

**Heading For Constantinople:  
Typecast Muslims in the Spanish Mediterranean (1492-1615)**

Elizabeth B. Davis  
(The Ohio State University)

“ . . . Blackness is not homogenous . . . Black has many different shades; black has many different experiences. Black is a signifier that has connected many people together because of what was imposed upon black.” (Trevor Noah)<sup>1</sup>

For centuries, Europe has employed various strategies for depicting a Muslim adversary that appears to be constitutive of its sense of self. Events such as the 2011 killing spree on the Norwegian island of Utøya, apparently motivated by one individual’s resentment of Muslim migration into Europe, suggest in heartbreaking terms how potent and consequential the interlocking of racially-tinged images of “self” and “other” can be.<sup>2</sup> The recently enacted ban on travel by individuals from several predominantly Muslim countries into the United States offers evidence that the willfully deleterious representation of Islamic peoples is not just a European problem, nor is the link between an exclusionary immigration policy and a deliberately constructed national sense of self. In the following pages, however, my focus will remain on the European, and specifically on the Spanish representation of Muslims in literary texts located in the Mediterranean world during the early modern period.

While it comes as no surprise that the West should construct figures of Muslims that share some more or less predictable characteristics in order to affirm and validate a particular image of Christian Europe, it would be inaccurate to suppose that Western writers have been incapable of appreciating how Islam comprises groups that are distinct, or to think that all Europeans have shared the same relationship with a real (historical) Muslim “other” they imagined to be homogeneous or uniform. The term “Turk,” for example, had a broad application in early modern Europe, and it overlapped and had affinities with terms such as “Moor,” yet at the same time, individual European states had specific relationships with Islam and with Muslims that impinged on the way they represented Turks and Moors in their flowering national literatures. Thus, even as discrete literary works were produced in a situation in which the actual “Turkish Turks” were on everybody’s mind, separate European nations had their own depictions of a presumed Islamic foe.<sup>3</sup> With a few small adjustments, the words of South African comedian Trevor Noah that constitute my epigraph are applicable here: “Muslimness” is not homogenous; “Muslim” has many different shades; “Muslim” has many different experiences. On one level, therefore, particular Spanish versions of Muslims are but an important part of a larger European picture.

<sup>1</sup> Trevor Noah interview, CNN *Amanpour*. The quoted footage is 10:27-11:02.

<sup>2</sup> An Internet blog known as “Gates of Vienna” declares that “we are in a new phase of a very old war” between Islam and Christian Europe that began at the siege of Vienna in 1683. According to various news reports, Anders Behring Breivik, acknowledged perpetrator of the Utøya killings, was a follower of this and other right-wing extremist blogs.

<sup>3</sup> An early version of part of this essay was presented as an invited talk at an international conference called “Turks: The role of Islamic culture in early modern European literature, from the fall of Constantinople (1453) to the battle of Vienna (1683),” organized by Peter Madsen, University of Copenhagen (August 26-28, 2010). Although the present article is written with a more specialized audience in mind, I remain very grateful to Madsen for inviting me to participate in an intellectually stimulating meeting that still informs the ways in which I think about Islam and the early modern European imagination.

On another level, the case of Spain is unique in the European context because of the strong presence of Muslims within a limited geographical space shared with Spanish Christians and Jews throughout seven centuries prior to the end of the Christian campaign against Granada. During this time, present-day Andalusia was for all intents and purposes a separate and culturally distinct Islamic nation, bordered on the north by a disputed and constantly shifting boundary that separated it from Aragon and Castile, and on the south by an extended Mediterranean coastline. The year 1492 marked the beginning of the Crown's protracted efforts to "Christianize" the Kingdom of Granada, but—perhaps understandably—the Spanish Monarchy would remain focused on Islam inside its own geographic space for years to come. It is precisely during the period following the conquest of Granada that Barbara Fuchs situates her important discussion of cultural inscriptions of Moorish-Christian hybridity in the quotidian reality of Spanish life.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Spain's coastlines remained vulnerable, and piracy was a constant and increasing threat as Turkish corsairs moved over Mediterranean waters. John H. Elliott has long held that Spanish troops bore the brunt of Turkish incursions into Europe (1963, 165-66):

The growth of the Turkish threat to the western Mediterranean was, in fact, to have a decisive impact on the character and development of sixteenth-century Spain. The Europe of Charles V found itself confronted by a powerful State specifically organized for war—a State possessing resources of money and manpower on an imperial scale. The threat to Spain was open and obvious. Its coasts were exposed to pirate attacks; its grain supplies from Sicily could easily be cut; and it had, in its large Morisco population, a potentially subversive element, well placed to aid and abet any Ottoman attack on Spanish soil. Spain therefore found itself in the front line of the battle, a natural bastion of Europe against a Turkish assault. It was at this point that Charles's imperialism came into its own. An empire was wanted to meet the attack of an empire.

It would be difficult to overstate the danger that the Ottoman Turks posed to Spain and her empire during the period beginning roughly with the capture of Granada and the unfolding conquest of American lands. At a time when Spanish troops were deployed throughout the empire, from the Netherlands to Patagonia and from Naples to the Philippines, rebuilt Ottoman navies challenged the Spanish presence in the eastern Mediterranean and increasingly in the western Mediterranean, as well. Suleiman the Magnificent controlled territories that included places not at all distant from Spain, such as the western coastal regions of North Africa: Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. If Spanish literati could make use of the Turkish antagonist to construct a glorified representation of the "self," assumptions about Ottoman power struck terror in the hearts of the Spanish populace, probably more than did ideas about Protestant *luteranos* to the north. Already in the early modern period, then, Spain's cultural connection to Islam was longstanding and very complex. If, on the one hand, the threat of Turkish advance stirred continual fears of impending disaster, on the other hand, images of Muslims permeated the national imaginary of a Christian Spain inextricably linked to Islam within its own territory long before the expansion of the Ottoman Empire across the Mediterranean.

Literary critics, chief among them Albert Mas (1967), have held that the representation of Turks in Spanish literature draws on and perhaps camouflages an older, more familiar writing of

---

<sup>4</sup> See Fuchs' *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (2009), especially the "Introduction" and Chapter 1. The author's well-known interventions on Spanish Maurophilia are numerous. I will engage with several of them in the course of this essay.

Islamic identity illustrated by the Moor and the Morisco. Similarly, some of the recent scholarship on Spanish Maurophilia posits both a common derogatory depiction of Turks and Moors and a “transfer” of an older Spanish opposition between Spaniards and Moors onto the context of North Africa and the Mediterranean world (for example, Fuchs 2003, 63-86). While the road I have taken to arrive at the same conclusion is different from that of these scholars, and while I do find important moments of inflection in the representation of Muslims in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish literature, I believe that this position is fundamentally sound and that the notion of transfer is correct. Accordingly, in the following pages, I will argue that any initial impression of novelty or distinctiveness in the image of the Turk in the literary culture of the seventeenth century is somewhat deceptive because the image dramatizes or accentuates persistent features ascribed to other types of Muslim characters in the first half of the sixteenth century. I shall track those enduring features even as I explore the ramifications of writing Islam in an apparently multiform way, beginning with well-established portraits of Muslims in the *novela morisca*. My analysis of this genre precedes an in-depth discussion of the Morisco-Ottoman connection in Juan Rufo’s epic, *La Austriada*. I close my essay by unpacking images of Ottoman Turks in a narrative text and a *comedia* written by Miguel de Cervantes, who knew Ottoman-controlled lands better than most European writers of his time.

### The “Noble Moor” in Context: The Correlation of Power in the *Novela Morisca*

*El Abencerraje*, whose author is unknown, is the foundational text in the *novela morisca* genre, linked thematically to a number of important sixteenth-century *romances* that recount the story of the “noble Moor” and his beloved Jarifa. There are several variant texts of this borderland tale of love and war that is loosely based on historical events and characters. The first of these, the *Corónica* edition, appeared in Toledo in 1561. The second is embedded in the 1562 edition of the widely circulated pastoral novel *Los siete libros de La Diana*, written in Spanish by the Portuguese writer Jorge de Montemayor and translated fairly quickly to French (1578), English (1598), and German (1619).<sup>5</sup> The third edition of the *Abencerraje* is contained in the 1565 *Inventario* of Antonio Villegas. It is this version that Francisco López Estrada used for his modern edition of the novel because from a bibliographical standpoint, it has been the object of greater attention than the previous ones.<sup>6</sup> Because I am interested primarily in identifying patterns of representation, I will focus on three episodes in the novel that are especially important in fixing the image of the Spanish Moor.

Despite some traits that suggest equality between the aristocratic characters of the novel—one Christian, the other, Moor—, literary critics have until recently affirmed that the dominant character of *El Abencerraje* is the Christian *caballero* who is loosely based on the historical person Rodrigo de Narváez, a leader in the conquest of Antequera (1410) and *alcaide* (governor or commander) of the fortress there. In the novel, the character of Narváez appears as governor of Antequera and of the neighboring town of Álora. This is an anachronism, since Álora was not taken by Christian forces until later (1482), but it has the poetic advantage of combining the Christian leader’s heroism in battle with his role as guardian of the frontier. In contrast, the character of Abindarráez, a member of the prominent Abencerraje family, now fallen from favor in the troubled Kingdom of Granada, is often thought of as a mere foil for Narváez. According to

<sup>5</sup> For the textual history of *La Diana*, see Fosalba, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> My reading of the text is based on the López Estrada edition, hence on the *Inventario* of Villegas.

this reading, the Moor serves primarily to establish a flattering portrayal of the Christian protagonist, even though he is every bit as distinguished as Narváez in battle and equal in rank.

