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Migration and the City: Urban Effects of the *Morisco* Expulsion

by

Adriana Valencia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Architecture

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair
Professor Stephen Tobriner
Professor James Monroe

Spring 2011

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Abstract

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Professor Nezar AlSayyad, Chair

This dissertation locates and analyzes the mechanisms and forms of urban change that accompanied the forced mass migration of the *Moriscos*, descendants of Spanish Muslims forcibly converted to Catholicism. The *Moriscos*, converted between 1501 and 1526, and expelled first from Granada in 1570 and later from all of Spain between 1609 and 1614, were perceived as an ideological threat by the Spanish state. This population constituted a significant population of urban dwellers in Granada, and, after the expulsions, formed a large percentage of the inhabitants of the North African cities of Rabat and Tetouan.

This dissertation examines the transformation of the three cities of Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan, as sites of depopulation and urban growth that were directly transformed through changes in patterns of *Morisco* inhabitation. Treating urban interventions at scales ranging from that of the individual and vernacular (through small-scale changes engendered by individual actors) to the collective, this dissertation considers the city, the neighborhood, and the house as ideologically-linked urban elements, the stasis and transformation of which reflect degrees of integration into the social landscape on the part of this sociocultural minority.

The shifts caused by the massive movement of *Moriscos* were incremental ones that radically altered both centers and peripheries of the cities themselves. Before looking at these cities, I describe briefly the systems in place in both Spain and Saadian North Africa and the great political and social changes that surrounded the *Morisco* expulsion. After considering the city as a whole, particularly through historical images, I proceed to a discussion of the neighborhood as a unit of change. Through analyses of one parish in Granada that suffered massive population loss at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion and growth of an extra-mural area in the same city, I posit that administrative attempts to control urban density and use failed in the face of dynamic, shifting populaces. I then consider the ^eUyun neighborhood in Tetouan, which grew linearly and incorporated small-scale religious structures, and two small urban enclaves within the Rabat medina, in which collective decision-making and controlled points of entry created highly-defensible, rationally-planned small-scale insertions to an urban framework that had been largely defined in the twelfth through fourteenth

centuries. In both Rabat and Tetouan, *Morisco* neighborhoods responded, ultimately, to practical concerns and urban needs.

I then situate the *Morisco* house within the larger traditions of both Andalusian Muslim-era domestic structures and both earlier and later house forms in the Maghreb. Given the informal nature of both the construction and documentation of these structures, compounded with centuries of change, I posit that the *Morisco* house in both Granada and the Maghreb constituted an adaptation of pre-existing forms, built at scales and densities responding to economic, social, and practical concerns.

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I found no relevant primary documents in Rabat, the Ministry's granting of research permission in the unheard-of turnaround period of 24 hours reflected its employees' efficiency, friendliness, and willingness to share their archival material, both historical and current. In Tetouan, the week that I spent at the Ministry of Islamic Affairs' offices searching through the Islamic land trust (*habous*) archives of the city yielded one of the most interesting primary documents: a deed corresponding to a Morisco-era transaction concerning a mosque that had been constructed during the same era.

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Timeline

- 711–718 conquest of Hispania by the Muslims
- 718 Defeat of the Muslims at Battle of Alcama by Pelayo
- 732 Battle of Poitiers, a northern halt to Islamic expansion
- 750 ^cAbbasid revolution in Damascus
- 750 Christian reoccupation of Galicia (under Alfonso I); had been Berber-occupied
- 756 Emirate established in Córdoba (^cAbd el-Rahman I was emir)
- The tenth century: both defeats and successes for the caliphs in Córdoba*
- 929 Declaration of Caliphate at Córdoba by ^cAbd el-Rahmān III
- 930–950 Defeats for ^cAbd el-Rahmān III
- 961 Death of ^cAbd el-Rahmān III; Al-Ḥakam II becomes caliph
- 981 Al-Mansūr victorious (at Rueda)
- (10th c.) Establishment of a *ribāt* in what is today Rabat
- The eleventh century: unification and division*
- 1065 Castile and Leon unified under Alfonso VI
- The twelfth century: borders are redrawn*
- 1102 Muslims occupy peninsula through Saragossa
- 1109 Death of Alfonso VI
- 1118 Fall of Saragossa
- 1190s Rabat becomes the Almohad capital
- The thirteenth century: the Reconquista advances, major cities fall in rapid succession*
- 1238 Fall of Murcia
- 1243 Fall of Valencia
- 1248 Fall of Seville and others
- The fifteenth century: the final days of Al-Andalus*
- 1437 Destruction of Tetouan
- 1492 Fall of Granada
- 1499 Rebellion in the Alpujarras
- The sixteenth century: Muslims become Moriscos , and tensions rise*
- 1500–1526 Forced conversion of Spanish Muslims
- 1567 Pragmática declared regarding the Moriscos
- 1568 Rebellion in the Alpujarras
- 1569–1570 Expulsion of the *Moriscos* from the Kingdom of Granada
- The seventeenth century: transformation in the Maghreb*
- 1603 Death of Aḥmad al-Mansūr
- 1609–1614 *Morisco* expulsion from Spain
- 1627–1666 Independent Republic of Bou Regreg
- 1666 Establishment of ^cAlawite dynasty

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 A Contemporary Forced Migration

As I write this in August of 2010, the French government is systematically clearing approximately three hundred Roma encampments across France, many of which are located in the outskirts of metropolitan areas. The Roma, citizens of Romania and Bulgaria, pejoratively called Gypsies, many of whom have overstayed their visas to France and who have no work papers to demonstrate legitimate residence,¹ constitute a large semi-nomadic population throughout Western Europe. The dissolution of the Roma settlements is being accompanied by the expulsion of their residents from France; the French government claims to have repatriated 10,000 Roma in the past year, and plans to deport 700 more individuals and dismantle 51 camps in this next month. This past week, the first of three flights scheduled to occur this month departed France for Romania, carrying 79 Roma who, in exchange for 300 Euros per adult, and 100 Euros per minor, agreed to leave France under what the Sarkozy-led French government terms a “voluntary” scheme.

Through its refusal to participate in the normative economic, social, and political systems of modern Europe through neither the acknowledgment of governmental legitimacy through population registration nor the establishment of permanent residences in state-sanctioned housing, the Roma exist as actors collectively illegible to the centralized state system but presented by that system to the general public as a threat. Roma encampments, informal settlements beyond the boundaries of urban jurisdictions in France, are effectively ethnic-cultural enclaves that are ungoverned and ungovernable by a large-scale state system. The French state presents these settlements to the public as evidence of the persistence of an indescribable and pervasive social and cultural threat. The current wave of deportations comes as a direct response to riots responding to the deaths of two semi-nomadic “travelers”, one of whom was Roma, in confrontations with the French police.

¹French law bars Romanians and Hungarians, in contrast to citizens of other EU member nations, from access to regular employment without an extensive hiring and labor documentation process.

The government of France, contrary to European Commission guidelines, is not treating Roma expulsions on a case-by-case basis; instead, the expulsions (or repatriations, as the French would have it) are being carried out categorically, if not necessarily systematically. For this, France has been brought under scrutiny for racism, as the Roma deportations are based on the identification of a single ethnic group. We may not, for years, know the true and total impacts of France's current actions: the Council of Europe estimates that two-thirds of the expelled Roma will return to France within a short time period, Roma expelled from their camps but not from France may resettle in other pre-existing or new camps, and the crime that the French government claims accompanies the existence of those camps may in fact result not from the existence of those camps themselves but from instability imposed upon them. The problem of policy regarding the Roma in France specifically and Europe generally is one with effects upon both people and place: the two are, in France's actions, entwined to the extent that the two are causally linked. The deconstruction (quite literal) of the Roma camps is at once precedent and simultaneous to the expulsions of their residents. The camps are, in and of themselves, vilified: crime is read as coming not from certain criminal individuals resident in the camps, but from the camps themselves.

The expulsion of Roma from France is not, in its effects, limited to French territory. It is, instead, an issue that affects Europe as a whole in terms of policy, people, and place. Policy implications are both internal and external: nascent questions of implementation and legality (within the framework of the European Union) will determine ways in which other European nations both create and implement law. Issues of population, and the very real questions of those people in the built environment, are at once both intensely small-scale and local and large-scale and international to the extent of being global. Individual structures, sometimes temporary, shoddily-built ones that are today being forcibly deconstructed, affect both national infrastructure and international policy. France, in 2000, had instituted a national law requiring all urban settlements of more than 5000 people to provide extraurban infrastructure and space for Roma and traveler settlements.² The institution of that policy, with which less than fifty percent compliance has been achieved, and today's policy of the elimination of Roma campgrounds for the threat that they pose, are demonstrations of the tenuous nature of the French relationship with the Roma.

On the one hand, the French government (in 2000) seems to have acknowledged the

²Despite the French provision for the creation of a governable infrastructure for the disciplining of the collective bodies of the Roma and traveler communities (through the imposition of, metastructurally, both specific locations and boundaries through the designation of specific, bounded areas outside the city center and, in terms of the provision of corporal need, the provision of electricity and water), even at sites of a relatively small concentration of population, the implementation of this law did not occur with any regularity.

Ironically, government articulation of the Roma as a problem to be controlled, then left uncontrolled (through the lack of implementation of the law) seems to have exacerbated it; this parallels sixteenth century articulations of the *Morisco* problem by the Spanish government: through ever stricter provisions imposed upon this population, and through the economic and social destabilization of this population (through restrictions upon labor, dress, and behavior both public and private), Spain succeeded in escalating the problem, culminating in the mass expulsions that are the topic of this research.

permanent status of the population as a whole within the French nation (despite the fundamentally impermanent nature of both the domestic context and domicile of any given inhabitant) at the same time that today's expulsions convey a belief, implicit or explicit, that the Roma relationship with France is one that can be ended through the removal of the population. Clearly, what is not visible in the current policy, which seeks only the removal of the population, is the end of the narrative. The removal of the Roma from France does not erase the presence of the Roma (and their itinerant lifestyle that causes the government of the sedentary so much trouble in both ideology and practice) from the region, nor does it erase the possibility that any of the expelled populations would return to France. The solution that France is implementing (and it is a solution only inasmuch as its short-term effects are to reduce the sites where Roma live and, consequently, their population) fails to take into account the ultimate and movable physicality of individual Roma. The Roma are being treated in terms not of demographic problem but of spatial; what remains to be seen is the cumulative effect of the gain of Roma population in other sites throughout Europe (or through a few sites at which they concentrate/will concentrate.)

This contemporary web of policy, implementation, and effects, which is laying bare governmental suspicions of marginalized, informal, non-government-compliant actors, is not unique: following the implementation of the French program, Italy has announced its plans to expel EU citizens who tax the social welfare system through an inability to support themselves and who lack adequate housing. While France's program is targeted at a single ethnic group, Italy's is much more broad in its scope; the effect would be similar in that thousands of individuals at society's (and, in many cases, the city's) edge would be removed from the margins altogether through the act of being written out (again, literally: through the writing of law) of society. In both cases, the space of the nation is itself in question: in Italy, individual failure to secure housing deemed adequate by the government is considered by the government an affront to proper spatial behavior. The good citizen is a docile body compliant with centralized ideals of the construction of space, as well as the construction of housing within that space. The good citizen is to be contained; when such containment is impossible, expulsion, even in the twenty-first century, is deployed as a solution. If the problem cannot be solved; it is to be erased.

Policies of the wholesale containment and expulsion of marginal groups, whether ethnic, cultural, religious, or socioeconomic, are confined neither to the national level nor to contemporary Europe. Robert Moses' slum clearance-cum-civil engineering projects of the 1950s and 60s, such as the Cross-Bronx Expressway, are physical testament to the imbrication of the social group within urban space, and the ultimate helplessness of social groups without recourse to subversive strategies of spatial definition in the face of government actors as reified in bulldozers, jackhammers, and demolition balls.

Early modern actions across Europe laid bare governmental suspicion of the unfamiliar through strategies of containment: Jewish ghettos were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries across a range of both Western and Eastern European cities by authorities ranging from local council rule through that of the Holy Roman Emperor. These

ghettos, within the borders of the city and seemingly without exception crowded, densely-constructed and populated places to and from which access, taxation, and the activities of people were controlled, were urban means through which governments forced and enforced collectivity of the Jewish populations. In late-fifteenth-century Spain, the containment of Jews in ghettos, as would happen elsewhere, was prefigured through the more extreme action of their expulsion. This expulsion, the removal of a small but significant population, allowed the Jews the option of assimilation through conversion or their departure. Indeed, the creation of the ghettos throughout the rest of Europe, particularly those created in the early sixteenth century, such as the one in Venice, may have resulted from destabilization of an otherwise staid population through the immigration of expelled Jews. In cases of both Jewish expulsion and ghettoization, questions of the control and legibility of urban space were explicit driving factors of policy formation.

One contemporary American case of the mass migration of an ethnic minority, and the spatial and administrative effects of that migration, is that of the Somali refugee population of Lewiston, Maine, as reported in the *New Yorker* on December 11, 2006.³

After a United Nations High Commission on Refugees program to absorb more than 10,000 Somali Bantu refugees was implemented in 2001, a few Somali families placed temporarily in Lewiston, Maine, reported positive conditions in the small former mill city. By 2006, approximately three thousand Somalis had migrated to the city, an unlikely population influx in an overwhelmingly white, largely non-urbanized state. The influx of Somalis to Lewiston affected housing, labor, and social conditions. In a city with little notable economy, the Somalis created both a workforce and a vast unemployed population. This group, housed largely in public housing, affected the demographics and educational needs of Lewiston schools, created a demand of goods and services not previously extant (*halal* food, mosques), and, within a relatively short time period, demonstrated the effects of mass migration. Their concentrated absorption into a single city, as independent actors whose mass migration to a single site was neither legislated nor regulated but, instead, occasioned through the snowball effect of word-of-mouth. The city of Lewiston, with a population of about 36,000, has undergone a drastic change as the result of an influx equal to slightly less than ten percent of its population. In my research, I consider changes that similarly consisted of a rapid migratory influx of refugees.

Mass migrations are fundamentally violent: the violence intrinsic to these movements of

³Although several media outlets had by that time reported about the strange situation in this small post-industrial, economically depressed Maine city, William Finnegan's "Letter from Maine: New in Town, the Somalis of Lewiston" that appeared in the 11 December 2006 *New Yorker* is a particularly trenchant piece of journalism that highlights not only changes in the economic condition and use of the city, but also situates the ideological positions of actors in the conflict over the Somali immigrant influx.⁴ Among the personalities were the city's former mayor (who had issued a public letter imploring Somalis from ceasing to arrive) and various groups within the Somali community vying for relatively few jobs, and the relatively few positions of power and influence available within the multiply-reconfigured, transplanted community. Ziad Hamzeh's 2003 documentary *The Letter: An American Town and the 'Somali Invasion'* constitutes one of the earlier reports of the influx and its reverberations.

people can, however, be sited at any point in the process and aftermath. Whether or not the violence is one of physical harm to the people immediately affected by the migration (and many times it is), or to the cities and nations in and between which they take place (likely both), migration leaves scars upon both people and the landscape. One of the most violent mass migrations in recent history was that between the newly-partitioned India and Pakistan, in which millions of Muslims and Hindus raced from one side of the impending border to the other; hundreds of thousands of human lives, some taken collectively and others individually, were lost in the violence of this rupture. It is a division the effects of which are still being seen today: multi-confessional claims to sites such as that of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, originate in the sectarian-national division of India and Pakistan. Sixty years after the assertion of claims to the site by both Hindu and Muslim groups, cities still bear fresh scabs.

1.2 The Forced Migration of the Moriscos

This dissertation is concerned with urban change as it relates to the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, a marginalized ethnic-cultural population, from early modern Spain, and sites both of expulsion and absorption. This population was expelled first from the city of Granada and then from Spain as a whole in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, respectively. The *Moriscos*, forced converts from Islam and their descendants, constituted a significant percentage of the urban population of the city of Granada and of the rural in the city's surrounding kingdom, as well as a significant percentage of the population in the rural East of Spain, particularly the kingdom of Valencia. The expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Spain between 1609 and 1614 led to profound changes in the social and built environment; as with the contemporary case of the Roma, their expulsion, decreed by a central power (in the *Morisco* case, a royal, rather than an elected, one) was an act fundamentally motivated by fear of the other and expressed through action upon not only people but the places that they occupied. Also as in the case of the Roma, the impact of the *Morisco* expulsion cannot be quantified in terms of immediate effects. The effects of both of these forced mass migrations are ones with long-term repercussions upon both people and the spaces that they inhabit/ed: these effects would have ranged from the personal to the collective. This project reads the effects of the mass movement of people in terms of changes to the physical built environment that reflect social, cultural, political, and demographic shifts.

Two cities in which the *Morisco* population arrived in great numbers, and rapidly (although we lack the demographic data to be able to trace specific points of both origin and departure for the majority of the *Moriscos*) were, in the northern Maghreb, Rabat and Tetouan. These two cities, both coastal, were rapidly transformed in terms of form, function, and society when waves of new populations, unattached to the land, vengeful towards Spain, and with few possessions, arrived. Rabat, glorious imperial city under the Almohads, was in long decline before the *Moriscos*, and Tetouan, having been sacked and burned by

the Portuguese in the fourteenth century, was at the time of the *Morisco* influx a relatively new city, having been re-established in the late fifteenth century by Andalusian refugees.

This dissertation does not seek to locate the points of origin of particular individuals or coherent groups who arrived in Rabat and Tetouan; there is no single narrative of Granadan *Moriscos* departing their former homes and arriving *en masse*, nor are there complete narrative arcs that allow us to trace individuals' or families' personal experiences. Instead, this dissertation relies upon written and visual primary sources for the examination of socially-linked urban changes that occurred four centuries ago in three cities, located currently in two separate countries. Given the lack of traceable individual experiences, I interrogate the relationships between formal and social change and, through changes at major sites of departure and absorption within a story of migration that was not limited to these particular sites, locate the effects of the *Morisco* expulsion.

Major variations exist in the kinds and quantities of extant and accessible sources: differences in relative strengths of the central administrative powers in Spain and the Maghreb in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a Spanish focus upon detailed and extensive record-keeping for all, but particularly minority, demographics, and the radical and far-reaching elimination and consolidation of many pre-colonial records on the part of the French colonial administration in Morocco have led to a vast difference in the type, detail, and quantity of records available. Another major font for this dissertation is the physical record: I seek to locate a historical moment of the city within the extant urban fabric. Four centuries of interventions (including but not limited to the alteration and demolition of buildings, plazas, and streets at all scales, and emanating from both informal (on the level of the inhabitants or building owners themselves) and governmental levels notwithstanding, traces of *Morisco* presence can be found in the three cities under consideration. Given the highly vernacular nature of many of the urban interventions by these populations at sites of absorption for a host of reasons (including but not limited to lack of funds, haste, and disinterest in the establishment of permanent settlements at their sites of reception), as well as at sites from which this population departed (one urban case of which is under consideration here), the subjects of my study then, are the cities as a whole and their constituent elements.

My primary concern is with the human scale; I seek to negotiate between the abstract, demographic change of expulsion numbering in the thousands and map change of experience upon specific sites within and at the edges of three affected cities. Although I use sources that considered the *Morisco* populations in terms of a demographic problem for the definition of the Spanish state, and documents reflecting Maghrebi-European diplomatic relations, I seek to tell stories of small-scale experience in the built environment. The neighborhood, composed of houses, streets, plazas, and the individuals building, altering, and inhabiting those places, is a fundamental compositional unit of the city and that which I will use as the primary unit for the analysis of urban change. The house, the fundamental architectural component of the city, is another element that I will consider. It is the house that constitutes a building block at a scale in which individuals (and the small-scale collective of families) negotiate with the larger scale of the city, in constructed terms. Additionally, records of

former *Morisco* properties in Granada tell us about the small-scale shifts that engendered larger formal transformations, and in the *Morisco* neighborhood of Rabat and Tetouan, it is the house that at once refers formally to points of origin and displays social continuity with Andalusian points of origin, on the one hand, and adaptation to new social, economic, geographical, and defensive needs at the points of absorption, on the other.

1.3 Towards an Urban History of the Moriscos: Existing Literature

The *Morisco* emigration from Spain first from Granada and then from the entire country, and the group's subsequent immigration to the Maghreb, particularly in the coastal cities of Rabat and Tetouan, occasioned significant changes, not only in social form and economic life, but in urban form. This study is one of both time and place, and seeks to locate urban change across social change as it is bound to the departure of a significant cultural/ethnic group from the city of Granada (Spain) and its arrival in the cities of Rabat and Tetouan (Morocco.) This study concerns the time period immediately precedent to 1570, when the moriscos were expelled from the city of Granada, to the decades subsequent to the 1609-1614 Grand Expulsion of this population from Spain as a whole: while the moments of rupture, expulsion, and migration were specific, changes in city and structure are long-term, the effects of which reverberate through generations, and primary source materials are both arbitrary and sporadic.

This investigation is in its essence both place-based and temporally bound, and is at once an urban study, a historical study, and a documentary study. The unit of analysis is the city, and by extension both its component parts, and the entities of which it is an element. The city, both in the aggregate and individually, is the spatial expression of society in flux; in the case of the mass migration/s of urban populations, it is through changes in the fabric of the city that both small- and large-scale changes in populations and their culture, values, and economies, are expressed. While this study has as its object the urban change of three cities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, its relevance is not limited to the geographical and spatial bounds of the case under study: it is, instead, I hope, the illumination of urban processes and of relationships between people and city, city and nation, nation and region. Within these processes, small changes reverberate on the larger scale.

Given the scope of this research, the pools of secondary work are large, and encompass the studies of the individual cities involved in my study, as well as thematic linkages, particularly that of the moriscos as a population.⁵ The study of the moriscos has particular

⁵The themes of migration and of the specific impact of migration upon urbanism also need to be considered. I don't consider myself bound by any particular theoretical prescription, however, and for the time being am not rushing to include works (that could roughly be termed theoretical) that will force an analysis either way.

currency within both the urban and cultural history of Spain, and it is recently, in particular, that this cultural minority has been receiving extensive study, with the results being the accumulation not only of specific knowledge about this group, but about, on the one hand, the Spanish society from which they departed and, on the other, sites, particularly across the Mediterranean, to which they migrated. The moriscos were a factionalizing element within sixteenth-century Spain, and their expulsion and relocation first from Granada but within Spain, and second from Spain altogether, as read across changing urban spaces, can be instrumentalized for the reading of further urban ruptures and continuities.

Both general studies of the *Moriscos*, as well as the bodies of literature concerning the cities of Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are germane to my research, and constitute the point of departure from which I will elaborate a study of their migration as a phenomenon expressed across urban change. The study of the *Moriscos* as a category is not new; what is new, however, is the ways in which recent scholarship situates the *Moriscos* as a complex, nonmonolithic social group within a society that read it as monolithic. Where I hope I can contribute to the field is through a study that links urban form with social change, specifically through the consideration of three cities with significant *Morisco* populations.

The earliest works concerning *Moriscos* surface in the forms of apologia for their expulsion at the time surrounding both *Morisco* uprisings and the early seventeenth century expulsion. Works of this nature, such as Luis Mārmol Carvajal's *Historia de la rebeliōn y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada*,⁶ originally published in 1600, served as propaganda for the actions of the crown, and raised common anti-*Morisco* sentiment. The apologists for expulsion were many; Grace Magnier's recent treatment of these in *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* sets the broad stage of political, religious, and cultural opinion that, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries led to the implementation of policies in favor of a homogeneous society.⁷

Study of the *Moriscos* from a historical perspective extends as a project for more than a century. Henry Charles Lea's *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* serves as a model for this type.⁸ Gregorio Maraṇōn's *Expulsiōn y diāspora de los moriscos espaṇoles* These studies, the majority (if not all) of which conclude that the *Moriscos* were covertly Muslim, serve as useful, albeit limited, background for a contemporary study of social and spatial relationships during the sixteenth century, which began with the *Moriscos*' forced conversion and concluded with their expulsion. They do, however, serve as useful references for the extensive primary material concerning the *Moriscos*.

Bernard Vincent's extensive oeuvre related to the moriscos is fundamental to any study

⁶Luis del Mārmol Carvajal, (Granada: Delegaciōn Provincial de la Consejería de Cultura en Granada, D.L., 1996)

⁷Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

⁸H.C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: their conversion and expulsion* (Lea Brothers & Co., 1901)

of this group, and is a major foundation for my work. Vincent has, most recently in *El Río Morisco* and most notably in the collection *Andalucía en la edad moderna: economía y sociedad*, among other articles and books in an extensive bibliography, worked on both the moriscos generally and on those in/from Granada specifically.⁹ Vincent's corpus of work is probably the largest single-person contribution to contemporary scholarship on this minority group. He has analyzed the movements of *Moriscos* out of portions of Granada, and it is his determination of the parish of San Salvador as the one with the largest pre-expulsion *Morisco* population that led me to the decision to study documentation from that parish. While Vincent's concern is not with the spatialization of the moriscos within the city and of the specific urban changes resulting from their departure, and the city's reinterpretation, but instead with the larger role of moriscos in Spanish society, its value is immeasurable for my own research, both for its insights and for its analysis of unpublished primary documents from a wide variety of sources. An important antecedent to Vincent's work is Henri Lapeyre's *Geographie de l'Espagne Morisque*. Lapeyre, in his mid-twentieth-century study, analyzed in particular the demographics of this minority. Lapeyre's suggestions for *Morisco* populations hold (to some extent or another) to this day.¹⁰

The single most relevant work for my research, *Al-Andalussiyūn wa hijratihim ila-l-Maghrib khilāl al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (The Andalusians and their migration to the Maghrib in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries) is concerned both with the moriscos and their migrations to Morocco, and written by the currently-producing Moroccan scholar Muhammed Razouk.¹¹ His work on the *Moriscos* is important in that he has pinpointed many of the major sources for the analysis of *morisco* history. While his studies are not fundamentally of the spatial effects of this group's migration/s, a major task that he accomplishes is that of reading the *Moriscos* as a significant social entity both in Spain and in the Maghreb, as well as their continued interaction with their point of origin and their international connections. This work is, above all, the study of a migration as a continuation. Where my work aims to complement Razouk's meticulous and extensive research is through the analysis of the expulsion as a rupture with spatial repercussions: I seek to locate the changes that occurred as a result of both their departures and arrivals on urban terms; Razouk's concerns are largely those of social cohesion.

Guillermo Gozalbes Busto is another person whose bibliography on the *Moriscos*, in Tetouani and Rabati, as well as general contexts, is significant. In works such as *Personajes moriscos en el Tetun del siglo XVII* (Morisco Personalities in Seventeenth-century Tetouan), *La república andaluza de Rabat en el siglo XVII* (The Andalusian Republic of Rabat in the Seventeenth Century), and *Los Moriscos en Marruecos* (The Moriscos in Morocco), he has studied *Morisco* society in both general and specific contexts.¹² His work on the Andalusian

⁹Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006)

¹⁰Henri Lapeyre, *Geographie de l'Espagne Morisque* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1959)

¹¹Mohammed Razouk, *Al-Andalussiyūn wa hijratihim ila-l-Maghrib khilāl al-qarnayn 16 wa 17* (Casablanca)

¹²Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Personajes moriscos en el Tetuán del siglo XVII* (n.l: n.p, 1991)Guillermo

republic in Rabat is a treatment of a small time period within the *Morisco* history in the city, and is largely concerned with the political climate leading both to the creation and dissolution of the republic. His work on the *Moriscos* in Morocco, while it includes both Rabat and Tetouan, is more focused on the analysis of the larger political culture and systems that, on the one hand, enabled this large minority to rapidly establish systems of trade and governance in a leadership-deprived Morocco.

Several significant works treating the *Moriscos* and Spanish society generally are worth mention. L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, is a significant study of the social, religious, and legal transformations of Spanish *Moriscos* and Spanish society in relation to this population, from the beginning of the sixteenth century through the final expulsion. The work, which considers the processes as well as aftermaths, economic as well as social, of the expulsion upon Spain, offers a particularly detailed consideration of the expulsion edicts, including precedents, implementation, and the extent of the diaspora, both within and beyond Europe. Among other things that Harvey considers are, in historical contexts, the tensions between the possibility of morisco assimilation and their rejection both by and of Spanish society. This book is a continuation of Harvey's previous work, *Islamic Spain, 1250-1500*, which concluded with the ontological shift of all Spanish Muslims to *Moriscos*.¹³ In both the preceding work, of which the final chapter is the most important for morisco studies, and the more recent, Harvey's concerns are not primarily urban. They are, instead, with the social roles of this population collectively. A complementary work, that negotiates between the notion of (and individual histories of) individual moriscos is Mary Elizabeth Perry's *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*.¹⁴ This work is largely concerned with morisco articulations of identity, both individual and collective, within the religious and social spheres of Spain. A section of her book that is of particular interest for my own work concerns the negotiation of identity of the *Morisco* communities after their departure, particularly in the various contexts of their arrival: as she notes, the moriscos, not viewed as fully Christian within Spain, were, in other places, such as the North Africa to which Spain had declared them allied, seen as being Spanish rather than as Muslim coreligionists.

Morisco presence was particularly intense in the city of Granada. It is with this Spanish city, more so than any other, that the moriscos are inextricably bound: it is within this city that the moriscos were the largest percentage of the population (of any major Spanish city), within this city that they were not peasants working the land but among the urban landed business classes, and from this city that they were first expelled. An extensive oeuvre specifically for Granada exists, documenting material as well as society, in terms of its moriscos as well as its religious, symbolic, and political roles in early modern Spain.

Gozalbes Busto, *La república andaluza de Rabat en el siglo XVII* (Tetouan: Minerva, 1974) Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, *Los Moriscos en Marruecos* (Granada)

¹³L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250-1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990)

¹⁴M.E. Perry, *The handless maiden: Moriscos and the politics of religion in early modern Spain* (Princeton Univ Press, 2005)

The moriscos, as a minority religious group (in interpretation by both the monarchy and the Catholic church and, to a large extent, in practice, whether that practice be heterodox Catholic practice, cultural practice, or crypto-Muslim religious practice) were a significant element in the elaboration/articulation of the religious identity of the city of Granada.

José Luis Orozco Pardo's *Christianopolis: urbanismo y contrarreforma en la Granada del 600* is an early reading of the physical form of the city of Granada as the expression of religious policy.¹⁵ His study includes the consideration of both religious buildings and the construction and amplification of plazas, as well as the decreed regularization of urban form and the emphasis of connections between civic and religious architecture. Orozco Pardo's study is framed, however, in terms not of the culturo-religious divide between Old Christian and *Morisco*, but in terms of the Spanish monarchy's use/deployment of the city as a counter-Reformationist symbol. His focus is on the formation of a city as a Catholic one, in tension with the Protestantizing trends of Northern Europe. Orozco Pardo's study largely concerns monumental spaces, and the official interpretation/control of urban space, as well as its changes for an official agenda. This study is an extremely important predecessor to my own work, and is one of the clearest articulations of this particular city's relationship between form and society in the sixteenth century. A major point of diversion between this work and my own, however, is the difference in the scale and uses of the places considered: the changes enacted upon the city in Orozco Pardo's study are all official. Additionally, Pardo's focus on the city in terms of Catholic and Protestant neglects the symbolic importance of the city in terms of both the city's role as last Muslim stronghold and, subsequently, as a site of morisco concentration.

David Coleman's *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City* is another work in this tradition. This work begins with the rupture of 1492, and provides valuable analyses of early modern Granada in social and religious terms. Coleman analyzes the makeup and spatial distribution of the population in terms of the breakdown along Morisco/Old Christian lines, and in terms of immigrants to the city.¹⁶ Coleman's work is not fundamentally spatial, but he does provide two maps of the city relevant to my study of the morisco city, and gives consideration of the role of the moriscos in the construction of the Granadine urban environment, particularly in terms of its mudejar architecture. While this work is concerned with the city as a whole, and its transformation, the transformations at the fore are in terms of Granadine society in non-spatial terms. Coleman's treatment of the time period after 1568 is cursory, with the exception of his consideration of the Sacromonte.

A. Katie Harris' work on the Sacromonte *plomos* serves as a critical clarification of the role of the *Moriscos* within both the cultural and religious landscapes of the city, as expressed in the lead tablets that were discovered, first in the *Torre Turpiana* in 1588,

¹⁵José Luis Orozco Pardo, *Christianopolis: urbanismo y contrarreforma en la Granada del 600* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1985)

¹⁶David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Pr, 2003), p. 59-63, ISBN: 0801441110

and later in caves in the Valparaiso (immediately afterwards renamed the Sacromonte) on the city's outskirts.¹⁷ These tablets, consisting of Arabic language Christian texts, have most recently been interpreted as forged *Morisco* documents intended to fully integrate the *Moriscos* within Granadine culture: the documents, in short, were to have argued for an Arabo-Christian identity for the city predating the influx of Islam. These *plomos*, and their role within the iconography and urban development of Granada, are examples of the complexity of the *Morisco* role. Harris' *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, is the most recent of the works in this category.¹⁸ Harris' work, which builds upon several prior journal publications of hers, is a significant contribution to the study of the city of Granada as a site of symbolic and religious importance from the time period of the city's capitulation to the beginning of the seventeenth century. This book builds upon her recent work on the *plomos*, or lead books, of the Sacromonte: in terms of urbanism, Harris' work does analyze the Sacromonte as an area peripheral to the city that, through its doctrinal/religious interpretation, succeeds in re-formulating the liturgical focal point of the city. Her primary concern is with the city's identity rather than the city's space. A fascinating aspect of her work is the idea of the city engaging in a project to situate itself in history, with the result of a city with multiple identities, but only one an officially promoted/endorsed communal past.

Juan Abellán Pérez's study of the urban aspects of the *Morisco* expulsion in, "Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada. Aspectos urbanos" ("The Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada: Urban Aspects,") both relevant and topical to my own work.¹⁹ Relying on the *Libros de Apeo y Repartimiento*, he proposes an analysis of the urban population centers of the Kingdom of Granada both before and after the expulsion. The *Libros de Apeo y Repartimiento* were the sixteenth-century books produced after the *Morisco* expulsion from the Kingdom of Granada, and in which functionaries of the Crown recorded all *Morisco* property seized and re-distributed; they are an unmatched resource in the level of detail that they provide about individual properties. In particular, Abellán seeks to draw linkages between the post-*Morisco* era and the Muslim and *mudejar* time periods, and, specifically, to study the *Morisco* expulsion from an urban perspective. He considers a change in the nature of property in a number of cities/villages (La Roda, Las Cuevas, Nieles, Lobras, Macael, and others); he does not deal with the capital of Granada, nor with any regional capitals) that resulted in a change in the nature of the property. Abellán concludes that the effects of the *Morisco* expulsion on urban form were nearly null.²⁰ This is a problematic conclusion in

¹⁷A.K. Harris, "Forging History: The Plomos of the Sacromonte of Granada in Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Historia Eclesiástica*", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 4 (1999): 945–966, ISSN: 0361-0160

¹⁸A.K. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: inventing a city's past in early modern Spain* (Johns Hopkins Univ Pr, 2007), ISBN: 080188523X

¹⁹Juan Abellán Pérez, "Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada. Aspectos urbanos", in *L'Expulsió dels Moriscos : Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià*

²⁰Juan Abellán Pérez, "Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada. Aspectos urbanos", in *L'Expulsió dels Moriscos : Conseqüències en el món islàmic i el món cristià*, p. 132

the extent that he seems to consider urban density to somehow be unrelated to urban form: his sample of smaller cities may also be where a difference lies.

From the standpoint of the material study of both *Morisco* - and Islamic-era Granada, recent contributions by both Antonio Orihuela Uzal and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, who frequently work together, is some of the most important and current material for a study of the city based on its physical form. Their studies have been both architectural and cartographic/topographical.²¹ Orihuela Uzal and Almagro's work is limited in that it is purely the study of built form: historic documents, particularly such as those that are central to my study, are largely absent from their studies. One contribution of Orihuela and Almagro that is particularly important from the perspective of the study of the entire city is a map of the site during the Islamic era, which provides an analytical summary of archaeological and architectural studies that have located elements of the historical city.²²

In comparison to the amount of scholarly work that has been produced on the early modern city of Granada, the extant material for the study of the cities of Rabat and Tetouan is scarce. Relative scarcity of secondary sources could reflect a relative scarcity of primary sources. While early modern Spanish society had a complex bureaucracy that produced extensive documentation for any and all financial, legal, and religious matters intended to perpetuate the centrally-run state, in its contemporary Morocco there was no extensive state mechanism, and while analogous documentation may have been produced, there was no systemic emphasis on the creation or perpetuation of an institutional memory in which state policies were immediately reflected in local transactions, and for which the production and subsequent archiving of often mundane interactions was required.

In the study of the Moroccan Maghrebi city, three discrete phases of study, particularly regarding urban history, have occurred, the latter two of which I will consider in these introductory remarks. The first, in itself historical, consists dually of traditional history and historiography in the Arab tradition. These works are twofold, and are at times nebulously sited in the realm between primary and secondary sources. This tradition, specifically, consists of the writing of histories that, in many cases, reproduce primary narrative sources. These texts, dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, constitute not so much historical studies of sites, but the narration of histories. These include Al-Nāsiri's *Kitāb al-Istiqsā li-akhbār duwwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsā* (Roughly: The Most Excellent Narration of the News of the Far Maghreb), among others.²³ These works have become primary sources in themselves: they include entire, lengthy passages from previous works. Additionally, given their lack of what would today be considered scholarly standards and identifiable references,

²¹Antonio Orihuela Uzal and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, "De la casa andalusí a la casa *morisca* : la evolución de un tipo arquitectónico", in *La ciudad medieval: de la casa al tejido urbano. Actas del primer Curso de Historia y Urbanismo Medieval organizado por la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha* (n.l., 2001), 51-70

²²Antonio Orihuela Uzal, Antonio Almagro Gorbea, and Carlos Sánchez, *Plano-guía del Albayzín Andalusí* ()

²³Aḥmad b. Khālid al Nāsiri, *Kitāb al-Istiqsā li-akhbār duwwal al-Maghrib al-Aqsā*, vol. 9 Vols. (Casablanca: Ministry of Culture / Communication, 2001-5)

they do not indicate any reliable sources outside themselves. This is highly problematic but, given a lack of other sources, the only means through which the history of Morocco can be studied. The second and third type of historiographical analyses are products of vastly different traditions, both cultural and academic, with radically different goals, although they date to within a century of each other.

The second type is that of colonial history: its works were both product and instrument of the colonial enterprise, and had both descriptive and analytical goals. A major contribution to the study of the city of Rabat, through its extensive documentation, physical/material as well as historical, was the product of this enterprise. This tradition was one of exclusively European production, and was one in which the analysis of the Moroccan city, as the object of study, was done in a methodical manner intended to compile for the French state the largest possible amount of information (ranging from that of the natural world to that of folklore and including social studies of tribes and language, as well as descriptions of cities and their structures and histories) and echoing the encyclopedic project of the Napoleonic expeditions into Egypt in the late eighteenth century that resulted in the *Description de l’Egypte*.²⁴

The third type of history consists of contemporary historical research. This type of work, in relationship to the history of Maghrebi cities, is written by both Maghrebi and Western authors, and dates from the time period subsequent to the colonial period and continues as a mode of academic/historical-analytic production. This current in the analysis of morisco urban history in the Maghreb will be the primary one from which examples are here considered. Many studies of the city of Rabat are colonial-era works, produced when the city had been newly named capital of the protectorate. These works, products of the French, are useful and, in some cases, encyclopedic compendia of knowledge about the city, both urban and social. General problems in the usefulness of these works, however, are two: first, many works are descriptive rather than historical; second, many of these works are in a narrative style that ascribes primacy to the tale itself rather than the primary sources in which the story exists, which erodes the works’ use for a scholarly investigation. Given the lack of other secondary sources, however, these works become reference points in and of themselves, and any inaccuracies and colonial mythologies that they may perpetuate become, if they have not already done so, ingrained. The city of Rabat is, in terms of the urban study of Moroccan cities, relatively understudied: it lacks the medieval monumental history of Fes, and does not hold the status of point of convergence of trans-Saharan trade route of Marrakech. Its monumental history, dating largely from the Almohad era in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is far removed from its pre-colonial urban history in the *Morisco* period.

The French colonial *Archives Marocaines*, give an in-depth description of Rabat, which

²⁴The Napoleonic Description, much as these later projects, involved an array of scientists of all areas of expertise and interest. The *Description* and these colonial projects fundamentally differed, however, in that these later colonial projects were ones of insertion through long-term inhabitation, governance, and re-definition rather than a short-lived project of anthropological and natural historical description.

appears in two parts across the volumes published in 1906 and 1907. A chapter written by L. Mercier and entitled, “*Mosquées et la vie religieuse à Rabat*” (“Mosques and religious life in Rabat”) appears in the 1908 volume.²⁵ A serially-published project of the French colonial government (printed in, of all places, Tangier), this series contains a major section on Rabat, “*Rabat: Description Topographique*” that provides a full urban description of the city, inclusive of both its historical situation and its current (at the early twentieth-century time of its publication) state of inhabitation and development. This work includes descriptions of the city’s quarters, as well as of its monuments and major urban interventions. A section on the religious practice and spaces of the city, which appeared in the year subsequent to the topographical description, is a useful catalog of the city’s mosques and other spaces of religious practice (from an urban standpoint), and of norms of religious practice within the city (from an anthropological.) Both the topographical description and the chapter on religious practice are useful points of reference, particularly in their provision of building names, locations, and folklore. These studies do not, however, constitute a study of urban change as the result of migration, nor are these works grounded in a notion of a highly-mobile seventeenth-century society. Another work of the same kind is found in *Villes et tribus du Maroc*. Direction générale des affaires indigènes. Mission scientifique du Maroc, *Villes et tribus du Maroc: documents et renseignements*, **by** editor Alfred le Chatelier Direction des affaires indigènes et du service des renseignements (Tangier, Morocco: H. Champion, 1932) The treatment in this compendium is significantly more focused on the workings of the social systems, particularly the relationships between the urban and the agricultural Berber groups.

Jacques Caillé’s *La ville de Rabat jusqu’au Protectorat français, histoire et archéologie* is the definitive colonial-era urban and architectural document of the city.²⁶ This three-volume work includes treatments of constructed elements of the city as well as social. The second and third volumes provide floor plans, elevations, and sections of structures within the city, as well as photodocumentation: the structures that are included, however, are largely monumental and neither vernacular nor domestic. Caillé also wrote *La petite histoire de Rabat*, which although it is largely a précis of the former, includes more detail in the treatment of the histories of individual small-scale buildings, particularly in terms of folklore surrounding the construction of several of the city’s mosques.²⁷ Henri Terrasse’s *Histoire du Maroc, des origines à l’établissement du protectorat français* is a final significant work within that of the colonial project, encompassing a broader scope than Caillé’s.²⁸ Both are useful for my work, but consider the narrative history of Morocco as a single place-based narrative and not as

²⁵Comité Scientifique du Maroc, *Archives Marocaines*, vol. 33 Vols. (Tangier: Mission Scientifique du Maroc, 1904-1934)

²⁶Jacques Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu’au Protectorat français, histoire et archéologie*, vol. 1: Texte.: histoire et archéologie

²⁷J. Caillé, *La petite histoire de Rabat* (Chérifienne d’éditions et de publicité, 1950)

²⁸Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc, des origines à l’établissement du protectorat français* (Paris: Atlantide, 1949)

a narrative of the rupture of migration; for both authors, the moriscos are given passing treatment and quickly assimilated into the larger telos that leads to the French colonization.

Another work, also French but dating to the post-colonial period, that is concerned with the Andalusian era in Rabat is Roger Coindreau's *Les Corsaires de Sal*, the most significant published book on the Sal-based corsairs whose members consisted largely of the expelled moriscos.²⁹ While Coindreau does include a brief consideration of the city, his focus is largely upon both a narrative history of piracy within the city (that is, acts within the city rather than acts upon, or that ultimately influenced the form of, the city) and upon the details of piracy itself. Coindreau's work is about the changing society of the city through its economic activities, but is not about the change of the city itself as it related to the massive immigration of Andalusians.

A recently-published article concerning Rabat from an urban perspective is Sa'īd Mouline's "Rabat-Salé: Holy Cities of the Two Banks."³⁰ Mouline's work is particularly relevant to my own. First, Mouline makes urban arguments in terms of the city's relationship between form and history, particularly in terms of its long-standing relationship with Al-Andalus. Mouline presents a short but comprehensive view of these cities, taking into account Almohad as well as Merinid rule (both before the time period at hand), and noting significant changes to the city as it transformed under the Andalusians. Mouline also pays attention to the street pattern, and to the house as a unit of analysis as both a spatial and functional unit. Ultimately, there are moments of tension between Mouline's conclusions and my own: I believe that he is fundamentally mistaken in his analysis of the relationship of the street pattern to the house, and in terms of the circulation patterns between portions of the Andalusian-era medina. That Mouline analyzes such elements, however, is significant in itself, and beyond the range of most studies of Rabat.

An analogous colonial project of documentation and historical narration does not exist for Tetouan. Spanish mapping of the city occurs in 1860 as strategic documentation for the Battle of Tetouan, in which the city fell to Spain. Subsequent years did not produce a systematized study of peoples, social systems, or cities. Works by Tetouanis, however, one of which precedes the Spanish colonization of the city, provides similar information, albeit from the perspective of someone from within the society rather than that of an outsider. The work of the earliest historian of the city of Tetouan, ʿAbd el-Salām b. Aḥmad al-Skirīj (d. ca. 1834), was unavailable as an edited, printed volume until fairly recently: it was not until 2005 that an edited edition was made available of *Nuzhat al-ikhwān fi-akhbār Titwān* (literally translated: A Stroll with the Brothers of the Happenings of Tetouan.)³¹ This text, which largely lacks cited references, occupies an area between primary and secondary source, and it is clearly a work within the tradition of earlier Arabic historiography. Its goal is to

²⁹Roger Coindreau, *Les Corsaires de Salé* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines)

³⁰Sa'īd Mouline, in *The City in the Islamic World*, **editor** Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 643–662

³¹

recount a history of the city in its entirety, and arguments are not framed in terms of the *Moriscos* or their migration. Nevertheless, it is useful to my own work through its particular care to stories that constituted the building of the city and its elements.

Muhammad Dawud's *Tarīkh Titwan*, a ten-volume work, partially published posthumously and which is a history of the city, focusing largely on the pre-colonial period, provides reproductions of several primary sources, in addition to a historical approach that is at once encyclopedic and parochial, such that the history is an extremely focused narration of events within Tetouan.³² Dawud's history is significant from an urban perspective, and for my research, for its telling of the construction of mosques in morisco neighborhoods in the post-expulsion period. Dawud does not make an argument, however, for the social meaning behind the physical form of the city. His concern, additionally, is not with the city's growth or urban change. Given Dawud's role as the major historian of the city, his work is useful both in and of itself and as a reference for further sources and source primary sources, many of which are themselves otherwise unavailable, for the city's comprehensive history. One more recent work that frames the city of Tetouan in relation to its Andalusian identity is *Tétouan, ville andalouse marocaine*.³³

This work is a generalist overview of Tetouan as a city with social and spatial practice, and the physical embodiments of these in cuisine, dress, architecture, and urbanism, based upon the Andalusian identities not only of the morisco refugees who arrived in the seventeenth century, but also of the Granadine founders who arrived in the late fifteenth, and the continuation of traditions. The work notes Andalusian effects on urbanism in only a cursory manner.

The *Moriscos*, a significant minority in sixteenth-century Spain, are currently the object of large amounts of scholarly research. Within Spain, interest in historical minorities and Spanish periods of intolerance has led to studies of the moriscos in the Spanish economy, within Spanish religion, and within the society as a whole. In Morocco, interest in the *Moriscos* is linked with scholarly interest in a heterogeneous past with significant international relations, as well as with the time period between the Sa'adian and the 'Alawite dynasties. The study of this group from beyond these two societies is embedded within the larger studies of historical religion and society. Some study of the *Moriscos* in terms of their migration has occurred. Morisco urbanism, both as continuity and rupture, in its historical and geographical contexts of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Spain and the Maghreb, is a phenomenon that has, to this point, been studied at its separate sites of development and articulation. The mass migration of the moriscos has not been studied as a phenomenon with profound spatial consequences. In order to locate spatial consequences, however, several questions must be raised. First, did the *Moriscos* possess a discrete urbanism? If so, did their migration have direct urban impacts? How can these be

³²Muhammad Dawud, *Tarīkh Titwān*, vol. 10, Ten Vols. (Maktabat al-Ṭālib, 1957-1988)

³³M'hammed Benaboud, Nadia Erzini, and Jean-Louis Miège, *Tétouan, ville andalouse marocaine* (Paris: Editions du CNRS/Rabat: Kalila wa Dimna, 1996)

located? This study aims to locate moments and locations of urban change, with the goal of connecting them to the morisco migration.

The first task for an analysis of the morisco migration's urban effects is to identify the characteristics, physical as well as social, of morisco urbanism, and analyze them across difference; these points of difference are by necessity defined in relationship to the dominant culture, which in each of the three case studies varies. In the case of Granada, the moriscos are defined against (and by) the Old Christians; in the case of Rabat, the moriscos are defined against the pre-existing Arabo-Berber Muslim populations; finally, in the case of Tetouan, the arrival of the moriscos constitutes the perpetuation of a city whose population consisted largely of Andalusian immigrants.

1.4 From City, to Neighborhood, to House

I begin and end with the city as a whole. Small-scale urban interventions (at level of both house and neighborhood, in terms of both inhabitation and form) were implemented within the framework of the larger-scale city, and affected by it such that the city provided large-scale infrastructural, geo- and topo-graphical and political contexts and contingencies for these smaller transformations. The shifts caused by the massive movement of *Moriscos*, however, were incremental ones that radically altered both centers and peripheries of the cities themselves. Before looking at these cities, I describe briefly the systems in place in both Spain and Saadian North Africa and the great political and social changes that surrounded the *Morisco* expulsion. After considering the city as a whole, particularly through historical images, I proceed to a discussion of the neighborhood as a unit of change. Through analyses of one parish in Granada that suffered massive population loss at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion and growth of an extra-mural area in the same city, I posit that administrative attempts to control urban density and use failed in the face of dynamic, shifting populaces. I then consider the *Uyun* neighborhood in Tetouan, which grew linearly and incorporated small-scale religious structures, and two small urban enclaves within the Rabat medina, in which collective decision-making and controlled points of entry created highly-defensible, rationally-planned small-scale insertions to an urban framework that had been largely defined in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. In both Rabat and Tetouan, *Morisco* neighborhoods responded, ultimately, to practical concerns and urban needs.

My next chapter seeks to situate the *Morisco* house within the larger traditions of both Andalusian Muslim-era domestic structures and both earlier and later house forms in the Maghreb. Given the informal nature of both the construction and documentation of these structures, compounded with centuries of change, I posit that the *Morisco* house in both Granada and the Maghreb constituted an adaptation of pre-existing forms, built at scales and densities responding to economic, social, and practical concerns. I conclude with an attempt to situate the migration of the *Moriscos* within contemporary issues of migration globally. Urban changes brought about through mass migration, I propose, are ones that

are fundamentally and necessarily tied to changes in society, religion, politics, and economy. Mass migrations, whether forced or voluntary, have an effect upon cities that cannot be ignored.

Chapter 2

A Changing Mediterranean World

The story of the *Morisco* expulsion and its effects is not one that is limited to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nor to Iberia and the Maghreb: its associated urban changes are among the many spatial, social, economic, and political reverberations of much larger changes. I consider three cities that represent neither points of origin nor points of arrival for the totality of the *Morisco* population. What these cities do represent, however, are sites of traceable *Morisco* populations. The urban *Morisco* in Granada constituted a significant portion of the city's population before expulsion. Those *Moriscos* who arrived in Rabat and Tetouan would significantly alter the landscapes of these two cities after expulsion and migration. That being said, there is not a traceable 1:1 correlation between pre- and post-expulsion populations. The changes wrought upon these three cities serve as a means through which to explore the collective and cumulative effects of the *Morisco* expulsion rather than as a means through which to tell narratives about individual migrants.

While urban *Moriscos* in Spain before the expulsion certainly were most concentrated in the city of Granada, these were but a sampling of the total *Morisco* population. Rural *Moriscos* existed throughout the kingdom of Granada, the 1570 expulsion of *Moriscos* from Granada caused a massive influx of this population to Castile (although that expulsion was by no means complete), and the grand expulsion of 1609-1614 resulted not only in emigration to the Maghreb but also to emigration to the Levant and parts of Mediterranean Europe beyond Iberia. The expulsion occasioned the population shifts not only of the *Moriscos* themselves, but of subsequent waves of *re pobladores*, repopulators of both Castilian and Northern European origin who were contracted by the Spanish government to move to depopulated areas, both rural and urban.

The movement of the *re pobladores* from Castile (and, reportedly, as far away as the Netherlands) itself constitutes a mass migration. In this case, however, it was one of financial and social incentive: the *re pobladores* received tax exemptions and property incentives, as well as an opportunity (given the relatively low socioeconomic status of these people who moved significant distances for these incentives) for self-redefinition. The Spanish repopulation programs (which had medieval precedents) worked much as farm- and homestead

incentive programs, and were not limited in their scope to the European continent. Similarly, the 1573 *Laws of the Indies* provided conditional reward to those who took up residence in the new Spanish cities of the New World (and serving the all-important functions of defense and the production of agricultural goods): new residents were, by lot, assigned tracts of land, and were permitted to remain upon those tracts (and in any houses) with the conditions that they are both present for a certain amount of time and that they farm the land. In Granada after the *Morisco* expulsion, *repladores* received similar incentive and condition.

My immediate concerns are with the changes wrought upon three cities. In terms of their urban identities, their component elements, and their situations within larger social, political, and geographical contexts, these cities can be used as case studies for the examination of a historical forced mass migration, on the one hand, and the spatial effects of migration generally, on the other. All three of these cities, one through population decline and urban reconfiguration, and two through population gain and urban growth, reflect in their urban forms both large- and small-scale social transformations. The *Morisco* expulsion and the ultimate transformations of these cities, their component structures, the morphological and social characteristics of their urban forms, and connections local, regional, and global, are embedded within a much larger story of political, social, and religious transformations that were spatially reflected in monumental buildings and public plazas, the private space of the home, and the ideological and nascent notion of the nation.¹

This larger story is that of the transformation, first, of the Iberian Peninsula through subsequent readings and reconfigurations driven by changes in leadership and reflecting differences in religious, geographical, and ideological persuasions of that leadership and, after expulsion, of the transformation of the Maghreb through the introduction, on the one hand, of a new population and, on the other, of renewed and expanded international interests driven by the political implications of that population. The spatial ramifications of this story, writ large upon the Spanish landscape through the effects of an ensuing fiscal crisis stemming from decreased revenues (in both rural and urban settings), were ones that, in both Spain and the Maghreb, can be examined concretely through changes in urban form. In the cities of Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan, the exit and arrival (respectively) of the *Moriscos* occasioned urban transformations.

The *Moriscos*, as an entity defined by Catholic political leadership, were the articulation of the result of centuries of negotiations of identity and relative social positions of Christians, Muslims, and Jews. The term *Morisco* was one with usage that was neither consistent nor ossified by the early sixteenth century (at the time of forced conversion.) The term existed within a constellation of terms that denoted, in turns, Muslims under Christian rule, Christians under Muslim rule, and converted populations (of both Jews and Muslims.) One interesting terminological binary that was in widespread usage at the time invoked notions

¹At this moment, during which the Spanish Crown was articulating its relationship to the population as a collectively Catholic, homogeneous, post-*Reconquista* one, early nationhood was being refined as a mapping of ideology onto peninsular geography.

of newness and oldness. Two terms *Nuevos Cristianos* and *Viejos Cristianos* New and Old Christians, respectively, on the one hand homogenized the population through an emphasis on a unity of religious affiliation. On the other, this designation of new and old, which would accompany converted populations across generations, perpetuated a binarism that would, eventually, be an instrumental one in the decision to expel the *Moriscos*, regardless of the amount of time for which their families had been officially Catholic.

