onwards, the scale of the crusade preaching and crusade bulls granted by Papacy reached enormous amounts. The zealous atmosphere within

---

[70] Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 297.

Castile and Aragon and the financial and spiritual support of the Holy See (Papacy) ended the last surviving Islamic political rule in Spain on 2 January 1492. It is important to note here that it was written in Fernando del Pulgar's *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos* (Chronicle of Catholic Monarchs), a Turkish involvement into the War of Granada via Papacy took place three years before the conquest of Granada. According to Chronicle, Great Sultan (Bayezid II) sent an envoy, in 1489, to the pope (at the moment Innocent VIII) in order to ask him to request the Catholic Monarchs to give up the war against Granada. The pope sent to the Catholic Monarchs two friars with his own brief. The answer of the Catholic Monarchs was written in chapter 241 of the Chronicle:

> The King and Queen when they had seen the Pope's brief, and the letter and the embassy that the Great Sultan had sent him, answered the Pope that His Holiness knew very well, and that it was well known everywhere in the world, that the Spains in ancient times were possessed by the kings their progenitors; and that if the Moors now possessed in Spain that land of the Kingdom of Granada such possession was tyrannical, and not of law. And that to eliminate that tyranny, the kings, their progenitors of Castile and Leon, which are neighbours to that kingdom, always struggled to restore it to their overlordship, as it had been before.[71]

Whether the mentioned involvement of Bayezid II in the war of Granada vis-à-vis papacy is true or not, it reflects an anticipated Turkish threat that could be posed against Spain by using the Muslim inhabitants. Although already suppressed, as a fifth column, they could serve as the ally of Ottomans after 1492.

---

[71] Julian Marias, *Understanding Spain*, translated by Frances M. Lopez-Morillas, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), pp. 150-151.

CHAPTER V

1492 AND ITS AFTERMATH

5.1 The Formation of Spanish National Identity vis-à-vis Jews and Muslims

In the fateful year of 1492, the Catholic Monarchs conquered the last remaining Muslim Kingdom of Granada on the 2nd January, declared the edict of expulsion of the Jews on 31st March, and appointed Christopher Columbus to discover a western route to the Indies. The conquest of Granada changed the status of the peninsula's Muslims, who, from now on, would not be able to attain a protection from an independent Muslim ruler in Spain. The edict of expulsion of Jews declared that no Jews would be permitted to stay in Spain unless they wished to convert to Christianity. The Spanish Reconquista, hereafter, would take new forms in the post-1492 milieu and through the conquest of the New World by Columbus, would be extended to the Americas without losing its crusading religious enthusiasm in the newly conquered lands and in European politics of the early modern age.

After the conquest of Granada, a peace treaty whose terms permitted the Muslims to practice their religion was signed between the parts. Catholic Monarchs had sent Hernando de Talavera as the first archbishop of Granada. Talavera was teaching Christianity and proselytising the Muslim subjects, but conversion was not

made obligatory.[1] According to Talavera, in order to have a Muslim to be converted to Christianity, there should have been a method that is praising the good works that Muslims achieved while at the same time vaccinating them the premises of Christian religion. The method ought to have been mutual, to say in his words, "they [the Muslims] would have to have some of our faith, and we would have to do some of their good works."[2] Nevertheless, Talavera was also the supporter of traditional elements. He maintained the customary view that death penalty should be executed for heretics on the other hand; he was against the anti-Semitism hostile to the conversos (Jewish converts to Christianity) and said that " heresies need to be corrected not only with punishments and lashes, but even more with Catholic reasoning."[3] These were the opinions, which he put into practice in Granada. However, the way Talavera was pursuing towards Mudejars, the name given to Muslims under Christian rule, was not fitting to the political and religious sentimentality of the period. The resistance of the Muslims to conversion infuriated the zealot clergy. Thus, Talavera was replaced by Catholic Monarchs, soon in 1499, with the Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, the primate (archbishop) of Spain due to the slow progress of conversion of Granadans. The sixteenth century historian José de Sigüenza wrote in a lamenting manner criticising the methods pursued in Spain and rest of Europe in comparison with Talavera's more tolerant approach:

> Talavera would not allow anyone to harm them in word or
> deed, or burden them with new taxes and impositions, for he
> detested the evil custom prevalent in Spain of treating

---

[1] James Blaine Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, PhD. dissertation, (New York: Columbia University, 1997), p. 23.
[2] Americo Castro, *The Spaniards: an Introduction to their History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 250.
[3] Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 49.

members o the sects worse after their conversion than before it… so that many refused to accept a Faith in whose believers they saw so little charity and so much arrogance.

And if there had been more prelates who walked in this path [as Talavera], there would not have been so many lost souls stubborn in the sects of Moses and Mahommed within Spain, nor so many heretics in other nations.[4]

Cardinal Cisneros, as soon as he came Granada, violated the term that guaranteed freedom of religion of Muslims. He initiated forcible mass baptisms, which provoked Granadans into rebellion in 1499-1501.[5] The Mudejars of Granada were offered emigration or Christian baptism by Catholic Monarchs. This was contrary to the peace treaty; however, Catholic Monarchs used the pretext that it was the rebellion of the Granadans that annulled the treaty. Great majority of the Granadans were baptized while some of them left for North Africa. These baptized Muslims became known as *Moriscos*, Moorish New Christians, *nuevos cristianos de moros*.[6] An excerpt from a letter in a poetic form appealing to Sultan Bayezid II written by Moriscos in an imploring manner in 1501 can give an idea about their condition:

By God, our Lord, deign to favor us with a piece of advice
or a word of protest!
Since you possess the excellence, glory, rank, and power
Whereby to save those devoted to God from all evil,
Ask their Pope, the governor or Rome,
Why they permit treachery after having signed an amnesty?
Why they harm us with their deceit
Though we are innocent of any fault or crime?
When their people, who had been conquered, were under the
security of our religion

---

[4] Kamen, p. 48.
[5] Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal, Volume One: Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, (Wisconsin, MA: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), p. 214. See also Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 303., Tueller, p. 23., Richard H. Popkin, "Jewish Christians and Christian Jews in Spain, 1492 and After", *Judaism*, , Vol.41, Issue 3 (Summer 1992), p. 257.
[6] Tueller, p. 23.

And under the protection of our glorious kings, who fulfilled
their promises,
They were not obliged to abandon their faith or their homes,
Nor did they suffer any betrayal or dishonor.
Your missive arrived, but they took into consideration not a
word of it.
It did nothing but increase their enmity and boldness against
us,
And their perseverance in all types of nefarious acts.[7]

By 1502, a decree was issued by Isabel, which obliged the conversion of all

Mudejars throughout Castile. The decree was including again the same choice

between emigration and baptism. The Muslims should be converted or expelled so

that new Christians would not be exposed to the pollution of the Muslim practices

that they were formerly performing. All Mudejars, previously allowed to remain

loyal to their religion, became Moriscos under duress. The Mudejar communities

under the Crown of Aragon became the last ones to be converted after having been

tolerated with their religious rights until 1526.[8]

There was a significant divergence between the Mudejar policy of Isabel of

Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. Although the Crowns of Castile and Aragon were

united, Ferdinand was pursuing a different path of minority policy under his domain.