The contested border that separates Al Andalus from Christian Spain is a contact zone between two competing faiths and vying protonational ethnias. It constitutes a liminal space marked by everyday combat—raids, armed clashes and ambushes—between Christians and Moors. On this frontier, Rodrigo de Narváez and his *escuderos* capture the unfortunate Abindarráez and force him to follow the Christian leader to his castle in Álora. Luis Avilés suggests that the repeated sighs of the captive Moorish warrior produce the character’s “dislocation” in that they shift the discursive site of the narrative from martial spaces to the contrasting site of love, preparing the reader for all that ensues (2003). These exhalations furthermore serve to pique the curiosity of the captor, leading to the revelation of the love story that lies just beneath the bellicose surface narrative.

Literary critics have long commented on the love-struck Moor’s double imprisonment. Laura Bass writes that the slippage occurring between corporeal captivity and the bonds of love is bound up with larger kinds of blurring associated with the instability of religious and ethnic identities along the border at the limits of Christian Aragon (2000, 460). In this vein, Bass and other scholars identify a connection between contrasting categories they consider unstable (Muslim/Christian; Moor/Spaniard; warrior/lover) and a growing feminization in the captive Abindarráez, whom they find increasingly emasculated vis-à-vis a generous Christian captor depicted as the epitome of virtue and honor. Fuchs, positing a “queer erotics” present, though not acted upon, in Spanish Maurophile texts, similarly discusses the appeal of the “proximate Moor” in the novel, but within the context of the need for the Christian to constantly negotiate and discipline his desire for the appealing Abindarráez (2009, 44 and 41). In view of the keen interest in the construction of identity during the last two decades—not just theoretical, but experienced in the real world—, it is probably no accident that a preponderance of recent critical commentary on this novel and other texts that treat images of Spain’s Muslim rivals centers on issues of gender and related matters, such as the use of colorful adornment to suggest luxury and exoticism, cross-dressing to conceal or play with sexual identities, and so on. For Fuchs, and more recently for Javier Irigoyen-García, while “Moorish” garb and furnishings might have seemed striking to readers outside Spain, these things would not have suggested exoticism to Spanish readers of the times, accustomed as they were to a reality that retained many material elements derived from Andalusí culture, particularly the use of silk in fine garments worn by high-ranking Moors and Christians alike.<sup>7</sup> With this important caveat, it is true that even from the beginning, Western representation of Muslims has employed sexuality in order to establish an “Eastern” identity that is thereby construed as intrinsically suspect, unmanly but still treacherous. Even though, as Fuchs observes, Edward Said’s influential *Orientalism* (1979) needs important adjustments to function adequately for the case of Spain, it is hard to deny that Said’s meticulous analysis of Western writings about a mysterious and lavish Orient populated with silent, yet sensual and willing women and passive, even emasculated men, does hold validity for many canonical Spanish Maurophile

---

<sup>7</sup> For Fuchs, the “Maurophile literary canon” expands to include not just costume, language and furnishings, but architecture and horsemanship (2009, 2-6). In important ways, her *Exotic Nation* sets the stage for Irigoyen García’s fascinating monograph, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia*, a book that leaves little doubt about the appeal of Moorish clothing and equestrian arts to a broad group of Christian aristocrats.

texts.<sup>8</sup> In the same vein, David Quint has argued that in Western epic, contact with the opulent East produces corrosion of the warrior's will and leads to his effeminacy (1993, 24), and I certainly find evidence of this tendency in Spanish epic of the period. It is true that there are risks intrinsic to the imposition of twentieth-century theoretical premises onto early modern texts that require no small amount of contextual explanation. Nevertheless, such interpretations can be very helpful for uncovering the ideological bias present in stereotypical images that are fabulously old and astonishingly stubborn.

Disclosure of the secret dilemma of Abindarráez, who was on his way to be married when taken prisoner, provides his captor the opportunity to demonstrate his loftier gentility and liberality—his superiority, in a word. Narváez releases the Moor, whose only bond is his promise to return after having married Jarifa, which he does. The ethical test applies to both men, but the reader must weigh the Christian's magnanimity and moral authority against his greater control of the situation. After all, it is easy to be generous when one has already secured power over an adversary. In sum, the text puts forth a representation of the Moor that is in some ways on a par with that of his Christian counterpart, but this is a bit of a deception in that the war of Granada was already resolved in favor of the Christian side when the anonymous author of *El Abencerraje* put pen to paper. Can there really be any doubt about who holds the power in this new friendship between Christian and Moor? I think not, and this leads me to question what kind of friendship this can be, or how it might flourish outside the boundaries of this fictional universe. The character of the "noble Moor" is carefully circumscribed in a genre in which an asymmetrical power relationship is everywhere assumed, resulting in the severe limitation of the Moor's ability to resume control of his destiny. He can "be noble," as long as he does not try to do anything about it. Christina H. Lee has similarly noted that the "desirable Moors" of the *novela morisca* are non-threatening characters, that they "fully embrace their inherited identity and show no interest in disrupting the established order in Christian and/or Spanish society."<sup>9</sup> This position is similar to the one taken by Israel Burshatin on the matter, with which I am in general agreement, although I deeply appreciate Barbara Fuchs' subjecting the *novela morisca* to an alternative reading that, as she affirms, has the potential to create an opening for a new kind of relationship between Moors and Christians in this and analogous literary texts.<sup>10</sup>

*El Abencerraje* is particularly important because the novel sets the paradigm for its genre, in which the demands and contingencies of love and war play out in a manner that virtually erases the violence of the armed conflict on the border. The image of Abindarráez, who descends from the exalted Abencerrajes of Granada, is also paradigmatic in that other novels of the kind boast Moorish characters that similarly demonstrate nobility of rank and of character, chivalric comportment and steadfastness on a par with those of their Christian competitors, whose position of dominance and moral ascendancy the texts never seriously call into question. At the same time

<sup>8</sup> Said revisits such Western images of the Orient and its gendered exoticism in many places. One particularly striking example is in his discussion of Flaubert (187). Another is to be found in his analysis of the image of the Arab, in the section on "Orientalism Now" (309-12).

<sup>9</sup> Christina H. Lee's recent book, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain* (2016), takes a fresh look at Spanish writing of Moors and Moriscos. See especially Chapter 6, "Desirable Moors and Moriscos in Literary Texts," from which this quotation is taken (184-85). Beyond this, Lee's book is an important contribution to the study of Spanish Morisco communities of the period, which the author describes as more heterogeneous than the received opinion would have it. Her discussion of the Morisco reaction to the stipulations of the *pragmática* and of the debate concerning whether or not to pursue the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain (Chapter 5, "Imagining the Morisco Problem") is also extremely informative.

<sup>10</sup> See Burshatin (1984, 209), and Fuchs' response (2009, 38).

and paradoxically, the character of the noble Moor carries within him the seed of a less flattering representation of Muslims whose emotional erraticism and increasingly effeminate characteristics reappear in full force in later literary works that dramatize the dangers for Christians of trading with a Moorish enemy, especially one who dwells close by, constantly threatening encroachment on the Spanish State and its territory.

### **Epic Disruption: The Relocation of the Moriscos of Granada in Juan Rufo's *La Austriada***

At the same time that the touching story of Don Rodrigo and the Abencerraje developed, conditions for the actual Moriscos in southern Spain—only a few years earlier separated from the Christian north by a porous borderland—were growing increasingly desperate. Most of the literary works I engage in this essay share a connection to history that is quite loose, so we might not expect them to go into details about historical matters that could disturb the unspoken pact between the reader and the fiction of the text. There are, however, other Spanish genres of the time that engage Morisco reality by depicting actual conditions prevalent in the Kingdom of Granada, ones that would soon lead to the destruction of Morisco communities in this area and throughout Spain.

One such text is Juan Rufo's *La Austriada* (1584), an epic poem commissioned by Philip II's sister María and published with a subvention from the Crown.<sup>11</sup> Rufo's epic, a celebration of the life of Don Juan de Austria, consists of two loosely connected parts: the first eighteen cantos comprise Don Juan's campaign against the rebellious Moriscos in the Alpujarra mountains of Granada, and the last six narrate military actions against the Turks in the Mediterranean, culminating in the great naval battle of Lepanto (1571), in which the author himself fought. Rufo's poetic vision sometimes blurs important distinctions between the Moriscos, themselves, and the Ottoman Turks who watched the Alpujarra rebellion with interest and expectation from outside Spain.<sup>12</sup> Up to a point, the writer's attitude toward Spain's internal Muslim adversary appears ambivalent: if on the one hand he seems to take for granted the victories of the Christian armies at Lepanto and inside Spain, on the other hand, his narrator speaks about the Granada Moriscos with occasional sympathy. Any hint of concern for human suffering within the opposing camp remains muted, however. Inasmuch as the Morisco was considered a subspecies of Moor, in the context of the recently concluded Granada campaign, the uprising in the Alpujarras appeared to bring with it an imminent threat of new invasion and a return to the attenuated military campaign against Islam at home.

