SUPPLEMENTI 06

Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Early Modern Mediterranean Art

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage

JOURNAL OF THE **SECTION** OF **CULTURAL HERITAGE**
Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

eum

IL CAPITALE CULTURALE
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage
Supplementi 06 / 2017

eum

Il Capitale culturale
Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage
Supplementi 06, 2017

ISSN 2039-2362 (online)
ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2

Web
http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult
e-mail
icc@unimc.it

Editore / Publisher
eum edizioni università di macerata, Centro direzionale, via Carducci 63/a – 62100 Macerata
tel (39) 733 258 6081
fax (39) 733 258 6086
http://eum.unimc.it
info.ceum@unimc.it

Layout editor
Marzia Pelati

Progetto grafico / Graphics
+crocevia / studio grafico

Rivista accreditata AIDEA
Rivista riconosciuta CUNSTA
Rivista riconosciuta SISMED
Rivista indicizzata WOS

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MINISTERIO
DE ECONOMÍA, INDUSTRIA
Y COMPETITIVIDAD

AGENCIA
ESTATAL DE
INVESTIGACIÓN

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edited by Giuseppe Capriotti, Borja Franco Llopis

Díez Jorge M.E., Under the same mantle: the women of the "Other" through images of Moriscas
«Il Capitale culturale», Supplementi 06 (2017), pp. 49-86
ISSN 2039-2362 (online); ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2
DOI: 10.13138/2039-2362/1710

Under the same mantle: the women of the "Other" through images of Moriscas

María Elena Díez Jorge*

Abstract

In Granada the topic of visual images of victors and vanquished, as well as Morisco men and women, seems to have been handled with some care, especially during the first years after the conquest of the city in 1492. The images of Morisco men seem to feature a greater diversity of types, and some of their clothing reflects an assimilation of Christian customs, while in the depictions of Morisco women there is an effort to project a certain homogeneity under the mantle of the *almalafa*. I ought to underscore here that this was an attempt to project an image, a stereotype, as upon reading the documentation of the time this homogeneity is hardly clear. The images offer us a magnificent repertoire, revealing

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Translation from Spanish into English by Óscar Jiménez Serrano, subsidised by the project *Estudios de Arquitectura y Género*, Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa de la Junta de Andalucía.

shared symbolic dimensions and a whole range of nuances that can only be the result of the social complexity that existed during that time.

La rappresentazione dei vincitori e dei vinti a Granada, così come degli uomini e delle donne *moriscos*, sembra essere stata trattata con una certa cautela, soprattutto nei primi anni dopo la conquista della città nel 1492. Le immagini degli uomini *moriscos* sembrano presentare una maggiore diversità di tipi e alcuni abiti maschili riflettono un'assimilazione di modi cristiani; nelle raffigurazioni delle donne *moriscas* invece c'è uno sforzo di raggiungere una certa omogeneità sotto il mantello dell'*almalafa*. Va sottolineato però che questo è stato in realtà solo un tentativo di creare un'immagine, uno stereotipo, perché leggendo la documentazione del tempo questa omogeneità non è affatto chiara. Le immagini ci offrono un magnifico repertorio, rivelando condivise dimensioni simboliche e un'intera gamma di sfumature, che possono essere solo il risultato della complessità sociale esistente in quel periodo.

1. *"Otherness" after the conquest of Granada in 1492*

Following the conquest of Nasrid Granada in 1492 by the Christians, there remained a confluence of cultures, a continuation of the dynamic existing during previous periods on the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, it was a different type of multiculturalism that prevailed thereafter, and in this context it is important to consider how we understand that encounter of cultures. We can approach it simply as a dominant process of acculturation, or perhaps it could be more interesting to endeavour to reconstruct the complexity that characterised that era by interrelating acculturation with other intercultural processes. The latter would explain how certain artistic manifestations associated with the legacy of al-Andalus were employed and promoted in the Christian kingdoms and produced by artists of different religious backgrounds. In this regard it is worth clarifying that the concept of multiculturalism was not even recognised at the time, and we do not know to what extent it is possible to speak of different cultures in an antagonistic way. Due to all of this, it is really difficult to approach "otherness" as if there were watertight social compartments during the era. Moreover, otherness varied depending on whose perspective we view it from.

In this case we focus on the views of Granada's Muslims existing in some Christian circles after the conquest, especially following the forced conversions of 1501-1502. We do not analyse other cases, such as those of Jews or Protestants. And we also place our attention on women, recognising that there were common elements among those of different sociocultural and religious origins because they lived in a patriarchal society, but there were also major differences because gender relations varied depending on one's social status.

After 1492 the Muslims of Granada became, first, Mudejars, and, after the forced conversions, Moriscos or New Christians. Here again we have

more nuances, since Granada's Muslims who were baptised before the forced conversion were considered Old Christians. There were cases of hybridisation and interculturality between the different groups, but there was also cultural resistance. It was a period of great cultural "confusion". Ultimately this era culminated in a violent and traumatic exodus, with the expulsions of 1609-1610. At this point we ought to clarify that recent research suggests that there were many who remained, despite the expulsion decree, as there was an integrated Morisco population that included members of the elite and the most powerful and wealthy classes, their on-going presence traceable until well into the 18th century[1].

The terminology itself is complex and rife with nuances: Moriscos, the newly converted, new converts, newly converted Mudejar Moors… Focusing on the term «Morisco», it should be noted that its roots can be traced to what is Moorish (*moro*), just as «alemanisco» (Germanic) alluded to what was German (*alemán*), and «berberisco» to that and those from the Berber Coast, all terms employed during the era[2]. But, beyond the denomination of a social group, there existed recognition of a set of aesthetic and technical peculiarities included under the term «Morisco» that defined a way of doing things, finding its roots in the tradition of al-Andalus, although it was not always identified as a manifestation unique to Mudejars or Moriscos. Rather, it acquired a greater dimension by signifying a way of doing things, as certain works and clothing were said to be made «a la morisca» (in the Morisco fashion), with such references appearing in the documentation of the time, along with distinctions between other modes, whether Roman, German or French («a la romana», «alemana» or «francesa»)[3]. The term Morisco appeared in the 11th century as an adjective to refer to textiles, and in this context should be understood as meaning «typical of Moors», although it is clear that it is necessary to systematise it and to confirm when exactly the word appeared and how it evolved[4]. «A la morisca» was a way of crafting certain textiles, for example, and it did not imply that they were necessarily made by Moriscos, as they could be produced by Old Christians or New Christians. The term appears in various texts in 16th century Granada ordinances, but it was not something "local" and tied to the situation there; for example, the term appears in other ordinances, like in those of Cordova governing painters in 1493, referring to «arte de lo morisco», alluding to painting on roofs and also, apparently, on leather[5]. Travellers also used the term Morisco to suggest a way of doing things and dressing, as in the case of Antoine de Lalaing, who accompanied Philip

1 Soria Mesa 2014.
2 Carrasco Manchado 2012, pp. 64-74.
3 Díez Jorge 1999, pp. 39-40.
4 Bernabé Pons, Rubiera Mata 1999, p. 599.
5 Leva Cuevas 2005, p. 23. It seems that this term disappears from the ordinances of Cordova in 1543.

the Fair on one of his journeys through Spain, and was in Granada from 18 to 23 September, 1502, where he praised the silks made *a la morisca* («draps de soye ouvrés à la morisque») and the churches built *a la morisca* («églises à la fachon morisque»)[6]. Also worth mentioning is the case of Johannes Lange, who accompanied Charles V in 1526 and visited Granada, attending a *juego de cañas*, a game in which nobles and bourgeoisie were armed with shields and spears in the «Morischkhen und Turckgsche» manner[7]. We understand in the latter case that there is a distinction between the terms Morisco and Turkish, and not that they were intended to be analogous or used as synonyms; inventories from the end of the 16th and 17th centuries also distinguish between the two terms, with references to products in the Turkish manner and other Morisco ones in the same document[8]. This explains why the prohibitions on Morisco customs of 1566 and the expulsions of 1609-1610 lacked parallels in the sphere of arts and crafts, as some products and techniques that were then included under the Morisco denomination were by then fully accepted and integrated into the cultural fabric.

At this point we must distinguish, as was done then, between those who had been Muslims of al-Andalus, from those from the Berber Coast, and still others, like the Ottoman Turks, since they were viewed and feared in very different ways. With regards to the Moriscos, although they gradually aroused suspicions of false conversions and the on-going harbouring of Islamic beliefs, at least nominally some were Christians, and others were very devout ones. And they were people not hailing from faraway, but rather born on the Iberian Peninsula, Granadans in the case of our specific research. Thus, at least during the years right after the conquest, the Mudejars (Muslims in Christian territory) were never politically or legally confused with those coming from the Berber Coast, and even less with Ottoman Turks.

