Islamophobic Narratives of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian History? Analyzing the Historiography of the Iberian *Reconquista* (718/722–1492/1614) from Feminist and Postcolonial Perspectives

By Pablo Monerris Galvañ

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Gender Studies, Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies with Specialization in Women's and Gender History

Supervisor: Professor Francisca de Haan, Ph.D.

Second Reader: Professor Marianne Thivend, Ph.D.

Budapest, Hungary

2018

Abstract

This thesis analyzes the (mainly Spanish and Anglo-American) historiography that discursively constructed Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relationships in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia (711–1614) as a parenthesis amidst Catholic political domination, territorial unity, religious orthodoxy, and ethnic exclusivity. While traditional historiography has approached the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia through the concept of *Reconquista*, since the middle of the 20th century the conceptualization of *Convivencia* and new theorizations in the fields of History, Postcolonial and Feminist Studies have promoted new historiographical debates on and approaches to the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. Using the theories of Orientalism, Intersectionality, gendered Islamophobia, Deconstruction and Performativity, this thesis analyzes the broad and complex historiographical field about Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history, and explores whether this historiographical body produces narratives that can be interpreted as a biased discourse.

My analysis shows that the use of the concept of *Reconquista* has played a powerful role in constructing a nationalist and exclusionary vision of Spanish history, in which Catholic and Muslim subjects were and continue to be constructed in oppositional and hostile ways. Secondly, it argues for the importance of recognizing the historical and historiographical roots of contemporary gendered Islamophobia.

Resumen

Esta tesis analiza la historiografía (principalmente en lengua española e inglesa) que construyó discursivamente la presencia musulmana y las relaciones entre personas musulmanas y cristianas en la Iberia medieval y bajo-moderna (711-1614) como un paréntesis en medio de la dominación política católica, la unidad territorial, la ortodoxia religiosa y la exclusividad étnica. Mientras que la historiografía tradicional ha abordado la historia de la Iberia medieval y bajo-moderna a través del concepto de *Reconquista*, desde mediados del siglo XX la conceptualización del término *Convivencia* y las nuevas teorizaciones en los campos de la Historia, los estudios poscoloniales y feministas han promovido nuevos debates historiográficos y nuevas aproximaciones a la historia de la Iberia medieval y moderna. Utilizando las teorías y métodos del Orientalismo, la interseccionalidad, la islamofobia de género, la "deconstrucción" y la "performatividad", esta tesis analiza el amplio y complejo campo historiográfico sobre las personas musulmanas en la historia ibérica medieval y bajo-moderna, y explora si este cuerpo historiográfico produce narraciones que pueden interpretarse como un discurso sesgado.

Mi análisis muestra que el uso del concepto de *Reconquista* ha desempeñado un papel importante en la construcción de una visión nacionalista y excluyente de la historia española, en la que los sujetos históricos musulmanes se construyeron de manera opuesta y hostil a los cristianos. En segundo lugar, defiende la importancia de reconocer las raíces históricas e historiográficas de la islamofobia de género contemporánea.

Declaration of Original Content

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of original research; it contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word count for this thesis are accurate:

Body of thesis (all chapters excluding notes, references, appendices, etc.): 44,708 words

Entire manuscript: 64,089 words

Signed by: Pablo Monerris Galvañ

Acknowledgements

First of all, this research has been possible thanks to the vital work of my supervisor, Professor Francisca de Haan. I want to show my deep gratitude to her, for her patience, resilience, honesty and assistance in facilitating an optimal intellectual environment to discuss and shape the questions that guided my research and helped me to conceive and develop the final project. I also want to thank her for her relentless support and commitment, which has helped me to make the most out of this complex and labyrinthine research and to better navigate the many obstacles and personal impediments I found on my way. I also want to thank my second reader, Professor Marianne Thivend, for her confidence and support, as well as for her enriching questions and for placing me in contact with similar research projects being conducted in France.

This thesis is also the result of the invaluable love and support of my family and friends. The time and energy I have devoted to this research have been possible thanks to the amazing care and continuous support that my parents and sister have given to me since the first day. Without my family's trust in the power of a liberating education and their commitment to a more democratic, respectful and freer society, this thesis would have never come out. As for my friends, I thank my "family of choice", scattered around the globe, for their priceless help and assistance, which allowed me to visit archives and libraries in Barcelona and helped me to go through the physical and emotional obstacles of embarking in this research. Göksu, Kiel, Seyda, Ana, Namwar, Kruskaya, Sarah, Mert, Tankut, Arman, Ida, Kaveri, Santi, Dam, Célia, Vinod, Andi, José, Rodrigo, Aroa, Daniel, Abbas, Nassr, Brigitte, Loreto, Paula, Lieke, Teresa, Moniek, Glenda, Nadia, Hü Meyra, Naomi, Jacques and Nicholas are among the many names of the feminist family who has made all this possible. Thank you to all of you for your love, care and support.

Finally, I also want to show my gratitude to six professionals on the fields of Education, History and research on the Social Sciences who helped me to identify problems, sources and blind-spots in my research topic. To respect their privacy, I do not mention their names here but, nevertheless, I also want to thank them for their help.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

"Thus, although nobody, not a single person in al1 the world wishes to listen, the historian would be obliged to ask the question of why we have reached this situation, and even more obliged to answer it, even if in doing so he or she discredits themselves before their friends and neighbours."

José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec (2007).[1]

1.1. Description of the Topic, Aims, Research Questions, Structure of the Thesis and Sources

On September 22, 1983, the Spanish Senate started a debate on the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The first politician to intervene, Márquez y Cano, a representative from the conservative party *Alianza Popular*, conveyed the Islamic origin of Spanish *machismo* from a historiographical perspective:

> "[...] This topic affects this Hispanic *machismo*, an inelegant term, but it is a phenomenon that existed and exists.
>
> I proceed, following the examples of humanistic boasting of some of my colleagues, to remember a funny historical simplification made by Jacques Chevalier [...] as to why the Moors seized Spain so quickly and without resistance until they reached Covadonga. The interpretation is very clear: they ["Spaniards"] met with invaders whose philosophy was not only polygamy, but that the woman worked like a donkey while they gave themselves fully to the best life. According to Jacques Chevalier, this was the motive and the origin of the old Hispanic *machismo*.
>
> […] If your gentlemen reread the Article 11 [of the Convention], you will see that the terms of protection to motherhood and so on seem entirely a document taken from a letter of Saint Paul to the Galatians. […] Perhaps with this, what is done is to recognize the remote

[1] José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec, "Which History for the 21st Century," *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum*, no. 1 (2007): 27.

origin of that process of liberation and *dignification* of women, which has a very clear and very large name that is Christianity."[2]

In sum, this quote gathers many of the elements that are covered in this thesis: Orientalism, gendered Islamophobia, the usage of history to support political causes and, above all, the historiographical narrative that has traditionally dominated the approach to the history of Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia (which historians often comprise between the years 711 and 1614), termed as the *Reconquista* (in English, the Reconquest).[3]

In a nutshell, this thesis addresses the *Reconquista* as an old historiographical discourse and attempts to analyze it in the light of 20th and 21st century academic literature on the (post)coloniality of modern systems of knowledge and power, on Feminist History and Gender Studies, and on the presence and discrimination against Muslims in contemporary Western societies. These academic fields and topics not only provide the theoretical framework with which I analyze the historiographical construction of the *Reconquista*; they are also the ground on which some historians and social scientists have recently questioned whether Islamophobic discourse and actions in the present –hate speech and discrimination towards Muslims within a system of hierarchical power relations– may be informed by older narratives that have historically constructed Muslims as alien *others*, described them as a rather homogenous and immutable group,

[2] Senado de España, "Diario de Sesiones del Senado del 22 de septiembre de 1983," Diario de Sesiones del Senado (Madrid: Senado de España, September 22, 1983), Senado de España. Diarios de Sesiones., http://www.senado.es/web/actividadparlamentaria/publicacionesoficiales/senado/diariossesiones/index.html?id=22091983&aFilter=d.

[3] The noun 'Iberia' stands here for the Iberian Peninsula and the adjacent Balearic Islands –on the Mediterranean– which comprise the present-day states and entities of Spain and Portugal (excluding its outer Atlantic and North-African domains, the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, and the archipelagos of the Canaries, Azores and Madeira), Gibraltar and Andorra. This term is not always used by historians, especially in publications in the Spanish language, but is widely accepted in English as a more accurate reference to the geographical context than other denominations.

and defined national identities worldwide in opposition to such constructions. For that matter, my thesis aims to explore the extensive historiographical production on the concept of *Reconquista*.

This research analyzes the current state of the history of Muslims at Medieval and Early Modern Iberia from feminist, postcolonial and intersectional perspectives. In the light of an emerging academic literature that theorizes and documents events of gendered Islamophobia in present-day Spain and beyond, this thesis uses theories initially aimed to analyze societies in the present to inquire what are the historiographical discourses –if any– that underlie the discrimination of Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. Thus, the academic body that supports the pertinence of this question results from the bridging of theories of Medieval and Modern Iberian historiographies, Intersectional Feminisms, Women's and Gender History, gendered Islamophobia, and Postcolonial theories. The main principle that guides this research, gendered Islamophobia, is examined as a form of discrimination happening at the intersection of different categories of identity, and orients my analysis in that it leads me to ask whether the theory and concept of gendered Islamophobia, applied to analyses of the historiography of Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, can direct historians to new and interesting ideas.

Globally, the main research questions I ask are, first, how have historians –especially those who have published in English or Spanish, with a stronger focus on the 19th to 21st centuries– written about the history of Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia from the concept of the *Reconquista*. Secondly, I inquire whether this concept has influenced historiographical narratives at different centuries and historical contexts and, thirdly, whether contemporary historians identify any historiographical currents, changes and debates. Fourthly, these previous questions lead me to ask whether such historiography may contain biases

regarding their approach to Muslims in general and to some Muslim groups (i.e. Muslim women, cross-dresser, transgender, intersex, non-white and/or Muslims with non-normative genders and sexualities). Fifthly, I ask if some theories and conceptualizations linked to the fields of Feminist/Gender and Postcolonial Studies can guide historiographical analyses on these questions and if they can provide new conclusions. Sixthly, on this matter, I specifically rise the question whether some historiographical narratives of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia that employ the idea of the *Reconquista* may reproduce (gendered) Islamophobia or even constitute an islamophobic discourse themselves. To sustain my historiographical analysis and guide me in the task to answer these questions, in this thesis I employ a range of concepts and theories, including Orientalism, developed by Edward Said; Deconstruction, coined by Jacques Derrida; Islamophobia, while giving priority to questions of racialization and to the Runnymede 1997 Report; gendered Islamophobia, Jasmin Zine's approach and subsequent debates in Spain; Intersectionality and Women's and Gender History, Kimberlé Crenshaw's definition and debates on the applicability of Intersectionality and categories of Gender to Women's and Gender History; and Performativity, as coined by Judith Butler. Seventhly, and lastly, the usage of these concepts and theories will serve me to question their applicability to analyses of the historiography about Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history.

The thesis is organized in four main chapters. In the introduction, besides presenting my thesis (1.1), I also note its limitations and situate my own narrative within this research (1.2). In chapter 2, "Theoretical Framework and Methodology", I explore the conditions that have brought up the theory and conceptualization of gendered Islamophobia (the genealogy of the concept), and I explain this and other theories –such as Intersectionality, Orientalism and Gender as a category of historical analysis– that allow me to problematize and evaluate the complex characteristics of the

historiography that surrounds the concept of the Iberian *Reconquista* from the perspective of discrimination, power-relations and Muslim-Christian relationships, with a special focus on how the historiography deals with women's and minorities' agency, roles and clothing in the relations between Muslims and Christians in the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. I pay especial attention to the scholarship that emerged after the Canadian scholar Jasmin Zine conceptualized gendered Islamophobia in 2006, and the impact that this theory has had in Spain.

Chapter 3 is the analytical core of the thesis, where I develop my historiographical analysis. It looks at the concept of the Iberian *Reconquista* and questions how and to what extent the narrative of the *Reconquista* has mediated the historiography of Muslim presence and of the relationships between Muslims and Christians in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. After an introduction in which I detail the main questions and ideas that will guide the chapter (3.1), I provide an overview of the historical background of Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia (3.2). This serves to situate the general historical picture that clarifies the main topics of historiographical inquiry and debate. Thirdly, I ask how historians have explained the early conceptualization of differences between Muslims and Christians, for which I delve in the historiographical construction of the idea of *Reconquista* in Medieval Iberia (3.3). Fourthly, in "Challenging Post-World War II historiography" I look at how the concept of *Convivencia* has challenged historians of Medieval Iberia to rethink their historical analyses of difference and interaction through notions of violence and coexistence (3.4). This sub-chapter sets the ground on which traditional narratives established for long in the historiographical study of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian History have been challenged since the half of the 20th century. In this respect, first I explore the origins, criticism and development of the idea of *Convivencia* as part of a deconstructivist approach to Iberian Medieval historiography (3.4.1). Then I explore how the

debate created by this idea and its alleged opposition to the narrative of the *Reconquista* has led some historians to new and interesting conclusions. For that matter, I analyze the famous work authored by David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (1996), which focuses on gendered, marginal and minority violence in the Medieval Crown of Aragon and France (3.4.2). The study of this work allows me to continue with the historiographical analysis of other authors who postulate the beginning of an increasingly racialized discourse of religious difference in Late Medieval Iberia.