Conflict in interpretation (political, social, and territorial) led to the definition of the *Moriscos* as inherently and fundamentally other by the Spanish kings and administrative and religious leadership of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and led to the desire for a homogeneous Spanish state (and this state was one that was interpreted as necessarily being homogeneously composed of Old Christians.) The *Moriscos*, as an ethnic and religious minority, had their origins in social transformation, specifically the large-scale and long-term social transformation accompanying the emergence of a Catholic-identified unified Spanish state. This state emerged from a history that it framed within a single-minded purpose-driven *telos* of the eradication of Muslim rule from the Peninsula. That Muslim rule, which had existed since the eighth century with the establishment of the Umayyad emirate (and later its assertion through its transformation into a caliphate) in Córdoba, was entrenched in the politics and histories of both sides of the Mediterranean.

2.1 *Al-Andalus* and the *Reconquista*

Iberia between 711, when an assertive expansion enacted by a largely North African Berber military serving the Damascus-based Umayyad dynasty crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and January 2, 1492, when Granada, the Iberian Peninsula's final Muslim kingdom, was surrendered to Isabel and Ferdinand, the Catholic Monarchs, consisted of a complex and shifting set of geographies, both human and physical, encompassing *Al-Andalus* (Muslim Iberia), as well as Catholic Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms. These seven centuries, consisting both alternately and simultaneously of conquest and retreat on the parts of both Christians and Muslims, and the transition from Visigoth Hispania to Al-Andalus to España, were centuries of networks and shifting centers of power and changing definitions of both Muslim and Christian worlds, largely as the result of changing Iberian geographies and demographics.

2.1.1 *Convivencia* and Conflict

These centuries have been alternately characterized as having consisted of, on the one hand, *convivencia* and, on the other, constant rancorous violence. *Convivencia*, or the interpretation, from a historical perspective, of harmonious coexistence between what are now commonly referred to as “*las tres culturas*,” *the three cultures*, assigned to the three faiths of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, in their historical Iberian manifestations, the peculiar virtue of nearly infinite tolerance for social and confessional variety. *Convivencia*, as a

historical-interpretive ideology, expresses a naïve trust in religious and political institutions, both at their leadership and at the more local levels: this particular interpretive ideology argues that minority religious populations were treated fairly and judiciously, in terms of both religious and social freedom and through a relative lack of economic penalty, whether it be of Christian under Muslim rule or Muslim under Christian (or Jew under either of the other two.) The argument against *convivencia* is equally problematic, as it sees a static society of strained tolerance, spatial and social separation, and punitive taxation. We must, as noted above, instead remember that both the area and time period in question are vast.

The Iberian Peninsula, divided by rivers and dramatic mountain ranges, across a period spanning more than seven centuries between initial Muslim conquest to Granada's capitulation, was by no means unitary: the time period under consideration encompasses one more than three times in duration as that of the entirety of the history of the United States as a political entity (since its declaration of independence.) The first of these models, that of *convivencia*, proposes in its extreme form a harmony, understanding, and symbiosis in inter-confessional relationships between Muslim, Christian, and Jew on the societal both urban and peninsular scale. The second model, in diametric opposition to the first, interprets the centuries of, first, dominance, and later, persistence, of administrative and political Islam and, throughout, minority-status Judaism in Iberia as fundamentally in conflict, on every imaginable level of the political, legal, religious, and social, with the Iberian Catholic project of the Christianization of Spain and Portugal. Neither model fully gives an indication of the complexity of this changing society; properly, it should not be considered a single society but, rather, an open set of interrelated societies spanning across a peninsula and seven centuries. The existence of these two conflicting interpretive models, and the extent to which they disagree in their conceptualizations of historical Iberia, however, tell us more about the complexity of this society than either interpretation, independently, could.

These were centuries of the definition and redefinition of borders and of the migration of people (both willing and forced), of culture, and of religion. These centuries consisted, roughly, of the rapid spread of Islam and Muslim rule over a broad swath of the peninsula, its containment at the border of the Pyrenees, the rise of a powerful, centralized caliphate based in Córdoba, its eventual fall and the rise, in its stead, of local, petty fiefdoms. During and subsequent to the decentralization and splintering of Muslim rule and authority, the Christian project of the *Reconquista*, framed not only in language parallel to that used for the justification of the Crusades to Jerusalem, but also at times, through papal bull, itself framed and performed as a type of homeland crusade, sought the acquisition of as much land as possible for Iberian Catholicism. This project framed itself in terms of a mythical past of liturgical unity. Of the petty Muslim-led kingdoms at which the Reconquest targeted itself, one arose as a significant and persistent force in military, political, and ideological opposition to doctrinal political Iberian Christianity to the extent that it became, after its fall, the emblem for Catholicism triumphant.

This city-cum-kingdom, Granada, geographically isolated yet politically connected, became the focal point of both Iberian Islam and the project of Iberian Christianization in



Figure 2.1: Granada, Rabat-Salé, and Tetouan in relation to the Mediterranean and Atlantic

the thirteenth century. More than two centuries later, its surrender, the stuff of mythology in both Spanish and Islamic society, was the end of Muslim rule in Iberia: the story of the presence of Islam in Spain, however, does not end there. The *Moriscos*, our main concern, were the direct descendants of both the people and society of this vanquished kingdom. It is with their final expulsion in 1614 that the story of Islam in the creation of early modern Spain ends.²

The driving force of this expansion was Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād, for whom Gibraltar, the rocky promontory considered to be one of the mythological pillars of Hercules, and which serves as a strong visual and historical point of connection with the North African border of the Straits of Gibraltar, was named (*Jabal Ṭāriq*, Ṭāriq's mountain.) The mountain was named after this man who, entrusted with military command of what was a ragtag group composed predominantly of Berbers, likely recent converts to Islam, succeeded in expanding the domain of the Damascus-based Umayyad empire into Europe. This empire, extending in the mid-eighth century from modern-day Afghanistan, across the Middle East and super-Saharan North Africa, and through Iberia to the Pyrenees, had, until the moment of Ṭāriq's crossing of the Straits of Gibraltar, not crossed any obstacle of such geographic or topographic significance: Asia Minor went unclaimed, and in North Africa Umayyad holdings lined the coast, never crossing the Sahara.

The seventeenth-century historian Al-Maqqarī leaves it open whether or not Ṭāriq himself was a Berber, opting instead to present arguments for both sides as documented by earlier Andalusian historiographers, and emphasizing the great responsibility with which

²The story of Islam in Spain, in a larger sense, is one that is still unfolding. The fairly recent constructions of congregational mosques that are both large-scale and visually prominent in both Madrid and Granada (the former in a modern style, the latter in a historicist), reflect an increase in Muslims in major Spanish cities as well as the increased political clout of this religion's members, collectively.

this nascent military leader had been charged:

To this Tārik, therefore, whether a liberated slave of Mūsa, or a freeman of the tribe of Sadī, the Arabian governor of Africa committed the important trust of conquering the kingdom of Andalus, for which end he gave him the command of an army of seven thousand men, chiefly Berbers and slaves, very few only being genuine Arabs.³

This brief remark emphasizes just how impressive the rapid Islamic conquest of *Al-Andalus* really was: Ṭāriq himself was an inexperienced military leader without necessarily a long-term affiliation with the Umayyads. His army, while its men were numerous, was dwarfed by Roderick's Visigoth military forces, who had two distinct advantages, first of size and the potential for recruitment, and second an intimate familiarity with the territory into which the Umayyads sought expansion.⁴ Ṭāriq's troops were themselves neither necessarily previously experienced nor loyal to the Umayyad cause: they were largely members of, on the one hand, a lower class and, on the other, of an ethnic group that was not, until the conquest of *Al-Andalus* under Ṭāriq, central to the mission of the Umayyad dynasty. In the case of the Berbers, their lack of a long-term commitment to either the Umayyads or to Islam (Islam had spread across North Africa only at the end of the seventh century; all non-Arabs in the raiding party were presumably converts or the children of converts) could have been a potential cause for desertion. It is precisely the lack of a long-term commitment and lack of experience,⁵ however, that could have made Ṭāriq's military strategy, almost stupid in its boldness, work.

After having landed upon the shores of *Al-Andalus*, at the site of what is now known as Gibraltar, and having chosen an encampment and surrounded it with defensive walls and trenches, the advance of the Visigoths was imminent.⁶ It is in this context that Ṭāriq delivered a speech to his troops that is the foundation address of the modus operandi of the Andalusian expansion and relevant to any discussion of the spread of Islam in *Al-Andalus*:

³ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; extracted from the Nafḥu-t-ṭīb min ghoṣni-l-Andalusī-r-rattīb wa tarīkh Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibnī-l-Khattīb*, by Aḥmed Ibn Moḥammed al-Makkarī, a native of Telemsan. Tr. From the copies in the library of the British Museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain, by Pascual de Gayangos, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain / Ireland, W. H. Allen / Co., 1840-1843), p. 266

⁴ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; extracted from the Nafḥu-t-ṭīb min ghoṣni-l-Andalusī-r-rattīb wa tarīkh Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibnī-l-Khattīb*, by Aḥmed Ibn Moḥammed al-Makkarī, a native of Telemsan. Tr. From the copies in the library of the British Museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain, by Pascual de Gayangos, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain / Ireland, W. H. Allen / Co., 1840-1843), p. 269

⁵ Although it is possible that Ṭāriq had the leadership of minor skirmishes under his belt, and a demonstration of either military or strategic prowess may have been a reason for his selection as deputy under Mūsa b. Nusayr, he is, in the context of Islamic history, synonymous with the initial raid upon Al-Andalus.

⁶[Vol. 1, p. 268]maqqari

Where can you flee, the enemy is before you, the sea behind?! By God! Nothing will save you but courage and perseverance. Consider your situation: you are on this island like orphans cast upon the world, and you will soon be surrounded on all sides by a powerful enemy.

...

Banish all fear from your hearts, trust that we will be victorious, and that the barbarian king will not be able to withstand the shock of our arms. He is coming to make us the masters of his cities and castles, and to deliver into our hands his countless treasures; and if you only seize the opportunity now presented, it may be the means of your becoming their owners, and saving yourselves from certain death.

...

Do not imagine that while I speak to you without action of my own. My interest in this matter is greater; my action will surpass yours. You have heard numerous tales of this island, and know how the Grecian maidens, as handsome as *houris*, their necks gleaming with pearls and jewels beyond number, their bodies clothed with expensive gold-woven silk tunics, await your arrival. They recline on soft couches in the luxurious palaces of lords and princes. You know well that *Khalīf*^c *Abdu-l-malek Ibnu-l-walīd* has chosen you, like so many heroes, from among the brave; you know that the great lords of this island are willing to make you their sons and marry you into their families, but only if you rush into the fight like brave men, and behave like true champions and valiant knights. you know that the recompenses of God await you if you are prepared to uphold his words, and proclaim his religion in this island. Lastly, you know that all the spoil shall be yours, and that of the Muslims that accompany you. God will select those among you who most distinguish themselves, and reward them, in this world and the one to come. Know also that I will set the first example, and put in practice what I advise you to do. Verily it is my intention to attack the Christian tyrant Roderic and kill him with my own hands, God willing.

...

If I kill him, victory is ours. If I am killed before I reach him, do not bother yourselves about me. Fight instead as if I were still alive and among you, and carry out my goal. The moment they see their king fall, these barbarians will scatter.. If I should be killed, after slaying their king, appoint an experienced and courageous man from amongst your ranks to command you and follow through with the success. If you do as I say, we are certain of victory.⁷

⁷ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; extracted from the Nafḥu-t-ṭīb min ghosni-l-Andalusī-r-rattīb wa tarīkh Lisānu-d-Dīn Ibnī-l-Khattīb*, by Aḥmed Ibn Moḥammed al-Makkarī, a native of Telemsan. Tr. From the copies in the library of the British Museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain, by Pascual de Gayangos, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain / Ireland, W. H. Allen / Co., 1840-1843), Vol. 1, p. 271-2.

The significance of this speech, from the standpoint of military history, is the stuff of mythological scale and impractical tactics based on blind faith (and it wouldn't have achieved the status of myth if it hadn't succeeded.) This speech is also important in respect to the spread of Islam, migration to *Al-Andalus*, and urbanism. Ṭāriq tells his men that they have no option but to advance, and at that, encourages unbridled enthusiasm and bravery, noting that he will himself be among the most enthusiastic of the fighters. He addresses the notion of reward, which is both monetary and physical (and which is embodied in maidens who are, of all things, Grecian; this is in itself a mythologizing act.) The "island" of *Al-Andalus* is doubly mythologized: contingent upon victory (and there can be nothing if not victory), not only are the maidens upon the daises welcoming, but the menfolk of the island are also prepared to accept the Muslim raiders as their own. Society is to be transformed through a long-term project of full integration through intermarriage. This particular moment in the speech, where transformation of Iberia's society and permanent settlement is suggested, is a transformative one: Ṭāriq has reframed the attack as one that may have been one of single-minded conquest to one of longer-term conversion and integration. The conquest has become one not of plunder but of societal transformation: the men themselves are to be rewarded by God, both for executing their duty (bravely) and for proselytizing for Islam on the island of Al-Andalus. The attack has been transformed, with this declaration, into a migration.

Another act on Ṭāriq's part, beyond the scope of the speech but within the framing of this particular attack, which was to become the 711/712 Battle of Guadalete, at which the Christians under Roderick suffered a humiliating defeat that included, emblematically, the slaying of Roderick, was that the ships upon which he and his men were transported had been deliberately burnt (not by the enemy), and there was no option but to advance.⁸ Ṭāriq's closing off of the possibility of retreat, whether it actually occurred or whether, in its recounting several centuries later, serves a literary-narrative mythologizing function of both man and battle, serves not only as an exhortation to unalloyed bravery, but is also a device for the transformation of a narrative of battle to that of a narrative of settlement. With the burning of the ships, Ṭāriq shifts the project from one of a single military attack for the far-off Umayyads, to one of a militarily-driven self-imposed migration. An element of urbanism emphasizes this: among the spoils that will be had are the cities and castles of

⁸ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain; extracted from the Nafhu-t-ṭib min ghosni-l-Andalusī-r-rattīb wa tarīkh Lisānu-d-Din Ibnī-l-Khattīb*, by Aḥmed Ibn Moḥammed al-Makkarī, a native of Telemsan. Tr. From the copies in the library of the British Museum, and illustrated with critical notes on the history, geography, and antiquities of Spain, by Pascual de Gayangos, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain / Ireland, W. H. Allen / Co., 1840-1843), Vol. 1, p. 274 The burning of the ships is not, however, recounted by Al-Maqqari as having necessarily occurred before the giving of this address. Instead, it is recounted secondhand to the Visigothic king Roderick, who had sent an emissary to the Muslim camp to observe and report. The secondhand nature of this particular exchange (and we must remember that it is being recounted as thirdhand knowledge by an Arab writer) makes it particularly weighty. Because the burning of the ships is presented as reported knowledge, it works outside of the discursive mechanism of the boast and, instead, is cast as a curiosity that attested to the valor of the attacking troops.

the peninsula.

The beginning of the conquest of Al-Andalus, then, was a military program of expansion in a transitional and fluid society. The presence of North African Berbers in the raiding group, their recent conversion, and the carrying out of the raid in the name of the Umayyad dynasty were indicative of the transitional nature of the coastal Maghreb and of the extent of power of the Umayyads. The first few years of Andalusian incursions met with unqualified success: shortly after this initial battle, Ṭāriq took Toledo, and Córdoba also entered Muslim hands. The year subsequent to Ṭāriq's landing, the general Mūsa b. Nusayr, Ṭāriq's commander, entered Al-Andalus and continued the spread of Islam to the cities of Iberia: Seville, among others, fell to the Muslims. Shortly afterwards, Granada would be among the cities controlled by Muslims.

At the turn of the eleventh century, less than a century after the declaration of a Córdoba-based caliphate, the legitimacy of Iberian Umayyad power no longer remained unquestioned. More than twenty shifting states of varying sizes, allegiances, and political leadership emerged in the power vacuum created by the defeats of the turn of the eleventh century. By the end of the century, the Almoravids, the empire that commanded an expansive swath of land reaching as far south as sub-Saharan modern-day Senegal, lay claim to the bulk of Iberia: they had initially been summoned to aid the *taifa* kings in a defensive effort against Alfonso VI of Castile and León. Yūsuf b. Tashufīn, the Berber Almoravid military leader, sensing disorganization, a lack of unity, and opportunity, and possessing knowledge of both the terrain and the organizational structure of both the cities and the military, deposed the majority of the *taifa* kings, leading to a brief period of reunification for the bulk of Muslim Iberia.

After Tashufīn's death, both his son and grandson proved less able leaders than he, and in 1147, the dynasty fell to the Almohads, who conquered Marrakech. In Iberia, this fall is reflected in the cities that fell to the Christians in this year: Almería fell to a coalition led by Genoese, and Lisbon fell to the Portuguese. The fall of Almería was not long-lived, however, as the Almohads by 1150 had begun an aggressive campaign for the domination of both Muslim and Christian Iberia. By the end of the 1150s, the Almohads had claimed Almería from the Genoese and Granada from the last of the peripheral Almoravid deputies. By 1170, this North African dynasty had made Seville its capital.

The end of the twelfth century through the middle of the thirteenth saw the rise of complex relationships of tribute and vassaldom. The Almohad empire had entered decline after the 1212 defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa, and the geographies of both Christian and Muslim states were further fractured through intensive raids and tenuous alliances. In 1236, for example, an alliance was brokered between Granada and Ferdinand III of Castile: the rivalry between Granada and Seville was such that it was in Granada's interest to accept subjection to Castile in exchange for the defeat of Seville. After a protracted siege, Seville fell to Ferdinand's armies in 1248; the Portuguese Reconquista was to end in 1249 with Alfonso III's conquest of Faro, and between 1249 and 1250, the cities of Orihuela, Huelva, and Jerez, as well as others, were transferred into Christian hands at that junction. It is

this geography that would portend the end of *Al-Andalus*. The next two hundred-plus years were characterized by the piecemeal erosion of Muslim lands.

The conquest of Granada, the conclusion of the Spanish Reconquista, and the beginning of the story that concerns us, that is to say, the end of the Muslim rule that led to the creation of the *Moriscos* as a social, ethnic, and perceived religious group, was a ten-year process between 1482 and 1492 that concluded in a somber agreement to the surrender of the city. Early 1482 saw the escalation of warfare on Granadan turf: the Alhama of Granada, a village about 40 kilometers from the capital, was taken by Castilian-Aragonese troops under Rodrigo Ponce de Leon. Reprisal by Abū-l-Ḥassan ʿAlī, the sultan of Granada, was unsuccessful, and the Castilian forces at Alhama were reinforced, and Alhama was formally surrendered. In the years subsequent to this fall, between 1483 and 1489, the mountains of Axarquía were raided and Muhammad XII (commonly known as Boabdil) of Granada was captured; the valleys of Málaga and Granada were raided by the Castilians, and Málaga, Baza, and Almería fell to the Reconquest.

Granadan leadership at the time was not a unified force: Boabdil, the leader fated to be remembered for his surrender of the city, did not hold undisputed authority. An uncle of his, Muḥammad XIII, known as Al-Zagal, complicated matters: internecine warfare aided the Christian cause, as the Muslims were no longer an even remotely unified front. 1485, for example, saw Boabdil driven from Almería by Al-Zagal, who would eventually surrender to the Christians in 1489 and be exiled to Algeria. Boabdil, thus, was left the undisputed head of an unstable, eroded Granada. In 1491, the city of Guadix fell to the Christians. Granada then remained the sole center of Muslim rule. It is here that we find ourselves on November 25 of the same year, the day on which a compact for the surrender of the city was signed between the Catholic Monarchs Isabel and Ferdinand and the humiliated, defeated Boabdil.

2.1.2 The Symbolic Reduction of Granada

In Granada, Spain, the pomegranate is both ubiquitous and eponymous. The fruit, depicted bursting with ripeness, decorates everything from the coat of arms to the bollards that prevent on-sidewalk parking. While the bollards are doubtless contemporary additions to the semiotic saturation of the city with (painted and sculpted as well as edible) pomegranates, the fruit have been incorporated into the city's heraldic symbols since at least 1493, the date of the first known coat of arms for the city. The city's symbolic presence was not, however, from the time of the fall of Granada to the Reconquest, to be locally contained. The city's reduction to its eponym was, instead, to be one of the fundamental symbolic acts in the creation of a unified Spain. This interpretive reduction, generated by outsiders who lay claim upon Granada both spatially and symbolically, served as a technique to render the city, of social, legal, and spatial systems different from those prevalent in Castile, legible.

It is at this moment, in which Al-Andalus, Islamic Spain, ends with the fall of Granada in 1492, that Andalusian Islam as a point of origin is cemented in the identification of the individual by the state. Terms used to designate Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the

contexts of the shifting societies of medieval and early modern Iberia and its concomitant changing boundaries, dominant cultures, religions, and politics came to include among them the term *Morisco* identifying the descendants of Muslims who had been forcibly converted to Catholicism. The Mudejars, Muslims under Christian rule, were to become *Moriscos* when they were forcibly converted between 1502 and 1526. This transition, one that occurred across centuries at some sites (such as Toledo and Seville) and across barely a decade in others (notably Granada), entailed both continuity and rupture. The transition from Mudejar to *Morisco* was one of change of both religious affiliation and administrative status. For the individual, conversion entailed a shift in religious affiliation, whether nominal or genuine. For the state, the transformation of Muslim to Christian was first a symbolic and then administrative and legal. This was beyond the significance of the end of the Reconquest, which signaled Christian control.

Symbolically, the conversion of Muslims, whether voluntary (before the forced conversions) or not, implied the ultimate triumph of Christianity over Islam, in contrast to the tolerance (whether that of a cooperative *convivencia* or that of an uncomfortable tension) previously extant. On an administrative level, two significant changes occurred with this change of identity. First, as Christians, the *Moriscos* were now under the purview of the *Santo Oficio* (known in English as the Inquisition), the tribunal arm that was dually of the Spanish Catholic Church and the state, and which tried individuals of questionable religious belief or practice (that is to say: both orthodoxy and orthopraxy were under scrutiny.) The addition of the *Moriscos* to the triable population implied an anticipation of greatly increased revenues for this institution. Second, the transition of significant quantities of people from Muslim to *Morisco* implied a decrease in tax revenues: given that both Muslims and Jews were charged additional taxes under Christian rule (and vice versa to Christians and Jews under Muslim rule), the conversions constituted the erosion of a tax base; responses to this included the creation of temporary categorical taxes levied upon the *Moriscos* that effectively maintained the previous system.

While the transition from *Mudejar* to *Morisco* was one of confessional change from Muslim to Christian, and thus an unparalleled break in the quiddity of Spanish society, the former-*mudejar-Moriscos* underwent a great transition in terms of the practices of daily life and their positioning vis-a-vis the Spanish state. As a legally-created social category (that remained un-named for some time)⁹ the *Moriscos* were neither ethnic nor religious minority (although elements of both ethnicity and religion were constitutive of the class): they were, instead, a cultural minority. Although the status of the *Morisco* was, at least in principle, one of Christian, a fundamental categorical rift persisted: the *Moriscos* were commonly termed *Christianos Nuevos*, or New Christians, well through the seventeenth century and the time of their final expulsion, despite the case that conversion would have been in the immediate memories of no living relatives of those expelled.

⁹At the time, documents commonly refer to *Moriscos* as “*nuevos Cristianos convertidos de moros*,” that is to say: new Christians converted from Muslims, or simply as “*nuevos Cristianos*.”

The *mudejar*, and later *Morisco* population, both rural and urban, across the larger geographical context of Iberia, was collectively analogous to that of both the city and surrounding countryside of Granada. In Granada, however, the situation represented an extreme case, as the population of Muslims in the kingdom (before the 1492 capture of Granada and through the forced conversions) and subsequently *Moriscos* (after the forced conversions) was larger and more concentrated than that of surrounding kingdoms. As tensions between Christian and Muslim had grown between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the geographic scope of the Muslim population had narrowed to the Kingdom of Granada through migratory processes. Although not all Muslims had migrated, great numbers of Muslims had gone to Granada to find favorable social, economic, and religious treatment. As we now know, this favorable treatment was, despite promises of perpetual integrity of legal status and religious rights of Muslims included in the 1492 capitulations of Granada, in which the city was surrendered to the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel, to be short-lived. Forced conversion, and later expulsion, occasioned the emigration, first of Muslims and later *Moriscos*, in ever-growing waves to the larger Mediterranean. Many of these emigrants went to the culturally- and physically-proximal Maghreb.

The *Moriscos* and Monetary Gain/*Morisco* Status, 1501-Expulsion The fiscal status of the *Moriscos*, vis-à-vis the Catholic system of taxation, rent collection, and land distribution, was a complex one. The *Moriscos* were at once both inside and outside the system: they were incorporated into the system and acknowledged as participants in the funding of the works of the Catholic state. It was through their perpetual outsiderhood that they were incorporated: their fiscal treatment and classification was at once a means of incorporation and of the perpetuation of their religious origins as something outside the workings of Spanish Catholicism. Adaptations of the taxes levied upon Muslims under Christian rule, the taxes to which the *Moriscos* were subject were explicitly protectionist and were at once both fixed and variable: they were fixed in their constant presence; they were variable, however, in their amount and terms. In some cases, they served as large-scale collective extortion, whether for those *Moriscos* of a certain city or of a particular province or kingdom or this population as a whole. The constellation of taxes levied specifically upon the *Moriscos*, known as “*servicios*,” or “*fardas*,” were divided into the two categories of the *farda mayor* and the *farda menor* (major and minor *fardas*.) The *farda mayor* demanded the bulk of the tax amounts collected and earmarked for major and specific projects, not all of which necessarily had the *Moriscos* as their beneficiaries. In Granada in 1526, the minor *farda* consisted of a tax for coastguard maintenance; the justification for this tax specifically upon the *Moriscos* derived from Spanish state presumption that this population had a dangerous predilection to form alliances with seafaring Muslim nations inimical to the Spanish state, thus demanding an increased defensive presence on the Andalusian shores. The major *farda* for Granada in the same year consisted of three separate “*servicios*” encompassing both the specific and the general. First, the “*servicio ordinario*” of 21,000 ducats¹⁰ was for

¹⁰This sum was levied upon the community of Granadan *Moriscos* collectively.

the payment of administrative costs (presumably, costs that the Spanish state undertook specifically for the administration of the moriscos, although this is not stated explicitly anywhere) as well as the provision of a standing army for Granada. Second, the “*servicio de la obra de la casa real*,” paid annually towards the Palace of Charles V in the Alhambra, was given by the *Moriscos* to the emperor in exchange for the suspension of the anti-*Morisco* provisions of the 1526 Congregation.¹¹ Third, the “*servicio extraordinario*,” not earmarked for any specific purpose, was to be used at the discretion of the monarchs. These taxes, assessed and renewed at six-year intervals, were collected from an extremely broad range of *Morisco* society: almost all owners of any land or property were eligible for taxation.¹² The administrative center to which collected taxes were brought for distribution, and from which taxes were assessed and levied (by means of regional deputies) was the Alhambra: the center of Muslim cultural and religious power in Iberia became the center of Catholic administrative power, which reared its heavy head by linking, punitively, fiscal power to religious.

The taxes levied upon the *Moriscos*, in addition to being at difference with the taxes levied upon the Christians (who, presumably, received the same, if not higher levels of service generally), were unevenly applied. Holders of *hidalguías*, for example, were exempt: members of this class of land-owning petite bourgeoisie, not necessarily the caretakers of productive agricultural land or business, granted the title of *hidalgo* through either favor or inheritance, arguably benefited the most with the least contribution to the workings of the state mechanism. That there were *Morisco hidalgos* is testament to, on the one hand, the permeability of the Spanish social system in its acceptance of outsiders to its ranks and, on the other, of the perpetuation of previously-existing systems even as demographic change occurred.

The *Moriscos*’ collective status in Spanish society was an economic as well as a religious one. The Spanish state’s fiscalization of the *Moriscos*, that is to say the state’s interpretation of this population in discrete monetary terms, had been both well articulated and openly acknowledged in the early sixteenth century. Given the knowledge of the Spanish state of both this population’s numbers and its economic impact (in terms of its roles in agriculture and silk production specifically and as a market force generally), its expulsion constituted a final step in extreme measures.

2.1.3 Expulsion

The push for the *Moriscos* to depart was in a time period in which the Spanish state was both highly bureaucratic and in financial crisis. Phillip III’s declaration of the first regional

¹¹The 1526 Congregation, held in Granada, was to be one of the major touchstones in the definition of anti-*Morisco* policy. The *servicio de la obra de la casa real*, consisted of 15,000 ducats paid annually, in addition to a one-time payment of 90,000 ducats. Kenneth Garrad, “The Original *Memorial* of Don Francisco Núñez Muley”, *Atlante 2* (1954): p. 206 fn 1.

¹²Kenneth Garrad, “The Original *Memorial* of Don Francisco Núñez Muley”, *Atlante 2* (1954): 199–226

Morisco expulsion from Spain in 1609 was not without controversy.¹³ The *Moriscos* constituted a significant portion of Spanish society, and were crucial elements to rural agricultural work. Long-standing suspicion of this population's possible links with the Ottoman Empire, as well as suspicion of the sincerity of its members' Catholicism, in a society that was ever more bent on proselytizing (in both Spain and the New World), led to the first declaration of expulsion. This would be followed by subsequent regional expulsions over the next five years, until (at least in principle) Spain was to be free of this minority.

The mechanics of the *Morisco* expulsions were roughly as follows: *Moriscos* were directed to emigrate, and were given a set amount of time to depart. In the case that they weren't located at a predetermined port of departure, they were accompanied by either military forces or private contractors to government-sponsored ships (for which the *Moriscos* were allowed to bring sufficient funds to pay their fares.) These ships, which were sometimes military naval vehicles, and at others private vessels from throughout the Mediterranean attracted by the appealing contract work the *Morisco* transport provided, made their way to Oran-Mazalquivir (a Spanish-controlled North African coastal holding from the early sixteenth century.) Wealthier *Moriscos* would pay for transit to Algiers or other Muslim-controlled cities; what would, instead, occur is that the controllers of the ship would drop their human charges upon the shores of the nearest Muslim-held Maghrebi shore (which would invariably not be a city; the cities of the North African coast were, nearly without exception, held by European Christian forces) or, in extreme cases, drown their cargo. Valencian rebellion in the mountains was fueled in reaction to the enforcement of emigration in such dangerous circumstances.

2.2 Iberian Immigrants to Maghrebi Society: Reception and Problems

Moriscos were received in the Maghreb during a long period of emigration from Iberia. While the *Moriscos*, categorically, were created with the forced conversion of Muslims in the early sixteenth century after the conquest of Granada, the extremely long-term Reconquista of the Iberian peninsula, their migration was not a bounded, limited act. Migratory movements in the Mediterranean, occurring continuously from antiquity onwards, were a constant in the region, driven by numerous reasons. The migrations resulting from the forced *Morisco* expulsion were just a swell in a continuous current of variable force: traditional means for the integration of migrants from Iberia into Maghrebi society provided important precedents for the integration of expelled *Moriscos* during their massive early-seventeenth-century influx. The tradition of pilgrimage, combined with the cosmopolitan urbanism present in Islam from

¹³For a discussion of the Catholic apologists for the Expulsion, as well as the arguments made against, see Grace Magnier's recent Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

an early date, compounded with established means of travel (both overland and by sea), provided for social conditions that favored the integration of foreigners.¹⁴ Andalusian travel to and settlement in the Maghreb were well-established from early dates. Andalusian visits to North Africa were spurred by both familial and business reasons, and Andalusian settlement across the breadth of North Africa was not an uncommon phenomenon, particularly along routes to/from Mecca: these communities, in turn, spurred further Andalusian immigration through coincidences of siting and culture.

Both social and economic differences separated two major moments of *Morisco* migration. One of these moments was willing, the other forced; one was prolonged and the other rapid. Socially, the first, longstanding wave of emigration would have consisted not of the extremely wealthy, whose lives would have been comfortable in Spain regardless of some degree of social ostracism (which would itself have depended on the larger-scale integration of *Moriscos* in that particular location), nor of the extremely poor, for whom emigration would have been a fiscal impossibility, but of merchant and moderately upper classes with a certain degree of political savvy. The first, cumulative and slow migration was undertaken in a fundamentally different way than the latter. While the expelled *Moriscos* of the early seventeenth century necessarily encompassed all social classes (with the possible exception of the extremely wealthy), those who had arrived during the course of the sixteenth century were those for whom it was a calculated risk: emigration from Spain having been illegal at the time, departure would have involved the possible selling of property, long-term planning, and possibly a destination in mind determined by pre-existing ties with former emigrants. The pull factors of the Maghreb, those of social integration and economic opportunity, for the sixteenth century covert migrants, as well as that of religious freedom to practice Islam, were not what eventually drew the seventeenth-century refugees. Indeed, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, religious freedom may have been the driving force for migration: the *Morisco* conversion had been a forced social change, against which those Muslims more invested in both their faith and the socio-economic structure of their faith's expression in Early modern Spain would have been more likely to act.

While even a significant portion of *Moriscos* in the early seventeenth century may have maintained cultural trappings of Andalusian Islam, particularly in terms of social custom (wedding tradition, the practice of circumcision, dietary limitations), and some¹⁵ have argued

¹⁴Mikel De Epalza, "Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)", *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 35-38

¹⁵Many scholars presume sustained crypto-Muslim identities on the parts of the *Moriscos* from the moment of forced conversion through the expulsion. Henry Charles Lea, Diego Marañón, as well as more contemporary ones argue for the persistent identification of *Moriscos* with Islam. Although I believe that elements of crypto-Islamic practice may have remained integrated for the duration of the *Moriscos*' presence in Granada (through 1570), as a) both the duration of time between forced conversion and expulsion had not reached a century and traditions could have been passed down through all living generations, and b) in Granada, in particular, there was more at stake for the *Moriscos* in terms of their cultural preservation. this city had the most significant population of urbanized *Moriscos* (both in absolute numbers and in terms of their constituting a significant percentage of the population), was the cultural hub of late-Andalusian Islam, and

that the *Moriscos* were suppressed Muslims through the time of their expulsion from Spain, the cultural reality, in terms of both belief and practice, cannot have been monolithic. The breadth of Granadine society was enormous, and while some crypto-Muslims, in both belief and practice, may very well have existed, the non-existence of mosques and other religious meeting places, compounded with nearly a century of remove, would have tempered Muslim religiosity. The seventeenth century refugees were pushed rather than pulled. While previous generations of *Moriscos* had departed with a plan in mind, and possible family connections, the expelled *Moriscos* of 1609-1614 had their departure planned for them.

Earlier migration was more varied. During the Reconquest (an ideological, political, religious, and military project spanning centuries), as the areas under Muslim political control dwindled, several transformations occurred. First, some Muslims remained under Christian rule, becoming *Mudejares*; others opted for migration. While some of the Andalusian Muslims relocated to other portions of the ever-smaller *Al-Andalus*, others emigrated to the Maghreb. The city of Marrakech was an appealing seat of power to urbanized Andalusians who wished to live in a firmly Muslim stronghold:¹⁶ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during which the Reconquest was occurring, the Almohads ruled Marrakech, and from the city also governed *Al-Andalus*.

The mid-twelfth century saw the accelerations of the *Reconquista* and migration to the post-Almohad Maghreb: the city-kingdoms of Marrakech, Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis saw waves of new populations enter.¹⁷ Those kingdoms frequently had as their administrators individuals of Andalusian origin: this occasioned the perpetuation of Andalusian cultural and administrative forms in the Maghreb. The Andalusian community in the Maghreb, as such, was firmly entrenched, and in its administrative and cultural roles encouraged the constant Iberian-Maghrebi migration that occurred through the thirteenth through the late fifteenth centuries, which constituted a long period of relative quiet both for the ideological project of Reconquest and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, the only remaining kingdom of the initial, expansive Muslim kingdoms in Iberia (which ranged drastically in number and size from the eighth century through the fifteenth.)¹⁸

The fall of the Kingdom of Granada intensified Iberian-Maghrebi migration; this hap-

was the urban focal point for the 1568-71 *Morisco* uprising, largely a direct response to expanding government restrictions. This is not, however, to say that all *Moriscos*, even in Granada, were religiously Muslim in either belief or practice. While there certainly would have been some, the existence of *Moriscos* among the clergy, as well as in the ranks of local civic leaders, is testament to the likely diversity of both belief and practice at both surface and subsurface levels.

¹⁶Mikel De Epalza, "Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)", *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 38

¹⁷Fez, famously, was divided into Andalusian and Qarawiyyīn quarters, in which the population came from two major points of origin: *Al-Andalus* and Qayrawān (in contemporary Tunisia.) The population of Andalusian origin was such that it occupied the side of the city to the east of the eponymous river that bifurcates it.

¹⁸Mikel De Epalza, "Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)", *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 38-9

pened for political as well as religious reasons. Although the Muslims were not immediately forced to convert, and religious freedom to Muslims was promised in perpetuity, it would be within a single decade that the first of a wave of forced conversions would alter the practice of Islam in Iberia, transforming it into a covert practice by nominal Catholics who were deprived of the structures (both social and architectural) of communal Islamic religious practice. As has been noted by numerous scholars, *fatāwa* (*fatwas*) of the time emphasized the religious righteousness of departure from *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the Domain of War) to *Dār al-Islām* (The Domain of Islam), that is to say, from a context of bellicose opposition to the free practice of Islam, to one in which Islam was the predominant organizational structure of both religion and society.¹⁹

The integration of *Moriscos* into Maghrebi society, despite the existence of mechanisms for their integration (particularly through the long-term existence of a previous Andalusí community), was not without problems: there were distinct differences, whether real or perceived, between the mixed Berber and Arab populations of the Maghreb and those of Iberia. There had been little indication that the *Moriscos* would be expelled, and the Spanish government cared only for the population's elimination from Spain: no negotiations for possible sites of reception had been carried out. The Valencians, the first *Moriscos* expelled, were uneasily received. They were forced through a process of multiple relocations that placed them in the Algerian countryside, where local reaction to the large quantities of foreigners was both immediate and violent. Both Algerian and Maghrebi authorities sent troops to defend the *Moriscos*. The rapid, unannounced, and overwhelming imposition of a large number of immigrants clearly caused a breakdown of the normal systems for the reception of these ideologically-sympathetic Iberian immigrants. This failure of the systems was likely due both to the intensity of the migration (in terms of both speed and numbers) and to the rural environment in which the *Moriscos* were placed: the previously-existing systems for the integration of new populations had been largely urban.²⁰

Not all *Moriscos* emigrated to the Maghreb: extant data that demonstrate trajectories of migration represent only a small portion of the total expelled populations. Emigration of this population to neighboring European countries was particularly encouraged by the clergy and other pious individuals: concerned with the welfare of the souls of *Morisco* children, they sought to prevent *Morisco* emigration to the Muslim world. Integration of this population into places such as France, Venice, and Tuscany proved difficult, and ultimately these places served as a waystation for further migration to the Maghreb or the holdings of the Ottoman Empire.²¹

¹⁹For a treatment of the North African and Andalusian contexts of the late fifteenth century, as well as for an argument of the significance of these fatwas, see Jocelyn Hendrickson, "The Islamic Obligation to Emigrate: Al-Wansharīsī's *Asnā al-matājir* Reconsidered" (PhD thesis, 2009)

²⁰Mikel De Epalza, "Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)", *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 45

²¹Mikel De Epalza, "Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)", *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 46-7

2.3 The North African Context

The Maghrebi context of the sixteenth century was not one of isolation. On the contrary, the Maghreb dually represented to several expansionist empires both a frontier and a threat, within the context of extensive international trade. Diplomatic relations between Morocco and Europe, even relatively early in the sixteenth century, were complicated matters involving colorful *dramatis personae* who frequently acted not as rational actors representing the state but as self-interested individuals. For example, the Colonel Pierre de Piton, who had served as the ambassador from the King of France to the Kingdom of Morocco, was point accused of running contraband war munitions (to the Muslims.) The material resulting from his trial gives us a few colorful details of the social systems in place at the time. There are telling demonstrations of the existence of an active trade in captives. In the proceedings against the Colonel Pierre de Piton, a French informant serving as a witness tells the Spanish that the Muslims, (including the King of Fez), are acquiring arms from France, in exchange for providing security for the French. The witness (*testigo*) involved was unable to provide further information, however, because he was then rescued and taken to Tetouan.²² The variety of interests, nationalities, and loyalties represented in even this brief anecdote is an indication both of the Maghreb's regional importance and its contested status.

2.3.1 Spain and the Maghreb

The Maghrebi relationship with Spain was a complicated one. In the mid sixteenth century, Charles V had given an order prohibiting all commercial relations between the ports of Andalusia and Salé, Larache, and other placed under the dominion of the *sherif*;²³ this is evidence both of growing suspicion of the North African coast on the part of the Spanish authorities, and of the existence of extensive international trade between the two at this early date. The *cédula* that proclaimed this order, dating to the 29th of March of 1549, is directed to the *corregidores* of Gibraltar and Cadis, as well as the justices of other port places of Andalusia, and declares that commerce with Larache, Salé, and other places held by the *sherif* in Africa, who is characterized as the “enemigo de nuestra santa fee cathólica, (enemy of our holy Catholic faith)” is prohibited under certain pains.²⁴ The decree was to be made public, and published, and no one from Andalusian ports was to go conduct commerce, or contract to those parts without special dispensation.

An addendum was made to that prohibition, however, on November 10th of 1554, in

²²“SIHM. Information fait a Evora contre le Colonel de Piton. Archives Nationales. Collection Simancas. K.1483 no. 87”, in, vol. 1, Series I Saadian France, Vol. 1, p. 38

²³“SIHM. (Ordinance of Charles V given in Valladolid 29 March 1549.) Archive location: AGS Estado 477”, in, vol. 1, Series I Saadian Spain, 214

²⁴“SIHM. “Vidimus des cédulas de 1549 et de 1554 sur le commerce de brbrie.””, in, p. 477 The *cedula* from 1549 was published in 1st series Spain t.1 p. 214. AGS Guerra Antigua, Libro 27, fol 206 recto-209 verso.

which certain terms of that prohibition were lifted, such that trade with Sherifian-held ports was acceptable, with certain conditions. These stipulations were broad: goods were to be bought and sold with permission, trade was to be limited to Spanish ports (which in itself constitutes a bizarre prohibition more upon the North African ports than the Andalusian ports initially addressed in the prohibition), and goods traded were to be only those explicitly permissible. Monies, gold, silver, and arms were expressly prohibited from being taken to these enemy-held ports. The people to be involved in the transactions were to be Old Christians and neither “Moros” nor Jews, nor were they to have any racial background of the Moros, nor were they supposed to be “*sospechosos*,” (suspicious.) They were not supposed to harbor any possibility of having sympathies for the North Africans, and people of a broad range of trades were prohibited from carrying out this trade: neither officials, carpenters, blacksmiths, nor “*toneleros, cabestreros, fundidores, campanero, califate, vizcochero y salitrero*” were to be permitted. These trades ranged from the clearly strategic (blacksmiths and smelters, fundidores) to the socially necessary (and also, by extension, strategic) of cake-maker (vizcochero.) The people carrying out these exchanges were to stay in Barbary for less than a year, and were not permitted to make a return trip to the Maghreb after their return to Spain until after they had spent, at a minimum, two months in the Kingdoms of Spain. With the implicit goal of the elimination of contraband, goods exchanged were to be registered and ships inspected.²⁵ This addendum to and loosening of the prohibition speaks simultaneously of the extent of international trade (such that it couldn’t be entirely halted) and the heightening of Spanish suspicion not only of North Africans but of *Moriscos* and anyone whose loyalties were not explicit.

In the sixteenth century, the frontier between the Maghreb and Iberia was fluid, figuratively and literally. The frontiers were exclusively ports and fortresses, and their only connections both to each other and to Portugal were maritime. The significance of these seizures, constructions, and abandonments of maritime fortresses is that the entire coastal region was in transition, for the Portuguese, for the Spanish, and for the Maghrebis. The redefinition of the use of space was, for the Portuguese, something expressed through the adaptation and restoration of pre-existing fortifications, the addition of Portuguese-built additions and alterations, and even the incorporation, through the employ of Italian and Italian-trained architects, of Italianate features in the fortress design of the North Atlantic coast.²⁶ After the bastion was introduced in Europe, it was adopted as a defensive strategy at the outer frontiers of European military expansion, and it was precisely during the principal years of Portuguese occupation that fortification design was in a transitional period.²⁷

²⁵“SIHM. “Vidimus des cédules de 1549 et de 1554 sur le commerce de brbrie.””, in, p. 480-1

²⁶Martin M. Elbl, “Portuguese Urban Fortifications in Morocco: Borrowing, Adaptation, and Innovation along a Military Frontier”, in, p. 356

²⁷Martin M. Elbl, “Portuguese Urban Fortifications in Morocco: Borrowing, Adaptation, and Innovation along a Military Frontier”, in, p. 352-357

2.3.2 Reception of Andalusians in the Far Maghreb

In the Far Maghreb,²⁸ Andalusians were, even before the arrival of the *Moriscos*, perceived as ideological, cultural, and religious others. One particularly important movement that arrived in the Maghreb by way of Spain is what Muhammad Hajji terms the “*secte andalouse*” (“Andalusian sect”, to the degree that religious performance and geography are linked.) This movement, banished from the Maghreb in the 1570s, was at odds with the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence prevalent in North Africa as far east as contemporary Libya. The movement arrived in the Maghreb at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after Muḥammad al-Andalusī left Granada for Marrakech. This movement, under al-Andalusī’s ideological leadership, was one in which the relative importance of the prophet Muhammad was diminished in relation to the elevated importance of the role of God.²⁹ While the *Moriscos* did not subscribe to this particular movement (unless they did so covertly; many had, after all, been originally expelled from Granada and may have preserved some folk iteration of the particular practices or beliefs of the Muhammad al-Andalusī’s ideological religious Andalusism, as it were), that they had been preceded in the Maghreb (if not necessarily in Rabat and Tetouan) by a leader of radical thought who had raised enough opposition such as to have had his movement outlawed about a generation before the *Morisco* arrival: these outsiders were not to be received with open arms.

Marrakech, Rabat-Salé, and Tetouan were three important urban nodes in the *Morisco* migrations. Marrakech, southern capital city ruled by the Saadians throughout the sixteenth century, had historically been a site for the reception of Andalusian populations. Whether or not the capital became a site for the reception of expelled *Moriscos*, who would have reached the inland city by way of overland travel after arrival at a Portuguese-held coastal port, is unknown: by the early seventeenth century, Marrakech was in chaos, as there was no strong leadership and factional local warfare would have prevented the creation (and if not the creation, the documentation) of a stable *Morisco* community. In contrast, Rabat-Salé and Tetouan provided ideal sites for the reception of these politico-religious migrants.³⁰ If Tetouan was a site that was prepared to accept large quantities of *Moriscos* for its ideological and cultural similarities, Rabat-Salé was a site that accepted large numbers of these strangers on account of difference: the Hornacheros, accused by the Spanish Crown of crypto-Islamic practice, departed Spain before the *Morisco* expulsion, and as such possessed money and weapons (two key things of which the forcibly-expelled *Moriscos* were to be deprived.)

Although the *Moriscos* technically arrived in the Maghreb during the Saadian dynasty’s control over the country, the situation in Rabat and Tetouan did not reflect this dynasty’s

²⁸Al-Maghreb al-Aqsa; this term roughly corresponds to contemporary Morocco. I specify the Far Maghreb here because the Maghreb as a whole could be perceived as reaching nearly to Egypt.

²⁹Muhammad Hajji, *L’activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l’Espagne à l’époque Sa’dide*, vol. 2 vols (Rabat: Dar el-Maghreb, 1976), Vol. 1 p. 285

³⁰Mikel De Epalza, “Estructura de Acogida de los *Moriscos* Emigrantes de España en el Mágreb (Siglos XIII al XVIII)”, *Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* (Alicante), no. 4 (1996): p. 47

continued and undivided power. Instead, the situations there represented frequent and complete fractures in leadership.³¹ These fractures had spatial dimensions: as no single ruler had sufficient political clout to control the entire Maghrebi region, with its enormous geographic variation and range (including lush, Mediterranean coastal regions and the Sahara), geographically-divided leadership between competing brothers effectively eroded the legitimacy of any rule. In this context, European incursions upon the coast were relatively uncontested, and the cities that the *Moriscos* would eventually inhabit, while eventually hotly contested between competing seekers of power, were initially ones with little import to distant (and weak) leaders.

Both Rabat and Tetouan were informed by the larger defensive context of the coastline: the immediacy of attack was present, the typology of the defensive coastal (maritime) city was present and undergoing constant modification. Both cities by necessity were cities grounded in the notion of defense. The hybridity of the coast in its occupation as well as its design and the fluidity of its society, was monumental with short-term considerations: the fortresses were the results of short-term tactical concerns more so than as the product of long-range strategizing and planning: the area, after all, was in constant flux, and the danger of attack was immediate, rather than hypothetical.³² Portuguese expansion into the Atlantic coast of Morocco was important for both architectural and urban reasons and, while the architecture and urban development of these maritime fortresses is not itself *Morisco*, it provided a context that informed the development of *Morisco* Rabat and, to an extent, Tetouan,

The seventeenth-century connections between Rabat-Salé and Tetouan, while born of the commonality of the origin of the two cities' populations, were not ones that existed only at the initial moment of migration from Spain to the Maghreb. Although the *Moriscos* who emigrated to Tetouan may have been overtly ideologically linked to the pre-existing Tetouani population of vindictive Andalusis who had refused conversion, the ones who arrived in Rabat were not necessarily of a differing ideology. Several factors linked the two cities after the expulsion, and communication between the two was constant. This was fueled by two factors: first, the transportation, trade, and keeping of slaves, and second, the two cities' common status as political, social, and geographical outliers in a region where the legitimacy of centralized rule had been eroded. Salé and Tetouan were united through the amount of cultural divide between their populations (urban, self-governing, and driven economically by the performance of vindication upon Spain through piracy) and those indigenous to the Maghreb, at the turn of the seventeenth century. While Maghrebi society was focused on the interior, with decentralized governance out of distant cities (the legitimacy of the governance of which was challenged by both internecine conflict and rural challenge), and with populations of mixed Arab and Berber, sedentary and nomadic groups, the Andalusian populations were comparatively homogeneous. The Andalusian populations that arrived

³¹BA Mojuetan, "Legitimacy in a Power State: Moroccan Politics in the Seventeenth Century During the Interregnum", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13, no. 03 (1981): 347–360, ISSN: 1471-6380

³²Martin M. Elbl, "Portuguese Urban Fortifications in Morocco: Borrowing, Adaptation, and Innovation along a Military Frontier", in, p. 353

with the *Morisco* expulsion were, at least in Rabat, perceived as Spanish and Christian; in the rest of the Maghreb (and particularly in Tetouan), these Andalusis would have been perceived as the ideological and cultural descendants of earlier Andalusian populations, particularly those that had arrived in the previous century as the result of deliberate personal or collective decisions to extricate themselves from the oppressive Spanish regime.

The port of Salé was, in the seventeenth century, the most important corsair port along the Moroccan Atlantic littoral.³³ The creation of robust economies of piracy in both Rabat and Tetouan was due to several factors. Piracy, which had been a problem for established navies and their governments (whether local or imperial) through the course of the sixteenth century, was an outlying economic activity dependent upon neither any long-established system of agricultural production nor any sedentary populations engaged in systems of trade, taxation, and social stability. Instead, piracy functioned as the result of several cults of personality focused upon independent actors who could mobilize forces to work on their ships, pay allegiance, and perpetuate power through the negotiation of deals, the gaining of new ships through hostile takeover, and the seizure of both goods and prisoners. The taking of goods and prisoners would occur in relation to both other ships and land-based populations, and negotiations for exchange of said goods and prisoners would occur in the coastal cities: Rabat and Tetouan, in the early seventeenth century after the *Morisco* arrival, arose to fill this function through the intensified use of both pre-existing infrastructural elements (such as the *mazmorras*, or prisoner complex, in Tetouan, and a system of underground passages that negotiates between the level of the beach and the top of the *casbah* in Rabat) and through the creation of complex economic-diplomatic structures (both in terms of the *fundouqs* and embassies that existed largely in service of the economy of prisoner redemption that financed the economy of piracy in Rabat.)

The flourishing pirate economy of Rabat was at least partially the result of the transformation of the long-extant social structures that were grounded in notions of *jihad* directed against Catholic Iberia. The city of Rabat, in its twelfth-century foundation, had been established as a base for maritime *jihad* against the Christianizing project of the Reconquista. The structures built upon the site: the *casbah* and the defensive wall in particular, lent themselves to easy adaptation for piracy. They were architecturally guarded yet well-connected (in terms of the possession of a port navigable only by small, lightweight ships.) Rabat in the early seventeenth century, rapidly populated by groups at least functionally defined in terms of contrast to the predominant culture, easily became a host site for pirate activity: the new residents, having no other sources of income, took easily to the tasks of trade in humans and ill-gotten goods. The city's coastal position and its relative independence from central authority compounded its suitability for piracy.

Large-scale physical changes that occurred within the city as the direct result of the Andalusian arrival in Rabat were as follows: a) the construction of the Andalusian wall;

³³Leila Maziane, *Salé et ses Corsaires (1666-1727): un port de course marocain au XVIII^e siècle* (Rouen: Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), p. 14

b) the re-orientation of the city; c) the construction of temporary tamped earth walls for attack (between the Rabat enclosure and the casbah); and d) the construction of a (temporary) bridge between Rabat and Salé. Smaller-scale interventions, consisting of the creation and inhabitation of small-scale, sequestered neighborhoods predicated on family affiliation or other reasons lost to history (although likely having had to do with common points of geographic origin), transformed the previously depopulated city. As I will argue, the interventions of the *Moriscos* in terms of domestic architecture in Rabat were ones that privileged privacy, defense, and familial group cohesion, through the redeployment of the architectural norms of the Andalusian *Morisco* house.

In Tetouan, the arrival of the *Moriscos* and the expansion of the city worked as a continuum. In Rabat, however, the arrival of the *Moriscos* and their settlement within the city boundaries functioned as a rupture. If, in Tetouan, the new arrivals shared cultural commonalities with the previously existing population, in Rabat, the new arrivals were seen as foreign. In Rabat, the city's pre-existing fabric itself provided sufficient structures for the carrying-on of daily life, be it the life of Islamic ritual practice, defense, or trade. Structures found and subsequently adapted and inhabited by the *Moriscos*, whether dating to the Almohad or the Merinid period, abandoned in earlier years but sturdily constructed (largely of local stone) formed a skeleton of the city as it would be adapted for trade and daily life under the *Moriscos* and Hornacheros.

2.3.3 Rabat-Salé and the Seventeenth Century: Andalusis and Maghrebis

The urban agglomeration that today constitutes the two cities of Rabat and Salé was, at the time of the Andalusian arrival in the Maghreb, a peripheral, coastal urban area consisting of three distinct elements (Salé, Rabat, and the casbah) and only nominally under the influence of the Marrakech-based sultan. Between the 1609/10 arrival of the *Moriscos* and Hornacheros, the 1627 creation of an independent republic of Bou Regreg, and the 1666 establishment of the Alawite dynasty (which is the same one that rules contemporary Morocco), the cities at the mouth of the Bou Regreg underwent dramatic social, economic, and spatial transformations. Within a short time period, this city that had formerly failed to attract sufficient attention of the Spanish and Portuguese (who held nearly every navigable port on the Atlantic Maghrebi coast) would attract trade and political interest from all number of European countries, in addition to attention from both the centralized (albeit factional) Maghrebi government and smaller, independent actors unaffiliated with the sultanate but in control of sufficient resources to make a bid (whether successful or not) for the cities' control.

What we today know as the two cities of Rabat and Salé, consisting of three distinct walled enclosures,³⁴ were at the turn of the seventeenth century as follows: first, on the east

³⁴If the Roman-Merimid Chellah is included, there are four enclosures. I do not count it here because, at

bank of the Bou Regreg River, the city of Salé was the most populous, and most politically powerful site. On the west bank of the Bou Regreg, the casbah, founded by Al-Manṣur in the twelfth century, controlled the entrance to the hinterland, but was neither, at the time of the *Morisco* arrival, densely populated nor the seat of any notable political control. The city of Rabat proper, which had been a site of great florescence during the Almohad period, and which enclosed a much larger area than either of the former walled precincts, was at the turn of the seventeenth century largely uninhabited and in ruins.

