

# Aljamiado Literature

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WORKS: *Poema de Yuçuf* (ca. fourteenth–fifteenth centuries)

**Manuscripts:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. Res. 247; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9409.

**Editions:** *El Poema de José, nach der Handschrift der Madrider Nationalbibliothek*, edited by Heinrich Morf (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1883); *Poema de Yuçuf: Materiales para su estudio*, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1902; republished, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1952); *The Poema de José: A Transcription and Comparison of the Extant Manuscripts*, edited by William Weisiger Johnson (University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, 1974).

Yçe de Gebir (Yça of Segovia, Yça Gidelli) (fl. 1450), *Breviario sunni*

**Manuscripts:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 2076; Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 6016; Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 5301; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9396; Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Árabes (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), MS. 1; Escuela de Estudios Árabes, MS. 60.

**Editions:** *Tratados de legislación musulmana: 1. Leyes de moros, del siglo XIV; 2. Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la ley y çunna, por don Içe de Gebir, alfaqui mayor y mufti de la aljama de Segovia, año de 1462*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853); *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, by Gerard Wiegers (Leiden & New York: Brill, 1994).

*Historia de los amores de París y Viana* (ca. fifteenth century)

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9416.

**Edition:** *Historia de los amores de París y Viana: Edición, estudio y materiales*, edited by Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Gredos, 1970).

Mancebo de Arévalo (circa 1498–1550), *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna*

**Manuscript:** Cambridge, University Library, Dd 9.49.

**Edition:** “Un manuscrito aljamiado en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Cambridge,” by L. P. Harvey, *Al-Andalus*, 22 (1958): 49–74.

Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tafsira*

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Árabes (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), MS. 62.

**Edition:** “La *Tafsira* del Mancebo de Arévalo: transcripción y estudio,” edited by María T. Narváez, Ph.D. thesis, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, 1988.

Mancebo de Arévalo, *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual*

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. Res. 245.

**Edition:** “Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual sacado y declarado por el mancebo de Arévalo en nuestra lengua castellana,” edited by Gregorio Fonseca Antuña, Ph.D. thesis, Universidad de Oviedo, 1988.

*Libro de dichos maravillosos* (ca. sixteenth century)

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Árabes (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), MS. 22.

**Edition:** *Libro de dichos maravillosos: Misceláneo morisco de magia y adivinación*, edited by Ana Labarta (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993).

*Libro de las batallas* (ca. sixteenth century)

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 5337.

**Edition:** *El Libro de las batallas: Narraciones épico-caballerescas*, edited by Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

*Libro de las luces* (ca. sixteenth century)

**Manuscripts:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 4955; Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9413; Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9414; Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS. 3225.

**Editions:** “Noticias y extractos de algunos manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de Toledo y Madrid,” edited by Angel González Palencia, in *Miscelánea de estudios y textos árabes* (Madrid: Maestre, 1915), pp. 117–145; “Libro de las luces,” in *Aljamiado Texte*, volume 2, edited by Reinhold Kontzi (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), pp. 799–837.

*Libro del baño de Zaryab* (ca. sixteenth century)

**Manuscripts:** Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS. 11/9409; Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Árabes (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), MS. 4.

**Editions:** “Libro del baño de Zaryab,” in *Colección de textos aljamiados*, edited by Pablo Gil, Julián Ribera, and Mariano Sánchez (Zaragoza: Comas, Guerra y Bacque, 1888), pp. 97–114; “Estudio y edición del código misceláneo aljamiado-morisco num. IV de la Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios, Madrid,” edited by Mohamed Ali ben Mrad, dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1991.

*El rekontamiento del rey Alisandere* (ca. sixteenth century)

**Manuscript:** Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 5254.

**Edition:** “El rekontamiento del rey Alisandre,” edited by A. R. Nykl, *Revue Hispanique*, 77 (1929): 409–611.

The term *aljamiado* (from the Arabic *a'jamiyya*: “barbarian, non-Arabic, foreign”) refers to the Hispano-Romance dialect spoken and written by communities of Muslims, Christians under Muslim rule, and Muslim converts to Christianity during the medieval and early-modern periods in Spain. The earliest known traces of the use of this dialect by non-Christians date to the first half of the ninth century, though it is probable that *aljamiado* speech came to form a part of the linguistic repertoire of Andalusí Muslims nearly a century earlier.