In subchapter 3.5, "Excluding the *other*", I investigate how some historians have investigated the processes that help us understand how difference in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberia (14th, 15th and 16th centuries) was increasingly problematized from the intersection of gender and sexuality, of ethnicity and religion, and of all these categories altogether. I explore the emerging racialization of these social categories in the process of reformulation of asymmetrical power relations in the Iberian society. In 14th, 15th and 16th century Iberia, overlapping with several actions to enforce gender, sexual, ethnic and religious segregation, the bridging of ethno-religious difference that had restricted social mobility led to an increasing social anxiety, motivated by the –more often coerced– mass conversions of Jews and Muslims. In this subchapter, I look at a couple of leading cases of transgender and/or intersexual figures through the historiography of female masculinities and masculine femininities in Early Modern Iberia, and I ask whether the historiography of such figures can help historians to better understand that complex process of segregation and racialization in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. My analysis here is also intended to build on my previous analysis of the crusaders' ideology and the gendering of the *Reconquista* in subchapter 3.3, and to prepare the ground to explore the complex dynamics of the 16th, 17th and, especially, 19th centuries historiography on Medieval and Early Modern Iberia.

In subchapter 3.6, "*Maurophilia* and Islamophobia in the *orientalization* of Spanish history", I explore the canonical historiographical assumption of the impossibility of Islam and Muslim presence in Iberia through the work of two 19th century Spanish historians who were nationally and internationally acclaimed at their time, Pascual de Gayangos and Florencio Janer, and I contrast this historiography with some works on the treatment of Moriscxs and their final *expulsion* from Spain in 1609–1614 (about 300,000 Spanish subjects), that supports my analysis in situating 19th century historiography in relation to the ideological domination of a teleological *Reconquista*.[4] Here I inquire how the idea of the "loss" and "recovery" of Spain influenced 19th century historical analyses that attempted to document the history of Iberian Muslims –or of Muslim presence in Iberia, since some historians have debated whether Muslims could be considered "Iberian", "Hispanic", "Portuguese" or "Spanish."[5] How were these historical analyses written? How did historians in the 19th century explain the "starting" and "ending" points of Muslim presence in Iberia? What arguments did they use (consciously or not, but this is not my concern, for my aim is not to judge the historians, but to critically analyze their work) to justify this narrative?

Thus, in this subchapter, I will explore the complex dynamics of the 19th century historiography that attempted to create new histories of "Muslim Spain" and of the social conditions for the expulsion of 16th–17th century Spanish Moriscxs through the analysis of the work of Pascual de Gayangos and Florencio Janer. I will further contextualize and analyze their work and the historiographical context in which they wrote by looking at the historiographical analyses of 21st

[4] The "Moriscos" were the Muslims who remained in the Christian-ruled kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and who were forced to convert to Catholicism at different episodes in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. On my usage of the term "Moriscxs" instead of "Moriscos" see subchapter 2.4.3.

[5] In this respect, to avoid more ambiguous characterizations, I refer to the historiography of "Muslim presence in Medieval and Modern Iberia", and not to the "historiography of Spanish Muslims", which nevertheless would more accurately refer to the historiography that documents Muslims in Modern and Contemporary Spain and exclude the field that covers Muslims in Portugal.

century historians Mercedes García Arenal and Barbara Fuchs, who have been widely recognized in academic circles for their analyses of Orientalism and *Maurophilia* in Modern Spanish history and historiography. This will help me to contrast the historiographical narrative of Gayangos and Janer with the analysis of the work of William Childers in the 21st century, and further inquire why some Moriscxs' acts of resistance to forced assimilation thrived while others did not, applying an intersectional perspective to my historiographical analysis. I will end with a summary of the idea of Moriscxs' *expellability*, developed by Jose María Perceval, in the discursive construction of Moriscxs as expellable subjects, in order to explore why the discursive and the historiographical constructions of the idea of *Reconquista* made it impossible for Moriscxs, the last Early Modern Iberian Muslims –and officially converted "New Christians"–, to inhabit Modern Iberia. In sum, this analysis is aimed to help me answer the question: what can we obtain from an intersectional analysis of the historiographical construction of the concept of the *Reconquista*, while employing a framework of gendered Islamophobia, Feminist History and different Postcolonial theories? This will be followed by the last sub-chapter (3.7) before the chapter conclusions, where I will briefly examine some recent evaluations of the meaning of the concepts of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia* in the 21st century and I will question if they present any significant changes in the analyses covered previously in this chapter.

Lastly, I will summarize my findings and present them in chapter 4, conclusions. Readers will find a glossary of non-English terms and loanwords, as well as of other terms that frequently generate debate and confusion, and a Reference List of all the sources mentioned and annotated in the thesis.

1.2. Methodology and Sources

The methods that I employ in analyzing the historiography on Muslim presence and Muslim-Christian relationships in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia are historical close reading and historiographical deconstruction. Regarding historiographical deconstruction, the British historian Alun Munslow suggests that applying this method to historical inquiry –a postmodern and/or deconstructionist approach to historiography– can help researchers to understand how "methods and concepts as well as the debates about their nature are the products of historical time periods."[6] I will come back to this method in subchapter 3.4.1 "*Convivencia and 'deconstruction*". Besides, close reading can be defined as a method that consists in thoroughly engaging with texts, giving them a special attention, while precisely contextualizing them. Although the North American literary critics Frank Letricchia and Andrew DuBois elaborated this definition of "close reading" focusing primarily on the study of primary texts, in my thesis I attempt to bring this method to analyze the historiographical production on my topic of research.[7] In other words, here I analyze the historiographical body that builds on the narrative of the *Reconquista* as historical text themselves, since each historian's work mirrors the historical context in which it was written in as much as it represents the histories the author(s) wrote about.

While reading Edward Said's *Orientalism* and the article by Fernando Bravo López about the origins of islamophobia "Towards a definition of Islamophobia", it was clear that it was not a coincidence that the first documented approaches to the concept of islamophobia appeared at the late 19th and early 20th century. In the context of French colonialism in North-West Africa different "administrateurs-ethnologues" wrote reports and essays in which they warned about the problems

[6] Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 15.
[7] Frank Lentricchia and Andrew DuBois, *Close Reading: The Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 3–4.

of hostility against Islam and Muslims in Senegal, Algeria and Tunis. However, what connects these *ethnologues* writing at different years and location was an extended perception of "a struggle which opposed Christian Europe against the Muslim 'Orient'."[8] This led me to research the historiography of Medieval Iberia produced between the 19th century and the 1960s –the decade of many movements of independence in European colonies in Africa– as well as to search possible connections between the historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and the Spanish colonization of Morocco and the Western Sahara. Many of the most relevant articles and books that I found are included in chapter 3.

Authors such as Gemma Torres, Geoffrey Jensen or María del Mar Logroño Narbona discuss the justification of Spanish colonialism and/or the legitimization of Spanish diplomacy with Arab-majority countries on the idea that Spain, because of its 'particular' history in the European continent held a privileged position as a bridge between European and 'Oriental' civilizations.[9] This idea proved to be extremely useful for the Spanish public diplomacy and is still repeated by private and public institutions to argue for the role of Spain as a mediator in the alleged 'clash' or 'alliance' of Islamic and Western civilizations –which the former Spanish and Portuguese PM José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and Jorge Sampaio have helped to advance as a program within the UN since 2004.[10] The same idea has changed its materialization in different historical contexts, but it

[8] Christopher Harrison, *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29; Fernando Bravo López, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 4 (April 2011): 566, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.528440.

[9] See: Gemma Torres Delgado, "Arquetipos Masculinos En El Discurso Colonial Español Sobre Marruecos," in *Feminidades y Masculinidades: Arquetipos y Prácticas de Género*, ed. Mary Nash (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2014), 75–102; Geoffrey Jensen, "Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden: BRILL, 2014), 495–532; María del Mar Logroño Narbona, "'Carmencita' Goes East: Francoist Cultural Discourses about the Middle East," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 533–55.

[10] ELPAIS.com and Europa Press, "La ONU nombra al portugués Sampaio alto representante de la Alianza de Civilizaciones," *El País*, April 26, 2007, sec. Internacional.

has been adapted while retaining the same basis: a narrative that conceives the history of Spain as an oscillation between periods of violent conquest and peaceful coexistence between the 'Spanish peoples' and the 'foreigners' who inhabited Spain. Therefore, we are talking about a historical and/or historiographical narrative that –hypothetically– is flexible enough as to serve both for the discrimination of Muslims and peoples perceived as Muslims in contemporary Spain, as well as to facilitate seemingly privileged diplomatic relations between Spain and Arab/Muslim-majority countries because of a supposedly shared cultural background. In any case, in order for myself to be in a position where I could critically answer this question, I would need to, first, develop my thesis' conclusions and, secondly, to develop a further analysis of the employment of the discursive construction of the *Reconquista* for political purposes in the 20th century, which my thesis does not aim to do due to logical limitations.

From the Spring of 2017 to January 2018, I searched for articles, books, thesis, magazines, manuscripts and publications in other layouts, both in physical/material and digital format, in the libraries of the Central European University and the CEU-ELTE Medieval Library in Budapest (Hungary), the archive and repository of the National Library of Catalonia at Barcelona, the library of the University of Alacant (Spain), and in the libraries of the University of Lyon 2 and the École Normale Superior de Lyon (France). The main search engines that I have used for digital journals and articles, thesis and e-books are the CEU Library Catalog, EBSCO Global Search, Google Scholar, the CSIC Virtual Library, and the Collective Catalogue of Spanish Public Libraries (CCBIP).[11] Concerning the manuscripts and other bibliography published before the 20th century, such as the 19th century historiography which I cover in subchapter 3.6, I have consulted digitalized

[11] Catálogo bibliográfico colectivo de la Red de Bibliotecas del CSIC: <https://csic-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?vid=34CSIC_VU1>
Catálogo Colectivo de las Bibliotecas Públicas Españolas: < http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCBIP/cgi-ccbip/abnetopac/O11131/IDf84447bc/NT1?ACC=111&LANG=es-ES>

copies in some catalogs, such as The Collective Catalogue of Catalonia's Bibliographical Heritage (CCPBC), and the Collective Catalog of Spanish Bibliographic Heritage (CCPB).[12]

1.3. Limitations, Politics of Location and Situated Knowledge

"It is not difference which immobilizes us, but silence."
Audre G. Lorde (1978).[13]

What is the historian's responsibility in *doing* History? And what in studying what other historians have written about 'the past'? Since the 1960s, social movements and change in the social sciences –encouraged by materialist, postcolonial, feminist, and LGBTIQ+ approaches– have promoted a growing consensus among historians that "all histories are ideological in the sense that they provide a view of the world and a perspective on what we should know about that world."[14] Thanks to their efforts, nowadays we know that, in constructing knowledge about the past, historians (re)produce power relations. The relationship between power, truth and knowledge is an old ethical and theoretical question that has engaged many philosophers and historians, including the French Michel Foucault (1926–1984), and the North-Americans Sandra Harding (b. 1935) and Donna Haraway (b. 1944).[15] Drawing from their contributions, Loreto Ares, a Spanish

[12] Catàleg Col·lectiu del Patrimoni Bibliogràfic de Catalunya: <http://ccuc.cbuc.cat/search~S22*cat>
Catálogo colectivo del patrimonio bibliográfico español: <http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCPB/cgi-ccpb/abnetopac/O12172/IDaae6ba1f?ACC=101>
[13] Rudolph P. Byrd, Johnnetta Betsch Cole, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *I Am Your Sister: Collected and Unpublished Writings of Audre Lorde*, Transgressing Boundaries: Studies in Black Politics and Black Communities (Oxford University Press, USA, 2009), 43.
[14] Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), 13.
[15] See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 27; Sandra G. Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–99, https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066.

activist and scholar on Media and Gender Studies, asks how can we construct knowledge without creating power relations, if there is not knowledge outside power, and all perspectives are unstable and contradictory?[16] Her suggestion follows Haraway's arguments in her 1988 article "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective": To reject the possibility of objective and universalizing knowledge and to accept the situated character of knowledge.[17]

Haraway's argumentation connects with that of the North-American feminist scholar and writer Adrienne Rich (1929–2012) in her 1984 article "Notes Towards a Politics of Location".[18] Here, Rich argues for feminists and researchers to acknowledge what she calls the "politics of location".[19] Rich reflects on how the location of her knowledge within categories of color, gender, sexuality, religion and nationality (i.e. a white North-American Jewish lesbian woman), directly affects her perception of History and the world, having an impact on her individual understanding and participation in feminist struggles. Thus, Rich impels the reader to recognize that our experiences happen in a certain context, in order to recognize our own subjectivities, bridge the personal and the political and challenge possible biases in this process. Drawing from the feminist economist Michèle Pujol, let me point out that, if "the personal is political", the political is historical, and my identity and my experiences are now part of my analysis in Women's and Gender History.[20] Hence,

[16] Loreto Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia" (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2017), 47.
[17] See Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–99.
[18] Adrienne Rich, "'Notes Towards a Politics of Location,'" in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Reina Lewis (London & New York: Routledge, 2013), 29–42; Adrienne Rich, "'Notes Towards a Politics of Location,'" in *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985* (London & New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 210–31.
[19] Rich, "'Notes Towards a Politics of Location,'" 2013, 32.
[20] Michèle Pujol, "Into the Margin!," in *Out of the Margin: Feminist Perspectives on Economics*, ed. Edith Kuiper and Jolande Sap (London: Routledge, 1995), 19; quoted in Loreto Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia" (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2017), 49–50.

how can I share this knowledge without creating relations of power? The short answer: I cannot. Loreto Ares (2017) argues that to explain our location is not to explain ourselves, but to recognize our positionality within the complex system of power relations we inhabit.[21] Following Ares' argument, in "Situated Knowledges" (1988), Donna Haraway reasoned that, although we will only be able to express a portion of the location of *what* we know and *how*, to make it explicit is to engage in a relation of accountability with our readers that "implies responsibility for our enabling practices."[22] Positioning ourselves can destabilize the positivist tradition –historically dominated by white men– to regard scientific rhetoric as objective and universal. Instead, it may enhance feminist networks of sharing power and knowledge in which researchers do not intend to know *for* others but *with* them, such as decolonial feminisms. This, as well, is currently a debated subject.