The political situation that allowed for the influx of such large populations (in the thousands), and that subsequently allowed those populations to become a political and economic focal point (with the audacity to declare an independent republic) was, precisely, one of complete disarray. The final Saadian sultan to have had any sort of coherent power, Aḥmad el-Manṣūr, had died in 1603. At the time of the *Morisco* expulsions, the city of Rabat had only recently recognized the rule of his successor (who was involved in internecine struggle for succession with his brothers) Moulay Zidān, who was based in Marrakech. The Maghreb would be without a powerful central government until the establishment of the ʿAlawite dynasty in the 1660s. Parties tangentially connected to and outside the central government that would come to play roles in the struggle for control of Rabat were, on the one hand, Muḥammad el-Zaiāni (known as Al-Ayāchi), who had been named the *cā'id* (roughly: mayor) of the coastal stronghold of Azzemour by Zidān, ʿAbdallah b. ʿAli El-Cāceri, an Andalusian named one of two *cā'ids* of Rabat (the other having been a Hornachero³⁵), and, in the 1640s, Muḥammad el-Ḥajj, leader of the initially small but eventually powerful Dila'ite Zawiya.

The Andalusians that arrived in the urban agglomeration of Rabat-Salé themselves consisted of two groups: although this dissertation deals primarily with the *Moriscos*, another relevant population of Spanish origin that arrived coevally, and which by the Spanish was considered similar (in terms of both constitution and posed threat) to the *Moriscos* such to have been expelled with the first group in 1609, was that of the Hornacheros. The Hornacheros, expelled from the Extremaduran village of Hornachos, were similar to the *Moriscos* in that they remained culturally (and likely religiously) Muslim well after conversion had been imposed. As residents of a single village, they were particularly socially coherent, and as such, were interpreted as an imminent threat to the Spanish crown. They constitute the only group that, through the *Morisco* expulsion, can collectively be traced from a specific point of origin to point of arrival and that, throughout the forced migration, remained together. This group, numbering about three thousand, established itself in the *casbah* (today known as the casbah of the Oudayas), and was frequently in tension with the larger *Morisco*

the turn of the seventeenth century, it was not a viable urban element.

³⁵Given the dualistic nature of the Andalusian arrivals to Rabat, a compromise that arose in the systems of local government that were established in the city: two governors (one for the city and one for the casbah, who were Andalusian and Hornachero, respectively) ruled in what was essentially both conjunction and opposition.

population in the Rabat-Salé agglomeration.³⁶

While we know the points of origin of the Hornacheros, the *Moriscos* (exclusive of the Hornacheros), of whom there would have been at least as many if not more than Hornacheros, arrived in the Maghreb after migrations beginning as much as a century earlier. Before the expulsion, two major periods of *Morisco* migration had occurred throughout Spain: the first occurred in the early sixteenth century, as the result of the forced conversions of 1501-1526 (and included a significant number of migrants to Granada and its province from Castile and beyond), and the second was subsequent to the 1570 expulsion of *Moriscos* from Granada. At the period of the forced migrations, some Mudejars, resistant to conversion, would have emigrated from Spain altogether (indeed, it is these populations that, beginning in the decade preceding the fall of Granada and coeval to the significant weakening of Muslim rule, constituted the majority of the pre-*Morisco* population of Tetouan.) Others, however, would have migrated to the Kingdom of Granada for reasons of both the intense concentration of former Muslims there and the concomitant relative freedom that such a concentration of this particular minority offered: the city's *Moriscos* were concentrated in their own neighborhoods, had their own churches, and formed a coherent social group. After the expulsion from Granada, significant numbers of *Moriscos* resettled across the Iberian kingdoms, particularly those neighboring Granada; some, however, may have left Spain at that moment. After the 1609-1614 expulsions that sought to eliminate the *Moriscos* from Spain altogether, the migrations out of Spain consisted of populations that, already destabilized through the erosion of fixed place-based community identity, were further destabilized through their imposed exile into foreign lands.

The reconstruction of the city of Tetouan was one of the more significant effects of the mass migration of Muslims from Iberia during the time period of the fall of Granada: Al-Mandarī, the city's re-founder, was a dynamic leader who succeeded in attracting large quantities of his allies at a strategically important site. The city's 1437 destruction had not been wanton rampage, but was instead a strategic act by the Portuguese in their campaign to capture the northern cities of Tangier, Qasr el-Seghir, and Asila. What Al-Mandarī succeeded in doing was creating a city that not only provided for daily needs in terms of Islamic ritual and daily practice but, additionally, served as a point for the integration of Andalusī immigrants.³⁷ Tetouan, effectively, was (re-)built by exiles.

After the arrival of the Andalusians in both Rabat and Tetouan, networks of both small-

³⁶Guillermo Gozalbes Busto argues for the figure of 3000, in contrast to earlier estimates of between 1000 and 1200, by using parish records. As Gozalbes Busto notes, the coherence of the Hornacheros from point of origin to destination is exceptional: while, in other cases, we *might* be able to trace a family or individual to a particular point of origin (with much work), with the Hornacheros we have a single narrative arc. They were the only documented example of a coherent *Morisco* (in the sense of religious belief/practice) community departing Spain collectively, settling at a single site, and maintaining a group identity with neither dissolution into the general *Morisco* immigrant population nor the larger population as a whole. Gozalbes Busto, Guillermo. *La Republica Andaluza de Rabat en el Siglo XVII*. Doctoral Dissertation, Abstracted Version. Granada: University of Granada, 1974. p. 14.

³⁷De Epalza, 41-42.

and large-scale relationships were radically changed: the new populations changed the physical fabric of the city through the process of densification and repurposing of the preexisting framework and the construction of new structures, on the one hand. On the other, the new populations created social and political pressures that extended to the foreland across the Atlantic, in Europe, and the agrarian hinterlands reaching beyond the immediate agricultural area attendant to the city to the ruling cities of Fez and Marrakech. The arrival of the *Moriscos* in Rabat re-centered Maghrebi politics and international relations to this city that had, in the decades before the Andalusian immigrations, been nothing more than a coastal city of such little perceived importance that neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese had expended significant efforts to capture it. The re-centering of politics and international relations that occurred entailed the following: a) the eventual establishment of an independent republic; b) the growth and cementing of relationships with the Dila'ite Zawiya; c) the arrival of international presences for diplomatic negotiations. The emergence of Tetouan as a *Morisco* stronghold complemented that of Rabat. The two cities would, through communication and exchange, form a system of *Morisco* control that posed a very real urban and administrative challenge to both pre-existing Maghrebi and European systems.

Rabat in the seventeenth century emerged as a city of international connections, of urban, social, and religious negotiations, and of cultural difference, played out onto pre-established urban fabrics, particularly those of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. It was a city sited on the geographical and political edges of Maghrebi society that, though the transformations occasioned by rapid, ideologically-driven population growth and attendant transformations of culture, economics, and leadership, transformed in its physical features. Although our focus here is upon the built fabric of the site known currently as Rabat, particularly in terms of its changes at the point of Andalusian arrival, in both social and political terms, Rabat must be considered in the context of the urban complex which is today known as Rabat-Salé, in which Salé is the city (today politically, economically, and socially secondary to the administrative capital of Rabat) on the Eastern bank of the Bou Regreg River, and Rabat is the city on its western bank.) In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the relationships between the cities of Rabat and Salé were ambiguous. On the one hand, European outsiders considered the two cities as sides of the same, larger entity. The French, English, and Dutch, for example, all referred to the cities as Old Salé and New Salé. Within the context of Morocco itself, however, we can understand that the city of Salé was a viable city that served as a center (albeit peripheral) of local rule; Rabat, on the other hand, was before the *Morisco* arrival a city that was a shell of its earlier form. The monumental structures within it had served populations that had been long-dead when the Andalusian populations rapidly arrived, occasioning a radical transformation. In the years immediately after the 1609-1614 expulsions, the combined population of *Moriscos* and Hornacheros in Rabat is estimated to have been about 6,000.³⁸ Another estimate states that towards the middle of

³⁸Dumper, Michael and Bruce E. Stanley, eds. *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2007, p. 305.

the seventeenth century, the population would have been about 10,000.³⁹

The physical proximity of the cities and parallels in their medieval physical fabrics notwithstanding, in the seventeenth century tension, rather than seamless cooperation, between Rabat, Salé, and the casbah (located on the Rabat side of the river, dating to the Almohad period, and distinct from Rabat's walled urban precinct) was a contributing element to the formation of the city form. When the Andalusians⁴⁰ arrived, populations distributed over relatively small geographical areas in close proximity competed for resources (the local ones of the city, the international ones of the spoils of piracy, and the ideological ones of political legitimacy), articulated urbanisms of intense struggle for local control and international aspirations.

The Far Maghreb⁴¹ in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Morocco was a place of social and political instability. It is, in part, its instability that permitted the *Moriscos* to move there in numbers large enough to allow for the creation of cities that were predominantly *Morisco* in terms of the political and social control of the city by the *Morisco* population, even if (at least not initially) in number. The situation at the time, given the death of the Saadian Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1603, and the holding of a series of coastal forts by the Spanish and Portuguese, along with the power of the Ottoman Empire, and the ambitions of small-scale local rulers in addition to those of Al-Manṣūr's sons, created a context in which virtually all relations were, on some level, of international import.

The Far Maghreb was beyond the reaches of Ottoman control. The Battle of the Three Kings in 1578 was, simultaneously, a moment of the strengthening of the Saadian dynasty under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and of the Ottoman Empire: although the Ottoman Empire realized a victory in this battle, its ambitions for westward expansion into Morocco ended. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Andalusi Muslims were integrated into all facets of Maghrebi society, and served a particularly important military role. Before the 1609-1614 expulsions, Andalusis played an important role in the conquest of Timbuktu, and were led in this by *Pacha Jaudar* from Almería in the service of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

2.3.4 Rabat and Tetouan: Strategic Focal Points

The population of the area of Rabat in the early seventeenth century before the arrival of the *Moriscos* consisted of both Berbers and Arabs, further divisible into settled and nomadic, and coastal and inland. Through the centuries, the city had been voided of its former glory, and the monumental structures that had been fitting for the Almohads and Merinids that had inhabited it were all but abandoned, the population having decreased from an amount that

³⁹Zysberg, Andr. "Preface." In Leila Maziane, *Salé et ses Corsaires (1666-1727): un port de course marocain au XVIII^e siècle* (Rouen: Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007), p. 10

⁴⁰I do not say "*Moriscos*" here because the populations that arrived were not exclusively *Morisco*.

⁴¹*Al-Maghreb Al-Aqsā*

would have numbered in the tens of thousands⁴² at the city's Almohad peak to one of only a few hundred.⁴³ The urban leadership of the city, divorced from Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's (d. 1603) Fez-based rule and his son Muley Zidān's succeeding Marrakech-based sultanate (1603-1622), was relatively weak. This sultanate was in struggle with the competing leadership of his brother Abū Fāris ʿAbdallah, who was based in Fez and never succeeded in a geographically-extensive reign. In the north, Muḥammad al-Zayāni, known as al-Ayāchi, installed himself as the *ca'īd* of the coastal city of Azemmour, and progressively extended his control along the isolated cities of the coast. The city of Rabat was only to acknowledge Muley Zidan's rule in 1609, the same year as the *Moriscos* were expelled, although at the time the city was under the influence of al-Ayāchi. The city's acknowledgment of Muley Zidan's rule at that particular date speaks of both the city's weakness and the sultanate's: had the city been independently militarily (and politically and economically) strong, acknowledgement of the sultanate would have been unnecessary; had the sultanate, conversely, been strong, its dominance over even a coastal outpost with a small population would have been both asserted and acknowledged years earlier.

After the arrival of the *Moriscos* and *Hornacheros*, the population of Rabat-Salé changed rapidly and profoundly, reflecting various interests in the city and its activities. The populations of Andalusian origin, both *Morisco* and *Hornachero*, were largely, although not necessarily exclusively, involved in piracy, and these populations were, as the result of their expulsions, permanent additions to the human geographical profile of the place. Numerous foreigners, ranging in status from that of the prisoner to that of the dignitary, abounded. These came from both Northern and Southern Europe, both West and East, and represented the faiths of Islam, Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), and Judaism. *Renegados*, converts to Islam from Christianity who worked as pirates, were frequently of British origin and had converted for the practical purpose of integration into the Mediterranean and Atlantic spheres of piracy. Other foreigners included members of the clergy (who were either on proselytizing missions, missions for the redemption of captives, or were themselves prisoners), diplomats (particularly from France and the Low Countries), and merchants (who, through complex agreements with the pirate port, would be permitted to bring in and sell their wares.) The members of these populations, particularly those relating to the ransom of captives, were not necessarily permanent: merchants and diplomats, while they would not stay for as brief a period as prisoners and their negotiators intended to stay, would remain

⁴²J. Caillé and J. Hainaut, *La mosquée de Hassan à Rabat* (Arts et métiers graphiques, 1954) Estimates of the holding capacity of the mosque that had the unfinished Hassan Tower as its minaret range widely, but 10,000 would be a conservative estimate. Presuming that the mosque would have been designed to accommodate every adult male in the city, and that at least an equivalent number of women and children were also resident there, the city would have had a total population of at least 20,000. This population had at its disposition monumental defensive walls enclosing several square kilometers, numerous mosques, a ready food supply through both the agriculture of the inner hinterland and fishing, and (albeit briefly) served as the capital of the extensive Almohad empire.

⁴³Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*. A. Epaulard, trans (Paris: Maissonneuve, 1980), p. 165-6

in the city either seasonally or for a period of several years. These populations, particularly mobile, informed the international and independent nature of the city.

Rabat's independence ideologically, geographically, administratively, and economically was such that in the early seventeenth century (1627), after the arrival of the *Moriscos*, the city established itself as an independent republic. The Republic of Bou Regreg's existence was significant for several reasons. First, the central sultanate was too weak to assert its influence over this distant city and could not successfully contend with its claims to legitimacy for several decades. Second, the new populations were politically and economically strong enough to assert their independence and, particularly, their lack of loyalty to central rule. Although the independent pirate republic lasted for less than two decades, collapsing under the weight of internal struggles for control, the cities of Rabat and Tetouan⁴⁴ behaved largely independently of central authority, even after the 1666 establishment of the Alawite dynasty.

2.3.5 Salé as a Hub

The emergence of Rabat-Salé as a focal point of trade and as a hub of foreign presence was not something that emerged only after the *Morisco* expulsion: in 1547, for example, a Biscayan merchant named Pedro de Bedia lived in Salé.⁴⁵ The presence of international merchants (and, presumably, the people who appear in documents are neither necessarily a representative nor an encyclopedic sample of foreigners) at that time is an indication of the city not only as a site with which foreign countries (even constituent parts of Spain) would trade, but in which merchants would take up residence. The extent of trade, as indicated by foreign presence, was sufficient to require/benefit foreign merchants.

The "*Copia do Emperio e Reinos dos Xarifes na Berberia em Africa, e de Algumas Terras de Negros, Comessando da Emperiale Sidade de Marrocos, Cabessa do Dito Emperio, e sua Comarca*," (roughly translated: The Empires and Kingdoms of the Cherifs in Barbary in Africa, and some Lands of Blacks, Beginning with the Empire City of Marrakech, Head of Said Empire, and its Region) written by an unnamed Portuguese and dating to 1596, includes a description of Salé in which the city is described as a portion of the description of the kingdom of Marrakech; although the city is in the kingdom of Fez, it has changed hands.⁴⁶ This description notes that the city is extremely old, and that at the beginning of the Berber kingdoms, Salé and Fez were founded and settled as capitals of empires. The capital was then moved to Marrakech by later kings. The anonymous author describes the port of Salé: it is large and beautiful, enclosed from the winds, and it is said⁴⁷ that three

⁴⁴The republic did not encompass the city of Tetouan. It parallels Rabat in terms of population, independence, and piracy-driven economy, however.

⁴⁵"SIHM", in, vol. 2, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 137 fn. 1 We don't know when this merchant arrived, whether or not his stay was temporary, and in what goods he traded. The mention of his presence is itself significant.

⁴⁶SIHM Series I Saadian France, vol. 2. p. 266.

⁴⁷In the Portuguese: "disem". This particular turn of phrase, "they say," casts possible doubts upon the

hundred *gales*⁴⁸ fit within it, and that the depth can accommodate even large ships. A large and beautiful river is said to pass through the city, in front of it and the casbah: it traverses the *campos* (fields) of the city.⁴⁹ The river here is not described as dividing between two cities, but as dividing the city itself in two: this is evidence that both Salé and Rabat were conceptualized as one unit at the time, at least by an outside observer in the late sixteenth century. That unit, however disparate and disconnected, and which until the precipitated arrival of the *Moriscos* in the early seventeenth century, was administratively centered in Salé.

2.3.6 Tetouan's Strategic Importance

Although the city of Tetouan was not physically large, it was a point of focus for Spain, strategically located near the coast on the Straits of Gibraltar and the source of many of its frustrations: long before the mass arrival of the *Moriscos* after their mass exodus, the city of Tetouan was seen as a naval threat to the Spanish crown.⁵⁰ Tetouan was aware of its strategic importance: in 1536, the Count of Alcaudete, governor of Oran, reports: “A Tituan an enbiado un alcaide para fortyficar las murallas y proveer todo lo que avian menester, por lo que oyan dezir del armada: aquy disen que ay otras doze o quinze piezas de artilleria y ay veynte e cinco navios entre chicos y grandes.”⁵¹ Roughly translated, They have sent a mayor to Tetouan to fortify the walls and provide everything that they could need, for what they heard say of the armada: here they say that there are twelve or fifteen pieces of artillery and 25 ships between small and large. The above quote demonstrates that, in addition to having been militarily (navalistically) important, and strong in terms of its weaponry and ships, Tetouan was a walled site. The walls, further, were something that was actively fortified as a military strategy in the early-mid sixteenth century.

As early as the 1530s and 1540s, Tetouan was already a site for piracy inasmuch as it was a city with an economy largely driven by the human trade: there were already people, such as Juan de Herrera, a merchant from Seville resident in Ceuta, who would make trips to Tetouan to negotiate for the liberation of captives.⁵² By the mid-sixteenth century, Tetouan was a site of intense captive trading; more than three hundred captives, the numbers of which included women and children as well as men, were traded/redeemed by Juan de Herrera⁵³ between

text, as it is written in the tradition of descriptions of places that an author might not necessarily have witnessed firsthand.

⁴⁸Likely: galleons

⁴⁹“SIHM. “Description du Maroc.” Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds Portugais. Ms. 57”, in, vol. 2, Series I Saadian France, p. 265

⁵⁰“SIHM. “Lettre de Don Gabriel de Cordoba a Isabelle de Portugal.” AGS Estado Legajo 461.”, in, vol. 1, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 3-5

⁵¹“SIHM. “Avis du Compte d’Alcaudete.” AGS Estado Legajo 463.”, in, vol. 1, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 79-80

⁵²“SIHM”, in, Series I Saadian Spain, Vol. 1 p. 96 fn. 3

⁵³There is question as to whether this is the same Juan de Herrera: this particular document has him as

1551 and 1553.⁵⁴ In a letter of early January of 1577 from Père Luis de Sandoval to Juan Delgado, the captive situation in Tetouan was mentioned: at this point, the issue of captives had been noted in written documents concerning the city for longer than thirty years.⁵⁵ The city's role was well-entrenched; presumably, the *mazmorras* in which the captives were kept were fully functioning and developed by this point. Considering the number of men said to have fit in the *mazmorras*, the captive population of the city would have well outnumbered the population of free men.

In 1552, Tetouan was listed, along with Bélez, Ceuta, Alarache, Cabo de Aguer, and Çafi, as one of the navigable ports of Berbería (Barbary).⁵⁶ This speaks not only to Tetouan's importance and accessibility at the time, but to the presence of international trade: this trade is not only to Spanish-controlled ports but also to the foreign-controlled ports. The trade was of a bilateral nature, with Spain receiving wax, leather, and dates, among other goods, and sending cloth, hats, and undergarments (*lencería*). That Tetouan itself is considered a port is significant: the city was, in fact, a portuary network, with several points of access to the sea, if the neighboring fortifications (on the coast) are considered a portion of Tetouan; they seem to have been, at that time. Another significance of this list is the notable absence of Rabat-Salé: while Tetouan was an active port, neither Rabat nor Salé figured into the equation, an attestation of its relative lack of importance/population at the time. It can not be argued that ports south of a particular point were excluded, as Safi is included, and is significantly farther than Rabat. As we will see below, Rabat's role changes drastically in the fifty intervening years between this memorandum and the *Morisco* arrival.

Tetouan was emblematic of the struggle for territorial control of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; at the same time that Spain was reinforcing its control of the coast, the Ottomans had a vested interest in expanding westward. In April of 1576; there was a Turkish *ca'id* in Tetouan.⁵⁷ Although it is unspecified whether this *ca'id* was there for negotiations or as a leader of the city itself, his presence within what was a relatively small city is indicative of its strategic importance, on the one hand, and of its volatility and

being from Madrid and living in Seville (rather than from Seville resident in Ceuta), and it is noted that he specializes in negotiating for returned captives. These details render Juan de Herrera himself an unreliable, shady figure: his specialization in the negotiation for captives, and the concomitant privileges that it took for him to achieve such a status (presumably involving extensive dealings with the slave traders themselves) are themselves elements of unreliability.

⁵⁴ "SIHM. Lettre de Sidi Ahmed el-Hassan au Prince Philippe. AGS Estado Leg 478 fol 105 Original.", in, vol. 2, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 98-9 This is a letter to prince Phillip by the *alcaid* of Tetouan, Sidi Hamete Hassan.

⁵⁵ "SIHM", in, Series I Saadian Spain, Vol. 3 p. 273

⁵⁶ "SIHM. Memoria de la mercadería que se lleva a Berbería de Castilla y la que se trae. Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Leg 477 original", in, vol. 2, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 54-5

⁵⁷ SIHM Series 1 Saadian Spain Vol 3, p. 230. The text specifically says, "turco". While this term is today in many contexts irregularly applied to generally mean Muslim, I can only presume that at the time, given the many variations in population, and the very real Ottoman threat, that a Turk at the time could only have been a Turk.

transitional status in the absence of a central leadership, on the other.

2.4 Conclusion: A Changing Landscape in the Maghreb

The 1560s and 1570s showed both the expansion of naval activity and the visible factionalization of the Far Maghreb. On the 18th of August of 1576, Luis de Herrera relays news of Barbary. The divided nature of the country is evident: *Muley Meluco*⁵⁸ plots against the *sharif*, having sent for the sharif's houses to be destroyed and constructing in their stead a fortress.⁵⁹ Meluco had, additionally, sent to both Salé and Alarache many officials “para hazer en ambas partes dos fueras, y afirman questo invierno no se ocupar en otra cosa que en esto y en ver hazer las galeotas que se hazen en Çale”⁶⁰ (“to make in both parts two forces, and it is affirmed that this winter he will occupy himself with nothing but this and seeing the galleons that are produced in Salé.”)

The 1578 battle of Qasr el-Kebir, in which the diplomatic landscape and relationships of Spain, Portugal, and Morocco were re-articulated through the death of Sebastião of Portugal. ^cAbd el-Malik and Muḥammad of the Maghreb, was a defining moment not only in these international relationships, but in the leadership of the Maghreb. Several narratives of this battle survive: while they are largely focused on the strategic elements of the battle, and their interest is not primarily urban, they do provide context for the relative importances of the cities of Rabat and Tetouan, particularly Tetouan, as the city was in the region of the battle. The Maghreb of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was, as we have seen, a world in flux and a theater of conflict embroiled within the politics of the Western Mediterranean. Mass migration (first of Muslims and then of their forcibly-converted offspring) from Iberia to the Maghreb, profoundly affected the social, political, economic, and urban landscapes, changing the relative importance of what had previously been the geographically-isolated and politically peripheral coastal cities of Rabat and Tetouan. It is in this ever-shifting social landscape that, in the early seventeenth century, the *Moriscos* from all over Spain arrived.

⁵⁸Muley ^cAbd el-Malek; Meluco is what he is called in the Spanish documents.

⁵⁹This would most likely be at the site of the sharifian residences in Marrakech.

⁶⁰“SIHM. “Avis de Luis de Herrera.” AGS Estado Legajo 394, fol. 268.”, in, vol. 3, Series I Saadian Spain, p. 247

Chapter 3

Viewing the City, Describing the City

The city is a unit of external boundaries, of administrative significance, and the spatial unit around which history is largely written. In history, it is cities that are the units under attack, the units of territorial negotiation (take, for example, the city-by-city articles of capitulation between the Catholic Monarchs in Spain and the remaining Muslim-ruled cities of the late fifteenth century), and the units of diplomatic representation. The glory of a leader is directly reflected in the glory of his or her home and/or administrative city/ies: the importance of a leader, similarly, is reflected in the construction and conquering of cities. In a time period before that of the nation-state and contemporary with that of the empire (indeed, empires define themselves by their showcase cities), the city served as a major, independent and self-sufficient unit, both politically and economically.

Three cities, Rabat and Tetouan in the Maghreb, and Granada in Spain, form a prism through which mass migration can be analyzed. In this chapter, I consider the city as a political, social, and morphological unit: it is at the scale of the city that larger-scale transformations can be measured, and at the scale of the city that changes, even when they do not constitute monumental interventions, are incrementally visible. The city is a constitutive element of a larger political whole and it is as a singular element that it is frequently interpreted by a central government.

In this chapter, I present the cities of Rabat, and Tetouan both before and after the arrival of the *Moriscos*, and Granada immediately after their expulsion. In order to present the cities *in toto*, I focus upon descriptions of these cities, both verbal and visual. These depictions, created exclusively by outsiders, removed from these cities in terms of geographical distance or affiliation (in that many geographical descriptions are narrated secondhand and European visual representations of the city were not produced by city residents) are depictions not of subtle changes in these cities but, instead, of general overviews.

Morisco influx to both Rabat and Tetouan consisted of a trickle in the century between the categorical creation of the *Moriscos* (through the forced conversions of Spanish Muslims between 1501 and 1526) and this group's expulsion from Spain between 1609 and 1614. Subsequent to the expulsion, the rate of migration to the Maghreb drastically increased, given

that departure from Spain was no longer a freely-made decision but, instead, an imposition. Vessels for transport of this population to the coasts of North Africa were provided by the Spanish government, and provisions were made against this population moving to either France or Portugal. The majority of coastal cities, oriented not for transport of goods to the interior but towards the coast, and serving both commercial and military purposes, were a series of fortresses controlled largely by the Portuguese. In some cases, the construction of fortified enclosures had been Portuguese undertakings. Rabat and Tetouan emerged, in the early seventeenth century, as *Morisco* coastal strongholds.

In order to locate change in these two cities across the arrival and settlement of the *Moriscos*, and their consequent impacts upon the urban landscape, snapshots of the two cities in the time period before their arrival, for contrastive purposes, as well as an assessment of the larger built landscape, would be useful. In this chapter, I describe, in both topographic and urban terms, the cities of Rabat and Tetouan in the cumulative time periods before the massive wave of early-seventeenth-century migration. For each of the two cities, one image predating the *Morisco* migration exists; textual resources for both cities from the period immediately before the expulsion exist, both making regular appearances in consular correspondence. A corpus of Arabic geographical texts, dating largely from the medieval period, provide further description that allows for a hypothetical reconstruction of urban form across time. I will situate the Maghreb both politically and physically: an analysis of the region as a whole, in the context of the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and in the context of its direct relations to the Iberian Peninsula, on the other, will frame a discussion of the relationships between Rabat and Tetouan with cities both on the North African coast and Iberia. Dual strategies of textual reconstruction and physical reconstruction, including maps at both city and regional scale, will serve to provide the contexts necessary for an analysis of the impact of the *Morisco* mass migration.

Rabat and Tetouan were cities that existed at vastly different scales, both before and after the arrival of the *Moriscos*. Merinid Tetouan had been destroyed at the end of the fourteenth century, to be rebuilt as a defensive enclave by Andalusian refugees in the late fifteenth century. The history of the city of Tetouan is largely a *Morisco* history. While the city was re-founded by Sidi el-Mandri, who emigrated from Granada in the decade before the city's fall. The ontological shift from Spanish Muslim to *Morisco*, from that of a tolerated religious minority with rights that had been enumerated in the terms of the capitulation of the City of Granada, to an oppressed class (that was, ironically, a member of the dominant religion), encouraged a constant, if unsanctioned, pattern of migration from Spain to the Maghreb, particularly to the northern coast. Tetouan's population, thus, was drawn from this cultural group for the majority of its post re-foundation history. In contrast, Rabat had been a base for maritime *jihad* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the site of one of three monumental Almohad-era minarets, known today as the Hassan tower.¹ It

¹Along with those minarets in Marrakech and Seville (the Kutubiyya and the Giralda, respectively), Hassan stands out within Almohad history. While a discussion of the minaret and surrounding mosque is

was a city of monumental scale that preserved large-scale infrastructure and which had been continuously inhabited, despite massive losses of population after the Merinid period. Before the expulsion, its population was not drawn from a constant stream of Andalusian immigrants, consisting instead of both Berbers and Arabs.

Rabats cartographic and chorographic² visual history, is rich, and begins in the half-century before the city's conversion into a *Morisco* center with an economy of international piracy. From the mid-sixteenth through the turn of the eighteenth century, notable advances in cartography occurred, and both plans and views of Rabat from this time period reflect not only these advances but also their producers' viewpoints. I will situate these visual representations within the larger traditions of mapmaking and discuss the uses of the views of the city in question, all of which were drawn by Europeans. My goal is to identify the component elements of the city of Rabat, both architectural and defensive, and provide a picture of the city as a whole, as it can be assembled through the partial information provided by often-fanciful and frequently amateur visual representations.

Jacques Caillé dismisses the usability of the visual representations of Rabat as a tool for the analysis of its architectural history: he cites the lack of consistent scales and inaccuracies in the works as flaws that cannot be overcome.³ Caillé's interests lay, however, not in the time period of rapid change surrounding the arrival of the *Morisco* refugees but in the city's cumulative monumental building history; it was Caillé and his French colonial team who produced measured drawings of Rabat's major historical architecture, in many cases prior to alteration, in some cases restoration to the standards of the day, and in others destruction for the installation of French-designed amenities.⁴ Colonial-era visual documents serve an important documentary purpose for the city's *morisco* history, if not for the stylistic formal histories of its monumental elements. These measured plans document the formal qualities of previously-unmeasured urban elements. Colonial-era documentation does not provide information as to the condition and configuration of structures during the *Morisco* period. We can, however, learn a significant amount about the city through the historical plans that Caillé considers unusable: although some of the non-measured plans are naive, they serve as conceptual maps that convey experience, if not necessarily measured space.

Given an absence of both construction documents and historical as-built plans, however, Spiro Kostof's reminder of the centrality of graphic and plastic images in the toolbox of

beyond the scope of this research, the scale of the minaret would have accompanied a mosque that would have served several thousand (some estimates believe 10,000.)

²Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language", *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (Mar. 1994): p. 107 Nuti clarifies the distinction between geography and cartography as that which seeks to represent the whole (geography) as opposed to that which represents a part (chorography.)

³Jacques Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au Protectorat français, histoire et archéologie*, vol. 1: Texte.: histoire et archéologie, p. 244-5

⁴Caillé was the director at the *Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines*, and led the official *Inspection des Monuments Historiques du Maroc* of the French protectorate.

the architectural historian comes to mind.⁵ There are no technical drawings by Rabats unnamed *Morisco* architects and builders. In this vernacular context, and in one without historical building documentation, the documentation of the city as a whole is a viable alternative. Without exception, the visual record for Rabat from the first known view through the colonial era consists entirely of foreigner-produced images. These documents, ranging from anonymous, rapid sketches to the highly-detailed works of professionals, are all the products of non-Muslim European eyes and hands. These observations, made by a prisoner in one case, a Franciscan friar in another, and geographers in the majority of the remainder, offer a variety of interpretations of the physical state of the city. These interpretations, in some cases destined for royal hands and in others for publication in the geographical compendia of the day, none by intentional permanent residents or natives of the city, are not without larger implications. Mapmaking, as a practice in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century world of the rapid change in the possession of cities, large-scale trans-Atlantic and trans-Mediterranean trade networks, proselytization, and piracy, was under no circumstances a politically-neutral exercise.

These views and plans can subsequently be categorized as either internal or external views: the internally-oriented plan gives some reflection of the city itself, while the external view treats the city as an object on the landscape that is analyzed, pictorially, in terms of its external surface, monumental elements, and access points rather than its internal workings. Both of these kinds of images are important products of the time period under study: views reflect the importance of the city within the larger context of Atlantic coastal trade networks, while plans present use of the city's components.

The professionally-produced views among the visual documentation of Rabat considered here are the products of rapid progress of, in particular, mathematics in the Renaissance and the nautical sciences in the sixteenth century. In the case of the documentation produced by Spaniards, while the bulk of these country's cartographic efforts were concentrated in the New World, interest in the Far Maghreb was also extensive. This was the result of geographic and economic as well as political reasons, resulting from the Maghreb's proximity to Spain, its geographic position straddling Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts, and Spain's development and occupation of North African coastal enclaves.⁶ Spanish interest in the Atlantic coast was further intensified: during the time period between 1580 and 1640. Spanish outposts on the Atlantic were dependent upon the crown for support, and were instrumental in protecting Spain's trade with both the Canary Islands and the Americas at this period.⁷ The following consideration is, while comprehensive in the types and dates of known images of Rabat, is not an exhaustive one of the visual representations of this city.

⁵Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 5

⁶Juan Bta Vilar, *Mapas, planos y fortificaciones hispanicos de Marruecos (S. XVI-XX.)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992), p. 46

⁷Juan Bta Vilar, *Mapas, planos y fortificaciones hispanicos de Marruecos (S. XVI-XX.)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992), p. 37

3.1 Pre-*Morisco* Visual and Written Evidence

Although the quantity and kind of written evidence of the pre-*Morisco* histories differs radically, visual evidence for the immediate pre-*Morisco* histories of these cities, coincidentally, is parallel. There exist two sources from the late sixteenth and turn of the seventeenth century, one for Rabat and one for Tetouan, that emerge from the same general artistic tradition of the cityscape. While the two images have fundamentally different audiences, their purposes are similar. Both images frame the North African city as a foreign city, and present a panoramic image that can, at a glance, be interpreted in terms of its relationship with the Spanish world and its expansive empire. While the image of Rabat-Salé is a published engraving with a (relatively) large audience consisting of the purchasers of the printed *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* or one of the loose leaves sold individually, as well as the royal audience that commissioned it, the image of Tetouan was sited in a semi-private (official, palatial) setting, with a diplomatic audience that was much smaller to that of the first. Both images existed in the context of a series of images of other parts of the world.

3.1.1 *In Situ*: A Fresco in the Palace of Alvaro de Bazan

The Palace of Álvaro de Bazan (who died in 1588) and subsequently the Palace of the Marqués de Santa Cruz, is the site of approximately 8000 square meters of large-scale paintings, mostly frescos (although works in other media are also present.) The project of painting the palace commenced at the end of the year 1600, and painters and assistants, as well as representatives of the other plastic arts changes with the palace's decoration, are reported to have all been Italian. Of these, the majority were Genovese from the school of Michelangelo.⁸ The earliest known image of Tetouan is found in this palace, which today houses both a museum and the Spanish national marine archives. This work is of significant importance for the study of pre-*Morisco* Tetouan: it is the only extant image of the city from before its drastic rapid *Morisco*-driven expansion, it is a depiction by European eyes and hands (that fits into the context of other European descriptions of cities, such as those of both Rabat and Granada), and it is accompanied by a textual description that gives indication as to Tetouan's strategic importance.

The image, a fresco framed by *trompe-l'oeil* arch, also in fresco and integrated into the pilasters of the palace itself, is in the tradition of *camere della città*, that is, city rooms. Other images that exist in the palace, of the same technique and scale, are of Algiers, Bologna, Ceuta, Tangier, Messina, Milan, Rome, Genova, Lisboa, *Jornada Querquenes*,⁹ Navarino, Naples, Venice, and *Siete Galeotas* (Seven Galleons.) The inclusion of such a small city in the visual repertory of the building is significant, and that it is Tetouan is also significant:

⁸Conservator of the Palace of the Marqués de Santa Cruz Moreno Francisco, "Electronic correspondence" (2009)

⁹This is a depiction of the Battle of Querquenes.

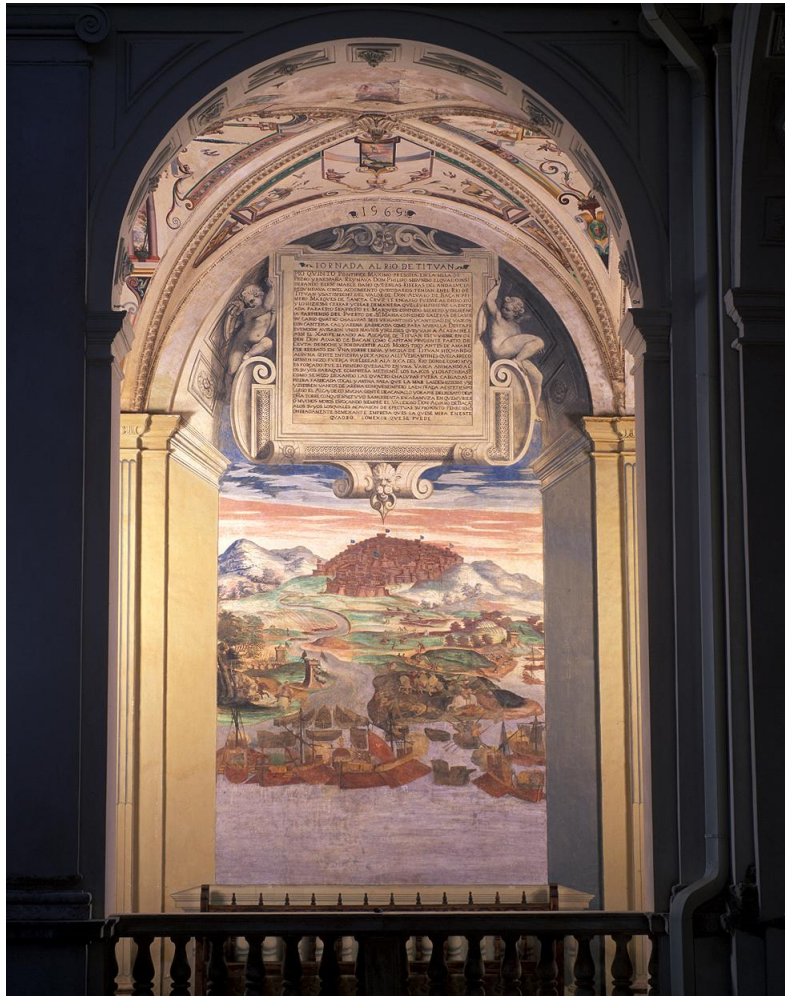


Figure 3.1: “Jornada al rio de Tetuan”, as depicted in a fresco in the Palace of the Marqués de Santa Cruz. The fresco here is shown *in situ*, framed by pilasters that are alternately structural and representational. Image courtesy the Archives of the Palace of the Marqués de Santa Cruz.



Figure 3.2: Detail of the fresco. Note that the majority of the image is given to the foreground that depicts the capture of the river. The city itself is depicted as a walled enclosure. We know the city to have been walled before the *Morisco* arrival and then to have been without walls for a significant period of time. Given the city's naturally defensive position that incorporates both precipices and a river, walls may not have been a collective priority during the period of urban growth the *Moriscos* occasioned.

its inclusion emphasizes its strategic importance, particularly as this image shows the city as it is militarily weakened.

Within the palace tradition, these existed as narratives of conquest, both cultural and military. This is a tradition that binds the architectural, the urban, and the artistic: the creation of city views became in the sixteenth century a tradition separate from that of landscape painting, that was at once artistic and ideological.¹⁰ The *camere della città* were semi-public depictions, inasmuch as palaces (and the homes of the nobility that, while not royal palaces, were embedded in the palace tradition) were semipublic places. The representational program depicted historical narrative of both individual and collective triumph. While these views existed across Europe in the palaces of the nobility and monarchy, they are, in the Spanish context, emblematic as a pictorial strategy for the expression of power in an imperial context. A great deal of contemporary notions of the physical fabric of sixteenth-century Spain, on the levels of both urban elements and larger, surrounding landscapes, are derived from Anton van Wyngaerde's depictions of cities. What remains of van Wyngaerde's images are small-scale works on paper that were the studies for a series of *camere della città* for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid; the paintings themselves were destroyed in a fire that destroyed the palace in 1727. Located within the palace as a visual compendium of terrains over which Phillip ruled, these images gave a representation of the city that was at once realistic, detailed, and positive.¹¹

The image of Tetouan in the Palace of Alvaro de Bazan is no different: although the city depicted is one that was at a smaller scale than most (in terms of the number of its inhabitants, not in terms of the physical size of its depiction), the image is fundamentally one of heroic narrative, in which the protagonists are dually Spain and de Bazan. This fresco does not depict a formal battle per se, but, instead de Bazan's act of blocking the city's port so as to render it unnavigable, an incident documented in the written sources. Albeit small, Tetouan was strategically significant enough that, in 1565, its mouth was obstructed by the Spanish, and an attempt was made to damage the small fortress (*castillejo*) at three leagues' distance from the city.¹² This was under the leadership of Bazan and is the incident depicted in the fresco in his palace. The city was of strategic importance because of the corsair activity that was based there.

In the image itself, it is the foreground that is the place of action. The background is the city of Tetouan, which is depicted as being fortified and having many levels. The city of Tetouan in this image is depicted as near but not adjacent to the river; although the city is in clear relationship to the river, there is a separation between the two. The textual description accompanying the depiction of the city of Tetouan is one that is more concerned

¹⁰Richard Kagan's work on city views, in both *Urban Images of the Hispanic World* and in other publications eloquently relays the meanings of the relationships between Spain and its production of city views and landscapes.

¹¹Richard L. Kagan and F. Mariás, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793* (Yale Univ Pr, 2000), p. 199-200, ISBN: 0300083149

¹²"SIHM", in, Series I Saadian Spain, Vol. 3 p. 101

with what occurs at the mouth of the river than with any sort of narrative about the city itself. The text states that the pontiff Pius V directed Alvaro de Bazan, the first marquis of Santa Cruz, to go to the river and close it at the mouth, such that it would be blinded and un-navigable. Alvaro de Bazan, in all obedience, takes five galeras,¹³ along with brigantines and other boats, these of which are loaded with “cantera, cal”, and “arina tajikada.”¹⁴

What is fascinating about this account is that in addition to the relation of the number and kinds of ships that are involved, is the mention of construction material: some sort of investment in construction is being made by the Spanish at the time, in order to impede the accumulation of power by the city of Tetouan. The building materials mentioned, *cantera* and *cal*, along with the “arina tajikada” are suitable, as is stated in the text itself, for the construction of a wall of *tapial*, a construction technique similar in method and material to *terre pisée*, but with the inclusion of stone. Although the blocking of the mouth of the river is the fundamental act depicted in both the fresco and the text, the city is prominent both visually and ideologically. The river, in its functions both military and commercial, is such only because of the presence of the city. Although the blocking of the river is the central act, the cutting-off of the city is the principal by-product. The painting is a historical painting with a mythologizing purpose. At the time of its production, it is the depiction of recent history. The fresco engages techniques of general historical painting that deploy mythology-building strategies: although the city was small, it is depicted as monumental. The highly defensive character that it shows makes any incursion upon it all the more impressive.

3.1.2 The View of Rabat and Salé in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*

An analogous image exists for the city of Rabat.¹⁵ The view of Rabat, however, was produced for printing and distribution (rather than semi-private consumption in a palace.) In the late sixteenth century, the ichnographic plan, showing ground information and employing a consistent internal scale, was the exception rather than the rule: profile and oblique views, particularly oblique views presenting cities from elevated vantage points, were more common.¹⁶ The 1570s saw the publication of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, which has affected our knowledge of the physical condition of cities in the late sixteenth century until today. The *Civitates*, which consisted of engravings accompanied by explicatory text, applied ichnographic plans to the production of its detailed local views.¹⁷ The text accompanying the

¹³possibly: galleons

¹⁴Explicatory text within fresco of the Palace of Alvaro de Bazan, Viso del Marqués (Ciudad Real), Spain

¹⁵Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum, 1572-1618*, with an intro. by Introduction R. A. Skelton (New York: New World, 1966), V. II, plate 56

¹⁶Thomas Frangenberg, “Chorographies of Florence. The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century”, *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): p. 41-2

¹⁷Thomas Frangenberg, “Chorographies of Florence. The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century”, *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): p. 50

illustrations was intended to provide historical and geographical information, and was based on firsthand experience.¹⁸ Its images, while lacking the ground plan or axonometric views familiar to the contemporary reader or traveler, presented city views based on a plan that would have served to navigate the layout of the streets. While they distort the image of the city, the distortion that occurs is a productive one that allows for the wholesale presentation of the city as a comprehensible unit, even if the view provided is an imagined one.

The view of “Sala” included in the second of this six-volume compendium, printed between 1572 (volume 1) and 1617 (volume 6.) The images in the *Civitates* were of such popularity that multiple printings were re-issued and the images contained therein were reappropriated and reproduced in other contexts. The image of Rabat, as are those for many of the cities represented in the *Civitates* is a horseback perspective from a vantage point in the sea.¹⁹ This particular illustration is important as much for its contextualization of the physical condition of the city with its contemporaries as for its content. Because it exists not as a single illustration by an unknown author but as a portion of a large-scale, multi-volume work with the explicit goal of providing useful geographical information,²⁰ the city view of Rabat-Salé in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* can be read as, for its purposes, an accurate representation of the physical state of the city in the 1560s, when it was produced.

This view includes natural features, monumental enclosures, and smaller-scale (presumably both) private and public buildings in the two cities immediately surrounding the mouth of the Bou Regreg River. The majority of buildings on the Rabat side of the river are depicted as being in the *castrum* (which is today called the *casbah* of the Oudayas). Three towers, two of which have lanterns and large arched openings near the top, in a style reminiscent of Almohad minarets, all appear to be located within the *casbah*. A couple of buildings within the enclosure appear to have tiled roofs, and others appear to have flat roofs: no single style has been assigned to the buildings. The interface of the *casbah* with the river is particularly intriguing, as it does not correspond to the current structure of the city: a monumental door, flanked by towers, that seems to open to the river beach, is depicted on the Rabat side of the river. Immediately to the north (towards the ocean) of this structure, is an arcade with four arched entrances. The roofing appears to be a series of gables, as might be found in a market hall.

These elements are clearly below the level of the forty-meter-high precipice upon which the *casbah* is built. They are level with the beach, below the defense portion of the *casbah*.

¹⁸Lucia Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language”, *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (Mar. 1994): 105–128

¹⁹This image is reproduced in a manuscript atlas from 1595, referred to as the Guérin atlas in George Carteret, *The Barbary Voyage of 1638. Now First Printed from the Original Manuscript of George Carteret* (Philadelphia: Wm. M. Fell, 1929), facing p. 28

²⁰Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum, 1572-1618*, with an intro. by Introduction R. A. Skelton (New York: New World, 1966) The didactic and practical intents of Braun and Hogenberg’s undertaking are frequently reiterated. The introduction notes the didactic/geographical explicatory intent of Braun and Hogenberg’s project.

Given that these elements do not exist today, how do we account for this disconnect between the physical form of Rabat as we know it, its construction history, and the built environment as depicted in this image? these depend upon projecting the identifiable elements from this image upon the contemporary map of Rabat in two slightly different ways. One possibility is that the *castrum* is not the *casbah* but is, instead, the northeastern corner of the *medina*, in which case the *casbah* itself has been reduced to two towers outside of the *medina*. The other possibility, much more likely given that the *castrum* is located within a second enclosure, that it was a major part of the inhabited area at the time of the Morisco arrival, and that *castrum* is analog in both term and idea to *casbah*, is that the arcaded area below the level of the *casbah* was an extension of this enclosure, and that this area was subsequently further enclosed and built above (for use for communication between sea level and the fortress, the purpose of which was met by the documented but today inaccessible subterranean areas of the *casbah*.)

Beyond this dense enclosure, in the sparsely-built area that reappears in maps through the eighteenth century as cropland, are several buildings. While the exact locations of where these buildings would have been are impossible to determine, the two groups of buildings in the left of this area appear to form parallel streets. In the Almohad wall, one large opening is depicted: this gate to the city, corresponding to either Bab al-Rouah or Bab al-Had, is not in an area where any further differentiation occurs.

In the plan of Salé in the *Civitates*, there is no interior division of the city: no evidence of the Andalusí wall is presented here. The Andalusí wall, a defensive wall incorporating a combination of building materials and techniques, ranging from repurposed large-scale Almohad cut sandstone to brick to terre pisée, was the *Moriscos* single urban intervention to the city that could be considered monumental. This wall echoes the proportions and construction of the twelfth-century Almohad walls, but on a smaller scale, and with entrances that, in contrast to the overtly defensive program of Almohad monumental architecture, did not force the user to make several turns. There are no financial or construction records for this intervention; its presence and absence in the city's visual record must serve as a proxy. Given the stated aims of the *Civitates* to provide an accurate portrayal of the condition of the city, the exclusion of this structure serves as evidence that this major dividing element in the city had yet to be built.

As this view was, presumably, constructed with a plan as a tool, the projection of this pre-Morisco city view onto the contemporary map of Rabat could yield some information as to both changes that have occurred to the city's form in the past four centuries and stable elements that have, across time and the city's changes from backwater to seat of Atlantic piracy to colonial administrative capital to the administrative capital of the modern state, not been destroyed. As the only view of the city extant before the migration of the *Moriscos*, this view, with what appears to be a densely-inhabited area in (and possibly around) the *casbah*, and a large, nearly-empty tract extending from the area near Bab el-cAlou near the ocean to the wall near Chellah, the Roman *Sala Colonia*, serves to corroborate Leo Africanus' observation of Rabat as a city that, in the mid sixteenth century, was not large enough in

terms of population to qualify as a city, and that its Almohad enclosure was much larger than that in use by the sixteenth-century population. Africanus estimates that at the time of his visit the city had some four hundred houses and some boutiques, all in the vicinity of the *casbah*.²¹

3.1.3 Written Descriptions

Descriptive geography was a major field of Arab belles-lettres that bridged medieval fields of inquiry: scientific knowledge was reflected in the frequently-included measures of distance, and occasional lines of poetry (depending on the geographer, quoted and attributed simply to “the poet”—the source, presumably, was of such cultural currency that no named reference was necessary) occur. Most frequently, however, geographical texts in the Arab tradition serve as works that include some historical detail and presentation of the important cities and geographical locations at the respective time of writing. Arab geography does not provide a consistent or constant source of information.

The observations provided in the larger corpus of Arab geography are neither consistent (both in the varying foci of individual geographers, as well as in the dates of production), nor are they necessarily the product of firsthand observation (and, in many cases reflect the habit of medieval Arab writing of including, verbatim or nearly so, extensive passages originating in sources at great temporal remove.) Geographical descriptions were not produced at set intervals, nor do the descriptions that writers deigned to include necessarily include systematic presentations of either physical or social conditions.

Despite these limitations, the field of geography is the single most useful corpus of text for the sake of considering long-term changing roles of a city, short of the archaeological study of a highly-controlled environment and short of the possession of detailed maps, plans, and narrative accounts specifically within and about the city itself. Geography serves to situate the city historically and socially, and to provide details about the many iterations of the city through/across time. Given the changing nature of continuously-inhabited cities, in situations where there is no clear documentary evidence of changes (whether those changes are top-down or bottom-up), geography is a valuable tool for an analysis of a city/region’s cumulative history. Even if description neglects physical form, it provides an analytical historical context. The city is presented not necessarily as it was (physically), nor as it was experienced by one of its residents or visitors, but as it was perceived in large-scale social contexts.

Geographical texts that mention the city of Rabat provide both consistencies and discrepancies in its descriptive history: the city, in both purpose and form, as it is described through several centuries, both changed and remained constant. The significance of descriptions of Rabat-Salé dating to the time period before the Moriscos is important because the history of Rabat, social as well as spatial, was a cumulative history: all pre-Morisco written

²¹Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*. A. Epaulard, trans (Paris: Maissonneuve, 1980), p. 165-6

and visual histories of the city are relevant to the project of locating its seventeenth-century history because the Morisco period was brief, between periods of large-scale monumental change, and not characterized by a bureaucratic documentary mechanism. The urban history of seventeenth century Rabat was a history intricately tied to processes both additive and subtractive in relation to pre-existing structures (built and social) and infrastructures (that negotiated both within the city itself, between portions of the city, and between the city and its hinterlands, both maritime and overland.)

All pre-*Morisco* descriptions of Rabat/Salé are relevant because Morisco society was not one of large-scale documentation. The urban history of seventeenth-century Rabat is both an additive and a subtractive process. Rabat is polysemic in both its long-scale histories, and that of rapid transition of the seventeenth century. It is ambiguous.

The tenth-century traveler's Abū-l-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Naṣībī b. Hawqal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* considers Salé the limits of Muslim territory. In Salé there is a military enclosure where the Muslims keep watch. On the river is visible the ancient city of Salé, which he dates to antiquity. It is in ruins, and the inhabitants are enclosed in the enclosures that surround the city. The number of defenders of the faith who unite at this point is in the environment of a hundred thousand men, more or less depending on the circumstances. Their enclosures are dedicated to battle against the Barghwata, a Berber tribe inhabiting the shore of the ocean and bordering on this place where the farthest reaches of Muslim inhabitation are: this tribe continuously raids Muslim territory.²²

While Ibn Hawqal's physical description is minor and limited only to the siting of the ancient city (which could be either Chellah or the *casbah*, from the ambiguity with which it is described) and the existence of enclosures that serve both residential and military functions. These enclosures, indeed, appear to be the principal means of grouping. That the landscape surrounding the city's core is dotted with military outposts is testament to the nature of the region. Also interesting is that, as Ibn Hawqal's description predates the establishment of the city as a base for maritime jihad against the re-conquest of Al-Andalus, even in the tenth century, the site was a frontier/outpost. Ibn Hawqal's reminder that the entire region was not predominantly Muslim at the time, and the reminder of multiple and shifting frontiers at different historical moments, is useful for the analysis of Rabat in defensive terms.

The twelfth-century Andalusian Abū ʿAbdallah Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, in his geographical work, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi-ikhtirāq al-afāq*, attempts to present a broad picture of an extremely large geographical range, within which, at the Western extreme, were both Al-Andalus and the Maghreb. Idrisi's description of Salé begins through the physical situation of the city in relation to another: he says that from Icsis to Salé it is a day's journey (a stage/*marḥala*).²³ The relative importance of sites, however, can be deduced from which

²²Ab al-Qāsim ibn Hawqal al Naṣībī, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ : wa-huwa yaḥtawī ʿalā naṣṣ al-nuskah al-marqūmah 3346 al-maḥfūzah fī khizānat al-Sarāy al-ʿatīq fī Istanbūl wa-kadhālik ʿalā ṣūwar hādhihi al-nuskah wa-qad ustutimma bi-muqābalat naṣṣ al-tabʿah al-ūlā wa-baʿḍ al-maṣādir al-ukhrā*, **editor** Y.H. Karāmi, *Islamic Geography*, Vol. 35 (Frankfurt, 1992), p. 61

²³Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*. Dozy, R. and M.J. De Goeje, eds., Facsimile

cities are listed as destination points, and which cities are points of passing-through/transit. Idrisi frames Salé in terms of its distance from Marrakech: he states that there are nine days'-worth of travel from one to the other.²⁴ On the one hand, Marrakech is the definitive point of origin, and the city that does not need an introduction (this is in contrast to Salé, which Idrisi points out is near the sea.)

Idrisi continues by drawing the distinction between old and new Salé. The new Salé, Idrisi emphasizes, is located at the edge of the sea. The old Salé (called Challa, he explains) is two miles, and bordering not the sea but the river Asmir, which also borders Salé, and which subsequently dumps into the sea.²⁵ Idrisi notes that the ancient Salé (Chellah) is uninhabited, having only the remainders/traces/ruins²⁶ of buildings, and that that in turn is surrounded by *ʿmārāt mutassila* (continuous buildings, i.e. actually complete and standing) and pastures and fields/agricultural land owned by residents of the current/new city of Salé. The new city of Salé is located at the edge of the sea, and unapproachable from there; the city is strong and defended, as well as constructed on a sandy soil.