From the point of view of modern literary scholars, *aljamiado* is primarily used to describe a large corpus of handwritten Castilian and Aragonese texts composed using an idiosyncratic form of Arabic and, to a much lesser extent, Hebrew script. The overwhelming majority of extant *aljamiado* documents date from the sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, a period during which Muslim communities—nominally Christian after their compulsory conversion—suffered widespread discrimination, forced relocations, and eventual expulsion from Spain. These *aljamiado* texts, which range from practical religious guides to complex narrative works rooted in the Qur'an as well as in Western literary traditions, represent the literary production of the last remnants of a Hispano-Muslim culture that had

taken root in the Iberian Peninsula at the start of the eighth century.

An important early example of *aljamiado* literature is the small collection of Hispano-Romance couplets called *kharjas* that were placed at the end of Andalusí strophic poems known as *muwashshahat*. These couplets have been widely studied by scholars of Arabic, Hebrew, and Romance literatures and linguistics, though a consensus about their nature and function within the *muwashshahat*—or within the broader cultural context of Muslim Spain—has not yet been reached. What is largely agreed upon is that the *kharjas* function as representations of the popular speech of the Christian (*Mozarab*) minority in al-Andalus composed by highly learned poets writing in classical Arabic and, in some cases, Hebrew. Their apparently lower register places the *kharjas* on a different social footing from the much larger corpus of *aljamiado* texts written in Spain toward the end of the medieval period and into the seventeenth century. Rather than recontextualizing the speech of minority Christians living under Muslim rule within the courtly lyric, these later *aljamiado* texts make wide use of the written and spoken language of a Muslim minority operating within a predominantly Christian social milieu.

The factors that led to the steady ebb of literacy in classical Arabic within the Iberian Peninsula throughout the last three centuries of the medieval period have their roots in the series of Christian military conquests that began in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In 1212 a joint Castilian, Navarrese, and Aragonese force succeeded in taking the important mountain pass at Las Navas de Tolosa, opening up the southern portion of the peninsula to Christian military advance. By 1250, important Muslim cities such as Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, Murcia, and Cádiz—in all, roughly fifty-six thousand square miles of formerly Muslim land—had fallen under the rule of Christian kings. With the defeat of the Merinids at the battle of Salado in 1340, Christian forces effectively took control of Gibraltar and closed off the possibility of renewed invasions by North African forces seeking to shore up the waning Muslim kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. While a certain percentage of the Muslim inhabitants of cities taken by Christian forces retreated to unconquered territories such as the kingdom of Granada or left the Iberian Peninsula altogether, many remained to live out their lives within a political and social system characterized by multiple jurisdictions, labyrinthine legal codes, and overlapping, semi-autonomous, multilingual communities.

The Muslims who remained within the newly conquered Christian territories were known as Mudejars. They were allowed by law to practice their religion



Two pages of sura 79 from a sixteenth-century aljamiado copy of the Qur'an (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; from Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, The Qur'an in Sixteenth-Century Spain, 1982)

(which implied the use of classical Arabic for devotional and exegetical purposes) and in general enjoyed a significant degree of political, spiritual, and economic autonomy. The existence of such autonomy, however, should by no means be taken to suggest that the Mudejars were isolated from the ways of life of their Christian neighbors. Intermarriage between Muslims and Christians was far from an isolated occurrence, and there is a wealth of historical evidence supporting the notion that a high level of social interaction between the Mudejar communities and their Christian neighbors took place. In addition, literary works such as Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* (Book of Good Love) and Don Juan Manuel's *El conde Lucanor* (Count Lucanor), both redacted in or near Toledo during the fourteenth century, provide ample narrative accounts of such cross-cultural interaction.

During this period—most likely sometime during the fourteenth century—copies of the *Poema de Yuçuf* (Poem of Joseph), an *aljamiado* version of the Qur'anic story of Joseph, the son of Jacob, were first produced. Composed in unrhymed *cuaderna vía*, a strophic form based on the French alexandrine that was developed by clerical poets in Castile early in the thirteenth century, the *Poema de Yuçuf* is extant in two manuscripts. The first, referred to as *A* in Ramón Menéndez Pidal's influential 1902 study and transcription of the *Poema de Yuçuf*, is currently in the archive of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It consists of seventy-seven folios of badly deteriorated paper, twenty by fourteen centimeters, and includes eighteen different texts.