In the elaboration of this thesis, two critical difficulties have accompanied me through all the research and writing process: the management of sources and my personal relation to the topic. Regarding the first, this is my first attempt to write about historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, and to do so from a framework built from Gender and Postcolonial Studies –which I explain in Chapter 2 (2.2 to 2.4). Concerning my personal relation to the topic, in this thesis I address questions from a historical perspective which relate to issues that have been deeply problematic for me in my upbringing. As a *queer* white Spaniard, I've been brought up in a Catholic family with a tradition of participating in the festivities of "Moors and Christians" in South-Eastern Spain, which I joined until I turned 17 years old –when I stopped attending them. These festivities are based on the representation of battles of the *Reconquista* between Christians and Moors –which occasionally include representations of Jews and Pirates as Moors and of Roma people as

[21] Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia," 50.
[22] Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 587.

Christians. Besides, my 'conversion' to Islam four years ago, on one hand, and my participation in activism around gender and sexual diversity within Islam, and against sexual violence, gender discrimination, ableism, racism and islamophobia, on the other hand, also affected –first– my decision to write this thesis and –secondly– the psychological difficulties I have encountered in handling some sensitive documentation. But another psychological issue affected my research as well. In particular, the elaboration of this thesis has brought me closer to issues which I had for long avoided to conduct research about in Spain: questions of racism and racialization, gendered and sexual violence, and conflictive representations of History, masculinity and *Spanishness*, all of which relate in diverse ways to my personal experience.

Despite these difficulties, I believe that my thesis has led me to a better understanding of the role of gendered Islamophobia in the historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, and I know that this thesis is only the beginning of a lengthy process of learning how to deal with those aspects of doing research in History and Gender Studies that are disturbing or traumatic to researchers. Dealing with issues that are perceived as problematic can move researchers to acknowledge their own subjectivities and to prioritize ethics and academic integrity in the writing process. However, the manifestation of trauma in this process re-signifies the sense of what is *problematic* in the relationship between the researcher and the research itself.[23] This has been the origin of my frustration to not find enough time and place in an MA thesis, which of course demands a humbler intention. Despite the discomforts I have found in conducting this research, and my continuous efforts to achieve the quality I seek, I believe that this challenging process has

[23] These questions have been discussed especially by some researchers working on Affect Theory, Decolonial Feminisms and Women's History. However, due to a lack of time, I cannot quote all the references from these fields here that are relevant to me. This reflection comes from my own experience in feminist activism and the political commitment shared with my professors and colleagues in Gender Studies at CEU, where the reading of Audrey Lorde and Donna Haraway (both quoted above) among other authors, has helped me to shape these considerations.

helped me to uncover some of the individual dilemmas that were hindering my wellbeing and affecting my research and composition. This MA thesis has been one part of a challenging process of uncovering and re-discovering sources and interpretations as much as of recovering myself from the psychological burden met in that process. For these reasons, I am grateful for having been able to undertake this thesis in the MATILDA MA program at CEU and for all the support I received in the process.

During my research I felt obliged to do the most comprehensive location, reading and selection of sources. I was motivated by the necessity to answer the research questions of this thesis, and by the self-imposed obligation to build up knowledge on the covered topics. Audre Lorde's quote at the beginning of this subchapter induced me to think about the historiographical *vacuum* – sometimes a convoluted *labyrinth* instead– that surrounds issues of discrimination in Medieval and Modern Iberian history from an analytical perspective that openly encompasses hate speech, dehumanization and annihilation. This lack of –or, at best, the difficulty to know about and locate– such works, poses a problem to those people who feel ravaged and appalled at ongoing processes of human rights' violations, without any references that may help them to understand such processes from a historical perspective. When I began this thesis, I felt I had been denied the access to this knowledge, first, as a result of the misuse of History in Spain and, secondly, due to the lack of courses and accurate information on the History of Muslims, Women and non-normative genders and sexualities at all levels of the Spanish educational system.[24] The importance and dimension of this problem motivated me to elaborate a solid theoretical framework, in order to be able to discern

[24] Later, I will come back to this question. Three important sources on this are: Mercedes García-Arenal, "La conquista islámica y el uso político de la historia," *Revista de libros*, no. 123 (2007): 6–8; Gema Martín Muñoz, Begoña Valle Simón, and María Ángeles López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe: guía didáctica para profesores y formadores* (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, Dirección de Relaciones Culturales y Científicas, 2010); Henar Gallego Franco and Mónica Moreno Seco, eds., *Cómo enseñamos la historia (de las mujeres): homenaje a Amparo Pedregal* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2017).

what mattered for my thesis from what did not, but I constantly questioned whether I was on the right track, and whether my framework was adequate. Again, it is silence which immobilizes us.

However, after 10 months of research I had gathered more than 1,200 sources among primary and secondary ones (only those partially or completely examined), including digitalized Medieval and Modern documents, contemporary historical and historiographical essays, 6 interviews with professionals on Islamophobia, Early Modern History and Pedagogy, a plethora of relevant academic articles, and a significant number of theses, magazine and newspaper articles, travel books, drawings, pictures and paintings, government acts and parliamentary session records, as well as video and radiophonic records. The immense volume of sources gathered allowed me to understand the centrality of Al-Andalus, the Moriscxs and Christian-Muslim relations in Iberian History for contemporary Spain and for studies on Gendered Islamophobia, and the relation of all these topics to the historiographical concept of the Iberian *Reconquista* (718/720–1492/1614). As I will argue below and throughout this thesis, historiographical narratives on Medieval and Early Modern Iberia still matter today in conversations about gender, identity and discrimination in Spain and, consequently, I believe that such research needs to be done and continued, especially in Spanish and Portuguese critical academic environments.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explain the theoretical framework, sources and methodology that situate and construct my research. In the following pages, I explore the origin and meaning of the term 'islamophobia', I review the historical context of this concept, and I outline some of the recent debates on islamophobia as a phenomenon of discrimination that always intersects with gender (2.2). By doing so, I intend to provide a theoretical framework for gendered islamophobia (2.3). Then, I introduce Gender History, intersectional theory and the latter's relevance for Gender History (2.4). Subsequently, I describe how I have collected my sources and how I analyzed my data (2.5).

2.2. Islamophobia

2.2.1. Defining Islamophobia

Islamophobia is, in short, a "complex and multifaceted" system of hatred towards Islam and Muslims.[25] "It is a form of structural, cultural and epistemic violence, […] addressed against Muslim people and people wrongly perceived as Muslim."[26] According to some scholars, this hatred is supported by a racist and colonial structure initiated in Europe more than 5 centuries ago

[25] Farah Elahi and Omar Khan, eds., *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All* (London: Runnymede Trust, 2017), 6.
[26] Brigitte Vasallo, "Islamofobia," in *Barbarismos queer y otras esdrújulas*, ed. Platero, R. Lucas, Rosón, Maria, and Ortega, Esther (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2017), 281.

–closely related to the Christian Iberian 'Reconquest'–, whose strategies and manifestations have changed over time and place, but whose displays are never mere prejudices.[27] Thus, islamophobia cannot be reduced to a prejudice held by some individuals. Instead, it needs to be defined as a systemic, hegemonic and institutionalized form of oppression, and one that permeates all aspects of society. Even if the targets of islamophobic discrimination are Muslims, the effects of islamophobia are often experienced beyond Muslims in the societies where they live. For example, the increase of anti-Muslim attitudes shown after September 11, 2001, has been used as an excuse not just to attack Muslims in Middle-Eastern countries and beyond, but also to limit the rights and freedoms of underprivileged collectives in Western societies.[28] As Sondra Hale concludes in her 2005 article "Edward Said—Accidental Feminist: Orientalism and Middle East Women's Studies": Edward Said's *Orientalism* opened "the door to our realization that Euroamericans, through discourse, have contributed to the subordination of both Middle Eastern and Euroamerican women."[29] In subchapters 3.4.2 to 3.7 I will try to explain how, since the second half of the 20th century, the historiography of Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia has provided examples that allow me to further illuminate the relationship between islamophobia and the loss of freedom for Muslims and non-Muslims alike, with deeper consequences for women. Now, what I want to remark is that I understand islamophobia as a racist and colonial discursive apparatus on Islam and Muslims.[30]

[27] See Ramón Grosfoguel and Eric Mielants, "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 1 (September 23, 2006): 2–3.

[28] Ramón Grosfoguel and Eric Mielants, "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 1 (September 23, 2006): 7, 10–11.

[29] Sondra Hale, "Edward Said—Accidental Feminist: Orientalism and Middle East Women's Studies," *Amerasia Journal* 31, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 5.

[30] I will come back to this later. I summarize my definition from the Runnymede 1997 Report, from the book chapter "Islamophobia", written by the Spanish writer Brigitte Vasallo, and from the PhD thesis by the Spanish scholar on Media and Gender Studies Loreto Ares, in which she discusses Orientalism as part of her theoretical framework. See

2.2.2. Historicizing Orientalism and Islamophobia

The term 'islamophobia' (*islamophobie* in French) started to be used in the early 20th century in the context of the French colonial rule in North–West Africa, when it was used in essays about local and colonizers' perceptions of French rule in Algeria, Senegal and Tunisia. The origins of the term 'islamophobia' have been researched by the Spanish Anthropologist Fernando Bravo López, who is a scholar at the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM in its Spanish acronym) and has authored several publications on Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. In his article "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century" he shows that the term islamophobia was first recorded in two documents from 1910.[31] The first of these, an article by the French Africanist Maurice Delafosse (1870-1926) entitled "L'état actuel de l'islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française", advised French colonial authorities how to "wrestle with Islam":

> "Whatever those for whom Islamophobia is a principle of indigenous administration may say, France has no more to fear from Muslims in West Africa than from non-Muslims. [...] Those who most ardently wish to see us leave the country –and there certainly are those who feel this way– do so not because we are not of their faith, but simply because we are not of their race, their mentality or their land, because we are foreigners. […]
>
> Islamophobia therefore has no raison d'être in West Africa, where Islamophilia in the sense of granting preference to Muslims, would create a feeling of distrust among the non-Muslim populations, who are more numerous.
>
> We are therefore duty-bound to strive to maintain the *status quo* and remain absolutely neutral with regard to all religions in the interests of European domination and of course in the interests of the natives."[32]

The second case of usage of the term islamophobia found by Bravo López is a PhD thesis written by Alain Quellien, "a functionary in the French colonial ministry", titled *La politique*

Nasreen Rehman et al., *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All* (London: The Runnymede Trust, 1997); Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia," 30–35; Vasallo, "Islamofobia."

[31] Fernando Bravo López, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 4 (April 2011): 556–73.

[32] Maurice Delafosse, "L'état Actuel de l'islam Dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française," *Revue Du Monde Musulman* 11, no. 5 (1910): 32–53; Maurice Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Soudan Français)*, vol. 3 (Paris: Émile Larose, 1912), 211–12; quoted in Bravo López, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia," 562.

musulmane dans l'Afrique occidentale française. Fernando Bravo López does not include in his article any quote from Alain Quellien's thesis in which this author employs the term *islamophobie* but, instead, he offers several quotations in which Quellien summarizes his definition of islamophobia, such as the following one:

> "Prejudice against Islam has always been widespread among the people of Western and Christian civilization and still is. For some, the Muslim is the natural and irreconcilable enemy of the Christian and the European; Islam is the negation of civilization, and barbarism, bad faith and cruelty are the best one can expect from the Mohammedans."[33]

Although Delafosse and Quellien may have both written on islamophobia in 1910, we can observe that both authors qualified islamophobia in a different way. While Maurice Delafosse understood islamophobia as animosity or fear *of* Islam, Alain Quellien thought of it as "an attitude towards Islam based on the belief that Islam –and Muslims as the incarnation thereof– is an implacable and absolute enemy", as summarized in Bravo López's words.[34] But why did the latter framework originate and what system endorsed it?