It was because Aragon did not live along the crusading frontier as much as Castile

did and due to this fact Aragonese were not committed as ambitious as Castilians to

the process of converting the Muslims. It was obvious also in the relatively limited

Aragonese contribution to Granada War, which was fought primarily by Castilian

---

[7] Mercedes Garcia Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, trans. by Devin Stewart, (Granada: Univ. of Granada, 1996), pp. 33-41.
[8] Tueller, p. 24., Housley, p. 303., Payne, pp. 214-215., Kamen, pp. 57-58.

money and men.[9] Thus, the Aragonese reluctance to carry out a general forced conversion of their Mudejar subjects was reflected in the post-1492 policies. Ferdinand perceived no threat from his Muslim subjects that should be urgently dealt with. His Mudejar policy mainly depended on his perception of forced conversion and its possible harmful by-products, thus, Ferdinand "… saw no need to distress subjects who contributed so markedly to the economic well-being of his kingdoms."[10] However, such policy did not mean that Ferdinand was not suspicious of any probable connection between his Muslim subjects and impending Turkish threat in the Mediterranean. He was well aware that there could be a secret correspondence between the restrained Muslims of his crown and the Muslims of the intimidating Ottomans. That's why, it was approaching that, he would, sooner or later, have to adopt his Mudejar policy to the Castilian counterpart. Although Isabel and Ferdinand dedicated themselves to the accomplishment of religious homogeneity, the Aragonese policy could be seen as a relinquish from that commitment. However, if one considers the anxiety of Ferdinand about the socio-religious troubles, which could emerge following the forced conversions and the probable disloyalty of the Mudejars in cooperation with the Turks in the wake of compulsory baptism, the Aragonese policy seems to be plausible. Nevertheless, even if there were variations and seemingly contradictions between Aragonese and Castilian policies, the main components of Catholic Monarchs' common determination were anti-Islamic, anti-Semitic and anti-converso. Thus, it is important that we should avoid employing a Castile-centered interpretation, but besides, we

---

[9] Mark D. Meyerson, "Religious Change, Regionalism, and Royal Power in the Spain of Fernando and Isabel" in *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages: studies in honor of Robert I. Burns*, S.J. / edited by Larry J. Simon. (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), p. 100.
[10] Ibid., p. 101.

should not forget that Ferdinand was utilizing Castilian resources and his different policy did not alter the general Spanish tendency of manifested anti-Muslim aggressiveness.[11] Much more crucial point here to be made was the existence of Inquisition both in Aragon (although it was perceived in Aragon and Catalonia with suspicion) and Castile "as a clearly devised instrument of centralization, an institution avowedly created for religious reasons but utilized to achieve political goals…"[12] Moreover, the course of Reconquista was, undeniably, a process that was dominantly Castilian-led, and the religious and political uniformity that was aimed to be reached through the Inquisition was primarily a Castilian project. It was Castile that was controlling the situation and thus, the representative of the common homogenisation policy that strengthened the united monarchy and made Inquisition an instrument of state building.[13] The discourse of moral order free of contamination of the *Judaizing* Jews and *Islamizing* Moriscos was the prevailing concern of solidified Catholicism. And Inquisition consolidated by royal power became a mechanism through which the Monarchy guaranteed its *raison d'être*. This *raison d'être* had a "special holiness, a special Christianness and Catholicism, in Spain's very existence."[14] Thus, the existence of Jews and Muslims, and later conversos and Moriscos, who were pretending to be Christians, were perceived as threats to this holiness of Christian and Spanish identity, which was acquired on the centuries-long frontier with Islam. Therefore, their conversion and later expulsion from Spain

---

[11] Spain contained at that time ten million people of whom about seven million were in Castile, Donald J. Mabry, *Spain 1492-1598,* http://historicaltextarchive.com.
[12] Meyerson, p. 98.
[13] Payne, p. 176.
[14] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood, Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 111.

happened to be as "the consummation of the struggle for Spanish identity."[15] For a better grasp of the question of Jewish and Muslim "otherness" in the constitution of Spanishness, at this point, we had better focus on the expulsion and compulsory baptism of the Jews and the Muslims in the testimony of the official statements and the opinions of historians. The formation of Spanish national identity will be considered as a religious, cultural, political and social issue.

5.1.1   The Quest for Purity of Blood: the Expulsion and the Baptism of the Jews and the Muslims

The problem of the conversos began with the popular anti-Jewish riots that spread throughout Spain in 1391 as we mentioned earlier. Many Jews had accepted baptism in order to escape violence they were exposed and constituted a subgroup of conversos in Spanish society.[16] They experienced series of outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence up to the time of their expulsion in 1492 because of their religiously suspect status as secret Judaizers from the view point of Old Christians. The establishment of a central control by Ferdinand and Isabel by means of Inquisition gave impetus to the isolation and stigmatisation of conversos and not yet baptised Jews. Inquisition reinforced the hostile public attitudes against those who were maintaining Jewish practices and consequently led to harsh royal measure of the edict of expulsion issued by Ferdinand and Isabella on March 31, 1492. In this edict, it was explicitly stated by Catholic Monarchs that the motive was religious:

---

[15] Ibid.
[16] Miriam Bodian, " 'Men of the Nation': The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present*, Issue 143 (May 1994), p. 54.

And since we are informed that neither that step nor the passing of sentence [of condemnation] against the said Jews who have been most guilty of the said crimes and delicts against our holy Catholic faith have been sufficient as a complete remedy to obviate and correct so great an opprobrium and offence to the faith and the Christian religion, because every day it is found and appears that the said Jews increase in continuing their evil and wicked purpose wherever they live and congregate, and so that there will not be any place where they further offend our holy faith, and corrupt those whom God has until now most desired to preserve, as well as those who had fallen but amended and returned to Holy Mother Church, the which according to the weakness of our humanity and by diabolical astuteness and suggestion that continually wages war against us may easily occur unless the principal cause of it be removed, which is to banish the said Jews from our kingdoms…. Therefore, we, with the counsel and advice of prelates, great noblemen of our kingdoms, and other persons of learning and wisdom of our Council, having taken deliberation about this matter, resolve to order the said Jews and Jewesses of our kingdoms to depart and never to return or come back to them or to any of them.[17]

According to Luis Suárez, the expulsion of the Jews should be regarded in the context of formation of the modern state.[18] The Catholic Monarchs, different from their medieval antecedents, could not tolerate the practise of religions apart from Christianity. Having newly unified their kingdoms, they could not afford any religious discrepancy contaminating the unity of faith they anticipated. The previous tolerance conceded to Jews and Muslims in the medieval period was rejected as being a threat that could destabilize their reign. In the words of Joseph Pérez:

Medieval tolerance — or what is generally known as such — can be explained by the situation of the Iberian Peninsula, which was divided into Muslim and Christian territory. By the end of the Reconquest the earlier tolerance had become

[17] *The Edict of Expulsion of Jews*, http://www.sephardicstudies.org/decree.html.
[18] Isidro G. Bango, *Remembering Sepharad, Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain,* http://www.seacex.com/documentos/08_sepharad_inqu.pdf., 2003., p. 209.

pointless; Spain became yet another Christian nation, like all those that existed in Europe. It is no coincidence that the decree expelling the Jews was signed three months after the capture of Granada.[19]

The emphasis on the notion of "Christian nation" is significant here because, the culmination of the Reconquista and a few months later the expulsion of the Jews and the expulsion of the Muslims in 1502 was "the nationalist event in Spanish history."[20] An official ideology was constructed according to which "Christians with only Christian ancestors were Spanish nationals and that all 'others' were not."[21] Exclusivist definitions of Spanish Christian nationhood emerged in order to distinguish between original Christians and converted Jews and Muslims. However, these were being developed since 1449 with the introduction of Toledo statute of Purity of Blood (*limpieza de sangre*).[22]

In a popular uprising against conversos in Toledo in 1449 leaded by the nobility disloyal to the crown, there emerged a legislation excluding them from public life. These were Blood Statutes, which made distinction between Christian and converso on the basis of blood lineage.[23] In this statute it was stated that "no converso of Jewish descent may have or hold any office or benefice in the said city of Toledo, or in its territory and jurisdiction"[24] and that " the testimony of conversos against Old Christians was not to be accepted in the courts"[25] Moreover, the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre* defined the Jews and Jewish converts to Christianity as a

---

[19] Ibid.
[20] Marc Shell, "Marranos (Pigs), or From Coexistence to Toleration", *Critical Inquiry*, 17, (Winter, 1991), p. 309.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Bodian, p. 54. See also, Shell, p. 309.; David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth Century Spain", *Past & Present*, Volume 174, Issue 1 (February 2002), p. 25.
[23] Shell, p. 310.
[24] Kamen, p. 25.
[25] Ibid.