Idrisi then turns to an economic assessment of the city: its markets are *nāfiqa* and trade; it has import and export and the changing of money (*taṣṣarruf*). Its inhabitants are rich and have easy access to the abundant and cheap *namū* (growth) and food. Idrisi describes the city as having vines, orchards, gardens, and both pasture and arable land, and its ports are used by people from Seville and other coastal/littoral/harbor²⁷ cities from the Andalus: people from Seville go to it with copious amounts of oil, and return to the lands of Al-Andalus with food. The loading and unloading of goods cannot be done at the mouth of the port, since it is exposed, and so this is done within the river, and vessels wait for high tide first for access and then for egress. The movement of ships and goods is accompanied, as per Idrisi's description, by the free flow of all kinds of fish²⁸ that abounds so greatly in both quantity and quality and that is neither bought nor sold. Idrisi concludes his description by emphasizing that all kinds of foodstuffs in Salé are found, and that they are of the utmost

edition: Fuat Sezgin, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1992, *Islamic Geography*, Volume 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), p. 72 (Ar.), p. 83 (Fr.)

²⁴Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi. Dozy, R. and M.J. De Goeje, eds.*, Facsimile edition: Fuat Sezgin, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1992, *Islamic Geography*, Volume 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), p. 70 (Ar.), p. 80 (Fr.)

²⁵Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi. Dozy, R. and M.J. De Goeje, eds.*, Facsimile edition: Fuat Sezgin, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1992, *Islamic Geography*, Volume 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), p. 72-3 (Ar.), p. 83 (Fr.)

²⁶Ar: *kharāb wa ḥayākil sāmīa*

²⁷Ar: *sāḥīla*

²⁸The Arabic used here is "*samak Durūb min al-ḥaytān wa-l-ḥūt.*" This particular usage of multiple forms of plurals of a varying root creates an emphasis. Also, while *ḥūt* currently means "fish" in Maghribi use and "whale" outside the Maghrib, in this context, presumably, the meaning is upon edible fish; I don't know whether or not the use of this particular root emphasizes a larger fish size than *samak*.

of quality and basest of price. By sea from this city to the Jazā'ir at-ṭīr (Islands of Birds) there are twelve miles.²⁹

This description is significant both for its contribution to the analysis of Rabat during the twelfth-century context of its production and for the analysis of Rabat during later periods: Idrisi's emphasis on both the economic fluorescence of the city, and the abundance of natural resources, makes this passage an apologia for the city. Idrisi makes this capital seem infinitely appealing. Although the means through which information was disseminated at the time would not have necessarily been one through which the city's population would have grown as the result of praise, Idrisi's praise can be read from a political perspective: it was to Idrisi's personal advantage to extol Rabat to the utmost, as it was one of the cities in which the Almohad leadership was heavily invested. Although we should take the absolute abundance and ease of life that Idrisi promises with a grain of salt, the general description of a city in fluorescence and with functional economic, social, and food distribution systems obtains.

The next major source for the description of the pre-Morisco Maghreb is particularly important for the study of the city before the Morisco influx for several reasons: first, it consists of the description provided by Muḥammad al-Wazzān (known as Leo Africanus), whose description from the time period is easily the most famous. Second, the time period to which this description dates is, at difference from the geographical works above, closest in time to the Morisco expulsion: all of the above works originated in time periods of dynasties prior to that of the Morisco expulsion (ranging from the Almohad to the Merinid), while this mid-sixteenth century one is from that of the Saadian dynasty, under which the expulsion occurred.

While this particular sixteenth-century description is the work closest in time to the Morisco period, it is one among many in the field of Arab descriptive geography that includes a discussion of Rabat. While Rabat is poor in documentary history of specific detail (and particularly documentary history concerning its structures), the corpus of geographical description of the city in the medieval period is rich. From these descriptions, we can gain some level of understanding both of the city's physical plant and of its social, economic, and political importance before its decline.

Although the description of the city given by Leo Africanus is not exhaustive, it is significant: first, the city is presented as a frontier and framed in terms of its distance from Fes. Second, Africanus does not describe Rabat in terms of its naval role or potential: instead, he gives the un-navigability of the river as evidence for the defensive nature of the city (of the two cities of Rabat and Salé, actually) against Christian attacks:

Bvregrag arising out of one of the mountaines of Atlas, and continuing his course

²⁹Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*. Dozy, R. and M.J. De Goeje, eds., Facsimile edition: Fuat Sezgin, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1992, Islamic Geography, Volume 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), p. 73 (Ar.), p. 83 (Fr.)

by sundrie vallies, woods, and hils, proceedeth on ouer a certaine plaine, and neere vnto the townes of Sala and Rabat, being the vtmost frontiers of the Fezsan kingdome, it falleth into the Ocean. Neither haue the two foresaid townes any other port or harbour, but within the mouth of the said riuer onely, which is so difficult to enter, that vnlesse the pilote be throughly acquainted with the place, he is in great hazard of running his ship vpon the shoulds: which should serue instead of bulwarkes to defend either towne from the fleets of the Christians.³⁰

Africanus' description of the city of Rabat proper is as much an indication of the city's past as it is of the mid-sixteenth-century city's political reality. First, Africanus describes Rabat as having been built not too many years previous; no doubt, this is a means through which to distinguish the city, of medieval but not ancient fluorescence. Africanus gives a creation myth of the city, in which the reason for its founding is given: since Al-Mansur possessed the kingdom of Granada "and a great part of Spaine besides," he wishes to have a summer maritime outpost for responding to Christian attacks. Rabat was considered more suitable than Ceuta for the maintenance of a standing army, and Africanus describes Al-Mansur as having commissioned, "temples, colleges, palaces, shops, stores, hospitals, and other such buildings," all of which made the city "exceedingly beautified."

The social system of the city was one of an incentivized patronage/subsidized welfare: tradesmen were to be given yearly stipends, such that they gained supplementary incomes. Mansur's armies remained there from May to September, and the problem of brackish water (non-potable water going ten miles through the river) was solved with the construction of aqueducts from a source twelve miles distant. Africanus telescopically foreshortens time, after this, and notes that since Mansur's death, the city has become a tenth of its original glory, and that in the wars between the Merinids and the last Almohads, the water-conduit was completely ruined. There are fewer than four hundred inhabited houses in the city, Africanus notes, and the rate of decay of this city is faster than the rate of decay of any other: uninhabited houses had become fields and vineyards. The *casbah*³¹ has a couple of streets with a few shops, but these are under constant fear of Portuguese attack. This is a site, Africanus notes, that the Fezzi kingdom has always fortified against the enemy, but the current state is nothing like its past glory.³²

Although textual descriptions of Rabat are particularly abundant, the other two cities under consideration are not devoid of written description. Dating to just a few years before the Morisco expulsion, an anonymous 1596 Portuguese description of Tetouan calls it a "*terra forte*," that is, "strong ground," likely signifying both its wealth and its defensive purpose. The description says:

Antre a gente de cavalo e a de fogo, tem seis sentos homens. Esta do mar huma legoa, por hum rio ariba, en que emtra a maré, e em que dizem que cabem gales,

³⁰Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*. A. Epaulard, trans (Paris: Maissonneuve, 1980), Vol. 3, p. 929

³¹The blunt translation of Africanus calls it "the rocke."

³²Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*. A. Epaulard, trans (Paris: Maissonneuve, 1980), Vol. 3, p. 929

*mas que, per entrarem e sairem no rio, a de ser com cressente e vazante da maré. He Tituam terra fresca de ortas, fruitas, vinhas; e os campos dele ate Alcassere, Larache, Arzila e Fes sam de muito pão, agoa, gados, camelos e gemte de cavallo; a dadiva he del Rey.*³³

Tetouan here is described as a city with 600 men, including both people who own horses and guns. The city is described as one that is one league from the sea, and to which it is navigable; the Portuguese account cautions, however, that this is only the case when the tides change. What is the significance of a marginally-navigable relationship with the sea? Is it to any strategic advantage that the city is not always accessible? This is a description written by the Portuguese: late sixteenth and early seventeenth century maritime technology, in terms of both vessel and sail construction, favored the Arabs. While the Europeans focused on large ships, North African ships were small and nimble, featuring triangular lateen sails, rather than the square rigging favored in Northern Europe, that allowed for faster response to changing conditions, if slightly less power. One thing that is interesting about this description is its mention of the necessity for vessels to wait for high tides, which parallels the harbor situation described of Rabat centuries earlier. Although this city was of central strategic importance, the small size of the population is interesting: as described, the size of the standing population would have been dwarfed by the population of captives at any given time.

3.2 After the Morisco Arrival

3.2.1 A 1621 view of Salé

The earliest-known view of Salé produced during the Morisco era is an anonymous Spanish sketch that accompanied, along with other documents concerning the possible forfeiture of the city to Spain, a letter from the *caid* Safer.³⁴ This letter was possibly for possibly, Bartolomé de Artiaga, and dates to the 28th of October of 1621.³⁵ Because the sketch accompanied the letter, it has been suggested that the author may be Artiaga.³⁶ Artiaga, a fiscal from Seville who served the *Moriscos* in the parish of San Blas, may have been particularly suited to the production of such a document. Bartolomé de Artiaga, to whom mention is found in the Spanish Real Academia de Historias Jesuit documentation, is mentioned as a, “viejo fiscal de los Moriscos que oyen misa en San Blas” (old fiscal of the Moriscos who

³³“SIHM. “Description du Maroc.” Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds Portugais. Ms. 57”, in, vol. 2, Series I Saadian France, Vol. 2, p. 288

³⁴“AGS, MPD, XXXVIII-64. Archivo General de Simancas, Mapas, Planos y Dibujos” ()

³⁵“AGS, G. A., Leg. 888.” ()

³⁶Juan Bta Vilar, *Mapas, planos y fortificaciones hispanicos de Marruecos (S. XVI-XX.)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992), p. 462

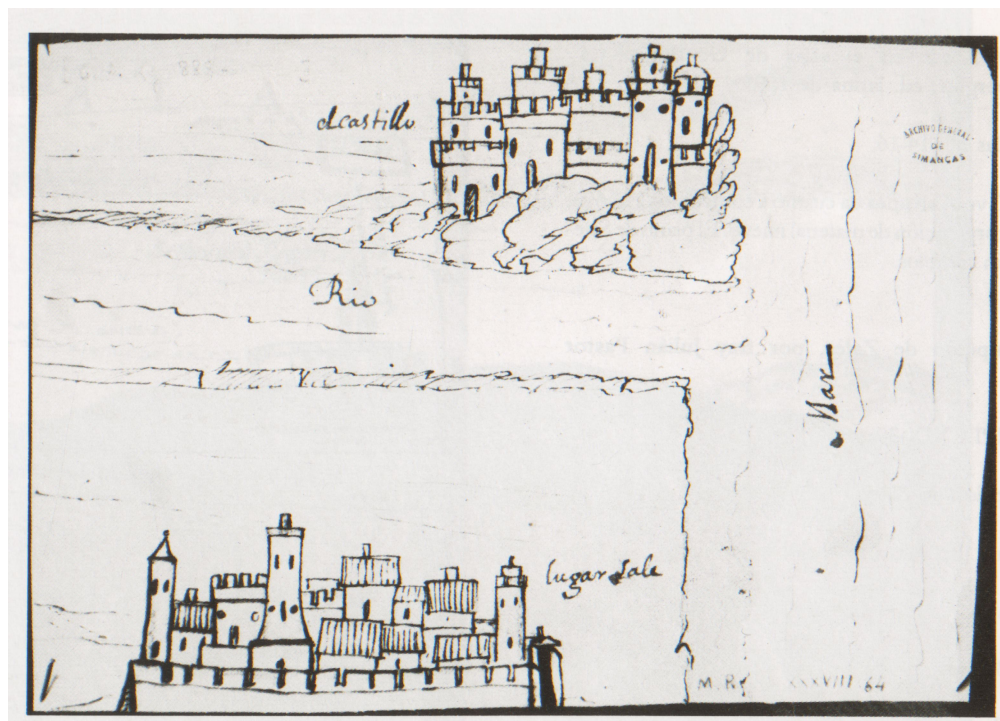


Figure 3.3: Bartolomé de Artiaga's 1621 depiction of the city, in the Archivo General de Simancas

hear mass in San Blas.) This document, itself undated, is thought to be from a time period between 1580 and 1582, which does cast some problems upon the ascription of what is thought to be a 1621 document upon Artiaga (unless he was much older at the time, which is a distinct possibility.) The ambiguous phrase “*fiscal de los Moriscos*” does not specify whether or not Artiaga is himself a Morisco or whether his church position is one ministering to this population (or, given that he was described as an old fiscal), whether this was his former position. His position, within the church, and with financial responsibilities vis--vis the Morisco community, however, would certainly put him in a position to travel to Salé as a Jesuit, and to have produced the document.³⁷ This sketch, while rudimentary, is significant for several reasons. It can under no circumstances be interpreted as an accurate representation of building form in Rabat and Salé; it can, however, be interpreted as a gestalt drawing of Rabat-Salés site and principal elements. This is the only known visual representation of the city after the arrival of the Moriscos but before the declaration of the Republic of Bou Regreg and, as such, could possibly bring light to any conditions known to have existed uniquely during this short period.

The “*castillo*” of the *casbah* is here represented an accumulation of five multi-tiered towers

³⁷“Jesuitas Tomo 104, leg. 9/3677, exp. 22” ()

with parapets. Four of these are topped with rectangular lanterns, and the fifth is topped with a cupola that itself appears to have a lantern. The *Lugar [de] Sale*, depicted across the river and at some distance from the shore, is a walled enclosure within which towers, seemingly of both religious and defensive orientation, are interspersed. What appears to be domestic architecture, with the transverse sides of tiled gabled roofs is also depicted. This plan depicts the Bou Regreg River as a straight line that flows into the sea at a ninety-degree angle, and depicts the rocky site of the *casbah* as a cloudlike formation. The larger Almohad enclosures are beyond the range of this sketch's bounds, as are the Hassan tower and Chellah. The absence of any element of today's *medina* is telling: its non-representation indicates, if nothing else, that it was conceived of or perceived as a separate entity from the *casbah* by the anonymous Spaniard producing the map, as was certainly the case under the *Moriscos* and the Hornachos who occupied the city.

While this illustration seems to be a fanciful diagram produced by an unskilled hand, the elements of reality (such as the representation of Salé as a rectangular, walled enclosure and the portrayal of the *casbah* on a rocky outcropping, in accurate spatial relationships with each other as well as with the river and the ocean, seem to indicate the authors intent to portray realistically the city's (the two cities) major component elements and their structures. Given a presumed desire for verisimilitude, one aspect of the Rabat *casbah* is unusual: rather than being depicted with a continuous defensive wall (although it does have parapets), the side of the *casbah* that faces the river is a series of discrete structures, three of which have arcuated entrances. This illustration, as did Hogenbergs in the *Civitates*, articulates a direct connection between the *casbah* and the river. This may be the depiction of changed or disappeared structures: the entrance to what were known during the colonial period as the pirate stairs is at that approximate location, although it is not a used connection between the *casbah* and the river.

3.2.2 The Pirate Republic of Bou Regreg: A British Map and a Dutch View

Between 1627 and 1641, after which the inland Dilaite zawiya³⁸ gained political power and control of the city, Rabat existed as a pirate republic, which had been proclaimed by the *Moriscos*. During this period of absolute independence, the piracy upon which the city's economy was based flourished: the city worked on its own behalf with no fiscal responsibilities to any distant power. The two extant images of the city from that period reflect clearly the importance of a maritime economy, and the city's orientation towards the sea and river. Both of these images were produced by foreigners from countries with extensive maritime trade and connections with the republic.

³⁸This zawiya, a religious brotherhood founded by the sheikh Abu Bakr b. Muhammad b. Sa'ïd al-Dilai, whose family was large and influential, in the region of the southwestern Middle Atlas, was to be responsible for the end of the independent republic.

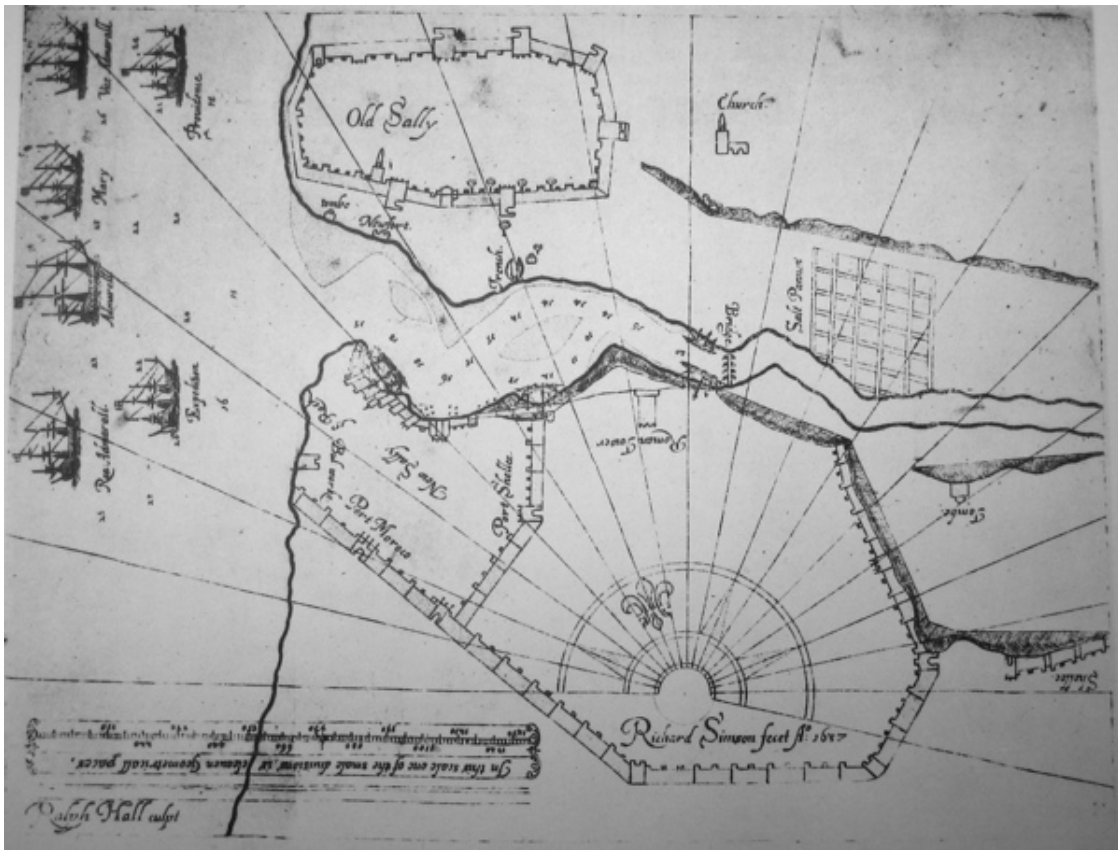


Figure 3.4: The image of Rabat drawn by Richard Simson. Note the nautical orientation of the map, and the presence of a bridge between the two cities of Rabat and Salé.

First, Richard Simsons map of Sally, appeared in John Duntons A True Journal of the Sally Fleet,³⁹ contained an account that included a list of captives in the city. This map, which shows a highly articulated shoreline as well as a complex series of walls making up the Almohad enclosure, allows us to see changes in the use of space as they were occurring. Three elements of this map are particularly important: first, the Andalusian wall, represented here in the same way the Almohad enclosures are, demonstrates the walls importance. The presence of this structure in this representation from the 1630s is testament to its construction by this time. Second, the representation of buildings specifically along the shoreline and the representation of no built elements in the remainder of the walled precincts gives some idea as to the slowness of change: while perhaps private houses existed in the area and are not depicted (in the same way that detail is absent from Old Sally), the public works that are depicted here were concentrated in the *casbah* and the area immediately south of it, even thirty years after the Morisco arrival. The lack of the representation of buildings that would have served as residences could be attributed to their relative unimportance (for Simson.) Third, this image shows, traversing the river between Rabat and Salé, a bridge: this bridge, otherwise documented only in correspondence, is clear evidence of the spatial intervention of the economy of piracy upon the daily relationships of these two cities. This bridge was present between the two cities only temporarily. It shows up in neither earlier nor later representations of the city. It could have been a point of both contact and frustration between the Rabat and Salé sides of the river. Additionally, it would have served a defensive function, controlling access to the river itself and providing a central point for the control of port activity.

Three years after this map was created, Adrian Mathams view of “Nieuw Salee” was produced.⁴⁰ This view emphasizes the length of the walls along the river shore; they appear to almost reach the Hassan tower. Of the views published anterior to this one, none showed a view with the vantage point from a point in the river already within the Bou Regreg. This map seems to demonstrate a sizable population: there are buildings that appear to be houses beyond the Hassan Tower.

3.2.3 Julian Pastor’s plan

One historically problematic piece of visual evidence for the history of Rabat consists of a simple plan by one Fray Julian Pastor.⁴¹ Archival examination shows that it dates to 1661,

³⁹John Duntton, *A True Journall [sic.] of the Sally Fleet, with the Proceedings of the Voyage* (London: Nicholes, 1637), unnumbered gatefold

⁴⁰This was re-published in Jacques Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu’au Protectorat français, histoire et archéologie*, vol. 3, Vol 3, Pl. XXVIII Caillé notes that this illustration is in the Archives de la Marine in Paris, an archival entity that has since been abolished; neither the National Archives in Paris nor the Archives of the Ministry of Defense in Vincennes have this document, however. An inquiry at the Austrian National Library has indicated that there may be a copy there.

⁴¹Julian Pastor, “Descripcion de Zale. Archivo General de Simancas. AGS MPD XIX-30, 1611” ()

well after the arrival of the Moriscos, despite its identification with the year 1611 within the archive. The plan, a schematic diagram of monumental enclosures and land use, uses no consistent scale. Its significance is not one of scale, however, but of the clarity with which it depicts the various enclosures in the complex of Rabat. Additionally, its intended informational purpose, presumably of use for the sake of military intelligence by the king of Spain, lends it credibility (It was sent to the Consejos de Guerra of Spain by Royal Order on the 14th of March, 1661).⁴² Fray Julian Pastor, a Franciscan friar based in Marrakech, sent the map to the king, along with a memorandum.⁴³ Although the plan itself is not dated, an examination of its accompanying written documents shows a 1661 date, and the handwriting of the plan closely matches the handwriting in the list sent to Philip III. This particular datum, that of the date of this document, influences greatly the importance of this map. Had this map been from 1611, as it was previously identified, its implications for Morisco history in Rabat would have been completely different.

This plan was one of political, as well as military, importance for Spain. The elements included are those that would have some sort of bearing upon Spanish designs for the military conquest of this important fortification. The map, moreover, makes a visual argument for the city's conquest by the Spanish, as it demonstrates political and commercial connections in the Atlantic coastal Maghreb outside of the realm of Iberian influence: the cities shown here are precisely the ones that were waging war against Spain, rather than the series of coastal fortifications controlled by either it or Portugal. The plan, disproportionate to the extent that Rabat/New Salés *arrabal* (extramural area; in the discussion of Rabat in history, the term *arrabal* is frequently used to refer to the area beyond the casbah but within the Almohad enclosure) predominates, can be read as evidence of Julian Pastor's firsthand experience with the city. It is a map of the city of Rabat and its role as the center of a network.

The nearby coastal fortification of Mamora serves as a placeholder rather than as an actual place; its presence in the diagram serves not to indicate the real distance between Salé and this next fortification to the north. It serves, instead, to indicate the existence of the fortification and imply a relationship between this city and its two neighbors to the South. Other than the existence of three enclosed sides, the only information given about Mamora is that it is five leagues ("*cinco leguas*") from Salé. Fez is also included in the map, with its enclosure shown bisected by the river that leads to Rabat. Salé itself is depicted with no more detail than either of these more distant cities; more information is given about its beach than about the city itself.

Pastor's map does include some information that would be of strategic importance. While peñas, rocks, are labeled at both the point of access at the river's mouth to Rabat and Salé, and the entire ocean frontage of Rabat's multiple enclosures is labeled, "*orilla del mar*

⁴²Juan Bta Vilar, *Mapas, planos y fortificaciones hispanicos de Marruecos (S. XVI-XX.)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992), p. 462 Note that Vilar identifies the text as having been from 1611. This plan was previously mis-identified as having come from that time period. That particular piece of misinformation had been published in several places, including Vilar.

⁴³"AGS, Estado, Leg. 2677, No. 20. Memorandum accompanying the drawing of Julian Pastor" ()

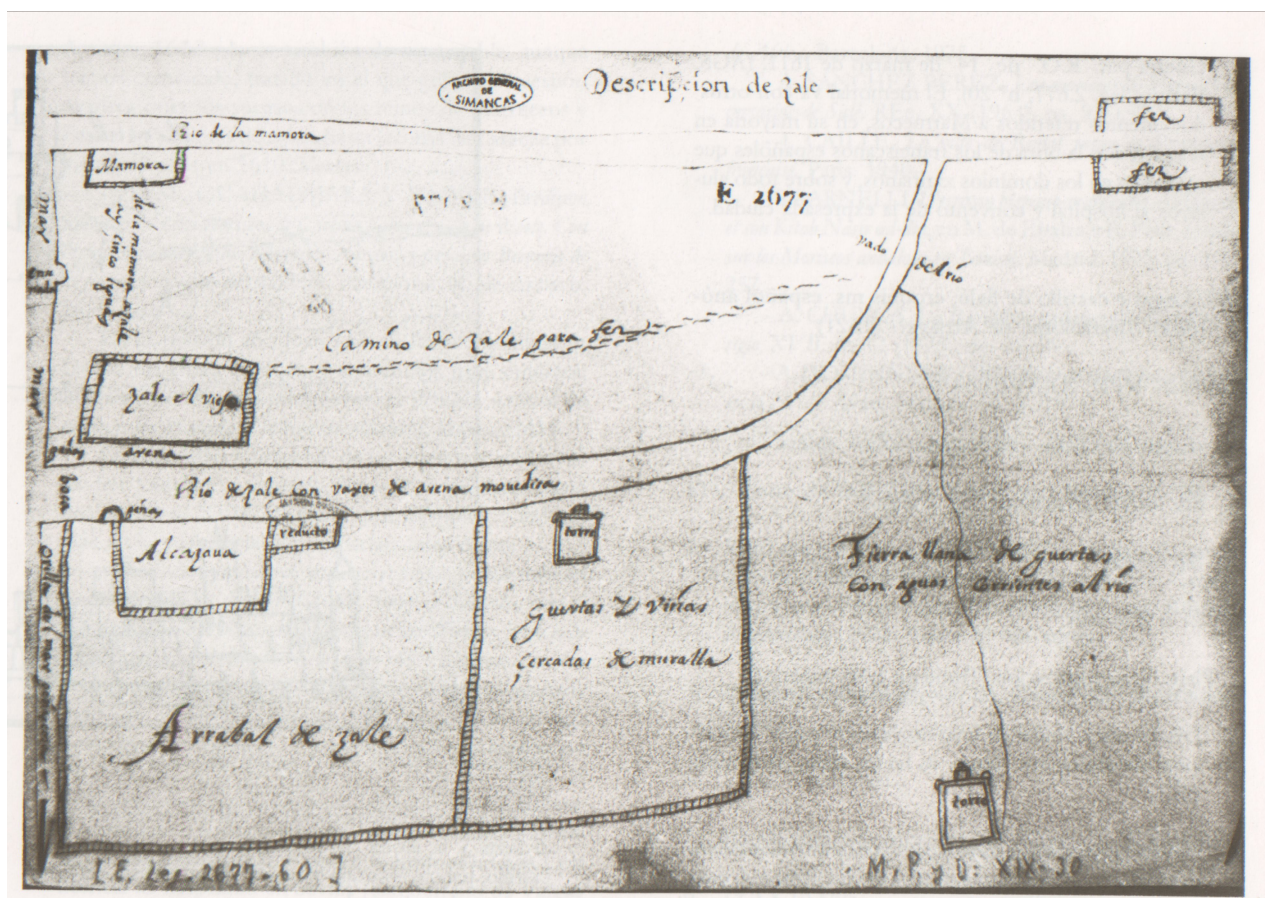


Figure 3.5: Pastor's 1661 image of the city. Note the clear internal divisions of the city.

peascosa,” (rocky ocean edge), and the river is described as the “*Río de Sale con vaxos*⁴⁴ *de arena movedisa*,” (Salé River with sections of moving sand) all of which are important descriptors for a navigator, absolutely no indication is given in the map as to openings in the city walls. One area, outside of Salé, appears to be labeled “*entrada*,” or entrance; it, however, is not an entrance into the city proper but, seemingly, the entrance to a harbor cove. The lack of doors in the walled precincts indicates that Pastor was not thinking of land warfare, if he was thinking of warfare at all, when he drew this plan.

The urban and agricultural land use elements within Rabat are clearly indicated, along with agricultural use. The five parts of Rabats enclosure are the *alcavah* (as it is labeled), which is attached to the reducto. These, in turn, are surrounded by the simple rectangle of the *arrabal de Zale*, itself abutting a walled enclosure labeled “*guertas y vias cercadas de muralla*” (gardens and vines enclosed by a wall.) In this second, walled precinct is included the torre. Beyond this second enclosure is an area of “*tierra llana de guertas con aguas corrientes al río*,” (that is: flat land devoted to edible cultivation with waters running to the river) has at its edge another torre. This map is not without its inconsistencies and shorthand: for the towers, symbolic representations are included rather than representations of the structures themselves.

The Hassan tower, the Almohad minaret that serves as testament to Rabats long-lost role as a seat of power, is not depicted in its true orientation within its walls: Pastor has turned the enclosure ninety degrees, so that it is oriented roughly East-West and, rather than include the tower itself within the rectangular enclosure (as is the case), he has placed it at the outer edge of the rectangle. The other torre, presumably that of the madrasa (religious school)-mosque complex within Chellah, the Merinid necropolis on the site of the Roman Sala Colonia, is represented in a similar symbolic shorthand. Pastors land use labels are significant: while he does not indicate whether or not any gardens exist within the arrabal, all land beyond it is described as being given over to agricultural production. The land’s use, at least in part, as *vias* indicates that wine production occurred on the site (fruit grown for eating would have been included within the rubric of the *guertas*), one of the customs of the *Moriscos* with which the earlier populations, particularly those at Salé, took so much umbrage. Additionally, cultivation reaches beyond the walled enclosure: while defended arable land was no doubt of use to the new populations, its enclosure, even in this period of a highly volatile economy of piracy, was not an absolute necessity. The use of all land beyond the arrabal for cultivation, additionally, indicates a lack of need for its urbanization: the Morisco population, while significant, was much smaller than that which would have lived in the original Almohad enclosure.

The division of the Almohad enclosure into two units (the arrabal and the *guertas y vias*) in Pastors document is one of the two most significant features of this map for the study of the Morisco settlement of Rabat. Pastor depicts the dividing wall as having produced an arrabal larger than the area given over to cultivation. The actual division of areas contrasts with

⁴⁴ “Rayos?”

Pastors diagram: the enclosed area that is today the city's *medina* is much smaller than the outer enclosure that is today's ville nouvelle. Even this distortion in Pastors representation can be interpreted: although there are no interior features save the smaller enclosures, and neither building nor population density is indicated, the enlargement of the arrabal can, as an element of a nave, rather than a scientific, map of the city, be read as a differentiation in perceived size. The distortion of the area enclosed by the interior, Andalusian wall, indicates the presence of activity and interior differentiation, although neither are indicated in Pastors labels.

Pastor's emphasis upon the major physical divisions within the city brings us to note one prominent feature in his plan that is not included in earlier depictions. This feature is the masonry construction known as the Andalusian Wall. Although this document does not date to the beginning of the Morisco period, it is proof of the wall's presence (if not construction) during this time. The earlier *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* shows what appear to be the partial ruins of a possible wall in what would be approximately the correct location.

The inclusion of the wall, as well as of the reducto, is important because both of these large-scale interventions into the structure of Rabat are said to be Morisco additions. Neither of these elements appears in earlier representations of the city. The Morisco wall, apart from the proof of its existence provided by this 1661 document, is a problematic element: no written documents attest to the act of its construction.

3.3 Post-Morisco Depictions

While the specific history of Rabat's structures has not been preserved in legal documents, a visual narrative has been preserved through the range of images of the city both precedent and subsequent to Morisco immigration to and control of the city. The decades immediately following the end of the Republic of Bou Regreg, in the early Alawite period, produced two views of the city that we can read for changes after the city's Morisco florescence.

3.3.1 Mouettes 1670 schematic map

The French prisoner Georges Mouette, who was captured by pirates and spent eleven years in Morocco as a result, proposed a stylized map of the city in his larger map of *Partre Du Rme de Fez avec le plan des principales Villes, designees sur les lieux*.⁴⁵ This map includes the territory from Alcassar and Arzille in the north to the Rabat-Salé conurbation in the south, to Fez and Mekns to the east. His mappings reflect firsthand experience with all of the cities in question. This map, reflecting his role of prisoner, is a nest of enclosures and points of access, both on the level of the cities presented, in aggregate, and the individual

⁴⁵Georges Mouette, *Relation de la captivité du Sr. Moüette dans les royaumes de Fez et de Maroc, o il a demeuré pendant onze ans* (Paris: Jean Cochart, 1683) The detail is re-printed in Caillé, volume III. The full map is reproduced in SIHM, second series, Tome II, France, plate 1, between pages 176 and 177.

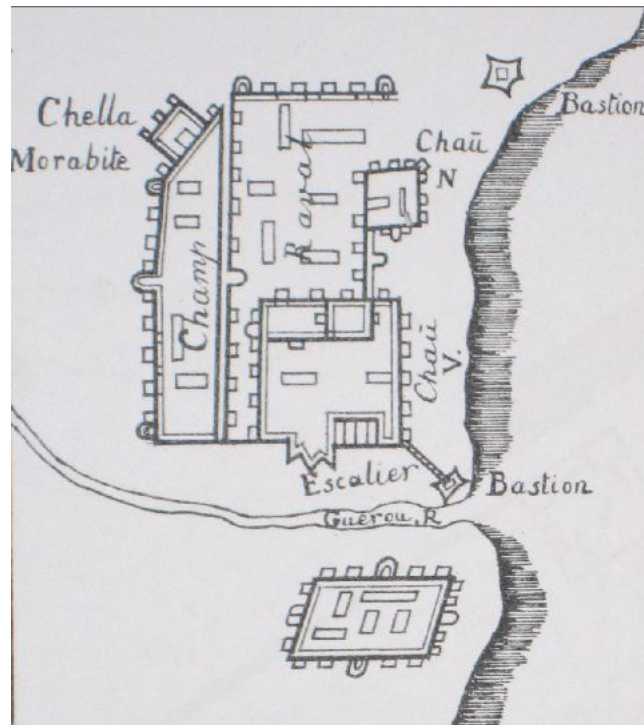


Figure 3.6: Mouette's schematic view of the city of Rabat. Given his status as a prisoner in the city for eleven years, his emphasis upon the walls of the city as elements that separate the territory into discrete sections appears to reflect his experience of the space.

cities of Rabat and Tetouan. This map does not relate spaces to each other in a proportional manner: the outer enclosure, labeled *champ* (field) is one that in actuality is much larger than the lower part of the city. This highly stylized representation, in which cities have been reduced to closures and entries, is extremely evocative, however. Mouettes map could be read as a prisoners guide to these cities. His interests are not in commercial functions or social relationships. They are, instead, in the relationships of spaces that provide and deny access. Of all of the views and maps considered here, this is the only one that notes and illustrates a means of access from sea level to the *casbah* with the inclusion of the *escalier* (stair.) Additionally, it seems to indicate, roughly, either a street layout in the interior of the diagram or some sort of shorthand for the presence of population in those parts of the enclosed precinct.

3.3.2 Gerolamo Albrizzis Plan-View

Gerolamo Albrizzi, a Venetian cartographer active in the second half of the seventeenth century, produced a still-unpublished perspective view of “Salé in Barbarie.”⁴⁶ This plan view, in China ink and brown and China-ink wash, is an impressive piece both for its quality of line and extensive amount of internal detail. The city of Rabat is portrayed as a network of enclosures, and the different parts of these enclosures are articulated in relationship to each other, to internal elements, and to geographic elements. The different major streets are labeled according to who lives in them, and clearly reflect systems of social stratification as they were reified in the spatial distribution of populations throughout the city.

This piece occupies a singular position in the corpus of visual images of Rabat: it is neither a fully interior, nor a fully exterior, work. While it is a view from a vantage point in the sea, it also depicts the component parts of the city as they are used. It raises questions of intent as well as production: it has both the most internal detail of the city of any known seventeenth-century representation of Rabat, and a major flaw that may or may not call the credibility of the entire object into question. Its key is written in a strange, Italicized French that gives the impression that its maker was producing it for the French crown but was not entirely fluent in the language.

The map, most of the elements of which are clearly recognizable in today's city, is, bizarrely, in mirror image. Neither the labels nor the key are reversed; the elements of the city themselves, however (as well as both the individual cities of Rabat and Salé) are oriented in reverse. Depicting the two cities from a point above the water, this map shows Salé, with its single, rectangular enclosure, on the right bank of the Bou Regreg, rather than the left, and the *casbah*, the *medina*, and the attendant topography of Rabat on the left, rather than the right. Can this major flaw be reconciled with the wealth of information that the map appears to give? Or must we dismiss the credibility of the entire piece because the orientation of the physical structures is so grossly flawed? Is there a means through which this misrepresentation can be explained, subsequently permitting the interpretation of the map as a studied depiction of late-seventeenth-century Rabat?

Albrizzi was from a printing family, and was himself a printer: the possibility exists that this manuscript was a negative draft for a plate. I know of no printed version of this image, however.⁴⁷ This item, rather than having been sent to Venice for printing by the family, was in the collection of Roger de Gaignères (d. 1715.)⁴⁸ The mirror imaging is thus not explained

⁴⁶Gerolamo Albrizzi, “Salé en Barbarie, ville de corsairres, capitale de l'ancien royaume de Fossa. BnF VD-1 (10), Fol. P178087, 37.8 x 51.8 cm.” () While the map is undated, Albrizzi was active in the late seventeenth century; some of his known maps are dated to the 1670s and 1680s. The image as reproduced is from the BnF's online image archive (gallica.bnf.fr; last accessed May 2, 2011)

⁴⁷Italian archives may be useful to consult for any printed copies. The *Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma* has other works by him, but does not include this particular city's map by Albrizzi in its collections.

⁴⁸This is referenced in the *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignères et conservés aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits*, vol. Tome II (Paris: Bouchot Henri, 1891) It is item number 6454 in de Gaignères collection and its bill, signed by Albrizzi, is included with that for item number 6461



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 3.7: Gerolamo Albrizzi's view of Granada. Although the representation of the city is in mirror image, Albrizzi's image is unique for its representation of different populations' neighborhoods. Gerolamo Albrizzi, "Salé en Barbarie, ville de corsairres, capitale de l'ancien royaume de Fossa. BnF VD-1 (10), Fol. P178087, 37.8 x 51.8 cm." ()

through this piece's role in the printing process. Albrizzi's larger corpus of maps, his fame as a cartographer, and the amount of detail given in the map together outweigh the doubt of the plan-view introduced through its mirror imaging.

Religious, defensive, and residential structures are all depicted. Houses here are shown with little windows and an occasional dome or barrel vault. This form occurs repeatedly across the map. This could be interpreted as Albrizzi's representation of a Morisco vernacular, if we are to believe that Albrizzi personally visited the city. One interesting thing about the representation of population density in this map is that, while there are no buildings shown in the area between the Andalusi wall and the upper Almohad wall, there are buildings that repeat the residential typology indicated within the *medina* enclosure located outside the Almohad walls. Urban growth, it seems, is occurring in the direction of movement (along the roads that connect Rabat with other cities) rather than in the direction of protection. The area beyond the Morisco-built Andalusi wall but within the Almohad precinct remains a cultivated area. By the time of this map's production (after the end of the Republic of Bou Regreg,) perhaps there was no need for the defense of all buildings. How and when did this social change come about?

3.4 The Albaicín's transformations: A general view

For the city of Granada, visual images of the city exist from the medieval period onwards. These complement the extensive written history and legal records that provide even minor details in the city's history; in contrast to Rabat, we are not dependent upon images of the city for clues as to otherwise-undocumented changes in urban form. There exists, however, a singular exemplar of urban documentation that provides us with a general view of the city in the immediately post-*Morisco* period, and can be interpreted in terms of the *Morisco* expulsion.

The single most striking image of the Albaicín in the early seventeenth century is a "plan plus elevation" drawing of the city that shows the city's streets as well as its buildings in modified perspective.⁴⁹ Dating to approximately 1613 and produced by Ambrosio de Vico, an Italian engineer who lived in Granada and worked on church construction projects, the drawing, known as the *Plataforma de Granada*, presents an idealized and iconographic view of the city that, aesthetically, lies between a measured perspective and a medieval diagram of an ideal city.⁵⁰ The compound view presented by Vico is of triumphant urban monumentality with a focus on religious structures, streets, and landscape features, both natural and man made. Vico reconciles the space of the city with the surface of the paper

in the same collection.

⁴⁹The term "plan plus elevation" is one suggested by Richard Kagan. Richard L. Kagan and F. Mariás, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793* (Yale Univ Pr, 2000), p. 6, ISBN: 0300083149

⁵⁰Ambrosio di Vico, "Plataforma de Granada. Municipal Historical Archives, Granada, 42x62 cm, ca. 1613" ()

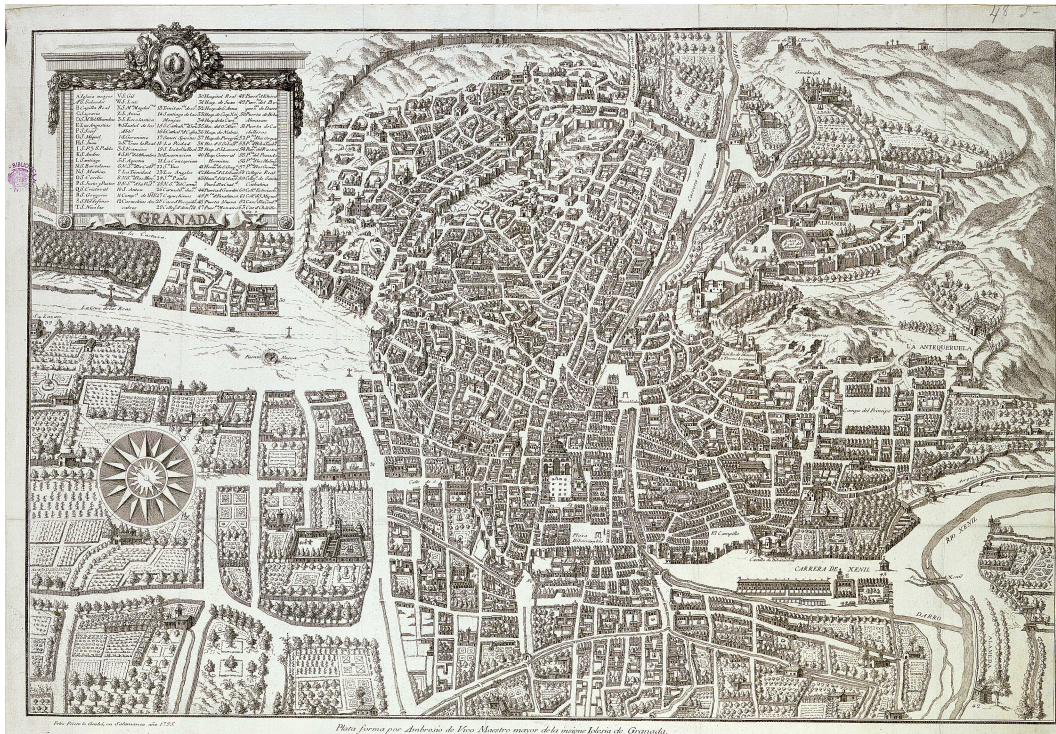


Figure 3.8: Vico's *Plataforma de Granada*. This image shows the city's neighborhoods and monumental elements clearly. The depopulated Parish of San Salvador is slightly left of the upper center of the map surrounding the Zirid walls which form a diagonal boundary. The original in the Municipal Historical Archives, Granada, 42x62 cm, ca. 1613

through a judicious use of variable scale that assigns, to a degree, size to structure dependent upon its importance. The street grid is presented with alarming regularity (particularly given Granada's many, small streets); this feature, while it diverges from topographic reality, is an interpretive filter that allows for a precise reading of urban elements within the cityscape.

The coincidence of the historical moment of production of this image with Granada's *Morisco* history could not have been more perfect: Vico's image omits monasteries, convents, and churches constructed in 1614, but includes those that had been constructed by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. The moment at which Vico captured the city, subsequent to the 1570 expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada, after the beginning of the complete Christianization of its features, but before a complete urban transformation, allows us to read change in process. Particularly striking in the *Plataforma* is an area, in the upper-center of the image and intramural adjacent to the eleventh-century Zirid walls of the city, where the buildings seem to have been laid waste. This area corresponds directly to a portion of the Parish of San Salvador, the heavily-*Morisco* area whose property transfer records I discuss elsewhere.

For the purpose of the study of Granada's post-expulsion population loss, I wish to note a single detail in the Plataforma. Within the city's walls, even the casual observer will see a relatively de-populated area, in which there seem to be few houses but many ruined walls and mounds of dirt. This neighborhood, clearly uninhabited or less inhabited, corresponds with the parish of San Salvador, which had been a heavily-Morisco quarter until the latter half of the sixteenth century. That a visual representation of the city so clearly demonstrates the absence of people in a specific and noticeable neighborhood is testament to the visible physical effects of the Morisco expulsion.

3.5 Conclusion

The sixteenth century saw the development of advances in cartography, and a growth in the popularity of visual representations of cities. These representations, produced for a variety of audiences both public and private, exist to greater or lesser degree for Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan. In the case of Tetouan, a single image from this time period is the only visual evidence of the city's condition in the late sixteenth century, and demonstrates both the city's strategic importance and its physical form before the arrival of the Moriscos. In the case of Granada, one image from the early seventeenth century demonstrates the direct and clear results of depopulation in what had been a heavily-*Morisco* neighborhood. For the city of Rabat, multiple representations of the city produced between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth century, some professionally produced and others naïve, constitute the principal primary sources available for the study of the city's form. Through a brief consideration of relevant images, I hope that I have succeeded in showing both the contexts and contents of the cities at hand.

Chapter 4

Neighborhoods: Urban Systems, Processes, and Legacies

The migration of the *Moriscos* serves as a point of rupture and, four centuries after, a prism through which we can analyze the connections between social and formal changes at sites of both departure and arrival. The three cities discussed here, one of which lost significant populations and two of which gained, fit into different typological models for the physical form of the city; in all three cases, however, practical considerations drove urban form. The systems and processes to be examined here are ones that are both spatial and administrative: I will examine enclosure and openness, legal legacies, and large-scale interventions arising from either the masses (in the case of the construction of what is known as the Andalusian wall in Rabat) or the government (in the case of property seizures in Granada.)

Granada presents a fascinating case for the study of the transition from Muslim to Christian, to heterogeneous Christian (which was the case after 1492 but before the late sixteenth century) to homogeneous Christian (at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion from the city) Spain. Granada is the site upon which the fundamental transformation of Spain from that of disparate kingdoms to one of Spain, conceptualized as a unified whole in idea if not necessarily in geography, saw some of the earliest articulations of aesthetic and administrative ideologies. Social, spatial, and administrative relationships, inclusive of those were altered through changes occasioned by the transformation of, first, the dominant confessional group and, second, by the transformation from heterogeneous to homogeneous society. These relationships were at various scales: of the individual with the individual, of the individual with the collective, of the individual with the state (which was itself both individual and collective, in terms of the location of central power in the monarch, but with the administration of that power occurring on the local level), and the state with the collective. At all of these levels, be they of the individual performance of social roles, of the state's changing of the legal status of the individual through decree predicated upon the individual's status at birth, or of the collective performance of identity by both majoritarian and minoritarian

religious and ethnic groups, the monarchy inserted itself as an interpretive agent.

The emerging Spanish state, consisting first of the unified Castile and Leon, identified itself actively and primarily with Catholic doctrine; as such, the city of Granada held a particular symbolic importance for its historical role in its resistance to Christianity. In the late sixteenth century, the city's *Morisco* population was significant in terms of its expression as a percentage of the city's total population. This *Morisco* population resided and functioned within the urban systems of production of the city,¹ it was concentrated in the *Albaicín*. Although its members did live in all portions of the city, it was in this one neighborhood where their presence was particularly strong, and it was involved in civic, social, and commercial aspects of the city. Moreover, in the Granada of the 1560s, the *Morisco* population was one composed of both a local one that had descended directly from the city and region's Nasrid-era Muslim families, and a pan-Iberian one consisting of the descendants of the peninsula's Muslim families, particularly those that had been particularly devout or politicized Muslims who, in the centuries of the *Reconquista*, participated in a multi-staged migration pursuing religious and political refuge in the ever-smaller area of Muslim domination.

Although the Great Expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Spain occurred in the early seventeenth century, it is the Granada of the late sixteenth century that requires our attention for the study of post-*Morisco* urban transformation. The expulsions that occurred between 1609 to 1614, intended to rid Spain entirely of the *Morisco* population, whose political and religious allegiances were questionable, were ones that were enacted upon subsequent regions through serially-issued regional decrees. These declarations (and the ensuing social upheaval that resulted) affected Granada only marginally: the city's *Moriscos*, having been expelled in 1570, had in many cases emigrated from Granada but not from Spain. The *Morisco* populations that were expelled in 1609-14 encompassed large numbers of previously-Granadan *Moriscos* who had migrated to Castile as a result of the expulsion from Granada. The later expulsions, thus, affected the universal *Morisco* population: they did not, however, affect urbanism in relationship to the *Moriscos* in the way that the 1570 expulsion from Granada had.

After the expulsion of the Granadan *Moriscos* from both the city and kingdom of Granada, the relationship of *Moriscos* to the urban environment had been fundamentally changed in all of Spain. In the mid-sixteenth century, the two kingdoms with the largest *Morisco* populations had been Granada and Valencia. The elimination of the *Moriscos* from Granada effaced the urban *Morisco* as a collective population from Spain. A study of the relationship of urban changes linked to the *Morisco* expulsion from Spain must then, in its Iberian context, focus not upon the time period immediately before and after the Grand Expulsion, but upon the time period surrounding the earlier, Granadan expulsion. The

¹The *Moriscos* of the city of Granada, while they may have had connections with their rural brethren around the Kingdom of Granada, were not transitory or temporary populations with immediate rural origins. This is in contrast to the *Moriscos* of Valencia, where the vast majority of *Moriscos* were rural and responsible for a majority of the Kingdom's agrarian manual labor.

expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Granada was particularly symbolically potent in terms of official urban restructuring and reinterpretation. Even 78 years after the city's fall, the city remained formally and socially hybrid. It is this hybridity that both small- and large-scale urban changes sought to efface through both policy and individual practice, whether explicitly or tacitly. These changes in Granada were brought about by actors as varied as the individual and the Madrid-based monarchy, and were on levels ranging from that of interior building elements to that of street alignment and the form of plazas.

Similar transformations were occurring in the Maghreb. The urban development of Rabat leading to the *medina* and casbah that we know today, and which consists of both pre-*Morisco* and post-*Morisco* changes, occurred with a post-classical sequence in which urban florescence and decline was tied to the power and fortunes of the dynasties in place. Relative power and weakness of the city corresponded also to the importance that different administrations placed on this particular coastal city's role.²

The Almoravid period, which preceded the Almohad period and from which archaeological remains have recently (2005-6) been discovered, consisted of the construction of a small-scale set of defensive structures, including a walled and arcuated area near the mouth of the Bou Regreg. Little is known about the city during the Almoravid period. Its relative importance would not have been particularly great, and the urban elements constructed during this period were supplanted and superseded by the works of the Almohads.

The Almohad period contributed to the city's monumental structures through the creation of city walls, the original casbah, and the construction of the Great Mosque that houses the former minaret today known as the Hassan Tower. These interventions, which defined two large-scale enclosures and created today what constitute the bulk of the historical, were suited for the needs of the day. The population, which was relatively large, would have consisted of both a civilian and a military population, as the city had administrative, commercial, and military needs. The streets within the walled enclosure of the *medina* would have been largely rectilinear, a practical concession to the speed with which the city was constructed, and within the larger tradition of military encampments: the city's original purpose was as a base from which to conduct maritime *jihad* against the Spanish *Reconquista*. The city became the Almohad capital under Ya'coub el-Manşūr, the patron of the Hassan tower. The city of this time period was defined by its defensive nature, as evident in both the casbah and monumental scale of the walls patronized by the mid-twelfth-century 'Abd el-Mu'min. The interventions of the Almohad period, providing large-scale infrastructure for a militarized population at an empire's new capital, constitute the greatest part of the framework of the city that the Andalusian immigrants would inhabit and modify.

The city's Almohad fabric would have consisted of two layers of interventions, the first of permanent structures, and the second of temporary encampments for short-term military populations. This latter set of interventions has left few, if any, indications save the indi-

²Roman-era remains in what was then *Sala Colonia*, now known as Chellah, are not known to have been discovered within either the casbah or the larger Almohad precinct.

cation of what would have been a great need for defended space. Variable and temporary populations in service of the city and the Almohad project would have resided within the boundaries of the monumental defensive walls. Portions of the city with permanent construction would have been inhabited by civilians as well as long-term military residents. Large portions of Rabat's *medina*, as they stand today, appear to be adaptations of the fabric of the Almohad urban legacy. Like Roman military cities, the streets of Almohad Rabat were relatively straight and orthogonally related. Unlike Roman military cities, however, the streets of Rabat did not exist in a regular grid, legible to and navigable by anyone. Instead, a warped mega-grid, subdivided by non-continuous secondary streets, created a street pattern that would have been fully navigable only by residents. Through its illegibility to the outsider, the street patterns of Almohad Rabat demonstrate the city's intrinsically defensive nature.

After a period of decline between the Almohad and Merinid periods, Rabat-Salé underwent a second period of florescence, this one in the Merinid style, when the city became the new dynasty's capital: the large-scale interventions that remain of the period are in the form of religious and infrastructural improvements. Additionally, the remains of an exceptional high-decoration facade allow us to determine the position of a street that would have dated to that era or earlier, and several houses of Merinid-era massing (which are evocative in form to Merinid-era houses in Fez) also appear to remain. The bulk of notable Merinid remains in the urban complex of Rabat-Salé are found in the cities of Salé and the Roman *Sala Colonia*, rather than in Rabat, is evidence. This suggests that the city of Rabat proper, although important (and with a Great Mosque of not insignificant size) was equal or secondary in importance to the smaller neighboring enclosures of Chellah and Salé. In Salé, the Great Mosque formed a complex with the *madrassa* (religious school); in Chellah, a similar complex of mosque and school existed, and a significant complex of burial sites amplified the site's importance.

Sufficient investment in infrastructure existed such that at least one Merinid fountain remains in the city. Many of the city's more large-scale residential structures can be argued to have Merinid roots. Rather than displaying the elongated courtyard form present in Andalusian houses and those present in *Morisco* structures, the Merinid courtyards of Fez, for example, are almost cubes in their volumes: many of the residential structures within the city of Rabat, although their dates of construction in their current forms are within the past two centuries, appear Merinid in origin, particularly those that do more violence than others to what is, in its essence, a modified grid street pattern. The histories of individual houses in Rabat are difficult to know in their specificity, however, as family-owned documentation is inaccessible, and other documentation either never existed or was erased from existence at one of many possible historical periods of the city. We must, therefore, consider houses in the aggregate as representatives of differing typologies that were popular in different periods of construction.

Between the Merinid and the *Morisco* periods, the complex of Rabat-Salé was reduced in terms of its administrative, religious, and urban importance; this reflected the relative

weakness of the Wattasid dynasty that succeeded the Merinid. When the Saadian dynasty took power, it focused its rule on the North African interior: the cities of Fez and Marrakech, in particular, were important loci of power at the intersections of large-scale trans-Saharan trade routes (in the case of Marrakech) and at the seat of a region of intense importance for religion, learning, and agricultural production (in the case of Fez.) After the Merinid decline, Portuguese incursions along the Atlantic coast of the Maghreb lead to a coastline dotted with European-controlled coastal fortifications.

Rabat-Salé, at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion, was effectively a backwater with little connection to the seats of power. It is precisely this power vacuum, compounded with the rapid transformation accompanying migration by an unstable population, that engendered the struggles for space and power of the early seventeenth century. Interventions to the city during this period consisted of modifications to the pre-existing fabric through residential construction at a vernacular scale, the repurposing of defensive structures, and the creation of new, small-scale defensive elements.