And yet, we cannot think of the Moriscos as a homogeneous block. It is necessary to distinguish between Granada's Moriscos and those of other territories. In Granada the Moriscos were forced to endure harsh and clearly hasty measures, as 1492 marked the final fall of al-Andalus, the Mudejar period was very short (from 1492 until the forced conversions of 1501-1502), and a large portion of the Muslim population that had remained was subjected to forced baptism. Some figures from the end of the 15th century clearly evidence

[6] The *Relation du premier voyage de Philipe le Beau en Espagne, in 1501* by A. de Lalaing covers the first trip by Philip the Fair, and the sections relative to Granada, where he was in September of 1502, are published in Luque Moreno 2003, pp. 365-369 (Chapter XXVII).

[7] The section *Das Kronigreich Granaten*, written by J. Lange in 1526, is an excerpt from his travel diary, from when he accompanied Duke Friedrich von Wittelsbach. The fragment was published by Luque Moreno 2013, pp. 365-369.

[8] For example, in an inventory of the goods of Captain Melchor de Robles, taken in 1612, various terms continue to appear: he has a Berber slave, a fine Turkish carpet, a Turkish musket, and two Morisco cutlasses. Granada, Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (hereinafter, APAG), Book 3, c. 955*r*, 955*v*, and 956*r*, respectively.

the diversity of situations: let us consider the case of recently conquered Granada, where a population of between 150,000 and 200,000 Mudejars has been estimated, compared to that in other cities, such as Toledo, whose 25,000 inhabitants were estimated to include just 180 to 225[9]. Similarly, it must be taken into account that the conversion processes took place at different times: in Valencia, in 1525; in Aragon and Catalonia, in 1526[10]. In Granada, due to the size of the Morisco population, an attempt was made to ensure that they did not maintain or reinforce their identity as a group in the city; spaces that might spawn solidarity amongst them were averted and forbidden, and measures were taken that hardly facilitated their integration with Old Christians. In spite of the formal prohibitions, actual social practices were more flexible, and we find multiple examples of social relations characterised by mixing and exchange, in which daily life contributed to harmonious coexistence and engagement.

There was an evolution in perceptions of the Moriscos, which underwent an important transformation after the rebellion in the Alpujarras region (1568-1571) and the subsequent deportation of Granada's Moriscos to other cities and towns far from the Kingdom of Granada. Documents from after the expulsion of the rebellious Moriscos distinguish between those that remained in Granada and those that had been deported («moriscos llevados»)[11]. A clear example of this heterogeneity can be seen when these Moriscos from Granada arrived in these other towns, and there were clear differences between them and the Moriscos who were native to the areas receiving them, as in the case of Campo de Calatrava, skilfully studied by Trevor J. Dadson[12].

Within the Morisco community there was a great diversity: some were more or less convinced in terms of their conversion, and others were Christians, with better or worse socio-economic positions, who were more or less integrated. And this entire situation includes some nuances when we refer specifically to Morisco women.

2. *Women of the Other*

Literary, normative and visual images depict women through the same prism, in a way even more homogeneous than men were portrayed. Morisco and Old Christian women were, first and foremost, women, which explains why there

[9] Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 190.

[10] *Ivi*, p. 214.

[11] Granada, Archivo Histórico de Facultad de Teología (hereinafter, AHFT), Box 1, File 1, Part 1. *Copia del apeo de los pagos de Ynadamar, Fargue, Mora y Beiro, practicada por el licenciado Loaysa en 1575* (Copy of the survey of the payments of Ynadamar, Fargue, Mora and Beiro, carried out by the lawyer Loaysa in 1575).

[12] Dadson 2017.

were common prohibitions and rules that encompassed both groups because they were females: certain positions, such as city labourers, were reserved for men, both Morisco and Old Christian, but never for women. Legally women could not practice any trade, or be certified as masters of any crafts, and they were not included in the organisation of guilds. However, sources, including various municipal ordinances, do demonstrate the recognised, accepted and regulated presence of remunerated work performed by women, especially in cases that could distort the established social and labour order[13]. At times, however, distinctions were made between Old and New Christians, the latter representing an on-going threat and being under the persistent suspicion of false Christianity. But, once again, this was a society in which women, regardless of their cultural or religious backgrounds, were not considered citizens. In this context we must appreciate how difficult it must have been to be both a woman and a Morisco one.

It is necessary to understand the role played by women while establishing the necessary connections with men and the gender roles assigned to each. We do not wish to assert that it is necessary to present a partial history dedicated only to Morisco women, as we must analyse the history of the Morisco period in a comprehensive manner, tracing the relationships between men and women and Old Christians, but it cannot be ignored that there is a shortage of documentation and reflections on women as historical subjects, absences that run parallel to the tendency to equate the masculine with the universal. For all these reasons, it is necessary to examine in depth the roles played by the Morisco women in the different contexts on the Peninsula.

Traditionally research into Christian women, in comparison to the women of al-Andalus, or Mudejar and Morisco women, has been very fragmented, although in recent years there have appeared texts seeking to draw attention to the need to work in a more interrelated manner. The consideration of some inexorable differences between the various religions consolidated a set of stereotypes that, historiographically, were to prove very durable. Though finally overcome, they had been perpetuated not only in academia, but also in painting, cinema and literature, such as the greater freedom supposedly enjoyed by Christian women as opposed to their Muslim counterparts.

Undoubtedly, over the course of the 16th century there were differences and similarities in the experiences of women, depending on whether they were Jewish converts, New Christian, Morisco, or Old Christian women, and on their social status. In the specific case of the Morisco women there has been important research and work done, including that by Bernard Vincent, Margarita Birriel Salcedo, and Elisabeth Perry, the latter vividly illustrating the multiple and diverse attitudes that New Christians harboured in response to religious and social impositions[14].

In this context we sometimes find strange gaps, silences with regards to the

[13] Díez Jorge 2016, pp. 107-140.

[14] Vincent 2000; Birriel Salcedo 2004; Perry 2004; Perry 2005.

Morisco women, and, at other times, disturbing words. There were different trends in the literature of the time with regards to them. There are strong literary images of them, but they constitute only one face of this polyhedron. There was a tremendously misogynistic literature in the 16th century, but this ought not lead us to believe that women were mere passive agents who could do nothing, that they did not rebel, that they did not have any power, or that there were no agreements and deals struck between men and women. The same may be said of the Morisco men and women. As some researchers have pointed out, it would be necessary to determine to what extent the stereotypical literary images of Mudejars, as well as Moriscos, actually prevailed in everyday coexistence[15]. The separation was not so rigid or extreme; despite the fact that a mainly Morisco population could concentrate in certain areas of a city, the documentation actually reveals mixing and dispersion in some cases, such as that of Granada, in addition to indicating the numerical importance of the Morisco population during the early years of the 16th century. Given this mixing, it is not difficult to find evidence of relationships between men and women residents who dealt with each other and, at times, entered into legal disputes. In some studies we have been able to carry out on the early years of the 16th century, we have documented a significant number of Morisco women who were property owners, their names and surnames appearing[16]. Like the Morisco men, they also dreamt of staying there, as they appear buying and selling houses in the city. After their forced conversions, Morisco men and women continued to participate in everyday commercial dealings involving the sale and purchasing of houses, the need to expand housing, to settle down and prosper, having been promised that they would be able to stay in what was their homeland. Likewise, Old Christian women who settled in Granada must have had dreams of settling down and prospering, even if it was not their native land, because it was a city full of riches that opened up new horizons, and they can therefore be found in the documentation, acquiring and repairing houses[17].

It is undeniable that the reality gradually changed and that the key site of the home came under strong suspicion of domestic resistance, as it was thought that the traditions of the Muslim religion were transmitted and maintained in homes, especially by women. And, as history unfolded it yielded a situation very different from what these Morisco women who had bought and leased real estate could ever have imagined: the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras (1568-1571), which gave rise to an order to banish many of them from the Kingdom of Granada, forcing them to abandon their houses. Those that remained would later suffer the expulsion of 1609-1610. Exaltation over the expulsion, the justification of failure, silences and mourning… They were all faces of the same polyhedron.

15 Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 196.
16 Díez Jorge 2009.
17 Díez Jorge 2015.

Travellers during the time were struck by Granada's women: how they dressed, their jewellery, their makeup[18]. After reading these descriptions, and consulting the documentation, it seems that those who aroused the most curiosity were the Morisco women, particularly for their clothing. In this regard it would be interesting to know the perceptions of women visiting Granada, but to date we have nothing from female travellers to the city during the period. Of course, we know, based on inventories and wills, that the variety of clothing and jewellery of upper-class Morisco women was rich and striking, and they always had colourful and attractive looks. They were, evidently, not comparable to lower-class Morisco women, although it is sometimes surprising that, although humble, dashes of colour were seldom absent from even the latter's personal clothing and home decor. It suffices to consult the inventories of Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada to discover in their garments the likes of green velvet, crimson damask, and colourful *marlotas* (a type of Morisco dress) combining green and blue, others in purple and red, and purple damasks with gold trim[19]. Colour was also present in the houses and attire of Old Christians: in Catalina Diaz's estate inventory from 1545 we find a white and red rug, pillows of blue silk and black silk, and a hand cloth of green silk[20].