race.[26] However, these statutes were denounced immediately by the Pope Nicholas V with a bull named *Humani generis inimicus* (Enemy of the human race). In this bull he criticised the idea that excludes Christians from public office solely because they came from a particular race.[27] The opposition of the Pope was made on the basis of Roman Catholic belief that "stresses essentially not kinship by consanguinity but rather rebirth and kinship through Christ".[28] Baptism, according to Catholic theology, meant a "regeneration of man and rebirth"[29], and therefore, any discrimination between Old Christians and New Christians should not depend on blood lineage since "all Catholics are one body in Christ according to the teaching of our faith"[30] Although these were theologically powerful arguments (Jesus Christ was a Jew and conversos are brothers in Christ), an exclusion founded on purity of blood took hold beginning from latter parts of fifteenth century leading to search for ethnic purity. Aristocratic Christian families of Castile began to use the term *sangre azul*, meaning *blue blood*, in order to differentiate themselves from Muslims and Jews.[31] It was a term, which characterized Old Christians in terms of their light complexion (skin) that made their veins appear relatively blue. Gradually, it became to mean that they were not contaminated by Jewish or Muslim blood.[32] The concern over *blue bloodedness* turned out to be in the construction of Spanish nationhood and it took place as an element of honour in chronicles, literary works etc. For instance, Josef Luyano, while making an analysis of nobility made the following statement in early sixteenth century:

---

[26] Norman Roth, "The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492", *Historian*, Vol. 55, Issue 1 (Fall 1992), pp. 17-31.
[27] Shell, p. 310., Kamen, p. 25.
[28] Shell, p. 310.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Kamen, p. 25. An expression of Pope Nicholas V in his *Humani generis inimicus*
[31] English phrase *blue blood* is a translation of the Spanish *sangre azul*.
[32] Shell, p. 312.

> In Spain there are two types of nobility. The principal one is based on noble lineage (*hidalguia*), the other is based on purity of blood (*limpieza*), [found in those] whom we call Old Christians. Even if the first type –nobility of lineage- is more honourable to achieve, yet it is far more degrading to be without the second; for in Spain we esteem a common person who is *limpio* [pure] much more than a hidalgo who is not *limpio*.[33]

Sancho Panza says to his master Don Quixote, "I am Old Christian, and that's enough blue blood for a count."[34] Thus, the boundaries against the 'Other' were assembled around a common Catholic imagination based on religious as well as racial elements.

Subsequently, Inquisition, through its establishment became the instrument of the maintenance of Purity of Blood among society. Tensions aroused between Christians and Jews and conversos and gained political dimension as well as a religious one since the conflict began to disturb the unity of the Monarchy. Thus the conflict had a traumatic outcome, that is, its settlement by the expulsion of Jews in 1492. Andres Bernaldez, the chronicler of Catholic Monarchs, gives the religious logic behind the edict of expulsion, with an approach befitting to his reputation as an anti-Semite:

> While in the center of Granada in the year 1492, they ordered that the Holy Gospel and Catholic faith and Christian doctrine be preached to all the Jews throughout Spain and all its kingdoms, and that those who wished to be converted and

---

[33] Bodian, p. 61. These statutes were reintroduced in 1547 on the cathedral chapter of Toledo which made purity of ancestry a condition of all ecclesiastical appointments and this was given a royal approval by Philip II in 1556 on the grounds that " all the heresies in Germany, France and Spain have been sown by the descendants of Jews.", *The Spanish Inquisition*, http://lilt.ilstu.edu/bekurtz/253/spaninq.htm.

[34] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, trans. by William Starkie, (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1957), p. 207.

> baptized should remain in their Kingdoms as their vassals,
> with everything that was theirs, and that those who did not
> wish to convert should leave and depart from their Kingdoms
> and never return on pain of death, and that they take with
> them all their possessions, except for gold or silver, or sell
> them as they wish. And this edict was issued and sent to all
> the synagogues and town squares and churches, and the
> learned men of Spain preached to them the Holy Gospel and
> doctrine of our Holy Mother the Church, and proved using
> their very scriptures how the Messiah they await was our
> Redeemer Jesus Christ, who came at the right time, whom
> their ancestors evilly ignored […] deceived by the false book
> of the Talmud.[35]

The belief of Jews depended on a false holy book and the only way Jews could compensate for their errors is to convert to Christianity and unless they gave consent to baptism they should be driven out of Spain. These were the expressed reasons behind the expulsion of Jews. It can be deduced from these that the primary object of the Catholic Monarchs was conversion rather than expulsion of Jews.[36]

The Jews were given three months to accept baptism or exile. As far as the scholars investigated there were no reliable data existed about the expulsion. It has been put forward that about 150.000 were exiled from Castile and 30.000 from Aragon. But Henry Kamen argues that the real figures were only the half of those cited above.[37] John Lynch points that out of 80.000 Jews, about 40-50.000 decided to leave.[38] Isaac Abravanel, the Jewish financier of Isabel and Ferdinand, wrote in 1494, the number of exiles as three hundred thousand:

---

[35] Bango, p. 199.
[36] Henry Kamen, "The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492", *Past and Present*, 119 (1988), p. 37.
[37] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 16.
[38] John Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation-state to World Empire*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), p. 38.

> As the fear of God and the Honor of his Divine presence are my witnesses, the number of Jews in the land of the King of Spain the year in which Israel was stripped of its glory [the year the expulsion took place] was three hundred thousand souls.[39]

Not all of the Jews left the country and those remained accepted the baptism. It was also argued that the number of Jews who converted and remained in Spain was greater than those who left.[40] Those on the way of exodus were described very sensitively by the chronicler Andres Bernaldez, despite his anti-Semitism:

> And they departed from the land where they were born, young and adults, old people and children on foot, and gentlemen on asses and other beasts, and in carts, and they each continued their travels to one of the ports they were to go to; and they travelled along roads and across fields with many hardships and fortunes, some falling, others picking themselves up, others dying, others being born, others falling ill, and there was no Christian who did not feel for them, and wherever they went they invited them to be baptized, and some were converted and stayed, but very few, and the Rabbis urged them on and bade the women and youths sing and play tambourines and drums to keep up the people's spirits, and so they departed from Castile.[41]

The Jews who left Spain tried to find refuge in Italy, North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. An account written by an Italian Jew in April or May 1495 mentions that "King of Turkey" received them kindly because they were artisans. According to the Italian Jew, the King lent them money and settled them on an island giving them fields and estates so that he could use them in making of munitions for the war against Christian Europe.[42] Bajezid II, the Ottoman Sultan who welcomed the Jews,

---

[39] Bango, p. 204.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Bango,p. 204.
[42] Paul Halsall, *Jewish History Sourcebook: The expulsion from Spain, 1492 CE,*

was reported to have said, "How can you call Ferdinand of Aragon a wise king who impoverished his own land and enriched ours?"[43] A Jewish chronicler claimed, "thanks to the Jews the Turks conquered great and mighty monarchs."[44]

The choice of baptism or emigration given to Jews in 1492 and to Muslims in 1502 paved the way for their mass expulsion. According to Gerard Delanty, these measures "in the history of Europe gave rise to the doctrine of purity of blood, which became the core of European racism in subsequent ages" and therefore represents "a major legitimation of ethnic cleansing."[45] For Adrian Hastings, the mass expulsions and forcible conversions "wrote ethnic cleansing into the very constitution of Spanishness."[46] According to Barbara Fuchs, it was a "racialized religious ideology"[47] which hunted for persecution and repression of the minorities, which challenged the notion of homogeneous Spain.

5.2 Moriscos: Cabeza de turco[48]

As a result of unchained attacks on them by means of the Inquisition with the fervour of 'converting heretics', the Jews and the Judaizing conversos were almost

---

http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/1492-jews-spain1.html.

[43] Joseph Telushkin, *Jewish Literacy*, 1991, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/expulsion.html.

[44] Kamen, "The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492", p. 50. However, Henry Kamen notes here that he did not encounter any study on true Jewish contribution to Turkish society in the early modern period.

[45] Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 43.

[46] Hastings, p. 111.

[47] Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the Fictions of Spanish Identity", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2001), p. 13.

[48] Morisco is the name given to the Muslims who became Christians after being forcibly baptized. *Cabeza de turco* is a Spanish expression which is literally Turk's head. It means scapegoat in English.

totally converted and they were completely living as Christians.[49] In the beginnings of the sixteenth century, the heresy of crypto-Judaism seemed to have totally disappeared. Nevertheless, the attention turned to another heresy, that of the Moriscos, 'members of the Mahoma's sect', in a European religious and political milieu of the Protestant Reform, a further source of heresy, which was fracturing the unity of Christendom.