The Moriscos, however, were not just a "kind of Moor;" their predicament was culturally and historically specific. The Moriscos were a hybrid people who belonged to two cultures. Their identity was presumably based primarily on religion, but it was made manifest in easily recognizable signs, such as language and dress. Had Morisco identity been constituted only, or predominantly, through religion, the forced conversion might have eradicated the assumed basis for difference. It did not. In the first place, most Christians did not believe in the sincerity of the conversion. As much as twenty years after the Morisco uprising in the Alpujarras, Bernardino de Escalante, soldier, scholar and commissioner of the Inquisition in Galicia and later in Seville, was

<sup>11</sup> Though the publication date for the poem is usually given as 1584, Rufo signed the prologue in 1582, there making the claim that he had been working on his text for ten years. For Philip II's subvention of *La Austriada*, see Geoffrey Parker 1995, 51.

<sup>12</sup> The following portion of this essay is taken from the last section of Chapter 2 of *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain* by Elizabeth B. Davis. Copyright © 2000 by The Curators of the University of Missouri. Reprinted by permission of the University of Missouri Press. I have lightly edited the text in a couple of places to reflect recent developments in scholarly work in the field.

still warning Philip II that the Spanish Moriscos were “por la mayor parte moros apóstatas” (1957, 105). To the extent that the conversion was perceived as inauthentic, it was thought to cover up a more familiar, marked identity, that of the Moor. Second, the external manifestations of cultural difference did not simply disappear with the forced conversion from Islam. Speech, clothing, mixed names (such as Diego López Abenabó and Francisco Núñez Muley), simultaneous participation in public (Christian) and private (Muslim) religious ceremonies, all these things continued to signal both “Moorishness” and a hybridity often framed in a deprecatory manner.

Signed negatively in this way, Morisco difference derived from a thoroughly racialized dominant discourse that ultimately used hybridity as a justification for evicting the Moriscos from the body politic. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, for example, writes of the Morisco situation in the terms of negation of identity proper. In the *Guerra de Granada*, Fernando de Válor, a Morisco member of the Cabildo of Granada, reviews the situation and concludes that the Moriscos are “tratados y tenidos como moros entre los cristianos para ser menospreciados, y como cristianos entre los moros para no ser creídos ni ayudados. Excluidos de la vida y conversación de personas, mándannos que no hablemos nuestra lengua; y no entendemos la castellana . . .”.<sup>13</sup> Hurtado de Mendoza’s text cannot arrive at a more positive conception of hybridity because it formulates Morisco identity in the terms of exclusion: Christians scorn the converts, Moors no longer trust them, and they find themselves on the outside of all political and social discourse. Hence Fernando de Válor, whose personal experience we understand to be representative of that of his group, denounces the inflamed Morisco situation, but within a text (that of Hurtado de Mendoza) whose point of view is ultimately that of a dominant culture now grown intractable. The Morisco whose voice is amplified here will shortly renounce his Christian identity, take the Arabic name of Abén Humeya (Muhammad ibn Umayyah), and play a leading role in the Morisco uprising in the Alpujarras.

It is no accident that the external markers of identity were the very things that the 1567 *pragmática* attacked. This measure imposed eleven prohibitions on the Morisco population of Granada to bring the converts under stricter control and to eradicate outward signs of their previous cultural identity. It was forbidden to speak, read or write in Arabic after a three-year transition period; all contracts written in that language were annulled. Similarly, all books written in Arabic were to be brought to the *Chancillería* for examination. Moriscos were to dress “a la castellana” and the women were forced to unveil their faces. Religious ceremonies were to follow Christian customs, and Morisco songs and instruments were outlawed. The Moriscos were not to celebrate Fridays, nor were they to use Moorish names or surnames. The women were forbidden to adorn themselves using henna. Similarly, they could no longer bathe in artificial baths and those already in existence were destroyed. Turks, Moors and Berbers living in Spain as slaves (*gazíes*) were expelled, and licenses for black slaves came under review. These prohibitions, which touched almost every aspect of Morisco life, came at a time when the cultural life of Granada had already undergone dramatic changes.<sup>14</sup> Caro Baroja’s analysis of the gradual loss of Morisco voice and

---

<sup>13</sup> The text of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada, hecha por el rei de España don Philippe II nuestro señor contra los moriscos de aquel reino, sus rebeldes*, was not published until 1627 (Lisbon: Giraldo de la Viña). All quotations of the *Guerra de Granada* are from the facsimile of the Barcelona edition of 1842 published in 1990, and appear in my text by the year of the facsimile and the page, in this case, 1842, 16.

<sup>14</sup> The stipulations of the 1567 *pragmática* were actually formulated in November, 1566. See Caro Baroja, *Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, 152-53. On the prolonged tensions between Moriscos and Christians in the area, see also Louis

power at all levels of society in the region makes it very clear how radically the area had changed during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Moriscos increasingly had less of a say in their own destiny. The *pragmática* exacerbated this sad situation, and it was the resulting frustration and swelling sense of impotence and suppressed rage that finally led to armed Morisco rebellion. From the Christian point of view, the uprising fulfilled the threat of a return to the times of the so-called “Reconquista.”

Juan Rufo’s narrative follows the events so closely that in some parts, *La Austriada* reads like a rhymed chronicle. After the Moriscos kill 248 Christians at the battle of Órgiva, a village in the Alpujarras, Don Juan de Austria realizes the gravity of the situation and calls for deportations from the Albaicín of Granada, which he dubs the “root” of the problem.

De haberse Ventomiz en arma puesto,  
Sin ser a tal insulto compelido,  
Resulta indicio claro y manifiesto  
De que está todo el reino corrompido;  
Y siendo aqueste firme presupuesto,  
Debe ser el peligro prevenido,  
Curando la raíz, que está en Granada,  
Hasta el más hondo abismo apoderada.

Pedir a mi señor y hermano quiero,  
Con vuestro parescer, que se trasplante  
El Albaicín por todo el reino ibero  
Que no confina con el mar de Atlante;  
Y será beneficio verdadero  
Quitarnos estos trasgos de delante,  
Que llave falsa son de mis secretos,  
Y causa de otros mil malos efetos.<sup>15</sup>

Behind this move to expel the enemy from within the city walls lies the conception of the Moriscos as unfit to live within the *polis*, which identifies them as a fundamentally barbaric group. But the decision to compel a major human migration also contains the notion of the enemy as a pollutant that must be purged from the political body. The evacuation of the Albaicín (June 23, 1569) and the *repartimiento* or dispersal of the Moriscos of Granada throughout lower Andalusia and Castile led to heightened hostility, or the perceived threat thereof, throughout the peninsula and eventually to the total expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, as mandated in a series of regional edicts. Expulsion was already a tried method of removing groups perceived to “contaminate” the body politic, as is well known. By the time Juan Rufo composed his epic, Christian Spain perceived both the Jews and the Moriscos as ethnic groups that constituted an

---

Cardaillac, *Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)* and Antonio Domínguez Ortíz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos, vida y tragedia de una minoría*.

<sup>15</sup> All quotations of *La Austriada* are taken from the edition of Don Cayetano Rosell, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 29 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1854). Rosell does not number the octaves. I have made my own numbering of the stanzas, excluding from my count an octave that summarizes the plot at the beginning of each canto. In my text the canto number will be indicated first, followed by octave and, where appropriate, lines, in this case 7.88-89.



internal enemy whose very proximity caused unease, a “fifth column” or a parasite on the body.<sup>16</sup> Seen in this context, the evacuation of the Albaicín (Canto 10) serves as a link between the 1492 expulsion of the Spanish Jews, and later Morisco deportations, which Rufo textualizes as an extirpation of untrustworthy or infirm parts of the body politic.

There is something strange about the evacuation narrative in *La Austriada*. The narrator recounts a heartrending scene of families being led away and groups of Moriscos with their hands tied together. Thus, *La Austriada* figures forth the dispossession of the self and elimination of an objectified “other” in the most literal, graphic terms.

Las armas y rebatos entre tanto  
 Por horas menudean en Granada;  
 Mas ya por un edito justo y santo  
 Del Albaicín quedaba despoblada;  
 No hay pluma que a explicar se atreva el llanto  
 Que en la transmigración desventurada  
 Aquella triste gente en sí mostraba,  
 Puesto que parte de él disimulaba.