It is evident that there was a set of garments recognised as Morisco, worn by Old and New Christians, and which at a certain time, though not always, was a target of control because it was perceived as evidencing an attachment to old traditions. This Morisco-style dress was perceived this way both in official circles and by the general population, as demonstrated by a case involving the abduction of a Morisco woman in which the witnesses themselves stated that she had been dressed like a Morisco woman («en hábito de morisca»)[21].

In the case of Morisco women, the use of the *almalafa*, a kind of gown covering the body from shoulders to the feet, sparked suspicion, as suggested by a 1513 ordinance instructing women not to dress in the Morisco style. Interestingly, the order reflects more concern about Old Christian women not imitating the Morisco ones by donning *almalafas*, as in this way they set a bad example for the newly converted[22]. Thus, it is clear that some Old Christian women were dressing in the Morisco style. As the Morisco Núñez Muley pointed out in his memorial of 1566:

Si la secta de Mahoma tuviera traje propio, en todas partes había de ser uno; pero el hábito no hace al monje. Vemos venir a los cristianos, clérigos y legos de Siria y de Egipto vestidos a la turquesca, con tocas y cafetanes hasta los pies; hablan arábigo y turquesco, no saben latín ni romance, y con todo eso son cristianos (If the followers of Muhammad had their own attire, it would be the same everywhere; but the habit does not make the monk. We

18 On the dress of the Muslims, including Moriscos, see Arié's classic (1965-1966).
19 Martínez Ruiz 1972.
20 APAG, L-103-102, 1545.
21 APAG, L-138-6, year 1560.
22 Granada, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada (hereinafter, AHMG), File 1929.

see Christians, clerics and laymen from Syria and Egypt dressed in the Turkish style, with headcloths and caftans down to their feet; they speak Arabic and Turkish, they do not know Latin or Romance, and yet they are Christians)[23].

The ordinance sought to impose homogeneous ways in the face of more intercultural practices and realities. Similarly suspect was the maintenance of the Arabic language, especially by women. For the Inquisitors this was clear evidence of a desire to preserve the faith of Islam, while the Moriscos viewed this situation as understandable, as women worked at home more, rather than engaging in dealings outside it. There formerly prevailed a misconception about a lack of initiative on the part of the Morisco women, and their alleged confinement to strictly private areas, substantiated by the observation that they required interpreters. Today, however, this notion has been at least partially overturned, with information indicating quite active learning of Spanish by Granada's Morisco women[24]. In Inquisitorial proceedings and other investigations into New Christians, such as for the granting of permits for arms, or the possession of slaves, witnesses were regularly asked whether their homes, manners, speech, and clothing were in line with those of Old Christians. In the case of Granada it was customary to specify whether they dressed in the «manera castellana»[25]. Archbishop Hernando Talavera stated the following in his sermons to the Moriscos of the Albaicín quarter in Granada:

…es menester que vos conformeys en todo y por todo a la buena y honesta conversaçion de los buenos y honestos christianos y christianas en vestir y calçar y afeytar y en comer y en mesas y viandas como comúnmente las guisan (it is necessary for you to conform in everything and for everything with the good and honest speech of the good and honest Christian men and women; your clothes, shoes and makeup should look like their own; you should eat their same food, and dine and cook as they customarily do)[26].

With the data researched thus far it is not possible to state whether the maintenance of these garments was only a matter of tradition, lacking any intentionality, or, on the contrary, there were individual or collective attitudes of resistance driving their usage. Without dismissing the economic factors advanced by the Morisco Núñez Muley, who argued that Morisco men adopted the Castilian style more than women because the latter saved by not investing in anything new, which they could not afford, I believe that there is no need to deny or rule out, *a priori*, women's capacity, desire and need to resist in their own way and through their gender roles. Regardless of whether or not there was awareness, albeit individual, and some socio-economic conditioning factors

23 The memorial of Núñez Muley is documented in 1600 by Mármol de Carvajal 1600, Book II, Chapter IX.

24 García Pedraza 2000.

25 Martín Casares 1997.

26 Ladero Quesada 2015, p. 212.

that prompted the maintenance of certain customs, such as Morisco clothing amongst poor women, their perseverance in maintaining some traditions was also the result of their resistance to a social and political system. This resistance does not negate other realities, such as the cases of women who manifested a clear desire to integrate into the new Spanish society. Both, resistance to certain impositions and the maintenance and upholding of certain traditions, were attitudes that probably coexisted.

3. *Women on paper: dressing the identity of the Morisco women*

The apparel donned by Morisco women was important, not just a frivolous question of fashion. In fact, there were numerous decrees throughout the 16th century to regulate, down to the last detail, the types of clothing that men and women were allowed to wear[27]. As Margarita Birriel has explained, through one's clothing and appearance – dress, hairstyle, headwear, footwear – an identity or belonging to a class, ethnicity or gender was expressed[28]. For example, documents dealing with attire from the period often contained descriptions of men's clothing, concentrating on the wearer's geographical origins and social status (noble, clergy, various trades). However, in the case of women, along with their provenance, their marital status stands out, as their clothing conveyed their status as a maiden, virgin, betrothed, married, widowed or courtesan woman, aspects not considered to be of concern or interest in the case of men.

Regarding the Morisco women, we must mention the images widely disseminated by Christoph Weiditz through his work *Die Trachtenbuch* (Dress Codex), which may have been produced in 1529 during a trip the German took as part of Charles V's entourage, in which he depicted a broad range of clothes from different areas[29]. From Granada he portrayed only Morisco men and women, or people he identified as such, with Old Christian women being conspicuously absent. Although Weiditz explains that he was specifically portraying the Morisco women of Granada, in the later historiography they came to represent those from all of Spain, thereby obscuring any type of diversity

[27] See the case: «Prematica en que se manda guardar la de los vestidos y trajes, con las declaraciones que en ella se refieren; y se declara que los hombres puedan traer los vestidos que tuvieren hechos contra las dichas leyes por todo el año de noventa y quatro, y las mujeres por el de noventa y cinco». (Decree which orders the regulation of certain dresses and suits, with the declarations that it includes; it being declared that men may wear the garments which they may have contravening said laws throughout the year ninety-four, and women, throughout ninety-five), Granada, Biblioteca del Hospital Real de la Universidad de Granada (hereinafter BHRUGR), A-031-138 (9).

[28] Birriel Salcedo 2013a.

[29] Birriel Salcedo 2013b.

in this regard[30]. Some wear a short headcloth fastened to their foreheads with a scarf, in a kind of bun; a shirt or robe, and the characteristic *zaragüelles* (wide and baggy pleated trousers worn up to the knee, tightened from there to the ankles with strips of cloth), while another wears an *almalafa* and a band around the forehead. Some wore *alcorques* (cork clogs), others were barefoot, and others were shown with the customary flat shoes featuring elongated tips. It should be noted that their gowns, *marlotas* and *almalafas*, could be very expensive, representing luxury garments, and tended to combine eye-catching colours, those with the most lavish dyes being even pricier. Some Morisco men were shown with dual-colour *marlotas*, while others wore short cassocks and skullcaps, in the Castilian fashion. Some wore espadrilles, and others, pointed shoes (fig. 1).

In the case of the illustrations produced by Georg Hoefnagel, who toured Spain between 1563 and 1567, creating landscape images of its main cities to illustrate the work *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by Georg Braum and Franz Hogenberg, it is important to point out the different editions of the work, in which the colour of the clothes varies enormously: what in one print may be a white headcloth, may be a black one in a print in a previous edition, and then there are the copies made from these prints. The different editions vary greatly. In total six volumes were published, the first in 1572[31]. What is worthy of note is that in the images of Granada there is an evident variety in the clothes depicted in the same landscape images, suggesting that quite different types of clothing were worn at the same time. In the case of men there is less diversity, and a particular focus on the distinction between lavish vs. other humbler types of clothing. The men do not appear wearing the dual-coloured *marlotas* that Weiditz drew, but rather more in the Castilian style. Such is the case in an illustration of Granada made in 1563, featuring eight clearly identifiable female figures, four of them in Morisco clothing, a younger one wearing chopines, a light-coloured *almalafa* and *zaragüelles*; two wearing dark cloaks and hats, in more of a Castilian clothing style; another, carrying a pitcher on her head, wears a simple skirt and a simple headcloth, while a woman on horseback wears a bodice dress and shirt with puffed sleeves, without a headcloth, leaving her locks exposed. In addition, the card that indicates the work's title and explains the image is flanked by a man wearing wide pants and a beard similar to the ones of other men shown in the print, while the woman is dressed in the Morisco style, in an *almalafa* (fig. 2).

