MUSLIMS IN THE PORTUGUESE KINGDOM: BETWEEN PERMANENCE AND DIASPORA

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On December 5th 1496, King Manuel published the edit expelling Jews from Portugal, which also applied to Muslims - on the same date or, more likely, a few days later. In fact, the first edition of *Ordenações Manuelinas*, published in Lisbon on November 19th 1513 by Valentim Fernandes, does not mention Muslims. Only in the 1521 edition (Lisbon, Jacobo Cronberguer) does the text add the terms *mouros* (Moors) and *mourarias* (Moorish quarters).[1]

This circumstance indicates that there was a first text focusing only on Jews - who were at the core of the political power's concerns – complemented later on with the application of the measure to the kingdom's other minority. An all-embracing and precocious conception by the Catholic monarchy thus emerges, directed not only at the Papacy but also at Manuel's closest rivals, Fernando and Isabel, aptly named the Catholic Kings. And in fact, the obligation to expel the Jews as a prerequisite to his marriage with Isabel, the monarchs' daughter, is followed by demands concerning the Spanish *Conversos* living in Portugal.[2] Anyway, the Portuguese king replies with an even broader measure, by adding the Muslims to the decreed expulsion. From a psychological standpoint we cannot ignore this response which, conforming to an imposed condition, somehow subverts it by going beyond the political action of his future in-laws, who had already decreed the expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

King Manuel would not drop the issue of the Muslim minority's expulsion, making use of it in the political negotiation of his second marriage, to another daughter of the Spanish monarchs, Maria. But now he was more obstinate. While in the first case the expulsion of the Jewish minority was not a condition laid down in writing, having been orally transmitted to the monarch, in the second case it is included among the clauses of the matrimonial contract.[3] The Portuguese king, in fact, will later on claim the merits of that decision.

1. Between Jerusalem and Iberia: minorities, mediation and conflicts

The two moments of expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Portugal, as well as the formers' central importance, provide the crown's official discourse with a lasting structure. Damião de Góis, writing his *Crónica de D. Manuel* in the reign of Manuel's son, king João III (1521 – 1557), devotes a chapter to those events, "De como el Rey mandou lançar os Moros e Judeus fora dos seus Reinos e senhoríos" ("How His Majesty had Moors and Jews cast out from his kingdoms and possessions"). However, he describes only the debate surrounding the legitimacy of the Jews' expulsion, and the arguments used both for and against that situation. He adds in closing, when describing the final decision to expel them, one single sentence regarding Muslims: "But also the Moors in the same way".[4] This is a replication of the scheme present in the edit, on the one hand subordinating this minority to the Jewish issue, and on the other demonstrating, without explaining it, its inclusion in the crown's discourse.

This chronicler, however, will put forward an argument in another chapter of his *Crónica* which, even without clearly elucidating the Muslims' expulsion, provides an explanation for the different treatments the two communities got after publication of the edit. When mentioning the seizure of the children of Jews who left the kingdom, he says this was not the case with Muslims because these "occupy most of Asia and Africa and a good part of Europe", so that there could follow revenge "on the Christians who lived in other Moors' lands (...) And this is why they let them leave the kingdom, with their children, unlike the Jews."[5]

The chronicler's sentence points in fact to a reality that dates from the medieval period, involving minorities in a complex web of relations woven between the East and the West of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem maintains the centrality derived from its being the sacred city par excellence. The Franciscan guardianship of the Holy Land[6] facilitates the relations between the Mamluks and the Latin West. In the 1330's, the Franciscan convent of Mount Zion was built, supposedly over the tomb of David,[7] thanks to the diplomatic efforts of the kings of Aragon and Naples. The rivalry between these two kings is also materialized in their emulation as protectors of the Holy Sites and of the Christians who live there. Commercial issues are not to be ignored in this context, including the Venetians and their traffic with Alexandria and the Levantine coast as well as their fundamental role in transporting pilgrims.[8] For the Orthodox

Greeks, the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antiochia will provide the connecting link between Mamluks and the Byzantine world.[9]

The Portuguese play their part in this Eastern Mediterranean dialectic - either in individualized solutions, as is the case with corsair activity,[10] or in institutionalized alternatives, for example via the Order of Rhodes, as exemplified by Fr. André do Amaral. This man, who will rise very quickly from his arrival in 1480, date of the celebrated siege to the island, becomes registrar of the convent (*conservator generalis communis thesauri*) in 1501, "captain of the Three Ships of Religion" in 1510, and chancellor in 1511. He will remain in constant contact with the Portuguese king, sending him information on the naval and military moves of the Muslim powers in the region and in the Indian Ocean. Additionally, King Manuel will rely on another informer within the Order, also a Portuguese man: Fr. Diogo de Montemor.[11]

The pilgrimage to Jerusalem also implies the displacement of Portuguese nationals to the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1471, King Afonso V (r. 1438-1481) himself, at the end of his unsuccessful stay in France – where he had gone to request the aid of Louis XI, in his designs on the Castilian crown – resigns in favour of his son João and flees Honfleur with the intention of heading to the Holy City and ending his days there in obscurity. Overtaken by emissaries of the French king, he will later be sent on to Lisbon, thereby averting a serious diplomatic incident between the two kingdoms.[12] Likewise, already in the early 16th century the fourth Duke of Bragança, D. Jaime, tried also to reach Jerusalem, being detained by the emissaries of King Manuel when he had already reached Calatayud.[13]