In 1978 the Palestinian-American philosopher Edward W. Said published his most-renowned book, titled *Orientalism*. Here he theorized Orientalism as a Western discursive construct of racist and colonial imaginary that sustained the domination of "Orientals" within hierarchical structures and the discrimination towards Orientals in a categorical opposition to "civilized" Europeans.[35] In Said's words:

> "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident.' […] Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over

[33] Alain Quellien, *La Politique Musulmane Dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris: Émile Larose, 1910), 133; Bravo López, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia," 563.
[34] Fernando Bravo López, "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 4 (April 2011): 563.
[35] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 2–3, 12–15, 73, 171.

it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[36]

Therefore, Orientalism can be described as a Western discursive apparatus on the 'Orient' –generally understood as the societies of the Asian and African continents– which was created by Europeans as a means to think, reason, recognize and assess "the truth" about the Orient, which legitimized Western control and domination in the political, military, economic and academic spheres.[37] Thus, Orientalist discourse granted Europeans both a privileged knowledge about –and in relation to– the colonized lands and peoples in Asia and Africa and the justification to exert control over those societies, both culturally and politically. However, in a few cases, Orientalism surpassed the boundaries of representing *colonized* societies, and also embraced the representation and theorization in popular and academic terms of a colonialist society as well. This was the case with Spain in the 16th to 19th centuries, which British, French, Dutch, German and North-American –the latter in 18th and 19th centuries– academics, journalists and artists represented as a country in between Europe and 'the Orient', with the argument that Spain had only partially surpassed its own Islamic past, retaining many elements of –an Orientalist assumption of– Arab and Islamic culture.[38] I will come back to this question in subchapters 3.5 and 3.6.[39]

[36] Said, 2–3.

[37] About "truth" and Orientalism as a system of ideas, Said tells us: "One ought never to assume that the structure of Orientalism is nothing more than a structure of lies or of myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away. I myself believe that Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient (which is what, in its academic or scholarly form, it claims to be). […] Orientalism, therefore, is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied—indeed, made truly productive— the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture." Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 6.

[38] On this question, see the article by Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (1996): 423–46; and the book by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[39] A question which I do not analyze in this thesis is how recent historiography has treated the process through which in the late 19th and in the 20th century Spanish colonialism in North-Africa and the Francoist State may have attempted

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975) offer the framework to understand islamophobia as a discursive apparatus that, although different from Orientalism, remains connected to it. I summarize this approach to islamophobia from the eloquent PhD thesis by the Spanish scholar on Media and Gender Studies Loreto Ares, in which she discusses Orientalism and Foucault's understanding of *power* and *knowledge* as part of her theoretical framework.[40] In his research, Foucault explored how *power* defines *knowledge* and he investigated how scientific knowledge is employed as a mechanism for control. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said acknowledged the relevance that Foucault's two publications mentioned above had for him to identify Orientalism as a discourse:

> "My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post–Enlightenment period."[41]

Thus, employing Said's and Foucault's ideas together, we can define islamophobia as a racist and colonial 'discursive apparatus' on Islam and Muslims that always operates in relation to gender. It is racist because it employs structures and strategies of domination that are governed by racism, resulting in the racialization of Muslims –in a similar fashion that anti–Semitism has historically racialized Jewish people in the West.[42] It is colonial because (especially Spanish,

to re-appropriate the orientalist construction of Spain and Spanish history, and use this discourse for a new strategic legitimization of Spain in the colonization of Morocco and the West Sahara, as well as to benefit from an advantageous relationship with different States in the Middle East during the 1950s. On these and other questions, see Gemma Torres Delgado, "Arquetipos Masculinos En El Discurso Colonial Español Sobre Marruecos," in *Feminidades y Masculinidades: Arquetipos y Prácticas de Género*, ed. Mary Nash (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2014), 75–102; María del Mar Logroño Narbona, "'Carmencita' Goes East: Francoist Cultural Discourses about the Middle East," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 533–55.

[40] See: Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia," 30–35, 46–47.

[41] Said, *Orientalism*, 2003, 3.

[42] About the racialization of Muslims in the framework of islamophobia, see Grosfoguel and Mielants, "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-

Portuguese, French and British) colonial history and colonial power relations underlie and regulate the structures and mechanisms of islamophobia, guiding them in the 'post–colonial' present world context, even when imperialism has acquired new and changing manifestations.[43] And it is gendered because, regardless of how we refer to islamophobia –as *Anti-Muslim Racism*, *Islamophobia*, or *Gendered Islamophobia*, to name three existing terms– there is not a specific type of islamophobia that intersects with gender. Instead *all* categories and manifestations of islamophobia are intrinsically gendered, as scholar and writer Sirin Adlbi Sibai argues in her book (in Spanish) "The Prison of Feminism: Towards Decolonial Islamic Thought".[44]

Orientalism and islamophobia are two different systems of knowledge and power –in Foucauldian terms–, but they relate to each other since islamophobia is understood here as a discursive apparatus backed up in "the West" by the racist and colonialist structure that Said named *Orientalism*. By "discursive apparatus" I refer to Foucault's understanding, concisely summarized by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben: a heterogenous network of "discourses, institutions, buildings, laws, police measures, philosophical propositions, and so on", which is located "at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge."[45] Following Agamben it seems logical to assert that islamophobia is the discursive apparatus that "always has a concrete strategic

System"; Saher Selod and David G. Embrick, "Racialization and Muslims: Situating the Muslim Experience in Race Scholarship," *Sociology Compass* 7, no. 8 (August 2013): 644–55; Naved Bakali, *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Racism through the Lived Experiences of Muslim Youth*, Transgressions 5 (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2016), 18–35.

[43] Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Cultural Critique*, no. 1 (1985): 89–107; Hamid Dabashi, *Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in a Time of Terror* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 209–27; Hale, "Edward Said—Accidental Feminist."

[44] I have translated the English title here from the Spanish original: Sirin Adlbi Sibai, *La cárcel del feminismo: Hacia un pensamiento islámico decolonial* (Ediciones AKAL, 2018), 129; Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia," 33.

[45] Giorgio Agamben, *Che Cos'è Un Dispositivo?* (Nottetempo, 2006), 2–3. This short book has been translated from Italian to English with significant differences in the terms employed in each version, to attempt to maintain the intelligibility in the translation. Thus I employ the Italian version, while this fragment can also be found here: Giorgio Agamben, David Kishik, and Stefan Pedatella, *What Is an Apparatus? And Other Essays*, Meridian: Crossing Aesthetics (Stanford University Press, 2009), 2–3.

function" and that is located in the power/knowledge relations that, in this case, are created by Orientalism.[46]

One of the central questions posed by some authors who have researched islamophobia in present-day Spain –on one hand– and by some historians who have qualified the oppression of Iberian Muslims in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberia as islamophobic –on the other hand– is whether the conditions for the emergence of an Iberian islamophobic discourse originated in the 18th century –as Said affirmed when referring for the larger Western islamophobic discourse– or if we can find earlier precedents in the History of Muslim-Christian relations in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula, –meaning– before the academic Orientalist production of the 18th century.[47] For Said there is a clear distinction between a sort of ancient or "early" Orientalism and "modern Orientalism", marked by a turning point at the late-18th century: "Europe came to know the Orient more scientifically, to live in it with greater authority and discipline than ever before. But what mattered to Europe was the expanded scope and the much greater refinement given its techniques for receiving the Orient."[48] Said centered his work on "modern Orientalism" because of the enormous relevance it had for his personal and academic life. However, he left the door open for new research on Orientalism before the scope covered in his work: representations of the Orient before the second half of the 18th century. In the framework of Orientalism, Orientals are all the peoples who are defined and represented in terms of "the Orient". In that sense, the history of Medieval Iberia –and other European Mediterranean regions– fall into the scope of early Orientalism as well.

While Said understood Orientalism as a system of power/knowledge that can clearly be tracked

[46] Agamben, Kishik, and Pedatella, *What Is an Apparatus?*, 3.
[47] Said, *Orientalism*, 2003, 3.
[48] Said, 22.

from the European Enlightenment onwards, other authors suggest that the origins of islamophobia go back to the Christian "quest" against Islam in the Medieval Mediterranean regions, in which the Iberian *Reconquista* –in the West– and what 19th–21st historiography refers to as "the Crusades" –often exclusively identified as the crusades in the Eastern Mediterranean– appear as two triggering events. Authors such as Eloy Martín Corrales suggest in this direction but only mention the importance of the *Reconquista* to understand the formation of prejudices against Muslims in the Iberian context, not beyond it.[49] I agree that the origins of Orientalism can be traced to the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and other areas in Southern Europe (8th to 11th centuries): "For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma", as much as Medieval Islamic society was a source of awe and learning for many Europeans.[50] Since the 11th and 12th centuries, the Orient and Orientals have been "depicted as something one judges (as in a court of law), something one studies and depicts (as in a curriculum), something one disciplines (as in a school or prison), something one illustrates (as in a zoological manual)."[51] The point is that in each of these cases the Oriental is contained and represented by "dominating frameworks" in which Orientals are denied the right and recognition to ever represent themselves "objectively" or accurately, but are always represented by the orientalists instead, as a means of subjugation.[52] Hence, in the hypothetical case that we can trace such dominating frameworks in the historiographical narratives about Medieval Iberian history, it would be reasonable to question if we can also identify the origins of islamophobia as a discursive apparatus in those narratives and/or in the events narrated.

According to Said, Orientalist knowledge disseminated through the professionalization of

[49] Eloy Martín Corrales, "Maurofobia/islamofobia y maurofilia/islamofilia en la España del siglo XXI," *Revista CIDOB d'afers internacionals*, no. 66–67 (2004): 40.
[50] Said, *Orientalism*, 2003, 59.
[51] Said, 40.
[52] Said, 40.

knowledge, universities and research societies, which did not consider Orientals fit for the study of Orientalism. Orientals were always conceived as static, backward, subjective and linked to a set of reductive and dehumanizing characteristics: despotic, passive, lazy, treacherous, ambiguous, lustful, aggressive, and unable to control their instincts. Such characteristics given to the Oriental resulted in an enormous scientific and artistic production since the end of the 18th century. This worked as a way to reaffirm European identity as opposed to a culturally inferior Orient, while promoting the study of the past glory of Arab and Oriental civilizations and the history of the decay of the "Oriental man" to a savage state in which "he" knew nothing about "liberty" and morality.[53] At the same time, the academic study of this process of civilizational and moral decay provided the justification for colonial projects, since these were regarded as a means to civilize Orientals who had degenerated from their previous state.[54] However, this vision of the History of the Orient did not result in the idea that the Orient could produce civilized societies without the guidance of the Enlightened European countries.[55] Thus, Orientalism also functioned as an epistemic framework, "a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them")".[56]

Since 1978, Said's book has influenced a wide number of academic fields and publications that analyze Orientalism and Orientalist production as a historical phenomenon, as "a discourse", as a "system of knowledge", as a political philosophy, as "positional superiority", but also as a contemporary problem, as a material reality, and as a current field of studies that has radically changed the areas of Middle East, Feminist and Post-colonial studies.[57]

[53] Said, 171–72.
[54] Said, 44, 167.
[55] Said, 176, 257.
[56] Said, 43.
[57] This summary is part of a class presentation by CEU Gender Studies Professor Nadia Jones-Gailani: Nadia Jones-Gailani, "'Week 4: Edward Said, Orientalism, and Postcolonialism;' Postcolonialism And Feminism(s) (GENS 5105).

One of the most relevant examples of how Said's work contributed to shape new ideas is shown by the Canadian scholar Jasmin Zine. In her 2006 article "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia", Zine points to the epistemic racism of the Orientalist project:

> "Through Orientalist discourses, 'the Orient' comprising the Middle East and Asia was constructed as a barbaric, anachronistic space outside of the progress and civility of European modernity. These colonial narratives served ideologically to rationalize and justify European expansion and exploitation within Muslim lands as part of the 'white man's burden' to civilize the savage races. Orientalism still maintains currency within the Western imagination and serves to legitimize more contemporary neo-imperialist practices and to maintain positional superiority of the West in relation to Islam and Muslim societies."[58]

Nowadays, islamophobic discourse has exchanged the label 'Orient' for 'Islam', but it still retains the idea that the "Orient-Islam" is an homogenous entity where all "Muslims-Orientals" live, feel, think, suffer, react and behave in the same way and for the same motives, regardless of their agency, gender, class, racialization, sexual orientation, age, functionalities, political views, or nationality, among other categories.[59] Brigitte Vasallo, who frequently publishes articles about gendered islamophobia in Catalan and Spanish newspapers and magazines, argues that "this essentialist imaginary generates a binary opposition composed of two contrary and excluding ideas: the Orient-Islam and the West."[60]

This discourse holds a hierarchic view in which some of the referents and meanings that are linked to Islam are: oppression, repression, despotism, totalitarianism, instability, submission, injustice, intolerance, irrationality, cruelty, misogyny and homophobia. By contrast, the West would correlate to values such as: Christianity, liberalism, individualism, democracy, progress,

Central European University (Budapest)" (February 1, 2018). For a review on Feminist usages of Orientalism, see Sondra Hale, "Edward Said—Accidental Feminist: Orientalism and Middle East Women's Studies," *Amerasia Journal* 31, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 1–70.