Con guarda bien armada a todos lados  
 En larga procesión a paso lento  
 Al hospital real eran llevados  
 Para trazarse allí su apartamiento . . . (10.94-95.1-4)

Yendo imitando pues desta manera  
 Un miserable ejemplo de vencidos,  
 Y tal, que a compasión mover pudiera  
 Los corazones más endurecidos . . . (10.96.1-4)

Ya con armada gente y comisarios,  
 Religadas las manos a cordeles,  
 Eran llevados a lugares varios,  
 Padeciendo infortunios más crueles;  
 Trasplantados de allí nuestros contrarios,  
 Quedaron en Granada los fieles  
 Con menores recelos de alzamientos,  
 Mas sin comodidad de alojamientos. (10.102)

These octaves focus on the conditions of the deportation, itself: sadness, tears, ropes, utter defeat. But they are separated by 36 lines that are ostensibly about something else. Just as the pathos of the story swells to what feels like an intolerable level, the narrator abruptly swerves to

---

<sup>16</sup> Caro Baroja is inconsistent about the date of the evacuation (*Moriscos del Reino de Granada* 200 and 205), but virtually all sources indicate that it occurred after Don Juan took command (April 13, 1569). Fernand Braudel writes that the Morisco expulsion from Granada city took place in December 1569 (*Mediterranean World* 2:1066), and that massive deportations from the kingdom began in 1570 (2:1072). On the use of negative stereotypes of Jews, see Paul Julian Smith’s provocative chapter, “*La Celestina*, Castro, and the *Conversos*,” in *Representing the Other: “Race,” Text, and Gender in Spanish and Spanish American Narrative*.

an anecdote that bears no trace of the emotion he has kindled in the lines immediately previous and which, in fact, threatens to upend the dynamics of the deportation narrative. In a move to repress his distressing account of the evacuation, the authorial voice recounts an incident between a Morisco prisoner and one of the soldiers overseeing the operation. Apparently overcome with emotion at the human misery he writes, Rufo marks the monumental disruption that the evacuation of the Albaicín provokes in his text by repressing the deportation story. The narrator turns his gaze from the slow procession of bound figures and refocuses it on a lone Morisco who attacked and wounded a soldier and was thereupon torn to bits (“Fue hecho piezas mil el mahometo,” 10.97.3). During four octaves, Rufo weighs the possible motives of the assailant, then concludes that the assault on the soldier was unprovoked and that the incident is:

. . . un ejemplo prodigioso;  
Que quien morir osó desta manera  
Cualquier traición al precio acometiera. (10.100.6-8)

The anecdote serves, then, as a means of muffling the evacuation story and covering it over with a narrative designed to prove the rightness of the deportation and the incorrigibility of “hardhearted” Moriscos.

The priority of Rufo’s text is especially evident when one compares his account of the Albaicín evacuation to that of Hurtado de Mendoza. In the *Guerra de Granada*, the deportation story comprises one long paragraph (roughly 44 lines of prose). Of those 44 lines, only eight refer to the incident of the assault:

Mostraban una manera de obediencia forzada, los rostros en el suelo con mayor tristeza que arrepentimiento; ni de esto dejaron de dar alguna señal; que uno de ellos hirió al que halló cerca de sí: dicese que con acometimiento contra D. Juan, pero lo cierto no se pudo averiguar porque fue luego hecho pedazos: yo que me hallé presente diría, que fue movimiento de ira contra el soldado, y no resolución pensada. (1842, 79)

Hurtado de Mendoza, who seems to exonerate the Morisco of premeditation, dedicates much more space to the conditions that made the deportation necessary, the procedures followed, and the misfortunes that befell the Moriscos on their way into exile.

Fue salida de harta compasión para quien los vio acomodados y regalados en sus casas: muchos murieron por los caminos de trabajo, de cansancio, de pesar, de hambre, a hierro, por mano de los mismos que los habían de guardar, robados, vendidos por cautivos. (1842, 80)

Rufo’s text comes close to suppressing any mention of the atrocities committed against the Moriscos on their way out of Granada, but this almost complete silence (“Padeciendo infortunios más crueles . . .” 10.102.4) is what Barbara Johnson might call a “significant gap” (1987, 49-85). It is an eloquent silence that attempts to evacuate misery from a text that wishes to assert the fundamental justification of the expulsion “according to a just and holy proclamation.”

Unpublished official documents of the period, however, fill in the gap of Rufo’s epic in a way that leaves no room for doubt about the terrible suffering the Moriscos endured on their way from Granada to an unknown place. Documents referring to the *repartimientos* of 1570 indicate

that the voyage was made without proper provisions, and that men traveling with wives were slowed down so much that they simply could not make the trip.<sup>17</sup> What became of them, we do not know. Because the number of Moriscos being moved was so great and because they carried so much baggage, they could not be put up in churches.<sup>18</sup> There are signs that some of them starved to death during the voyage because the villages did not want to feed them and the authorities did not provide the means to do so, with the result that “cada día se vienen muriendo por esos caminos”.<sup>19</sup> Some villages refused to receive the Moriscos, asking that they be sent to a different place, where they could live “con toda comodidad,” though they could not indicate where that place might be.<sup>20</sup> On receipt of a shipment of Moriscos in a galley under the supervision of Don Sancho de Leyva, a letter from Seville states that the immediate task is to “procurar que no mueran todos de hambre, porque vienen muy enfermos y robados y tan maltratados de la mar que es la mayor compasión del mundo verlos.”<sup>21</sup>

The 1571 relocations provoked equally woeful comment. Documents written by the *corregidores* of towns in Castile list the number of Moriscos from Granada received by each one, in response to a *real cédula* which is summarized in these terms: “conviene que los moriscos que se han sacado del Reino de Granada después del levantamiento se repartan lo más menudamente que sea posible por todos los lugares destos Reinos.” The mayors then allude to the Crown’s request for census information about the Morisco population. Some of the figures are difficult to make out, but in many cases the number of Moriscos received was at least 100 men, women and children (“mozos y mozas”) per town, sometimes many more. These documents invariably indicate that the Moriscos have arrived in miserable condition and with no clothing. Many of them were so sick that they could only be placed in hospitals. There is almost always an indication of the number of those who did not make it, as compared to that of survivors. Occasionally there is a reference to slavery; Murcia, for example, says it has received a number of Moriscos from Granada and that there are many *esclavos*. Of 950 Moriscos received by Segovia, 260 died.<sup>22</sup> Avila received 1000 Moriscos, which it distributed throughout the nearby villages; the document says that many of the parents were so sick that their children had to serve in their place, and the children—who could only do “trabajo liviano,” such as waiting and carrying water—worked so badly that the local people quickly tired of them.<sup>23</sup> A letter from Montanches documents receipt of a shipment of Moriscos from Córdoba who arrived in such a deplorable state—“según andan enfermos y maltratados con hambre y común necesidad”—that many of them died.<sup>24</sup>

When placed side by side with this kind of archival evidence, the repressions in Rufo’s text seem even larger and more revealing. His account of the evacuation of the Albaicín, from which he, himself, seems to shy away, is a very significant moment of textual disruption. It is to Juan Rufo’s epic what the carnage of Cañete is to Alonso de Ercilla’s *La Araucana*. In effect, Ercilla’s epic project comes close to self-destructing after the battle at Cañete, when the figure of the Poet has seen enough blood and gore and removes himself—and his narrative—to the untarnished landscapes of southern Chile. If there is an equivalent threat of self-destruction in *La Austriada*, it

<sup>17</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, *legajo* 2157, folio 11 (hereafter AGS, CC, with *legajo* and folio numbers following).

<sup>18</sup> AGS CC 2557/14.

<sup>19</sup> AGS CC 2157/18.

<sup>20</sup> AGS CC 2157/30.

<sup>21</sup> AGS CC 2157/42.

<sup>22</sup> AGS CC 2162/27.

<sup>23</sup> AGS CC 2162/30.

<sup>24</sup> AGS CC 2162/33.

is when Rufo writes the Morisco deportation from the Albaicín. The epic suggests the poet's unease in his decision to displace guilt onto the single Morisco who attacks the Spanish soldier. Still, there is sufficient sympathy for the Morisco plight in the octaves surrounding this incident to suggest how difficult it was for the writer to contemplate the magnitude of human affliction in the deportation. This does not mean that Spaniards were consistently keen on the relocations, which produced new difficulties elsewhere while supposedly solving the problem in Granada. For one thing, relocated Moriscos were more difficult to spot and control than they had been in Granada, where the social markers were easy to recognize. If the Moor of the past could be romanticized, present-day Moriscos were often detested. There was, in addition, an ancient perception of the Moor as treacherous and untrustworthy that persisted in everyday life.<sup>25</sup>

Juan Rufo's ambivalence toward the Moriscos, whose communities were being dismantled all across Spain as he wrote, comes across most strikingly in episodes like the Christian troops' sack of Válor, accompanied by a condemnation of greed, and in the opening strophes of his narration of the emptying out of the Albaicín. In many other places, his epic reaffirms images of the Morisco (or the Moor) that were well established in his own culture and its traditions. What he has taken from Ercilla is the opportunity to problematize—if only slightly—the image of the enemy, in this case, representations of a close Muslim “other” whose linkage with the Ottoman Turk *La Austriada* articulates over and over again. The relocation of the Moriscos did not resolve any of the tensions Christian Spaniards felt toward them; in fact, those tensions seem to have escalated more rapidly once the Moriscos were scattered throughout the regions of Andalusia, Extremadura and Castile. Unlike Ercilla's figures of far-away Araucanian warriors, the negative image of the Morisco was something that Spaniards from different regions believed they could test out in daily reality to confirm a very old cultural complex of anti-Moorish beliefs. It is thus all the more remarkable that Juan Rufo should summon sympathy for the suffering Moriscos in his verses at the same time that he glorifies the military commander who defeated them. *La Austriada* revels in the triumph at Lepanto, which it promotes as the historical moment in which imperial power and true religion coincide. But no less does the epic of Juan Rufo criticize the routine capture and enslavement of Morisco women and children by the soldiers of Philip II during the War of Granada. If all epic is intrinsically political and given to black-and-white representations of opposing sides, one might expect *La Austriada* to be even more so, since it was commissioned by one member of the royal family and written in praise of another. That its author was able to partially avoid stark, negative representations of the Moriscos, instead showing a measure of sympathy for their plight, suggests that a highly ambiguous epic writing of the “other” was perfectly thinkable in the 1580s.