Motives were not only spiritual in nature, for the interests of the state were also present. Such was the case with D. Pedro da Silva and D. Álvaro da Costa, whose pilgrimage included some spying on behalf of King João II (r. 1481-1495), resorting to a vast team of informants of the crown in the Levant, which included Abyssinian monks and Portuguese Franciscans.[14]

But this relationship works both ways. The Muslims involved include, at an unspecified time, one Umār b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Maqdisī, who claims to be from Portugal ("bi arḍ Burtuqāl"). The term Maqdisī ("from Jerusalem") may reveal, rather than his origin, a likely sojourn in that city, under conditions which we cannot determine. In fact, his name only appears in the colophon of a manuscript of the *History of the Judges of Cordova* (*Kitāb al-qudā' bi-Qūrṭuba)*, by Muḥammad Al-Ḫusanī (d. 961), formerly belonging to the famous Ibn Baṭṭuta, which is nowadays in Oxford's Bodleian Library.[15]

Another dimension, however, becomes apparent in the political and diplomatic activity involving the East and the West of the Mediterranean. On the one hand, elements from the minorities are often used as mediators and/or emissaries, taking advantage of their relationship with the power one wants to dialogue with;[16] on the other hand, they are manipulated in political negotiations – they hear threats that their fragile status of religious freedom may be revoked.

In this sense, the Iberian crowns partake in a multi-ethnicity and multi-confessionality which they somehow share with the states in the East. The existence of Muslim minorities which (together with the Jewish ones) are a part of the social and political body of the Christian kingdoms, as well as of the Sultanate of Granada (up to its conquest in 1492), allows for a connection with the Dār al-Islām and, more specifically, with the Mamluk power that rules in this period. In the 15th century, in fact, the Granadines are particularly pressing in their demands for military help against the onslaught of the Catholic Kings.[17]

Muslims in the Portuguese kingdom absorb this dialectic, functioning as emissaries or informal ambassadors to Granada or the Banū Marīn of Morocco.[18] There was also a mission specifically aimed at the city of Cairo, in the year 1454. The missive which documents it is transcribed in a manuscript, currently in the National Library of France,[19] probably the work of a clerk of the Mamluk chancery who was active until the beginning of the rule of sultan Qāytbāy (872/1468-901/1496).[20]

Following the long ritual formulas saluting Sultan Īnāl (857/1453-865/1461) and the identification of the authors - his "slaves" *ġurabā' ('abīdukum ġurabā'*), who were Muslims and lived in the city of Lisbon and its surroundings - they explain the motive for this missive. The king of Portugal had received complaints from the Jerusalem clergy about the destruction of pilgrimage sites and the prohibition of rebuilding or repairing their churches, many of which had even been turned into mosques. So they requested that the king retaliate on the Muslims in his kingdom, by destroying their places of cult and stopping them from practising their religion. These Muslims had then been forced by the king to write to the sultan so that a solution to the problem could be found, begging him to allow the Christians to rebuild their churches, although not granting them any new privileges. To this effect they sent two men learned in the Koran, and of noble descent, the *faqīh*/s Abū al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ru'aynī and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wandāǧī.[21] The letter's escathocol states the date: rabi' II 658 (April 1454).

The first thing we observe in the letter is its rhetorical and demagogic style, naturally full of hyperbole and distortions of historical reality. The aim is to create psychological impact on the opposing powers. In fact, Jerusalem's Christians were under great pressure, although they exaggerated in the description of their real situation. Sultan Ğaqmaq (842/1438-857/1453) published a decree ordering inspection of Christian monasteries, demolition of recent constructions therein, and seizure of the Tomb of David. Even the bones of the monks buried near David's Tomb were exhumed.[22] It is possible that the building was even turned into a mosque for a short period, being recovered later on by the Franciscans.[23] In the same year, 1452, another two incidents occurred in the Holy Land, under the direct influence of Šams al-Dīn (806/1403-873/1469), a Hanbalite judge of great prestige, known for his command of the Arab language and Islamic law, as well as his militant pietism.[24] In response to the royal decree determining an inquiry into new constructions, a group of judges, presumably with Šams al-Dīn among them, decided to bring down some recently built parts in the Church of Bethlehem. This was actually carried out, under orders from the viceroy, by a group of dervishes. The same judge also took the initiative of invading the Church of the Resurrection, where he took apart a newly installed railing, triumphantly taking the wood to the Aqsā mosque, to the sound of cries of *Allāh akbar* and *Lā illāh illà Llāh*.[25]

Later on, he will be responsible for demolishing the dome of a church near the Church of the Resurrection, destroyed by an earthquake in November 1458. Since the viceroy authorized its reconstruction, Šams al-Dīn resorted to Sultan Īnāl, accusing the former of bribery and calling for a trial under Hanbalite law. The sultan ordered an inquiry, and the resulting committee voted him to be the judge in this case. The verdict, in agreement with his legal doctrine, was the destruction of the dome, whose construction was already advanced. The people rushed to bring it down and actually wanted to go on and destroy the whole building, but they were stopped by Šams al-Dīn in his solicitude to insure the limits of his judgement.[26]

At stake here was not the status of the minorities (*ḏimma)*, but rather the interpretation of that status which forbade fresh confessional construction, although some Mamluk sultans, including Ğaqmaq, had in fact allowed several repairs and reconstructions of Christian buildings.[27] However, the acts of the Hanbalite Šams al-Dīn, backed by popular support, illustrate the new sociology of Jerusalem, as a city "of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries."[28] In this sense, Islamic militancy is especially aimed at a strict interpretation of Sunni law

schools, focused on preventing reconstruction or repair of Jews' and Christians' holy sites, generating the constant conflict which characterizes the whole Mamluk period.[29]