Flanders' Anton van der Wyngaerde toured Spain between 1563 and 1567. In one of his drawings of Granada, signed by the author in 1567, he depicts

[30] The manuscript to which we refer for the images is the copy of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Hs. 22474, which is dated by the museum between 1530 and 1540.

[31] Gámiz Gordo 2008, p. 59 and f. For this work we focus on the coloured image found in the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, edition from 1582 and with the pressmark GMG / 433.

the city's buildings in precise detail, which is what has generally attracted the most attention, but it is also worth noting the people featured in his drawings, with several appearing in Morisco attire, with their *almalafas* and *zaragüelles*, in addition to other women in more simple cloaks[32] (fig. 3).

In his work *Habiti antiqui et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1590) Cesare Vecellio presents nearly 500 prints of different forms of dress, including garments he saw directly, and others described by those who had travelled to the different parts where they were worn[33]. Unlike Weiditz, Vecellio does not cover a great diversity of Spanish cities. With reference to Granada he cites the *Donna di Granata*, pointing out that they were very extravagant and associating them with those from the Berber Coast («et quanto à me pare, che sia più simile all'Habito delle More di Barbaria»)[34]. He also describes them as wearing long hair down their backs, and covering their heads with a kind of velvet beret with a medal, and wearing a sort of short cloak, and wooden soles tied to the feet with cords. This is, however, a form of dress that does not match any of those previously drawn, or with the descriptions of garments on record, such that we must surmise that he did not see them directly, and they were poorly explained to him. Curiously, however, his description is very similar to one of the forms of dress that Weiditz identifies from Portugal. Another print in this same edition and also in the first book is entitled *Donzelle di Granata*, in which they are depicted as half bare from the torso up, evidencing their poverty, and wearing wooden discs on their heads to hold the headscarves they donned. Also, though he does not identify them as such, he draws trousers similar to *zaragüelles*[35]. Surprisingly, these women are, again, drawn with naked torsos, their breasts exposed – something unthinkable, given the decorum of the time, the chilly Granada winter, and because there are no records whatsoever corroborating this practice of women not covering their breasts. Curiously, the Morisco attire of the couple appearing in the background, watching her, is closer to reality. Some authors have pointed out that Vecellio could hardly have seen them, so much so that he surely copied Weiditz, although erroneously[36] (fig. 4).

In this group, only Weiditz refers to and describes them as Morisco women. Hoefnagel does not, though he does mention in the text the former Muslim inhabitants that remained, especially in the Albaicín quarter. Nor does Wyngaerde, nor Vecellio, specifically referring to them merely as women of Granada. It is Weiditz who most clearly refers to Morisco women, employing

32 We have used the copy of this view, found in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Austria).

33 There is a later edition, from 1598, and another from 1664, in which others are added, but we opted to use the 1590 edition.

34 Vecellio 1590, pp. 290a-291a (we follow the a and b denomination system, rather than front and back, because the author himself used it).

35 Vecellio 1590, pp. 291b-292a.

36 Barrios Aguilera 2000, p. 406.

the term «morisquen». Clearly, research on the term Morisco is essential, exploring its uses and evolution applied to people[37]. In the work of Hoefnagel and Wyngaerden we find that, when describing Granada, they chose to include a diversity of people and clothing.

This topic becomes even more complex if we consider the terms and images appearing in other works, which call for a detailed study. For example, there are the images by Enea Vico in his work on 16th century Spanish dress, of which there are prints in different museums and libraries, including a complete copy of the work in the Bibliothèque National de France (ref. FRBNF40356727). Of the 95 prints there are some dedicated to the women of Granada: one entitled *Maritata de Granata* (married woman of Granada) and another *Mora de Granata* (Moorish woman of Granada), in which she wears *zaragüelles*; flat, pointed shoes; and an *almalafa* over a *marlota*. The work has been dated between 1560-1562, and it is known that Enea Vico was in Spain a few years prior[38]. The term «mora» (Moorish woman) marks an important change from the use of «morisca» (Morisco woman). These prints are of the same type as the *Mora de Siviglia*, attributed to Diana Ghisi (Diana Mantova or Diana Scultori, 1547-48/1612)[39]. In my research into the studies on her, I have not found evidence placing her in Spain, such that the print may be a copy based on the work of Enea Vico, apparently a common practice by the female engraver[40].

Another point to mention with regards to these women on paper is the physical features with which they are depicted: in the work of Weiditz both Granada's Morisco men and women are rendered with a darker complexion, but never a black one. Vecellio describes Castilian women as dark-coloured («le donne sono di color bruno»)[41]. Dark skin had generally been considered an ugly feature in the Christian symbolic system. At this point we should turn to and keep in mind what the written sources say, as we know that in 16th century Granada the term *negros* (blacks) alluded essentially to slaves of different ethnic groups in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as Berbers, while *esclavos moriscos* (Morisco slaves) were assumed to be mainly whites, although there were also, apparently, blacks and mulattos[42]. Again, it would be necessary to

37 Although in a later period, in the 18th century, a striking case is the use, for example, of the term in Latin America, distinguishing between Morisco, mulatto, Spanish and albino, as appearing in the series of "caste painting" canvasses found at the Museo de América (Madrid), from the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico).

38 Gaignard 2007.

39 It seems that a print of this *Mora de Siviglia* is found in the Gabinetto delle Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, according to the catalogue by Gaeta Bertelà 1975, n. 581. I am deeply grateful to Ricardo Sierra Delgado, a professor at the School of Architecture of the University of Seville, and a great connoisseur and collector of prints, for the help he provided in locating these works.

40 Lincoln 1997, p. 1122.

41 Vecellio 1590, p. 281a.

42 Martín Casares 1995, p. 202.

quantitatively analyse this supposed darker complexion in Granada's Moriscos, as some works, like that by the traveller Johannes Lange, describe half of the population as white Moriscos («weyssen moren»), while Weidtz chooses to depict them with a darker complexion[43].

This more or less static image of Granada's Morisco women is projected along with others of women, amongst which the covered Spanish lady is particularly noteworthy. The invaluable and varied illustrations of female dress in Spanish cities that Weiditz offers include images of women wearing cloaks, covering their bodies and heads, along with chopines for shoes, as in the case of women from Zaragoza, though their faces are exposed. In later images the recurrent figure of the covered Spanish woman is evident, as in the case of Hoefnagel; in one of his illustrations of Granada there are several women dancing, dressed in the Castilian style and wearing chopines. I am particularly interested in one who is shown walking, completely covered with dark cloak and hat, without showing her face (fig. 5). The same kind of image appears in other images of cities in the work, like one of the prints depicting Seville. In Cesare Vecellio's view this is the prototype of the Spanish woman, not from Granada or other specific cities, but from Spain in general. In his print entitled *Citella Spagnola* she wears a cloak covering her from her head almost down to her feet, and also her face, except for an opening enabling her to see, and chopines, or *zoccoli*, as the author calls them. In the text accompanying the image the author draws a comparison with the dress of Venetian women[44].

It should be noted that these images of veiled women were accurate. In fact, the documentation from the 16th century mentions women who went around *tapadas* (covered up), and not, as we might suspect, in reference to Morisco women wearing *almalafas*, but rather women walking about without showing their faces. In fact, this was considered a serious problem, as their own parents could not even recognise their daughters, such that Philip II was asked to bar women from appearing in public with their faces concealed[45]. It has been argued that Carmen Bernis pointed out how Morisco women's *almalafa*, which exposed both eyes, was nothing like that used by Castilian women, who used a dark cloak to cover only one eye[46]. Indeed, the colour is a great difference, although the question of whether one or both eyes were covered is not clear; Antoine de Lalaing, chamberlain at the court of Philip the Fair, accompanied the king in a trip to Spain in 1501 and described the Morisco women as follows:

Encuentro los trajes de las mujeres de Granada muy raros porque no llevan más que blancos lienzos que los arrastran hasta el suelo, y cubren, al ir por las calles, la mitad de su rostro, y ellas no ven más que un ojo; y llevan grandes calzas que les cubren las piernas a la manera de un collar; tienen otras calzas de tela, como un maronita, que sujetan por delante con una

43 Lange 1526, in the section *Das Konigreich Granaten*.
44 Vecellio 1590, p. 283.
45 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 98.
46 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 102.

agujeta. […] Los españoles las llaman tornadizas, porque han sido moras (I find the dress of the women of Granada very strange, as they wear nothing but white cloths that drag upon the ground, and that cover, as they go through the streets, but half their face, such that they see with only one eye; and long hose covering their legs like a necklace; and they have other hose, like those of a Maronite, which they fasten in front with a string. […] The Spaniards call them *tornadizas*, because they were once Moorish)[47].