4.1 Legacies of the Built Environment

One way in which we can read the city is through morphological relationships between streets, paths, and significant structures in the city. Arguing that the direction of the qibla changed between dynasties: Michael Bonine proposes the reconstruction of a chronology for Moroccan congregational mosques in Rabat as well as other cities through the analysis of the orientations of mosques' qiblas within the city.³ This argument is useful for an analysis of the city in relationship to the *Moriscos* and their interventions. Given a general lack of written urban history during or about the *Morisco* period, physical studies remain as testament to historical shifts. Dynastic differences are reified in the landscape.

Both Rabat and Salé are largely orthogonally aligned. Bonine locates the general angle of the streets within the city of Rabat to be between 140 and 143 degrees (including the *Rue des Consuls* and the *Rue Oukkasa* to its south.) Given that the angle of the *qibla* of the Merinid-era main mosque is 139, Bonine notes that the relationship between the angles of the streets and the city is strong. The predominant direction of the core of the *medina* reflects the Merinid-era qibla angle of the Great Mosque. This, however, is not necessarily purely derived from religious conviction, mathematical, or astronomical calculation: Bonine points out that this angle is correspondent with the general contours of the topography.⁴

³Michael Bonine, ““The Sacred Direction and the City Structure: A Preliminary Analysis of the Islamic Cities of Morocco””, *Muqarnas: An Annual of Islamic Art and Architecture* 4 (1996): 50–72

⁴Michael Bonine, ““The Sacred Direction and the City Structure: A Preliminary Analysis of the Islamic Cities of Morocco””, *Muqarnas: An Annual of Islamic Art and Architecture* 4 (1996): p. 65-67. Bonine notes that the lower part of the street of Muhammad V (the Gza neighborhood) and Sidi Fatah street are at a different angle (158 degrees) from the predominant section of the *medina*. What Bonine does not take into account in this exception is that both of these streets are the product of significantly later, colonial-era interventions to the city's form. Sidi Fatah street bears interesting testament to the changing orientation

We need not conclude, however, that because the direction-of-orientation of the Merinid-era mosque and that of the *medina* streets of Rabat so closely align, that the city's fabric itself is a Merinid-era product. The angles of Rabat's streets are correspondent with general topographic contours. Religious conviction, astronomical observation, and mathematical calculations are not, however, beyond the range of possible and likely influences to the city's form. A combination of these, compounded with different practical, social, aesthetic and legal factors influence all cities, not just Rabat. In Granada, the form of the city (as it was inherited by the Catholic Kings, and as it is today, as the example par excellence of Islamic-era urbanism in Iberia) was determined by Islam as a religious, social, and legal system. Although the Catholic Kings and their Habsburg successors sought the elimination of Muslim domination of Granada on several levels, ranging from that of administrative and legal rule (in the case of the Catholic Kings at the time of the city's fall) to that of cultural dominance (by the time of Philip II and his expulsion of the *Moriscos* from the city), several instruments of Islamic law and practice remained in the city. These underwent transformations parallel to those experienced by many of the city's urban elements: adaptation, rather than complete replacement, brought Granadan society in line with a centralized Spanish vision of itself. Both spatially and ideologically, the Catholic administration adopted elements of the city (and its collective practices) that it inherited from the Muslim-era city to its advantage.

One particularly important instrument for the perpetuation of wealth and social standing in Islamic-era Granada was that of the the Islamic land trust, the *habous*. The transition in Granada from an Islamic legal system in the late Nasrid era to one in which Old and New Christian were considered equal (but, of course, some more equal than others) to one in which only Old Christian status was viewed as having legal standing underwent several

of the city in response to French realignment projects. The realignment project itself is documented in an un-numbered map in the local office of the *Wizarat al-Iskan wal-Ta'mir*, the Ministry of Housing and Urbanization. I came across this map during an early search, before the department's archives were re-organized; I was never able to find it again after the re-organization. The map itself, however, shows a plan of a portion of Sidi Fatah street, and within that, the re-alignment of facades such that ones that extended beyond the area of alteration would be removed and their corresponding buildings made smaller; others, conversely, were modified to be slightly larger. Additionally, several structures on Sidi Fatah street have been re-oriented and re-aligned through the construction of hallways and the addition of presumably new front doors to the structure for access.) While the street of Sidi Fatah still bears testament to re-alignment through re-negotiated relationships of structures to the street, the Gza portion of Muhammad V is the street in the *medina* that serves as the continuation of the grand processional street (currently named Muhammad V) in the French colonial *ville nouvelle*. This street, where the post office, bank, and train station were all located during the colonial era, and which features both a palm-tree-lined *allée* and *loggias*, was, as the main street of the capital of the French protectorate, the one through which the extent of French colonial ambitions with Morocco were expressed. Additionally, as an example in which the *ville nouvelle* was not separated from the city with a *cordon sanitaire* (as was the case in Fez), the physical integration of the fabric of the *medina* into the French colonial urban aesthetic was a means through which French control was expressed: this was done through an approach that included the removal of a portion of the internal city wall (the so-called Andalusian wall), the construction of the central market, the puncturing of arches through part of the Almohad wall for the introduction of non-pedestrian traffic, and the continuation of the street of Muhammad V as a straight, broad continuation of its upper, colonial emblem.

intermediate transformations. Both intermediate and major changes accompanied ideological re-articulations of the state in terms of its views of its role/s and the identity of its subjects.

The negotiation of urban form that occurred in post-Nasrid Granada occurred at both monumental and vernacular scales, and affected individual structures as well as the urban fabric as a whole. One particularly interesting aspect of Granada in its transition from Muslim city to Catholic center was the adaptation of previously-existing systems of property ownership and revenue known as the *ḥabous*. The *ḥabous* system, called in Spanish and in the Nasrid dialect *habice* and known elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking Muslim world as a *waqf*, is, broadly speaking, a system of land trusts. In its simplest iterations, the *ḥabous* is a system in which the maintenance and general care of properties (usually but not limited to pious institutions of some sort) is provided through the deeding of future revenues of other properties (frequently, but not necessarily, businesses) in their service: the deeded property, while not strictly becoming the property of the pious foundation, exists in its perpetual service. This system of land trusts enables for the preservation of wealth within a family line (as one possibility one form of *ḥabous* provided for families as beneficiaries rather than pious institutions) and for the perpetuation of the wealth of any given mosque or other religious institution, through the deeding of revenues from associated parcels and businesses to that mosque or institution.

The *ḥabous* system existed between the public and private, and between the monumental and the vernacular, in that it encompassed both public and private lands, structures small as well as large. For the purpose of the study of the city of Granada, the *ḥabous* system, significantly, was one that existed across epochs: it was one that transitioned from Muslim to Christian city and that effectively provides testament to multiple systems of property ownership and meaning. The *ḥabous* system was maintained across the two transitions of, first, the transfer of power from Muslim to Christian and, second, of the abolition of Islam, first in Granada and then in Spain.

In Granada, the specifics of the *habices* extant in the Nasrid period have been preserved through the early-sixteenth century reiteration of these properties in the service of the newly-created Christian state. After the fall of the city to the Catholic kings and the attendant wholesale restructuring of social, economic, urban-architectural and religious forms, which was in some cases done through the adaptation of pre-existing forms to Christian ones, and in others the adoption of Nasrid-Muslim forms to Christian frameworks. Entirely new forms of governance and administration were, largely, absent from this transformative equation. Radical urban interventions, however, were not: both structurally and ideologically, the city was transformed. These transformations, located in both public and private structures, began with an articulated ontological reconsideration of the city's public elements.

An examination of the *habices*, which in Granada, as in other cities, encompassed a variety of both urban and rural land holdings, can serve as an indication of several urban and social truths of late Nasrid Granada.⁵ The integration of both rural and urban holdings

⁵María Cristina Villanueva Rico, “*Habices de las mezquitas de la ciudad de Granada y sus alquerías*”

into the property portfolio of any given pious foundation (be it a neighborhood mosque or the city's congregational mosque) is significant for three major reasons. First, the variety of holdings can reflect the geographical distribution of properties owned by residents of the city who, presumably, had interest in the perpetuation of their local pious foundations. Second, the incidence of *habices* serves as testament to the geographical distribution of wealth. Third, the breadth of the geographical influence of any given pious institution, particularly in the existence of rural holdings correlated to urban institutions, is a testament to the geographical area of influence both of the individual institution involved and the city as a whole.

While the original *ḥabous* documents for the city no longer exist, and thus knowledge of the identities of donors have been lost, the early sixteenth century, after royally-driven juridical intervention, resulted in a re-organized set of documents that reflected the sixteenth-century state of the citywide *ḥabous* holdings for the city of Granada, the product of an official process of inventory and inspection.

Ḥabous documents serve as small-scale narratives of the relationship between landed individuals and religious establishments: these records reflect both faith and finances. They are reflections of families' investment in both a place (on the city, neighborhood, and building scale) and in the perpetuity of religious institutions. There were two major types of *ḥabous*, both interrelated: while one type was more concerned with family benefit, the other was more concerned with religious institutions.⁶ In both cases, however, a system for perpetual benefit derived from property-based income is central: the private individual (and the rights of the private individual) are accorded secondary importance in relationship to the system of benefit. The *ḥabous* was, on the one hand, a system of the Islamic establishment that was a perpetuation of the status quo on several levels. In the case of a religious *ḥabous* (in which, for example, a mosque and its imam would be designated the beneficiaries), it explicitly and directly ensured the growth and perpetuity of religious institutions. The system also perpetuated family power and guaranteed land ownership, with no possibility of the loss of that ownership. Even a family *ḥabous* could ultimately serve the entrenched religious system: in the case that the descendants of a family were to die off, leaving the *ḥabous* without a beneficiary, the *ḥabous* would, in that case, revert to a *ḥabous* for the benefit of a religious establishment. The *ḥabous* was also a potentially subversive mechanism, however. The establishment of a *ḥabous* by the member of an older generation could, particularly if the younger generation were in conflict, guarantee that the wishes of the *paterfamilias*, rather than the progeny, be carried out. The *ḥabous* system also eluded normal systems of property inheritance (as the property was not being inherited but, instead, undergoing an ontological shift from property *per se* to income-generating device beyond the boundaries of individual ownership) and would have allowed women, for example, to benefit much more from collectively-owned devices of income generation than they would have from inherited

(Madrid, 1961), p. 2-3

⁶Randi Deguilhem, "The Waqf in the City", in *The City in the Islamic World*, **editor** Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 923–954 See especially pp. 928-932 for an explanation of the types of *waqfs* involved.

private property.

Ḥabous records exist for the seventeenth century or earlier for two of the three cities under consideration. The ḥabous records for these two cities, Granada and Tetouan, provide vastly varying amounts and types of information. While it may initially seem shocking that the city for which the most extensive record at the time surrounding the *Morisco* expulsion is Granada, the historical reason for this is relatively simple. While Tetouan in the seventeenth century had what amounted to an emerging, rather than an entrenched, civil society of recent immigrants in a relatively new city grounded in dissent from Spain and its imposition of Catholicism, Granada had been a Muslim-ruled capital city for centuries that had transferred to a new set of rulers that, in their program for the transition of both administrative and religious rule, adopted and adapted pre-existing legal and land-ownership systems. Initially after the fall of Granada, parallel systems of Islamic and Spanish statal jurisprudence existed side by side, with Muslims subject to Islamic law (as interpreted and applied by local judges and jurists) and Christians subject to Spanish law on a Castilian model. After the elimination of Islam from Granada, deeply entrenched systems that posed no ideological threat to Catholic religious ideology or administration, such as that of the ḥabous, remained.

The pre-existing ḥabouses of the mosques of Granada represent one of the two types that would have existed in the city (as private, family ḥabouses would not have been subject to the large-scale, public systemic transition to which mosque ḥabouses were.) Through the Granada ḥabouses, we get an inventory of the types and kinds of properties associated with mosques at the time of the city's transformation to a Catholic city. These ḥabouses are not from the decades immediately precedent to the *Morisco* expulsion; they are, however, documents that demonstrate the complexity and extent of the linked religious and economic systems of the city at all levels. Because records were preserved only as a descriptive rather than as a historical tool, we have only information for these properties at the moment of transition. The moment of transition of the system, however, conveniently occurred at the dates of interest to a study of *Morisco*-linked urban transformations. Ḥabouses were associated with parish mosques as well as the city's great mosque, and the range of properties associated with these religious institutions ranged from extremely modest income-generating properties to the complex of silk merchants' shops adjacent to the great mosque in the *alcaicería*.

While the ḥabous documentation for late sixteenth-century Granada is extensive, no analog for the city of Tetouan exists from such an early date. The city is not without its records, however. The rare Tetouani mosque ḥabous document from the early seventeenth century, reflecting involvement with the religious structures of the city (that were constructed in the years after the *Morisco* arrival) is significant because it serves as a testament to the relationship between society and built environment. This testament is not more than nominal, however, as records are relatively few. We cannot interpret the total extent to which either the *Moriscos* had, in fact, maintained Islamic traditions and systems of financial support for benevolent and religious organizations, the speed with which they re-adopted

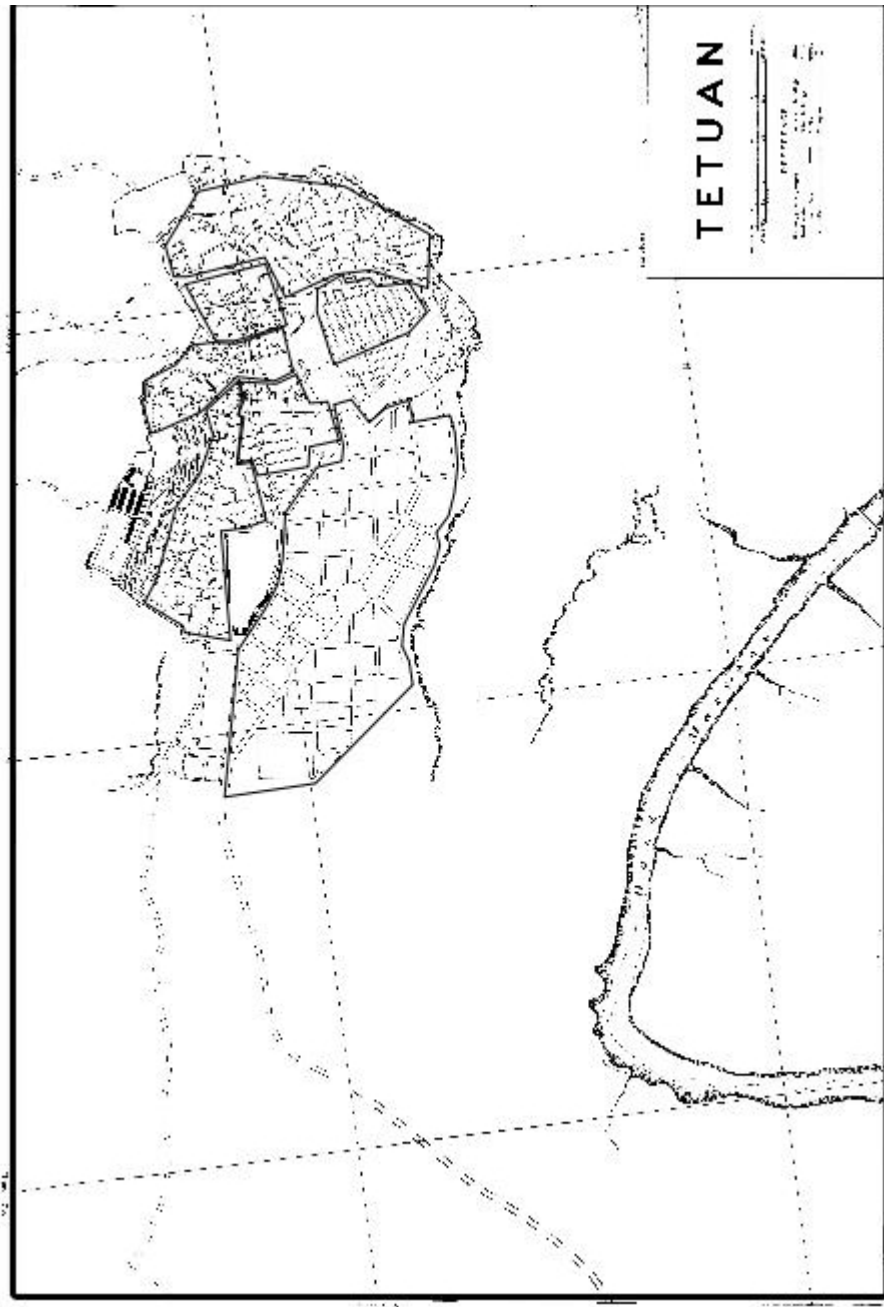


Figure 4.1: An overview of the city of Tetouan. The city is near, but not immediately next to, the river. The city's form is informed by topography. US Army Map Service, *Town Plan of Tetouan* (1942)

these in their new contexts, or the extent to which non-*Moriscos*⁷ were involved in the establishment and maintenance of the single mosque in the city. We can, however, establish that both parties were involved in the establishment and perpetuation of Islamic institutions and benevolent organizations.

That ḥabous documents for this time period exist at all for this city is remarkable: presuming *Morisco* donors for at least some structures in the new, *Morisco*-populated addition to the city, wealth acquisition (such that some of that wealth could be deeded to a pious institution) happened relatively quickly. This can speak to the robustness of the economy as well as to the rapid integration of this population with the city's previous inhabitants. Additionally, although all residents of the city may not have had long-term aspirations to settle in exile, those who owned sufficient land or structures to give some of those to pious organizations and saw fit to endow those in perpetuity demonstrated a commitment to the new city. Although the structures in question were no doubt humble ones in either scale (as the mosque of El-^ʿUyun, to which the ḥabous in question belong, certainly is) and/or construction, investment in the structures and the religious and social systems that they represent is significant.

4.2 Between Private Interest and Charitable Cause

4.2.1 The Mosque of el-^ʿUyun and the Ḥabous

Of the three mosques in the ^ʿUyun quarter, only the mosque of Sidi ^ʿAli el-Ju^ʿaidī, more commonly known as the ^ʿUyun mosque, has attendant ḥabous documents that serve as testament to its social and economic importance in the seventeenth century. The earliest dated ḥabous document corresponding to this mosque is from the first days of Rabiʿ al-thaani in 1017 hijri, corresponding to July of 1608, preceding both the morisco expulsion and the massive morisco-occasioned linear expansion into the Tetouani countryside immediately surrounding the *medina* in its late-sixteenth century state.

On the principal street of el-^ʿUyūn, the construction of three mosques in subsequent order is no coincidence. In the case of this particular street, they are evidence both of linear urban growth and the nature of early-seventeenth-century Tetouani society. The order of construction of these three structures reflects the outward growth of the city. The mosque of Sīdī ^ʿAlī el-Msimdī was said to have been built by el-Msimdi himself; this was in the year 1020 emphhijrī (1611-12.) The next mosque in the linear progression of mosque construction in this neighborhood is that of el-Ju^ʿaidi; that structure was built in 1030 h. (1620-21), also by himself. The construction of these two structures by the patrons after which they are named (presumably, the construction itself was not done manually entirely by the men considered here) is indicative of the possibility for individuals to amass a certain amount of wealth.

⁷The ḥabous documents for the ^ʿUyun mosque, while they name the giver of the ḥabous, do not identify whether or not the person in question is a recently-immigrated *Morisco* .

These were neither large nor elaborate mosques. Their construction, however, speaks of the existence of a religious following for their founders. The facility with which these mosques were built in the city indicates a lack of resistance to popular religious movements, and the small scale of these structures seems to reflect, on the one hand, a general poverty (on the parts of both patrons and society at large) and, on the other, an informality in religious expression that may or may not have emerged from the removal of formal possibilities for religious expression in Spain with the prohibition of Islam in the early sixteenth century. The third mosque on this street, al-Jadīda, is reported to have been built by the Andalusians in 1050 (1640-1.)⁸ The construction of this mosque by this collective population is indicative of a) this population's resignation to permanence in the area, b) possible Andalusian social and religious cohesiveness, c) some sort of accumulation of wealth by this population, however modest, and d) the presence of, or a return to, Islam (in terms of belief and practice) on the part of this population. Furthermore, the construction of this mosque on the outskirts of this expanding section of the city reflects this population's concentration in this neighborhood.

Documentation surrounding the ^cUyun mosque from this date, which serves as an indication of the mosque's social (and, subsequently, economic) weight, is evidence of several things: first, the linear growth of Tetouan surrounding the post-Nasrid Andalusian core, while spurred and accelerated by the morisco influx into the area, was not necessarily motivated exclusively by this migratory influx. Topographical and demographic factors together could have already been leading to the city's extramural linear extension. Second, the El-^cUyun mosque was not strictly a *Morisco* project: although the ^cUyun quarter is identified with the *Moriscos* (in terms both of the quarter's population and the particular moment of the quarter's growth), the ^cUyun mosque was not designed exclusively by and for the *Morisco* community. It was, instead, the product of a dynamic community with interests in a small-scale structure vernacular in its physical expression; this community was composed both of long-term and more recent immigrants. In both cases, the producing community was one that possessed no monumental mosque as historical memory, and for whom the typological model for the mosque was derived from local Tetouani models (themselves an import and construction derived from collective historical memory.) Third, the El-^cUyun mosque, despite its humble construction methods and scale, was the product of capital (in terms of property holdings) that was larger than the scale of the mosque itself. While the mosque itself is a relatively small structure (in terms of mosques generally), it is larger than other nearby mosques (and larger than the two mosques of El-Msimdi and el-Jadida, built in the same time period.) More importantly, it was the product (both at the time of its construction and through its maintenance) of larger scales of land. El-^cUyun was not built strictly to respond to hyper-local needs: both local property (ranging from a property abutting the mosque structure itself) and more distant were involved in the construction, maintenance, and perpetuation (as both architectural and social structure) of the mosque.

⁸Aḥmad Rhoni, *Historia de Tetouan*, **cbytranslator** Moḥammad b. ^cAzzouz Ḥakim (Tetouan: Instituto Franco de estudios e investigación hispano-árabe, 1953), p. 77-8

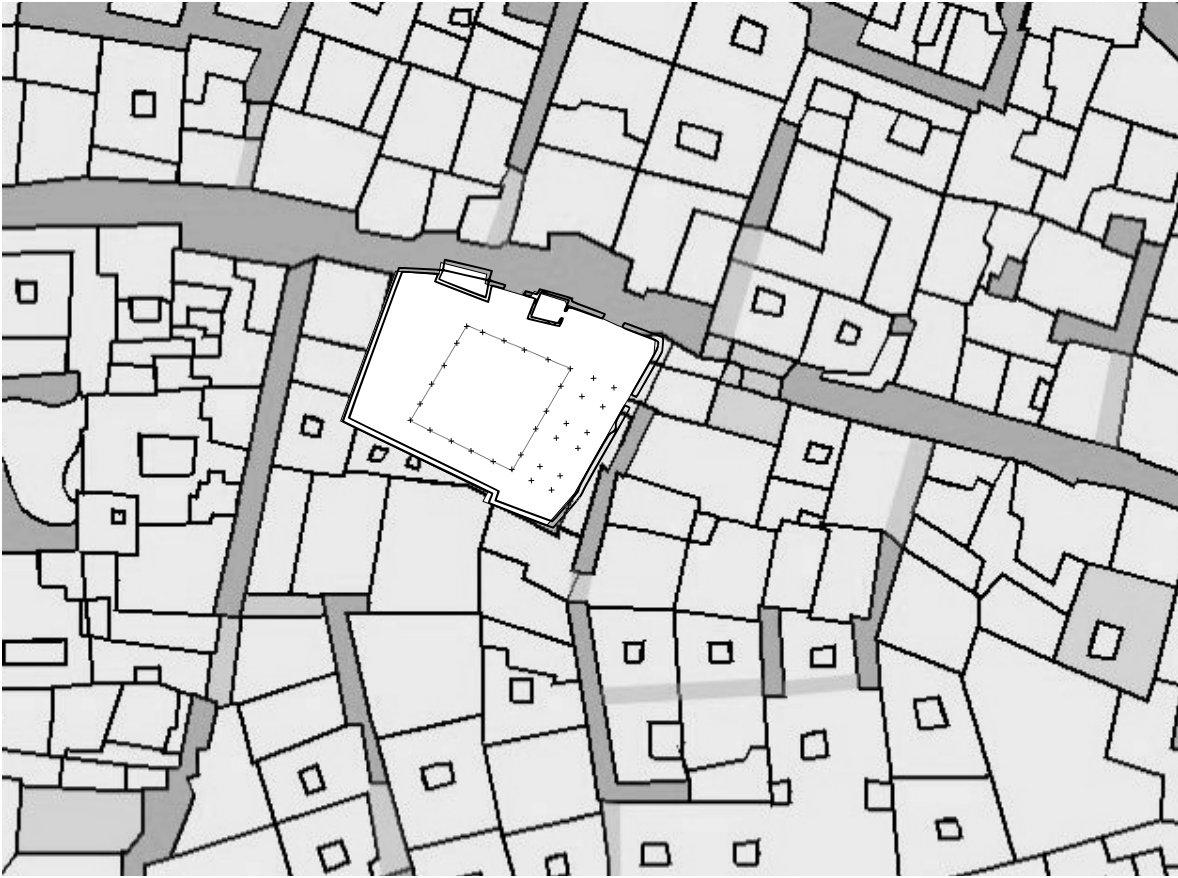


Figure 4.2: The Uyun Mosque. Column placement and numeration are approximate.

The earliest dated ḥabous document concerning the El-^cUyun mosque tells of land, an extended family, and the role of the mosque in the community. The document is in which one Muḥammad b. Mūsa ^cAbd el-Samd ... al-Waddāssi bequeaths his property to his children Muḥammad, Ya^cqoub, and ^cAli. The properties in question are open areas located in Wādi Shāmiṣa; a sāqiyya, a water-channel, is either on or near the property/ies, and the property is also near or abutting communally-owned land, *kaysha*. The document itself deeds the property involved, and all buildings that may be on it, to al-Waddaassi's progeny, and their progeny, in perpetuity. The order in which inheritance occurs is specified, and the statement is made that fathers take precedence in inheritance over their sons.

The ḥabous is a family ḥabous, and is designed to provide for the perpetual aid of the family; the stipulation is made, however, that in the case that if there is no one to inherit the properties (and, presumably, the fiscal benefits that they provide), that the property would then become the perpetual ḥabous of three mosques. They are referred to as *the* three mosques, and are then specified to consist of the mosque of Sīdī ^cAli el-Ju^caidi (commonly

known as El-^cUyun), that of another mosque (the writing is unclear; it is possible but not definite that it is Al-Msimdī), and that of the mosque of al-Rabḍ al-Kabīr. All three of these mosques are stated as being in Tetouan.⁹

One would presume that, given three offspring in the first generation, the lands involved would always benefit the individuals of the family; this particular document, however, is found in the records pertaining to the El-^cUyun mosque. The declaration of intention may have been filed with the mosque from the point at which the ḥabous was declared: given a family ḥabous, it is not unreasonable to expect that the administration of inheritance and the division of profits would be the responsibility of a community member belonging either to the clergy or the legal profession who would see to an equitable distribution of inherited lands, as stipulated in the original ḥabous document. As the ḥabous document itself was probably with the collected papers of the ḥabous of the El-^cUyun mosque from the point of its original declaration (as the document in question does not state that it is a copy of an original), we cannot know the extent to which the structure (both physically and socially, in terms of its building, its employees, and its maintenance) benefited from the profits of the rural lands in question. We do not know the distance from Tetouan at which these lands were located, the size of the lands in question, or what (if any) crops they produced. What we do know, however, and which tells us something significant about the relationship of the religious institutions of the city and the residents of the city itself, is that the institutions themselves were a location for investment: even if the investment was not in the form of a strict ḥabous to the institution, confidence in the institution such as to name it the alternative beneficiary of a ḥabous indicates the institution's stability. That such social stability existed so closely in time to the *Moriscos*' expulsion is a reflection of the extent to which *Moriscos* were integrated into Tetouani society.

The history of the building itself and its immediately-surrounding area were subject to revision: one document dating to Rajab of 1119 h. (September 1707), nearly a century after the arrival of the *Moriscos* and the construction of the mosque of El-^cUyun, serves as a reminder that structures and their relationships to the urban landscape are forever changing. In this document one Mr. ^cAbdul¹⁰ owns a house whose door faces the door of the El-^cUyun mosque. This man has built a structure eight *loḥs* in depth and one and a half *loḥs* in width.¹¹ As a result of this construction, the man is to pay the mosque a fixed annual sum: it appears that the man either constructed on some of the mosque's right-of-way, used a supporting wall from the mosque, or constructed on some land the benefit of which was in fiscal relationship to the mosque. Although this particular ḥabous document

⁹“Bihi ḥabbasa al-mu^callim Muḥammad b. Mūsa ...” In the collection of ḥabous documents for the mosque of El-^cUyun.” ()Ḥabous document located in the section of documents pertaining to the El-^cUyun mosque Note that this document dates to the year before the *Morisco* expulsion.

¹⁰There is a lacuna in the original such that the name is not legible in full. The name had been located near the edge of a leaf, which has been worn down or eroded.

¹¹“Ḥabous document dated Rajab, 1119. Documents pertaining to the El-^cUyun mosque. Tetouan local office of the Ministry of ḥabous and Islamic Affairs, Tetouan” ()

does not tell us about the *Morisco* -era history of the El-^cUyun mosque, the significance of this later document is that of reminder about emerging complications in spatial and fiscal relationships between mosque and city. This document, also, serves as reminder that despite the mosque's seventeenth-century construction, the physical expression of the city (and, likely, of the mosque itself) was not a product of a single historical moment.

4.2.2 The Ḥabous in Rabat

In Rabat, records (and, notably, the lack of pre-colonial records) that show the relationship of religious structures to real property were, presumably, forever altered as the result of the city's late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century legal and physical restructuring under the French: this restructuring was both that of the city of Rabat *per se* and the Moroccan city collectively. The redefinition of may have been felt more acutely in Rabat because it was this city that underwent drastic transformation from small coastal city to administrative capital.) Records were consolidated such that the current records of Rabati ḥabous show not the cumulative history of individual transaction but, instead, the aggregate result of transactions.

The ḥabous history of Rabat was flattened through the act of consolidation: where previous records would have reflected a finely-grained set of stories of transformations, the colonial consolidation of records simplified the record to a simple list. The list contained only the properties belonging to each individual mosque, and erased the dates of endowment as well as the historical description of each. The Rabati ḥabous documentation that remains in its original form, that is, as property endowment and transfer documents, relatively contemporary. Although a similar erasure occurred in Granada, when the city's ḥabouses were inventoried, the effects upon an attempted reading of the city's sixteenth and seventeenth-century history is radically different. The erasure in Granada occurred in the sixteenth century, giving us a snapshot of the state of the city in its early modern iteration. In Rabat, this happened in the twentieth, effectively giving us a snapshot of the city during its colonial period rather than its early modern one, despite the possible early modern origins of some of the ḥabouses that existed through the colonial period.

The pre-colonial buildings of Rabat, both public and private, in contrast to those of the same time periods in Granada, lack a rich documentary history. Neither sale nor construction documents for private houses are known to exist from the seventeenth century. The ḥabous records for the city, additionally, are frozen in the French colonial time period: any detailed, building-by-building aggregate histories that would have accompanied the city's many non-monumental mosques and zawiyas (religious brotherhoods) were effectively erased in the production of the French colonial-era records. Records that show the relationship of religious structures to real property were, presumably, forever altered as the result of the city's legal restructuring early in the twentieth century.

In 1913, properties formerly overseen by market and tax collectors as well as any existing ḥabous administration underwent an administrative shift: they became, instead, the respon-

sibility of the municipal commission that had been created by France in that same year to oversee the city's growth, interpretation, and administration.¹² This transition, certainly, accounts for the erasure of a detailed history of Rabati land transfer and development, and of the early modern histories of the relationships between ḥabous (as legally established trusts) and their contingent properties. ḥabous records for the city, thus, are virtually non-existent for the pre-colonial era. These records, which would have shown the accumulation of property for the construction of religious institutions, as well as the identities of owners and the dates at which social wealth was such that people were inverting excess wealth in the perpetual profit-generating schemes of ḥabous (whether for themselves or pious institutions) were swallowed by the French colonial administration's needs for order and control.

Individual records following the expansion of the territories and properties in trust to any given structure do not exist: instead, the colonial-era ḥabous books give the property holdings of mosques in list form, with no indication as to the moments or rate of accumulation of land holdings for any mosque. Even public works involving huge expenditures of manpower and, presumably, monetary expenditures, such as the construction of monumental defenses, are undocumented, and are only referred to in passing as *faits-accomplis* in official correspondence. The reconstruction of an architectural history for the *Morisco* -era city, then, must rely upon other resources.

4.3 Locating the *Morisco* era: between two periods of large-scale change

By attempting to locate the form of Rabat during the *Morisco* era, I am undertaking a reverse-engineering of historical city form. The moment that I am trying to locate, and the form with which it corresponds, is in between two moments of large-scale change. The first, the Almohad one of monumental construction and of the establishment of the city as both a capital and a base for maritime *jihād*; the second the French colonial transformation of the city into the capital of the protectorate. This is by no means to say that the Merinid era (during which significant monumental interventions were made, spectacularly near, but not in, the *medina*) nor that the *Morisco* periods were not ones of large-scale change. The two bracketing periods, however, were ones in which large-scale interventions were either documented or extremely monumental in nature, lending to long-term, traceable impacts upon the city as a whole. The Merinid period, while it is known in terms of its effects upon Chellah and Salé, is in Rabat itself largely a speculative object.

The *Morisco* period is in a way the product of negations. It is what the ideologically-driven, generously-financed, large-scale interventions of both the Almohads and the French are not. It is the accumulation of small-scale interventions, with no monumental goals,

¹²[p. 114]William A Hoisington, *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995)

and with little, if any, concrete documentation of specific changes in physical form.¹³ The changes brought to the city of Rabat by the *Moriscos* were pragmatic ones for the purposes of defense, trade, and residence, enacted upon a previously-existing urban framework. These changes were enacted outside of normal mechanisms of Islamic society for the trade, development, and construction of land and buildings. Both the building and social projects of the aggregate communities (*Morisco*, Hornacheros, and Saletin/coastal Maghrebi) that formed early-seventeenth-century Rabat-Salé were within frameworks of liminality and informality: first, *Morisco* presence in Rabat was as the result of the rejection of this population's earlier petition to inhabit Salé; second, the coastal cities generally were removed from the (weak) power structure, and the majority were Iberian-controlled sea-oriented fortresses; third, construction that was undertaken met immediate needs. There were no large-scale social mechanisms in place enforcing particular building standards, typologies, or materials.

Although legal mechanisms, both formal and informal, that would have promoted certain building norms would have been in place, the urban fabric that resulted from *Morisco* occupation was the direct result of pragmatic intervention for the promotion of social cohesion, defense, and trade in a highly informal environment. Compliance with the formal requirements of Islamic urbanism would have been the byproduct of pre-existing social norms, of pre-existing portions of the urban fabric, and of implicit collective understandings of spatial interactions rather than a legalistic or litigation-driven set of impositions. The *Moriscos* would have arrived in the Maghreb with the collective spatial practices of both post-Islamic Iberian urbanism (particularly those with points of origin such as Granada) and of Iberian urbanism and the countryside generally (particularly those with points of origin that were either rural or that consisted of cities that had undergone the transformation from Muslim-ruled to Catholic-ruled much earlier.)

The development of Rabat was carried out upon a landscape formed through the cumulative aggregation of sacred and defensive geographies. The sacred and defensive landscapes of Rabat, particularly the Almohad and Merinid, were boundary markers for *Morisco*-era development. Burial sites, linked with foundation myths, were on open spaces that were beyond the urbanized area of the seventeenth century. The urban history of Rabat is one the details of which have been largely lost. Rabat was a city in which multiple transformations and additions occasioned multiple erasures of memory, both of the histories of individual sites as well as of collective geographical memory on the urban scale. Histories of buildings can, however, be interpreted in the larger contexts of constructed and construction history.

The issue of dating in regards to the religious structures of Rabat is particularly difficult: the few structures in the city for which known and documented dates exist are, first, for the monumental remains of the Almohad dynasty and, second, for elements such as baths and

¹³While both the Almohad and French iterations of the city frame the city as a planned capital (in which the land is a *tabula rasa* in the first case and an adaptable village (transformable, through modernization, into a capital city in the second), the *morisco* model for urban growth in Rabat does not seem to have engaged centralized notions of city planning. Decentralized notions of practical planning were very much deployed, however.

other interventions on the parts of the Merinids. Many of the city's mosques are thought to be the products of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, under Muley Ismail, who ruled at the time from his new capital of Meknes. These many, small mosques that dot the city's residential and small-scale commercial landscape, lack written histories other than the occasional plaque (affixed very much after the fact, largely by the post-colonial Ministry of Islamic Affairs) which asserts that the mosque was constructed by Muley Ismail. I would like to propose, instead, that Muley Ismail did not construct all of these structures that exist at both a vernacular scale and that deploy vernacular construction methods and vocabularies: rather these structures, extant within the urban fabric, were merely updated and restored during that time. The structures themselves (and this is speculative) would have existed before that time.

The periphery of Rabat was initially established through a set of monumental masonry walls in the Almohad period. These walls, which oriented the city around both the shores of the Bou Regreg and the Atlantic Ocean, worked in conjunction with the smaller casbah, on a forty-meter precipice at the mouth of the Bou Regreg, to form a defensive compound. The city of Rabat, in its seventeenth-century iteration, would have possessed four or five main streets that served to connect exterior points to the core of today's *medina*, and that would have served to connect portions of the *medina* with different functions to each other. The first of these streets, and one of the two principal streets of the city, is today named *Al-Qanāsil* (Consuls), due to the historical number of foreign consulates located upon it. This street served to connect the point of the *medina* closest to the *Souq el-Ghzal*, where the slave market was located outside the entrance of the casbah, to a point near the Almohad Hassan Tower and the circular tower named for Sīdī Makhlof, a saintly figure whose journey across the Bou Regreg river serves as one of the city's foundation myths. This street near the casbah would have been the site for *funduqs* (hotels) and ambassadorial residences, near its top (away from the shore) were the sites of multiple burials and shrines. The second main street of the city, perpendicular to the first, along which the Great Mosque of the city is located, would have been a principal site of commerce, more *funduqs*, and religious structures, along with several fountains that served for water distribution and that dated to the Merinid period. Two other streets, also perpendicular to *Al-Qanāsil*, were the sites of Merinid-era baths.

A figure-ground reconstruction of the city of Rabat at the time when it was inhabited by *Moriscos* reflects the reinhabitation of what would have been areas inhabited by both Almohad and Merinid city residents, as well as the construction of small peripheral enclaves within the defensive Almohad walls. Significant amounts of intramural open space would have existed under the *Moriscos* as well. This reconstruction, intended to posit a possible likely pattern of urban inhabitation and growth, is based in the understanding of the *Morisco* and Andalusian inhabitants as highly pragmatic, and with needs for both defense and the maintenance of social structures. The orientation of the city during the *Morisco* -Andalusian period, towards the casbah, and the river and its mouth, would have generated a settlement pattern within the city such that the edges of the Almohad precinct closest to the river

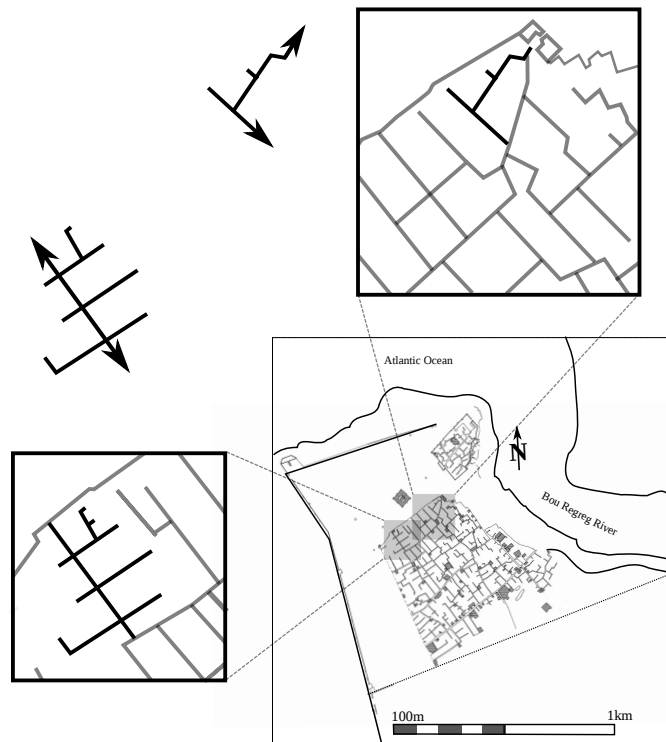


Figure 4.3: Two small-scale *Morisco* enclaves shown within the urbanized intramural areas of Rabat. Note that access to these elements of the city is highly controlled.

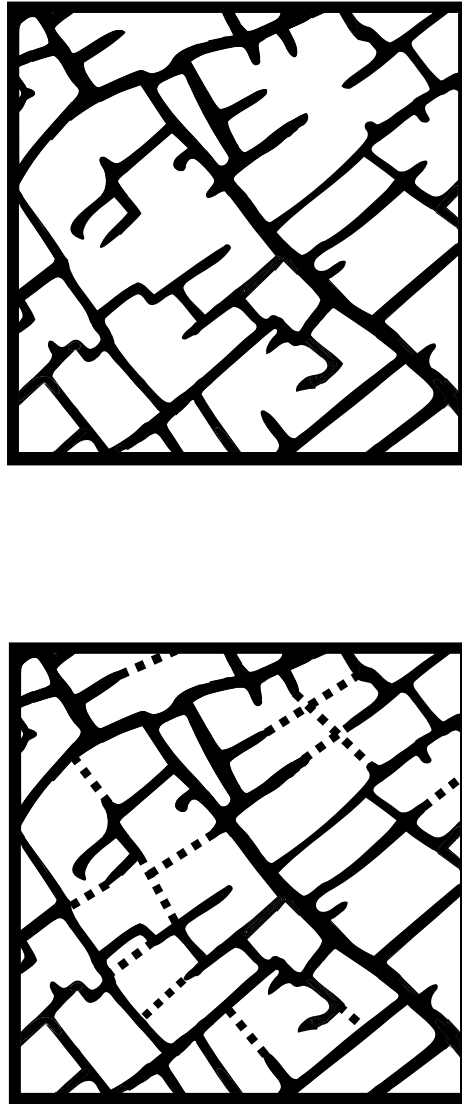


Figure 4.4: A portion of the central part of the Rabat medina, the underlying fabric of which would date to the Almoḥad period. The fundamental component of the Almoḥad city was a warped grid (unlike a Roman *castrum*, the Almoḥad plan was not regular in all directions) that provided free access to all those familiar with its irregularities. The top image shows the *medina*'s current pattern; the bottom image proposes a possible Almoḥad-era configuration (before the irregularization of the street grid through the blocking of some access points. These blockages could have dated to any time period between the Almoḥad and the present era.

would have been the most populous. Populations would have concentrated from that edge and along the main streets still present from Almohad and Merinid interventions, along the street of the Consuls (*Al-Qanāsīl*) and towards both the Merinid-era great mosque and the Merinid baths. Given the construction of the tower of Sīdī Makhlouf (and the 1630s construction of a temporary bridge between Rabat and Salé), some of the *Moriscos* would have settled in the part of the city that was, in the early nineteenth century, designated the *mellāh*.

The Almohad precinct of Rabat is divided internally by a straight wall that ends (at the east) behind the beach of the Bou Regreg and (at the west) immediately south of *Bāb al-Ḥad*, one of the Almohad-era monumental entrances to the city. This “Andalusian Wall,” which creates an interior periphery (and, today, the boundary of the city’s *medina*/old city), is of unknown provenance; it is called the Andalusian wall because it is said to have been constructed by Andalusians. The documentary evidence that locates this walls’ construction within the Almohad period is sparse, however.

The wall, a masonry structure incorporating monumental stones of Almohad cut, brick, and rubble, is a smaller-scale version of the larger Almohad enclosure that it divides. The Andalusian wall integrates elements of various scales, materials, and construction methods in an *oeuvre mixte* that seemed to speak of a relative lack of wealth and access to building materials of the constructing population/s: bricks, small stone, large-scale cut masonry (no doubt repurposed from the monumental Almohad elements of the area that would have constituted the precinct of the mosque near the Hassan Tower) and rammed earth were combined in a humble structure that echoed, in typology if not in scale, the Almohad monumental walls with which it joined. The thickness of the structure was not consistent, although the height remained regular for the length of the structure. Towers punctuate it; these towers appeared¹⁴ to have been of later construction, as they differed in material and wrapped around the continuous structure of the Andalusian wall, rather than interrupting its linear structure. Before major modifications during the French Protectorate, three doors

¹⁴Unfortunately, urban “restoration” projects carried out on the walls of the city in 2005-2006, including interventions to the Almohad, Andalusian, and Casbah walls, effectively erased externally-observable qualities of structural/tectonic difference. The projects undertaken, rather than repointing masonry or restoring crumbled/crumbling or structurally weak sections, effectively enshrouded the earlier structures in a veneer of undifferentiable, historically insensitive surface treatment. While the structures at the core of the restored elements are those of the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, and that use local stone, brick, and other materials, the external surface has been rendered a faux-pisé. A spray concrete aggregate, colored reddish and evocative of the earthen city walls of Marrakech, has been applied to the exteriors of surfaces of all monumental walls. This crime against urban history would have been enough: however, the restorers (consisting of agencies receiving private contracts) added (poorly, I might add) indentations to the surface mimicking putlog holes, such as those which would have been caused by wooden beams during the process of rammed-earth construction. While in the process of ramming earth, the perforations that would result would be of regular size and occurring, if not at completely regular intervals, at least at the same heights (indicative of the height of the formwork used in construction), the perforations formed in the restored walls occur without regularity, at irregular heights, and serve, instead of as testimony of construction process, as reminders of the poor construction quality of an ill-conceived “restoration.”

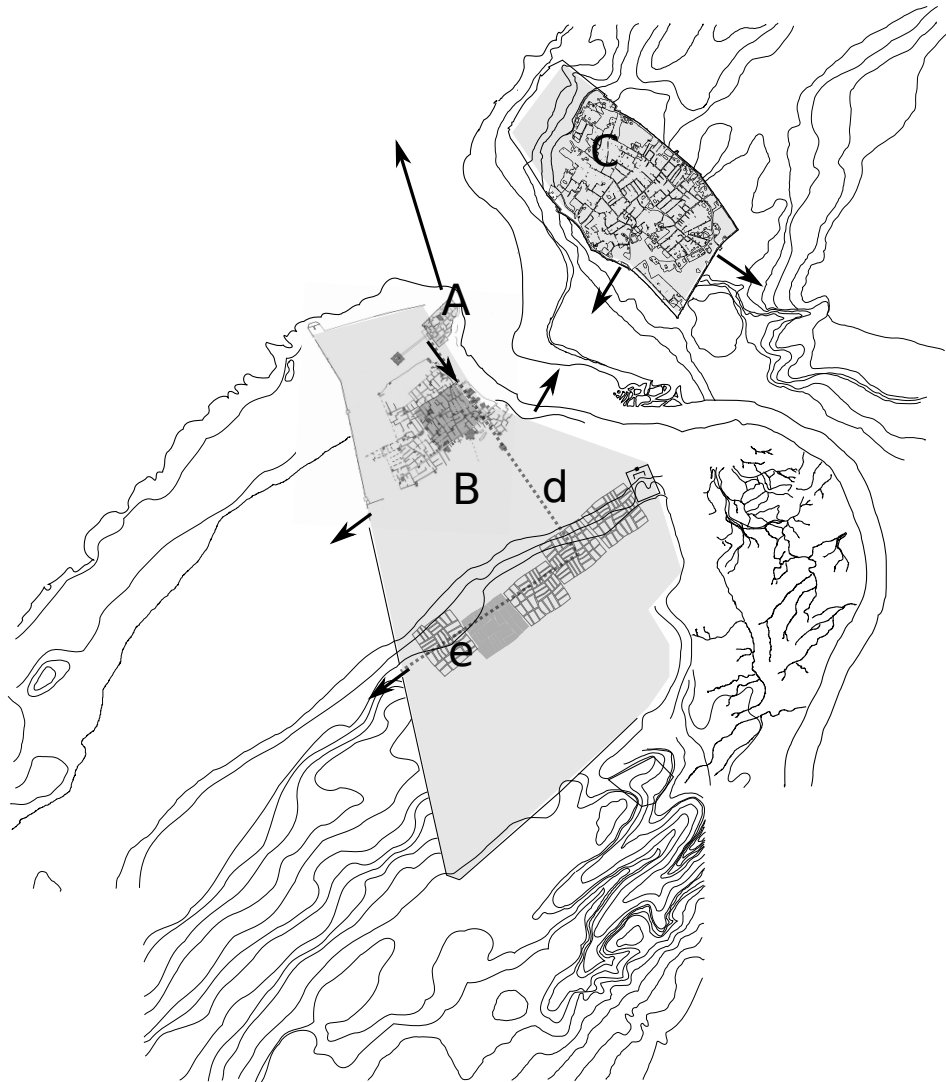


Figure 4.5: Rabat during the Almohad era. Shaded areas denote the inhabited area of the city. Typical/idealized blocks are inserted in areas where Almohad inhabitation would have been particularly heavy. The orientation of the city during the Almohad period is shown; monumental entrances face inland, rather than to the exterior. Capital letters A, B, and C indicate the three major urban divisions of the city, which consist of the *casbah*, the *medina*, and *Salé*. In Rabat, particularly heavily-inhabited areas would have consisted of the part of the city that is today the *medina*, the urban causeway between the *casbah* and the Hassan tower, the footprint of which is indicated on the map, and the area between the Hassan tower and Bab el-Rouah. Although we have no archaeological remains that indicate this particular pattern of inhabitation, given Almoravid Rabat's fundamentally defensive nature, the maintenance of densely-inhabited areas between vulnerable entrances (and between urban focal points) may have been a natural pattern of inhabitation.



Figure 4.6: Rabat during the *Morisco* era. Note the vast amounts of intramural open space, and the Andalusian wall bifurcating the Almohad enclosure.

(city gates, as it were) allowed for access to the interior of this precinct.. In comparison to the Almohad-era monumental gates that permitted access to the city, the gates of the Andalusian wall were simple in terms of scale, complexity, and defensive capabilities: while the Almohad entrances invariably forced blind turns upon those entering, entrances through the Andalusian wall did not incorporate this defensive technique.

The Andalusian wall was, if not originally constructed in the seventeenth century, restored or reconstructed at that time: it appears in visual documentation from the mid-seventeenth century, and images from the late sixteenth century show the ruins of a partial wall in what would be the same position. Unfortunately, no documentation regarding its construction exists: the motivations for the division of the walled city into two smaller portions, the duration of time of construction, the identities of the builders, and the costs of building have all been lost to history. This speaks to the informality of the nature of the project, on the one hand, and to a decentralization of the possible decision-making involved for such a project, on the other.

Although the moment of the wall's construction is unknown, its absence in the late sixteenth century and presence in the mid-seventeenth (before 1666) is an indication of the likelihood of Andalusian involvement in its construction. Regardless of the actual time of construction of the Andalusian Wall, what it tells us about the city under the *Moriscos* is that the city proper did not reach as far as the site of the wall, and that, instead, vast open spaces existed even within this smaller precinct. As the time period during which the wall was built cannot be fixed, we do not know if the structure was constructed shortly after arrival in a defensive strategy, during the period of the Independent Republic of Bou Regreg, as a collective work or under the orders of a single, powerful individual. This structure, which defined the *Morisco* area of the city, must be further examined: why would it have been built? Who constructed it? Was prisoner labor used? Why are there no records of its construction? These questions, given the complete absence of any documentation mentioning the wall's construction, are forever subject to conjecture.

From the presence of the wall, its defensive nature (but relatively unreinforced towers and entrances), and its division of the city, we can conclude several things about the society that constructed it. First: that society had a need to defend itself over land. In a context in which the majority of traffic to the city would have approached by sea, the construction of a defensive wall (intramuros of a previously-existing wall) is indication of a new defensive need. Second: the population of the society in question was small enough that it fit into the enclosed area (with sufficient open space for growth and general usage) at the time of the wall's construction. Despite the massive influx of Andalusians in the seventeenth century, the *Morisco* -era city was tiny in comparison to the Almohad-era analog. Third: although the society in question had some access to labor and resources (a not insignificant amount would have been necessary for the construction of the wall), there was neither a rich society nor individual responsible for the project. The scale and structural strategies of the project (in comparison to its context and earlier models) were humble.

In Rabat, the early seventeenth century saw urban growth through the re-invigoration

and appropriation of pre-existing urban fabric (through the re-use and adaptation of pre-existing structures, as well as the construction of new neighborhoods within the framework of pre-existing Almohad walls, Almohad and Merinid street patterns, and Merinid monumental urban and architectural interventions, such as mosques, baths, and fountains. The Rabat of the early seventeenth century was one of identity politics reified in urban space: the identities at hand were ones that were both fixed and fluid. The seventeenth-century city of Rabat, in its physical aspects, was strongly influenced and bound by the twelfth-century iteration of the city. It was the twelfth-century Almohad city that provided the physical stone and mortar, walls and turrets of the monumental city. The Andalusian-era iteration of the city was not, however, a monumental city: if monumentality is the physical expression of centralized planning and/or the assertion of dynastic power, vernacularity is the physical expression of decentralized construction, of the assertion of small-scale power, and practicality.

If Tetouan constituted a city that spread through diachronic homogeneity (in that the new morisco residents ideologically, ethnically, and religiously amplified the pre-existing Muslim populations of Andalusian origin), Rabat constituted a city of synchronic heterogeneity. Regardless of these differences, these cities were ones that were formed and informed by the mass migration of the *Moriscos*. Arrival of the Andalusians in Rabat was one of both *Moriscos* and Hornacheros, in a context of close proximity to indigenous settled populations consisting in Rabat-Salé of both Arabs and urbanized Berbers and in the hinterlands of settled Berbers. The heterogeneity of the Rabati context is further intensified when the attendant populations in and surrounding the city are taken into account. Early seventeenth century Rabat was at once multiply minority and multiply minoritarian. The city of Rabat was one in which struggle between factions defined the means through which urban spaces were created and used.

One way in which differences in urbanism, culture, and the location of power across and between the twelfth (Almohad), thirteenth/fourteenth (Merinid) and seventeenth (*Morisco*) centuries can be read is through various large-scale re-orientations of the city. The city, as a physical expression of collective awareness and collective social, political, and economic concerns reflects these through its spatial orientation and constitutive elements. Although the physical urban interventions of the Andalusian era were smaller in scale than those that had been made first by the Almohads and later by the Merinids, the meanings of the physical changes in question were profound. *Moriscos*, Hornachos, and the attendant retinues of foreigners who, by virtue of a changed economy were either resident or transient in the city principally for economic purposes, participated in these urban interventions. The early seventeenth century witnessed the physical transformation of the city in terms both residential and defensive. The changes that occurred were simultaneously of scale, use, and orientation.

The Almohad city had consisted of a dually-oriented space: the city had been founded with the purpose of maritime jihad against the Christianizing forces of the *Reconquista* in Iberia, reflected in the offensive nature of the casbah at the Bou Regreg's mouth. Although the casbah was oriented towards the sea, both city and casbah faced inwards. The entrances

to the city prioritized approach by land; it is inwards that the monumental, highly-decorative city gates of the Almohad era faced. The Hassan tower, the minaret of a mosque that held thousands of people, was visible from afar by both land and water. Its siting on an elevated plateau at the river's edge, however, provides visual priority from the direction of the Atlantic. Although contemporary Rabat, with its multi-storied modern apartment buildings, is one in which visual access to the Hassan tower is particularly limited, the control of vision of the tower would have been in place during the Almohad period as well. Both the contours of the land and the visual enclosure provided by physically proximate buildings within the part of the city that is today the *medina*, while allowing some views of the minaret, would have prioritized viewing of the structure from a distance for those approaching from the direction of the sea and the Bou Regreg river. The Hassan tower was commissioned in the 1190s by the Almohad Ya'coub al-Mansūr and is the stylistic sibling of the Kutubīyya mosque minaret in Marrakech in the 1160s (commissioned by al-Mansur's grandfather, 'Abd el-Mu'min) and the Giralda in Seville constructed immediately following the Kutubīyya's completion. From the end of the twelfth century on, Rbatis and Slaouis returning from sea campaigns, as well as captives and foreign merchants and emissaries, would have experienced the city's power visually through ocean views of the tower. Their entrance to the city once upon the shores, however, could have been significantly less visually elaborate than that of those approaching the city by foot or horse. (The city of Salé, on the northern bank of the Bou Regreg, did provide a somewhat decorated monumental maritime city gate, within the water itself, that controlled the entrance of ships.)