The allegations by Lisbon's Muslims are based on some premeditated distortions. When they explain to the Mamluk sultan their status as a minority, although they admit to the religious freedom they enjoy in the Portuguese kingdom, they justify their permanence there with their prohibition of leaving the land, imposed on Muslims since the time of Christian conquest. In fact, no such thing had happened. What we see, as in other Iberian kingdoms, is control over the movements of this minority, who can only leave the kingdom, from the second half of the 14th century onwards, after obtaining royal permission.[30] From this were exempt only the carpet makers of Lisbon, with the justification that they needed to purchase paint and other materials *Além-Mar* ("beyond the sea"). However, from the 1440's on even these Muslims will have to get authorization to leave the kingdom.[31]

The letter's authors also exaggerate the menace which hangs over Portugal's Muslims: destruction of their mosques and the end of free Islamic cult in the land. Nothing in King Afonso V's policies seems to point in that direction; in fact, in December of the same year of 1454, he even grants a privilege to the Lisbon commune.[32] The letter's hyperbolic tone probably corresponds to a political assertion by the Portuguese king as a self-appointed defender of the Holy Land. His meddling in the politics of the Eastern Mediterranean, at the request of members of Jerusalem's clergy, would favour that political affirmation. And there could be a second objective, not mentioned in the letter: to initiate diplomatic contacts with the Mamluk sultan. In effect, and unlike the cases of the Aragon and Castile crowns,[33] there is no record of diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Cairo, notwithstanding the military interference of the Portuguese kingdom in issues related to the Mediterranean.[34]

The outcome of this missive is unknown to us, as are its emissaries from the Muslim elite of Lisbon, a city where the king recruited his closest collaborators, either as envoys to the *Dār al-Islām*, or as interpreters or producers of fiscal rules deriving from Islamic law (the Lisbon *foro* stands out, in fact, as the institutional paradigm for law in the kingdom's Muslim communities). This close collaboration makes it likely that there were differences between the written text and the message conveyed orally to the sultan. At a later time another Ruʿaynī, this one called Muḥammad b. Qāsim, introduces himself as a servant of the Portuguese king, in a royal letter which he translates into Arabic, on August 14th 1486, addressed to the inhabitants of Azemmour (Morocco).[35] The mission to Cairo is

probably linked to the coming, in the following year, of the warden of the Monastery of Mount Zion, to whom Afonso V granted a dole,[36] although no other documents sent by the Portuguese crown to the Mamluk power have been found. Likewise, in a later period, the sultan Qā'it Bay will use similar means in his contacts with the West. In 1489, two Franciscans from the Holy Sepulchre meet, following his orders, with the Catholic king Fernando and subsequently with Queen Isabel. The goal, to demand the end of the war against Granada and the surrender of the lands already conquered, was stated with similar threats: retaliation on the members of that Church, closure of the sanctuary to Christians, and even maybe its demolition.[37] It was a response to the Granadine pleas for military assistance, but again it was only rhetorical - especially when we know there existed ongoing diplomatic relations with the Catholic Kings.[38]

Finally, we have records of one last mission to the Iberian Peninsula, in the beginning of 1504, this time sent by sultan Qansūh al-Ġūrī. The letter was carried by another Franciscan, Maurus Hispanus, who had left the Levant after completing his three years as superior general of the Mount Zion Monastery, in Jerusalem. The Mamluk complaint now comprised two goals, concerning Castile and Portugal. In the first instance, to protest against the forced conversion and other aggressive measures against the Granadines; in the second, to bring an end to the abuses suffered by Egyptian traders whom the Portuguese intended to exclude from Indian Ocean traffic. As before, the letter concluded with the usual threats, in case the sultan's requirements weren't met: destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and of all other Christian places under his sway.[39]

Fr. Mauro's itinerary led him through the Republic of Venice and the Papacy, whose ambivalent responses did nothing to help mediate the conflict.[40] Nothing is known, however, of his sojourn in the Iberian kingdoms. We can only speculate that he was in Portugal before June 12th 1505, the day on which King Manuel replied to Julius II's papal brief, written on this subject and dated 26th August 1504[41] - a text to which we will return.

2. From silence to diaspora

These elements strongly affect the fate of minorities at both ends of the Mediterranean, especially those centered in Jerusalem, a city that is a sacred symbol for all three monotheistic religions. Two models confront each other here. On the one hand, in the East, we have the Islamization of Jerusalem, comprising its hinterland, in the Mamluk period.[42] This is due to a militancy which focuses on Sunni law's ability to promote growing

restrictions on Christian holy sites. In general terms, the goal is not the Islamization of the dwindling Christian communities but the creation of conditions which will lead those communities (like the Jewish ones) to leave Islamic territories.[43] On the other hand, in the West, we see a more violent Christianization, both through the conquest of Granada and the forced conversion of its population and of the remaining Iberian Muslims.[44] At the ideological level, conflict would be inevitable; at the geostrategic level, rhetoric and menaces targeting minorities were the only weapons available in the interplay of influences and contacts between the two extremes of the Mediterranean.