The Muslims of Spain were, beginning with the edict of 1502, first forcibly converted to Christianity, and after being converted, they were obliged to abandon their Muslim cultural practices and adopt instead Christian ones. However, the Spanish state did not fall short of raising the criterion of being a "Christian" to the prerequisite of proving genealogical purity since the similarity of the Moriscos to the Old Christians made it difficult for the Inquisition to differentiate between them. The analysis of Deborah Root is very valuable here:

> The indeterminability of faith apparent in the Inquisition's inability to determine dissimulation, and its effort to circumvent this by continually increasing its demands for proof of orthodoxy, meant the definition of orthodoxy could migrate to genealogy: Moriscos were not and could not be 'truly' Christian because of their ancestry, and they were by definition reduced to impenitent heretics and dangerous outsiders. A polarity had been constructed that became impossible to deal with except by 'amputation' and the 'casting out' of the deviants.[50]

---

[49] Jaime Contreras, *Historia de la Inquisición Española (1478-1834): herejias, delitos y representacion*, (Madrid : Arco Libros, 1997), p. 37.
[50] Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: orthodoxy and difference in sixteenth century Spain", *Representations*, 23 (1988), p. 130., quoted in Fuchs, p. 13.

Spanish Christianity constituted a radical exclusionary definition towards national differences and did not have mediator principles such as 'Peoples of the Book', which Spanish Islam employed with a limited tolerance.[51]

Queen Isabel died in 1504 and her daughter Juana La Loca (Crazy Juana) became the queen with Ferdinand as regent. Isabel had never admitted Ferdinand to claim right to the crown of Castile and excluded him from the succession.[52] Juana married Philip I of Hapsburg dynasty who pushed aside Ferdinand in order to prevent his claim to the throne. Philip I died within a year and Ferdinand returned to the crown of Castile. After the death of Ferdinand in 1516, Charles I, the oldest son of Juana and Philip I, became the heir of both Aragon and Castile. In 1519, Charles I got the crown of Holy Roman Empire. Having become the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1516-56), he was destined to wage war against the Turks both in Danube and Mediterranean.

In 1522, Süleyman the Magnificent had captured Rhodes and secured a base from which he could lead attacks against Charles V. From 1518 onwards, North African pirates located themselves under the protection of the Ottomans and they turned out to be the asset of the Sultan with his naval war with Spain. These North African pirates began to attack the southern and eastern coasts of Spain. As we mentioned earlier, the Mudejars of Aragon were not exposed to the 1502 edict of baptism or expulsion until 1526. However, Spain perceived the Mudejars in the crown of Aragon as a potential ally of his Islamic enemies and as a threat to internal security. Therefore, Charles V extended to the decree of 1502 to Aragon in 1526 and gave the Mudejars the alternative of baptism or exile. The Mudejars rebelled but they

---

[51] See, Chapter II.
[52] Lynch, p. 44.

were easily suppressed. As a result of the negotiations, they accepted baptism and remained in Spain.[53]

5.2.1 Europe, Christendom and the Turks: Moriscos in the International Context

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century and onwards, Spanish rulers encountered political and religious threats nearly everywhere. North Africa was the area where Spanish troops confronted with Islam. In Germany, the Protestant 'heresy' was increasingly getting an extensive influence. France was allying itself with the Ottomans against Spain during the reign of Charles V. Moreover, Protestantism was growing also in France threatening to penetrate into Spain from its northern frontier. In the Netherlands, well-organized Calvinists generated a revolt in 1566 and Protestant England took side with Netherlands against Spain. The Moriscos of the Peninsula were entrapped in such an interconnection of international politics. The internal conflicts of religion and culture became further multifaceted in the compound international involvement of Spain. This hostile environment around Moriscos was multiplied with the rise of Protestantism in Europe and the danger it posed to the Spain.

---

[53] Ibid., p. 120.

5.2.2 Papacy, Protestantism and Turks

After Luther posted his ninety-five theses against the indulgences on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg in 1517, there emerged the Protestant reformers who permanently 'cracked the millennial unity of European Christendom'. Through the Protestant reformation, new churches hostile to Rome were established and Holy See started to lose its authority over Europe.

Luther was establishing analogies between the Turk and Pope. The most favorable explanation of the Turkish danger was made through identification of Turkish power with anti-Christ. Ironically, Luther reflected on the Turkish menace as God's scourge sent upon Christendom. He said, "anti- Christ is the pope and the Turk together and also "a beast full of life must have a body and soul; the spirit or soul of anti- Christ, is the pope, his flesh or body the Turk."[54] Luther's indication of the Pope as anti-Christ tells us something about the peculiarities of the European milieu.

Growing antipathy of the Holy See towards the Protestants led to the Counter-Reformation of the Catholic Church, which was marked by the "increasing intolerance towards the Protestants as well as the Orthodox."[55] Rome faced the necessity to take measures against the "separation of considerable part of Europe from the Holy Mother Church".[56] The cohesive power of Christianity started to become very limited and the Papacy was to find a target that would unite states around the Catholic Church and confirm the identity of a Christian Europe. Parallel

---

[54] Martin Wight, *Systems of States*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977), p. 121.
[55] Mustafa Soykut, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy: a history of the "other" in early modern Europe:1453-1683*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2001), p. 46.
[56] Ibid.

to papal proclamations with specific reference to the ominous external threat posed by the Islamic 'other' in the fifteenth century and sixteenth centuries:

> the Turks were for Rome the only target of a fully legitimate possible crusade, which could have enabled Rome to bring once again Pax Christiana to Europe under apostolic auspices, regaining the authority that it had enjoyed between the aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople and before the reformation.[57]

Council of Trent (1545-1563) which, in the end, became the instrument of counter-reformation, was organized "to deal as much with the Turks as with the Lutherans."[58] It was put forward in this Council that Catholic Orthodoxy should be purified from all heresies. Also, in this Council, the concise and clear modes of being a Christian was defined denigrating all kinds of Protestantism.[59] Spain took a central role through its delegates in the Council and, as the protector of the Holy Catholic Religion, consolidated its commitment to suppression of heresy wherever they were found.

5.2.3 Spain, Turks and Moriscos

A leading adviser of Carlos V, Alfonso de Valdés, following the victory of Spain against French at the Battle of Pavia in 1525, wrote:

---

[57] ibid.
[58] Housley, p. 135.
[59] Contreras, p. 38.

It seems that God, by a miracle, has granted the Emperor this victory so that he may not only defend Christendom and resist the power of Turk … but that … he may also seek out the Turks and Moors on their own lands and, exalting our holy Catholic faith as his ancestors did, recover the empire of Constantinople and the holy mansion of Jerusalem which our sins they hold in their possession. Thus it may come about, as is prophesied by many, that under the rule of his most Christian prince, the whole world may receive our holy Catholic faith and the words of our Redeemer may be fulfilled: 'let there be one sheepfold and one shepherd'.[60]

Likewise, the Franciscan missionary Gerónimo of Mendieta talked about the Spanish messianic responsibility in the name of God and Catholic Christendom against the heretics. This text is important in the sense that it emphasizes the 'ought to be' situation of successive Spanish rulers' dedication to annihilate the beliefs apart from Catholicism:

I am firmly convinced that as those Catholic Monarchs [Ferdinand and Isabella] were granted the mission of beginning to extirpate those three diabolical squadrons 'perfidious' Judaism 'false' Mohammedanism and 'blind' idolatry along with the fourth squadron of the heretics whose remedy and medicine is the Holy Inquisition, in like manner the business of completing this task has been reserved for their royal successors; so that Ferdinand and Isabella cleansed Spain of these wicked sects, in like manner their royal descendants will accomplish the universal destruction of these sects throughout the whole world and the final conversions of all peoples of the earth to the bosom of the church.[61]

For Spaniards, the fight against the Turk was natural and in certain manner the continuation of the Reconquista, the centuries long struggle against Islam. The Spanish agenda of the sixteenth century was very loaded as Alan Milhou argued:

---

[60] Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 78.
[61] Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 318-319.