The doors of the city were the means through which entrance to the city was gained for the majority of outsiders. The monumental gate of the casbah faced not incoming ships approaching from the Atlantic, but those who would approach the casbah from inland (from the portion of the city that is today the *medina* itself; the Bab Oudaya is on visual axis with the street that traverses the *medina* known today as Shari' al-Qanāsīl, the Street of the Consuls, for the number of foreign dignitaries who lived there in the early modern period. The gate of the casbah, oriented south at the southwestern edge of the casbah, was complemented by another example of Almohad decorative aesthetics also in Rabat, at the southwestern tip of the *medina* and with a southwestern orientation, Bāb al-Rouah (the Gate of the Winds.) These two bābs, monumental in scale and inherently defensive in their physical aspects entrance was strictly controlled, as any visitors or invading armies were forced through a dogleg before access to the interior of the city could be gained were supplemented by two other gates to the *medina*, which did strictly control entrance, albeit without a forced dogleg and without the extent and intensity of exterior decoration. Both of two other city gates, the *Bāb al-ʿAlou* (Door of the Heights) and *Bab al-Ḥad* (The Sunday Door), while oriented southwest along the southwestern edge of the walled city, did not have the importance of either the *Bāb Oudaya* or *Bāb al-Rouah*.

Those latter two doors, at the southwestern extremes of their respective urban entities, were the doors that outsiders coming from the directions of the principal cities Marrakech to the South and Fez to the East would have approached. The secondary doors of *al-ʿAlou*

and *al-Ḥad* would have provided a principal point of approach only for people approaching from coastal paths; that is, only rural Berbers of non-prestigious fishing tribes (that did not control the grain production of the interior) and urban residents of other coastal fortifications would have approached the city through these secondary *bābs*. The primary orientation of the Almohad city was towards the south; Marrakech's location, and its role as an imperial capital, would have played a part in this.

During the Merinid period, the city of Rabat changed tremendously: the interior of the city itself changed, particularly with the insertion of a congregational mosque of monumental scale in the portion of the intramuros city that is today the *medina*.¹⁵ The relative importance of Rabat and Salé were altered during this period: if, during the Almohad period, the majority of investment in the urban fabric and in the creation of external markers of monumentality and importance was upon Rabat, during the Merinid period both an internal and external reorientations which prioritized Salé occurred. This development mirrored that of the urban development that occurred in Fez: in Fez at the time, a proliferation of mosque and *madrassa* (religious school) construction was occurring. Additionally, vast residential swaths of the city were developing through private intervention. In both Rabat and Salé, residential neighborhoods were being re-articulated. Also in both cities, congregational mosques in the centers of the cities were added. Only in Salé, though, was the social system so elaborate, and faith in the city as a producer of future generations, so as to merit the building of a *madrassa*. It is this structure that, in correspondence with the city's congregational mosque, served as the true indication of a Merinid city's relative social and political importance.

If Almohad Rabat had been oriented to the south and to imperial eyes generally, Merinid Rabat was oriented upon itself. One major intervention that served a ceremonial function was the conversion of *Sala Colonia*, a site facing the Almohad walls but predating them by centuries. This site, which was active during the Roman period, and which may have had Carthaginian interventions, had been a settlement long before the Almohad florescence. The Merinids made major alterations to the site of Sala Colonia, which under their rule became Chellah. The precinct had already been surrounded by a Roman wall; the Merinid interventions featured a monumental gate flanked by two towers, octagonal at the base and which resolve to a parapeted square at the top.¹⁶ The interior interventions were expressions of the Merinid social, religious, and administrative ideals: the site had been used as a necropolis during the Almohad period, and the Merinids continued that use. They augmented the intensity of its purpose, however, through its use as the burial ground for leaders, and through the constructions of a mosque and *zāwiya*. These elements, with particularly luxurious finishes, compounded with the use of the site as royal Merinid tombs, asserted Merinid power in the Rabat area without ascribing importance to Rabat itself: this precinct was located immediately outside of the Almohad enclosure.

¹⁵This particular intramuros is doubly so: it is within both the Almohad enclosure and the Andalusian wall.

¹⁶This monumental gate was of a completely different style than the Almohad gates.

The Andalusian influx to Rabat in the early seventeenth century would constitute a further moment of reinterpretation of the city, both of its internal elements and its exterior orientation. If the Almohad city had been oriented towards Marrakech, and the Merinid city was oriented both upon itself and towards Fez, the Andalusian-era city was reinterpreted so that it, too, had multiple orientations. Rabat of the seventeenth century faced, rather than inland imperial capitals, three things: the ocean, itself, and its twinned city across the river. All of these aspects were of a military nature, both offensive and defensive. We must remember that Rabat and Salé consisted of multiple urban elements inhabited by different populations, all of which doubted each other's motives. The *Hornacheros*, who had taken up residence in the casbah by the time of the *Moriscos*' arrival, were armed, had a history of piracy and engagement in illicit trades in their Spanish hometown, and were in tension with both the Saletins (who had denied them residence in their city) and the *Moriscos* (who were more numerous and, despite their shared Iberian origins, culturally different from the *Hornacheros*.) The open spaces of Rabat, and the open spaces between portions of the city (between the casbah and the *medina*) and between Rabat and the world became zones of contention.

4.3.1 Urban morphology and religion in Rabat

Despite our lack of knowledge about the exact form of the city of Rabat while the *Moriscos* were there, we can make some deductions about the limits of the city, and the areas that were more densely inhabited than others, during the early years of their collective residence. We can locate moments of urban growth in the city by locating what would have constituted the city's edges at various moments. We begin with extremely broad strokes: we know where the Almohad limits of the city were and we know where, within those limits, a city wall was constructed, at some point between the late sixteenth century and 1661, when the first depiction of it appears. Additionally, we know, to a certain extent, which mosques in the city were built when; the earlier, monumental religious structures that remained standing in the city at the time of the *Morisco* occupation can be read as nodes of the city, around which we can presume that new populations would have gathered. Absences and spaces in the city can also be read as clues in the history of place-making in Rabat: visual depictions of the city include areas that appear to be used for agriculture, and later wholesale development of the neighborhood currently known as the *Gzā'* would indicate that the area was not previously built-up. Burial patterns within the city also suggest urban boundaries, as does anecdotal evidence of hermitages and non-urban residence within the Almohad precinct.

The lack of written documentation for specific buildings in Rabat is highly problematic: if, in Granada, a finely-textured history of both actual and hypothetical buildings exists in a continuum from the medieval through the contemporary periods, and in Tetouan some narrative of the city correlate to the history of building and city construction, for Rabat reflections of urban history exist in the broadest and most impressionistic of strokes. The urban history of Rabat, as one of the structures beyond those Almohad monuments, is one

that is, largely, a lacuna.

Given that my concern is with the fabric of the *Morisco* city as the product of vernacular and informal development, and with this particular fabric during a time period at several centuries' remove, locating the formal qualities of this fabric becomes a speculative endeavor based in educated guesswork; while documentary and archaeological evidence could conclusively date much of the city's buildings, we must also bear in mind that the largest portion of *Morisco* Rabat is, no doubt, gone, having been subsumed by interventions both official and individual.

Both the Rabat and the Salé *medinas* are generally orthogonal, although they are not grids. Although orthogonality is not an unusual feature in urbanism, it is notable in the cases of Rabat and Salé: of the two, only Rabat constitutes a case study for *Morisco* urban development: the priority given in these twinned cities to formal efficiency, however, and the strong presence of *Moriscos* in only one of the two, speaks to the existence of a rectilinear urbanism before the *Morisco* immigration. Both cities, to an extent, shared histories, and were at times more connected than at others.

The study of *Morisco* history, from the perspective of spatial formation and use, presents several challenges. The study of *Morisco* urbanism is, in these cases, a study of the *Morisco* vernacular at an urban scale: while a *Morisco* monumental is not inexistent, it is the exception rather than the rule. The argument could be made that the congregational mosque in the city of Testour, Tunisia, would constitute an example, if not the example par excellence, of *Morisco* monumental architecture. The city, founded in the early seventeenth century by *Morisco* refugees, features a great mosque that is in layout a courtyard structure and that in its architectural trappings incorporates the Baroque. While a study of both the mosque and the city of Testour are beyond the scope of this research, there are three elements (and implications thereof) of Testour that bear mentioning: first, the city's formal layout is linearly-based, with a main street creating the central axis, and smaller, nearly perpendicular streets forming a city in which the hierarchy of elements is only in relation to the main street and the central mosque. Second: within this linear urbanism of main streets that suggest a modified trivium, rectangular plazas are a mechanism through which public civic space is created. The presence of regularized, planned public space in and of itself is exceptional; that the plazas are rectangular is extraordinary. (Rectangular plazas are found elsewhere in the Arab Muslim World; in these cases, however (areas adjacent to the major mosques of Cairo come to mind no such analog exists, however, in the mosques of Maghrebi or Iberian Islam), the plazas are more continuations of congregational mosques (in that they provide space for worshipers to assemble beyond the boundaries of the building proper) than they are public spaces for their own sake. The third: the phenomenon of a great mosque, obviously relying upon a great deal both of construction skill and of capital (both human and monetary) is not one that is found in either Rabat or Tetouan. In Rabat, the great mosque predated the *Morisco* arrival, and while *Morisco* additions and alterations most likely occurred, the mosque itself is not *Morisco* in its creation. In Tetouan, no great mosque existed until the early nineteenth century. The construction of a great mosque in

Testour (and an architecturally elaborate one at that) is testament to the non-uniformity of collective *Morisco* society: while those in Rabat and Tetouan may not have been willing or able to invest in the construction of a fairly large-scale, ornate structure for congregational worship, due to lack of funds, interest, or social cohesion, in Testour, the cohesion, funds, abilities, and priorities existed. *Morisco* urban development would have been guided by practicality and context, implemented by the small-scale collective through initiative; monumental structures, on the other hand, require some sort of organizational vision (which can be located in either a powerful individual or a legitimate administration), the control of vast resources (and the prioritization of those resources for such a project), and a commitment for either a long-term or a particularly intense (in the case of temporary monumental architectural statements) effect.¹⁷ In most cases, the *Moriscos* had none of the three.

4.3.2 Tetouan: Private and Public Spaces

Tetouan is a city that architecturally and urbanistically negotiates between private and public spaces and functions. This negotiation is visible in the division of space through the use of *sabāt*, through the interiorization of public streets through coverings, through the integration of water systems (both potable and gray) into both public and private areas, and through the integration of the defense function into domestic architecture. The city of Tetouan, in its seventeenth-century incarnation, blurred the distinction between secular and religious space through the construction of multiple small-scale mosques and *zāwiyas* that would have been informal gathering spaces; a congregational mosque is notably absent. All of these blurrings and negotiations of boundary were carried out in a vernacular scale by a relatively homogeneous population in a short time period. These spatial interventions architectural and urban were means through which the *Moriscos* who had arrived in the city established an urbanism of exile.

One of the notable architectural and urban features of the city of Tetouan consists of frequently-occurring arcuation and vaulting both within and between structures. Both interior and exterior arcuation exists; interior arcuation is largely around central courtyards. Exterior arcuation exists in doorways and fountains, as well as between exterior building walls, where it serves as an element with a) the structural purpose of maintaining the walls, and b) the space-defining purpose of moving small streets from the public realm to the semi-private.¹⁸ In Rabat, dead-end alleys sometimes possess arcuation that serves as the

¹⁷The monumental temporary in terms of structure is, I would argue, a particularly modern phenomenon. The performative monumental temporary, however, is not.

¹⁸The possibility exists that both in this case and in the case of arcuation in Rabat, the arches were constructed over the semi-private street not with the explicit intention of indicating the nature of the exterior space but, instead, as a technique through which to claim air rights for the purposes of future construction. In a context in which the street itself was already commonly interpreted as a commodity belonging exclusively to the street's residents, the right to build and enclose was something also belonging exclusively to the residents. The right to increase a building's height was dependent upon claims to the supporting wall; it's

same kind of indication.¹⁹ Structural exterior arcuation serves in some cases to support the soffits of protruding second stories; this is the case of both public and private structures. In at least one case of a mosque with a *msid*, or Qur'ānic school, near it, the second story of the *msid* is supported above the street and serves as the covering for part of the street that serves as the mosque entryway. Variation in the construction details of these individual arches (as well as their heights) suggest that the arches themselves were not built simultaneously but were, instead, the result of multiple moments of construction and possibly, of time periods. This suggests that, possibly, earlier arches were used as placeholder devices for planned interventions, or that the nature of interventions was changed during construction. Another possibility is that additional arches were added *ex post facto* in order to serve an unprecedented structural purpose (Tetouan is in a seismically active area.)

The *sabat* is a common structural feature in Tetouan, as it is in other Maghrebi cities and as it was in Andalusian cities.²⁰ These areas, gallery-like and tunnel-like, are a common feature of the urban built environment of the Maghreb.²¹ These elevated coverings affect both internal and external space: they provide communication between buildings (and allow for the consolidation of buildings across buildings) and, largely, indicate non-major streets. They also indicate a certain level of tolerance, if not necessarily cooperation, between neighbors. The *sabāt* of Tetouan, when considered in the context of general Islamic building codes for cities as practiced under a Maliki jurisprudential understanding of urban performance standards, are exceptional on several counts. Mālikī interpretation of the needs for mobility in streets provide for the minimum heights of *sabāts*.²² The *sabāts* of Tetouan largely fail to conform to generally-understood guidelines for height: while some covered areas provide a covering at a height that would, by all standards, provide adequate passage, many do not. As discussed by Besim Hakim, normal performance standards would require the passage of a fully-loaded camel. In Tetouan, many *sabāts* are barely tall enough for a tall adult, let alone any beast of burden. Although the height of the street rises with each passing century, and even allowing for a generous accumulation of soil between centuries (and considering four centuries between the time of the construction of these *sabāt* and the present-day), the

also possible that rights to build could have depended on supporting structures such as arches, and that pre-existing arches could have grandfathered rights in for particular parties.

¹⁹In Rabat, however, the occurrence of this feature is the exception rather than the rule.

²⁰The *sabāt* was the subject of Spanish legal measures of the mid-sixteenth century targeted at Granada, in which these features of the urban landscape are ascribed to the Muslims and outlawed (this causal connection is not necessarily explicitly stated, although it is invoked.)

²¹Besim Hakim, in his study of Islamic urbanism, argues for the relevance of the Maliki jurisprudential urban model extant in the Maghreb as a means from which to generalize. While Hakim's analysis is relevant to my study, due to the coincidence not only of the school of jurisprudence in question but also to the geographic region, the consideration of Islamic jurisprudential guidelines as performance standards with a single set of implications is problematic. Besim Hakim, "Law and the City", in *The City in the Islamic World*, **by editor** Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 71-92

²²Of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence, the Maliki school is the one that predominates in the Maghreb.

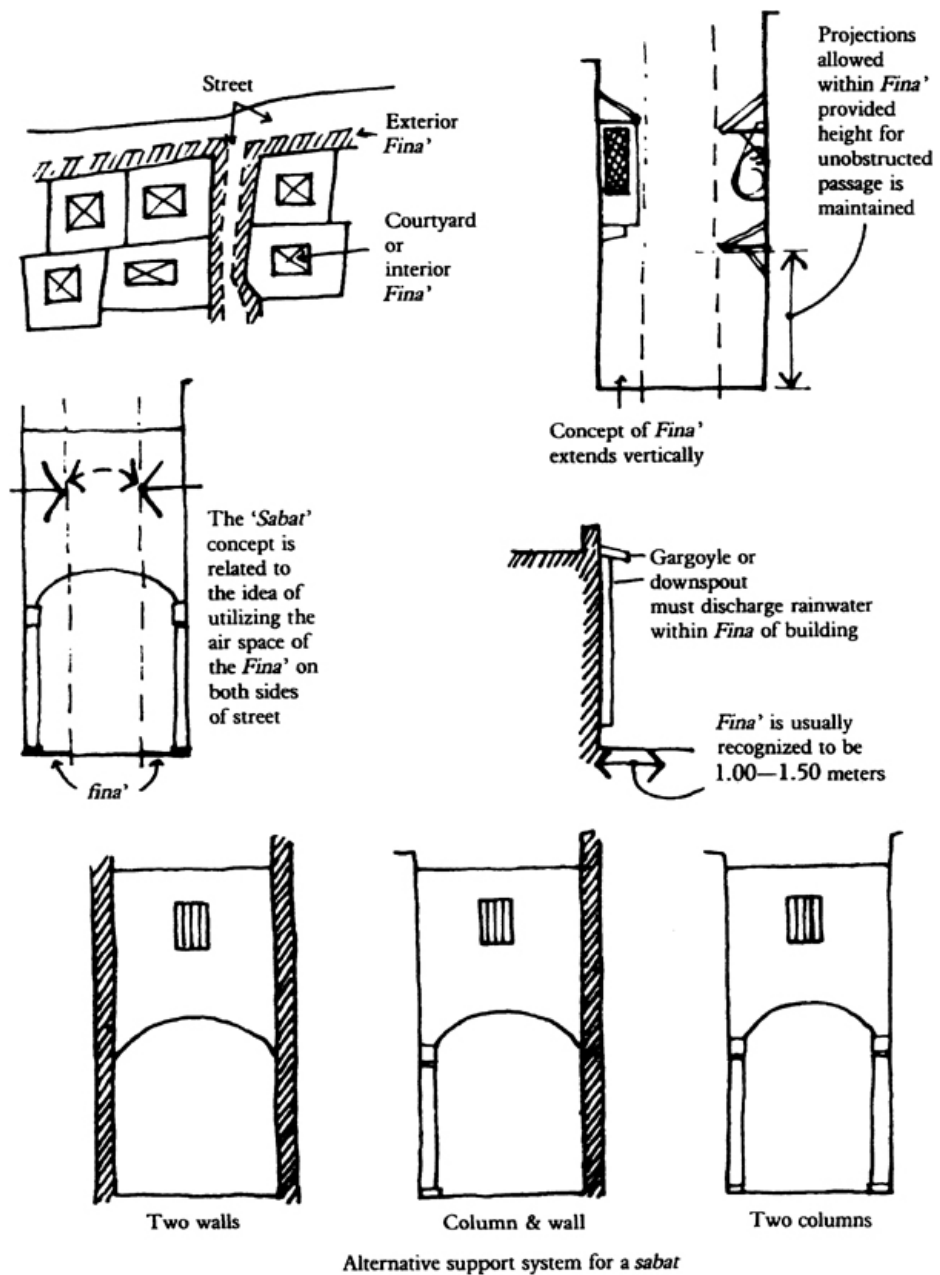


Figure 4.7: The sabat as a typology, as explained by Besim Hakim

sabāt in question are still significantly lower than any *sabāt* that would be acceptable in a thoroughfare. This deviation from the regularly-presumed dimensions in the *Morisco* parts of the city is (I presume) the product of history, on the one hand, and pragmatism on the other: the *Morisco* parts of the city were, at the time of their construction, not depending upon a long-term, cumulative Tetouani history to inform their dimensions or their performance standards. Instead, these parts of the city were dependent upon a short-term history of the city. Given the (presumed) lack of camels in the city, performance standards for the adequate transportation of goods could vary.

Although the construction of *sabāt* is undertaken by private initiative, within the city of Tetouan the localization of *sabat* is indicative of a communal understanding of a separation between kinds of streets, to the extent that the ʿUyun neighborhood is characterized by the presence of *sabāt* immediately bordering main street. Coverings in Tetouan serve two purposes: *sabāt* provide both coverings for external spaces, and interior space, while other, smaller interventions such as provide covering to the street without the creation of additional interior space.

4.3.3 Tetouan and infrastructure

The hydrological infrastructure of Tetouan is one that negotiates between the private and the public. As is the case in many Arab cities, water provision and access is/was a major (concern), and the form of the city is to an extent directly correlative to water availability. This is the case in many other situations, but in Tetouan is particularly compelling because of its complexity. Access to water in Tetouan was provided through both private (wells inside of homes) and public (fountains) means. This is not necessarily exceptional. What was exceptional, however, was the introduction of a second layer of water provisioning: this system, known as *skundo* in Tetouani Arabic, and presumably a translation of *segundo*, or second, in the Spanish, was a large-scale graywater system that remains in use to this day.

The *skundo* system, for which no comprehensive map exists, consists of channelized rainwater collection that would have been used for cleaning and small-scale urban agriculture. This water would have been available both within larger private houses and for general use at public points, much in the same way that larger private dwellings may have had a private well or spring, while smaller ones would depend upon a public source. This dual system appears to have reflected some level of public and private cooperation to provide a resource that the community valued. The water from the *skundo* system, secondary in importance and cleanliness to the water from the city's many natural springs and other sources of ground-filtered water. Although the city of Tetouan itself had sufficient primary sources of water, the *skundo* system must have provided some sort of additional benefit, both individual and collective, for it to have been constructed. The topography of the city, providing sufficient gravity for a constant flow of water from one channel and conduit to another, could have been a factor in the system's construction: the control of rainwater could have been important for the prevention of soil erosion within the city, or for the prevention of the contamination

of groundwater through the excessive rapid water aggregation. Unfortunately, no complete study of the *skundo* system's history exists. This infrastructural component, extant from the time of the city's expansion and nearly invisible without close attention, constitutes an important testament to a certain level of cooperation during the vernacular and largely informal city-building processes that occurred in this city in the seventeenth century.

4.3.4 The Congregational Mosque Manquée

Tetouan, in the seventeenth century, grew rapidly with the arrival of the *Morisco* refugees. As a city, it was not without its mosques. It did, however, lack a large-scale congregational mosque: none would be established for more than a century after the *Morisco* era. If the foundation of a mosque is the seminal act in the establishment of an Islamic city, in Tetouan, the seeming lack of interest in founding a large-scale mosque would appear to be the byproduct not necessarily of a religious or social cohesion but, instead, the tacit, if not explicit, understanding that the city (as an entity recognized administratively and politically by the newly-arrived population) was already a functioning unit. The new Andalusian arrivals, evidently, took no issue with the city's existence as such. Although nominally Catholic, the *Moriscos* seem to have been both culturally and religiously on the same page as the previous inhabitants of the city. Although it is not documented, the possibility exists that the *Morisco* immigrants to Tetouan chose Tetouan (as the sites to which emigration happened were, to an extent, chosen) based on previously-existing relationships, whether of kinship, trade, or place of origin. Tetouan could also have been particularly appealing for individuals and family groups with particular ideological leanings: as the city was already established as a site of piracy, and as it was already the home of rebellious Andalusis from the previous century, the people who chose to emigrate to Tetouan could well have been the liberal left of their day: the population that moved to the city was interested in several things. First, they were interested in the rapid establishment of an economically-viable life within a relatively short distance of Spain. Second, they may have been interested in a return to Spain (there is evidence of their having reasoned, more than once, that their properties were being held illegally by the new occupants.)

The construction of a congregational mosque immediately after arrival in the new context would have indicated resignation, long-term investment in the new context, and social stability (which may not have been present at the time), along with sufficient resources to undertake such a project, and organized religious leadership. Another possible reason for the absence of a congregational mosque within the early decades of *Morisco* arrival was the continuation of the social and religious forms that had existed for them in Iberia: mosque structures, if they still existed, had long been converted to churches; the architectural typology of the mosque, thus, had been devoid of Islamic religious meaning. Additionally, as Muslim practice had been banned for about a century before the *Morisco* expulsion, even devout practitioners of crypto-Islam would have been several generations removed from the collective expressions of religiosity that could have occurred in the contexts of overt collective

Islamic religious practice.

The new residents of Tetouan likely had sufficient resources and organization to control their destinies: rather than suffer at the indignities of being assigned (or abandoned) to live in a hostile, foreign environment, those who chose to live in Tetouan could have done so by design. *Moriscos* who moved there may have perceived the city as welcoming both to *Moriscos*, particularly Granadan Andalusis, and to those who were *personae non gratae* of the Spanish state. These populations, concerned with their political and social well-being in a receptive environment, would have accepted as valid the religious and social structures already extant in the city at the time of their arrival and would not have seen the necessity of constructing a congregational religious structure. The built environment of religious structures would have reflected these origins. The proliferation of small-scale religious structures, each constructed for a principal patron, would have been the reflection of individual power and wealth, compounded possibly with geographic loyalties at the point of origin and the experience (within Spain) of male fraternization in religious brotherhoods that were small in scale.

The *medina* in Tetouan is an example par excellence of both topographically-driven and defensively-driven urbanism. Tetouan's urban form is not so much topographically determined as much as it is topographically responsive: the city itself, the Andalusian-refounded core of which is located above a rocky precipice above the river (which constituted, in the seventeenth century, access both to and from the Mediterranean, and was the reason for the city's strategic importance), spreads over the side of a hill in a pattern at once systematic and organic. The Tetouan of the seventeenth century was an efficient infrastructural machine, a functional object constructed in the topography to efficiently distribute water and provide passive defense.

The water distribution system of Tetouan negotiated between public and private, and made efficient use of the water resources of the city through a two-tiered system of water collection and distribution. In contrast to many other cities with a network of cisterns and wells, both public and private, Tetouan also incorporated a system for the re-use and re-distribution of water known as "*skundo*."²³ The *skundo* system, which was basically one of gray water, constituted an infrastructure that went into, over, and through private residences in the city. Precious spring water would be used for human consumption; secondary uses (washing, watering) were provided for through the *skundo* system, which appears to have incorporated both runoff from spring water sources and rain water. Another likely source for *skundo* water could have been a spring (from among the many in the city) that had somehow been deemed unfit for human consumption.

Although a study of Tetouan's *skundo* system exists, there is no study of the system that identifies the functional elements of the system and provides a circulation diagram of the relationships between primary and secondary systems. Gravity, in concert with a system of pipes and channels connecting household *impluvia*, provided the main means for

²³To a speaker of Spanish, this term immediately evokes the cognate "segundo", second or secondary.



the conduction of this passive network. Although the system itself is rarely publicly visible,²⁴ the development and presence of the system (presumably, when the *Moriscos* arrived, as it is extensive in the neighborhood that grew upon their arrival; it is also, however, present in the older *blad* quarter, albeit in houses that have been dated to a later time period) are significant. Despite a lack of monumental architecture generally, the presence of the *skundo* system, and the construction of public fountains (albeit small-scale ones) are testament to some level of collective engagement with the formation of a functional city.

Another system that existed within the city, predating the *Morisco* arrival but heavily utilized by this population was that of the *mazmorras*, a subterranean system for the holding of prisoners. This system, a series of connected excavated caves, is located beneath the city. Its size and holding capacity, as well as the estimated number of Christian prisoners in Tetouan at any given time during the *Morisco* period, gives an indication of the highly infrastructural role of this urban element, as well as the intensely militaristic potential of the city, and the extent to which the economy of human trade was embedded in the city's structure proper. Although a 1929 map of the *mazmorras* exists, no clear articulation of the relationship between this subterranean system and its above-ground points of access exists.²⁵

Although the city of Tetouan was originally walled, during the period of Andalusian

²⁴The rare exposed channel on the exterior of a house is the only experience that one can have of the system without access to the interior of one of the houses. One of the houses owned by the Erzini family demonstrates extensively the reaches of the system: water for dish washing, plant watering, and the watering of livestock reaches its destinations through a system of channels that traverses the house.

²⁵Currently, a few grilles at street grade are the only indications of the *mazmorras* below the city. These, presumably, would have been sources of light and a scopic means for the maintenance of order in these otherwise dark subterranean facilities.



Figure 4.8: Two fountains in the 'Uyun neighborhood. These modest structures are physical expressions of the system of water provision in the city. In this neighborhood in particular, springs were abundant; the number of on-street fountains constructed reflects this. Some have a second spigot near the ground through which *skundo* water is distributed.

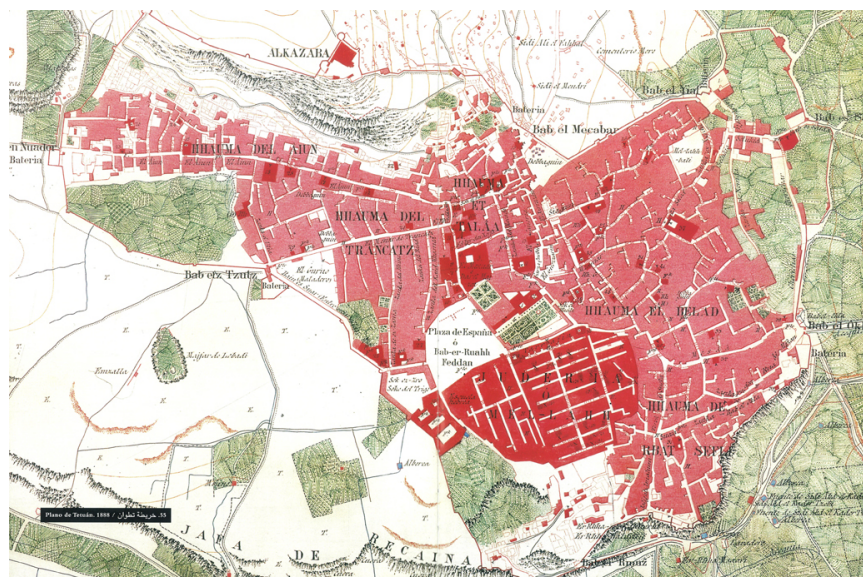


Figure 4.9: A plan of the city of Tetouan in 1888, from www.tetuan.org (Last accessed May 2, 2011.) This is shortly before the Spanish construction of the *Ensanche* in the area depicted as fields in the map shown. Above the fields in the frame, note the linear extension of the city. That extension, corresponding to both the presence of springs and convenient topography, corresponds to the neighborhood of El-^cUyun.

expansion it was not walled. In the stead of a single defensive wall, concentric (to the east) and linear (to the west) urban expansion appears to have created a self-defensive morphology in which buildings implied defense. Individual structures, looking forever inward, were upon the rocky outcroppings of the city sufficiently defended, particularly given the difference in topography between the city and the river, the distance between the city on the river and the river's mouth, and the defended and defensive nature of both the river itself and a fortress at the mouth.

4.4 Repopulating Granada: Repobladores

By the time of the *Morisco* expulsion, urban repopulation projects were not a novel undertaking in Granada. The repopulation project subsequent to the *Morisco* expulsion was one in a series that had begun before the city's fall, and paralleled projects for the growth of an, if not ideologically-driven, then at least ideologically-instrumental population in the New World. Given Granada's weighty symbolic portent, political importance, and history of significant Muslim and other minority populations, compounded with a site that, surrounded by mountains, was difficult to control from the new capital city of Madrid, projects for the maintenance of population and the controlled growth of population after the *Morisco*

expulsion were imbricated in larger-scale political strategies for the stabilization of the region and its Castilianization. This project had begun explicitly within a decade of the city's capitulation.

These projects of incentivized mass migration, as it were, were testament of: a) the relative mobility of the late medieval and early modern Spanish population; b) the generally low economic standing of the majority of the people who migrated (as the financial incentives given would have been insufficient to draw the landed classes away from their pre-existing property); and, c) the symbolic importance of Old Christian presence in areas that were or had been predominantly Muslim. This perception was one that issued from a policy perspective; the enactment of these policies redistributed populations within both urban and rural contexts of the ideologically-charged landscape. Above all this, however, large-scale projects entailing the movement of the population at this time period are testament to a royally-driven unified vision of the country. If the modern nation is articulated, as Ernest Renan argued, through a daily plebiscite, late medieval and early modern Spain was articulated through the act of royal declaration, whose articulations reverberated in the throats of town criers and whose edicts and proclamations were prominently posted regularly. The nation was, in part, created through multiple acts of migration (of people, culture, and language), some forced and some willing.

Interestingly, these migration projects of repopulation (in their effects, post-migration) are ones that served to heterogenize Spanish society while simultaneously articulating a homogenized notion of Spanishness. Although Spanish society had been heterogeneous before (as discussed earlier, its religious heterogeneity was the crux of the Reconquista and crucible of the Inquisition), it was through the movement of populations that both true heterogeneity and the beginnings of a Spanish identity that superseded the regional were formed. The incentivized movement of populations to the places that had been vacated first by Muslims and then by *Moriscos* occasioned an integration of Spanish society: where, previously, Muslims and *Moriscos* had been in more homogeneous neighborhoods, the addition of new people to those neighborhoods within the very fabric of the neighborhood (rather than in homogeneous neighborhoods) led to a cultural cross-pollination and, one could argue, either/both tension and understanding between individuals, if not necessarily between entire segments of the population. From an architectural heritage perspective, the influx of Old Christian repopulators to neighborhoods that had been predominantly Muslim or *Morisco*, could serve as an explanation for stylistic variation over time, particularly in such matters (such as door placement in relation to central courtyards) between otherwise analogous houses in the same neighborhood.

Because the repopulators originated in areas outside of the kingdom of Granada,²⁶ the city itself became more heterogeneous, despite the shared Old Christian identity of the

²⁶As Francisco Oriol Catena notes, the repopulators after the *Morisco* expulsion were to be exclusively from beyond the boundaries of the kingdom of Granada. Francisco Oriol Catena, *La Repoblación del Reino de Granada después de la expulsión de los Moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada), p. 18

new residents. Despite and through this heterogenization of both people and structure, a homogenization (imagined if not actual) of the nation occurred through the importation of residents from throughout Spain with the notion that they would create a viable Granada anew. They would do this individually through their homesteading of uninhabited properties and lands, and collectively through the fortification of the city (demographically, militarily, socially, and morally.). The city's population, and by extension, the city, was imagined as a fundamentally and essentially Spanish city. This does not mean merely a Castilian city, however: although some importation of the Castilian occurred, and certainly the ideals of a Castile-based crown were imposed, changes that were made to Granada through the importation of people, the modification of pre-existing social, religious, legal, and economic frameworks, and the alteration of the urban form through monumental building construction, plaza creation, street regularization, and adaptation of pre-existing structures (specifically) as well as structural and aesthetic ideals (generally), ultimately served to define Granada as a city that was, first and foremost, Spanish.

The population movements occasioned by government-sanctioned large-scale demographic projects were ideological ones with profound and far-reaching implications and effects upon the built environment: the movement of peoples for ideologically-driven means occasioned, in effect, the physical construction and collective social performance of the Spanish state. In the case of Granada, this collective performance, from a time period as early as that of the Catholic Monarchs and through the early seventeenth century (with which this dissertation is concerned) and certainly later, was (given the extent to which political and religious systems were complicit) one enacted upon a physical landscape in which Islam had played an important and determinative function.

From the period of the earlier iterations of these projects, namely those to repopulate the kingdom of Granada in the last years of the fifteenth century, the proclamation of royal initiative for the enticement of new, non-Granadans (although some might be Andalusians) to take up residence in this city was a portion of a larger process for the maximization of national (royal) financial and strategic benefit: both monetary and military power were at stake. The steps in this process were dually embedded in the royally-controlled bureaucratic mechanisms of the national level and semi-autonomously-acting local administrators of these plans, who oversaw the details of implementation and enforcement. This process, embedded in larger Spanish bureaucratic processes of the tracking of population and property, was one of property seizure and redistribution, compounded with an ex-post-facto inspection of property use.

Two sets of documents, which today remain as some of the most valuable records for the study of early modern Spanish history, emerged from these processes. These records, the *Libros de Poblacin* (*Books of Population*) and *Libros de Repartimiento* (*Books of Distribution*), provide detailed on-the-ground accounts of changes in property and population, and are testament to the Spanish bureaucratic mechanism's concern with detail, even as grand ideological statements were being declared at the central level, and even as a vision for a unified, Catholic Spanish state was being articulated. These books, consisting of catalogs

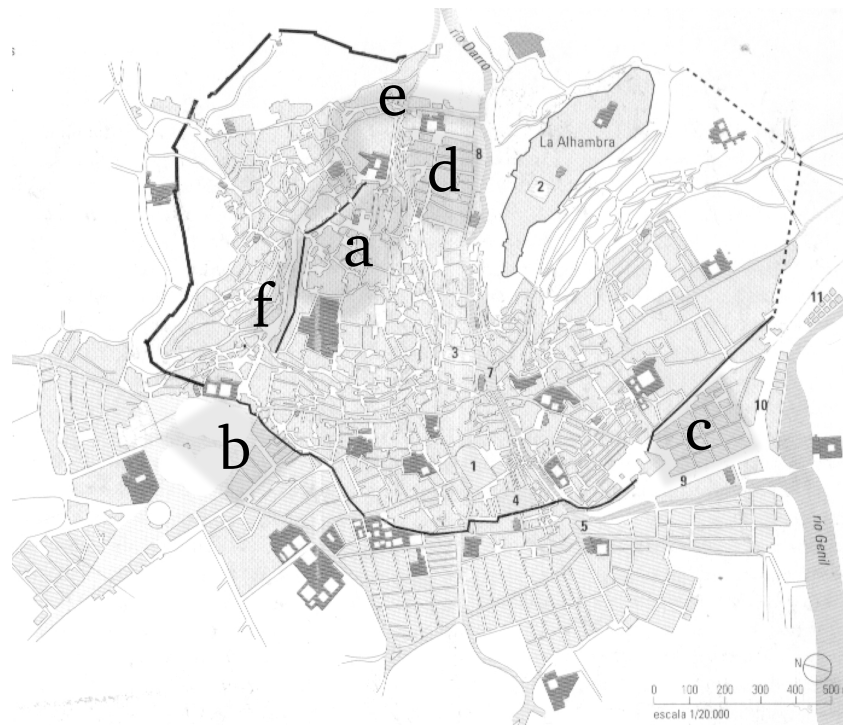


Figure 4.10: An overview of the city of Granada. a) indicates the center of the Parish of San Salvador, the depopulated portion of which is visible in Vico's *Plataforma*. b) indicates an area immediately extramural to the *Puerta de Elvira*. This area grew in the late sixteenth century, despite the depopulation of the Albaicín's center. c) indicates the area below and extramural to the Nasrid-era Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo. This neighborhood, which was planned in the seventeenth century, exhibits extreme regularity. d) indicates the neighborhood of *Alixares*, which grew in response to the opening of the *Carrera del Darro* and the re-orientation of the city towards the river. The streets in this neighborhood are rectilinear, and negotiate between the level of the city and the Cuesta de la Victoria in the Albaicín. e) indicates the *Rabad al-Bayda*, which was a portion of the parish of San Salvador and which was extramural. f) indicates the Cuesta de la Alhacaba and its surrounding streets. These streets are intramural to the city's fourteenth-century walls but exterior to its eleventh-century Zirid walls. Although no properties on the Cuesta de la Alhacaba are treated in this work, there were some properties on the street that were expropriated from their former *Morisco* owners. Additionally, the inclusion of both this area and the Rabad al-Bayda within the Parish of San Salvador demonstrates the physical enormity of the parish's extent.

containing census and property ownership and transfer data, serve as detailed records reflecting actual conditions at the levels of the individual and the household. It is in these books that we find points of convergence and divergence.

The repopulation project responding directly to depopulation in the kingdom of Granada resulting from the *Morisco* expulsion lasted from 1571 through 1595. During this period, from the moment of the declaration of the seizure of *Morisco* properties on 24 February, 1571 and the subsequent royal instructions, dating to March 22nd of the same year, for the administration of those seized properties and their repopulation, to the Reglamento of 1595 which was the effective end of the repopulation project, a significant administrative system and amount of resources were dedicated to the assessment, distribution, and general administration of properties. By the 1590s, during which juridical changes shifted responsibility for the administration of those properties and which corrected abuses in the system by repopulators (and those who had claimed the status without fulfilling their concomitant duties), prohibiting the mortgage, sale, or entrusting of those properties, repopulation as a project had met with some degree of failure. The New World and its promises of uncountable riches, for one, had for some time already been claiming any and all excess population in Spain (which was remarkably underpopulated as a whole, in terms of necessary human density for maximum agricultural productivity.) Compounded with this, the (rural) lands that were being offered for repopulation were particularly poor; the fertile valleys and plains, in contrast with the mountainous terrain on offer, were already the domain of Old Christians. New populators, discontent with their lots, failed to follow through with the obligations of labor and time conditional to their status upon the land. ²⁷

4.4.1 Mudejarism: Structural and Stylistic, Transformations

The Spanish Crown's concern with land use, urban form, and the physical expression of Christianity in both the city and the building was expressed in an architectural and building style called *mudejarism*. Just as the Catholic Kings and their successors adopted and adapted the system of land trusts that were an Islamic legal device present in Granada, during the preceding Reconquista, successive waves of Christianization adapted architectural and building strategies of the previously-dominant Islamic culture. These strategies constitute the techniques collectively known as *mudejarism*.

The issue of *mudejarism* in Spanish architecture is a problematic one: much as the Reconquista moved across the Iberian Peninsula, sometimes slowly and sometimes in rapid bounds, *mudejarism* as an architectural style was something that followed this social (religious, ad-

²⁷Francisco Oriol Catena, *La Repoblación del Reino de Granada después de la expulsión de los Moriscos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada), p. 26-9 Oriol Catena is particularly and especially concerned with the repopulation from a juridical perspective (his work having been one for the faculty of law at the University of Granada.) Insofar as I am concerned, the significance of these changes, which, as Oriol Catena explains, did away with what amounted to a special type of district for Granada, was that repopulators were no longer being accorded land-linked privileges.

ministrative, political) transformation from Muslim-ruled to Christian-, and spanned hundreds of years. The *mudejar* as a building method in Granada came, as we know, late: while Seville fell to Catholicism in the mid-thirteenth century, it would be more than two hundred years later before Granada, and its attendant brand of *mudejar* architecture, would follow. Here, my concern is not specifics of building style and what specific characteristics defined the Granadan *mudejar*; I seek, instead to interrogate the *mudejar* as a practice reflecting cultural adoption, adaptation, and hybridity.

Generally speaking, the *mudejar* in Spanish architecture is constituted by the application and translation of Islamic building modes, particularly those of religious structures, to both Catholic religious structures and to non-religious structures such as houses and palaces. A major defining feature of *mudejar* architecture, prevalent in Granada, was the use of carpintería de lo blanco, structural carpentry frequently involving interlaced elements visible particularly in the the soffits of both palaces and churches of post-Islamic Granada today.²⁸ The widespread use of *carpintería de lo blanco* in immediately post-Islamic Granada is testament to several things: a) the Catholic Monarchs' (and their successors') catholic tastes in art and architecture (and, if not so much their taste per se, their eagerness to adopt the architectural modes of the conquered for the declaration of their victory; this is particularly evident in the incorporation of the pomegranate, eponymous symbol of the city of Granada, into their crest), b) the facility of separation of structural method from religious meaning by the royalty, aristocracy, and other patrons, and c) the continuity of productive modes (and stability in the producers of those modes) regardless of religious affiliation of patron.

Carpintería de lo blanco is particularly interesting when considered in the context of its production: a certain percentage of its practitioners were, by requirement, *Moriscos*.²⁹ Religious and cultural identity, as such, was bound both with its sites of consumption, and with the processes and practices of its production. The production of *carpintería de lo blanco* was, quite literally, embodied knowledge, embodied not only in an individual's muscle memory but also, by imposition, embodied in collective knowledge and practice.

²⁸Diego López De Arenas, *Breve compendio de la carpintería de lo blanco, y tratado de alarifes* (Seville: Luis Essupiñan, 1633) De Arenas' treatise (the title of which roughly translates in English to *Brief Compendium of White Carpentry, and Treaty for Master Builders* serves as what is very nearly a post-mortem of the art form. Writing after the *Morisco* expulsion (of a form that, as discussed above, was necessarily preserved and passed on as practice by *Moriscos*), Arenas' treatise codifies the remnants of a disappearing practice that was, at the time of his writing, disappearing as a form of knowledge.

²⁹ This document, which provides guidelines for the trades generally, among other things, stipulates a certain minimum percentage of *Morisco* practitioners in the structural carpentry trade. The construction of buildings in Granada generally was to be undertaken by those trained in construction (with an apprenticeship duration of four years.) Entry to the building trades was controlled by a board of four *Alarifes*, who were elected from among a group of eight master builders. Two of the *Alarifes* were to be Old Christians, and two were to be New Christians; of the larger group of eight, four each were to be Old, and four New, Christians. The ordinances state that this is custom in the city, and that this is to be done. "Ordenança de edificios y casas, y Albañiles y labores," tit. 85, fol. 84 deals at length with this issue (fol. 186.) The "Ordenança de carpinteros," tit. 80, fol. 172 deals specifically with the carpentry trade.

This practice was one of several elements present in Granadan *mudejar* constructions; the appearance of *mudejar*-style churches in Granada almost immediately after the conquest, moreso than the elements of the style, was indicative of royal desire for urban transformation. Notably, the first *mudejar* church construction in Granada occurred after both a 1499 rebellion that can be considered one of the pivotal moments in the eventual renegeing on the part of the new government in its promise to allow free religious worship by Muslims and the forced conversion itself. The prevailing practice in Granada was for the construction of new church structures on the sites of previously-existing mosques.³⁰ This would be the case not only for many of the city's thirty-some parish mosques at the time of the conversion, but also for the city's large great mosque and its attendant *madrassa*, which would become the site of the original building of the University of Granada.

4.4.2 Transformation of Meaning, Transformation of Structure

The first *mudejar*-style church in Granada, San Nicolas, is a structure with significant meaning. Located at the top of a hill in the *Albaicín*, next to a *mirador* bearing its name, the church of San Nicolas is sited so as to offer unimpeded visual access (from the exterior) to the Alhambra. This structure, begun in 1503, was the first structural replacement for one of the many former parish mosques in the city that had been, on a single day in January of 1500, following the conversion of 50,000 Muslims, consecrated to the holy trinity and transformed, ontologically if not structurally, into churches.³¹ The wholesale transformation of the city's mosques emphasized the finality with which the orders for the forced conversion of Granada's Muslims was intended. Mass conversions of thousands of Muslims, directly resulting from January, 1500 orders that all of the city's Muslims could choose conversion or departure, followed the 1499 substitution of Granada's archbishop, Hernando de Talavera, with the much more hard-line archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Cisneros, who practiced doctrinal aggression towards the city's Muslim populations, may have instigated the December rebellion by Granadan Muslims (and their counterparts in the Alpujarras, the isolated mountain range to the city's south.)³²

These transformations first of meaning and then of structure (that, with the church of

³⁰The replacement of one religious structure with a different one on the same site as prevailing religions change is, of course, a phenomenon limited neither to Granada nor Spain.

³¹"Memorial de los lugares donde estuvieron [Los Reyes] desde el ao 1474, hasta su muerte MSS 1763" (), fols. 19v.-20 Cited in Earl Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada: A Study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 7 Presuming that all 50,000 of the converted were in the city of Granada (the conversion policy of January, 1500, was directed specifically at the city's Muslims), we begin to get an idea of both the possible total population of the city and the significant quantity of Muslims that had been in Granada at the time of its surrender, and the extent to which the both built and social environments were ones that were read and readable as part of an Islamic landscape, the people, structures, and infrastructure of which needed to be Christianized.

³²David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Pr, 2003), p. 5-6, ISBN: 0801441110

San Nicolas, would come early, but which would be a long-term project for the city) were ones that, first, claimed Granada for the ideologies of the Catholic Monarchs through the use of pre-existing structural and spatial systems, palimpsesting one notion of society upon another, and, second, (particularly in the construction of *mudejar*-style structures) through the use of architectural vocabularies at both visual continuum and difference from those pre-existing ones of the former mosques, created a hybrid space that claimed the memory of Muslim-ruled Granada for Catholicism.

The choice of San Nicolas as the first site to undergo a radical architectural transformation in the project of the re-construction of Granada's new parish churches would not have been a random one; located near what was one of the major mosques of the city (which is today San Salvador), and certainly the major mosque of the *Albaicín*, the site of the current church of San Nicolas would have been located in a heavily-*Morisco* area, and the effects of its physical transformation into a church (without having been the transformation of the major mosque) would have been to great effect. First, the transformation would have been heavily felt by the neighborhood's residents as the heavy hand of the new restrictions upon their religious expression. Second, it would have been a means through which projects of ministry (which would have happened in the structures that were formerly mosques as well) would have attempted the assimilation of *Moriscos* into Old Christian society, within the spatial context of a liturgically more didactically suitable setting. I posit that the choice of San Nicolas as the first site to undergo a physical transformation would have been grounded largely in symbolic motivations. The mosque that is today the church of El Salvador would not have been the first structure to have been transformed precisely because of its scale and importance; as it had been the principal mosque of the *Albaicín*, it would have merited a more elaborate, monumental structure than the relatively structurally plain intervention of the church of San Nicolas. Moreover, the former site of the main mosque would not have been chosen first presumably because the carrying-out of works on it (to the extent of building a church structure) would have too greatly interrupted the indoctrination of new Christians there.

A further reason for the choice of this site, given the numerous mosques in the city, most certainly concerned the control of vision: given the site of the structure, and the panoramic views of the Alhambra available adjacent to it, I propose that the act of claiming, visually, the Alhambra for Christianity was, at this moment (before the 1520s construction of the Palace of Charles V within the Alhambra began, imposing itself over the compound) accomplished through the act of transforming the site of a former mosque into a church that deployed structural and architectural techniques autochthonous to the area. The claiming of architectural form through *mudejar* building strategy, in the short-term after imposed conversion, and at a site in which the architectural masterpiece of the formerly ruling religion and dynasty was clearly and imposingly visible, served as a strategy of assertion. While the Catholic Monarchs' architectural interventions to the Alhambra proper were internal ones that asserted their own power within the Alhambra's extensive decorative program, the external intervention of physically Catholicizing the spot in the *Albaicín* with the most

iconic view of the urban compound was one that acted as a reminder of the city's fall to its formerly-Muslim residents.³³

Within Granada, other architectural interventions in the post-conversion period asserted the newfound Catholic identity of the city and the newly-imposed Catholic identity upon the city's former Muslims, in many instances through the use of *mudejar* architectural approaches. What is most surprising, however, is not the immediacy with which such interventions as the construction of San Nicolas were made but, instead, the length of time that original mosque structures (consecrated as churches) were left standing: a portion of the city's great mosque, which had been consecrated as the city's cathedral, was left standing as late as 1648, while construction of the new cathedral structure was going on around it. That such structures were left standing so long despite plans for replacement is indicative of a) the extent to which the city was saturated with religious structures from the city's Islamic legacy; b) the importance and legitimacy of the ontological and symbolic shift brought about through consecration; and c) the economic crisis that occurred in Spain and the extent to which its effects on royal coffers may have slowed construction projects generally.

4.5 Vernacular Urban Transformations

If, in Granada, a move to a *mudejar* style of architecture in both new churches and new structures for the elite served to either erode Islamic building typologies and architectural styles of any religious significance or to articulate local narratives of conquest for those structures, at sites of *Morisco* in-migration to North Africa, radically different articulations of religious understanding and social transformation were occurring in the built environment. The sites of Rabat and Tetouan were two major sites for *Morisco* immigration that produced architectural styles that are, at any level of analysis, vernacular, small-scale, non-monumental, and informed by the local availability of humble materials. The aesthetic dimensions of both residential and religious structures in both Rabat and Tetouan were secondary to their functional dimensions.

The mosques, houses, and public spaces of these two cities were, of course, spatially and structurally related to their Iberian cognates. The issue of influence, however, is irrelevant. The histories of the Maghreb and Iberia are so intertwined that it would be misguided and counterproductive to assign a point of origin to the dimensions of the minarets that, in the Maghreb, recall the towers of Spanish churches which, in turn, recall the proportions of Almohad minarets. In the early seventeenth century on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar, architecture was in a particularly non-monumental phase: In Granada, no large-scale modifications were made to the cathedral for a period of several decades, and the adoption of the *mudejar* as a mode of construction restricted decorative elements to interior structural elements and semi-portable elements. The elaborately decorated entrances and

³³For a treatment of the Alhambra as a military, religious, and urban site of unparalleled architectural importance for Islamic Spain, see Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Sebastopol, CA: Solipsist Press, 1992)

artistic elements such as altarpieces that are found today in the city's mudejar churches were frequently anterior or posterior to this particular moment of construction. Particularly when compared to the monumental interventions to Granada of the early sixteenth century, of the Italianate Renaissance *Chancillería* and Palace of Charles V, suffused with stone polished to jewel-like finishes and intricate formal programs, the religious structures constructed in the early seventeenth century in Granada demonstrate a relative material poverty. In the Maghreb, the religious structures from the seventeenth century are ones that demonstrate little differentiation in material, scale, and building strategy from the non-religious structures by which they are surrounded.

One interesting exception to this can be found in the Tunisian city of Testour.³⁴ In Testour, which was founded by *Moriscos* who had left Spain, the great mosque is unique for its expression of what could most easily be termed Spanish-influenced Baroque decorative elements within a religious structure that, in plan, is typical of the North African mosque. The relationship of the mosque itself to public space, in Testour, is also unusual (and evocative of the relationship of Spanish churches to their plazas; the mosque is located on a rectangular plaza, atypical of the siting of, for example, the congregational mosques of traditional Maghrebi cities such as Fes, in which even the largest mosque is approached not as a single comprehensible structure but as an entranceway within a street pattern that does not allow perception of the whole.) The great mosque's minaret, which features an octagonal lantern, and the masonry of which is evocative of central Spain, features a clock, which functionally conflates the religious and the civic.

No such great mosque was produced in either Rabat or Tetouan by the *Morisco* populations; Rabat boasted pre-existing large-scale mosques (one in the casbah had Almohad-era origins and the one in the *medina* had Merinid origins), and Tetouan had only small-scale religious structures. The religious structures that the *Moriscos* constructed in both, largely undifferentiated in scale and external finish from the residential areas surrounding them, served in both cases to create built environments of religious practice grounded in both practicality and evocations of Andalusian origins. In the case of Tetouan, three mosques in particular stand out; these structures, Al-Msimdi, El-^cUyun, and El-Jadida were built sequentially along the direction of the city's development with population growth. In Rabat, some small structures were built for worship, into which were incorporated the mortal remains of local saints who had been venerated in Andalusia. Even in the religious structures of *Morisco*-era Rabat, we witness the profoundly militaristic nature of the city's development: the burial site of Sidi Makhlof, a local saint who had been a Jewish convert to Islam, is integrated into a *borj*, a tower, that bears his name. This tower, an endcap to the (supposedly Andalusian-constructed portion of the) city wall that faces an analogous tower in Salé, gives a clear indication that, during the *Morisco* period, the city was oriented towards

³⁴For a general discussion of the city, as well as that of the *Moriscos* in Tunisia, see Aḥmad Al-Ḥamrounī, *Al-Muriskīyyūn al-Andalussīyyūn fi-Tūnis: dirāsa wa bibliogrāfiyya* (Tunis: Mediacom, 1998) One of the more interesting elements of the book is Al-Hamrouni's chart of Tunisian *Morisco* origins, pp. 49-74.