Anyhow, Damião de Góis is right when he describes the possible reprisals the Christian minority could suffer because of the abuses imposed on Portuguese Muslims, thus justifying the authorization to leave the kingdom with their children, which was denied to the Jews. Other factors were at play here, it's true. King Manuel's policy relied essentially on the forced conversion of the Jewish minority, whom he intended, however, to keep in the kingdom under the novel status of New Christians. All means were good to achieve this, from cutting down the number of ports from where they could embark (finally reduced to Lisbon only) to arrests, forced collective baptisms and even seizure of underage children.[45]

Contemporary sources testify to this turbulence; it created a historical noise which reduced the fate of Portuguese Muslims to near silence. Indeed, the official narrative pioneered by Damião de Góis' founding text was perpetuated in Portuguese historiographic discourse until the present day: the expulsion of the Jews is analysed, while that of the Moors is briefly mentioned, with no additional explanation.[46] Few exceptions counter this general picture.[47] We should mention here the article Harvey devoted to this subject, in which he proposes that the Iberian monarchies held as a deliberate political program the intentional expulsion/forced conversion of Muslims, initiated exactly in Portugal.[48] François Soyer sees this rather as an individual initiative by Manuel, a gesture of political propaganda aimed at impressing the Pope and other Christian rulers, by a king who wished to assume his role "as a champion of Christendom" in his obsessive struggle against Islam "and his anxiety to compete with the Castilian claims on Morocco".[49]

In effect, King Manuel will be the one to propose a European Crusade,[50] exactly two months after his reply to the brief by Julius II, dated June 12th 1505. As mentioned before, underlying this reply was the mission of Fr. Mauro, charged with transmitting the complaints of sultan Qansūh al-Ġūrī against Castile and Portugal. It is useful to analyse this text, printed in Latin in the form of a leaflet[51], so it could circulate in

Europe, with a clear propagandistic intent.[52] The Portuguese king sets out by taking apart the arguments of the "Sultan of Babylon". The threat of destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, he says, is out of proportion with reality and would be justifiable only if the Portuguese armies went to Mecca and tore it to the ground – which by the way he believed, with God's mercy, would happen very soon. He then proceeds with the offences attributed to the Catholic Monarch,[53] "my father", for which he assumes shared responsibility. Indeed, he was the one who had demanded the destruction of Castile's mosques and the conversion of Muslim children, taken away from their families, as the "blessed dowry" of his second marriage, with D. Maria. The contract had been fulfilled, to the glory of God and great pleasure and benefit of the Portuguese ruler. The last part of the text is directly aimed at the highest representatives of Europe: King Manuel regrets the infidels' daring nerve, implicitly criticizing the Pope but explicitly addressing the Christian princes. These he accuses of negligence for, "busy with human affairs and their own interests", they failed to remember the offences received from the "enemies of God" .[54]

The ideal of the Crusade clearly pervades all this propagandistic discourse, but another aspect deserves mention. The "destruction of the mosques" in Castile is not matched by any mention of the same measure in Portugal, although an identical situation had already occurred in the kingdom, some 9 years before. On the one hand, for sure, this issue was absent from the Mamluk sultan´s missive; on the other hand, it would have been more prestigious for this "champion of Christendom" to boast the end of Islam in the recently conquered kingdom of Granada, proclaiming his own authority over a land which in fact had been conquered by his father-in-law. And yet, why not add the Portuguese situation to this piece of political propaganda?

The answer may lie in a mission, a service to the king which was still ongoing; he felt morally committed to this mission and did not want to put it at risk. Two petition summaries inserted in the same folio, undated but certainly written after October 1497 (the deadline for the departure of those who refused conversion) expressly mention this factor. Mafamede Xirre and his son, Brafome Xirre, formerly living in Moura (Alentejo), request permission to return to their land "as Moors, as they have always been" and to have their possessions handed back to them. Furthermore they ask the king for privileges and favours for having made "great service to God and to His Highness". The second petition, by Brafeme Gordo and his brother Galebo Gordo,[55] both from Elvas (also in Alentejo), is even more revealing. Besides requesting the authorization for going back and the restitution of their possessions, they do the same on behalf of their

brothers (we infer these could not or would not return to the kingdom) and finally they ask for a monthly compensation in money, for as long as they went on "in this thing of His [the king's] service (…) for their support and that of their wives and children", since they were unable to work "because they had to remain continuously in the said place."[56]

This last phrase hints at a hypothetical assignment to an unspecified location, surely outside the kingdom - possibly in Morocco, where the king's interest was focused. The secrecy of a mission which only those involved could understand is reflected in the vagueness of the "service" and the "place" to which the Portuguese Muslims (or at least part of them) had been sent. The request for royal favours seems to support this interpretation which, however, no source has been able to confirm so far. What this service was and, above all, what place they were headed to, is still the big interrogation, a part of the great silence which still envelops the expulsion of this minority.[57]

Notwithstanding this silence, dictated above all by the official chronicles' lack of interest in mentioning this aspect, archival sources bear witness to a process akin to that of the Jews who chose to leave the kingdom. There is a multitude of diplomas registering the hurried sale of the Muslims' property, from all the communes in the country. There was speculation brought about by haste (the period authorized for their departure ran from December 1496 to October 1497) and the crown itself took advantage, taxing the sellers at one fortieth of sale prices.[58]

Although some individual solutions certainly existed, the authorities of the Muslim communes as a whole resorted to the Catholic Kings who, on April 20th 1497, authorized the "aljamas y moros del reino de Portugal" ("the communes and Moors of the kingdom of Portugal") both to settle in their lands and to move freely throughout them, "on land or sea", enjoying in all cases their royal protection.[59] The places already identified in this diaspora do in fact indicate that these people settled in the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Granada, and in Morocco as well.[60]

This diaspora, like any other, was neither absolute nor total. As the petitions mentioned above show, the yearning to return to the motherland, where they and their ancestors lived, clearly imprints the psychology of this population, just as in the case of Portugal's Jews, naturally. Some Muslims will in fact return, even under the obligation of converting to Christianity. In a "History of the Kingdom of Algarve" written probably in first half of the 16th century, the author Henrique Fernandes Sarrão refers the death of "the last Moor of Loulé", explaining that he and other Muslims had left "to the Moors of Africa" but, "unable to live there", had returned and converted to Christianity.[61] Thus the parameters of identity

forbade, in some cases, adaptation to different and contrasting cultural realities, prevailing over the issue of religious allegiance itself.