[58] Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 250.

[59] Frantz Fanon, *Los condenados de la tierra* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 1999), 34; Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 281.

[60] Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 281.

modernity, security, freedom, citizenship, secularism, rationalism, tolerance, human rights, women's rights and sexual rights.[61] Jasmin Zine, Brigitte Vasallo and other researchers argue that, in the present, islamophobia cannot be understood as a Western phenomenon only. Non-Western societies also participate in the construction and reformulation of islamophobic discourse, with reformulations coming from India, Myanmar, Russia and the Philippines –to name a few countries. Consequently, Vasallo suggests we should no longer refer to the "Orient-Islam vs. the West" as a binary construct when we refer to Contemporary History, but to the binary construct of the "Orient-Islam vs. Islamophobic World" instead.[62] According to Zine and Vasallo, the concept of the "Islamophobic world" would comprise all societies in which Muslim populations are minoritized and discriminated on an islamophobic basis –as well as on the basis of gender, class or nationality, since these categories operate together.[63] This means that the *othering*, dehumanization and criminalization of Muslims are no longer phenomena that are generated exclusively in Europe and North America. On the contrary, they have become the alibi for defending military campaigns undertaken in Muslim majority countries (i.e. the "war against terror") or for civilizing purposes (i.e. "war for democracy", for the liberation of "women", or for the protection of "LGBT individuals").[64] Besides, some countries in which Muslims are a minority have recently passed laws that target Muslims and other minorities, which serve at the same time to apply large repressive policies that affect to all the population of such states.[65] It is due to these new

[61] Rehman et al., *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*.
[62] Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 281–82.
[63] Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 239–40.
[64] As an example, the allegations made by former British PM David Cameron on 2015 about the bombing of areas controlled by ISIS in Syria and the protection of women and LGBT individuals in those same areas. See Rhuaridh Marr, "Syria Bombings Could Make LGBT People 'More Vulnerable,'" *Metro Weekly* (blog), December 4, 2015, https://www.metroweekly.com/2015/12/syria-bombings-could-make-lgbt-people-more-vulnerable/.
[65] For instance, the 2017 National Security & Defense of the USA, "Presidential Proclamation Enhancing Vetting Capabilities and Processes for Detecting Attempted Entry Into the United States by Terrorists or Other Public-Safety Threats," The White House, September 24, 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-

manifestations of islamophobia and its functioning at the state-level today that islamophobia 'surpasses' the boundaries of the targeted populations. Three researchers who are linked to the Autonomous University of Madrid, Laura Mijares, Johanna Martine and Virtudes Téllez, explain this issue in their 2018 article "Constructing Subaltern Muslim Subjects":

> "Kundnani (2016) considers that Islamophobia is fully integrated in our political and economic structures and serves to racially classify populations, in order to organize the spatial distribution of rights, naturalize an unfair social order and to depoliticise any resistance. In this respect, the extent of this political rationality exceeds Muslims as a group targeting the 'potentially dissident' population in general."[66]

2.2.3. 'Closed and open views of Islam and Muslims' – The Runnymede 1997 Report

As we have seen above, the term Islamophobia started being used in 1910. It continued to be in use during the following decades, especially in the French language, and appeared as a neologism in English in the 1970s, after several events of political decolonization and waves of migration from ex-colonies with significant Muslim populations to France and Great Britain. The term "reached public policy prominence" with the report entitled *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*, published by the Runnymede Trust in 1997.[67] The Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia (CBMI) is a British think tank that was created in 1968 to challenge racism in Britain, at a time of migration coming mostly from former and current British colonies in South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. The 1997 Runnymede report is still the most influential work regarding the concept of Islamophobia. The introduction of the term was justified by the

proclamation-enhancing-vetting-capabilities-processes-detecting-attempted-entry-united-states-terrorists-public-safety-threats/.

[66] Laura Mijares Molina, Johanna Martine Lems, and Virtudes Téllez Delgado, "Constructing Subaltern Muslim Subjects: The Institutionalization of Islamophobia," *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos* 0, no. 24 (June 27, 2018): 4; Arun Kundnani, "Draft Paper on Islamophobia as Lay Ideology of US-Led Empire," *Arun Kundnani* (blog), January 13, 2016.

[67] Farah Elahi and Omar Khan, eds., *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All* (London: Runnymede Trust, 2017), 5.

report's assessment that "anti-Muslim prejudice has grown so considerably and so rapidly in recent years that a new item in the vocabulary is needed."[68]

The 1997 Runnymede report proposed 8 indicators to help identify Islamophobia, which was understood as viewing Muslims and Islam as monolithic entities and as ideological adversaries to "the West", who needed to be fought, disciplined and reformed. It contrasted "open" and "closed" views of Islam and stated that the following 8 "closed views" signify Islamophobia.[69] Here I have summarized their 8 indicators:

1. Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change (rather than as diverse and dynamic).
2. It is seen as separate and "other" (rather than as similar and interdependent). It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them. Muslims do not have common values with other peoples, cultures or religions.
3. To think about Islam as a religion and a way of thinking that is inferior to Western values. To defend that Islam/Muslims are archaic, barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist and homophobic.
4. Islam seen as an enemy, not a partner. To see Islam and Muslims as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and engaged in a clash of civilizations. This includes the imaginary of invasion, infiltration and a quest for the domination of the West.
5. Muslims seen as manipulative, not as sincere (without calling this supposition into question). To reject criticism towards islamophobic thought. To believe that Muslims or all Muslims use Islam for strategic, political and military advantage, rather than as a religious faith and as a way of life shaped by a comprehensive legal tradition. Islam is seen as a

[68] Farah Elahi and Omar Khan, eds., *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All* (London: Runnymede Trust, 2017), 5.
[69] For a detailed account of the 8 indicators see Rehman et al., *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*, 4–13.

political ideology, used for political or military advantage. This links to the vocabulary of "islamist", "fundamentalist", etc., but also of referring to some Muslims with labels such as "moderate."

6. To reject criticism of "the West" by Muslims, and to discredit criticism of islamophobic thought out of hand. Muslims being dismissed of public debates and from community initiatives and development. Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.
7. To defend, justify and naturalize the violence towards Muslims. 'Racial' discrimination against Muslims defended rather than challenged.
8. Anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural and normal.

The report contrasts these "closed views" with "open views" on Islam and Muslims, which, while founded on respect for Islam and Muslims, permit legitimate disagreement, dialogue and critique. The Runnymede 1997 report noted that anti-Muslim discourse in the UK was increasingly seen as respectable, and provided examples of how hostility towards Islam and Muslims was accepted as normal, even among those who may actively challenge other prevalent forms of discrimination.[70]

[70] Elahi and Khan, *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All*, 2017, 5.

2.2.4. Islamophobia and the Racialization of religious affiliation, Class and Gender

"The Jew and I: Since I was not satisfied to be racialized,
by a lucky turn of fate I was humanized.
I joined the Jew, my brother in misery."
Frantz Fanon (1952).[71]

Since the appearance of the term, scholars and activists have debated whether islamophobia is a manifestation of racism or not. I side with those who argue that islamophobia is a racist manifestation with some specific characteristics, and one which is always gendered. Ramón Grosfoguel, a Puerto Rican scholar whose works focus on the decolonization of knowledge and power, has written that islamophobia is a specific form of cultural racism. Grosfoguel argues that islamophobia is a form of racism that does not even mention the word "race", but which focuses on the alleged cultural inferiority of a group of people based on the perception of their beliefs, habits, values and behaviors.[72] This line of thought suggests that, even if islamophobia was conceptualized as something different from racism, it falls within the scope of Critical Race Theory.[73] For example, if we look at Europe, in England Islamophobia is inextricably linked with racism towards the Pakistani population, in Germany with racism towards the Turkish community, and in Spain and the Netherlands with racism towards Moroccans.[74] Hence, islamophobia and racism cannot be considered as separate or independent phenomena. Moreover, specific conditions in each context further complicate the networks through which islamophobia operates, making it

[71] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, New edition, Get Political 4 (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 92.
[72] Ramón Grosfoguel and Eric Mielants, "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 1 (September 23, 2006): 2–6, 8–9.
[73] Naved Bakali, *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Racism through the Lived Experiences of Muslim Youth*, Transgressions 5 (Sense Publishers, 2016), 22–23.
[74] Ramón Grosfoguel and Eric Mielants, "The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System: An Introduction," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 1 (September 23, 2006): 5.

necessary to specify the History and sociopolitical circumstances in each case. In that sense, my thesis is aimed –among other things– to contribute to the understanding of islamophobia in Spain and –to a lesser extent– Portugal in their historical context.

In the Canadian context, Naved Bakali and Jasmin Zine have given special attention to the articulation of racialization, gender, age and class. In regard to class, Bakali advances that "class-based discrimination has also targeted European and North American Muslims. Muslims in European societies are mostly immigrants and are socioeconomically marginalized, as the immigrant unemployment rates are twice that of natives."[75] In relation to gender, Zine points out that "it is crucial to interrogate the process of racialization and the articulation of race and religion through gender difference and cultural otherness in the formation and reaffirmation of the *Muslimwoman* in the context of colonial modernity, where Islam as religion and social practice was depicted as the other of the Christian West through gender tropes and gender meanings".[76] The term *Muslimwoman* is employed by scholars Jasmin Zine and Miriam Cooke in some of their publications to designate the essentialist understanding of Muslim women that resulted from the historical representation of such gendered opposition of Muslims vs. Christians in Western countries.

The discursive construction of Muslim women as governed un-autonomous subjects whose decisions are always coerced has been stimulated by media coverage, political debates and some feminist actions, especially since September 2001. This topic has also engendered a large amount of academic literature centered around Muslim women's clothing and public image, as scholars

[75] Jocelyne Cesari, "Islamophobia in the West: A Comparison between Europe and the United States," in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, ed. John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin, 1st ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 21–43; Naved Bakali, *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Racism through the Lived Experiences of Muslim Youth*, Transgressions 5 (Sense Publishers, 2016), 15.
[76] Jasmin Zine et al., "Roundtable Discussion: Religion, Gender, and the Muslimwoman," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 24, no. 1 (2008): 108.

and writers Martha C. Nussbaum and Lila Abu-Lughod show in their respective books *The New Religious Intolerance* (2012) and *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (2013).[77] Here, Abu-Lughod questions the origins of the oppression experienced by Muslim women, who are often portrayed as individuals devoid of any agency, in need to be liberated from their culture and religion, and argues the need for a different approach to appreciate the complexity and diversity in Muslim women's lives. According to Abu-Lughod, we need to approach problems that bound Muslim women's rights, cultural relativism and problems of "difference" from a different perspective, fundamentally one that recognizes biases and essentialists views:

> "we need to work against the reductive interpretation of veiling as the quintessential sign of women's unfreedom, even if we object to state imposition of this form, as in Iran or with the Taliban. […] One cannot reduce the diverse situations and attitudes of millions of Muslim women to a single item of clothing. And we should not underestimate the ways that veiling has entered political contests across the world."[78]

2.3. Gendered Islamophobia

2.3.1. Jasmin Zine's approach

Jasmin Zine is a Canadian professor of Sociology and Muslim Studies at the Wilfrid Laurier University, and an affiliated faculty member at U.C. Berkeley with the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project (IRDP). Besides the above-mentioned article, some of her most influential publications are the books *Canadian Islamic Schools: Unraveling the Politics of Faith, Gender, Knowledge and Identity* (University of Toronto Press, 2008), "the first ethnography of Islamic

[77] See: Martha C. Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012); Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2013).
[78] Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, 40.

schooling in North America", *Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement* (Ashgate, 2006), and the award–winning *Guidelines for Educators on Countering Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims: Addressing Islamophobia through Education* (OSCE, 2011), in which she participated as an education consultant for the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (ODHIR/OSCE).[79] Her publications have been leading in the field of Islamophobia Studies and acclaimed for "developing international guidelines for educators and policy-makers on combating Islamophobia and discrimination against Muslims."[80]

In 2006, Jasmin Zine published the article "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School", which coined the term *gendered Islamophobia* and initiated its conceptualization as a phenomenon of discrimination and as a category of analysis in academic and activist debates.[81] Zine aimed to deepen the understanding of how gendered religious identities were constructed in the schooling experiences of Muslim female students attending a Canadian gender-segregated Islamic school, in a context of "competing and contradictory Orientalist and fundamentalist discourses", over the "reading, regulation and consumption of Muslim women's bodies."[82]

In another article of the same year, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement", Zine notes that her first academic usage of the term

[79] The Center for Race and Gender at the University of California Berkeley, "Jasmin Zine," *Islamophobia Research & Documentation Project* (blog), 2018.
[80] The Center for Race and Gender at the University of California Berkeley, "Jasmin Zine," *Islamophobia Research & Documentation Project* (blog), 2018.
[81] Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 239–52.
[82] This has been Zine's central framework for analysis in several of her publications, such as in Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006); and in Miriam Cooke et al., "Roundtable Discussion: Religion, Gender, and the Muslimwoman," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 24, no. 1 (2008): 110, where this quote comes from.

appeared in her unpublished Doctoral Dissertation "Staying on the Straight Path: A Critical Ethnography of Islamic Schooling in Ontario" (2004).[83] However, it was through "Unveiled Sentiments" that the term received international dissemination and recognition.[84] Here Jasmin Zine coined the term "gendered Islamophobia" to refer to the specific manifestation of islamophobia that targets Muslim women and girls in Western diasporas.[85] According to Zine, the term gendered Islamophobia seeks to analyze the ways in which islamophobia and patriarchy affect women who are Muslim or seen as Muslim, upon whom two different but related discourses intersect: on one hand, a revitalized Orientalist discourse that systematically represents them as "backward, oppressed and politically immature women in need of liberation and rescue through imperialist interventions" and, on the other hand, "religious extremism and puritan discourses that authorize equally limiting narratives of Islamic womanhood and compromise their human rights and liberty."[86] To name these oppressions as gendered Islamophobia allowed Zine not only to make these phenomena visible, but also to link two questions that otherwise seem unrelated to some audiences in the West, who problematize any discussion on Islamophobia by alleging its inexistence. Because of this, Zine sometimes exchanges the term "gendered Islamophobia" for "gender-induced Islamophobia" or adds the later as a brief explanation of the former, and to highlight the need to think of islamophobia from a gender perspective.