Harmony between arms, letters, and devotion; pride in the new-found might of a unified Spain whose monarchs, acting as Christendom's champions, could expunge the Spanish complex of failing to take part in the eastern crusades; fear about the imminent end of the world; curiosity about Jerusalem. Unknown lands and peoples, the global struggle against Islam and the place of the Jews in salvation history; respect for Rome and the papacy; the influence of Franciscans: and devotion for Mary.[62]

This devotion to the crusading fervour was also due to the poor image of Spain in the rest of Europe. For instance, Erasmus wrote in 1517 " Spain is not pleasing because it is full of Jews."[63] Luther would prefer to see Turks invading Germany rather than the Spanish.[64] Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) called the subjects of Spain as " those dregs of the earth, that breed of Moors and Jews."[65] A French pamphleteer described Philip II (1556-1598), the successor of Charles V, as " demi- Moor, demi-Jew, demi-Saracen."[66] Elizabeth I of England wrote in his letter to Sultan Murad III (1574-1595), in 1583, "France and Spain and especially the Pope were idol worshippers."[67] This image of Spain was utilized as war propaganda to depreciate the Spanish enemy mostly by identifying it with the hated non-Christian races.[68] It is essential to remind here that it was Spain, which fought as the vanguard defending and extending the frontiers of Christendom throughout centuries. Thus, the Spanish enthusiasm to

---

[62] Quoted in Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe*, p. 81.
[63] Nirenberg, p. 35.
[64]Fernando Domínguez Reboiras*, La España Medieval, Frontera de la Cristiandad*, http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/5284/esteving.html.
[65] Payne, p. 218.
[66] Nirenberg, p. 35.
[67] Soykut, p. 6. Elisabeth I, as the queen of Protestant England, established an analogy between Muslims and Protestants since both of these beliefs were similar in the sense that they both rejected the adoration of sacred images, which was the Catholic way of worshipping.
[68]Fernando Domínguez Reboiras*, La España Medieval, Frontera de la Cristiandad*, http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/5284/esteving.html.

demonstrate its Catholic Christian purity by means of the "limpieza de sangre" should be contemplated together with these negative representations of Spain throughout the rest of Europe which rebelled against Papacy. Accordingly, Islamic menace posed, this time, by Turks and their potential alliance with the Protestants around Spain and with Moriscos within Spain put the Spanish preoccupations of fortification of national unity next to the international defence of the sacred values of Christian unity.

The Ottomans were, as we mentioned, a threat to Europe in general, but also a threat to Spain in particular because of their perception as a potential conqueror that could be supported by the Moriscos within Spain. The Moriscos in Spain were keeping the hope that Turks, as Muslims, would give a hand and rescue them from the oppression they were subjected to. Being aware of that fact, Spain started to treat Moriscos in a much stricter manner.

The Spanish had the view that Protestantism would become a great threat if it conspires with the Moriscos. Moriscos perceived Protestantism in conformity with their religious thinking in some aspects "such as the denial of the supremacy of the pope, the frowning on images, and the freedom of the individual to scrutinize the Scriptures."[69] In order to prevent any collaboration of Protestants and Moriscos, Spain toughened the functioning of Inquisition. By this way they could severely punish any religious deviation instigated by either reformation or Muslim traditions. In fact Spain had rightful reasons for suspecting from Moriscos because, "Moriscos

---

[69] Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: the Moriscos, a cultural and social history*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, c1983.), p. 9.

had hoped through their contact with France to shake off the yoke of oppression along with the Protestant minority."[70]

Thus, the context of Counter-reformation bringing with itself sharp religious reactions after the Council of Trent prompted Philip II, the king of Spain, to take severe measures against the Moriscos who were possibly acting in conjunction with the Ottoman Empire and Protestants threatening the centralized Spanish Catholic state.

After the Calvinist rebellion in the Netherlands in 1566, Spain, facing the threat of the heretic success, became much more paranoid of Moriscos and increased its efforts on attaining uniformity in religion by imposing severe measures on them. Philip II ordered, in 1567, required that Muslim clothing and social customs be given up. Moreover, he ordered the use of Castilian instead of Arabic. These decrees in 1567 were issued, to a degree, for reasons of national security.[71] However, the Granadan Moriscos were very determined and ignored these decrees because they were well aware that Spain was caught up in an insecure situation.[72] Thus, they began the great Morisco revolt of Alpujarras (1568-1571). It is interesting to observe the Turkish involvement in the Alpujarras rebellion with reference to Protestants in a letter from Sultan Selim II to Kılıç Ali Paşa, the governor (Beylerbey) of Algeria:

> Order to the Governor of Algeria, Ali Paşa: You have sent a letter to my Sublime Court and have informed me saying that … the Lutheran sect has brought together a large body of troops and has pillaged and plundered the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Spanish, has taken their lands, and has defeated [them]. Also, from this area, since the Andalusians, Islamic people, have revolted, the leaders of the accursed Unbelievers have been roughly handled and they

---

[70] Ibid.
[71] Payne, p. 288.
[72] Ibid.

have been in state of disorder. Previously they had gathered a great force and had attacked the Andalusian people, and, by the grace of God, a victory had taken place. From this area troops and arms have been sent, assistance has been given, and the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Unbelievers are not free from being looted.[73]

Selim II's interest in the Alpujarras rebellion was of great importance for the Ottomans because it was the time the Sultan decided to conquer Cyprus. The letter from Selim II to the rebellious Moriscos is another document showing how interested the Sultan was:

You have informed [me] … that now 20.000 armed men in number have come into being and an unarmed 100.000 are [also] certain and that, with the arrival of an amount of arms from Algeria, confidence has been produced and many defeats have been given to the evil-acting Unbelievers.[74]

The encouragement given to rebels by Sultan was important because "the gains that could be achieved by aiding a revolt against the Habsburgs at one end of the Mediterranean while attacking the Venetians at the other end were too great to ignore."[75] Consequently, the Ottomans conquered Cyprus (1570-1571) while Philip II was dealing with the suppression of internal dissent and was not able to render assistance to the Venetians. By this time in Spain, the Morisco rebellion was fully repressed. It was said that there were probably more than half a million Moriscos living in Castile in the second half of the sixteenth century. In Granada, where the rebellion broke out, there were 250.000 Moriscos out of which approximately 60.000 Moriscos were killed during the rebellions, 50.000 escaped to North Africa and

---

[73] Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: an Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth Century Spain", *American Historical Review*, Volume LXXIV, Number 1 (October 1968), p. 14.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. 15.

nearly 100.000 were distributed throughout the parts of Castile. In the Granada region no more than 40.000 Moriscos were allowed remain.[76]

The North African involvement in the Iberian Peninsula's Muslims with the invasions of Almoravids in the eleventh and Almohads in the thirteenth centuries justified, as historical background, the Spanish concerns over Moriscos as an 'enemy within' in the sixteenth century. The Spanish policy in the full context of Counter-Reformation Europe and the Ottoman antagonism against the Spanish showed its unpleasant effects on Moriscos. The final solution to the problem of Moriscos, thus came with the decision to expel them out of Spain in 1609 during the reign of Philip III. The expulsion of the Moriscos ended in 1614 and the unitary Catholic society had been achieved through exterminating all the legacy of religious and ethnic pluralism of Medieval Spain as the 19th century Spanish historian, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo wrote: "Spain, the evangeliser of the half globe; Spain, the hammer of heretics; Spain, the sword of the Pope. This is our greatness and our glory: we have no other."[77]

---

[76] Payne, p. 287.
[77] Richard Fletcher, *Quest for El Cid*, (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 203.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella captured Granada on January 2, 1492 and dethroned the last surviving Muslim kingdom in Iberia. The fall of Granada was the culmination of the Reconquista, which had begun fully-fledged in the thirteenth century. The Latin Kingdoms ended the centuries-old struggle by eliminating the political hegemony of Islam in the Peninsula. According to Gerard Delanty, the seizure of Granada in 1492 indicated a symbolic significance considering the formation of a European identity.[1]

After the fall of Constantinople, which is also a turning point in the consolidation of a European identity, Pope Pius II is reputed to have said: "Now we have really been struck in Europe, that is, at home."[2] This was considered as an expression of Europe as a unity against the threat posed by the Ottoman advance. However, whether it was called by Pope as "home" or not, Europe ceased to be an integrated homogeneous unity due to the existence of the still- continuing, though declining, political dominance of Islam in Granada. Only after the culmination of Reconquista, that Europe began to acquire higher coherence and homogeneity of Christendom. It is in this sense that 1492 remarks a cornerstone for the evolution of

---

[1] Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 47.
[2] Ibid., p. 37.

the formation of European identity of Christendom in general, and in particular, for the establishment of Spanish nation-state and Spanish identity.