3. Permanence: the last Muslims in Lisbon's Moorish quarter

In sharp contrast, another part of the population surrenders to the edit's conditions and chooses to become Catholic. It is harder to follow the course of these people, first as New Christians and later as Moriscos, for they seem to dissolve without problem into the society as a whole. There is here a fundamental difference from the Spanish reality of the 16th century, where the Moriscos, a very large, indigenous population group, will become the object of problematizing and constant theological and political debate – leading to their effective expulsion from the land, between 1609 and 1614, although by then they had been Christians for about a century. The same measure will be applied in the Portuguese kingdom by Philip III on May 22nd 1614[62], but in much less dramatic terms, since in this case the Moriscos (of foreign origin anyway) were in very small numbers. The Portuguese Inquisition, established in the 1530's, will nevertheless persecute pseudo-Islamic practices, but will do so within a group whose origins lie mainly in the Portuguese empire's territories, especially in Morocco[63]. The descendents of Portuguese Muslims seem to be completely free from this persecution.

Those who remain as Christians are seldom mentioned in the documentation which immediately follows the edit: two "New Christians" in Lisbon's Moorish quarter, in 1497 and 1499 respectively,[64] and three "Morisco" families in Loulé, in a survey dating from 1505.[65] Further research will be needed to shed light on this question; however, these data point toward an evident preference for diaspora by the Portuguese Muslim communities.

Nevertheless there is also the reality of those who remain as Muslims, in some exceptional cases which only royal concession can explain. Some investigations on this subject have been made in previously published works, but focusing only on the period which immediately followed publication of the Edit. Mafamede Láparo, the last *imām* (chaplain) of Lisbon and his wife Zoaira, the roper Ale Láparo, Belfader, Ale Azulejo (one of Queen Leonor's Moors) and his wife Alima, Azmede Capelão, the potter Ali, and Mafamede Namorado are some of the names which, from 1497 to 1506, can be found in documents of several typologies.[66] One thing we can see is the continuity of Arab-Islamic onomastics, which logically signals the continuing religious affiliation of these people;

another is the fact that this phenomenon is restricted to the commune of Lisbon, which enjoyed at all times a privileged relationship with the monarch.

Property in the Moorish quarter was split between the king and the Hospital de Todos os Santos, to which the monarch made ample donations, namely most of the public buildings with the exception of the Great Mosque.[67] The documents related to the Hospital[68] allows us to follow this population throughout the 16th century. For a study of the royal possessions in this period there is less documentation. But it is likely that, at least in the century's second half, the property items in question were rented or even granted to the Morisco population, of foreign origin. In fact, the quarter is "re-Islamized", becoming in the words of Rogério Ribas "the Moorish quarter of the Moriscos".[69] This could be the answer to a period when the quarter became relatively deserted. An Inquisition process from 1550 already mentions one Luís Henriques, of the Turkish nation, who received a *moradia* (pension) from the king to live, according to the witnesses, in the city's Moorish quarter.[70]

These elements, however, cannot be detected among the documents of the Hospital de Todos os Santos. Contracts are celebrated only with Christians, without any reference to their origins (which anyway were irrelevant in this type of contract) or, in very few cases, with Muslims. In the first instance, we are naturally unable to follow the course of converted Muslims, as well as that of the new foreign population arriving in the district at a later time. The documentation as a whole transmits the idea of the Christianization of a quarter which, due to its very location next to the Porta de S. Vicente, would favour Christian settlement, in view of the city's demographic expansion.

This Christianization, however, will be neither complete nor total. The dismantling and privatization of the public buildings in the old Muslim commune, and even that of the cemetery (*almocavar*), whose tombstones will be used in the factory of the Hospital itself,[71] as well as the transfer of a new population group into the quarter, do not succeed in wiping out the memory of that space, integrated in the meantime into the city parish of Santa Justa. This vast parish does in fact require further spatial definition when one tries to identify property that is rented or in any other way traded. So the names "Mouraria" ("Moorish Quarter") (1591)[72] or "Arrabalde que foi Mouraria ("former suburb of Mouraria") (1498[73], 1500[74], 1514[75] 1516[76]), also "Arrabalde da Mouraria", in the parish of Santa Justa (1499),[77] are frequently used expressions which survived, summoning memories that did not vanish and have come down to us. Sometimes, only street names are mentioned. Such cases include "Rua

("street") da Mouraria" (1507)[78] – which in fact lies just outside the district and has kept its name right up to the present day; "Rua Direita da Porta de S. Vicente", (1508),[79] "Rua da Carniçaria", (1515),[80] "Beco da Amoreira", in Olarias (1590),[81] "Rua do Almocavar"[82] (1589)[83] or "Rua direita do Almocavar" (1591),[84] "Rua direita da Mouraria", "on the inside of Porta da Mouraria" (1591).[85] These examples partly perpetuate pre-1496 names, but are complemented also by a gradual Christianization of the quarter's toponymy: "Rua de João do Outeiro" (1590);[86] "Beco de D. Henrique" (1591),[87] a street which "was formerly called 'da Amendoeira' and is now called 'de Mestre Gonçalo'" (1591),[88] "Rua de Pedro Mártir" (1591)[89] and also "Rua dos cavaleiros que se soía chamar em tempo de mouros a rua de Almar" ("Horsemen's street, which in the time of the Moors was called the street of Almar") (1518).[90]