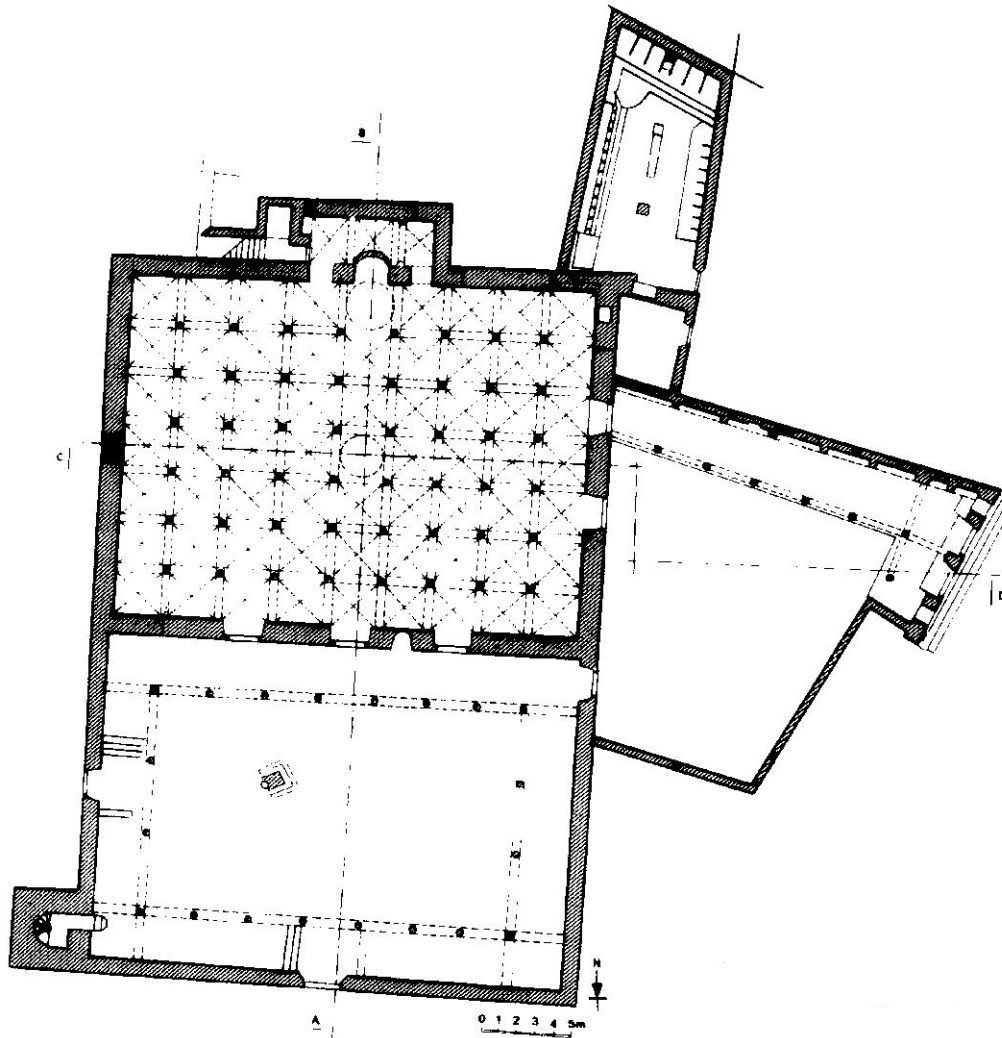


Figure 4.11: The Great Mosque at Testour, floor plan. The scale of this structure is monumental, and the symmetrical disposition, along with the existence of a plaza outside of it, suggests large-scale *Morisco* investment in the landscape. This is in contrast to the small-scale mosques of Tetouan. Saadaoui, Ahmed. *Testour du XVIIe au XIXe siècle: histoire architecturale d'une ville morisque de Tunisie*, p. 70. He cites the Cartography Lab from the Manouba College of Letters; he is reproducing an image from the INAA, the

the river.

The general absence of large-scale monumental religious structures in both *Morisco* - era Rabat and Tetouan is an indication of collective priorities as well as (potentially) either collective religious belief or traditions of practice. First, the *Moriscos* and Andalusians in the Maghreb, having been deprived of their money, and having been forced to depart Spain with relatively few material possessions, may not have prioritized the construction of monumental structures for a host of reasons. First, the issue of a general lack of funds most certainly affected all building projects. Second, a focus on militaristic endeavors would have reflected priorities.. Another possible reason for the lack of the construction of large-scale religious structures could have been tied to belief: some *Moriscos* may have been genuine converts to Catholicism who, in the Maghreb, found themselves with no coreligionists (nor any potential ones who were overt) and without the need for a congregational space. The bulk of *Moriscos* (who had preserved Islamic belief and some form of Islamic practice, whether in the form of cultural practice eroded of religious significance or through covert religious practice), may have been disinterested in the construction and maintenance of congregational structures because, at the moment of expulsion from Spain, practice would have occurred covertly, in houses rather than in dedicated spaces.³⁵ In short, the populations of expelled *Moriscos* may have been distant enough in both time and belief from a juridically normative version of Islam that they may not have noticed the absence of or a need for congregational space.

4.6 Aumento de Poblacion: Unsanctioned Extramural Growth in Granada

The depopulation of the parish of San Salvador in Granada was due directly, it appears, to the *Morisco* expulsion. This depopulation of one parish, however, was coeval with the physical spread of the city. The physical footprint of the city expanded despite what would have been an overall population loss; the loss of population was such that *repobladores* were enticed from parts of northern Spain and beyond (such as northern reaches of the Habsburg Empire) to serve as settlers in both urban and rural contexts. The means through which the physical expansion of Granada occurred was multifold: first, the street grid was extended in the area between the former Jewish quarter of the *Realejo* and the banks of the Genil River. These new streets, in a rectilinear pattern, were constructed as residential neighborhoods in the vicinity of religious complexes that were being constructed in the early seventeenth century. Military structures were also expanding the city's border at this time. To the immediate east of the city, the late-sixteenth century discovery of the Sacromonte relics, and

³⁵This is evocative of both the church at Dura Europos and the process through which the mosque, as a generalized typology, is thought to have originated. In the first case, an early-fourth-century building of residential typology had been adapted and decorated for liturgical suitability. In the second, the physical form of the prophet Muhammad's house served as an ur-form, such that mosque evolved as an architectural religious typology through an evocation of what had originally been a domestic space.

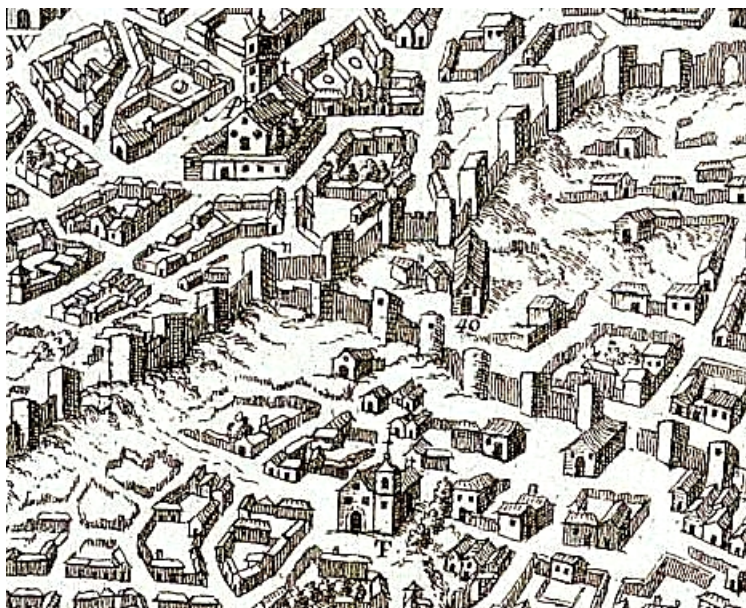


Figure 4.12: Detail of Vico's *Plataforma*, showing intramural depopulation in the parish of San Salvador. Notice the city block outlines with structures that appear to have receded back into the earth.

the subsequent construction of the Sacromonte Abbey (and the concomitant reconfiguration of the Darro River bank as a processional route) were yet other means through which the city of Granada physically expanded. In the case of the Sacromonte, the physical expansion of the city created a public processional space and monumental place of worship (and for the promotion of worship, through the education provided at the abbey) that framed a counter-Reformationist urban creation myth, quite literally inscribed around and beyond the physical city. These changes to Granada are likely, but not necessarily, causally related to the *Morisco* expulsion: the expansion of the street grid—not quite urban reform—would have subtly promoted a population shift to new areas, whether of residents of Granada or the *repladores* who had been enlisted for the act of reinvigorating the city.

Filed together with a couple of tax collection records in Granada's municipal historical archive is a map of the area immediately adjoining the *Puerta de Elvira*, one of the city's principal medieval gates, crudely drawn and labeled. This map is a direct narration of the processes of urban transformation that occurred in late sixteenth century Granada. It is a unique visual representation, accompanied by a written document, of non-monumental urban conditions. Of the known maps and plans of Granada, there are ones (such as Vico's *Plataforma*) that depict the vernacular and nonmonumental within the larger framework of the entire city, and there are plans (such as one of the *Plaza de Bibarrambla*, and another of *Plaza Nueva*) that depict municipal interventions into the creation of a unified urban space with monumental elements. This plan, however, is the only known plan to focus solely upon

land use in relation to small-scale urban land divisions used by individuals (rather than large-scale extra-urban collective lands) and demarcated by specific, known monumental elements (such as the *Puerta de Elvira* and the church of San Lázaro, which today exists only as a toponym.) This map is accompanied by a written document, which is clearly secondary to the map itself: the written documentation refers to the plan, and is an explanation of the problems with the land depicted in it.

This map is a working document with more than one correction/alteration: its primary focus is upon the recording of actual use and payment for administrative purposes. This document, although it has aesthetic value, was of importance as a functional explication of land uses and transfers. Its purposes, however, seem to call for a particular level of accuracy that is reflected in the visual document: the relative shapes of parcels, as well as their physical relations to each other, would have been relevant to any functionary assigned to pay a site visit. Additionally, access to (and egress from) the parcels would have been relevant: this is confirmed through the correction of one of the entrance markers on the plan.

This map deals with a rural portion of land that is significant in its transformation, due both to its siting and the historical moment of its urbanization. In this transformation, we witness both to the intermediary steps between agriculture and purely residential/constructed space, as well as the tensions and problems that occurred during that process. Although this map is a crystallization of one particular moment in that process, because the transformation was not itself a neat and clean process occurring uniformly or simultaneously across the entire space, the map provides documentation of both synchronic and diachronic change.

This map is a snapshot of an entire rapidly-changing neighborhood *in medias res*. The land divisions taken into account here and pictorially represented are not administrative, legal, or parochial. They are, instead, the physical divisions created by both a city's walls and monumental entrances (in the case of the *Puerta de Elvira/Elvira Gate*) and its open spaces (such as the "*juego de pelota*" [ball-playing ground] which is labeled in the map.) The area with which this map deals is of particular importance for the study of post-*Morisco* Granada for several reasons. First, it is an extramural area. As such, it can be read in contrast to the intramural *Albaicín's* transformation. Second, it is in an area of town that expanded in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century: the construction of housing and the urbanization of this particular area cannot be read in terms of the adaptation of previously *Morisco* -inhabited spaces but must instead, be read as both a moment and a space of rupture with previous urbanization. If the adaptive reuse of former *Morisco* houses is an expression of vernacular reinterpretation of architecture, the new use of formerly agricultural area is an expression of the vernacular interpretation of urbanism.

The city of Granada contracted in population with the departure of the *Moriscos* while it simultaneously experienced an expansion of land area through de-densification and attendant: a) apportionment of land to non-Andalusian repopulators, b) construction of church-related buildings and monastic compounds, and c) construction of military installations, all on the city's outskirts. This map represents a fourth, informal type of change

involving direct resident action upon land, to the consternation of the tax administration. Changes to the urban periphery such as those shown here are equally indicative of social change as are those in the neighborhoods that were, prior to 1570, most densely *Morisco*.

This plan is not in the least concerned with the *Albaicín*, at least explicitly. The entrance to this medieval neighborhood is depicted, as are the city walls surrounding it (albeit minimally.) The immediate concern of this depiction is, however, the area immediately beyond the *Albaicín*: the city walls and gate serve only as boundary markers, and constitute the edges of both the map and the physical leaf upon which it is drawn. The relationship of this particular parcel of land to the *Albaicín* is significant at this particular historical moment, however: it was at the precise moment that the *Albaicín* was suffering from depopulation through the *Morisco* exodus that the city's periphery expanded. In this case, the city's periphery and the *Albaicín's* periphery were coincident.

The plan in question, while unique, is not an aberration. It a) illustrates one of several simultaneous processes of spatial expansion of the city, and b) demonstrates development that is morphologically similar to other contemporary developments on the city's edge and in other, relatively central areas that had not yet been developed. Both *Alixares*, below the Alhambra at the eastern edge of the *Albaicín*, and the extension below the Nasrid-era *Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo* were rectilinear extensions to the city consisting of more-or-less orthogonal blocks that contextualize the area outside the *Puerta de Elvira* with larger-scale trends in late sixteenth century Granada's urbanism and society. These two areas, as well as the area outside of the *Puerta de Elvira* with which the plan deals, are all evidence of post-Islamic rapid urbanization on the edge of the city. All are, to some extent or another, extramural.

Both *Alixares* and the *Cuarto Real* area developed relatively late, given the extensive medieval history of the city of Granada: *Alixares* dates to the sixteenth century, and the *Cuarto Real* area was converted from farmland to residential area in the early seventeenth century.³⁶ Their formal similarity to the area outside of the *Puerta de Elvira* is not coincidental: rather, all three areas were expressions, at the urban edge, of a) emerging urban needs, in terms of the expansion of a regularized residential area, and b) of a particular aesthetic, or rather, the secondary nature of the aesthetic to the functional, at that moment. These areas of expansion can be read as reifications of larger-scale issues of population, stability, and economic administration in early modern Spain.

The process of land division that is depicted here is rectilinear, but, it does not constitute a grid. The grid in some places (such as at Santa Fe, the fortress-city constructed by the Catholic Kings at seven kilometers from Granada in order to lay siege upon the city) is a result of a militaristic imposition of order on the landscape wholesale. In this case, what we witness is the rapid and efficient division of relatively flat land resulting in rectilinearly

³⁶The *Cuarto Real* itself dates to the Nasrid period, and is today a much-decayed (but stunning) structure similar to those of the Nasrid Palaces at the Alhambra. Antonio Orijuela Uzal and Antonio Almagro Gorbea at the *Escuela de Estudios Árabes* of the CSIC in Granada have undertaken the *Cuarto Real's* documentation and study.

used space. The elongated blocks that form here are similar to those that formed in the *Alixares*, the neighborhood that was a connector between the *Albaicín* and the River Darro, in the mid- to late- sixteenth century. The streets in the *Alixares* neighborhood (which is today not separated in either name or perception from the *Albaicín*) are straight, narrow ones that negotiate the topography between the Darro River at the bottom and the street of San Juan de los Reyes at the top. While a perfect grid is the expression of a need for efficiency and regularization, compounded with a disregard for specificities of topography or site, an elongated grid such as that here is an expression of efficiency compounded with a sensitivity towards pre-existing routes, nodes, and topographical conditions. In all three of these extramural cases of rapid post-Islamic urbanization, new urbanization is created through regularization. In the case of both here and the *Cuarto Real* neighborhood, the topographic shift is moderate; in the case of *Alixares*, a steep topography is negotiated through the same kind of regularization.

The map showing informal land division outside of the *Puerta de Elvira*, although it does not deal directly with the expelled *Morisco* population from Granada, fits into the larger contexts of both property transfer and urban change in Granada in the late sixteenth century. Even as the *Moriscos* are not, directly, the actors in this document, nor are their former properties in question, the issue of dissatisfaction with property as it is regulated and legislated for inhabitation (and the urgency with which the state's local administration seems to want to collect its money) lay bare the crisis of urbanism that was occurring at the time. This document clarifies a) that property transfer was not solely an issue of expropriation from *Moriscos* ; b) that expropriations occurred to Old Christians as well (presuming that the ones that had occurred and are reflected on the map were Old Christians; if they weren't, what it means is that some level of settlement beyond the *Puerta de Elvira* had occurred before the *Morisco* expulsion); and c) that the city was an agent in the collection of *censo*: it is mentioned that *censo* was to be paid to the city. The informal action on the part of the subdividers (and the subsequent refusal of the tenants to pay taxes, and the difficulty of the administration to collect the relatively small sum due) is testament to a weakness on the part of the administration.

This document is useful for a fiscal interpretation: the total amount of money in *censo* that had been previously paid for the land was 900 *maravedís*. The fiscal crisis that ensued after its informal division, and the reason for the production of the document, was that the land was now, for the local *hacienda* administration, yielding less than it had when it had been held by a single entity. Carlos de Mendoza, the owner of record of the land, who had previously been paying the full amount, is determined to be responsible for paying the difference between what is currently being collected from the paying *solares* (there are some that refuse to pay) and what he paid on the land previously.

The written document notes that there are several, if not many, houses being built on the land that was previously low-intensity agricultural. The illustration, which is not a figure-ground analysis but rather a schematic of land use, indicates only one house (which is not shown in illustration but is, instead, mentioned.) This map is a tool through which to view

vernacular interventions into the landscape, and their perception by the administration. If the monumental interventions made to the city in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were an expression of an anti-Reformationism in Granada/in Spain generally, vernacular interventions, and unregulated transformations in land use, were an expression of changes to the local economy as well as changes in local population density and intensity. Vernacular transformations matter because they are a) smaller-scale than monumental interventions, and, as such, a more immediate reflection of social needs as articulated by individuals and other small-scale actors in space than larger-scale interventions dependent upon large workforces, large quantities of money, and bureaucratic processes; b) a reflection of immediate population changes; and c) more likely to be residential. In a context of rapid demographic change, and in which the most rapidly occurring change was drastic population loss, rather than any sort of population influx that would either require or encourage official intervention in the creation of buildings, the reification of that dedensification of the landscape occurred vernacularly and organically rather than officially. Official interventions would have been (as we see in the requisitions and resales of *Morisco* properties) measures to control or counteract those changes, as well as to earn revenue from any change.

Both vernacular and monumental transformations are important to consider because together they: a) encompass both officially-sanctioned, ideal-driven changes, and organic changes driven by small-scale, real changes in the population, on individual and family levels; b) reflect the politics and culture of both national/centralized levels and the day-to-day implications of localized realpolitik; and, c) occur at different moments and locations of the nation and the city, reflecting disjunctures between changes that are occurring and the state of things as they are idealized. The *Aumento de Poblacion* map and document are evidence of larger processes of urban transformation. Although this document does not explicitly include the confiscated properties of any *Moriscos*, all transformations happening in Granada at this time are both necessarily and directly *Morisco*-related, particularly any transformations in land use immediately following 1570. All urban processes happening in Granada, particularly those in the physical proximity of the *Albaicín*, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, have something to do with the *Moriscos*.

The *Morisco* departure was central to both narratives and processes of depopulation and repopulation.³⁷ In this case, in which a property immediately outside of the *Albaicín* is involved, in which property is being subdivided, and in which the uses of property are changing, the *Morisco* expulsion is present, if not central, to the narrative. The change in land use, particularly, is a reflection of both changed populations and changed economic conditions. The possibilities exist that the populations in question here either lacked the money to purchase (former *Morisco*) structures within the *Albaicín* that were being regulated and sold to the highest bidder, lacked interest in former *Morisco* properties, were from a segment of society that would somehow have been excluded from property ownership

³⁷Thanks to Antonio Reyes Martínez at the Escuela de Estudios Árabes of the CSIC in Granada for forcing me to articulate the significance of the relationship between non-*Morisco* and *Morisco* urban processes.

within a formal framework, or simply found the *Albaicín* undesirable (to the extent that they preferred proximity to the effluvial stream from the slaughterhouse.) That there are new streets made out of previously agricultural land, even though the land is still currently just land (for the most part), is an indication of urbanizing processes. That this urbanizing process is happening in the immediate *extramuros* that is on the outskirts of the city (away from the cathedral, at a point at which there are things beyond it but at which there is also open space) is an indication that the city is physically spreading; this is occurring at a particular moment at which we know that the city of Granada has lost a significant number of its inhabitants is an indication of urban de-densification.

This document can be interpreted as evidence of spontaneous urbanization. On the one hand, a general refusal of tenants to pay *censos* (annual land rents), and evidence of any doubt on the part of the administration as to the identity of the legal tenant/s of any piece of land, are both indications that property transfers and/or divisions have been made outside of the normative methods and beyond the control of the government. On the other hand, the regular forms of streets and lots, and the regularity and standard measurement of lot sizes in this document, indicate that the initial division or conceptualization of these parcels, if not the processes currently underway in the document, were highly controlled and centralized.³⁸

4.7 Neighborhoods as Systems: Urban Units of Inclusion and Exclusion

If the city is the indivisible unit for the understanding of the built environment (from the perspective of a centralized administration) and the location (and preservation) of familial cohesion and small-scale social unity and continuity is the house, the neighborhood serves as a mediating unit between the two. The neighborhood is the unit upon and in which small-scale urban processes are acted out, the unit within which social processes are visible, and the unit that best reflects non-monumental cumulative change. This chapter will analyze urban change in the cities of Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan on the level of the neighborhood, positing that the *Morisco* emigration from Granada and immigration into Rabat and Tetouan effected the most legible changes on this scale.

Whether by choice or coercion, ethnic, religious, and/or cultural minorities tend to cluster in segregated neighborhoods. In the cases of these minorities, neighborhoods serve as avenues for the practice and preservation of difference (from the dominant culture) in a normative way. The medieval city provides a typological model for this segregated and self-sufficient social behavior through urban segmentation into quarters. The quarter is usually an informal (but understood, either tacitly or explicitly) urban division in which the basic needs of that area's residents can be met. Functionally, the quarter is *in loco civitatis*, and, apart

³⁸Here, I need to thank Pedro Jiménez Castillo, also at the CSIC, for astutely forcing me to consider the implications of regularly- versus irregularly-divided plots in this area that was being used subversively.

from a rare occasion of administrative or commercial need, is a coherent whole to both its residents and its regulators. Providing markets as well as civil and religious structures for the performance of everyday life, the quarter sees to most of its residents' needs.

In many cases, the neighborhood is legible largely only internally; it represents a specialized and non-codified form of knowledge that is distinct from administrative knowledge. A vast difference is possible between the administrative interior urban division (such as urban extensions, in a civic sense, and parishes, in a religious) and the functional neighborhood. The neighborhood, as a unit of social cohesion larger than the house, does not depend upon complete social homogeneity; its functioning does depend, however, upon an understanding of decorum and of building and construction norms (whether those be hyper-local and only of the neighborhood, of the city, or of the larger region.)

In the particular case of the *Moriscos*, the forced nature of their expulsion led to, in Granada, the evacuation of the heavily-*Morisco* neighborhoods of the *Albaicín*. In Rabat and Tetouan, the arrival of the *Moriscos* (in a built-up but sparsely-populated and culturally unwelcoming environment on the one hand and a compact, densely-populated and ideologically-sympathetic environment on the other, respectively) occasioned both urban and neighborhood change. The concentration of *Moriscos* in family-affiliated (and, I hypothesize, geographically-affiliated) units in the former and extramural contiguous neighborhoods in the latter was the product of both desired social cohesion and the vagaries negotiation between pre-existing built form and vernacular intervention by these new arrivals.

4.7.1 San Salvador

The parish of San Salvador in Granada is the one for which the richest documentary evidence of morisco housing exists, and is the parish within the city of Granada that we can extrapolate (from the documentary data) that both a) had, and b) lost the most significant number of *Morisco* residents in the two decades in the time period immediately preceding and subsequent to the morisco expulsion from the city, representing about three-quarters of this parish's heads of household.³⁹[p. 132-3]vincentpop Because of the known population lost of this parish in absolute terms, and because of its loss in relative terms, the parish (not a neighborhood per se but, instead, a religio-administrative entity) becomes important as a site for the study of urban/ized Granadan *Moriscos*.

The archival record, incomplete as it may be, incorporates hundreds of pages of documents concerning morisco and formerly morisco properties, dating from the late-mid sixteenth century (immediately preceding *Morisco* expulsion from the city) to the mid-seventeenth. These records represent a much larger quantity of (former) *Morisco*-inhabited structures than the eighty *Morisco* houses of which we know in contemporary Granada. The documentary record here, however, is concerned with issues of ownership and income. The houses in in question may be, in structural terms, either *Morisco* or Nasrid. We can't tell; what

³⁹“relax “unhcopy “strutbox

we can, however, discern, are details of pre-expulsion *Morisco* society to the extent that we have social information about the *Moriscos* that inhabited these structures, and relative information about the *Moriscos*' wealth (as the residents' occupations, sizes of houses, and number of rooms involved are included in some of the documents) as well as social shifts over time (through the transference of those *Morisco* properties decades after they were no longer inhabited by *Moriscos*.)

4.7.2 One Neighborhood in Rabat: Exclusion and Access

While the site of transformation that we see in Granada is one in which the loss of inhabitants and the sale of property is enacted on a previously-inhabited and ideologically-charged landscape that left a significant documentary legacy, the transformations at the Maghrebi sites were not bounded by administrative systems in the same way. One particular problem of writing the architectural history of seventeenth century Rabat is that it is an architectural history of lacunae and of conjecture. The history of the city both before and after the *Morisco* period is well-known and documented (to an extent), but the history of the city during the *Morisco* period must be derived almost exclusively through absences, through knowledge of events, and through hunches.

Rabat was not the central concern of an ideologically-driven administration. It was informally developed, and, at the time of its rapid population growth through Andalusian settlement, its site was not one that was being actively exploited for a central administration's monetary gain. Development in the city was, instead, highly localized and informal. In Granada, the neighborhood unit in the sixteenth century was one that reflected both hundreds of years of continuous inhabitation and more than a minor bureaucratic system in place; the neighborhood unit in Granada corresponded roughly to relative large administrative units that were mapped on a Catholic religious landscape of revenue generation. In Rabat, nothing of the sort existed. The neighborhood unit was significantly smaller, as there was no entrenched local administration to control or determine intervention to the legacy build environment. What occurred in Rabat, with the influx of the *Moriscos*, was the articulation of units of urban space through small-scale enclaves. These enclaves, based around the family unit and agglomerations of several families, were inserted around what would have been the pre-existing orthogonal streets, within the Almohad enclosure.

One enclave within the city of Rabat that I would like to consider is characterized by a single public point of access to the exterior of the *medina* in the direction of El-^cAlou (near the city's principal cemetery and the casbah) and a single point of access to the heart of the *medina*. This neighborhood consists, roughly, of a single narrow street that connects the heart of the *medina* to the exterior with three smaller streets on either side arranged orthogonally off of it as ribs off of a spine. The width of the street shows neither monumentality nor intensive use: the street is a narrow one. It is, however, both straight and uncovered. In this neighborhood, the only coverings of the public street that exist are sabats at the ends of the ancillary streets.



Two exterior features of this enclave seem indicative of a) coetaneous concerted planning of the area, and b) some sort of agreement, whether explicit or tacit, to maintain exterior regularity in the order of the streets. The buildings in this enclave express unity. First, the streets are all approximately the same width, with no individual structure interrupting the straightness of the street. Second, engaged columns at the intersections serve an expression of, possibly, coeval construction on the one hand and, on the other the relative importance of the street over that of the individual structure. Additionally, these engaged columns, typical of seventeenth century Spanish streets, stylistically define the neighborhood. In this particular neighborhood, the development of the city was one in which the house related to the street rather than one of the street being consequential to exterior remaining portions after buildings were made and aggregated/had portions added. In this neighborhood, which appears to have been developed as a unit (despite, of course, major alterations and reconstructions to the interior configurations of individual houses having been carried out afterwards), the street, rather than the individual unit, has primacy.

The primacy of the street provided the characteristic of the control of visibility from the top of the street (the point of access to the *medina*) to the bottom (at the exterior); I speak of top and bottom topographically. Controlled visibility and access would have been particularly important during the *Morisco* period. I posit that this neighborhood was the





Figure 4.14: Three examples of engaged columns in Rabat. These are not necessarily structural elements, and in some cases consist of chamfering and carving.

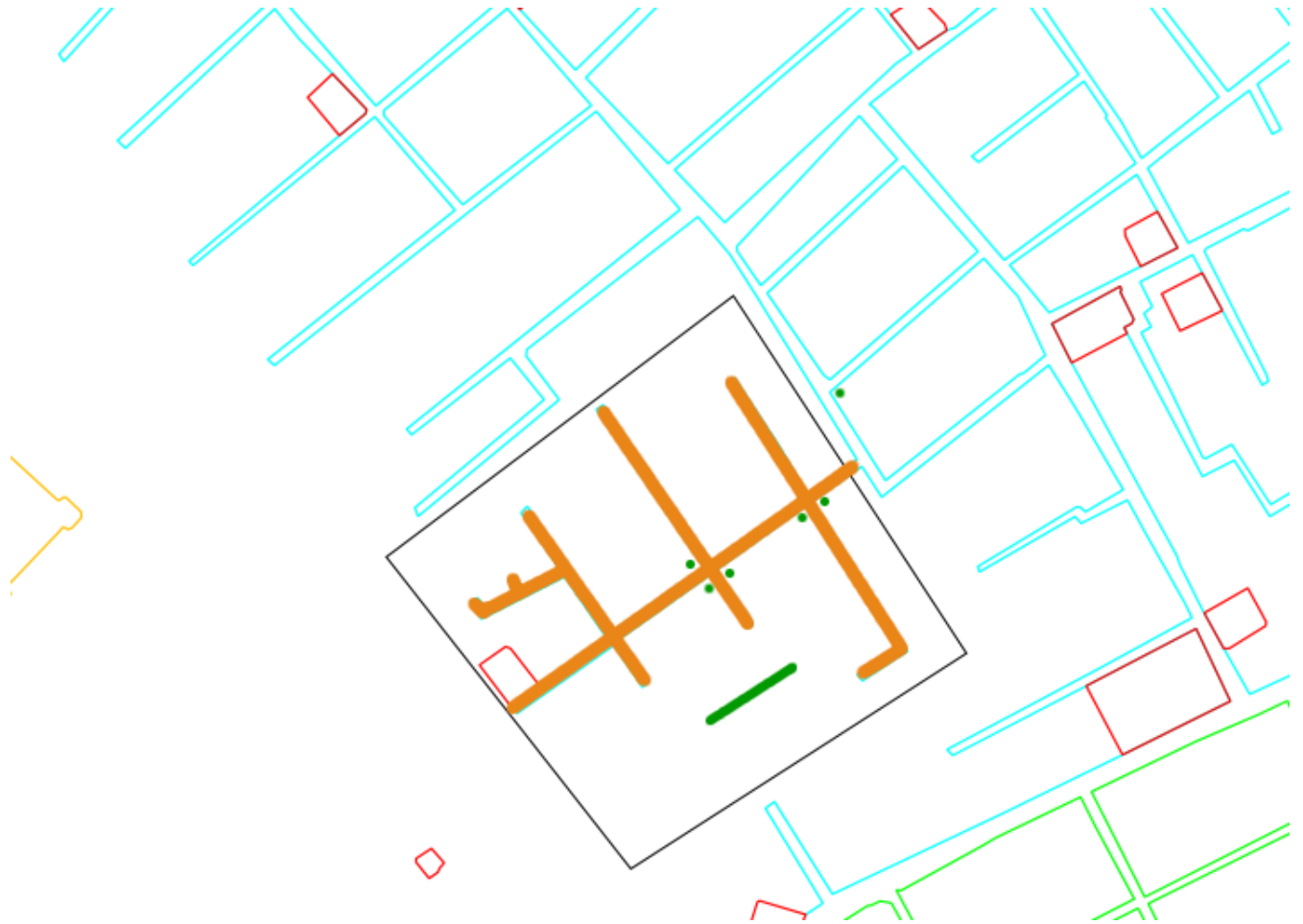


Figure 4.15: The street in this image has organizational primacy over the houses. Dots at intersections indicate sites of engaged columns. These columns, which may have been removed in some cases, speak to the consistent dimensions of the street.

product of the *Morisco* period for several reasons: first, the layout of the street reflects an early modern vernacular sensibility. The straight streets, orthogonally related to each other, reflect construction at a single time period, rather than incremental urban growth and struggles for control of what, in an organically-growing city, would have been limited public space. Second, the engaged columns are evocative of sixteenth-century Spanish techniques. Third, the structures themselves, while many today consist of early- and mid-twentieth-century renovations, and some of the structures on the periphery may predate the *Morisco* period, located on streets with *Morisco* and Andalusian family names, would indicate family enclaves, geographically united. Fourth, the inclusion of rectangular, rather than square, courtyards in the domestic structures of this enclave is an indication of possible *Morisco*-Andalusian origins.

Finally, the southern edge of the street abutting the *medina* contains structures at a noticeably larger scale. Those structures, which are generally taller and which seem to have square (or, at the very least, squarish, rather than non-square rectangular) courtyards, are stylistically/typologically related to the Merinid structure (such as that found in abundance in Fez). Additionally, those larger, multi-story structures appear to have been in existence before the arrival of the *Moriscos*, if the visual evidence (which is in itself not something to be read as representation that is either proportional or cartographically exact but, instead, structurally representative) is to be believed. Given that the visual evidence, produced by Europeans, had a strategic purpose, the rendering of larger buildings and defensive structures would have been the producers' priorities. This area, thus, seems to be an enclave of several families, built with a practical defensibility and implementing exterior markers evocative of coeval Spanish streets; I posit that this section of the *medina* dates to the arrival of the *Moriscos*. Moreover, I imagine that the enclave's presence on the edge of the *medina* but within the Almohad wall demonstrates, on the one hand, a desire on the part of this new population to build housing to its needs and standards, on the one hand, and a need for collective defense, on the other.

Another enclave in Rabat possesses similar features. This latter one, consisting of a single street called Sabat Bargach, illustrates the cohesiveness of the Andalusian immigrant family unit in what was a divided and divisive urban environment. The street of Sabat Bargach, again, are peripheral to the *medina*, and connected by a small street to the area nearest the casbah. At the end of the street with the covered sabat, the street opens onto what would likely have been a Merinid-era portion of the city: buildings in it are much more volumetrically cubic, and a Merinid-era bath is nearby. The enclave, moreover, is both named after a single family, and consisted of multiple houses, at various scales, built for different branches of the extended family. What these areas of Rabat ultimately demonstrate is the practicality (spatial constraints, defensive features) with which the Andalusians approached the project of informal urban growth in the seventeenth-century Maghreb.

4.7.3 El-^cUyun: Linear Growth in Tetouan

In Tetouan, a similarly practical neighborhood developed *extramuros* in the early seventeenth century. This neighborhood, El-^cUyun, developed along two axes: a) the preexisting path of travel to Fez (from the point of the walled city's door) and, b) that of the topography. What resulted was a main street with dependent, narrower streets running roughly north-south, following the slope of the hillside. The main street, lined with relatively small-scale mosques, fountains (El-^cUyun means "the springs," fitting for the number of water sources in such a small area), and mausolea, was a direct result of *Morisco* influx.⁴⁰ Three mosques on the street, built in order from the point nearest the previously-existing city to that farthest away, between the 1620s and 1640s, are testament to the linear growth of the street. These three mosques, El-Msimdī, El-^cUyūn (also known as Sidī ^cAli el-Ju^caidī), and el-Jadīda, are all relatively small in scale. They are marked as religious structures through the presence of minarets (each mosque has one; all are square in plan) and through the elaboration of their doors. These structures, I believe, refer to the typological model of the meeting room, such as that of the fraternal brotherhoods of Spanish Catholic churches, *cofradías*, and not to the model of the mosque proper.⁴¹

The neighborhood of El-^cUyūn as a whole is particularly interesting for the regularity of *sabats* that occur on the streets perpendicular to the principal street in the neighborhood: fairly long coverings serve, effectively, to emphasize the linearity of the main street, and to create a sense that adjoining streets are private. Presuming that the tendency to construct *sabāts* at the point of juncture between minor and major streets originated with the neighborhood's construction, the overhead enclosures serve to create urban legibility.

The linear development of this neighborhood, and the implications of that linearity, are particularly interesting. As mentioned above, the mosques of el-Msimdī, El-^cUyūn, and el-Jadīda were constructed within roughly thirty years of each other, in the time period immediately after the *Morisco* arrival. These structures appear to have responded to the worship and spatial demands of small interest groups rather than those of the city as a whole: they were projects driven by individual small-scale patrons and their supporters. The proliferation of mosques, rather than the construction of a single large mosque or the expansion of a small mosque into a larger mosque as population grew, suggests that these structures either served a social function beyond that of prayer, or that in the intervening years between the construction of each, city growth and density were such that no space remained for the pre-existing mosque/s to absorb additional populations of worshipers.

⁴⁰Although the neighborhood would not have been exclusively *Morisco*, the influx of this population caused urban growth.

⁴¹There is no written evidence of this that I have found. Moreover, no study of the confraternity meeting area or hall in early modern Spain seems to exist to provide a model for the study of the space.



Figure 4.16: The neighborhood of El-ʿUyun. The neighborhood grew from East to West (in the image, right to left.) Religious structures (shaded) were built sequentially as the neighborhood grew linearly. Accessory streets ascend and descend from the principal street; many of the accessory streets are covered with *sabāts*.





Figure 4.17: Two arches on the main street of El-ʿUyun. These elaborated structures are testament to the growth of the *sabāt* over time. In the neighborhood of El-ʿUyun, *sabāts* are found not only at the beginning of ancillary streets that go up and down from the principal street, but over the entrances to mosques and other religious structures. The lack of a complex system of visual signs indicating religious structures (that are similar in scale and finish to the residential architecture surrounding them) seems to have given way to the use of the *sabāt* as both an extender of space and external marker of interior religious space.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed components of the neighborhood unit in both Granada and the Maghreb. In Granada, rapid depopulation and de-densification reflected, on the one hand, governmental weakness and the unsuitability of pre-existing Morisco houses for new populations. In Rabat, urban development appears to have been informal but with collective notions of aesthetics and defense guiding interventions. In Tetouan, the city grew not in fragmented defensive enclaves but linearly.

At these sites, transformation of the landscape of religious structures both reflected and informed neighborhood transformations. In Granada, the transformation of the religious landscape was one that occurred over a much longer period than that of the Morisco expulsion: mosques had been transformed, wholesale, into churches nearly seventy years before the expulsion of the *Moriscos* from the city; after their consecration as churches, mosque structures were, slowly, replaced with analogous parish churches at the same sites. Any Morisco crypto-Islam would then have taken place in private homes or other unofficial settings; this, at least in part, seems to have influenced the form of the mosque structures that were eventually constructed by the Andalusian population after its arrival in the Maghreb. Although we have no concrete examples of religious structures built by the Andalusians in Rabat (due to an erasure of these records through colonial-era consolidation), a set of three small-scale mosques in Tetouan, built after the *Morisco* arrival within a relatively short period of time, demonstrate an informality of structure, a relative material poverty, and a decentralized religious structure. These mosques, which appear in scale more in line with domestic structures than congregational ones, reflect in their informality the transformation that was occurring at the time. In both neighborhoods and their component structures, in both Spain and the Maghreb, the migration of the *Moriscos* occasioned the informal transformation of land use and the built environment.

Chapter 5

Morisco Houses: Continuity, Displacement, Cohesion, and Subversion

If you go to a home of any of the families of Andalusian extraction in Rabat or Tetouan today, regardless of whether that home is in the medina or in the mid-century villas that line Rabat's suburban neighborhoods, you will likely notice a key hanging upon the wall near the entrance. It is a heavy key, and a large. You immediately understand that, despite the key's inherent functionality, this particular key is more the idea of a key than an actual key. It does not open the door of the house in which you stand. It is, instead, the only remnant of that family's Andalusian life: it is the key that opened that family's Andalusian house four centuries ago. The house, the exact form and location of which have long been physically forgotten, becomes then an individual imperative for collective memory. It is reduced to the status of key, both in form and function. The house that remains is a house of memory, useful not for physical residence but for the affirmation of collective identity.

The physical changes that occurred in Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan were monumental in overall effect rather than in terms of the insertion of a centrally-planned monumental building program; the urban changes that occurred reflected the loss (in one case) and gain (in the other two) of a significant (in terms of both numbers and social and cultural meaning) minority population. The presence (and absence) of the *Moriscos* was most directly reflected in changes to the buildings and areas where the *Moriscos* had lived. While the changes that occurred in each city in terms of social and economic shifts and attendant were unique, at least one element can be considered in terms of all three of these cities both in relation to the *Moriscos* (and their predecessors or successors) and the urban fabric both affected by and acted upon this element: the house.

One of the means through which I wish to consider the theme of the *Morisco* migration is through the unit of analysis of the house. The irreducible formal component of the city is the individual architectural intervention: the individual, private dwelling constitutes an

element both particular and generic, unique but repeated. The house serves as a vehicle for many of the valences of history: for social history, economic history, and family history. All of these separate histories of individuals and groups are affected by and inform the built environment at all scales; these histories, in turn, become urban history. While monumental architectural interventions can produce the image of the city in the visitor's mind, defensive peripheries, ceremonial buildings both civic and religious, and dramatic skylines of international capital are in a much more humble building type to which the bulk of the city's land and infrastructural connections are dedicated. The most common building type in the cities under consideration (and, indeed, most cities save necropolises, religious-administrative sites, and cities of entertainment or sport) is the dwelling. In the cities under consideration, the basic dwelling unit is the house.

In this chapter, I will analyze the house as a site of both assimilation and subversion. It is within the house that the individual and family unit acted, within the city, to the most independent extent allowable. It is within the structure of the house that the performance of private ritual and the maintenance of tradition are sited. In Spain, the houses built and inhabited by

Moriscos were private spaces that eluded the eyes and constrictions of both Catholic practice and urban ordinance. In North Africa, the houses constructed by Andalusian refugees reflected conflicting desires for settlement and impermanence. In both Spain and North Africa, the houses of

Moriscos in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were by and large modest structures, driven by function in contexts of, in the former case, ever-increasing social constraints and, in the second, finite resources and an immediate need for defensible shelter.

Understandings of the house and its fundamental relationship to the family unit are globally entrenched.¹ In the house, the spatial reflects both the familial and the familiar: working within prescribed structural, material, and typological models that are locally and historically informed, houses accommodate the family unit as, dually, an entity separate from but embedded within the surrounding landscape, both physical and social. The house, then, is an instrument of both separation and integration, of the construction (quite literally) of sameness (through the reproduction of locally accepted forms) and difference (through the creation of familial privacy and separation from the extrafamilial.) Typologically, the house is a physical instrument for mediation between private and public, personal and social as well as an expression of region, culture, local materials, structural understanding, aesthetic predilections, and familial means. The house reflects, then, both personal and community values: this is the single unit of architectural intervention that is an expression of the social unit, and the unit of built structure in the environment that most clearly reflects long-term private (on the level of the non-wealthy individual and family unit) investment in the

¹Although industrialization changed patterns of inhabitation, and the apartment building and the boarding house first supplanted and then (in denser environments) replaced the family-occupied house as a typology, separating young adults and single men of the working classes from traditional built environments based upon the immediate and extended family units.

landscape.² The house expresses social and cultural change more immediately, if on a smaller scale, than an entire city.

The story of the

Moriscos is not a story that is confined to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite the relatively short existence of this particular cultural-religious minority in Spain (a hundred and thirteen years at the absolute longest, calculating from the moment of first forced conversion in 1501 to the final edict of the grand expulsion in 1614), its historical reverberations extend from the eighth through the twenty-first centuries. It is a story of the cultural production of minorities, of social homogenization, and of local, regional, and national (inasmuch as the large-scale geopolitical entity can be understood in terms of the nation) change. The story of the *Moriscos* reaches dually towards the origin myths of Al-Andalus and the political and social realities of contemporary Spain. The *Morisco* house is a historical form located between myth and contemporary reality, the product of a particular historical moment and set of social circumstances in limited geographical areas.

The houses constructed by *Moriscos* post-expulsion in Rabat and Tetouan represent formal negotiations between the spatial requirements and constraints of new contexts and the innovation enabled through the use of different materials and spatial boundaries, compounded with the constraints and possibilities generated through contexts of differing ranges of acceptance and rejection of the *Moriscos* as a social group. The construction of *Morisco* houses in Rabat and Tetouan equated with a construction and re-formulation of identity: the *Morisco* identity that was built in these two cities was one referential to but not dependent upon the *Morisco* house as a typology imported from Iberia. In Granada, conversely, the city was left with hundreds of formerly-*Morisco* houses, uninhabited, fiscally unproductive for purposes of tax collection, and physically resembling but ideologically worlds apart from the houses of Old Christians.

In this chapter, I consider the house both physically and socially in Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan. Reading the house as an element of social continuity, familial cohesion, and local building values, I propose that continuity, innovation, and rupture in both house form and individual exemplars of houses dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in these three cities reflect both stability and change in individual and group identity. Despite the relative similarity of the *Morisco* house type to previously-existing forms, the particular situations of Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan occasioned, in some cases, a chasm in the difference of understood meaning between non-*Morisco* and *Morisco* forms. Particularly in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century changes at hand, the house, and structures domestic in scale and appearance if not necessarily use, were indicative of larger-scale social change.

²I state, specifically, non-wealthy individual and family because the wealthy outliers are capable of (and most likely, deliberately undertake) interventions into both rural and urban landscapes on a scale that is larger than that of the house.

5.1 The Granadan *Morisco* House

The history of the city (in this case of Granada) is the product of the spatial interactions between groups as they are reified in civil, religious, and domestic space. In the case of post-*Morisco* Granada, change occurred incrementally through changes in previously-*Morisco* houses. Given a lack of *Morisco* monumental architecture and large-scale interventions into the built environment, the house, and by extension its vernacular urban context, become important. The Granadan *Morisco* house, typologically descendant of the Nasrid house, is a form of residential architecture of utmost importance in the city and kingdom of Granada.

The term *casa morisca*, found in official documents (such as those of the *Libros de Repartimiento*) was one applied to the houses of both departed Muslims and *Moriscos* in Spain during Christian resettlement projects in a Reconquest context. It was not a term reserved specifically for the buildings of departed *Moriscos* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it is for this reason that, in this context, I refer specifically to the Granadan *Morisco* house. Etymologically, the word *morisca* as it pertains to house is an adjectival modifier that is not as specific a term as is *Morisco* when it is used to, specifically, refer to the populations of forced converts from Islam (and their descendants.) In the context of a building, an artwork, or any other object, for it to be termed *morisca* or *Morisco* possessed, at the time of its application, content more stylistic than social: any structure or artwork redolent of Spanish Muslim influence (whether or not it had been a product of Spanish Muslims, converts of Muslim origin, or, in cases of long-term history, of Muslim empires that had had sway on the geographical area of Iberia, regardless of origin) would have been referred to as *morisco* or *morisca*, without a necessary one-to-one relationship between the *Morisco* populations and *morisco* structures.

References, both early and late, to *casas moriscas*, those structures which had belonged to expelled or otherwise departed Muslims, were made not by (first) the Muslims nor (later) the *Moriscos* themselves. The term was an assigned category that served as shorthand within documents descriptive of properties written by Christian notaries or other civil servants as a tool for legal purposes. Categorically, the term *casa morisca* was used to denote more than one possible architectural, urban, or legal condition. The term was sometimes used on its own. At other moments, the term *casa de moros* would have been used: these two particular usages, particularly outside of the context of sixteenth and seventeenth century Granada, would have had both stylistic and social connotations. In the case of the first, the architectural content of the structure is foregrounded: the house itself is *morisca* in structure (location, orientation, or size of rooms as well as the coherent unit) and/or style. In the case of the latter, the house is of *moros*, that is, it is described in terms of the religious identities of its current or former residents. Neither of the above is, however, exactly coterminous with the Granadan *Morisco* house.

The Granadan *morisco* house must be considered a typology derived from an incomplete set of data points. The transformation of the urban landscape that occurred in Granada after the city's capitulation constituted both an ideological and physical restructuring: this

restructuring echoed earlier changes that had taken place across the vast geography of Iberia in the preceding centuries, as the Reconquista swept from North to South, particularly during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. The *Libros de Repartimiento* (lit: *Books of Redistribution*), in particular, are a means through which to witness the *casa morisca* and the *casa de moros*. From the thirteenth century on in all regions of Iberia as they fell to the reconquest, these books were a means of record-keeping that provide a genealogy of property, as it were. In these books, the above two terms are used without further elaboration. We must consider the Granadan *Morisco* house that is found, as it is said in the Spanish, en pie (on foot), that is to say, standing, in the context of larger architectural and urban history.

I propose the Granadan *Morisco* house (*casa morisca Granadina*) as a high stylistic term linked with both a particular place and historical period (the city of Granada between 1501, the moment of conversion, and 1570, the moment of expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Granada), and the *casa morisca* and *casa de moros* generally as social terms. The Granadan *Morisco* house, as a more specific term when considered architecturally and stylistically, is the product of a particular and bounded time period and place. When considered documentarily, however, the *Morisco* house in Granada that was expropriated from *Moriscos* and sold, is removed from its contexts of production and style: we do not, from the documentary evidence, know if the house had been constructed by *Moriscos*, if it was in an architectural style perceived as *morisca* (lit.: of Moors, Moorish), or if it had merely been occupied by *Moriscos*. Not all *Moriscos* necessarily lived in *Morisco* houses. Some may have had situations of tenancy in non-*morisco* structures, and some may have lived in unmodified Nasrid-era houses.

Our knowledge about the housing of Granadan *Moriscos* can come from both archaeological and architectural as well as textual sources. One particular, and wealthy body of textual evidence previously unused is composed of the collection of *Morisco* property requisition documents in the Provincial Historical Archive (AHP) of Granada. The written documentation of the *Morisco* house in the Granadan parish of San Salvador as found in the AHP³ (this set of documents is hereafter referred to as AHP 5244) includes social and economic information, but, as a descriptive tool, lacks architectural stylistic information (save the occasional detail about the existence of a door, window, or other element.) The parish of San Salvador has great importance in the *Morisco* history of Granada: it underwent greater demographic changes than any other *Albaicín* parish in the late sixteenth century.⁴ The holdings in AHP 5244 correspond to properties sold or otherwise transferred in the parish

³Various notaries and bureaucrats, “Documents pertaining to formerly-morisco properties in the parish of San Salvador. Catalogued as accession number 5244 at the Provincial Historical Archive” (Provincial Historical Archive, Granada (Spain), 1568-1640s) I refer to this set of documents as AHP 5244. The system of enumeration in the Provincial Historical Archive has been changed at least once, however, and appeared to be in the process of further change. These documents are found in the section: *Moriscos*, under the heading of San Salvador.

⁴See discussion of this parish in the chapter concerning neighborhood change and the *Morisco* migration.

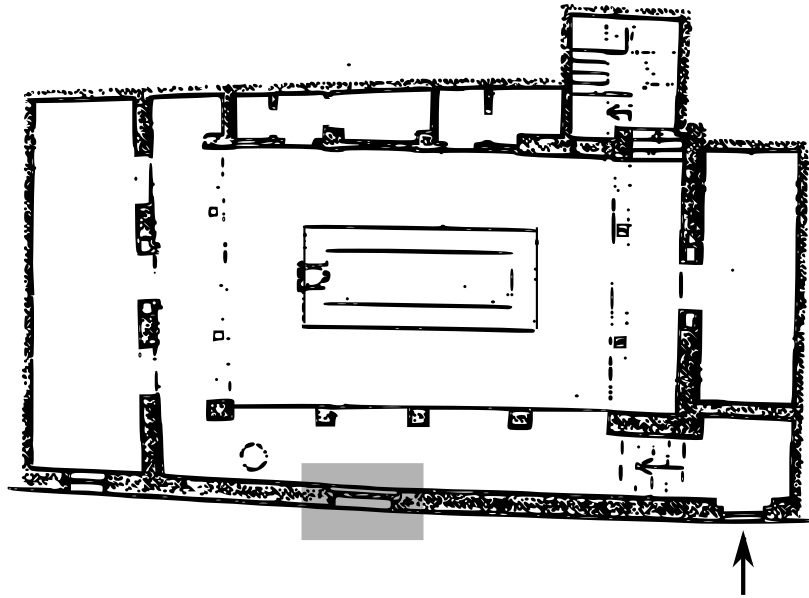


Figure 5.1: A floor plan of the first floor of the *morisco* house on the street of the *Horno del Oro*. Note the lack of direct access to the central courtyard from the door. Note also (in gray) the presence of what appears to be another door. As per sanctions periodically induced upon the *Moriscos* in Granada in the sixteenth century, the placement of doors such that visual access to the central courtyard from the exterior of the house was mandated. Several *morisco* houses in Granada exhibit this feature. After the image that appears in El Mudejar en Granada. María Vicenta Barbosa García and Manuel Ruiz Ruiz, *El Mudejar en Granada* (Granada)

of San Salvador. This particular set of archival records does not, at any moment, claim to be a complete set of all *Morisco* properties in the parish: it is, however, the only place in which property records from the time period are a) together and b) organized by parish.⁵

The collection of transfer documents of formerly *Morisco* properties provides a multi-faceted snapshot of Granadan society: the stories of individuals, both *Moriscos* and Old Christian, are told, as well as that of the larger *Albaicín* and the city as they relate to changing uses of buildings. In the case of ten property sets, houses or properties that, either individually or in lots, that were transferred at the same time, make explicit mention to the Rabad de Albayda as the location of the property. In these properties collectively, social and economic shifts are evident: stability and change, of population as well as of structure, are exposed as stories that impacted the city.

To a certain extent, these documents capture population shifts: small, fragmented stories of internal migration are told through the sale of these properties: in all but one of the ten cases here, the purchaser is a “*vecino*”—that is to say, a head of household—in Granada: the lone purchaser from outside the city of Granada is neither from the towns within the province of Granada nor from a city outside of Andalucía, but from the neighboring provincial capital of Jaén.

This collection consists largely of documents of the sale and transfer of houses, plots, and other properties that formerly belonged to the *Moriscos*. Although the AHP 5244 records might not be exhaustive, they are certainly representative: they include properties of varying sizes and physical conditions in all neighborhoods of the parish of San Salvador, transferred between the late 1560s and the middle of the seventeenth century. These are the records that were part of the *Consejo de Hacienda*, the royal property council. Properties either administered or transferred through a different authority (such as that of the Inquisition), illegally, informally, or through uncontested inheritance would likely not form a part of this archival record. Most, if not all, of the records that were preserved in this portion of the AHP were ones that had been seized from *Moriscos*: in most cases, there is explicit identification of the previous owner, to the extent that we know his (or her) occupation.

There are approximately 115 sets of property documents in the AHP 5244;⁶ this comprises both loose documents, printed sets of sale and transfer documents, and bound sets, whether printed or handwritten (and usually a combination of both.) This reflects neither the total number of documents (significantly higher) nor the total number of buildings transferred, but,

⁵Complete records of all property transfers (as well as all legal documents of any and every sort) are, presumably, in the Notary archive: that archive is itself imperfect. While its created records were, presumably, all-encompassing, as they consisted of every legal matter taken before a notary, surviving physical records are not necessarily complete, and, in some cases, are deteriorated beyond utility. The notarial record, additionally, is arranged chronologically, rather than thematically, and is of limited utility without indexes and finding aids.

⁶Various notaries and bureaucrats, “Documents pertaining to formerly-morisco properties in the parish of San Salvador. Catalogued as accession number 5244 at the Provincial Historical Archive” (Provincial Historical Archive, Granada (Spain), 1568-1640s) This is an informal count based on rough groupings of related documents.

instead, the total number of groups of properties transferred. Sales, purchases, inheritances, and other transfers and documented changes in condition and ownership of these properties, as reflected in the records, are significant for the economic and social changes that they reflect.

The records in the AHP 5244 are as much a reflection of governmental administrative systems as they are of changes in population and the urban conditions reflected: the details to which the administration pays attention are direct reflections of government priorities of the day. Except for in a handful of cases, in which some description, no matter how cursory, of the components of a building is given, the only pieces of information about the physical building and site that are given are limited to the building's size, the lot's size, (if, that is, the lot is either larger to or smaller than the building, although in this particular moment and in this particular built environment, the built area of a building was, in most cases, contiguous with the lot), and the property's boundaries: both adjoining streets and properties are described. The properties, thus, are from the administrative/documentary perspective being treated not as individual architectonic interventions to the landscape, nor are any being treated as cultural patrimony/heritage: no remarks as to any individual building histories are given, nor are some buildings presented as more valuable than any other as the result of some inherent properties or qualities. Instead, this treatment gives us information about the priorities of the government and administration while at the same time providing urban and demographic information about the properties and their inhabitants, if not necessarily much in the way of architectural data.

This group of documents illustrates a) the process of consolidation of properties, b) the change in physical condition of these properties, and c) the social positions of both previous morisco owners and new, Old Christian purchasers in the parish of San Salvador. In 1561, this parish had between nine hundred and a thousand *vecinos* (heads of household); in 1587, only between three and four hundred remained.⁷[p. 132-3.]vincentpop This dramatic shift was a direct result of the population loss that occurred as a result of the *Morisco* expulsion, and left a depopulated parish with infrastructure in a ruined state.