A portion of the *Poema de Yuçuf*, copied out as prose toward the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth, takes up the first nine folios (the eighth folio is missing) of this manuscript. It is directly followed by a short narrative dealing with another Qur'anic theme, Abraham's near sacrifice of his son Ishmael. Other texts included in the manuscript are the *Historia del nacimiento de Mahoma* (Story of Mohammed's Birth), *Historia de un solitario israelita* (Story of a Lone Israelite), *El castigo de 'Umar a su hijo* (The Moral Teaching of 'Umar to his Son), *Alhadiç del legarto* (The Story of the Lizard), *Alhadiç de Bilal* (The Story of Bilal), *La disputa con los cristianos* (The Dispute with the Christians), *Alhadiç del baño de Zariieb* (The Story of the Bath of Zariieb), *Alhadiç de Tamim* (The Story of Tamim), *Explicación de unas palabras de una obra de al-Ghazali* (Explanation of a Few Words from a Work of al-Ghazali, in Arabic), *Dos jutbas* (Two Sermons), and *Texto y traducción del capítulo 36 del alcorán* (Text and Translation of Chapter 36 of the Qur'an).

The second manuscript (*B*, in Menéndez Pidal's study) is an acephalous but more extensive version of the *Poema de Yuçuf*, now in the custody of the Biblioteca

Nacional in Madrid. This text consists of fifty folios (14.2 by 21.2 centimeters) and is preserved in much better condition than manuscript *A*, which it postdates by at least a century. Menéndez Pidal also makes mention of the existence of a single folio of the *Poema de Yuçuf* that includes, in the same scribal hand, several of the verses of manuscript *B*.

The *Poema de Yuçuf* is closely based on the Joseph story found in sura 12 of the Qur'an. It begins with Joseph as a small boy relating a dream to his father, Jacob, in which eleven planets, the sun, and the moon all bow before the young boy to pay homage. At the same time Joseph's half brothers, consumed by the fear that their father prefers Joseph and his younger brother, Benjamin, to them, plot to rid themselves of Joseph. They take him far away with them one day and throw him into a pit, leaving him there to die. They return to Jacob in tears, claiming that Joseph has been eaten by a wolf. In the meantime, Joseph is saved from the pit and taken to Egypt, where he is bought by an Egyptian who has every intention of raising Joseph as his own son. Upon reaching maturity, however, Joseph is approached by the Egyptian's wife, who attempts to seduce him. Joseph resists, but, because of the woman's treachery, he is placed in prison, where he spends many years. Owing to Joseph's powers of dream interpretation, he is eventually cleared of all charges and released into the service of the pharaoh, with control over the treasures and stores of Egypt. In a time of lean harvest, Jacob sends his remaining sons to Egypt to buy grain. Upon seeing Joseph they do not recognize him, though he knows who they are. Rather than punish them for their cruelty, Joseph shows mercy to them. They come to admit their treachery and repent, while the elderly Jacob—having recovered the sight taken from him—comes to Egypt to be reunited with Joseph.

The Qur'anic text is greatly expanded in the *Poema de Yuçuf*. The setting is presented in much greater detail, and the dramatic dialogue is given a heightened development in the *aljamiado* text, reflecting a narrative tradition quite independent from the practice of Qur'anic exegesis and commentary that continued among learned Muslims in Spain until the time of expulsion. The *Poema de Yuçuf*, like the majority of *aljamiado* narrative texts, operated within the tradition of popular Islam rather than that characterized by learned Qur'anic commentary and the Hadith system of Islamic jurisprudence.

Another important *aljamiado* text, produced during the middle third of the fifteenth century, is the *Breviario sunni*, or *Memorial y sumario de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de nuestra santa ley y sunna* (Survey and Summary of the Principle Commandments and Obligations of Our Holy Law and Practice),

of Yçe de Gebir. This work, a compendium of religious customs and practices meant to guide communities of Muslims living in Spain under Christian rule, continued to be an influential text within these communities even as they went into exile at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Because of its usefulness and direct, clear style, the *Breviario sunni* is extensively cited in the *aljamiado* documents used by crypto-Muslim communities throughout the sixteenth century. As the title suggests, the *Breviario sunni* is an abridged manual of Islamic faith and practice, consisting mostly of practical material concerning daily life. A sampling of this material, briefly studied by L. P. Harvey in his 1993 survey of Morisco culture and history, demonstrates the general tone of the text (Harvey's translation):

It is your Creator alone whom you must adore, attributing to him no likeness or semblance, and honoring his well-chosen and fortunate Muhammad.