As it has been pointed out, the rules against this covering up, and exposure of just one eye, were not directed so much against the al-Andalus past as the dangers it represented[48]. And here it was the same for Morisco and non-Morisco women, as all women were seen as potentially dangerous since they were able to trick and deceive, and use the exposure of just one eye as a seductive element. The use of chopines that were too high was also considered improper[49]. These prohibitions must not have been very successful, as in 1636, in a painting of Granada by Juan de Sabis, *Vistas del Darro*, appear women walking down the street wearing veils and with their faces covered[50]. Control over women's virtue extended into many spheres, and not only that of dressing. There were other fields, such as their places at church, or their representation in figures and statues, as can be seen in a document from 1582 stating that all churches were to have wooden confessionals in which all women, of all ages, were to confess, and no priest under the age of 35 was to hear their confessions, and any figures of women in inappropriate dress were to be removed and replaced with others featuring more decent attire, and that, in the meantime, no woman were to enter convents nor churches adorned with such jewels[51].

All these concepts, ranging in accuracy, were put on paper. There are images that circulated in editions of books and in which it is evident that there was communication between artists from beyond the kingdoms of Spain who attempted to capture the peculiarity of Granada's Morisco women. As far as we know, this situation did not occur in the Spanish case, as there was no special interest in drafting dress codes or including images of dresses in illustrations of cities for editions of books. Take, for instance, works like that by Pedro de Medina for the *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Book of Great Feats and Memorable Facts About Spain), published in 1549, featuring

47 The exact term «tournadisques» is used. Lalaing 1502, chap. XXIX. Translation in Luque Moreno 2013, pp. 322-323.

48 Bass, Wunder 2009, p. 105.

49 Trujillo 1563, Chapter 31.

50 The original was burnt in the fire of the Archbishopric's Palace of Granada in 1982, there being a copy, made in 1930, at the Museo Casa de los Tiros (Granada).

51 *Compendio de los capítulos cerca de la reformación de lo tocante a la confesión y decencia de la ymagines. Hechos y publicados por el Illustrisimo Señor don Joan Mendez de Salvatierra Arçobispo de Granada mi Señor. En Granada 30 de enero 1582 años* (Compendium of chapters on the reformation with regards to confession and the decency of images. Made and published by Joan Méndez de Salvatierra, Archbishop of Granada. In Granada on January 30th 1582), BHRUGR, A-031-168 (10).

a very basic representation of Granada, and in which people are portrayed as mere outlines of the human figure. Or the case of the well-known plan of Granada drawn by Ambrosio de Vico at the end of the 16th century and engraved by Francisco Heylan circa 1612 to illustrate the work by Justino Antolínez, representing a magnificent and detailed map of the city at the end of the 16th century, but without depicting the population at all. There are some images on paper, but outside of the publishing circuits, like the ink wash drawing that appears in *Libro I de los Bautizos de la parroquia de Santa María La Alhambra* (Book I of Baptisms at the Parish of St Mary The Alhambra), documenting the baptisms carried out between 1518 and 1570, in which a priest is baptising a newborn who is handed over by a man that we must understand to be a Morisco, in light of the subject of the book, and because he is wearing a kind of turban on his head, and given his beard, trimmed so as to highlight his chin. In the background there is a simplified rendering of the Alhambra, and the Sierra Nevada mountains (fig. 6). To date, drawings of this type featuring women, have not been found in the documents of Granada, but there are some in other contexts, such as that of Zaragozan Mudejars; in the files of a notary from 1493 appear some heads of men wearing turbans, and two women, one donning a kind of *almalafa*, and another in more vaporous clothing[52].

It is not until the 17th century that we find works like the *Historia Eclesiástica de Granada* (Ecclesiastical History of Granada) by the aforementioned Justin Antolínez, with prints by Francisco Heylan. In the image that refers to the baptism of the Moriscos they appear with different turbans and caps, while the women do not wear *almalafas*, and many of their heads are uncovered (fig. 7). In other prints, such as that depicting the martyrdom of Juan Martínez Jaúregui, the women do not wear *almalafas*, per se, but rather cloaks covering their bodies, while on their heads they wear cloths secured with a bun[53].

4. *Images of women in the symbolic imagery of the city*

Obviously, the variety of places where there are visual images is great, which must be taken into account, as works on a facade were not the same as those on the interior of a building, or in books like those noted in the previous section. They were seen by different groups, evoked different perceptions, and could reach varying numbers of people. Who saw and could access the palatine city of the Alhambra, or the house of a noble? Who saw those images of dress in Weidtz's works? Were those works in the libraries of Granadans?

[52] Álvaro Zamora 2017, p. 224.

[53] Based on the copy preserved in the Museo Casa de los Tiros (inventory number CE00884) and the cataloguing done, it should date from 1601-1650.

We have sought these works in three bookstores from the 16th century, and one from 1601 in Granada. From a rather extensive and curious list of these bookstores, none of these works appear – although there are other ones related to Architecture, such as that by Vitruvius and *Medidas del Romano* (Roman Measurements) by Diego de Sagredo, Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*, and works on silk. This does not prove that it was not in the libraries of Granada's nobles and humanists, but neither *Die Trachtenbuch* nor *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* were books regularly bought and sold, based on these inventories[54].

This also entails knowing the viewer's receptive capacity. In the case of Granada's women, we know that during the first half of the 16th century literacy rates were low. Some studies on notarial records confirm that women's levels of literacy were limited. In addition, some records contain confessions by even upper-class women, in which they acknowledge that they could not read or write[55]. This aspect is even more acute in the case of Granada's Morisco women. Although we have writings by some, and they played an active role in society, it seems that many did not know how to write, or even how to speak "Castilian", at least during the first years after the conquest of the city. There was a broad variety of situations. For example, in the sale of the house and gardens that had belonged to Muhammad el Pequeñí (an important figure in the War of Granada, who became *veinticuatro* knight of the city, calling himself Fernando Enríquez after his conversion), carried out by his daughters, Doña Isabel and Doña María, as his legitimate heirs; they recognised that they did not know how to write in "Castilian", nor did their husbands, even though more than 20 years had passed since the conquest of Granada, though it is clear that they understood and were able to communicate in the language:

E porque esto sea çierto e fyrme nos, los dichos Pedro Carrillo Abençobhe e doña María Pequenya, su muger, otorgamos esta carta de poder ante el escribano público e testygos yuso scriptos e porque no sabemos scrivir letra castellana rogamos a Antonio de San Stevan e a Pedro de Molyna, vesyinos desta dicha çiudad que ba, fyrmasen por nosotros de sus nombres en el registro de esta carta, que fue fecha e otorgada en la dicha çiudad de Granada, a seys días del mes de febrero año del nasçimiento de Nuestro Salvador Ihesu Christo de myll e quynientos e trece años (And because this is true and certain we, said Pedro Carrillo Abençobhe and Doña María Pequenya, his wife, grant this authorisation before the public notary and witnesses here mentioned, and because we do not know how to write in Castilian we do ask Antonio de San Stevan and Pedro de Molyna, residents of this city, to sign for us in their names to duly record this document, which was dated and granted in said city of Granada, on the sixth of February of the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen since the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ)[56].

Her sister said much the same, although in her case she specified that they would sign in Arabic:

54 Osorio *et al*. 2001.
55 Moreno Trujillo *et al.* 1991, p. 124.
56 AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 8, Year 1514, p. 4*v*.

E porque esto sea çierto e fyrme nos, los dichos doña Ysabel Pequenya por my, e Juan de Velasco, en el dicho nombre, otorgamos esta carta ante el escrivano público e testigos yuso scriptos e la firmamos de nuestros nombres en letra aravyga en el registro desta carta e por mayor fyrmeza porque no sabemos escribir letra castellana rogamos a Juan Pynel, vesyno desta dicha çiudad de Granada que la fyrmase por nosotros de su nombre en el dicho registro, que fue fecha e otorgada en el dicho pago de Aynadama, estando dentro en la dicha huerta de suso conthenida e deslindada, a veynte e seys días del mes de junyo, año del nasçimiento de Nuestro Salvador Jhesuchristo de myll e quinientos catorze años (And because this is true and certain, we, the said Doña Ysabel Pequenya, on my behalf and on behalf of Juan de Velasco, in said name, grant this document before the public notary and witnesses here mentioned, and we sign our names in Arabic in order to register this document, and for greater certainty, because we do not know how to write in Castilian, we ask Juan Pynel, a resident of this city of Granada, to sign it in his name, it being dated and granted in said payment in the district of Aynadama, being inside the said orchard here contained and delineated, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of June of the year one thousand five hundred and fourteen since the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ)[57].