The *morisco* house is an important form of historical residential architecture in Granada. Typologically descendant from the Nasrid house, the *morisco* dwelling served a minority population distinct from the politically and religiously powerful one of Old Christians at a moment of cultural and social change. The eighty extant and identified *morisco* houses in the city's *Albaicín* quarter have previously been studied to greater or lesser extents, in terms of both their structures and functions.⁸ Half of those structures have been restored and documented. These structures, spanning the length of the sixteenth century and frequently consisting of altered Nasrid-era houses rather than entirely new construction, are important elements for the study of the architecture, urbanism, and society of *Morisco* Granada.

These houses, remains of the sixteenth century, are testament to change in Granadan

⁷“relax “unhcopy “strutbox

⁸The body of *Morisco* houses in Granada has been extensively studied by Antonio Orihuela; his works are the foundational texts in the analysis and cataloging of this set of structures.

society as much as to the differences between the lifestyles of *Morisco* and Old Christians. This portion of my study has as its goal the expansion of the scope of *Morisco* buildings in Granada about which information is known. The forty *Morisco* houses in Granada that have been restored, represent only a small percentage of the total number of *Morisco* houses in the city that would have existed in the late sixteenth century at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion. The Granadan *Morisco* house has been extensively studied architecturally; archaeological studies of the typology also exist. These contemporary studies are ultimately analyses of only a small percentage of the total number of houses that were *Morisco* houses. As they depend upon physical evidence, the evidence is necessarily limited to those structures that have survived centuries of urban change. In a city such as Granada, which has been continually inhabited since at least the ninth century, and in which a limited geographic area constitutes the center of the city, evidence of the past is subject to constant elimination and recontextualization.

Morisco houses that have survived to the present day constitute the minority. The elimination and transformation of the houses of the *Moriscos* expelled from Granada are evident from the time period immediately subsequent to the expulsion: within the written documentary evidence in the AHP 5244, at issue are the houses of *Moriscos* which have been seized by the state and, in many cases, redistributed to the highest bidder. The documentation of the *Morisco* houses that exists in the earliest of these documents is the documentation of houses in the final moments before their multiple transformations. The first transformation occurs through a series of ontological shifts in the meaning of the building/s at hand. Houses were seized and rendered royal property wholesale; this large-scale accumulation of houses eroded to an extent the historical processes of informal development of the city through the elimination of small-scale individual actors. Through seizure, houses were transformed into nationalized speculative property. These properties, which were to be sold to the highest bidder, were no longer conceptualized as individual buildings to be inhabited as such. Instead, they were conceptualized in terms of lots, size, and contiguity: the accumulation of multiple properties was encouraged.

The seizure and nationalization of *Morisco* properties effectively erased the building histories of individual *Morisco* buildings: the houses all became *de moros*. Erased were memories of which houses had been built when (and differences in awareness between those houses that had dated to the Nasrid era, and which had been the immediate products of contemporary *Morisco* construction). Also erased was awareness of subtle stratification in *Morisco* society: both Nasrid-era and *Morisco* -era structures (first of Muslims and then of *Moriscos*) would have contrasted with analogous Old-Christian built and occupied homes, particularly in terms of external markers of social class. Such markers would have been internal in Muslim and *Morisco* houses; at the moment of property seizure, however, no distinction was made between structures pertaining to different social strata. Traditions for the transfer of buildings from individual to individual through private sale (with a percentage paid to the crown) were also eroded: if *Morisco* neighborhoods and social stability had been maintained through gradual 1:1 replacement of one *Morisco* family with another, both

the expulsion and the seizure destabilized this system of social change through stability. The seizure of *Morisco* properties erased *Morisco* space from the city; the process of the conversion of this property, however, was not a smooth one. The majority of houses have been lost physically through their destruction in any one of the time periods between the late sixteenth century and today.

The means and moments through and during which houses dating to the sixteenth century can have been significantly altered or destroyed far outnumber the possibilities of continued, relatively unscathed architectural and structural persistence through the present day. Factors affecting a building's likelihood of survival include the economic, the social, and the political. Economic reasons for the survival of any given *Morisco* building would have been grounded at multiple points of both production and consumption. First, relatively high building quality and large size would have disposed a structure for survival in two ways. Higher construction quality could prevent against ruin through disrepair, and larger building size would, particularly in the transition of the *Albaicín* from *Morisco* to Old Christian, have more appeal to the incoming residents, for whom the houses of the *Moriscos* would have seemed incomprehensibly small. It is repeated almost as a leitmotif in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century descriptions by Old Christians that, on average, four or five *Morisco* houses would have fit in a single house of an Old Christian.⁹ At moments of consumption, economic

⁹Bernard Vincent offers as a possible explanation for this trope the observation that Muslim cities in Iberia were much more densely populated than their Christian analogs. Vincent believes that this is how it is possible that Granada, once it became, effectively, a Christian city, and lost a substantial percentage of its population, occupied a greater area than its Muslim predecessor. Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006), p. 61-2

The difference in perceived relative house sizes could have been due to several factors. First, Muslims did occupy houses more densely, as they would have had larger families, and their houses may generally have been smaller due to differences in wealth and preferred building modes, but the relative size of 4:1 or 5:1 would have been a gross exaggeration. Second, there may have been some generalized difference in house size between those of Old Christians and Muslims (and later *Moriscos*), although it is likely that those making the claims of such differences would not have been exposed to a representative cross-section of Muslim- or *Morisco* houses. Third, Muslims under Christian rule in different periods of the Reconquest in various cities and, by the sixteenth century in Granada, once conversion had been imposed, *Moriscos* (regardless of wealth) may have chosen to remain in densely-*Morisco* neighborhoods for social convenience and relative privacy, even at a higher density than may have been desired by wealthier *Moriscos*. Fourth, Muslim cities (and later, Muslim neighborhoods) had a much larger mixture of socioeconomic classes within a single neighborhood, and the relationships of buildings to street frontage were different: an outside observer's perception of buildings contained within any of the (typically blind, uniform) facades would have not necessarily corresponded correctly with the actual area of the buildings contained therein. Fifth, because the Muslim city (and the Muslim quarters within Christian-ruled cities) were typically perceived as inscrutable in their organizations (and, again, an outside observer would not necessarily have been either familiar with or welcome into the dead-end alleys that constitute liminal public-private spaces in Muslim quarters), an Old Christian's notion of the space itself could have been skewed. Finally, given that the claims of Muslim house size were invariably made by Old Christian observers on the nature of Islamic urbanism, claims of Christian superiority seem to be imbricated within these spatial claims: moral superiority is embedded in claims of an exaggerated material superiority. If the particular commentator making the claim was one who sought to spread fear as to the

factors would also have made a difference. New owners would need to possess both money and interest in the house's maintenance.¹⁰

Relative stability in the economic status of owners would make a structure more likely survive than either poverty or wealth, however: if poverty posed a risk to buildings through their ruin, wealth also posed various risks. First, wealthy purchasers might view a property more in terms of investment than as a primary residence: only the wealthy would be capable of the assembly of contiguous parcels for the destruction of pre-existing structures. Second, even if wealthy owners weren't to treat a *Morisco* house as a tear-down, the humble materials and finishes of these structures (wood, in particular) could have occasioned a drastic renovation that would have eroded the *Morisco* character of the structure. Presuming that the use of wood that was simultaneously structural and decorative in *Morisco* structures was the product of both collective tastes and practicality on the part of this segment of the Granadan population, post-expulsion wealthy purchasers who were not *Morisco* would have had no motivation to maintain the aesthetic and structural systems.¹¹ A predilection for the *Morisco* house aesthetic in particular, and a tolerance by Christians for what was essentially a Muslim¹² building structure in general, may have been more likely for Granadans than it would have been for people outside the region. If the purchasers of *Morisco* houses, whether in the period immediately after the expulsion or long after, were not from the area, they may have been more predisposed to alter the houses more so than a population with an aesthetic appreciation for the type. The majority of the purchasers of previously-*Morisco* properties immediately post-expulsion in the Granadan parish of San Salvador appear to have been residents of Granada at the time of purchase, and their aesthetic preferences would certainly have been influenced by pre-existing local building vocabulary.¹³

threat of the Muslim populations, claims of intense density would have, through extension, exaggerated the numbers of Muslims perceived to have lived in any given area. Further study of the exact dates and contexts of these relative claims of the diminutive size of Muslim-occupied houses could be interesting for a consideration of spatial rhetoric surrounding Muslims in post-Muslim Spain.

¹⁰As we shall see in a discussion of properties in the AHP 5244, in some cases of property transfer from *Moriscos* to new owners, the owners possessed neither money nor interest in their newly-acquired properties, and those structures fell into either disrepair or ruin.

¹¹Notably, it was not until after the Fall of Granada and the Catholic Kings' reconfiguration of the distribution mechanisms for natural resources that wood became widespread building material in the city. This is one major point of difference between houses built for *Moriscos* in the *Morisco* era and their Nasrid-era analogs.

¹²This needs to be qualified. While the structure itself was not the expression of any confessional belief or practice, the layout of rooms in relation to the central courtyard, the form of the central courtyard, and the visual relationship between the exterior and interior of the structure (in terms of both lack of windows and a forced turn upon entry that prevented visibility of the house's center from the street) were the products of historically Islamic southern Iberian society.

¹³The sale documents in AHP 5244 state the parish or city of residence or the purchaser at the time of purchaser. No effort is made, however, to distinguish between the current residence and the city of origin. The phrase "*natural de*," ("native of") would be used to indicate a city or region of personal origin. The phrase is not, however, used consistently. The concern of the notary (and of sixteenth- and seventeenth-

Reasons beyond the wealth and interest of individual purchasers also affected the survival of *morisco* structures. Social change would have affected not only individual structures with the change of owners, but groups of structures: formal elements typical of *Morisco* structures at odds with new lifestyles would have been altered. In the immediate post-*Morisco* period, for example, the entryways of houses would have been re-situated to allow visual access to the courtyard. Changes such as these reflected aesthetic preferences across/within social groups: while the *Moriscos* preferred entrances that forced a turn or otherwise did not allow visual access to the courtyard, Old Christian notions of the separation of public and domestic private space differed. Although a change in the position of the exterior doors of *Morisco* houses (in relation to the interior patio) had been mandated upon the *Morisco* population decades before the expulsion, the order had not been followed without exception.¹⁴ new, post-expulsion non-*Morisco* occupants of the buildings may have invested in structural interventions to these buildings to make them conform to social notions, whether implicit or explicit, of comfort and privacy.

Political reasons would also have effected changes in both individual structures and the urban fabric as a whole. The creation of open space such as plazas through the evocation of eminent domain and royal funding, the re-alignment of the city's streets, and the forced elimination of upper-story enclosed cantilevered elements through local ordinance, were interventions that would have affected *morisco* (and all other) structures, particularly those of a non-monumental domestic scale. Except in the case where churches were demolished for the creation of plazas (as was the case at the current Plaza Nueva) structures of vernacular origin would have been much more likely to have been demolished or otherwise altered than the monumental constructions of rulers (be they secular or religious.) The city's monumental structures would have been incorporated into large-scale urban change, particularly if those structures were already of an official, rather than a private, nature.

Although I have written generally of social and political change with an implication of these changes in the time period immediately after the expulsion, the same factors have influenced the transformation and destruction of *Morisco* houses, as well as other buildings, in the four intervening centuries, to varying degrees. Although the time period immediately post-expulsion is, certainly, when anti-*Morisco* ideologically-driven change would have been most likely to occur, other moments of differing idealisms would have had equal, if not greater impact, due to larger scales of construction, industrial production methods, and differing notions of urban infrastructure.

The late-nineteenth century creation of the Gran Vía (beginning in 1895), for example, created a straight, monumental street through what had been the lower portion of the

century Spanish documentary standards) are with the correct legal identification of the purchaser and the property being purchased, and not with the histories of the person or land in question.

¹⁴One of the many directives of the 1526 laws regarding the *Moriscos* was that they "open their houses" ("*abran las cassas.*") This, clearly, would have been ignored in many cases, as were the bulk of the laws related to *Morisco* conduct that were re-issued in 1556. (The necessity of re-iteration is testament to the failure of enforcement.)

Albaicín, and the architecturally-significant neighborhood of the Great Mosque of Granada (currently the site of the Cathedral) was permanently separated from the remainder of the city that had been populated during the Nasrid era. At the time that the Gran Vía was opened and the scale of urban connectivity in the city was drastically altered, the construction of modern, monumental palaces for nobility, the government, and industry effaced their Nasrid-era analogs as well as more humble constructions with origins in both the Nasrid and *Morisco* eras. While photographic and other documentation exists for the buildings destroyed during the interventions of the late-nineteenth century, no such record exists for the immediate post-*Morisco* period.

Houses that did not suffer irreparable transformations, or that were not destroyed for the construction of either *cármenes*¹⁵ and their adjoining gardens or other structures, domestic or otherwise, of a larger scale, were the minority rather than the rule. The houses that survived to the present day (and which have subsequently been identified and, in many if not most cases, restored) were not a representative cross-section of *Morisco* housing stock. The structures that survived represent outliers: at the time of the *Morisco* expulsion and the seizure of their property, a variety of factors could have made some structures more likely to survive than others.

First, social factors such as the identity and social status of the *Morisco* family that had owned the house would have mattered. Wealthier *Moriscos*, who had managed either to avoid expulsion or to sell their properties before departure, would have been able to preserve their homes (in the chance that they were able to stay) or to have sold them to parties interested specifically in living in those individual houses. The crisis of property speculation

¹⁵The *cármén* is a distinctly Granadan architectural form. The majority of its exemplars are located in the *Albaicín*, and date to the post-*Morisco* period. While the form was not unknown in the sixteenth century (indeed, the prominent *Morisco* Alonso del Chapíz is known to have owned at least one near the Darro river), it was, at that time, a form that occurred at the outskirts, rather than at the center, of the city. The *cármén*, roughly a villa with a garden, as a form requires significantly more space than the contiguous houses found in the more dense portions of Granada, differs from a regular house in several ways. First, while a *cármén* may incorporate an internal patio, the internal patio is not the defining element. Rather, external land, in use rather than quantity, defines the form: the land is not used for anything beyond small-scale, and largely decorative, agriculture and landscape elements. The *cármén* in Granada can range from incorporating a plot of land large enough only for three or four decorative trees, to relatively complex private gardens: the test of whether a villa with an adjoining garden is, in fact, a *cármén*, is whether or not it possesses a *granado*, a pomegranate tree, the bearer of the city's symbol. Before the *Morisco* expulsion, the majority of Granada's *cármenes* were found in the extramural parish of San Ildefonso, and adjacent to the city's two rivers (the Darro and the Genil.) After the *Morisco* expulsion, the *cármén* as a form proliferated throughout the *Albaicín*. I speculate that it may have been the result of two factors: a) the ease of parcel assembly that accompanied the sale of seized *Morisco* dwellings, and b) the changed role of the *Albaicín* vis-a-vis new residents. While the population of Granada declined, the physical extent of the city increased. The *Albaicín* had somehow become less desirable (and this lack of desirability was, I believe, to non-Granadinos); in response to decreased population pressures, the *Albaicín* became more of a garden district through the insertion of the *cármén*. In an inversion of previous characteristics, the outskirts became more dense (and agricultural land disappeared), while the hilly portion of the city's physical center which had been a dense residential zone, declined in density.

that led to the urban decay of the post-*Morisco Albaicín* was driven through the large-scale accumulation of property, rather than the transfer of individual structures both from and to individuals.

Second, direct transfers rather than transfer through the intermediary agent of the crown would have enabled building preservation. While both individual and crown would have aimed for the maximization of profit, the crown's notion of profit, in a context of depopulation and social instability, would have differed greatly from that of an individual *Morisco* seeking to move house. Documentary evidence suggests that, although some houses were sold individually, many were sold in aggregate lots of contiguous properties, and many would have been sold to owners of already-neighboring properties. The project of parcel assembly in post-*Morisco* Granada was one that encouraged both speculation and urban de-densification.

The study of physical sources should be broadened with textual sources about *Morisco* houses in Granada: textual sources, consisting largely of property transfer, sale, and tax assessment records, provide a wealth of information about the range of *Morisco* dwellings: the early modern Spanish bureaucratic apparatus did not discriminate in its documentary impulse. All properties sold, inherited, claimed by the state or otherwise transferred or altered, regardless of size, age, condition, and social status of owner or previous owner, were recorded by notaries.

The Granadan *Morisco* house, as a physical typology, is dependent upon the exemplars that have been identified and analyzed: the limits of the typology are grounded in a limited amount of buildings, known to be a fraction of the total amount of buildings of the same type that would have existed. As I have argued above, the surviving buildings do not present a representative sample of what would have been the complete typology. Instead, buildings that survived may have been favored for survival due to building quality or the social class of their previous inhabitants. Located in an area measuring less than a square mile, the surviving *morisco* houses of Granada are testament to both the integration into and difference from the Old Christian society of this population.

In its essence, the *Morisco* house in Granada is physically similar to the houses of the Muslims of Granada in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This, in turn, is similar to houses of Muslims around the Mediterranean; the form is not strictly confessional, however: the main point of architectural reference is that of the courtyard house. The courtyard house of sixteenth century Granada that was either inhabited or built by *Moriscos* has several particularities that reflect this particular sociocultural group's domestic spatial needs.

The Nasrid house, the Granadan *de facto* residential typology between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, constitutes the basic point of reference for the later *Morisco* structure. According to descriptions made by Antonio Orhuela, the Nasrid house was typified by the presence of an central patio, faades lacking in ornamentation and ostentation (with the exception of the door), and an entry system that featured a dog-leg or other forced turn as a guarantee of visual privacy. Many, but not all, Nasrid houses had two stories. The ground story featured, in addition to the patio, a *zaguán* or front hall, a latrine, and a kitchen. The second story, when it was present, would have played a secondary role, providing accessory

rooms that could be used either by a large family or seasonally. In the *Morisco* period, a major transformation that occurred was in the increased importance of the second story: if the rooms of the second story during the Nasrid period had been incidental, their analogs during the *Morisco* period were primary.¹⁶

The second stories of *Morisco* houses were, in the number and size of their rooms, iterations of the first stories of the same. As is typical of courtyard houses, the rooms of the *Morisco* house communicated through the internal patio. Patios in *Morisco* houses are generally oriented north-south, with the primary rooms located at north and south ends. Some patios would incorporate a pool, which would have had a climate regulatory purpose. The second story lacked the patio that provided the means of connection between rooms on the lower floor; the orientation and connection (that is to say: lack thereof) between rooms necessitated a system to provide access: this gave rise to a wooden gallery on the upper floors of *Morisco* houses. The increase in importance of the second story necessitated the addition of galleries for access to the rooms. Occasionally, a partial third floor existed: in the case of the existence of a third floor, the north side would be the site of additional room/s, as this provided both climactic protection and a south-facing belvedere which would in many cases allow visual connection to the Alhambra.¹⁷[p. 2363]orihuelawood

The structural system for the dwelling as a whole was one of rubble foundation, *tapia* walls (rammed earth and lime) with brick reinforcement as well as occasional brick infill, and wood. Both roof structure and upper-level galleries used timber beams as support. Wood was not widespread as either a structural or decorative element in Granadan architecture before the Christian conquest: although the timber was acquired from the mountains at Cazorla and Segura (fewer than two hundred kilometers away), it was only after the Conquest that the means for the trade and transport of these elements to the city of Granada existed. The beams, vigas, small in diameter and made of timber, were decorated with longitudinal incisions that formed a wide dentilation on the soffit, and were frequently painted.¹⁸ It is in these beams that the most typical decorative elements of *Morisco* domestic architecture are found. The wooden beams feature decorative motifs ranging in style and theme of execution from Gothic to Renascentist hybridized with the formal elements of *muqarnas*, the Islamic technique (found, in some of its highest expressions, in the Alhambra of Granada) of corbeled squinch elements.

One of the *Morisco* houses in Granada, the Casa del Chapíz, is now property of the Spanish state, and is an example of *Morisco* architecture for the wealthy. During the time of the Casas del Chapíz's construction, the Rabad al-Bayda would have been not very dense due to its peripheral location; the vast swath of property abutting the Casas del Chapíz speaks to the availability of land at the time. Given its extensive grounds, its structure (it has two courtyards, having consisted of two conjoined houses), and historical knowledge of

¹⁶Antonio Orihuela Uzal, "Casas moriscas de Granada" (): p. 7

¹⁷**“relax “unhcopy “strutbox**

¹⁸As cited in Antonio Orihuela Uzal, "The Use of Wood in Morisco Houses in Sixteenth Century Granada (Spain.)", in, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History* (), p. 2364

Lorenzo del Chapíz and his brother-in-law Hernan Lóópez el-Feri, the *Morisco* owners who had acquired extensive land holdings along the Darro River, this particular example is likely an outlier among outliers: it is representative not of *Morisco* architecture generally, but that of the landed class. This was also the first *Morisco* house restored: while the majority of restored *Morisco* houses were restored beginning in the 1970s, the Casas del Chapíz were restored between 1929 and 1932. The aesthetic decisions made by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, the Architect and Conservationist of the Alhambra at the time, no doubt influenced future aesthetic decisions in the restoration of other *Morisco* houses.¹⁹

Two of the restored *Morisco* structures have been incorporated into the grounds of convents, in which they constitute one element of a complex of buildings. Three others serve as hotels. Of the remaining thirty-four restored *Morisco* houses in Granada, eleven are multi-family homes, and twenty-three are single-family homes. Among the unrestored *Morisco* houses in Granada are nine uninhabited houses, eight inhabited single-family houses, and eight inhabited multi-family houses. Seventeen additional structures were in the process of restoration or of obtaining permits for restoration as of the same date.²⁰

For the purposes of the comparison of the restored *Morisco* houses with those in the parish of San Salvador that exist in documentary form, the sizes of the restored structures can be taken as data points indicative of the general economic status of their *Morisco* owners. Orihuela provides figures for the measurements of the thirty most completely restored *Morisco* houses; their average parcel size is 158 square meters, within which the uncovered patio averages 26 square meters.²¹ He suggests that this relatively generous average size was due to the location of these structures in the *arrabal*, or the extramural outskirts of the city, where the lack of population pressures may never have forced the construction of small dwellings.²²[p. 7]orihuelaideal This, I believe, is only part of the story: while a lack of population pressure may have enabled some *Morisco* houses to be relatively ample, we must remember that the architectural evidence that remains is the evidence provided by architectural outliers that have survived for more than four centuries. Smaller *Morisco* houses may have existed and been destroyed or altered beyond recognition. Additionally, as the *Morisco* house was the typological descendant of the Nasrid, and the poor would have been likely to undertake new construction, poor *Moriscos* may have been more likely to have lived in Nasrid structures.

¹⁹One landscape feature found both within the patios of *Morisco* houses and many Granadan exteriors is mosaics of smooth river stones. These were the aesthetic preference of Torres Balbás, and are probably found more extensively today than they would have been in the sixteenth century as a result of the Torres Balbás' restorations. (Historically, brick would have been another common paving element; it is, however, practically unused in Granada today.)

²⁰Numbers reflect February, 2008 data.

²¹Documentary evidence provides building measurements in square varas rather than meters. Varas varied across geography and time, but consisted of three feet (the principle problem is in the variation of feet regionally.) A square vara corresponds to a measure of between about 32 and 36 inches per side, squared (corresponding roughly to a square yard, somewhat smaller than a square meter.)

²²“relax “unhcopy “strutbox

The compound of the Casas del Chapíz provides a point of deviation from the norm: in this complex, the larger house, that of Lorenzo del Chapíz, is arranged around a courtyard measuring 19.3 by 13.5 meters; the center of the courtyard contains an *alberca*, a reservoir, measuring 13.5 by 2.5 meters. The courtyard size here, 260.55 square meters (2803.5 square feet), is ten times the size of the average courtyard in the restored *Morisco* house as reported by Orihuela. This extreme variation in size does not, again, include the *Morisco* houses that have been lost to architectural history, unidentified. The house without a courtyard, while rare, was not completely unknown in Nasrid Granada and, likewise, would not have been unknown in *Morisco* Granada.²³[p. 47]balbas

Torres Balbás points to the example of houses without patios in the Alhambra. This particular house typology was, he notes, in unusual locations: they were in isolated places, rather than on streets, by which I presume that he means that, rather than being contiguous with a street or with other houses, houses without courtyards existed in locations where the exterior could be used for many of the functions that a courtyard would otherwise serve. My conjecture is that the rare house without a courtyard may have existed within the city's street system as well, but that the likelihood of any such structure having survived would have been low: these structures would have belonged to the poorest of the poor and, as such, would have been of small size and of reduced construction values. These small units would have been much more easily acquired and demolished for either the construction of new structures on assembled parcels, or for the creation of open space, whether a public plaza or an accessory garden for a house, and would also have been much more rapidly incorporated into existing buildings through aggregation than other, larger and more expensive structures.

5.1.1 The Rabad al-Bayda

The Rabad de Albayda was the site of several documented and significant *Morisco* -era houses: the Casas del Chapíz, a complex of two adjoined houses for which the street of the Rabad de Albayda is now named, are prominent examples of the *Morisco* house type, and are among the more monumental extant examples. The Rabad al-Bayda, was the neighborhood exterior to the ancient city wall located at the city's eastern periphery in the *Albaicín*. The principal street in this neighborhood, immediately to the east of the wall, is today known as the Cuesta del Chapíz. Ten sets of formerly *Morisco* -owned properties identified as having been in this neighborhood exist in the documents of the Provincial Historical Archive. Together, these properties provide a snapshot of the small-scale change of part of the *Albaicín* after the *Morisco* expulsion. This change was as much social and economic as it was urban.

The neighborhood of Rabad al-Bayda, one of several sections of the parish of San Salvador, is significant for its developments in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century for several reasons. This portion of the *Albaicín* may, conceivably, not have been heavily

²³“relax “unhcopy “strutbox

urbanized until after Granada's capitulation. It was originally an extramural neighborhood that would have developed later than the eleventh-century portions of the city within the Zirid walls. Its development was also later than the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sections of Granada that corresponded to the extensive developments and improvements made by the Nasrids, including but not limited to the Alhambra, the palace of *Dar al-Horra*, the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo, the Corral del Carbón, and a host of other buildings with public, civic, religious, commercial, and private uses.

Although there are Nasrid elements within the Rabad al-Bayda (such as a *ḥammām*), we can consider it an expression of *Morisco* -era urban development.

The discovery of human remains and circular lead tablets (known as the lead books) in the late sixteenth century (the first was in 1595), on the city's outskirts in the Sacromonte, effectively re-centered the city. The Rabad Albayda became, in the time period after the Carrera del Darro was created as a processional route along the Darro River, a means of access both to the recently-sanctified Sacromonte.²⁴ The Carrera itself was a remarkable urban intervention that both created a physical processional route through the city (which was, liturgically, performed as a *Via Dolorosa* procession and was a symbolically-laden place for what was the performance of the history of the city as a performance of religion) and created a relatively large area of public space: this public space was linear but significant in its connection of a series of monumental buildings (largely churches and monasteries) that had changed the nature of the *Albaicín*.²⁵ Along the Carrera, houses that had previously backed onto the river were re-oriented to, instead, face the river, and new facades were created.²⁶

Additionally, the Carrera connected the two banks of the river. The Carrera began at the Plaza Nueva, which, although it predated the expulsion by nearly a century, was an extremely important element of urbanism for the re-creation and re-interpretation of the city of Granada as a Catholic (counter-Reformation) city in the service of Spanish hegemony: it connected the Alhambra, the Realejo (the former Jewish quarter), the *Albaicín*, and the extramural portion of the city that is today downtown, that contained the Cathedral as well as the urban and, largely, religiously-driven additions of the sixteenth century. What is impressive about the Carrera is the effect that it had upon the streets of the Alixares above it: buildings that previously backed the river were, upon the Carrera's opening, given new facades and entrances. Their orientation was changed to face the new path of urban

²⁴The Sacromonte itself was an important element in the development of a post-capitulation narrative for the city of Granada. This narrative was at once *Morisco* and anti-*Morisco*, since it was a *Morisco* -driven act of forgery that led to a re-articulation of the roles of the *Moriscos* in Granadan society: this re-articulation, however, was one that worked within the discourses of pre-existing anti-Muslim prejudice. Cf. A. Katie Harris, etc.

²⁵This part of the city, that is today considered the *Albaicín*, had its own name at the time. Alixares was a wealthy area with access to the river and, by extension, irrigation.

²⁶One example of this re-orientation of building can be found in the house at Carrera del Darro 21, the 1986 restoration of which won the Aga Khan prize for architecture in 1989. Carlos Sánchez Gómez, *Architect's Record of Arab House Restoration* (Grand-Saconnex, Switzerland, 1989)

narrative. This area, which had once been peripheral to the city's function, became central to its narrative of itself.

Before the lead books, however, The Rabad de al Bayda was one of several peripheral elements joined to the hub of Granada's center, which had first been radically redefined in the generation following the city's capitulation to the Catholic Kings. The city's center underwent a series of reformations during the course of the sixteenth century, and, in the late sixteenth century, with the expulsion of the city's *Morisco* population (significant for its size as well as for its economic importance) was reinterpreted yet again. The Rabad, as a *rabal*, or extramural neighborhood, would have been important in terms neither of defense nor of commerce: it would have been a purely residential neighborhood. Its transformation with the expulsion of the *Moriscos* demonstrates the fine-grain transformation of the urban residential fabric.

Of the ten properties formerly owned by *Moriscos* in the Rabad al-Bayda for which the AHP has clear and present data,²⁷ only two make no precondition of repair for the purchase of the property. In the other eight cases, repairs that are "*utiles y necesarios*" (that is to say, "useful and necessary") are preconditions of purchase, and a time limit of four months between house purchase and the expenditure of the stipulated amount is set. The amount of money to be spent represents, on the one hand, a significant percentage of the purchase price and, on the other, an extremely narrow range when expressed as a ratio of stipulated repair expenditures to that of the total price. In one case, the amount was less than twenty-five percent (but slightly larger than 24), and in only one case, the amount stipulated to be spent for repairs was slightly more than 27 percent. In the other six cases, the amount to be spent on repairs was 25 percent of the purchase price. This narrow range of stipulated repairs indicates that, evidently, the buildings were in fair, but not excellent, condition. A comparison of the transfers of non-*Morisco* documents would, in this case, serve to expand knowledge of repair stipulations.

5.1.2 "Casas Hundidas", Two Sunken Houses

One of the longer and more complex stories of property transfer, change in value, change in ownership, and change in the physical condition of properties that comes to light in these ten transfers is that of a lot of two adjacent houses that share a foyer, belonging to Lorenzo el Levi, Juan Zoot, and Lorenzo Muça. Their first transfer after the *Morisco* expulsion is in 1574, and the documentation for them ends in 1622. While there are no transfer records for them for the first two decades of the seventeenth century, there is at least one property record for them for each of the final three decades of the sixteenth. The two houses in this lot demonstrate urban decay; they are described as "*hundidas*", sunken. They are clearly structurally unsound.

²⁷This means of sampling that of using thematically-grouped archival materials is not without the possibility of sampling error.

While this case is not necessarily typical, it is illustrative of the processes of urban change after the *Morisco* expulsion. There is no simple 1:1 correspondence between house left empty and house inhabited, nor is the narrative arc of depopulation and repopulation a linear one. This set of transactions involves a host of players, inheritance, resale, and both the accumulation and division of groups of properties. Transfer between both private parties and the government occurs, in both directions: this is not a simple seizure and resale

These two houses are sold more than once, and return to public ownership by the hacienda before being sold for the final time in 1622.²⁸ In brief: after their initial sale, the owner dies, and the heir refuses to accept them, presumably because they pose a financial burden. They return to the hacienda to be sold again. By the time of their final sale, contract with the purchaser is conditional upon restoring the buildings to an inhabitable state: evidently, they have undergone have been subject to years of neglect. These properties are, also at their final sale, again being sold from the ²⁹ and not on behalf of a private individual: they represent the coincidence of the economic decline of Spain with the population decline of Granada.

5.2 Rabati Houses

While the Granadan *Morisco* house specifically has been studied extensively, and Andalusian Muslim-era (including but not limited to Nasrid) and *Morisco* houses from both Granada and the entire South of Spain have been analyzed within the disciplines of both archaeology and architecture, the *Morisco* -era house in the Maghreb has not been subjected to so much scrutiny. In the Maghreb, extensive studies have been made of palace and mosque architecture, and the non-palace domestic structures that have been studied for restoration and analytical efforts date largely to earlier time periods. Alawite-era structures have also been subject to higher scrutiny than the vernacular domestic architecture of the early seventeenth century. There is, in effect, no broader analytical context for the Maghrebi *Morisco* house.

Several factors make the study of the Maghrebi *Morisco* house from a historical and spatial perspective particularly difficult. The vernacular nature of the structures, the subversive quality of the time period of the *Moriscos* ' arrival (and either the lack of formal mechanisms for property transfer and development, or the lack of enforcement of those mechanisms and the keeping of records), and the lack of formal documentation of construction of and changes to those structures, compounded with documentary consolidation that occurred during the Colonial period, documentary erosion during the restructuring of archives during the post-colonial period, and a general lack of access to private family records (and private family domestic spaces) all additionally make the Maghrebi *Morisco* house difficult to a) identify and b) subsequently analyze. It is for these reasons that I now present the studies of others,

²⁸The 1622 sale records are the final ones in this property's set of documents in the AHP. The likelihood that the property was sold or otherwise acquired by someone in the time periods and contexts beyond those encompassed by the AHP records is high, however.

²⁹hacienda

that can add some level of information to that which is attainable through the hands-on study of Rabat and Tetouan's (likely) *Morisco* -era houses.

Jean Gallotti, in his appendix to *Le Jardin et la maison arabes au Maroc*, his general study of Moroccan domestic architecture, brings to attention several of the characteristics that distinguish the Rabati-Saletin house from those in other regions of the country³⁰ Gallotti's concern is with the materials use and generalized dimensions of these structures, as well as with their details. The dimensions of the Rabati column, for example, differ from those in other parts of the country; the uses of arches and of wood are also at variance, as are decorative details and the use of color. This short study, while it considers neither a particular building nor a particular time period, is a useful reference point for the analysis of the vernacular traditions of construction of the city, and is, in the absence of more detailed documentation, a necessary jumping-off point.

Joudia Hassar-Benslimane's study of houses is not a study of Rabat proper, but is an important study of both formal and constructive aspects of houses in Salé³¹ The physical conditions between the two cities are extremely similar in terms of relationship to both river and sea, the availability of water, and available building materials. Hassar-Benslimane's consideration of houses is both a typological consideration and an individual presentation and physical analysis of the component elements of houses. Her physical study of these buildings will, given the absence of the physical studies of the traditional domestic architecture in Rabat, provide a context for the physical structures of identified *Morisco* dwellings. Two of the three houses that she studies date to significantly after the *Morisco* period, however, and all three are exemplary houses of the upper classes rather than representative structures. The third extant study of Rabati domestic architecture is Saïd Mouline's "Trois maisons de Rabat: Dar Caïd Souissi, Dar Reghaya et dar Hassani."³² While this is a study of traditional architecture, it is a study of its nineteenth and early twentieth-century manifestations within the medina. In concert with Hassar-Benslimane's work, however, it can be used in the service of creating an analytical context for the study of *Morisco* construction in the city of Rabat. The possible *Morisco* structures in Rabat can be contextualized with their extensively-studied Granadan analog, and contrasted with their non-*Morisco* neighbors.

The three houses studied by Mouline are interesting in terms of the study of possible *Morisco* urbanism for several reasons: first, the lack of historical documentation is apparent, even for structures that are significantly more recent than those that may date to the *Morisco* period. The earliest of the structures that Mouline studies dates to the early nineteenth century; he reports this date of construction as something that has been passed down verbally, and which is reported to him by the building's current occupant³³ Second, two of the three

³⁰Gallotti, Jean. "Appendix I: Particularités des maisons de Rabat." In *Le Jardin et la maison arabe au Maroc*. Paris: Editions Albert Levy, 1926, vol 2, pp. 79-84.

³¹Joudia Hassar-Benslimane, *Salé: étude architecturale de trois maisons traditionnelles* (Rabat, 1979)

³²Saïd Mouline, in *The City in the Islamic World*, **by**editor Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 643-662

³³Saïd Mouline, in *The City in the Islamic World*, **by**editor Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill,

houses in Mouline's study are ones that are physically proximal to the structures and streets that I discuss as possible products of *Morisco* intervention in the landscape. In one case, Mouline's study house is immediately across from a structure that I consider to have been largely, if not entirely, a product of the *Morisco* era; in the second case, Mouline's study house is one that is located at the end of a street in a neighborhood that, I argue, through its regular urban pattern and control of access within the *medina*, fits a possible pattern of *Morisco* urbanism. Both of these structures, constructed and modified out of relatively large (in comparison to the *Morisco* houses of Granada and, I propose, Rabat and Tetouan) demonstrate parcel assembly and structure regularization within the pre-existing bounds of much earlier urban interventions. These structures display a courtyard that is much more square than that found in *Morisco* structures, and demonstrate a much larger sense of scale than that normally found in the Granadan *Morisco* house.

5.2.1 The courtyard of the Rabati house

One building element through which I propose that the Rabati house can be dated is its courtyard: the courtyard is a central (both literally and figuratively) component of the house in its *medina*, much as it is in most, if not all, traditional Mediterranean residential forms. Absent a central hall, it is the courtyard that provides access between rooms, and, as is typical of Andalusian and Maghrebi house types generally, no direct connection exists between adjoining peripheral rooms save the courtyard. The courtyard, a private, yet open, space for the enactment and performance of family life, would have served utilitarian purposes (temperature regulation, cooking) as well as aesthetic and social. Regardless of size and proportions, the Rabati house without a courtyard would have been an anomaly in the seventeenth century. One tool through which *Morisco* -era houses in Rabat can be, first, identified and, second, read is through the general proportions of their courtyards.

More similarities than differences unite the houses of Rabat with those houses of other Moroccan cities, and more similarities than differences are evident in the courtyard houses occupied by Muslims and then *Moriscos* in Spain and the Maghreb than there are differences across these regions. Given, as has already been mentioned, the paucity of written records documenting the Rabati house in general, and the *Morisco* period in particular, a rough identification of houses with rectangular courtyards (in areas known or thought to have been inhabited in the early seventeenth century) could be a heuristic for the further identification of *Morisco* houses.

A general trend in the courtyards of Rabati houses appears to have been one of square courtyards (during the Merinid period) followed by rectangular courtyards (which I posit are a result of *Morisco* influence and of practical matters: in terms of an urban society rapidly built-up, the generally smaller structures that contained rectangular courtyards were reflections both of the general size and form of courtyards in the *Morisco* houses of sixteenth-

century Andalusia) followed once again by square courtyards (which were expressions both of increased family wealth and prestige.)

5.2.2 7 *Sabāt Bargash*

I have already argued for the importance of the house as an unit of analysis that is linked to change at both individual/household and larger social levels. This is true at all three of the sites under consideration. Although in Granada there is extensive documentation, both textual (in terms of legal documents) and architectural, and this type of documentation does not exist for either of the Maghrebi sites, the value of the house as a typology does not diminish. The limited information that we have about several structures can be sufficient to propose, as I hope to do here, that the *Morisco* house was a fundamental unit of expression of urban and social values held by transplanted *Morisco* society, both individually and collectively, with certain adaptations made for the different environmental circumstances of the site.

In Rabat, the house at number 7 *Sabāt Bargach* is with near certainty of Andalusian origin, in terms of its date of construction, and both former and present owners.³⁴ Its siting, both in terms of its general location within the Rabat *medina*, and in terms of its siting on a specific, Andalusian-identified street, are important pieces of evidence that point to the structure's origins. The house is on a dead-end alleyway that is in itself significant for three reasons. First, the alley is in the portion of the *medina* near the ocean and the casbah. This neighborhood, easily accessible to the casbah, and within the Andalusian walls, is that which is depicted as heavily built-up in visual depictions of the city. Second, the house is on a family-named street that is itself an enclosure: it is not a thoroughfare for the *medina*, and, as such, while it may have been more likely to suffer from closures at its ends, it would not have been re-aligned in any sort of governmental program (particularly during the colonial era) for the re-alignment of streets. The narrowness of its width, moreover, would have been from initial construction and, due to its semiprivate nature, an efficient use of space, and not the result of encroachment due to economic pressures. The street upon which this house is found occupies a liminal space between public and private: while the street is not a simple dead-end, it is both family-identified and not a connection point between any points of economic activity. Third, the family identification of the street is significant in itself: the last name *Bargach* is one that is a direct transcription to the Arabic from the Spanish *Vargas*; the family's more recent history has been extensively documented, and the family has been positively identified as having Spanish origins.³⁵ The house has not been owned by

³⁴If there is either an original property deed or construction document extant, I have access to neither. I am indebted to 'Abd el-Qāder *Bargach* and his family for initially welcoming me into their home because I found the exterior qualities of their house interesting (in terms of *Morisco* house qualities) and for subsequently repeatedly welcoming me into their home to (very slowly) make a measured drawing and take photographs.

³⁵Mohamed *Bargach*, one of the more prominent members of the family, has assumed the unofficial role of family historian, and has published a book about the family's role in Rabat's history. It is due to his

anyone outside the Bargach family since the time of its construction.

From the exterior, the house at 7 Sabāt Bargach is representative of Arabo-Andalusian residential architecture as a whole, and of *Morisco* residential architecture particularly. There was, at the time of study, little to no indication of major structural interventions or renovations to the building that were visible from the exterior. Furthermore, the passage of time between the house's construction and the present with little interference was indicated by the house's door. As perceived from the exterior, the base of the door is significantly beneath the exterior street level. The door, additionally, is particularly short. That the door is particularly low indicates that, as the exterior ground level has risen, the interior level of the house has remained the same or risen at a slower pace than the exterior level. This is evidence of non-intervention to the building, as extensive renovations would likely have resulted in the installation of a new door and grading of the surface to correspond with current ground levels. The exterior windows are small punctures in the exterior, indicating more the need for air circulation than for visibility of any sort (from interior to exterior, and exterior to interior), but also suitable for visibility from interior to exterior. Openings within the structure into the courtyard are significantly more generous. As such, the structure reflects the building's old age and *Morisco* (specifically) and Andalusian Islamic (generally) building aesthetics, in addition to a perceived need for privacy from the exterior.

Without building excavation, it is impossible to tell what the structural core of the building is; however, it would seem to be of locally-available sandstone (the prevalence of this stone as a basic building material distinguishes vernacular residential architecture in Rabat from that in the majority of the Maghreb, where construction was predominantly of brick, whether fired or not, with structural elements of the roof incorporating wood. The layout of the building corresponds directly to what we would expect from a Nasrid-era Muslim-occupied house in Granada, rather than, strictly a *Morisco* one: a major characteristic of the *morisco* houses of Granada is that they, almost without exception in the corpus of *morisco* houses, incorporate a full second story, in which the rooms of the second story reproduce the layout on the ground floor of the building, with the rooms accessible through an exterior walkway supported on columns (of either wood or stone) in the courtyard of the building. Presumably, those developments in the *Morisco* house form had occurred in the post-Nasrid period due to two major factors. First, as the societal constraints on former Muslims had grown ever-tighter, the density of *Morisco* neighborhoods was increasing. This increased use led to an increased density within buildings, and thus the tendency for *Morisco* houses to have consisted of a major modification to the single-story Nasrid norm. Second, after

efforts that the cities of Rabat and Hornachos in Spain have a sister city status. Interestingly, Bargach traces his family to those who were expelled from Hornachos; popular wisdom has it that the Hornacheros were predominantly denizens of the casbah. His family's choice of a site for a family enclave beyond (but near) the casbah walls is evidence of the fine threads from which history is woven, as well as of a possibility that this family may have either played some role in negotiations between casbah and *medina*, or that the historical generalization of the separation between Hornacheros and *Moriscos* is not actually entirely true, and that partisanship in the Republic of Bou Regreg was not so binary.

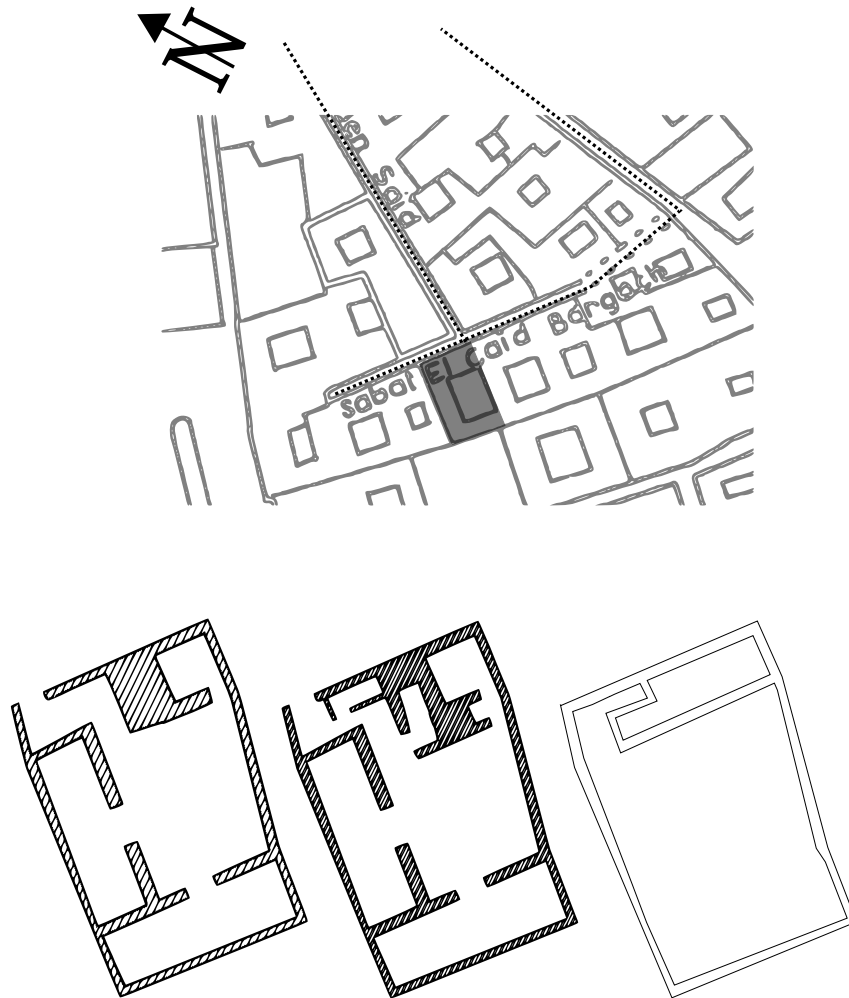


Figure 5.2: The house at 7 Sabat Bargach, and its situation. The base plan for the siting of the structure is from Said Mouline Saïd Mouline, in *The City in the Islamic World*, **byeditor** Salma K. Jayyusi et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 257. From left to right, three representations of the house are shown. At left is an idealized version of how the house would have looked during the Morisco era. At the time, it may have had only one story. A well (no longer in use) occupied a significant area. The second image shows the ground floor in its current configuration. The well has been removed and a small bathroom and kitchen enclosed. The image to the right shows the second story, which consists of a single room; given the relative lack of population density of the city of Rabat, the construction of a second story in Morisco houses may not have been immediate, and was certainly not the product of population pressures. Instead, the second story may have been included for seasonal use. The street fronting side of the house is approximately eight meters wide.

the capitulations of Granada, Christian control of the productive landscape was such that wood was then heavily imported into the city of Granada: whereas it had been a building material found infrequently during the Nasrid period, post-Nasrid Granadan architecture incorporated more and more wood into construction. In Rabat, given little control over the importation of large quantities of wood (for the construction of a support system for a full second story) and particularly given the relatively low numbers of population within a physically expansive city, there would simply have been no need for a second story to have been constructed: population pressure was not such that such an intensity of resource use was necessary.

Access to the house at 7 Sabāt Bargach is unsurprising: entrance through the door forces a turn, such that the rectangular courtyard, roughly oriented East-West, is not visibly accessible upon first entry. The house itself is of modest proportions: two elongated rooms, in addition to a small kitchen and bathroom, line three of the four sides of the courtyard. A small second story (presumably for winter use) consists of a single room located on the east side of the building. Evidence of a well exists. The finishes of the structure are extremely humble, and no decorative arcuated elements exist within the rooms, although simple arches are incorporated above the doors that provide access to the rooms off of the courtyard. This house, in its modesty of scale and construction, and in its layout, compounded with its uninterrupted association with a family identifiable as one expelled en masse from Spain for crypto-Muslim practice, seems representative of the *Morisco* house as expressed in a new environment³⁶ Its structural elements, reflective of the aesthetics and building practice of its owners, are as important as its context, in a family-identified enclave that would have, in the new (and heavily militarized) environment of early-seventeenth-century Rabat, been key for social cohesion and stability.

5.3 Tetouan: A House of the Naqsis Governors

In Tetouan, only one house that can definitively be dated to the seventeenth century is known. This house, one of two similar ones constructed for the Naqsis family, whose brothers served as *moqadems* (roughly: governors) for Tetouan beginning in the 1620s.³⁷ The family, regardless of whether or not it itself was *Morisco*, was, through the construction of its two neighboring houses in the area of the city in the neighborhood of El-Uyun (which grew linearly along the road to Fez), clearly asserting its status vis-a-vis the newly-powerful *Morisco* population. In the case that it had been an old Tetouani family arrived in the city

³⁶Mohamed Bargach notes that some members of the Bargach family were, in fact, practicing Catholics at the time of expulsion, who converted to Islam only after having arrived in the Maghreb (personal conversation.)

³⁷I have located no reference as to whether or not the Naqsis were themselves *Moriscos*. They led *Moriscos*, however, in negotiations with England, and their houses were located beyond the original core of the city (the Blad) quarter and, instead, in the *Morisco*-populated neighborhood of El-^cUyun.

before the *Morisco* expulsions, the construction of the family's new house(s) in a new neighborhood served to locate the city's new center of power *extramuros* to the old city. The siting of the new houses in this location (in the new neighborhood but in the area immediately adjacent to the previous city, and very close to a new, straight street that belied the new inhabitants' collective sensibilities for urban form) also served to allow the new governors access to the new (and newly powerful) populations.

There are two Naqsis houses that are similar in size, construction, and layout; the significance of this would have been that, given two Naqsis brothers, of the legitimation and equalization of power of both.³⁸ The construction of the one considered here is interesting for several reasons; it cannot be considered representative of a typical Tetouani *morisco* house but must, instead, be considered as a rare (the only known) example of monumental domestic construction from the *Morisco* period in Tetouan. As such, there is no barometer against which to measure it. I seek here, therefore, to point out some of its characteristics and speculate on their possible meanings.

This structure is significantly larger than what one would expect from vernacular structures of the period; its characteristics suggest that it was not, in fact, vernacular but instead the product of Naqsis notions of high design. Although the building's plan indicates a two-story house of typical courtyard layout, experience of the building and views of it in section show a bizarre feature. The house, featuring modified Roman arches as the structural element sustaining the second-story corridor (*Morisco* houses in Granada had lintel construction) has strange intersections. The house's arches intersect each other through the keystone, de-emphasizing what would have been an elongated courtyard before the addition of a second gallery squared it. In terms of construction methods, this shows that the two rows of columns and arches were likely built one after the other. Similarity in dimension, proportion, and the evidently measured quality of the layout demonstrate that the structure was planned this way. I posit that the construction techniques and the aesthetic decisions made here were those for relatively wealthy patrons, and executed by skilled builders who, in attempts to evoke legitimacy of power, deployed arches evocative of (but not quite) Roman, but whose notions of norms in arch intersections were not constrained by preconceptions.

Beyond the columns, the Naqsis house displays the elements that one would expect in the home of a well-off family: there is a private well, and both rooms and the courtyard are relatively large. The house itself is on what is currently a dead-end street that leads to the back of the royal palace (constructed long after the *Morisco* period) and a large plaza. The siting of the structure on a relatively inaccessible street in close proximity to trade, in addition to its location accessible to the new *Morisco* neighborhood of el-Uyun, demonstrate the means through which administrative power was constructed and reflected in *Morisco*-era domestic architecture in Tetouan.

³⁸I have only seen one, but have been told by Nadia Erzini of the existence of the second.



Figure 5.3: View of a house of the Naqsis governors in Tetouan. Note the intersecting arches. The regularity of form as well as scale of this structure, in addition to the arches, set it apart from what would have been the houses of average *Moriscos* in early seventeenth-century Tetouan. Its location beyond the previously-constructed portion of the city, near the “Uyun quarter, indicate the growing importance of the expanded areas of the city. *Marruecos y Andalucía: ciudades históricas. Actas de las Jornadas “Rehabilitación e intervención en las ciudades históricas de Andalucía y el norte de Marruecos.” 29 October-1 November, 2001* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Obras Pblicas y Transportes, Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda, 2004)

5.4 Conclusion

The *Morisco* house in Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan was one that was informed by vernacular contexts, material poverty, and assimilationist tendencies. When the Moriscos arrived in Rabat and Tetouan, they arrived with few, if any, possessions, and the construction of grand houses may not have been a priority. Priorities were, instead, the construction of houses, on one scale, and neighborhoods, on the next, that reflected their immediate needs. In Tetouan, these needs were ones that aligned with the urban visions of pre-existing residents; we have few, if any, examples of *morisco* houses from the city. In Rabat, *morisco* houses were modest structures, frequently located within enclaves of *Moriscos*, in neighborhoods where access was limited and vistas controlled. In Granada, where *Moriscos* had lived for more than half a century between their forced conversion and their expulsion, the houses of *Moriscos* reflected relatively high *Morisco* population densities as well as needs for privacy and tendencies towards the adaptation of previously-existing structures. The abandonment of *Moriscos*' houses after the expulsion from Granada is testament to the fact that, despite some level of integration, either (or both) *morisco* house and neighborhood were perceived by Old Christians as less desirable.

Chapter 6

Conclusions: Immigrant Urban Modes?

The *Moriscos* who were expelled from Spain were persecuted both categorically and individually before their expulsion. The collective exit of this group from Spain changed the landscape of urbanism, of agriculture, and of the Iberian Peninsula as a whole. This wholesale change was the aggregate of thousands of smaller changes. In this chapter, I propose to have briefly examined the smallest concrete scale of change at the urban level, that of the house.

Through the construction, alteration, and destruction of domestic structures, by actors both individual and collective, informal and governmental, changes in the built environment reflected changes in the human environment. In the case of late-sixteenth-century Granada and early-seventeenth-century Rabat and Tetouan, these changes were ones that were driven by needs for privacy, protection, and shelter, in the context of an inimical urban context (in the first case) and unknown, emerging cities in the latter. In both cases, the house as a form reflects informal traditions of construction and inhabitation. The perpetuation of this tradition in a new context (in North Africa), and despite urban restrictions against this perpetuation (in Granada before expulsion) is testament to the strength of the individual and family actor with domestic space. Despite four centuries of transformation that have occurred in these spaces since the time of the *Morisco* expulsion, an examination of remaining *Morisco* -era structures can illuminate both social stability and change.

Four centuries after the expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Spain, the presence of the *Moriscos* in Granada, Rabat, and Tetouan is felt in the human and constructed landscapes in different ways. In Granada, the built legacy of the *Moriscos* currently attracts a significant amount of scholarly interest, and is also a source of tourist revenue. In Rabat, the city's *Morisco* legacy lives largely through the families that actively identify with their Andalusian roots, whose names echo Latin, rather than Arabic, origins, and who hang keys upon their walls for far-away doors that they will never open and that have likely long been destroyed. In Tetouan, the connections between North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula is palpable in

both language and in the fair skin of many of the city's residents.

Remains of monumental transformations from that expulsion four centuries ago are rare, however: in Rabat, one wall, small-scale, relatively unimpressive, unadorned, and (recently) denuded of all charm, is the sole testament to the Moriscos' collective efforts to defend their new city. In Tetouan, the mosques of the *Moriscos* were small-scale interventions that laid bare either the honesty of their conversion or the estrangement from normalized forms of Islam that had been adapted during decades of covert practice. At both sites of absorption, the *Moriscos*, acting both individually and collectively, produced urban interventions that speak of needs of adaptation and integration. These strategies, small-scale and constructed with local materials, worked within vernacular understandings of both urbanism and domesticity that placed practicality first. I propose that these same needs and drives inform the adaptation and construction of urban spaces by immigrant communities today.

It is only after those communities have both a) become established socially and financially and, b) maintained differences in self-identification from the dominant community, that they will begin to make attempts to make monumental interventions in the landscape. In the case of the *Moriscos*, I propose that we do not witness a *Morisco* monumental in Rabat and Tetouan because of the fundamental adaptability of these immigrant communities and their drives to assimilate.

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