Keep clean at all times by ritual ablutions and by purity; observe the five hours of prayer.

Obey your father and mother, even though they be unbelievers.

Pay alms (*zakat*); fast the honored month of Ramadan; carry out the pilgrimage.

Honor scholars.

Defend the religion with your person and property.

Honor your neighbor, though he be an outsider (*estraño*), a relative, or an unbeliever.

Do not eat ham, or carrion flesh, or blood, or any dubious or improperly slaughtered thing, or anything offered up on an altar to God's creature.

Be truthful to your lord, even though he be a non-Muslim, for, should you not have an heir, he will inherit from you: pay him his due.

Honor the rich, do not despise the poor, avoid envy and anger, and be patient.

Do not live in the land of the unbelievers, nor in any land devoid of justice, nor among evil neighbors, and do not keep company with bad Muslims.

Forgive him who leads you astray, and ask forgiveness of anybody whom you lead astray.

Learn the Law, and teach it to everybody, for you may be called to account for this on Judgment Day, and cast into the fire.

Do not follow the practices, uses, or customs of the Christians, nor use their clothing, nor their likenesses, nor those of sinners, and you will be free from the sins of hell.

As Harvey points out, there is a striking paradox in the admonition against living "in the land of the unbelievers" when the purpose of the book is to instruct those Muslims living within such a cultural context. Such a paradox aside, this work serves as an important textual axis around which a great number of later *aljamiado* texts revolve.



*Prayer hall of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, begun in 784, expanded in the ninth and tenth centuries, and used as a Christian cathedral beginning in 1236 (Collection of Frank A. Domínguez)*

Shortly after the fall of the independent Nasrid kingdom of Granada to the Catholic Monarchs in 1492, the social context in which *aljamiado* literature was produced and made use of by its Muslim readers changed radically. As with other Muslim cities that had fallen to Christian armies over the preceding several hundred years, the inhabitants of Granada were at first afforded a certain amount of latitude and autonomy with respect to their customs, language, and religious practices—an arrangement that starkly contrasts with the dire situation in which Jewish communities found themselves in 1492. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, these liberal terms of surrender had all been summarily revoked. The annulment of the Capitulations of 1492—in effect, the revocation of the legal document that served as the main social contract between the people of Granada and their Christian conquerors—was the first step in a process that was eventu-

ally to leave Muslim communities residing in Spain with the same choice that had faced Jewish communities a decade earlier: convert to Christianity or leave Spain.

While many Muslims did convert to Christianity, the majority continued to practice Islam in secret. Modern scholarship commonly refers to these converts as Moriscos, though this term seems not to have been applied to them in Spain (or elsewhere) until well into the sixteenth century. Even as late as the seventeenth century, playwrights such as Lope de Vega used the terms *morisco* and *moro* (a term generally understood to apply to Muslims, not Christian converts from Islam) interchangeably.

From the perspective of state and church authorities, these Morisco communities had ceased being Muslim in any legal sense upon their religious conversion, a conversion in most cases forced upon them. As Christian converts, crypto-Muslims as well as willing *cristianos nuevos* (new Christians) were subject to several laws that sought to control the manner in which they dressed, ate, spoke, and gathered. Moriscos were not allowed even to shut the doors to their homes on *jum'aa* (Fridays), the traditional Muslim holy day, for fear that they would secretly gather together to pray. These communities also fell within the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition, which prosecuted an aggressive campaign against crypto-Muslims and their Jewish counterparts throughout the sixteenth century and until their eventual expulsion in 1609–1611. It is within this context of persecution, secrecy, and cultural decline that *aljamiado* literature during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be understood.