The same situation arose, but without any clarification of whether they did not know how to write in Arabic or Castilian, in the case of Isabel Hivia, formerly Haxa, and her brother, Juan Aguilera, formerly Hamete el Hiby, both of whom explained that «porque no sabemos escrevir» (we do not know how to write)[58]. In neither case did they need interpreters, as this would have been specified.

However, in the case of men, it seems that the spread of literacy was rapid, as in the early years of the 16th century there were many signatures by Moriscos in *aljamiado* (Spanish transcribed into Arabic), Castilian, or both[59]. If they did not know how to read in Castilian or Latin, they could have had little interest in the books analysed, as they could not have understood them.

Let us focus our attention on one of Granada's main spaces in terms of its symbolic value and power: the Alhambra. It seems that relatively few Granadans frequented the site after the conquest, although it had residents who lived in the palatine city, along with craftsmen, merchants and others moving about daily to attend to the court's various needs.

A few brief reflections on some images of women at the Alhambra during the Nasrid period (1237-1492) are in order. It is true that words prevailed over images in al-Andalus. In fact, understanding the images of women during the Nasrid period involves analysing the epigraphic texts, in which a dominant metaphor was their literary and ideal representation as brides, but this was not the only one. Depictions of the human figure were scant, although we do have two important sets of images from the Nasrid era in the Alhambra: the paintings in the Palace of the Partal (first half of the 14th century) and those in the Hall of the Kings (second half of the 14th century). The scenes found in

[57] AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 8, Year 1514, p. 8.
[58] AHFT, Box 1, File 1, Part 10, 1514, p. 3v.
[59] Osorio Pérez *et al.* 1991-1992, p. 251.

the Hall of the Kings feature three wooden vaults covered with works painted on leather. The identity of their creators has generated and continues to fuel intense debate, with some contending that they were paintings by Muslims, others that they were by Italian artists, or artists influenced by the Italian style, while others assert that they were made by Mudejar artisans. What is of interest to us is that the women appear dressed and coiffed in the Christian manner of the time, although some of them wear *arracadas* (Nasrid earrings) and henna tattoos on their hands[60]. There are men dressed in the Christian manner, but also in the Islamic fashion, with turbans and *adargas* (leather shields). In the same way, in the flooring work, at both the palace of Alijares and Tower of Abu Hayyay (considered by some a work of the 14th century, and by others from the 15th, but in any case from the Nasrid period), appear a man and a woman in Christian clothing, she wearing the braids of the time[61]. As we see, then, at the Alhambra during the Islamic period women were depicted in both Islamic clothing (Partal) and in the Christian manner (fig. 8).

In the Alhambra after the conquest of 1492 we find other images of women, such as the sculpture of the Virgin and Child, placed during the time of the Catholic Kings over the Gate of Justice, one of the main entrances to the Islamic compound. It is a subtly chosen image, as the Virgin was venerated by Muslims in al-Andalus as the mother of Jesus, whom they considered a prophet[62]. Let us recall the words of the German traveller Münzer in his visit to Granada in 1494, who stated that the Muslims venerate the virgin and other saints: «Venerantur etaim valde Virginem Mariam, Sanctam Katherinam, Sanctum Iohanem et pueris suis eorum illa nomina dant»[63]. This was one of the main images taken into account during the conversion process[64]. To such point that in the wills of the Moriscos from Granada, from both early in the sixteenth century and during the second half, often evidencing sincere conversions, we find the veneration of the Virgin Mary[65]. In fact, attacks on images of the Virgin at that time were carried out more often by foreign Lutherans in Spain than by Moriscos[66]. When going through the gate, we find, in the second bend, an altarpiece featuring a painting of the *Virgen de la Antigua* (Virgin of Antiquity) that is believed to be of Queen Isabella I of Castile, perhaps serving as an altar after the conquest[67]. However, the composition of the altarpiece, featuring other paintings surrounding the *Virgen de la Antigua*, dates from 1588, ninety-

60 New interpretations of the meaning of the main lady appearing in these paintings in Robinson 2013.

61 Martínez Caviró 2001, p. 39; Fernández Puertas 2007, pp. 119-124.

62 Epalza 1999, pp. 161-190; Díez Jorge 2007.

63 Münzer 1999, section *De ritibus et vestimentis sarracenorum* in *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio per Hispaniam, Franciam et Alemaniam.*

64 Pereda 2007, p. 305 and f.

65 García Pedraza 1995, p. 231.

66 Franco Llopis 2011-2013, p. 147.

67 Caballero Escamilla 2014.

six years after the conquest. Obviously the sense and caution characterising the period surrounding the victory of the Christian troops over the Nasrid Sultanate in 1492 had evaporated by the late 16th century. There is a clear shift in the symbols: although the *Virgen de la Antigua* had been associated with the whole process of the conquest, an altarpiece was now constructed containing portraits of the Catholic Kings, a painting featuring a mounted Santiago Matamoros (St James the Moor Slayer) defeating and trampling several Muslims wearing turbans and bearing a crescent flag, in addition to St. Michael vanquishing the devil, and St. Francis. It is clear that the whole aesthetic is aimed at celebrating the victory over the "infidel" scored by the Catholic Monarchs, but the context was no longer that of the conquest, as there was no recently-defeated Muslim population. Rather, 20 years earlier, in 1568, the rebellion of the Alpujarras had begun, and the problem now was that of the Moriscos, who were not directly represented here. Rather, the image of the Muslim is more that of a Turk. It was not the first time that Santiago Matamoros was represented in the city, there being other images in the Royal Chapel and in the Monastery of St. Jerome[68].

But there are really no images of Muslims in the Christian Alhambra from the first years after the conquest, and this is important, as it shows that the focus of the new Christian power holders was not to uphold the victors over the vanquished. In Granada images of the conquerors and conquered, as well as Morisco men and women, seem to have been handled with some care, though not always, and especially in the first years after the conquest, a pattern that seems to have occurred in other places, such as Valencia, as well[69]. The most relevant representation of the Muslim world from the Christian period of the Alhambra in the 16th century is that of the 1535 conquest of Tunisia, seen in the paintings in the Queen's Dressing Room; but it did not have to do with Muslims from al-Andalus, with «mauri pacis», but rather with Muslims beyond its borders. There are only a few small elements which we would like to point out: the four *adargas* (leather shields) that appear in the stylobates on the south facade of the Palace of Charles V[70]. The *adarga* is identified with Muslims, both before these reliefs at said palace (as in the case of the paintings in the Hall of the Kings produced during the Nasrid period) and in other cases throughout the 16th century, as we can see in well-known examples such as the *juegos de cañas* on tapestries by Vermeyen, and later in the representation of the Battle of the Higueruela at the Escurial Monastery.

These all contained allusions to a world of knights in battle, to weapons and wars; therefore, they always conveyed what was expected of men and considered to be their roles. The images of women we find here, on the other

[68] León Coloma 2009, p. 449.
[69] Franco Llopis 2016, p. 299.
[70] Díez Jorge 2014.

hand, mainly contain allegories and virtues associated with Charles V as a new Caesar (allegories alluding to Fame, History and Peace). This would be a frequent dynamic in the visual imagery of women created in 16th century Granada: the new sets of images lacked images of Moriscos in general, and, therefore of Morisco women in particular. This absence also reveals the spirit of the time: women, including the Virgin and some female saints, appear mainly in allegories upholding virtues, in both religious and civil buildings, and as part of mythological scenes. Biblical heroines are also portrayed. There are iconographic sets featuring female heroines from the ancient Greco-Roman world and Biblical antiquity, but the most immediate history of al-Andalus is absent in images from the first half of the 16th century in the context of Granada, which is limited to showing, in any case, the exploits of heroes (and some heroines) who participated in the war of Granada, in the fight against the infidel. A legendary and religious system of images is created in which few real women and their historical feats are represented, unlike men, who appear frequently. The Virgin Mary was established as the ideal model to be followed by all women, Old and New Christians. As for more flesh-and-bone models, Isabella the Catholic was the paragon and almost the only symbolic reference point.