Late fifteenth and the sixteenth century introduced us a Europe that was in the process of inventing itself. Europe was evolving towards a new order of proto-nation-states defining itself in terms of a particular race, one particular language, people and religion. Europe was moving from the idea of chivalry and loyalty to the idea of patriotism. It was an era of state formation in which myriad cultures still survived and these were perceived as threats to the ongoing enhancement of homogeneity. A geography of difference was brought up as the prevalent form of order. Boundaries were constantly created and recreated on the political map of Europe.

Europe was living through an experience in which their defining characteristics became what distinguished them from the common enemy Islam, identified in the figure of the Turk. The European representation of the Turk was in search for setting forth the difference between 'Us' and 'them'. This requires the introduction of the "rhetoric of otherness": The Turk of the sixteenth century was the "other" of the European. However, this matter of Otherness was not a recent phenomenon in the European history since the Christian Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula had undergone through the same process beginning from the initiation of their struggle against the Moors. The Moors were, for Christians in the Peninsula, "the mirror in which they were reflected and through which they acquired, by contrast, the awareness of their own identity".[3] Islam, as the leading actor of the

---

[3] Juan Goytisolo, *Saracen Chronicles: a selection of literary essays*; translated by Helen Lane, (London: Quartet Books, 1992), p. 84.

various scenarios about the probability of any threat that could be posed by them, was anchored in the Peninsular subconscious since their arrival to the continent in 8th century.

It is important to state that the Spanish nation- building process becomes extremely meaningful when it is grasped in the general European framework where anti-Muslim polemic was employed indicating the intellectual, political and cultural "otherness" of Islam. Although the concept of nation-building involves also the economic facts, this study examines the Spanish nation-building process with regards to the political, religious, cultural and social phenomenon.

In the second chapter, what is presented are the origins of the Reconquista and its incorporation into the Crusades after 1095, the beginning of the First Crusade. Since the First Crusade in 1095, the Papacy recognized the significance of the peninsular war as a crusade and as a defence of Christendom. In fact, the warfare in the Peninsula until 1095 was not considered as a "holy war", but a secular war whose aim was only territorial enrichment and not the protection of Christendom. However, as we have seen, through the penetration of crusading enthusiasm of the rest of Europe into the Peninsula with the launch of the Crusades in 1095, the Reconquista evolved as a "holy war" through wider European religious and political influences. As much as the Reconquista integrated with the Crusades, the injection of the crusading ideals reached to its peak and thus the religious objectives of the Christian Kingdoms in the Peninsula intersected with the targets of their European counterparts. Moreover, the invasions of the North African Almoravids and Almohads, respectively in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, brought to the Muslims (Moors) of the Peninsula the idea of Jihad and intensified the religious

tensions. After the victory of Christian Kingdoms of Spain in the war of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, the political and religious polarization between Christians and Muslims deepened. After 1212, the politically separated Christian Kingdoms began to converge around Christianity against the Muslim "other" and prepared the future unification of Spain. It was in the war of Las Navas de Tolosa that Christian Kingdoms were officially referred as "Spanish" by Alfonso VIII, the king of Castile. Thus, the origins of the Spanish identity came out as a result of the antagonism between two religions sharpened by the European political and religious atmosphere.

In the third chapter, the Spanish experience of Islam was discussed with reference to the anti-Muslim polemics of the Christians in Spain in the general framework of European attitudes towards Islam. Beside the military struggle with Islam, the polemical anti-Islamic discourses were significant for the Europe's religious, political and cultural consolidation of itself beginning with its confrontation with Islam. Islam was not perceived as a religion of its own. It was, according to the polemics, a heresy of Christianity and a deviation from the Christian doctrine. Muslims were depicted as pagans, polytheists. The prophet Muhammad was seen as the forerunner of anti-Christ and the Islamic religion was perceived as Satanic. These Christian definitions of the Muslims underline the difference between themselves and their opponents. The confrontation of Christianity and Islam in Spain was different from the rest of Europe. The experience of the rest of Europe was limited to Crusades and pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Spain was distinguished from the rest of Europe in the sense that the experience of Islam was as intense as it could be. However, Spanish Christians was not far from such conceptualisations of the Islamic "other" despite their close contact with Muslims. The hostile Spanish

perceptions of Islam emerged as a result of the aim to cope with the prevalence of another religion in their mainland. The process of the Reconquista, as warfare against the Muslims, required an ideological kit that would emphasize the illegitimacy of the Muslim presence in Spain. Through the propagation against Islam, the Spanish Christians despised the Muslims and emphasized the superiority of Christianity. These anti-Muslim discourses worked as ideological and religious tools which agitated the Christians against the Islamic "other" and contributed to the development of Spanish Christian identity as opposed to the Muslims throughout the Spanish political and military agenda of the Reconquista.

The fourth chapter dealt with the political developments of the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century. Throughout the fourteenth century, the Spanish Kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, became much more involved with the European conflicts, while fighting against the Muslims inside Spain. Castilian and Aragonese involvement in the Hundred Years' War made them a major European power, however, resulted in the negligence of the struggle against Muslims of Granada, the last remaining Muslim state. The Reconquista in the fourteenth century slowed down as a result of the extra-peninsular involvements of the Spanish Kingdoms and also due to decline of the interest of the Papacy in the Reconquista. In the fifteenth century, the resurgence of the papal interest in the Reconquista gave rise to the crusading enthusiasm of the Christians in Spain. Papacy, through transferring huge amounts of money to the Castilians and the Aragonese, encouraged the fight against the Muslims and provoked the advance of Christendom. In fact, the policy of the Papacy was linked to the emergence of the Turkish threat, another Muslim power, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The Reconquista gained a

strategically important context after 1453 in the eyes of the Papacy. As the Ottoman advance into Europe posed itself as a menace to the security of the Christendom, the Papacy tried to introduce the Spanish successes against the Muslims in the Reconquista as a model to the rest of Europe in order to stimulate them against the Turks. The Papacy, then, began to associate the frontier with Granada in Spain with the frontier against the Ottomans and by this way attempted to motivate whole Europe against the 'enemies of the Christ'. Thus, the unification of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1479 that meant the formation of Spain occurred in this full European context of Turkish threat, which polarized the Mediterranean into Christian and Islamic blocs. The Spanish Inquisition established by the Catholic Monarchs Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon became the institution of the homogenisation of the society. The Spanish Inquisition was different from the medieval inquisition since it did not depend on the sovereignty of the Papacy. It was exempted from papal intervention and only the Catholic Monarchs possessed the right to organize its functioning. Thus, it became the instrument of state-building which attached the achievement of religious unity to the achievement of political unity. As we have seen, since the fourteenth century, the Jews were attracting a popular hatred and after the establishment of Spanish Inquisition, they were exposed to segregation, marginalization and forcible conversion to Christianity. However, the Spanish Inquisition began to operate in 1480, two years after its establishment. 1480 was also the year that Turks besieged Rhodes and captured the south Italian city of Otranto. Catholic Monarchs of Spain perceived the Turkish advance in the Mediterranean as a threat to its security because Muslims in Granada could serve as a foothold for Turks who could organize a naval attack to Spain from Otranto.

Afterwards, the Catholic Monarchs embarked campaigns against the Kingdom of Granada in 1482. In ten years' time, in 1492, the Reconquista was culminated with the fall of the last Muslim state of Spain. After the fall of Granada, the edict of expulsion of the Jews was issued by the Catholic Monarchs and intensified the ongoing religious unity of Spain.