Many *aljamiado* texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are translations of material originally written in Arabic or in Romance languages, as in the case of the *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana* (History of the Loves of Paris and Viana), a popular chivalric romance originally composed in French. Such is the case with the *Libro de las luces* (Book of the Lights), a translation of the Arabic *Kitab al-anwar*, by Egyptian scholar Ahmad ibn Muhammad abu-l-Hasan al-Bakri (1493–1545). This book, about the foretelling of the birth of Muhammad through a light that appeared on Adam's head at the time of his creation, fits within a large tradition of *aljamiado-morisco* texts that deal with the birth, life, and death of the Prophet. Other texts in this tradition include Aragonese poet Mohammed Rabadán's *Discurso de la luz* (Discourse on Light, modeled on al-Bakri's text), as well as works by others, such as *Alhadiç del annabi* (The Story of the Prophet), *Predicación en el nacimiento del annabi* (Preaching on the Birth of the Prophet), *Historia de nacimiento de Muhammad* (Story of Muhammad's Birth), *Historia de la conquista de la casa de*

*Meca* (History of the Conquest of the House of Mecca), *Libro de las batallas* (Book of the Battles), *Historia del puyamiento del annabi* (History of the Prophet's Advance), and *Historia de la muerte del annabi* (History of the Prophet's Death).

While the vast majority of *aljamiado* texts were composed and recopied anonymously, three important works were composed by a figure known as the Mancebo de Arévalo. These texts are learned in style and reflect a subtle grasp of the precepts and customs of Islam, as well as a good understanding of Qur'anic commentary. The first of these works is the *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna* (Brief Compendium of the Holy Law and Practice), composed in collaboration with Baray de Remendio, a *faqih* (scholar of Islamic jurisprudence) from Cadrete. The *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna* presents and comments upon a great deal of the same material as Yçe de Gebir's *Breviario sunni*, a text upon which it draws liberally. The Mancebo de Arévalo's *Tafçira* (from the Arabic *tafsir*, "Qur'anic commentary") coincides with much of the material in his *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna* and was composed, according to the introduction, at the urging of a group of pious men who felt the need to have access to a reliable and practical guide for Qur'anic study. The last of the Mancebo de Arévalo's works is the complex *Sumario de la relacion y ejercicio espiritual* (Summary of the Relation and Spiritual Exercise). This work, which includes only a small amount of material from the *Breviario sunni* (in contrast to the *Breve compendio de la santa ley i sunna*), features long passages of first-person narrative regarding the author's experiences among other crypto-Muslims in sixteenth-century Spain as well as many penetrating comments regarding the state of Hispano-Muslim culture during this period. In a frequently cited passage, the Mancebo de Arévalo reports the comments of Yuçe Banegas, a learned Muslim from Granada who, lamenting the lack of faith shown by Christian authorities after the conquest of Granada, asks, "If the king of the conquest doesn't keep his word, what can we expect of his successors?"

Beyond the difficulties that come with any attempt to account for the complex and ever shifting social contexts in which *aljamiado* literature was redacted and made use of during the late-medieval and early-modern periods, these texts also present enormous challenges at the level of generic analysis. Extremely wide in generic and stylistic scope, *aljamiado* literature—at its core a secret literature composed and recopied by and for small, intricately connected communities of readers—presents few interpretive clues for the modern researcher. Most of the extant manuscripts, in fact, lack any sort of marginal commentary or annotation that might provide concrete information regard-

# Leyes de Moros.

Entre los mss. que se guardan en la biblioteca del colegio mayor de S. Yldefonso de Alcalá de Henares, se halla uno en fol. del qual damos razon. Es un quaderno de leyes en castellano antiguo, mezclado de palabras arabigas para el uso y gobierno de los moros. No consta su autor, ni el tiempo en que se escribieron, pero parece fue cerca de fines del siglo XIII. y el caracter de la letra del ms. se ve en este especimen.

**Q**uando pasa el casamiento q' fegere el padre sobre la fisa  
 pequena sea virgen o noni **C**uando pasa el casamiento  
 que fegere el padre sobre la virgen de hedoc  
 su su consejo **C**uando desecha q' la p'guntas auti  
 que otorgue su casamiento **C**uando otorga la muger virgen y en  
 uerger y es muger de entendimiento ay en esto dos de p'gamen  
 tos.

ing the manner in which these texts were interpreted and applied by individuals in such communities. Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes, having spent decades studying both *aljamiado* and Arabic literature, offered a detailed portrait of the principal genres of *aljamiado* literature in 1978. These include:

Prose narratives (divisible into romances, short stories, and legends): *Rekontamiento del rey Alisandere* (Story of King Alexander), *Historia de los amores de París y Viana*, *Libro de las batallas*, *Leyenda de 'Ali ibnu abi Talib y las cuarenta doncellas* (Legend of 'Ali ibnu abi Talib and the Forty Damsels), *El baño de Zariab*, and *Leyenda de Yuçuf* (Legend of Joseph).