An example: the Cuadra Dorada (Golden Chamber) at the Casa de los Tiros, the main hall of a building whose construction was based on the fusion of several previous houses, with working beginning towards the second quarter of the 16th century. The entire iconographic motif is essentially based on figures of illustrious men, though women are also introduced, to a much lesser extent. Of the 32 references to renowned people in the *alfarje* (flat wooden ceiling), only two allude to women: Queen Isabella I of Castile and Empress Isabella I of Portugal; on the *arrocabes* (wooden frieze) of the facade and entrance there are 16 more references, and only two of them are related to women: the wife of Álvaro Pérez de Castro, who defended, along with her maidservants the town of Martos and the wife of Count Hernán González, who rescued her husband from prison, while she ending up jailed. Also, on the Cuadra Dorada's walls there appear four *tondos* featuring heroines from mythology and the Bible (Penthesilea, Lucretia, Semiramis and Judith)[71]. The references to men allude essentially to political-military exploits, while women are portrayed as engaged in defensive and protective actions. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to other iconographic elements that spotlight King Ferdinand as the conqueror of Granada, in this case the feat is attributed to Queen Isabella: «Isabel, Reina de España, entre otras muchas hazañas que hizo, allanó a España, echó a los judíos y moros y ganó a Granada» (Isabella, Queen of Spain, among many other feats, unified Spain, expelled the Jews and Moors, and took Granada). This is curious when we consider that this house

[71] For the iconographic and iconological motifs, noting reflections on the inclusion of female characters and their relationship to marriage bonds: López Guzmán 1987, p. 438 and f.

was owned by María Rengifo Dávila, who married Pedro Venegas (a descendant of the royal Nasrid family who converted to Christianity) in the second third of the 16th century. It is unclear whether these images were created whilst they were married, or they inherited them, but they certainly kept and cherished them, as this space was used for well-known poetic and theatrical performances.

An important image is the well-known relief of the baptism of Morisco women found on the altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, traditionally dated between 1520-1522, which is a work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny but also featuring Alonso de Berruguete, Jacopo Florentino, Alonso de Salamanca and Antón de Plasencia[72]. All the Morisco women here appear wearing the *almalafa* covering part of their faces. On their foreheads most wear a string, though some of them do not, and let some of their hair be seen. This type of *almalafa* is the one that Weiditz drew in one of his prints. They wear *zaragüelles* and pointed shoes. By representing women as a more or less homogeneous group, it becomes reminiscent of other images, such as the wooden panel painting found at the Chapter Museum of the Cathedral of Mallorca, of similar dates (1520-1521), catalogued as a work by Bartomeu Martínez, and in which San Vicente Ferrer is preaching in the Cathedral of Mallorca. The women constitute a block in which diversity is represented only by some donning white veils that cover their foreheads – except in some cases, where their hair can be seen. Other works presented a bit more diversity when it came to depicting women, both in their dress and attitude, as in the case of the views of Granada in the painting of the Battle of the Higueruela in the Hall of Battles at the Escurial Monastery, produced between 1584 and 1591, in which some appear wearing white *almalafas*, others with white headclothes and others with their heads uncovered[73]. In the case of the relief in the Royal Chapel, the last restoration made it possible to recover its original colours, revealing blue, red, white and green, actually found in the clothes and textiles of the time (fig. 9).

In the relief of the baptism of the Moriscos there is greater diversity: some wear turbans, some do not, while some wear hats; some have beards and others do not, some have a black complexion while others are white, and they range in age. It would be interesting to analyse the different turbans and male headwear in this relief, especially comparing them with the standard set of images existing then (fig. 10). On the altarpiece, in the relief of the Catholic Kings entering with the Christian armies, there appears what could be the Morisco guard, wearing another type of turban, just as they are seen in the relief in which Bobadil hands over the keys. There are endless ways of wearing the turban and representing it: in the enamel work known as the *Triptych of the Great Captain*, in the sculptural

[72] Andalusian furniture heritage database at the Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico at <http://www.iaph.es/patrimonio-mueble-andalucia>, 01.10.2017.

[73] In this regard, see the descriptions and splendid image featured in Gámiz Gordo, 2008, pp. 28-32.

group of the *Burial of Christ* at the Monastery of St Jerome, and on a medallion of the choir stalls at the convent of Santa Isabel La Real[74].

There are other images which are less public outside the spaces and spheres of power, such as the one interpreted as a Morisco woman appearing in a historical graffiti in the room of a house in the Albaicín in Granada, catalogued as from the sixteenth century, in which she appears with a partially covered face, wearing an *almalafa* and *zaragüelles*, and chopines bearing Arab inscriptions[75]. In this more domestic context, upon analysing sixteenth-century household goods, I have been able to find quite a few figurines discovered during excavations, with those of women clearly predominating. There are different types of them, some in the form of whistles, or bells. Some are very rudimentary, while others are glazed and more delicate. In some the woman's breasts are outside her bodice. To date I have not found them cited in the archival documentation of the time, perhaps because they formed part of a whole set of pottery items and were objects that were not usually inventoried, conceivably found in those chests full of "odds and ends" sometimes mentioned in the documentation. I have already addressed, in other works, the meaning not only of these objects, but also of other miniatures, broadening the range of their uses beyond just toys[76].

The material presence of these objects is not surprising. From the al-Andalus period, and also from Christian territories during medieval and modern times, there are examples of whistles and some "little dolls." The collection harboured by the Museum of the Alhambra is the most complete in terms of miniature objects. The problem is that they come from excavations of the Alhambra that were carried out without current techniques, so that they were not studied in context. Some of them must have formed part of the royal house's Nasrid goods, but the modern pieces, which are of interest to us, must have been made by the pottery workshops at the Alhambra compound, and later sold, as there have appeared a significant number of them. I have analysed about 300 pieces catalogued as toys, although there are many more[77]. What is of great interest is the great preponderance of images of women. For example, in box 2106, out of 25 pieces 17 are females, between 10 and 20 cm in height, although some are only fragments. They are dated by the museum as from the modern era, and we have been able to locate some similar pieces in other archaeological contexts from the 16th and 17th centuries. It is evident that there were models to follow for some of them. However, though they are similar, they are not exact copies, as they feature different thicknesses and slight variations in their measurements. Usually they are figures of women with

74 All at the Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada, following the dates cited: references CE0001 (dated 1475-1525), CE0006 (1520-1525) and CE0058 (1580-1582), respectively.

75 Barrera Maturana 2007. For the Arabic inscriptions and their significance see Barrena Maturana 2017, vol. II, pp. 877-879.

76 Díez Jorge, forthcoming.

77 I would like to thank the Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (Granada) for its assistance.

flared skirts and their hands on their waists, producing bell shapes, although there are no traces of any clappers. There are also female figures lacking the bell shape. Some are glazed and elaborate, while others are basic and unglazed. We must conclude that they had different functions and meanings. For example, the bell-shaped ones, very basic and in which any fine work is limited to the woman's hair, are nothing at all like some of the glazed pieces, in which the woman's breasts protrude, in a possible allusion to maternity – as in the mural paintings at Mondoñedo Cathedral, dated by some as 16th century, featuring a scene of the slaughter of the innocents, in where we can see women dressed in turbans and headcloths, and with dark complexions, their children being killed by the soldiers, with some of the women's breasts falling outside their bodices. Perhaps they were small figures given when a girl reached puberty, or before a birth, in clear allusion to breastfeeding; though it is difficult to know. The point is that they formed part of daily life and the symbolic world of the 16th century. What we do not know is whether they were found in the homes of both Old Christians and Moriscos (figs. 11, 12a and 12b).

Another interesting type is the whistles found in Box 2107, containing 55 pieces, at least 21 clearly feminine figures; and Box 2121, with 32 pieces, in which there are whistles in the shape of animals, like the rooster and the turkey, figures of men playing musical instruments, and others of friars, water whistles and, again, representations of women. The female images are dated from between the 16th and 17th centuries. The women found are wearing different kind of clothes, but all in the Christian style. Whistles were common during the al-Andalus period, but water whistles predominated, along with those in animal shapes. This was a common object, and not only in Granada, but also in other areas, such as Almería, and Jaén, and this suggests that they were used on a daily basis. But why were these whistles made in the shape of women? Were they used by Moriscos and Old Christians? For what and when? We do know that Christian and Morisco women played instruments and sang. There are accounts of this, such as that provided by the traveller Iohanes Lange in 1526, who talks about how on the last day they were in the Alhambra there was a dance performance by Morisco women:

> Bailaron a la manera de su país al son de laúdes y tambores tocados por mujeres que tendrían unos cincuenta años y una de aproximadamente cuarenta años acompañó con cante de voz desagradable y tosca haciendo palmas con alegría (They danced in the manner of their country, to the sound of lutes and drums, played by women who must have been about 50, and one of about 40, who accompanied them with a coarse and unpleasant singing, whilst cheerfully clapping)[78].

I am afraid, however, that these whistles were not used to produce music and songs, but rather noise. I will not fall into the stereotype of citing the Muslims'

[78] Lange 1526, in the section *Das Konigreich Granaten*.

animosity towards figures, and contend that they could not have had all these pieces. One question was religious images, and others, in the civil sphere, was quite another. We have seen that at the Alhambra there were actually representations of the human figure during the Nasrid era, and not just a few isolated cases. And we are talking here about Moriscos, already immersed in Christian culture. Old Christians and Moriscos lived in the same society. They certainly harboured different traditions, but they belonged to Granadan society and, as a result, I have no doubt that they must have shared some tastes and fashions. As Dadson has observed, if you do not seek evidence of assimilation, you will not find it, and that is what has happened, historiographically[79]. There has been a tendency to look for differences, but there were also shared elements. I do not want to paint a rosy picture, but rather show the complexity of that society.