The fifth chapter focused on the post-1492 atmosphere in which the Spanish nationhood was consolidated vis-à-vis Jews, Moors and Turks. The edict of expulsion of the Jews declared that no Jews would be permitted to remain in Spain unless they were converted to Christianity. Some of the Jews left and some of them remained in Spain as baptized Christians. In 1502, after the rebellion of Granadan Muslims against the forcible conversions imposed on them by the Inquisition, the Catholic Monarchs issued a similar edict which obliged the conversion of Moors throughout Castile. Similarly, the Moors were given the choice of emigration and baptism. The Moors that decided to remain in Spain was converted to Christianity and became to be known as Moriscos. In 1526, the Moors under the Crown of Aragon were forcibly converted and religious unity of Spain was culminated. However, although the converted Jews and Moors were made Christians now, they were under suspect that they were not sincere in their new Christian beliefs. They were labelled as New Christians as opposed to the Old Christians who had Christian ancestors by blood. In fact, since the Blood Statutes of 1449 issued in Toledo there were exclusivist definitions of Spanish Christian nationhood. In 1449, the statutes of *Purity of Blood* stated that no Jews would be given place in the state offices. These statutes were gradually extended to gradually to the New Christians who had Jewish and Muslim lineage. The Spanish Christians invented the term *blue blood* (*sangre*

azul) to differentiate themselves from the New Christians of the Moorish race, Moriscos. This term described the Old Christians in terms of their light skin that made their veins appear blue relatively to the black skin of the Moriscos. According to the scholars, as we have told, these definitions, as a form of "racialized religious ideology"[4], "wrote ethnic cleansing into the very constitution of Spanishness."[5] The Spaniards had achieved the religious uniformity within Spain by converting the non-Christians. However, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Protestant Reform was growing in Europe. Spain, as the sword of the Papacy could not be a mere spectator of the expansion of the Protestant heretics against the Catholic Christendom. After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which became the instrument of Counter-Reformation against the Protestants, Spain confirmed its dedication to the extermination of the heresy within and outside of Spain. Nevertheless, the European political and religious milieu was not in favour of Spain. The Protestants in France were penetrating into Spain. In the Netherlands, Calvinists were powerful and they allied with Protestant England against Spain. The Ottomans were in intensive correspondence with Protestants and Moriscos. Moreover, Protestants and Moriscos were also in touch with each other since they were both minorities suppressed by the Catholicism. Thus, the Spanish national unity was vulnerable in this interconnection and correlation of international politics. The centralized Spanish Catholic state, as a remedy to the potential threats of Ottomans and Protestants in cooperation with the Moriscos, reinforced the activities of the Inquisition within Spain. The Moriscos, who were keeping their former Muslim cultural practices, were forced to give up

---

[4] Barbara Fuchs, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos and the Fictions of Spanish Identity", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2001), p. 13.
[5] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood, Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 111.

their social customs. The Moriscos started the revolt of Alpujarras (1568-1571) in which the Ottomans were involved during the reign of Sultan Selim II. The Protestants were also interested in the revolt and consequently, as we have seen, the vulnerabilities of the Spanish national unity became under constant insecurity. As a result of the increasing preoccupations of the Spanish, the Moriscos were expelled between 1609 and 1614 ending the centuries long multi-cultural structure of Spain.

Spanish history distinguishes from the rest of Europe as Luce López-Baralt stated "Spain is the only European country that was simultaneously Occidental and Oriental in the first centuries of its formation as a nation and it is impossible to imagine that this unique historical situation was without consequences."[6] Thomas Glick argues "the historian's role as interpreter of culture is analogous to that of the psychologist as interpreter of the individual psyche."[7] Throughout the research undertaken, the attempt was to explain the fears and anxieties of Spanish Christians during the conflict between Muslims especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which culminated with the expulsion of the Jews and later the Moors and consequently achieving the homogeneity of the society cleared off the 'other'. However, these preoccupations over the existence of others were so much internalised in the individual and collective psychologies that long after the elimination of the Jews and Muslims, the image of the Moor did not fail to be an "other" to be feared. For instance, the clinical psychologists in Spain encountered the case of a psychotic who dreamed that Moors were invading Spain. As said by the psychotic, the Moors entered into Spain and they were carrying dead bodies on

---

[6] Luce López-Baralt, "The Legacy of Islam in Spanish Literature", in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Salma Khadra Jayussi (ed.), (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 505.
[7] Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, (Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 3.

donkeys and destroying the houses, they released snakes and it gave him so much pain.[8] Also, another case of a man who suffered the delusion that his wife had made adultery with sixteen Moors sitting in the neighbourhood.[9]

In 1988, Rafael de Tramontana y Gayango, a president of a Madrid-based institute, which is established to promote cultural exchange between Spain and its Muslim neighbours, stated that the Spanish "take pride in our *sangre pura*, pure blood. No Catholic wants to face the thought of Moors on the family tree."[10]

The Spanish expression *cabeza de turco* (literally Turk's head), which means scapegoat is said to have originated from the old Spanish customs of decapitating the non-Christians.[11]

However, there were also cases of reclaiming the legacy after centuries of denial. The organizer of the exhibition in Cordoba in 2001 about the heritage of Umayyad Dynasty, Rafael Lopez Gurman said that during the 1939-75 dictatorship of Franco in alliance with the Roman Catholic Church, "Spain's Arab identity was a taboo."[12]

In July 2003, a mosque in Granada was opened. It has a great symbolic significance since there were mosques in other places in Spain but this was the first one in Granada. The president of the foundation of the Mosque, Malek Ruiz, said

---

[8] Gregorio Nieto, *Sobre el estado de enajenación mental del procesado M. G. D.*, (*El Siglo Médico,* 93, 1934), p. 695, Spanish quotations in Glick, note 1.
[9] B. Llopis Lloret and A. Escudero Ortuño, El delirio de infidelidad conyugal multiple, *Actas Luso-Españolas de Neurologia y Psiquitríia,* 7 (1948), p. 218, Spanish quotations in Glick, note 1.
[10] Thomas J. Abercrombie, "When the Moors Ruled Spain", *National Geographic*, 174 (July 1988), p. 92., quoted in Marc Shell, "Marranos (Pigs), or From Coexistence to Toleration", *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (Winter 1991), p. 312.
[11] Jaime Campusano, La Ficha Pop, *http://www.lacuarta.cl/diario/2001/12/21/4a.FICHA.FICHA.html.*
[12] Spain Reclaims Muslim Heritage *http://www.middle-east-online.com.*

"the truth of Islam will be presented to the Spanish and Europeans from this historical Muslim city."[13]

A few decades earlier, it would have been impossible to carry out such organizations that will remind the Muslim legacy of Spain. Since the return of democracy after Franco, historians have started to organise meetings in Spain in order to reach a further understanding between the three "peoples of book", Jews, Christians and Muslims. Jeronimo Paez from the foundation of Legacy of Andalus (Legado Andalusi) states that the reason of these meetings was to demonstrate that "Muslim culture is a part of the European heritage."[14]

Throughout the research, it is argued that Spanish national identity was formed vis-à-vis the Jews and Muslims. Their expulsion led to the purification of Spain from the alien invaders whose culture, religion was perceived as a direct threat to the national and religious unity. [15] As an insight from history, in our contemporary days, we cannot think that concerns about "ethnic purity", as a means of nation-building, are insignificant and improbable as we saw in the recent examples of the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Africa.

---

[13] Granada Tiene Nueva Mezquita, *http://foros.abc.es/forosabcd/Forum101/HTML/003099.html.*
[14] Spain Reclaims Muslim Heritage, http://www.middle-east-online.com.
[15] James Blaine Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, PhD. dissertation, (New York: Columbia University, 1997), p.316.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Alfonso el Sabio, *Primera Cronica General de España*, edited by Ramon Menendez Pidal, Madrid: Gredos, 1955.

Hamilton, Rita and Perry, Janet, *The Poem of the Cid: a Bilingual Edition with Parallel Text*, London: Penguin, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Albornoz, Claudio Sanchez, *Spain: a Historical Enigma*, two volumes, translated by Colette Joly Dees and David Sven Reher, Biblioteca de Hispanismo, number2, Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Española, 1975.

Arenal, Mercedes Garcia, *Los Moriscos*, trans. by Devin Stewart, Granada: Univ. of Granada, 1996.

Bartlett, Robert, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350*, London: Penguin Press, 1993.

Barton, Simon, "The Roots of the National Question in Spain", in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter (eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Bishko, Charles Julian, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492", in Harry W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, vol. 3: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Wisconsin, MA.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.

Bishko, Charles Julian, *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

Brodman, James, *Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on The Christian-Islamic Frontier*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Burman, Thomas E., "Tathlith al-wahdaniyah" and the Twelfth-Century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam, in John Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1996.