The Morisco-Ottoman connection was real enough. Due to reasons of a geopolitical nature—the threat of Turkish supremacy throughout the Mediterranean and the deployment of a limited number of troops and Spanish galleys in Flanders and Italy—the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada aroused great interest abroad, leading even to complicity with the rebels from outside Spain. Braudel, for example, partially explains the prolongation of the Alpujarras war as the result of the impossibility of blockading the coastline where ships from Ottoman Algiers arrived carrying “men, munitions and weapons . . . artillery and rations, rice, grain, or flour” for the insurgent Moriscos (2:1060, 1065, 1063, 1069).<sup>26</sup> As a native of Córdoba and a veteran of Lepanto, Juan Rufo would have been keenly aware of Ottoman interest in the events of the Morisco uprising. In

<sup>25</sup> Caro Baroja discusses the new problems caused by the relocations (1957, 215-17). See also his comments on the romanticization of the Moor (131) and the stereotype of Moorish “perfidy” (189).

<sup>26</sup> In this vein, see also Domínguez Ortíz and Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos*, 39.

his poem, Rufo not only makes military connections between the Moriscos and the Turks in various passages of the Alpujarra war story, but he engages in a generalized representation of “barbaric Muslims” that has the effect of collapsing both groups into one entity. The battle of Lepanto was a cornerstone in the effort to secure Christian hegemony over Islam in the Mediterranean world; it was this aspect that allowed Rufo to easily blend it into the first part of his epic.

Juan Rufo’s ideologically charged images of Moriscos and Turks in *La Austriada* are fairly typical of representations of Spain’s “others” in Spanish epics of the times. A similar writing of alterity appears in other genres, naturally, but due to the epic’s warlike ethos and inherent dualism, cultural fictions relating to an “other” that is deliberately associated with a broad process of symbolization of evil are starker and more transparent in the epic than elsewhere. This hauntingly repetitive representational pattern partially accounts for the fact that while other Spanish genres, such as the *comedia* or the novella, might lend themselves to a reading that seeks ironies and arguably, through them, a critique of empire, epics of the period do not as a rule allow for such triangulation.

There may be partial exceptions to this rule, such as Lope de Vega’s “tragic eposopee” *Jerusalén conquistada* (1609), a poem that sometimes caricatures Sultan Saladin Ayubi, who is given to fits of uncontrolled anger and explosive behavior that are completely uncharacteristic of the temperament of Spanish heroes in the genre. While it is true that this image of Saladin serves to reinforce the typecasting of Muslims as irrational, bloodthirsty barbarians, I believe it also opens up a space for irony that goes against the conventions and ideological preferences of epic, generally. But at the same time, the royal octaves of *Jerusalén conquistada* praise Fernando V, architect of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Similarly, the prophetic visions highlighted in the poem indicate explicit acceptance of the Crown’s policies directed at achieving religious and ethnic purity, policies that were as homogenizing as Lope’s own representations of the “infidel” in this poem, and certainly more devastating in real terms. The Lopean epic was published in the same year as one of the major expulsions of the Moriscos. It is all the more poignant that the Morisco voice in Spain was growing quiet, even as Lope prepared to publish an epic that textualized a European will to power against a fascinating but terrible enemy perceived as militarily equal but ethnically inferior. On some level, Lope de Vega’s text may be read as a testament to the significance of the broader European war against Muslim power.

### **From Algiers to Constantinople: The Ottoman Fictional Universe of Miguel de Cervantes**

It is precisely in the framework of this larger conflict that one can best understand the suggestive allusions to Turks in the work of Miguel de Cervantes. Readers of this essay will already know that Cervantes fought at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and that he wore his service in that battle as a badge of honor for the rest of his life. However, Cervantes’ renegotiation of Islam in literature occurs first and foremost in the context of Ottoman-controlled Algiers, where the writer himself spent five years as a captive slave in the Algerian bagnios. María Antonia Garcés’ recent examination of early modern Algiers as depicted in Antonio de Sosa’s *Topography of Algiers* (1612) finds the city to be a richly multicultural place where as much as half the population was made up of renegades who were, in the author’s words, “Turks by profession” (Garcés 2005a, 34-37).<sup>27</sup> Cervantes’ complex relationship with the Ottoman world is evident in the mix of

<sup>27</sup> María Antonia Garcés’ *Cervantes in Algiers: A “Captive’s Tale”* is also available in a revised Spanish edition that contains material not present in the English-language monograph (2005b). Garcés’ edition of de Sosa’s *Topography of Algiers* features a translation to English by Diana de Armas Wilson (2011).

cutthroat characters that end up in the spaces of the city, most notably corsairs and malevolent rulers with allegiances to the Ottoman empire. A number of these characters are thinly veiled fictionalizations of historical figures, such as Cervantes' first owner Dalí Mamí, lieutenant to the dreaded corsair Arnaut Mamí, and the writer's second owner Hasan Pasha (c. 1517-1572), son of the notorious Barbary corsair and ruler of Algiers, Hayreddin Barbarossa. Hasan Pasha was Beylerbey of Algiers on three separate occasions and, like his father, he became Commander-in-Chief of the Ottoman Navy. Such figures as these reinforce the notion that the Algiers of Cervantine fiction is historical. Furthermore, they attest to the city's status as an Ottoman stronghold since well before the moment when the author of *Don Quijote* came into contact with the Turks at Lepanto, or before he was captured and carried there in 1575. I maintain that representations of terrifying Turks in Spanish literature stem primarily from the introduction of a fictionalized version of the real Barbary corsairs who established the economy of slavery in the Mediterranean world, and that Miguel de Cervantes, perhaps more than any other writer of early modern Spain, plays a key role in establishing a generic depiction of Turks along these lines. Moreover, I contend that this negative representation of Spain's "ultimate enemy" can occasionally bleed into the depiction of other characters that inhabit the disparate Mediterranean world of Cervantine fiction. I begin by examining the "Captive's Tale" embedded in *Don Quijote* I (chapters 39-41). I will then turn to two other texts: *El amante liberal* (1613), an "exemplary novel" situated in Ottoman-held Nicosia; and a Cervantine play, *La Gran Sultana doña Catalina de Oviedo*, situated in the court of the Great Sultan at Constantinople. There are, of course, other works of Cervantes situated in Algiers, namely the captivity plays *El Trato de Argel* and *Los Baños de Argel*, however the three texts I have chosen illustrate well the complex ways in which the writer works out in fiction the sustained confrontation between East and West and between the two Mediterranean empires, as he experienced it.

While Cervantes never wrote a separate piece on the Battle of Lepanto, he alluded to it repeatedly in narrative texts that detail Spanish encounters with the Turks during the years that followed the great naval battle. So it is that together with allusions to the Christian victory at Lepanto, Cervantes refers to the terrible Spanish losses at Tunis and La Goleta in the "Captive's Tale" and in other places. During the years 1572-1573, Cervantes himself joined these two battles, and he participated in campaigns at Corfu, Mondon, and Navarino. Bearing in mind these life-changing experiences, it is understandable that the cross between the real and the literary in such characters as those mentioned above could easily lead to an autobiographical reading of Cervantine fiction that does not serve the best interests of the novel. To give one example, the literary representation of Hasan Pasha (Azán Agá) cannot but denote the real ruler of Algiers from whom Cervantes tried to escape on several occasions. In a more general way, this blurring of the boundary between literature and history results in the type character of the renegade, a liminal literary figure, both trickster and cultural translator, that has a referent in the real world: those Christian renegades who made their homes in Algiers, and who shuttled back and forth across the Mediterranean, generating important instances of contact between Spanish Christendom and Islam in Turkey and in Barbary. This character plays a crucial role in the "Captive's Tale," but Cervantes' *renegados* are carefully wrought fictional characters first.