[83] Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1 and 26. In page 26 Zine provides the following reference: Zine, Jasmin. (2004a), 'Staying on the Straight Path: A Critical Ethnography of Islamic Schooling in Ontario', Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto.

[84] In this 2006 article, Jasmin Zine writes *Islamophobia* always with capital *I*, whereas *gendered* –when preceding Islamophobia– with lower *G*. In my thesis, I write *Islamophobia* with a capital *I* when referring to the concept, and with a lower *I* –*islamophobia*– when referring to the general phenomenon of discrimination. When I write "gendered Islamophobia" I capitalize the letter *I* in *Islamophobia* –as Jasmin Zine does in her articles– whereas when I write *islamophobia* alone I write it with a lower *i*.

[85] Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 239 and 240.

[86] Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1.

Jasmin Zine situates the emergence of contemporary gendered islamophobia in the current context of the "war on terror", ongoing Orientalism and women's oppression coming from a multiplicity of fronts, the same global context that Martha C. Nussbaum and Lila Abu-Lughod later referred to in their above-mentioned books. When situating her knowledge and motivations, Zine remarks that "in the post 9/11 era, Muslim women navigate between both racialized and gendered politics that variously script the ways their bodies and identities are narrated, defined and regulated."[87] She explains gendered Islamophobia as the discrimination that Muslim women experience in Western diasporas because of the polarization of two oppressions: "racialized and Islamophobic discourses on one battle front and puritan, fundamentalist narratives on another."[88] And she asserts that, "as a Muslim feminist and anti-racist scholar-activist, […] [I am] held hostage to the contradictory meanings being imposed upon my body and subjectivity from these sites."[89] This idea is the same that allowed her to identify the multiple oppressions that subjected teenage Muslim female students in her ethnography explained in "Unveiled Sentiments".

Gendered Islamophobia –in Zine's understanding– is a real problem because Muslim women in Western countries experience its effects in their bodies, in their freedoms and in their ability to represent themselves, "as it operates socially, politically, and discursively to deny material advantages to Muslim women."[90]

[87] Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1.
[88] Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1.
[89] Jasmin Zine, "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism: The Politics of Muslim Women's Feminist Engagement," *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 3, no. 1 (2006): 1.
[90] Jasmin Zine, "Unveiled Sentiments: Gendered Islamophobia and Experiences of Veiling among Muslim Girls in a Canadian Islamic School," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 39, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 240.

2.3.2. Overview of recent Spanish and international publications and debates on Gender and Islamophobia

Since the publication of the 2006 articles "Unveiled Sentiments" and "Between Orientalism and Fundamentalism", many debates have emerged both in academic and activist contexts, with the intention to contribute, challenge and/or contest the validity, meaning and usage of the term and the very idea of gendered Islamophobia. In Spain, the general interest on gendered islamophobia has crystalized since 2014 through what I consider 6 areas of actions and publications:

1) The annual reports of the *Plataforma Ciudadana Contra la Islamofobia* (in Spanish, "Citizen Platform against Islamophobia"), one of the main organizations committed to fight against Islamophobia and publisher of annual reports on the impact of Islamophobia in Spain, which feature the term of gendered islamophobia since their 2014 report.[91]
2) Several newspaper and magazine articles, as well as TV programs, about gendered Islamophobia in Spain (translated as "islamofobia de género" in Spanish), such as those written or presented by Brigitte Vasallo and Laure Rodríguez Quiroga.[92]
3) The activist and institutional usage of gendered Islamophobia in assemblies, workshops, public demonstrations, announcements and manifestos, such as in *Red Musulmanas* –the main network of Muslim Women in Spain–, demonstrations of March 8 –*Women's Day* in Spain, at least since 2015–, the Critical Pride of Madrid (since 2016) –an independent platform that organizes debates and events on gender and sexual dissidences, anti-racism

[91] The annual reports can be found in: https://plataformaciudadanacontralaislamofobia.wordpress.com/informes/
[92] Brigitte Vasallo, "La islamofobia de género como violencia machista," *Pikara Online Magazine*, August 3, 2016, http://www.pikaramagazine.com/2016/03/la-islamofobia-de-genero-como-violencia-machista/; "Medina en TVE - Islamofobia de género," Video Recording, *Medina* (Televisión Española, August 6, 2017), http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/medina-en-tve/medina-tve-islamofobia-genero/4152099/.

and anti-capitalist feminist practices–, and numerous workshops and speeches by writers Brigitte Vasallo, Laure Rodríguez Quiroga and Natalia Andújar.

4) The publication of books and PhD theses that explain and/or question the usage of gendered Islamophobia, such as Brigitte Vasallo's "Islamofobia" in *Barbarismos Queer* (2017), Sirin Aldbi Sibai's book *La cárcel del feminismo* (2017) and Loreto Ares' thesis *La sexualidad no normativa palestina en el cine: Discursos hegemónicos y discursos de resistencia* (2017).[93] These publications contribute to the field of essays on gender and sexual diversity, women, Muslims and Islamophobia in Spain, such as those published by the Anthropologist Ángeles Ramírez, professor at the Autonomous University of Madrid, and writers and scholars Daniel Ahmed, Laura Navarro García and Laura Mijares.[94]
5) The celebration of seminars and conferences around this question, such as the "Encounters on Islamophobia and gender: women, feminisms, institutions and discourses against sexism and racism" celebrated in October 2017 in the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), and two research projects sponsored by the Spanish Ministry of Education on cultural and religious identifiers, Islam, Muslims, migration and political participation in Spain and other Mediterranean societies, conducted by professors, researchers and PhD candidates at the Autonomous University of Madrid.[95]
6) And finally, the organization of seminars and conferences in June and July 2018 in which Jasmin Zine participated as keynote speaker on gendered Islamophobia, Islamic feminisms

[93] See: Vasallo, "Islamofobia"; Sibai, *La cárcel del feminismo*; Ares, "La Sexualidad No Normativa Palestina En El Cine: Discursos Hegemónicos y Discursos de Resistencia."
[94] See: Ángeles Ramírez, "Muslim Women in the Spanish Press: The Persistence of Subaltern Images," in *Images of Muslim Women in War Crisis*, ed. Faegheh Shirazi (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2010); Angeles Ramírez, *La trampa del velo: el debate sobre el uso del pañuelo musulmán* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2011).
[95] See: Departamento de Psicología Social y Metodología UPV/EHU and SOS Racismo, "Encuentros sobre Islamofobia y género: Mujeres, feminismos, instituciones, discursos y actitudes frente al sexismo y racismo," UPV/EHU, October 6, 2017; Departamento de Estudios Árabes e Islámicos y Estudios Orientales, "Facultad de Filosofía y Letras - Proyectos de Investigación," 2017.

and decoloniality: A Summer School on Critical Muslim Studies in Granada, and "Conversations about Islamophobia and gender with Jasmin Zine" and "Gender Islamophobia and the Challenges of Islamic Feminism" in Casa Árabe (Madrid).[96]

Of course, this is not a complete account of all the actions conducted in academic and activist contexts but it does show some that have attracted more attention to the concept of gendered Islamophobia and to questions of gender, women, Islamophobia and/or anti-Muslim racism in Spain. What I want to highlight here is the profusion of the usage of the term gendered Islamophobia in Spain since 2014 and its application as a category of analysis in some of the publications, actions and events mentioned above. From these, the Spanish "Citizen Platform against Islamophobia" (PCI, in its Spanish acronym) has had a significant role in signaling gendered Islamophobia as a type of Islamophobia that primarily –but not exclusively– affects women. The PCI annual reports have recorded the concept of gendered Islamophobias since the 2014 report, and classified incidents against Muslim women since the 2015 report.[97] The PCI 2014 report noted 5 attacks and 2 cases of hate speech without physical aggression directed towards Muslim women, all of them related to questions of veiling and physical appearance, immigration, schooling and school materials –and all of which were reported.[98] By contrast, in the 2017 report the recorded number of incidents that targeted Muslim women had climbed to 113.[99] And since

[96] "Critical Muslim Studies: Decolonial Struggles and Liberation Theologies. Summer School in Granada, Spain. June 16 - June 22, 2018," n.d., http://www.dialogoglobal.com/granada/; Casa Árabe and Grupo de Análisis sobre Islam en Europa (GRAIS), "Conversaciones Sobre Islamofobia y Género Con Jasmin Zine," July 3, 2018, http://www.casaarabe.es/eventos-arabes/show/conversaciones-sobre-islamofobia-y-genero; Jasmin Zine, "La Islamofobia de Género y Los Desafíos Del Feminismo Islámico," July 3, 2018, http://www.casaarabe.es/eventos-arabes/show/la-islamofobia-de-genero-y-los-desafios-del-feminismo-islamico.

[97] "Islamophobia focuses predominantly and directly on women as visible victims, and they are the main target of behaviors of extreme intolerance by Gendered Islamophobia, part of people and organized groups, which requires priority attention." This fragment, translated by me, comes from: Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, "Informe Anual Islamofobia En España 2014" (Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, February 2015), 5.

[98] Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, "Informe Anual Islamofobia En España 2014" (Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, February 2015), 15–29.

[99] "Informe Anual Islamofobia En España 2017" (Plataforma Ciudadana contra la Islamofobia, February 2018), 24.

2015, Islamophobia has been registered each year as the main Hate Crime in Spain.[100]

In the article "Mujeres, pañuelo e islamofobia en España: Un estado de la cuestión" ("Women, Scarf and Islamophobia in Spain: Status of the Issue"), the Spanish scholars Laura Mijares and Ángeles Ramírez address the importance of the headscarf in the debates around Muslim women and islamophobia, and summarize three main uncritical associations through which non-Muslims approach Islam and Muslims in Spain: They conclude that the Islamic headscarf is treated in Spain as the main representation of Islam, that the history of Spanish-Moroccan relationships acts as a legitimation of exclusionary practices towards Muslims and immigrants in present-day Spain –associating Islam and Muslims as something alien and external to Spanish society–, and that these narratives converge in the naturalization of anti-Muslim sentiment.[101]

Women in Spain (and elsewhere) are often portrayed in the media and treated in the school environment as either submissive –if they "obey" someone else's orders to wear the headscarf– or terrorist –if they wear it "against" Spanish society.[102] In both cases, many in Spain perceive the headscarf and Muslim women who wear it as symbolically violent, because of the 'threat' they pose to either values of women's freedom –'Muslim women wear the veil because they are subjected to their relatives' control'– or to values of Spanish identity, which is seen as quintessentially Catholic –'the headscarf is a symbol of Muslimness and as such has no place within Spain'. Following one or the other reading, Muslim women who wear a headscarf are condemned to ostracism: in one case they are seen as voiceless, robbed of any agency (thus, sexism), while in the other setup their difference is just dangerous (hence, racism). Mijares and

[100] Nerea Balinot, "Feministas musulmanas contra la islamofobia de género," *www.elsaltodiario.com*, September 14, 2017.
[101] Laura Mijares Molina and Ángeles Ramírez, "Mujeres, pañuelo e islamofobia en España: un estado de la cuestión," *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, no. 24 (2008): 121–35.
[102] Mijares Molina and Ramírez, 131.

Ramírez argue that the overlapping of both axis of discrimination converges in "racialized sexism" as well as in "gendered Islamophobia", whose intention is to reinforce the construction of "the Muslim other" –represented by Muslim women– who is incompatible with Spanish society and its values.[103] Mijares and Ramírez developed these ideas in their 2008 article while analyzing the French context, regarding Muslim girls' access and rejection from education, and applying it to the Spanish context.