Castro, Americo, *The Spaniards: an Introduction to their history*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Cervantes,Miguel de, *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, trans. William Starkie, London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1957.

Chaytor, H. J., *A History of Aragon and Catalonia*, London: Methuan Publishing Ltd., 1933.

Chejne, Anwar G., *Islam and the West: the Moriscos, a cultural and social history*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983.

Contreras, Jaime, *Historia de la Inquisicion Española (1478-1834): herejias, delitos y representacion*, Madrid : Arco Libros, 1997.

Daniel, Norman, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960.

Delanty, Gerard, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, London: Macmillan, 1995.

Duffy, Eamon, *Saints & Sinners: a History of the Popes*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Elliot, John Huxtable, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963.

Fletcher, Richard, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Fletcher, Richard, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Fletcher, Richard, *The Quest for El Cid*, New York: Knopf, 1990.

Glick, Thomas F, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the early Middle Ages*, Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Goytisolo, Juan, *Saracen Chronicles: a selection of literary essays*; translated by Helen Lane, London: Quartet Books, 1992.

Hamilton, Alastair, *Heresy and Mysticism in the Sixteenth century Spain "The Alumbradors"*, Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Harvey, L. P., *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Hastings, Adrian, *The Construction of Nationhood, Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Housley, Norman, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Housley, Norman, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Inalcik, Halil, "The Turkish Impact on the Development of Modern Europe", in K. H. Karpat (ed.), *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.

Jayussi, Salma Khadra (ed.), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.

Kadir, Djelal, *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Kagan, Richard L. and Parker Geoffrey (edited by), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world: essays in honour of John H. Elliott,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kamen, Henry Arthur Francis, *The Spanish Inquisition: a historical revision*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997.

Kamen, Henry Arthur Francis, *Spain, 1469-1714: a society of conflict*, London; New York: Longman, 1991.

Kamen, Henry Arthur Francis, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Kedourie, Elie, *Spain and the Jews: the Sephardi experience, 1492 and after*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.

Kennedy, Hugh, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: a political history of Al-Andalus*, London; New York: Longman, 1996.

Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume One, London: Macmillan, 1906-1907.

Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain,* Volume Two, London: Macmillan, 1906-1907.

Lewis, Bernard, *Islam and the West*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Linehan, Peter, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Lomax, D. W., *The Reconquest of Spain*, London-New York: Longman, 1978.

López-Baralt, Luce, "The Legacy of Islam in Spanish Literature", in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Salma Khadra Jayussi (ed.), New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.

Lynch, John, *Spain 1516-1598: From Nation-state to World Empire*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991.

MacKay, Angus, *Spain in the Middle Ages: from Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977.

Marias, Julian, *Understanding Spain*; translated by Frances M. Lopez-Morillas, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Melczer, William, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela*, New York: Italica Press, 1993.

Meyerson, Mark D., "Religious Change, Regionalism, and Royal Power in the Spain of Fernando and Isabel" in *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages: studies in honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.* / edited by Larry J. Simon, New York: E.J. Brill, 1995.

Meyerson, Mark D., *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Mignolo, Walter, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995.

Monter, E. William, *Frontiers of Heresy: the Spanish Inquisition from the Basque lands to Sicily*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Netanyahu, Benzion, *Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain*, New York: Random House, 1995.

Payne, Stanley G., *A History of Spain and Portugal, Volume One: Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, Wisconsin, MA: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

Peters, Edward, *Inquisition*, New York: The Free Press, 1988.

Reilly, Bernard F., *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Reilly, Bernard F., *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031-1157*, Cambridge, MA.: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

Reilly, Bernard F., *The Medieval Spains*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Rice, Eugene F. and Graton, Anthony, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe 1460-1559*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1994.

Ruano, E. Benito, *España y las Cruzadas*, Buenos Aires : Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval, 1951-52.

Simon, Larry J. (ed.), *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages: studies in honor of Robert I. Burns*, S.J., New York: E.J. Brill, 1995.

Smith, Colin, *Christians and Moors in Spain*, Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1988.

Smith, Jonathan Riley, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Soykut, Mustafa, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy: a history of the "other" in early modern Europe: 1453-1683*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2001.

Teich, Mikulas and Porter, Roy (eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Tolan, John Victor, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Tolan, John Victor (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: a book of essays*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1996.

Tueller, James Blaine, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, PhD. dissertation, New York: Columbia University, 1997.

Vicens Vives, Jaime, *Approaches to the history of Spain*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Wallhead, Celia Margaret, *Cultural Contact in the Iberian Peninsula between Christianity and Islam, As Reflected in Specimen Texts of Early Castilian literature: Primera Cronica General, Calila e Digna and El Conde Lucanor,* London: Queen Mary College, London University, 1974.

Wight, Martin, *Systems of States*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Medieval Spain" in John Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1996.

PERIODICALS

Bodian, Miriam, "Men of the Nation": The Shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe, *Past & Present*, Issue 143, May, 1994

Foard, D.W., " The Spanish Fichte: Menendez y Pelayo", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 14,1979.

Forey, A., "The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the thirteenth century, Military Orders and Crusades", *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, VII, 1994.

Fuchs, Barbara, "Virtual Spaniards: The Moriscos And The Fictions Of Spanish Identity", Journal *of Spanish Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2001.

Garcia, Jose Manuel Rodriguez, *Historiografia de las Cruzadas, Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, H°. Medieval, t. 13, 2000.

Kamen, Henry, "The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492", *Past and Present*, 119, 1988.

Hess, Andrew C., "The Moriscos: an Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth Century Spain", *American Historical Review*, Volume LXXIV, Number 1, October, 1968.

Lourie, E., "A Society Organized For War: Medieval Spain", Past *and Present*, 35 1966.

Moreiras, Alberto, "Spanish Nation Formation: an Introduction", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2001.

Munro, Richard K., "A Legend Among Christians And Muslims, Don Rodrigo Diaz De Vivar Became Spain's First National Hero:El Cid", *Military History*, 08897328, Vol. 16, Issue 2, June, 1999.

Nirenberg, David, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth Century Spain", *Past & Present*, Volume 174, Issue 1, February, 2002.

Parker, Geoffrey, "Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy", *The Journal of Modern History*, 54, 520 n 1, 1982.

Popkin, Richard H., "Jewish Christians and Christian Jews in Spain, 1492 and After", *Judaism*, Vol.41, Issue 3, Summer, 1992.

Root, Deborah, "Speaking Christian: orthodoxy and difference in sixteenth century Spain", *Representations*, 23, 1988.

Roth, Norman, "The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492", *Historian*, Vol. 55, Issue 1, Fall, 1992.

Ruano, E. Benito, "Las Ordenes Militares españolas y la idea de cruzada", *Hispania*, 16, Madrid, 1956.

Shell, Marc, "Marranos (Pigs), or From Coexistence to Toleration", *Critical Inquiry* 17, Winter 1991.

INTERNET SOURCES

Bango, Isidro G., *Remembering Sepharad, Jewish Culture in Medieval Spain*, http://www.seacex.com/documentos/08_sepharad_inqu.pdf., 2003. http://www.seacex.com/documentos/09_sepharad_inqu.pdf., 2003.

Campusano, Jaime, *La Ficha Pop*, http://www.lacuarta.cl/diario/2001/12/21/4a.FICHA.FICHA.html.

Granada Tiene Nueva Mezquita, http://foros.abc.es/forosabcd/Forum101/HTML/003099.html.

Halsall, Paul, *Jewish History Sourcebook: The expulsion from Spain, 1492 CE*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/1492-jews-spain1.html.,1998.

Mabry, Donald J., *Spain 1492-1598*, http://historicaltextarchive.com., 1990-2003.

Reboiras, Fernando Domínguez, *La España Medieval, Frontera de la Cristiandad*, http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/5284/esteving.html.

Spain Reclaims Muslim Heritage, http://www.middle-east-online.com.

Telushkin, Joseph, *Jewish Literacy*, 1991, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/expulsion.html.

The Edict of Expulsion of the Jews, http://www.sephardicstudies.org/decree.html.

The Spanish Inquisition, http://lilt.ilstu.edu/bekurtz/253/spaninq.htm.