"Iglesia, o mar, o casa real, quien quiera medrar." So says the old proverb with which the captive, Ruy Pérez de Viedma, recounts his story to the other guests at the inn in *Don Quijote* I.39. Ruy Pérez explains that his father had divided his estate between his three sons, who were of an age to choose a vocation. As he distributed his assets among the three, the father went on to say:

Hay un refrán en nuestra España, a mi parecer muy verdadero, como todos lo son, por ser sentencias breves sacadas de la lengua y discreta experiencia; y el que yo digo dice: ‘Iglesia, o mar, o casa real’, como si más claramente dijera: ‘Quien quisiere valer y ser rico siga o la Iglesia, o navegue, ejercitando el arte de la mercancía, o entre a servir a los reyes en sus casas’; porque dicen: ‘Más vale migaja de rey que merced de señor’. Digo esto porque querría, y es mi voluntad, que uno de vosotros siguiese las letras, el otro la mercancía, y el otro sirviese al rey en la guerra, pues es dificultoso entrar a servirle en su casa; que, ya que la guerra no dé muchas riquezas, suele dar mucho valor y mucha fama.<sup>28</sup>

Ruy Pérez chooses the third option and becomes a soldier who fights at Lepanto and is eventually imprisoned in Algiers. His itinerary follows roughly that of the author. It begins with a crossing from Spain to Italy, where he joins the company of the Duke of Alba on the latter’s way to Flanders. The captive then returns to Genoa to join “la liga que la Santidad del Papa Pío Quinto, de felice recordación, había hecho con Venecia y con España, contra el enemigo común, que es el Turco; el cual, en aquel mesmo tiempo, había ganado con su armada la famosa isla de Chipre, que estaba debajo del dominio del veneciano”. Referring to his service at Lepanto, the captive states that after the victory, “que fue para la cristiandad tan dichoso, porque en él se desengañó el mundo y todas las naciones del error en que estaban, creyendo que los turcos eran invencibles por la mar: en aquel día, digo, donde quedó el orgullo y soberbia otomana quebrantada,” he was taken captive by Alouk Ali (Uchalí), ruler of Algiers, who had captured the leading Maltese galley, and carried to Constantinople. Forced to row in Uchalí’s galleys, Ruy Pérez is present at the failed Christian attempt to capture the Turkish navy in the port of Navarino. Shortly thereafter, word reaches Constantinople of the victory of Don Juan de Austria at Tunis (1573). The Grand Turk, on hearing the news, and, “usando de la sagacidad que todos los de su casa tienen,” made peace with Venice even as he plotted to attack La Goleta and the Spanish presidio there. Cervantes includes a lengthy description of the Turkish attack against La Goleta, which was extremely significant in that the fate of North Africa was decided there. In a battle between forces that were completely unequal (only 7,000 soldiers defended the fort), Spain suffered a terrible defeat. The captive narrates the battle at La Goleta, where he was present, in great detail, including two sonnets supposedly written by a Spaniard captured there. With the loss of Tunis, the Ottoman Empire is established in Barbary. It is perhaps fitting that at the end of this narrative, Ruy Pérez arrives as a slave in Algiers. I will have more to say about his captivity below. For now, I want to emphasize that this part of the “Captive’s Tale” evinces in the clearest of terms the paradigmatic portrayal of Turks as conniving schemers, preeminent fighters at sea, and agents of terror on the water and in the ports of the Mediterranean. In Spanish letters of the times, this paradigm resonates, creating an overall image of Turks with pejorative characteristics strong enough to create an ethos that permeates the Ottoman world, even contaminating characters that are not themselves “Turkish Turks,” as we shall see.

During his captivity in the Algerian bagnios, the prisoner is approached by a Moorish woman called Zoraida, daughter of a character based on the historical figure Agi Morato, who offers him money in exchange for matrimony and an escape to Christian Spain. Raised in the context of a mottled Algiers that is the turf of corsairs and renegades aligned with the Ottoman court in Constantinople, Cervantes’ Zoraida turns out to be self-interested and untrustworthy. Her claim to be a covert Christian and devotee of the Virgin Mary is plausible enough in the context

<sup>28</sup> All quotations from *Don Quijote de la Mancha* appear in my text by part and chapter, in this case I.39. I cite from the edition of the Instituto de Cervantes (3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition, 1999).

of the multicultural city, where some Moorish women were in fact descended from Christians or educated by Christian slaves, as Ciriaco Morón Arroyo points out (1983). But, to the extent that her religious preference is understood to be genuine, it would seem to entail a specific ethics and conduct that would presumably stand in opposition to moral principles of Islam that appear distorted in the treacherous world of Algiers that Cervantes puts before his reader, but this is not Zoraida's case. Her engagement in deception and treachery, her out-and-out betrayal and abandonment of her father, whom Morón Arroyo considers a magnificent tragic figure comparable to Othello, is dishonorable and uncharitable, hence at odds with basic premises of Judeo-Christian beliefs. An in-between character who is entirely imaginable in the context of the "Turkified" Mediterranean world of the times, Zoraida's concealed Christian proclivities make her a faux Muslim from the beginning, which perhaps accounts for the relative ease with which she abandons her father, his faith, and Algiers to go to Spain in search of baptism.

Literary critics often interpret Zoraida's determination to be baptized as an adequate justification for her cruelty toward her father, whom she leaves sobbing on the North African shore, crying out to her as she sails away. This perspective emphasizes the baptismal question at the expense of everything else in the text, including Christian moral imperatives requiring respect for one's elders and plain compassion.<sup>29</sup> Let us reflect for a moment on the reality that Zoraida is a product of a complex cultural environment where Christians conveniently reject their faith to better adapt to commercial interests and social networks, and where renegade Christians and Muslim corsairs alike thieve and kill to fill the coffers at the Ottoman court. If, on the one hand, we conclude that her behavior is at least partially explained by her coming to maturity in such a place, on the other hand, we must accept that her origins make her a much more dangerous character than she is sometimes understood to be. Seen from this perspective, Zoraida would appear to be disingenuous when, silent and demurely dressed in the clothing of her place of origin, she arrives at the inn in La Mancha, where she allows the Christian women to welcome her, fuss over her, and teach her a few phrases in Spanish. The reader knows this because her outward appearance has already proved deceptive earlier in the story. More importantly, her cruelty and disloyalty, the egotistical choices she has made, are the more treacherous because they are unexpected.<sup>30</sup> In this sense, Zoraida might be thought of as emblematic of a new way of writing Islam in a Mediterranean world in which Muslims act from a position of strength. This was the contested Mediterranean world with which Cervantes was all too familiar.

It would be mistaken to think that all portraits of Turks in early modern Spanish literature, or in the works of Cervantes, for that matter, follow these same lines. In fact, there is an opposing side to the depiction of Turks, and of those who live under their influence, as treacherous and capable of engaging in ruthless cruelty and unprovoked violence. Representations of Turks as

<sup>29</sup> Michel Moner summarizes some important points of this critical tradition, with which he agrees. In the vein, he discusses Zoraida's role as "hija traidora," carefully counterbalancing this aspect of her character with a role as "virgen redentora" who rescues the captive and facilitates his return to freedom and to Christian lands. See the *Volumen Complementario* to the Instituto de Cervantes edition of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 89-94.

<sup>30</sup> Francisco Márquez Villanueva's reading of Zoraida is completely consistent with my own, and possibly even more devastating. Having already described her as a calculating character for whom conversion is more a pretext than an end (1975), the scholar later took an even harsher view of this character. In his *Moros, moriscos y turcos de Cervantes*, he calls Zoraida "la argelina" throughout, and claims that that she stands in correlation to "la radical anomalía y confusas identidades aparejadas con el remolino de la vida argelina, de que el personaje (más que de cristiano o islámico) es integral proyección" (2010, 110). Also referring to her as "una renegada más," Márquez Villanueva asserts—not once but twice—that Zoraida never loved her father to begin with, and that, judging by his own words, Ruy Pérez feels thrust into the awkward position of serving her as "escudero y padre, y no [de] esposo" (108). Márquez Villanueva's interpretation of Zoraida's father, in contrast, is remarkably benevolent.



irrational and luxurious are at least as common in Spanish texts of the period as are those of the type witnessed in the “Captive’s Tale.” Indeed, it is quite common to find a combination and amalgamation of these traits in the Spanish portrayal of the Ottoman foe. Within the context of the possible recombinations of these characteristics, I affirm—and I would like to stress this point—that the further the text removes us from Algiers, and the closer it transports us to Constantinople, the Turks are portrayed less as cruel and ruthless, and more as lustful and foolhardy. This does not mean, however, that licentious characters at the Ottoman court are not dangerous, only that once the narrative action moves inside the Sublime Porte, a representational shift seems to occur. In the end, however, regardless of which aspects of “Turkish” character are dominant in a given case, representations of the Turks in early modern Spanish literature are normally ideological and deprecating in the extreme.

One text that exemplifies this pattern is “El amante liberal,” one of Cervantes’ *Novelas ejemplares* (1613). This tale of love and captivity, narrated primarily in the voice of the slave Ricardo, takes place in the city of Nicosia, which has recently fallen to Ottoman forces. The narrative begins in medias res, with a monologue in which Ricardo laments both the ruins of Nicosia and his own captivity and lost love. This musing is quickly interrupted by the conversation of Mahamut, a crypto-Christian slave disguised as a Turk. Three key oppositions—Christianity/Islam; reason/appetite; and internal/external cultural identities—serve to structure this tale of chance encounters and anagnorises, of trickery and deception. Both of the lead characters, Ricardo and Leonisa, embody these oppositions to varying degrees.