Despite the proximity and similarities between these two national contexts, the so-called "headscarf problem" has evolved in different ways on each side of the Pyrenees. Whereas the French government banned the wearing of "conspicuous religious symbols" in public schools in 2004, the exclusion of Muslim girls from attending public schools in Spain is not supported by any national or regional law. Since 2002, some Muslim female students –and a smaller number of Muslim male students– were denied access to their assigned Spanish schools with the requirement to remove their "religious clothing" –sometimes referring to attires other than the headscarf and no bearing specific religious connotations, such as djellabas–, but Spanish courts ruled for the reincorporation of these students in most cases. Mijares and Ramírez argue that the regulation of the wearing of the headscarf and other religious symbols at Spanish schools had been already agreed in the Cooperation Agreements of the Spanish State with the Islamic Commission of Spain of April 28, 1992 (which marked 5 centuries of the expulsion of Jews from Castile and Aragon, and almost 5 centuries of the forced conversion of the Muslims from Granada), and thus only needed to be implemented or reinforced, in contrast to the French case.[104] The 1992 agreements recognized Islam –along Judaism and Protestant faiths– as a religious tradition with solid grounds in the country, and granted some rights to these and a few other religious communities in Spain.

[103] Mijares Molina and Ramírez, 129.
[104] Mijares Molina and Ramírez, 131.

Coming back to the gendering of islamophobia, some researchers have also employed the term coined by Jasmin Zine to think about the gendering of Muslim boys and men's identities and experiences of islamophobia in Western countries, as well as to reflect on the articulation of Muslims' dissent towards gender and sexual norms in Western countries. One example is the book *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Racism through the Lived Experiences of Muslim Youth*, by the Canadian scholar Naved Bakali. There, he explores anti-Muslim racism in Canada as a phenomenon of discrimination always intersected by gender and class, with different manifestations for boys and girls.[105] Another example is the research currently being conducted by Spanish PhD candidate Daniel Ahmed, who investigates LGBT+ and Queer Muslim activism in Contemporary Europe.[106] In my research, I look at the conditions and inquiries that have brought up the theory and conceptualization of gendered Islamophobia and try to apply them to a study of the historiography of Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Spain, with a special focus on women's and LGBTIQ+ agency, roles and clothing in the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia.

Islamophobia affects each person and each context differently, depending on their racialization, gender, class, migrant status, legal status, language, etc., thus generating different intersections of oppressions and privileges. For example, a white and 'converted' person may experience a specific form of islamophobia, different from that suffered by a migrant and/or black person who comes from a Muslim-majority country (regardless of her/his/their religious affiliation).[107] Islamophobia also affects other non-Muslim people, such as Sikhs, if they are

[105] Naved Bakali, *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Racism through the Lived Experiences of Muslim Youth*, Transgressions 5 (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2016).
[106] Daniel Ahmed Fernández, "Islamofobia queerizada y resistencias musulmanas queer en tiempos de homonacionalismo // Queered Islamophobia and Queer Muslim forms of Resistance in times of Homonationalism," *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos* 0, no. 24 (June 27, 2018).
[107] Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 285–86.

mistaken as Muslims. To analyze the functioning of Islamophobia, then, it must be considered as an intersectional phenomenon.

From Zine's article "Unveiled Sentiments" we can conclude that *gendered Islamophobia* refers to three levels of interrelated oppression: to the hegemonic patriarchy that operates on Muslim women as women, to the Muslim patriarchy that operates on them as women and Muslims, and to the racism that they receive as Muslims. Brigitte Vasallo argues that this also includes racist feminism and single-axis feminisms, which only consider a gender axis, and thus join the current that hides or dismisses racialization, which necessarily enhances racism. According to her, the notion of gendered Islamophobia suggests that these forms of violence cannot be analyzed separately but that they integrate the same intersection of sexism and racism, thus conforming a specific form of violence.[108] Along similar lines, Stella Magliani-Belkacem and Félix Boggio Ewanjé-Epée wrote the book *Les féministes blanches et l'empire* (2012, in French), which delves into the instrumentalization of feminist movements and discourses as part of the civilizing mission of the French colonial project in North-Africa.[109] Even if they do not use the term gendered Islamophobia, it is evident that islamophobia has been –and is being– researched in different languages as a phenomenon that cannot be separated from gender.

There is also ongoing debate. One of the most interesting voices is that of the Syrian-Spanish writer and scholar Sirin Adlbi Sibai. She states that there is no specific islamophobia that intersects with gender, but that all islamophobia is intrinsically gendered, an issue I discussed above.[110] What most authors agree on is that to analyze islamophobia as always intersecting with gender allows us to work over different variants. It permits researchers to address the multiple forms of violence that

[108] Vasallo, 286.
[109] Félix Boggio Éwanjé-Épée and Stella Magliani-Belkacem, *Les féministes blanches et l'empire* (Paris: La fabrique éditions, 2012).
[110] Sibai, *La cárcel del feminismo*, 129.

happen in a wide gender spectrum, avoiding rendering some subjects and experiences invisible. For instance, the high incidence of police violence against Muslim men, and the construct of abuser man or "husband-offender" imposed on them; whether in India, Europe or the Americas.[111]

Other examples are the 'invisibilization' of non-binary Muslim identities, in which transphobia and islamophobia intersect, and the Islamophobic sexist violence inflicted upon the bodies of Muslim women in symbolic ways.[112] In activist movements in Europe and the Americas, islamophobia is commonly exerted in a –presumably– involuntary way, from a supposed "de-racialized" solidarity among LGBTIQ+ people, or among women. This form of intended solidarity, which only pays attention to gender, unintentionally creates racist violence concealed within feminist or LGBT liberation discourses. In all these cases, gendered Islamophobia is a useful category to identify the intersectional violence at work, as Brigitte Vasallo points out.[113] From these reflections I conclude that, in order to adequately analyze islamophobia, it is necessary to examine it as an intersectional phenomenon. Laura Mijares and Ángeles Ramírez express this idea in the following paragraph:

> "The truth is that Muslims are victims of multiple discriminations because of their ethnic-national origin, color, gender, nationality, language and, sometimes, by their own legal status. The point is that all these factors of discrimination are absolutely interconnected and, therefore, discrimination based on religion must be read in a context of wider discrimination in which the factors mentioned reinforce each other."[114]

[111] Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 285.
[112] On these questions see: Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle, *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical Reflection on Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2010), 278–317; Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*, 9–11, 78–80.
[113] Vasallo, "Islamofobia," 286.
[114] This is a translation from the Spanish original text. See: Mijares Molina and Ramírez, "Mujeres, pañuelo e islamofobia en España," 124.

2.4. Gender History and Intersectional Feminisms

"There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle,
because we do not live single-issue lives."
Audre Lorde (1982).[115]

2.4.1 Gender and History

In the 1980s, feminist historians such as Gisela Bock, Joan Scott, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall theorized about gender as "an organizing principle of social relations on a par with class, and, by definition, interacting with it."[116] Gender Theory, like Critical Race Theory, attempted to give meaning to the basic categories it employed. Thus, for historians working with and about gender, it was crucial to clarify the meanings of this concept. In her groundbreaking article "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (1986), the American historian Joan Scott affirmed that historians need a methodological approach that makes their results consistent. Scott argued that it is not enough to find women, gender, and gender difference in history, but that we need to understand what these considerations mean in each particular context. Otherwise, gender becomes an empty category, one with often dangerous connotations for the likely assumption of essentialist and universalizing implications. Thus, Scott argued that gender must be theorized in order to acquire an analytic power capable of addressing (and changing) existing historical paradigms.[117]

[115] Audre Lorde and Cheryl Clarke, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, Crossing Press Feminist Series (New York: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.
[116] Francisca de Haan, "Writing Inter/Transnational History: The Case of Women's Movements and Feminisms," in *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis = International history in theory and practice*, ed. Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller, Internationale Geschichte (Vienna, Austria), Bd. 4 (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 503.
[117] "In its descriptive usage […] Gender is a new topic, a new department of historical investigation, but it does not have the analitic power to address (and change) existing historical paradigms". Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1057.

Joan Scott defined gender as "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and as "a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[118] The Dutch historian Francisca de Haan synthetized Scott's approach to gender with the following remarks: first, that women's history was about the history of the "*sexes*" and of gender relations, "since women as a group never exist in isolation but always in relation to men";[119] "second, that both men and women are historical rather than pre-given categories; third, that gender is an organizing principle of individual and social relations in all domains of history, and is not just relevant regarding women and the family; and fourth, that gender is intrinsically related to power."[120] The fourth point means that "hierarchies in other realms of life were [are] often expressed in terms of gender, with dominant individuals or groups described in masculine terms and dependent ones in feminine."[121]

Scott's conceptualization of gender as a category of analysis was challenged and expanded by other scholars. One of these was the North-American Jeanne Boydston, who affirmed that, although useful, Scott's theorization was insufficient because it could lead to considering gender and women as pre-given categories, hindering other critical approaches to writing under-privileged and non-European women and genders into history. In sum, Boydston understood gender as a question rather than as a category of analysis.[122] Nevertheless, these debates contributed to expand the field

[118] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067.
[119] Natalie Zemon Davis emphasized this already in 1976, as mention by de Haan, "Writing Inter/Transnational History: The Case of Women's Movements and Feminisms," 503. For more details on Natalie Z. Davis' approach, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History" in Transition: The European Case, in: *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976) 83–103, quoted in de Haan's article mentioned above.
[120] de Haan, 503–4.
[121] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 2; quoted in Francisca de Haan, "Writing Inter/Transnational History: The Case of Women's Movements and Feminisms," in *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis = International history in theory and practice*, ed. Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller, Internationale Geschichte (Vienna, Austria), Bd. 4 (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 504.
[122] In Boydston's words, "We must decide just what history we want to write: the history of a particular definition of gender, treated as if it were abstract and universal, or the historically grounded histories of particular processes of

of Gender History, and in December 2008, *The American Historical Review* journal dedicated the Forum section in its volume 113/5 to the impact and legacy of Scott's 1986 article, assessing its path-breaking character and unpreceded impact in the history of the review.

2.4.2 Intersectionality and Women's and Gender History

Intersectionality is a theoretical and methodological paradigm that has been conceptualized by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. This renowned American civil rights activist and professor of Law has taught courses at Cornell University, Columbia and UCLA. Crenshaw first used the term *intersectionality* in her article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics", published in the journal *University of Chicago Legal Forum* in 1989.[123] Here, Crenshaw conceptualized Intersectionality as a framework to examine how different categories of discrimination –socially and culturally constructed– interact at multiple and often simultaneous levels, leading to systematic inequality.[124] According to Crenshaw, traditional perspectives include oppression patterns operating on a single-axis framework, such as those based on racism, ethnicity,

gendering, resulting in distinct cultural meanings with distinct social and cultural formations –gender, that is to say, as cultural process, various and altering over time (even within the modern period and even within western culture)". Jeanne Boydston, "Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis," *Gender & History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 576.

[123] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1/8 (1989): 31.

[124] Nina Lykke, *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2010), 50. In pages 50 and 51, Lykke offers this alternative definition: "According to this definition, intersectionality can, first of all, be considered as a theoretical and methodological tool to analyze how historically specific kinds of power differentials and/or constraining normativities, based on discursively, institutionally and/or structurally constructed sociocultural categorizations such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age/generation, dis/ability, nationality, mother tongue and so on, interact, and in so doing produce different kinds of societal inequalities and unjust social relations. […] As part of this general definition, it is important to underline that the point is to analyze how different categorizations are interwoven—how gender, for example, is interwoven with race, ethnicity, class and sexuality. […] What is important for many feminists when they speak of intersectionalities between gender, race, ethnicity and so on, is precisely these processes of mutual construction and transformation."

gender, religion, class, (dis)ability, language, nationality, age, etc. However, this approach differs from how social relations function, as explained by sociologist Myra Marx Ferree: "No one has a gender but not a race, a nationality but not a gender, an education but not an age. The location of people and groups within relations of production, reproduction, and representation (relations that are organized worldwide in terms of gender inequality) is inherently multiple."[125] In 1986, the Chilean writer, LGBT+ rights activist and Historian Pedro Lemebel illuminated his experience in Communist organizations with this sentence: "But do not talk to me about the proletariat, because being poor and faggot is worse."[126]

In her 1989 article, Crenshaw analyzed three cases of discrimination in the workplace in the USA during the 1980s, which targeted black women specifically, something that came clearer when contrasting the treatment of black women with that of their black male and white female counterparts. This case encouraged Crenshaw to argue about the limitations of analyzing oppression and discrimination from a single-axis framework (such as to understand discrimination as operating either through gender, or either through race), and to raise awareness of multi-faceted forms of oppressions that target collectives in a more complex mechanism. Using the different cases led by black female workers in her article, Crenshaw shows how the socially-constructed categories of gender, class and race do not work independently, but interact with one another. Within an intersectional framework "there are no gender relations per se, but only gender relations

[125] Myra Marx Ferree, "Globalization and Feminism Opportunities and Obstacles for Activism in the Global Arena," in *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*, ed. Aili Mari Tripp and Myra Marx Ferree (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 10; Francisca de Haan et al., eds., *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present*, Women's and Gender History (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5.

[126] This quote is extracted from the manifesto titled "Manifiesto (Hablo por mi diferencia)", which was spoken by Pedro Lemebel in a Communist meeting in Santiago de Chile in 1986. I have translated the original fragment, in Spanish: "Pero no me hable del proletariado, porque ser pobre y maricón es peor." See: Pedro Lemebel, "Manifiesto (Hablo por mi diferencia)," *La Conjura de los Libros* (blog), June 27, 2017.

as constructed by and between classes, races, and cultures."[127] This functioning leads to an oppressive system in which coercion is almost always the result of multiple forms of discrimination –i.e. misogyny and racism– which, while overlapping, create new specific forms of discrimination that differ from being the mere sum of one axis of discrimination plus the other.