It is in this environment, where space and population are being Christianized, that some Portuguese Muslims carry on living. They are undoubtedly under psychological constraint, in a radically transformed district whose referential parameters have definitely become strange to them. Their world must have seemed totally subverted. The disappearance of the quarter's two mosques – the smaller one was turned into a private house and the larger into a religious building[91] - as well as the use of the old *almocavar* (cemetery) where, over the bones of their ancestors, the powerful Hospital de Todos os Santos begins residential construction, seeking to make quick profit out of the vacant space,[92] must have generated a deep feeling of frustration over the desacralization of their former sacred places. Their Islamic world view was thus gradually forced towards a more interior attitude, their devotional and liturgical acts passing into the sphere of privacy. In fact, these remaining Muslims were so by royal permission, which leads us to believe that they were not forbidden to practise their rituals as long as they didn't do so in public.

Anyhow, the last *imām* (chaplain) of the Lisbon commune, Mafamede Láparo, is among them, which undoubtedly reinforced the continuity of their religious practice. This man is extensively mentioned in 15th century documentation, due to his social and political importance, both among Muslims and in his relationship with the crown. The king actually grants him some privileges. In 1491 he is given a yearly *tença* (pension) of 2 measures of wheat. João II justifies this donation with his services to the monarch, from whom the imām requests, in 1505, a second charter, for having allegedly lost the first diploma. In 1493, on the death of his father-in-law, Içа Fabibi, he is made the recipient of the property the king had the right to inherit and, by 1506, the small vineyard the monarch had rented him had been exempted from its rent of 100 *reais*.[93] Possibly he is the

same "chaplain of the Moors" to which, in June 1514, the King donated some clothes, and who signed the receipt, in Arabic, as Muḥammad Ruʿaynī.[94]

In 1497 (November 18th) Mafamede Láparo rents from the Hospital de Todos os Santos two one-storey houses with backyards, located on the Rua da Carniçaria, in Lisbon's Mouraria (the Moorish quarter). In doing this he seems to be taking advantage of his fellow Muslims' diaspora. In effect, those houses were purchased, with the landlord's consent, from Ale Agudo, who was preparing to leave the country and donated a wheat field in Alvalade-o-Pequeno to the said Hospital, to ensure that the houses would in fact be rented to the chaplain.[95]

In one of those houses he will live, with his wife Zoaira, until his death – which occurred between 1511, on which date he sold one of the houses to Pero Vaz, for ten thousand *reais*, and 1515, when the contract was passed on to Margarida Rodrigues, the buyer's widow (from the new contract we learn that Mafamede was no longer alive).[96] This document, by the way, shows us that there was a certain concentration of Muslims around the house, near which lived not only Mafamede Láparo's widow Zoaira, but also Ale Agudo's wife and one Algame. The contractual relationship with Ale Agudo possibly implied some support to be given to his wife and other family, who may have been unwilling or unable to leave the kingdom. This is another dramatic consequence of the edit's publication: the separation of family members who must choose between two possible alternatives. On the other hand, the purchase of the two houses actually means, for Mafamede Láparo, a social downgrade. The residential space he occupied before, next to the Great Mosque, at a prime location in the district, had an adjoining stable[97] and probably belonged to the Mosque or the commune itself. As a consequence, it had been confiscated by the king, forcing Mafamede to seek a more modest alternative.

From this body of documents we learn nothing about his family, besides his wife Zoaira. We do know that they had at least one daughter, married to a cousin, but their names are never mentioned. Both remained in the kingdom after 1497. In a letter that is undated, but was certainly written after that year because Mafamede Láparo identifies himself as "former chaplain of the Moors", he asks the Secretary of State to plead with the king so that he will grant his daughter some money. Her husband had left for *Hebet* (Northern Africa) in the king's service, but the amount he had given him had already been spent on travel arrangements. So the chaplain's daughter becomes totally dependent on him, "with nothing left

to her", and that is why he puts forward this request, whose outcome is unknown to us.[98]

We know of another couple - Ale Azulejo, a Moor of Queen Leonor's, and his wife Alima – who make a 3-lifetime rent to the Hospital de Todos os Santos of two 1-storey and two 2-storey houses, in the "Arrabalde que soía ser Mouraria" ("the former suburb of Mouraria") on March 18th 1498.[99]Ale was already living in the city of Lisbon, although we do not know exactly where, and his case seems somewhat atypical in the universe of Portuguese Muslims. In effect, the name "Queen's Moor" indicates that he was possibly a captive of foreign origin, later emancipated due to his important professional activity as a tiler. In the confirmation of the rental, anyway, he is only referred to as Ale, "Moorish tiler", with no mention of his previous condition. His settling in the old Moorish quarter could be a consequence of this context. He probably felt the social pressure forcing those who remained as Muslims to gather in this district, added to his own clear will to come closer to his fellow Muslims - two factors which, sociologically, are in fact quite compatible.

Anyhow, this couple seems to be better off financially than Mafamede Láparo and his wife. The houses they rented were bigger, and some of them had a second storey. They paid for them a *foro* of 410 *reais*, as compared to the 50 *reais* the Láparos paid for their one-storey house with a backyard. These two individuals followed diverging courses, by the way. As a member of the Lisbon commune's elite, Mafamede Láparo lost, on publication of the edit, his social and religious power, together with its accompanying advantages. The sale of one of the houses he had bought from Ale Agudo, and the request for money to the Secretary of State, seem to reveal a constant financial downslide, despite the royal favours he had been granted before.