“El amante liberal” is a story of captivity, but also of triangular love. The object of desire is Leonisa, a beauty described in the Petrarchan terms dominant in Spanish lyric of the times: an irresistible woman of blonde hair, fair complexion, blushing cheeks, and gleaming eyes, who appears modest but is capable of inciting ardent passion in her suitors. The rivals for Leonisa’s affections are Ricardo, who is prepared to endure anything, including suffering and death, to protect her, and the inexperienced, self-indulgent Cornelio, of whom Leonisa is enamored. In this early monologue, then, the reader already obtains key information about the Christian male characters: Ricardo, a captive, is capable of taking up arms and he less pretty than Cornelio, a coward more interested in his own appearance and comfort than in Leonisa. Mahamut, on the other hand, is a Christian passing for a Turk thanks to his attire and his position as servant to the Turkish *cadi* (judge or bishop) of Nicosia.<sup>31</sup> He uses the privilege of his position to facilitate Ricardo’s clandestine contact with Leonisa when the two are forced to serve in separate male and female spaces of the *cadi*’s household, after having been abducted from the garden of Cornelio’s father in their native Trapani by Turkish corsairs.

Prominent in “El amante liberal,” issues of masculinity overlay and connect with racialized depictions of characters in Ottoman-controlled Cyprus. The Christian Ricardo is a chivalrous and devoted suitor who has loved and served Leonisa since they were children in Trapani, always with the noblest intentions. Ricardo’s composed demeanor changes only under the effects of passion (in this case, explicable jealousy) or when confronted with a situation in which Leonisa is threatened by corsairs, or simply by Turks who desire her. Cornelio, in contrast, is a young man from a higher-ranking family than Ricardo’s. In the scenes where he appears in the text, indications

---

<sup>31</sup> For the larger ramifications of concealed identities in Spanish literature of the times, see Barbara Fuchs (2003), especially Chapter 4, where the author analyzes “El amante liberal” and Cervantes’ play *La Gran Sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo*. Fuchs argues that Cervantes’ representation of Islam at the eastern limits of the empire proves the fragility of the boundary between Christendom and Islam, and that the author is in fact mounting an oblique critique of Spanish imperialism in both texts.

of his effeminacy are everywhere to be found. Groomed with attention to detail, Cornelio is a “mancebo galán, atildado, de blandas manos y rizos cabellos, de voz meliflua y de amorosas palabras, y, finalmente, todo hecho de ámbar y de alfeñique, guarnecido de telas y adornado de brocados . . .”<sup>32</sup> He is, furthermore, a scaredy-cat. When confronted by Ricardo, Cornelio remains seated, listening to his opponent as if in a trance. He does absolutely nothing to defend himself or Leonisa. In short, there is nothing manly about Cornelio, who seems to lack even the passion that Leonisa has for him. These, then, are the two Christian rivals between whom Leonisa may choose.

Eventually, however, her selection is foreclosed after Turkish corsairs carry her off to Trípol de Berbería. After having survived a shipwreck, Leonisa ends up in the hands of a “venerable Jew” who takes her to Trípol to sell her to the high-ranking Turks, Hazán Bajá and Alí Bajá, all the while desiring her himself. Both of the Turks burn with lust when they see Leonisa and fight over which one of them has a stronger claim to her. In the end, the dispute is cut short by the intervention of the *cadi*, who proposes a third, self-centered alternative: to allow the two Turks to each pay half the price of the Christian woman, then offer her to the “Gran Señor” on their behalf. The *cadi* volunteers to present Leonisa at the Ottoman court, but his undisclosed objective is to “turn her Moor” and marry her himself. The *cadi*, meanwhile, sends Leonisa to his wife Halima, a renegade Christian, to be prepared for the navigation to Constantinople. For her part, Halima has fallen in love with Ricardo, renamed Mario so as to serve without being recognized in the *cadi*’s house. Halima desires nothing more than to escape with the Christian and, after reconciling with the Church, be married to him. Driven by passion, her whims and conduct are no more judicious than those of her husband. Could it be that she, like Zoraida in the “Captive’s Tale,” suffers the effects of living too long in the company of Turks?

In the end, what we have in “El amante liberal” is a novella that consciously draws on conventions of the Byzantine novel, in which the Christian lovers are not only star-crossed, but also incapable of fulfilling the promise of their love. Ricardo and Leonisa cannot or will not consolidate a relationship—much less a sexual one—and Cornelio does not have what it takes to be Leonisa’s husband. The Turks of the story, on the other hand, are cruel corsairs on the water, and the very picture of decadent wantonness on land. They are prepared to engage in whatever lies and deceptions are necessary to obtain the Christian woman they so desire. Their limitless appetite for wealth and women stands in stark contrast to Ricardo’s apparently disinterested service to Leonisa. This fundamental opposition rests on a timeworn Western stereotype of Islamic sensuality, as mentioned earlier. Mar Martínez Góngora has similarly observed that Turkish masculinity is fundamentally degraded in *Viaje de Turquía*, but that the masculinity of Spanish Moriscos is also called into question in works such as Luis del Mármol Carvajal’s *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Málaga, 1600), and the *Antialcorano* (Anti-Qur’an) of the Spanish Erasmist Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (Valencia, 1532).<sup>33</sup> It should be noted, in sum, that the representation of Turkish men as effeminate complements, and at once serves as the “flip side” of the literary image of the cruel and terrible Turk that is its contemporary.

Cervantes repeats this dual representation and takes it to a new level in a *comedia* that he did not publish until the end of his life (1615). It is thought that the play was never performed, but

<sup>32</sup> All quotations of “El amante liberal” are taken from Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce’s edition of Miguel de Cervantes’ *Novelas ejemplares* and appear in my text by volume and page, in this case, 1.167.

<sup>33</sup> Martínez Góngora (2013) analyzes *Viaje de Turquía* and other works written about the frontier, including Luis del Mármol Carvajal’s *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reino de Granada*, which contains the “*Memorial que los moriscos del reino presentaron con Francisco Núñez Muley*,” composed on the occasion of the *pragmática* of 1566 by the Consejo Real. The *Antialcorano* is available in a modern edition (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2009).

in recent years it has stirred increased critical interest.<sup>34</sup> *La Gran Sultana doña Catalina de Oviedo*, who is not based on a historical figure—Márquez Villanueva calls this a “caso enteramente fabuloso” (2010, 188)—, unfolds at the court in Constantinople. The text is a veritable kaleidoscope of shifting identities grounded in religion, sex, and nationality, subjects caught between different faiths, different genders, and so on. The rich variety of characters—captives, renegades, Jews, pashas, eunuchs, Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, and Germans—results in a world of puzzlement. “Aquí todo es confusión”, opines the renegade Salec, referring to the lingua franca for this intercultural part of the world, “una lengua mezclada que ignoramos y conocemos”. In some ways, this hodgepodge of languages may serve as an emblem for larger issues in the text, such as the interconnectedness of culturally distinct characters, repeated cases of cultural hybridity, and so on.<sup>35</sup>

Like “El amante liberal,” *La Gran Sultana* is a tale of love that plays out in the enclosed context of captivity. Two amorous entanglements stand out. The story of the Christian woman Clara, called Zaida in the Sultan’s seraglio, and her beloved, the cross-dressed captive Lamberto, who goes by the woman’s name Zelinda, is a second plot in the play, interconnected with the main plot thanks to the protection afforded the secret lovers by Catalina, the “Gran Sultana.” The focal point of the play, however, is the unlikely match between Catalina, who initially rejects the outrageous advances of the “Gran Turco,” and the Sultan himself, who is passionately attached to her. Understandably, the stories of the two pairs are inflected with questions of religious belief that were taken so seriously at the time Cervantes composed the play as to make it difficult to read *La Gran Sultana* as a straight text. Several Christian characters are offered the opportunity to save themselves by converting to Islam, but none of them agrees to do so, including Catalina, who by the end of the play has fallen in love with the Sultan and chosen to remain in Constantinople. The response of Madrigal, a Spaniard who finds himself in the position of being offered deliverance and marriage with an *alárabe* whom he actually fancies, typifies the reaction of the other Christian captives:\

Como la ley no dejara  
en la cual pienso salvarme,  
la vida, con el casarme,  
aunque es muerte, dilatara;  
pero casarme y ser moro  
son dos muertes . . . (I. 21-26).

Madrigal manages to get out of the tight spot by promising to teach the great *cadi*’s elephant the art of human speech.

For her part, Catalina prays for help to be able to resist the advances of the Sultan, but he is tenacious. The character of the Sultan joins together both manners of representing Turks I have mapped out in the pages above. He is ruthless (“Nombre de blando le dan; pero, en efecto, es tirano,” I. 270-71), but at the same time he is so desperate in his attempt to win Catalina’s approval

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, the recent edition and English translation of the play carried out by Barbara Fuchs and Aaron J. Ilika, “*The bagnios of Algiers*” and “*The great Sultana: Two Plays of Captivity*.”