Eschatological texts: *Estoria del día del juicio* (Story of the Day of Judgment) and *Ascensión de Mahoma a los cielos* (Ascension of Muhammad to the Heavens).

Biblical legends: *La leyenda de Ibrahim* (The Legend of Abraham), *Historia del sacrificio de Ismael* (Story of the Sacrifice of Ishmael), *Las demandas de Muça* (The Questions of Moses), *Leyenda de Muça con la paloma y el halcón* (Legend of Moses with the Dove and the Falcon), *Muerte de Muça* (Death of Moses), *Historia de Ayub* (Story of Job), *Recontamiento de Çulayman* (Story of Solomon), *Nacimiento de Iça* (Birth of Jesus), *Jesús resucita a Sem hijo de Noe* (Jesus Resuscitates Shem, Son of Noah), and *Historia del rey Jesús* (Story of King Jesus).

Travel literature: *Itinerario de España y Turquía* (Itinerary of Spain and Turkey) and *Avisos para el caminante* (Warnings for the Walker).

Didactic prose: *Los castigos de 'Ali* (The Moral Teachings of 'Ali), *Los castigos de Alhaquim a su hijo* (The Moral Teachings of al-Hakim for His Son), *Los castigos del hijo de Edam* (The Moral Teachings of the Son of Edam), *Libro y traslado de buenas doctrinas y castigos y buenas costumbres* (Book of Good Doctrine, Moral Teachings, and Good Habits), and *Libro de predicas y examplos y doctrinas para medecinar el alma y amar la otra vida y aborrecer este mundo* (Book of Preachings, Exempla, and Doctrine to Heal the Soul, Love the Life to Come, and Abhor This World).

Treatises on popular beliefs and superstitions: *Libro de dichos maravillosos* (Book of Marvelous Sayings), *Libro de las suertes* (The Book of Fortunes), and *Libro de los sueños* (Book of Dreams).

Anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemics: *Disputa contra los judíos y disputa contra los cristianos* (Dispute against the Jews and Dispute against the Christians) and *Preguntas de unos judíos a Muhammad* (Questions of Some Jews to Muhammad).

Ascetic and mystical literature: *Tafçira* and *Sumario de la relación y ejercicio espiritual*.

Legal texts: *Leyes de moros* (Laws of Moors) and *El Atafría* (Kitab Al-Tafri, an Islamic legal text written by

Iraqi *faqih* Ubayd Allah ibn al-Husayn Ibn al-Jallab during the tenth century).

Poetic works: *Poema de Yuçuf*, *Almadha de alabaça al annabi Muhammad* (Poem of Praise for the Prophet Muhammad), *Historia genealógica de Mahoma* (Genealogical History of Muhammad), and *Coplas en alabaça del-adín del-aliçlam* (Verses in Praise of the Religion of Islam).

While the generic categorizations that Galmés de Fuentes offers are at best provisional (Anwar Chejne offers a different framework in his 1983 study of Morisco literature and culture), they do offer a rough sketch of the wide body of texts that make up the bulk of *aljamiado* literature produced between 1492 and 1611. It is from such a sketch, as Galmés de Fuentes readily admits, that further refining should take place.

To develop a global view of *aljamiado* literature from its earliest examples to the literary production of crypto-Muslim communities in Spain (and beyond, as texts exist that were produced after 1611 by Moriscos exiled in North Africa, as well as many by Jews working in Amsterdam and throughout the Mediterranean region) is a particularly difficult task. The dynamic social changes that took place for Muslim and Jewish communities throughout the medieval period in Spain make *aljamiado* literature a protean body of texts designed to serve within ever changing social contexts. That much of this literature is concerned with traditional legends and the practical issues of religious life has certainly come as no surprise to scholars working with this literature. What remains, however, as the careful philological work continues, is to understand how this Romance literature fit into the ways of life practiced in these communities at the end of the medieval period and beyond.

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