On the part of Ale, although we have no concrete data to prove it, his economic activity would prove to be lucrative. At least we can infer that from the marriage of his daughter Leonor Fernandes, already a Christian, to a member of the lower nobility called Henrique Madeira, who was a squire in the House of Queen Leonor. The couple lived in Avô, in the episcopate of Coimbra. On the death of Ale Azulejo and his wife Alima, the house in the Mouraria should be taken up by their daughter, as set in contract with the landlord. But her husband, as her proxy, passed on the two houses in March of 1516, after the death of both his in-laws.[100] This illustrates an intention to eradicate completely any memory of a Muslim descent, as well as any relation to the space associated with it.

The case of Leonor Fernandes is a paradigm for the fate of other Muslims and their descendants. The connection between his father, Ale

Azulejo, and the queen, and the marriage of his daughter precisely to one of her esquires, may indicate some royal protection which would favour integration and assimilation of those recently converted. That will be the likely fate awaiting the descendants of the last generation of Muslims in Lisbon's Moorish quarter, although this does not necessarily imply a social upgrade, as was the case with Leonor Fernandes.

The disappearance of names such as those of the roper Ale Láparo, Belfader, Azmede Capelão, the Moorish potter Ali or Mafamede Namorado, present in the period right after the edit was published, may hint at a decision to convert or at a later exit from the kingdom. Nevertheless, even as late as March of 1505 another Muslim called Focem de Colares rents for three lifetimes a house on the Rua Direita da Porta de S. Vicente (on the outside of the district), which he will keep at least until 1508.[101] Concerning the first post-edit generation, however, the limit goes no further than the year 1516, after which time the existing documents show no Arab-Islamic names. These, then, are the last Muslims of Lisbon's Mouraria. We will need to wait until the second half of the 16th century to see the district integrate another group of Islamic origin, although Christianized in theory, making it into the "the Moorish quarter of the Moriscos". There, the devotional acts of its former inhabitants will be restored, subject however to the secrecy imposed by the law and zealously monitored by the Inquisition.

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Notes

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[1] Soyer 2007, 259.

[2] Soyer 2007, 231-239.

[3] In fact it was the sixth clause of the contract: "That the mosques should be destroyed and that they[the Catholic kings] should not consent to tolerate in their kingdoms and lordships any house adapted by the Muslims for them to worship in." – Soyer 2014: 341. For the analysis of this text see: Soyer 2014, Sá 2012, 120-121 and Aubin 2006, 25-26.

[4] Góis 1926, 35-36

[5] Góis 1926, 60

[6] In 1291, the Mamluk sultan grants the Franciscans custody over the Church of Mt. Zion, the Virgin's Chapel in the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb of St. Mary in Jehoshaphat, and the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem, in exchange for 32.000 ducats – Little 1999, 87.

[7] Limor 2007, 223-227.

[8] Pahlitzsch 2005, 35-36.

[9] Pahlitzsch 2005, 36

[10] Aubin 2006, 126-127

[11] Aubin 2006, 469-470.

[12] Gomes 2006: 227-229.

[13] Aubin 2006, 29.

[14] Aubin 2006, 227.

[15] Barros 2012: 111-112.
[16] For Eastern Christians, see Pahlitzsch 2005.
[17] Arié 1965, 93-95.
[18] Barros 2007a: 325-326.
[19] Bibliothèque National de France (BNF), Arab manuscripts 4440, fls. 58 v.– 60. I thank Frédéric Bauden for sending me a copy of this document as well as the bibliography related to it. The document was partially transcribed and translated by Colin 1935-1940, 201-203. For its analysis see: Zayyat 1937 and Barros (forthcoming).
[20] Bauden 2007, 5-6.
[21] Colin interprets this as al-Wandāḥī and interrogates himself if it should be read as al-Randāḥī, "a more common Hispanic ethnic" – Colin 1935-1940.
[22] Little 1999, 89.
[23] In 1524, the Franciscans were expelled from that space, converted into the mosque of Ibn Dā'ūd, to which Christians and Jews were denied access – Limor 2007, 226-227
[24] Little 1999, 73.
[25] Little 1999, 75.
[26] Little 1999, 74.
[27] Little 1999, 75.
[28] Goiten, Grabar 2007, 239. On the process of Islamization of this area see Luz 2002.
[29] Little 1999.
[30] Barros 2007a, 161. A similar measure is taken regarding Jews, on June 10th 1354. This stems from a strictly money-based perspective, since it simply forbids any Jew, without a royal permit, to leave the kingdom if he possesses 500 pounds or more – Ibidem.
[31] Barros 2007a, 519
[32] Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT), *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Book 10, fl. 119 v.
[33] Arié 1965.
[34] Consider, for example, the fleet captained by the bishop of Évora, D. Garcia de Meneses, put together in order to participate in the help to Rhodes, but which ended up in acts of looting off the Italian coast. About 20 years later, the same will happen to the fleet captained by his brother, D. João de Meneses, which was supposed to go and assist the Venetians – Aubin 2006, 123-125.
[35] Cénival 1934, 14 (Arab version).
[36] Aubin 2006, 228 (note 28).
[37] Arié, 1965, 95.
[38] Arié, 1965, 96-97.
[39] Thomaz 1994, 444.
[40] Thomaz 1994, 445.
[41] Thomaz 1994: 445-446.
[42] Luz 2002
[43] Luz 2002, 150