<sup>35</sup> Márquez Villanueva, whose text I have only read after finishing my essay, also picked up on the importance of this “confusion” at the Ottoman court (2010, 189). To my surprise, the similarity between our readings of the Cervantine *comedia* end here, as his interpretation of the Catalina de Oviedo character, as well as her treatment of her father, could not be more different from mine. I nevertheless urge the reader to study this book, which is a work of great erudition written by a true *enamorado* of Cervantes.

that he makes what would under normal circumstances be enormous errors in judgment. Not so long after laying eyes on her, he is so overcome with desire that he declares his wish to marry her. In response to her declaration that she is from an illustrious and noble Christian family of Oviedo, the Great Turk seems to celebrate the fact by explaining that their offspring will be “Spanish Ottomans” whose blood is “made greater” thanks to this brilliant cross-breeding. He is even willing to allow her to remain Christian and dress *a la española*. In a gesture that proves the interconnectedness and multicultural character of Mediterranean commerce during the period, the Turk’s concession eventually leads to the purchase of a Spanish dress for the Sultana, brought to Constantinople from Algiers by a Jew. In *La Gran Sultana* Cervantes relies on the same stereotype of oriental lust and exotic lavishness he deploys in “El amante liberal,” here with a twist. The Sultan is not just lustful or in love; he is completely besotted. Were this a more plausible *comedia* plot, the political ramifications of the situation would certainly give spectators pause, considering that the Gran Turco is not a corsair, not a *cadi* or a pasha, not a viceroy of an Ottoman controlled island, but the highest ranking Turk of them all. In contrast with other works analyzed in this essay, the triumph of appetite over reason seems total in this Cervantine play.

The emotional—not religious—conversion of Catalina is equally tricky to explain. It appears that her change of heart is triggered by jealousy when the Sultan decides to return to his seraglio in pursuit of an heir. In this context, one last important detail should be mentioned. In all the ups and downs of passion in this play, Catalina’s father appears at the Sultan’s court, where he accuses the Sultana of having been seduced by the pomp and majesty of life within the licentious Sublime Porte. Pointing out that she remains there of her own free will, he warns his daughter that her decision to stay is a mortal sin. In the end, however, like Zoraida in the “Captive’s Tale,” Catalina rejects her progenitor and her original cultural values in favor of a new life within the space of the enemy. She “goes Turk,” as it were, so that by the end of the play, neither of the main characters remains untouched by the habits and customs of the other. Instead, much like the pidgin utilized in Constantinople and in other Mediterranean ports of the times, they have been transformed into something strange and different. The Sultan and his Great Sultana are now, like everything else in the Ottoman court, unrecognizable and astonishing. “Aquí, todo es confusión.”

## Epilogue

This brief review of strategies marshaled by early modern Spanish writers to carry out the cultural work of depicting Muslims whom they had come to view primarily as adversaries should suggest several things. First of all, genre matters. The *novela morisca* showcases representations of “noble Moors” that are very sympathetic, but which I suspect were ultimately self-serving for writers who witnessed great changes across Spain in the wake of the conquest of Granada, the suppression of the rebellion in the Alpujarras and the dispersal of the Moriscos throughout other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, Juan Rufo’s epic poem *La Austriada*, among many texts of its kind, figures forth the unmistakable profile of a proud and bellicose Morisco people now abject and defeated, dislocated and humiliated. Meanwhile, the novel and the *comedia* set about representing Muslims in ways that made sense for their technologies, their readers and audiences. Writing at different historical moments and in rapidly changing conditions on the ground, Spanish writers of the time utilized the conventions and devices pertinent to each of these genres to present readers with Muslim characters they could perceive as either sympathetic or antagonistic, in varying degrees, according to an unrelenting typecasting practice that is readily observable in texts like those studied here. Not so different from the experience of “blackness” described by Trevor

Noah, “Muslim” is a signifier that has connected many people together because of what was imposed upon it, but in literature, this imposition takes place in specific acts of enunciation and within the constraints of a Western generic system.

Second, representation itself really does matter, especially during periods when the state deliberately fans the flames of anti-Muslim sentiment. This essay points to a representational shift that seems to have occurred by the time seventeenth-century writers began to portray the Ottoman Turks. In the Spanish imaginary, the more dramatic representation of the Turks appears to signal a reconfiguration of the image of the Muslim foe as exceedingly ruthless, greedy and bloodthirsty on the one hand, and as inordinately irrational, impassioned and sexually degenerate, on the other. This more extreme manner of writing Islam is very noticeable in the early seventeenth century, coinciding roughly with the composition of the “Captive’s Tale” by Miguel de Cervantes, a writer who arguably set the paradigm for subsequent portrayals of Muslims in the national literature of Spain. The pivotal circumstance responsible for this shift is, I believe, the entry onto the scene of the Barbary corsairs. Emerging as it does from a real, historical situation of military parity in the Mediterranean world, it is the Turkish corsair that provokes an urgent renegotiation with Islamic otherness. Nevertheless, as I have attempted to show in these pages, the representations of Moors and Moriscos in sixteenth-century texts contain within them the spore that germinates, sprouts and flowers in seventeenth-century works such as the captivity texts of Cervantes, due to their remarkable staying power in Spanish, and possibly in Western culture, more broadly.

## Works Cited

- Anonymous. *El Abencerraje (Novela y romancero)*. Ed. Francisco López Estrada. Madrid: Cátedra, 1996.
- Avilés, Luis F. "Los suspiros del Abencerraje." *Hispanic Review* 4 (2003): 453- 472.
- Bass, Laura. "Homosocial Bonds and Desire in the *Abencerraje*." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 24.3 (2000): 453- 471.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Trans. Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. 2 vols.
- Burshatin, Israel. "The Moor in the Text: Metaphor, Emblem, and Silence". *Critical Inquiry* 2.1, "Race," Writing, and Difference (1985): 98-118.
- . "Power, Discourse, and Metaphor in the *Abencerraje*." *MLN* 99.2 (1984): 195-213.
- Cardaillac, Louis. *Moriscos y cristianos: Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)*. Prefacio Fernand Braudel. Trans. Mercedes García Arenal. Madrid and Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979.
- Caro Baroja, Julio. *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de historia social*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1957.
- Cervantes, Miguel de. "*The Bagnios of Algiers*" and "*The Great Sultana*": *Two Plays of Captivity*. Ed. and trans. Barbara Fuchs and Aaron J. Ilika. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- . *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. 2 vols. Edición del Instituto de Cervantes. Dir. Francisco Rico. Barcelona: Crítica, 1999. [3<sup>rd</sup> revised edition]
- . *Novelas ejemplares*. Ed. Juan Avalle Arce. Madrid: Castalia, 1982. 3 vols.
- Davis, Elizabeth B. *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000.
- Domínguez Ortíz, Antonio, and Vincent, Bernard. *Historia de los Moriscos, vida y tragedia de una minoría*. Madrid: Biblioteca de la *Revista de Occidente*, 1979.
- Elliott, John H. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963.
- Escalante, Bernardino de. *Discursos de Bernardino de Escalante al Rey y sus Ministros, 1585-1605*. Ed. José Luis Casado Soto. Salamanca: Europa Artes Gráficas, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cantabria, 1995.
- Fosalba, Eugenia. "*La Diana*" en *Europa, ediciones, traducciones e influencias*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1994.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- . *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes in Algiers: A "Captive's Tale"*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005a.
- . *Cervantes en Argel: historia de un cautivo*. Biblioteca románica hispánica II, Estudios y ensayos, 446. Madrid: Gredos, 2005b.
- "Gates of Vienna". Internet blog. <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/>
- Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego. *Guerra de Granada hecha por el rey D. Felipe II contra los Moriscos de aquel reino, sus rebeldes*. Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz. Chiclana: Lipper, 1990. [Facsimile edition of Barcelona, 1842.]
- Irigoyen-García, Javier. *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

- Johnson, Barbara. *A World of Difference*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Smith, Paul Julian. "La Celestina, Castro, and the *Conversos*." In *Representing the Other: "Race," Text, and Gender in Spanish and Spanish American Narrative*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Lee, Christina H. *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain*. Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Moros, Moriscos y Turcos de Cervantes: Ensayos Críticos*. Serie General Universitaria, 104. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2010.
- . *Personajes y temas del Quijote*. Madrid: Taurus, 1975.
- Martínez-Góngora, Mar. *Los espacios coloniales en las crónicas de Berbería*. Madrid: Iberoamericana. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2013.
- Mas, Albert. *Les Turcs dans la Littérature Espagnole du Siècle d'Or: Recherches sur l'évolution d'un thème littéraire*. Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1967. 2 vols.
- Morón Arroyo, Ciriaco. "La historia del cautivo y el sentido del Quijote." *Iberoromania* 18 (1983), 91-105.
- Noah, Trevor. Interview, CNN *Amanpour*. May 25, 2018.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *Philip II*. Chicago: Open Court, 1995. [3rd ed].
- Quint, David. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Rufo, Juan. *La Austriada*. Ed Cayetano Rosell. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 29. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1854.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Sosa, Antonio de. *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam: Antonio de Sosa's Topography of Algiers (1612)*. Ed. and Introduction by María Antonia Garcés. Trans. Diana de Armas Wilson. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.
- Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. *Jerusalén Conquistada*. Edited by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951. 3 vols.