Finally, there is another relevant question. Who created these images? Who published these books? To date it has been established that they were, essentially, men, and, in general, in certain pictorial and sculptural images, "leading" artists. Moriscos do not appear. It is true that there were great Mudejar *alarifes* (master builders) in Granada right after the conquest, and some of them became Christians before the forced conversion. Though they were not, apparently, involved in major works of public and religious architecture, Moriscos were involved in some activities, and Morisco women were active outside the home. We may not have evidence of important women sculptors and painters in 16th century Granada, but there were women in craft shops and, for example, in pottery workshops – precisely the guild that could have been commissioned to produce the pieces like the female figures and whistles we have found. Morisco women were not great *alarifes* or renowned painters, as they were not allowed to be. But both Morisco and Old Christian women were present in the textile sector, as potters, and at work sites, contributing to the artistic and artisanal culture of the era.

Thus, under their *almalafas* and under the protection of the same mantle of the Virgin, Old Christian and New Christian or Morisco women displayed a great diversity of attitudes. The images we have, offer us that heterogeneous range, since, although there are images that presented them as two supposedly monolithic and opposed blocks, others revealed in a natural way the mixture and diversity of types that coincided in the same society, without forgetting the absences that, paradoxically, tell us so many things. That is, the absence of images of Morisco men and women in certain spaces suggests a coexistence marked by a great delicacy. Perhaps it was not initially considered a great problem, or perhaps there was a desire to depict it as resolved and overcome. There are many possibilities that transcend depictions of the victors and vanquished, and also entail thinking beyond oppressive men and women victims, as there were pacts and transgressions that sought to produce other threads with which to weave the mantle of coexistence.

[79] Dadson 2017, p. 289.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Prints of the Morisco women of Granada in the work *Die Trachtenbuch*, by Christoph Weiditz, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 22474 (1530-1540). Image from the non-commercial free-use repository <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/249>, 10.08.2017

Fig. 2. View of Granada from 1563, print by Georg Hoefnagel for *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Liber Primus, 1582 edition, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (GMG/433)

Fig. 3. Anton van der Wyngaerde, Detail of *Vista de Granada*, 1567, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Fig. 4. *Donzelle di Granata*, print by Cesare Vecellio illustrating *Degli Habiti antiqui et moderni de diversi parti del mondo* (1590), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Image at the non-commercial free-use repository <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8446755d/f638.item>, 10.08.2017

Fig. 5. Detail of image of a covered woman in a view of Granada from 1565, engraved by Georg Hoefnagel for *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Book five: *Contrafactur und beschreibung von den Vornembsten Staten der Belt das Funsste Buch*, Granada, Spain, Biblioteca del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife

Fig. 6. Drawing in Book I of *Bautizos de la parroquia de Santa María La Alhambra (bautizos entre 1518 y 1570)*, Paper, ink and ink wash, Granada, Spain, Archivo de la Parroquia de San Cecilio. Archbishopric of Granada. Photo: Pepe Marín. Printed with permission

Fig. 7. Print alluding to the baptism of the Moriscos, by Francisco Heylan, early 17th century, Granada, Spain, Museo Casas de los Tiros, ref. CE07998. Printed with permission

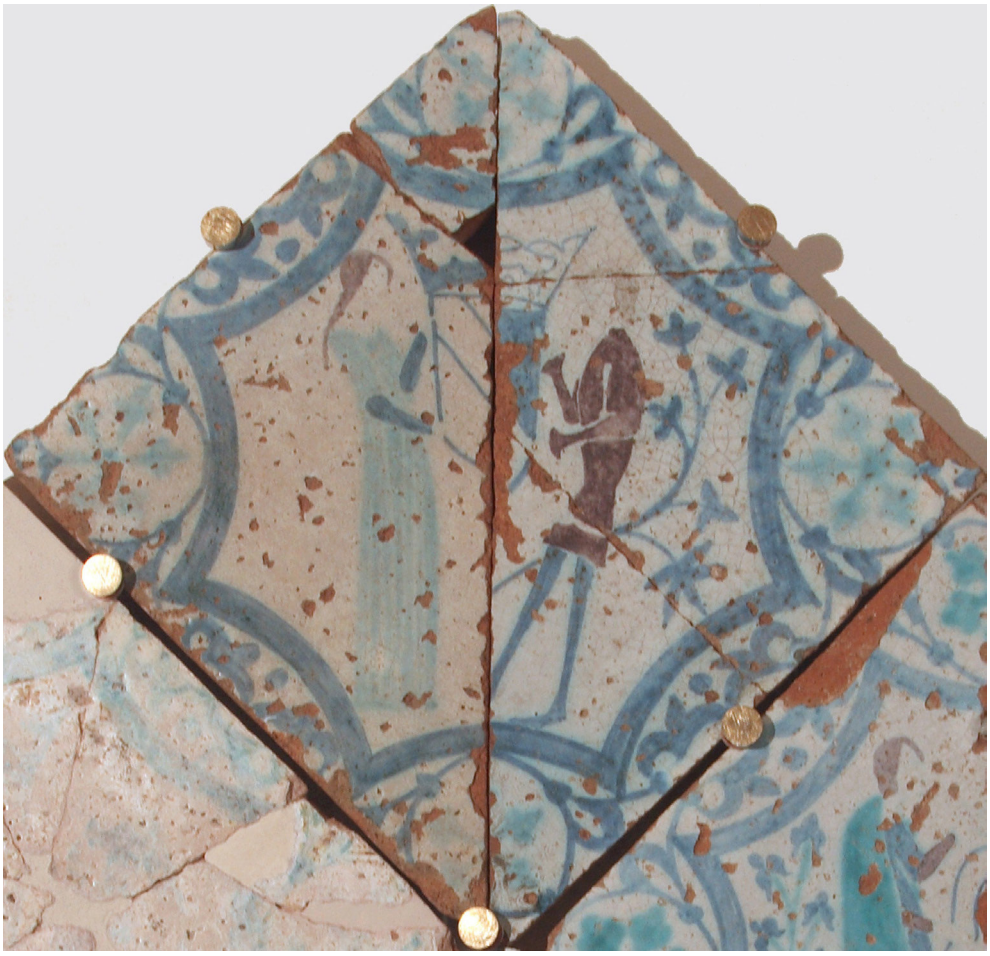

Fig. 8. Fourteenth-century floorwork. Nasrid period, Granada, Spain, Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife. Photo: Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife. Printed with permission

Fig. 9. Relief of the baptism of Morisco women on the Altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, 1520-1522, work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny. Photo: Archbishopric of Granada. Printed with permission

Fig. 10. Relief of the baptism of Morisco men on the Altarpiece of the Royal Chapel of Granada, 1520-1522, work by multiple artists, led by Felipe Vigarny. Photo: Archbishopric of Granada. Printed with permission

Fig. 11. Figurine of a woman in ceramic glaze, Granada, Spain, Collection of Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, ref. 5056. Height: 17 cm. Photo: María Elena Díez Jorge

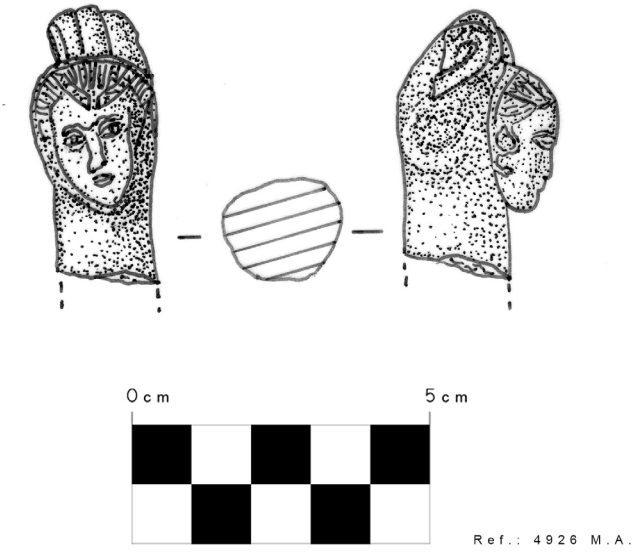

Fig. 12a and 12b. Woman's head, Granada, Spain, Collection of Museo de la Alhambra, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, ref. 4926. 4.2 cm high, 2 cm wide and up to 2 cm thick. Photo: María Elena Díez Jorge. Sketch: María Elena Díez Jorge, Ignacio Barrera Maturana

JOURNAL OF THE **SECTION** OF **CULTURAL HERITAGE**
Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata

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http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/index

eum edizioni università di macerata

ISSN 2039-2362
ISBN 978-88-6056-553-2

Euro 25,00