[44] Still outside this equation lie the Ottomans, in spite of the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which will immediately prompt Calixtus III to preach the Crusade.
[45] See on this subject, among other studies: Tavares, 1987, 17-66; Soyer 2007, 210-231.
[46] See for example the latest biography of King Manuel I – Costa 2005, 83-84.
[47] In the early 20th century, Costa Lobo goes as far as denying the departure of Portuguese Muslims, explaining the edit as a way of extorting money from that population, which according to him remained, Christianized, in Portugal – Lobo 1904, 42.
[48] Harvey 1995.
[49] Soyer 2007, 278. About the imperialistic politics of the Portuguese king see Soyer 2014.
[50] Costa 2005, 177-179; Thomaz 1994, 166-167.
[51] *Epistola serenissimi principis Hemanuelis primi dei gratia Portugallie Regis excelentissimi ad summum Roamnum Pontificem*, Lisboa: Valentim Fernandes, 1505 - Biblioteca Nacional (Lisboa), Res. 75 // 2 V, fls. 5-8v. The letter is translated by the chronicler Damião de Góis: Góis ed. 1926: I, 204-205, in a slightly abridged version. A more complete one was later included in the *Cartas dos Grandes do Mundo* of the Portuguese poet and author Francisco Rodrigues Lôbo (1580-1621) – Soyer 2014: 338.
[52] About the propagandistic intends of the publication of this letter see Soyer 2014: 344.
[53] Queen Isabel had died on November 26th, 1504.
[54] Góis ed 1926: I, 204-205.
[55] The Gordo family, from Elvas, is mentioned in the 15th century. One of its members, Azmede Gordo, was *alcaide* (leader) of the commune in 1453. Two other people with the same family name are referred in the second half of the 15th century – Barros 2009, 125.
[56] ANTT, *Cartas Missivas*, stack 2, doc.62.
[57] On this issue, see Barros 2010.
[58] Viterbo 1907, 81-93, 161-170, 247-265; Soyer 2007, 246-247; Barros 2007a, 598-603.
[59] Document published in: Ladero Quesada, 1989, 116-117.
[60] Soyer 2007, 262-266; Barros 2007a, 598-599.
[61] Sarrão ed. 1983, 161.
[62] Silva 1855, 88. On this whole process, see Braga 2001.
[63] Boucharb 2004, 27.
[64] ANTT, *Livro 9 de Estremadura*, fl. 220 and *Livro 2 de Estremadura*, fl. 181.
[65] Dias 1987,207.
[66] Viterbo 1907, 253-254; Soyer 2007, 244-246; Barros 2007a, 604-605.
[67] Barros 2007a, 675.
[68] Classified in the deposit of *Hospital de S. José*, the institution which gave continuity to the Hospital de Todos os Santos, dismantled in the last quarter of the 18th century

[69] Ribas 2004, vol. I, 130
[70] ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Processo 1606, fl. 2 v.
[71] Barros 2007a, 608.
[72] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1124, fl. 268 v.
[73] *Ibidem* Book 1120, fls.62 v. – 67; Book 1134, fls. X-XI; Book 1120, fls.68 - 72
[74] *Ibidem*, Book 1120, 261- 264 v.
[75] *Ibidem*, Book 1118, fls. 21- 23 v.
[76] *Ibidem*, Book 1118, fls. 79 v. – 83
[77] *Ibidem*, Book 1120, fls. 169 e ss.
[78] *Ibidem*, Book 1117, fls. 45-46 v,
[79] *Ibidem*, Book 1117, fls. 7-9 ; Livro 1133, fls. 3v.- 4.
[80] *Ibidem*, Book 1118, fls. 21- 23 v.
[81] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fls. 47 and ss.
[82] "Almocavar", from the Arabic "al-maqbara", meaning "cemetery"
[83] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1124, fls. 95 and ss.
[84] *Ibidem,* Book 1124, fls. 186 and ss.
[85] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fls. 169 and ss.; fl. 180 and ss.
[86] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fls. 80 and ss.
[87] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fls. 180 and ss.
[88] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fl. 330v.
[89] *Ibidem*, Book 1124, fls. 180 and ss.
[90] *Ibidem*, Book 1119, fls. 48 and ss.
[91] Viterbo 1907, 84-88
[92] See, for example, ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1118, fls. 1-4; idem 5-9; idem 66-69v; 214-217 v.
[93] Barros 2007b: 328-329.
[94] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part I, stak 15, n.º 75. In fact, Mafamede Láparo identifies himself as the "last chaplain of the Lisbon moors" in a letter to the Secretary of State (see note 98). The double adscription of the Láparo family, in a romance version, and the Ruʿaynī, in Arabic, seems to cross the Medieval period. The Arab version of a letter sent by king João II to the inhabitants of Azemmour, dated August 14th 1486, was composed by Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Ruʿaynī, who presented himself as "ẖaṭīb from your brethren ġurabā [sic]" (Cénival 1934 :14 - Arab version) (see note 36). It is possible that this more complete identification corresponded to the same Mafamede Láparo, insomuch he wrote a second letter in the 22th of April, 1504 (Cénival 1934 :84 -Arab version), identifying himself only as Ruʿaynī, and he was one of the few Muslims to stay in Portugal after 1496.
[95] For all these elements see Barros 2007 b, 328-329.
[96] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1118, fls. 21-23,
[97] Oliveira e Viana 1993, 194.
[98] ANTT, *Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo* 878, n.º 272.
[99] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1120, fls. 68-72. The king's letter of confirmation was issued in 1501 and is published in Viterbo 1907, 254-255.
[100] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1118, fls. 79 v-83.
[101] ANTT, *Hospital de S. José*, Book 1117, fls. 7-9; idem, Book 113, fls. 3v.-4.