The intersectional framework Crenshaw developed to approach these problems has proven to be remarkably useful and popular. It has provided a groundbreaking theory that allows researchers to: "(1) ground scholarship on gender in the histories of racism, classism, imperialism, and nationalism; (2) highlight how status positions are relational such that positions of privilege and disadvantage are connected; and (3) understand consequential differences among women (or among men) rather than simply differences between women and men."[128] The remarkable flexibility with which intersectionality has been used –and often misused– by scholars, activists, writers and politicians, had led intersectionality to be framed as "an approach, a research paradigm, a social literacy, an ideograph and an idea, and a field of study."[129]

In my research, intersectional theory is fundamental in the face of the ongoing discrimination that affects teenagers and adults, from different nationalities, who work or who are enrolled in Spanish schools and who are Muslim or perceived as Muslim. But Intersectionality is also a theoretical and a methodological problem for historians who aim to engage with the study of historical complex subjectivities. I argue that, if researchers want to deepen the understanding of both current and historical phenomena of discrimination, cases in the past and in the present need to be addressed from feminist perspectives that employ intersectional approaches. The link between

[127] Sandra G. Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 79, as quoted in Fabrizio Pelak, Cynthia, "Intersectionality," in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Sociology*, by George Ritzer and J. Michael Ryan, 1st ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 328–29.
[128] Fabrizio Pelak, Cynthia, "Intersectionality," 328–29.
[129] Ange-Marie Hancock, *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 192.

past and present phenomena of discrimination that target subjectivities at different historical contexts –whether these share traits identified as common or not– (i.e. Muslim women in 16th century Spain and present-day Spain) can only be done while placing them in their respective historical contexts. Otherwise, we will fall into generalizations and uncritical approaches that would not assess the origins and specificities of each case. To avoid this issue, we need to pose the relevant questions, to construct a solid analytical framework, and to employ the adequate methods. If we take the example of Muslim women in 16th century Spain and Muslim women in contemporary Spain, some may feel tempted to establish a linkage between both collective subjectivities on the basis of their apparent similarities (both collectives classified for being Muslim, women and living in Spain, though in different centuries), but researchers interested in these phenomena should not rush to make such rapid classifications.

One problem that intersectionality poses to historians is the questioning whether forms of discrimination that affect an identifiable collective or a given society in the present have their roots in an older part of history. If research confirms this type of hypothesis, then historians should inquire whether a system of oppression lays behind the discrimination they or others identify in past and present accounts. Intersectionality is the theory that allows historians to do more than just recognize the intricacy of multi-faceted discrimination in the past; it can support historians to theorize the systems that explain structural oppression and make meaning of subjects according to categories constructed socially. This said, the following challenge that intersectionality poses to historians is whether the categories that they employ to make sense of their findings and to identify and trace targeted subjectivities in the past and in the present are duly contextualized. Did the category 'women' mean the same in Spain in 1992 as in 1492? Surely, we need to question any assumption that does not place this and other categories in their historical context.

Thus, intersectionality is a fundamental tool to address the following question: Did Muslim men and women experience discrimination and/or islamophobia in the same way? But since this research centers on Historiography, I shall first inquire whether historians have written –or pronounced themselves in diverse ways– on Muslims' experiences of discrimination in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. And, in case of finding material, I should ask if discrimination may have been perceived in different ways by men and women in the past and in the present. Such a question, from an intersectional perspective, could provide us with information about the ways in which men and women experienced discrimination, the ways in which they constructed gender, and the ways in which they perceived Muslim identity.

Since its origins, Intersectionality has evolved as an interdisciplinary body of theory and practice that emphasizes the simultaneity of systems of inequality and oppression. Most authors who have contributed to this development have also asserted that categories of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Class, Sexuality and religious affiliation –among others– need to be conceptualized as fluid historical social constructions "rather than predetermined, transhistorical, biological or natural phenomena".[130] When employed critically, this framework allows researchers to better understand how individuals' gendered –and/or racial, class, ethnic, etc.– experiences are embedded within interlocking systems of oppression as grounded in relational power differentials. As Cynthia Fabrizio explains, "a woman's gendered experiences are always framed in the context of her racial and class locations", which, at the same time, are part of historically-contextual structures rather than mere individual traits.[131]

[130] Fabrizio Pelak, Cynthia, "Intersectionality," 328.
[131] Fabrizio Pelak, Cynthia, 329.

Just as the concept of "gender" has become an indispensable tool for feminist historians, intersectionality has become a fundamental theory and methodology for feminists from all disciplines and backgrounds, creating an ongoing debate and a diversity of opinions on how to define and apply this theory and methodology. Whereas most researchers approach intersectionality for its advocacy to social change in the present, some feminist historians have been attracted to it for its endorsement of historically specific analyses. The availability and recognition of historical analyses make possible the process of understanding human agency and its interaction with social structure in the micro-level, which, at its turn, is the process that ultimately reveals the existence of power relations within systems of difference and oppression. In other words, intersectionality poses that historical analyses constitute the ground that allows researchers to acknowledge the structural and contextual dimensions of interlocking inequalities.

Influenced by the pivotal role that intersectionality confers to the historical dimension of categories of gender, race, class and so on, some feminist historians engaged with this theory in their essays. In the book *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present*, historians Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis and Krassimira Daskalova explained that "The field of women's history followed a similar path of 'complicating [the] categories', from the 1980s' insight that 'gender and class always operate together' to the 1990s' 'increasing emphasis on the impact of imperialism and colonialism in the history of women and women's movements."[132] Consequently, they argue that "in exploring the complex and entangled histories of women's lives and activisms, a focus on gender alone is not enough, even though this category dominates the current scholarship; instead we need an intersectional perspective."[133] Hence, intersectionality offered a new theory to inquire about concepts of Agency and power relations in

[132] Haan et al., *Women's Activism*, 5.
[133] Haan et al., 5.

Women's and Gender History. In the words of American historian Bonnie G. Smith: "In history as in the present, a particular woman experienced sexism, racism, and any number of practices in her culture which offered possibilities and limitations; having discovered, interpreted, and used their meanings, she became an agent of her own life."[134] Indeed, the popularity of intersectionality among gender historians has grown so much that, as German historian Xenia von Tippelskirch affirms in the entry "Gender, Genre, Geschlecht, Genere" in the *Dictionnaire des Concepts Nomades des Sciences Humaines*, "the most current trends in research on gender are therefore used, among other things, to recognize and reconstruct these intersections" among gender and other socio-cultural categories.[135] According to Von Tippelskirch, intersectionality requires a specific application for historiographical purposes, because historians must consider factors such as the time and geographical dimensions, the ever-changing nature of historical processes, and the hierarchical relations among social categories in each particular context. For Von Tippelskirch, these requirements are not useful to historians alone, but they need to take these into account to avoid essentialisms in their work nor to leave categories unattended.[136]

In the field of Women's and Gender History, intersectionality, both as a theory and as a methodology, is useful to researchers as it allows them to ascribe to or uncover meanings in the identity of historical subjects that had previously been overlooked.[137] If we want to understand the phenomena of discrimination and power relations, we must examine understand how identity is

[134] Bonnie G. Smith, "Chapter 16. Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 258.
[135] Xenia von Tippelskirch, "Gender, Genre, Geschlecht, Genere," in *Dictionnaire des Concepts Nomades des Sciences Humaines*, ed. Olivier Christin, vol. 2 (Paris: Métailié, 2016), 3. Original fragment, in French : « Les tendances les plus actuelles des recherches sur le genre s'emploient donc, entre autres choses, à reconnaître et à reconstruire ces intersections ».
[136] Xenia von Tippelskirch, "L'intersectionnalité et l'histoire des différentes formes de domination à l'époque moderne. Etudes de cas: La dévotion à l'enfant Jésus au XVIIe et XVIIIe. Une approche intersectionnelle." (September 28, 2017).
[137] Bonnie G. Smith, "Chapter 16. Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 271–74.

constructed in complex ways, where several categories intersect, giving rise to specific experiences within power structures: for instance, to understand how gender identity is confirmed by and with age, class, nationality, race, ethnicity and religious affiliation, as well as to understand how racial, ethnic or religious experiences are conformed and influenced by gender.

Just as scholars have both welcomed and criticized the concept of gender, so writers, scholars and activists have criticized intersectionality or warned about its limitations, often from the standpoint of Socialist movements. Jessica Cassell –author of several articles at the online journal *In Defence of Marxism*– claims that, Marxism and intersectionality differ in the way they approach and fight oppression, for intersectionality focuses on the framework and the experience of discrimination rather than on the *origins* of oppression. According to Cassell, this makes intersectionality unable to dismantle the systems that sustain oppression, and turns this theory into a tool for "reform" when placed in contrast with the goals of Socialist revolution.[138] For Sally Campbell, contributor to *Socialist Review*, feminists who employ intersectionality should acknowledge that "class and exploitation can be a source of power" if they want to move from the description of reality to its transformation.[139] In sum, these and other Socialist thinkers who criticize the limits of intersectionality focus on the fact that the purpose of this theory is to *understand* systems of oppression and its effects on collectives and individuals, instead of focusing on the *dismantling* of such systems, which they claim is a task of Socialist revolution. Although all

[138] "Intersectionality, despite the best intentions of many of its proponents, cannot adequately explain the origins of the varying forms of oppression, and therefore the solutions". […] "However, the fact that intersectionality does not target the root of oppression means that it is ultimately not a threat to the capitalist class or their reformist allies, which is why they can so easily adopt its language in an effort to seem more progressive." This is an excerpt from Jessica Cassell, "Marxism vs. Intersectionality," *In Defence of Marxism*, July 13, 2017.

[139] "Recognising that class exists and shapes people's experience, as many activists today do, is not the same as understanding the power of the working class to transform the whole system." […] "Feminists today who use the term, or at least the approach of intersectionality, do so because they want to fight the whole system. But there is no acknowledgment of how class and exploitation can be a source of power –they are seen rather as another source of oppression." Excerpts from Sally Campbell, "Limits of Intersectionality," *Socialist Review*, October 2013.

of them hold valid arguments, I think that they may overemphasize the importance of class in gender and race formations when claiming the universality of class struggles today and their centrality in women's lives worldwide.

Some historians have been concerned with the possibility that a focus on intersectionality and gender would obscure the visibility of women in History.[140] Their concern came partially from the directions Gender History took in the 1990s, with a greater shift to postcolonial and world history, as well as historical masculinities studies.[141] They were especially concerned with the possibility that turning too much attention to men as sexed and gendered beings would not necessarily contribute to either understanding the origins of patriarchy nor to weaken patriarchy in many societies. Moreover, it has been argued that intersectionality, although useful for locating oppression, should not aim to *visibilize* social categories of gender, race, class or religion –among other– in individuals who are marked by otherness already. Instead, bridging poststructuralism and intersectionality, the latter should be employed to identify the gender in whiteness, the class in ethnicity, the race and sexuality in nation, and so on, in order to give normative and privileged social structures a name, as well as to locate their functioning in the structures of domination. Ultimately, to challenge and destabilize the *normal*.

[140] For an expanded presentation of criticism to intersectionality from these and other positions, see: Ange-Marie Hancock, *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 194–200; Judith P. Zinsser, "Chapter 15. Women's History/Feminist History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 256–265; Bonnie G. Smith, "Chapter 16. Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 271–281.

[141] Bonnie G. Smith, "Chapter 16. Gender I: From Women's History to Gender History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 274; Judith P. Zinsser, "Chapter 15. Women's History/Feminist History," in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 258, from where this excerpt comes: "Despite the preference among academics in English-language countries and in Western Europe for 'gender history,' women's historians have discovered that the boundaries between this approach and their sex-specific history are easily dissolved, and even ignored. Gender history still often means study from the perspective of women. Even so, women's history has not been integrated throughout the historical narratives commonly constructed whether by women or men."

In conclusion, both gender and intersectionality are useful tools to a wide variety of researchers but also have their limitations. It is equally important to avoid using intersectionality to dismiss the importance of categories of gender –or any other categories– in power relations, especially when attempting to "do" Women's and Gender History. Women and gender are relative and historically contextual categories. Both are multi-layered and multi-faceted categories that have gone through constant negotiations and struggles between contending definitions and conceptions. This debate has allowed women's and gender historians to clarify that "gender never works alone, but always intersects with other categories of identity and social organization."[142] Therefore, if the problems and limitations associated with the application of intersectionality are adequately considered, intersectionality offers historians a framework to study the relationships among systems of power (such as colonialism and capitalism), and the interplay among structures of domination (such as racism, sexism, ableism, and so on), allowing them to consider the past experiences of subjects in their historical context. The question of how to resolve the dichotomy of interpretation vs. transformation in intersectionality, as well as for women's and gender history in contemporary feminist movements is a relevant issue, but it exceeds the scope of this research, and will probably continue to generate debate in the future.

2.4.3 Moriscxs: A theory for ethics and representation in historical and historiographical analyses of an Early Modern Iberian category

As mentioned in the introduction (1.1), "Moriscos" is the term historians and many primary sources –with pejorative connotations in its historical context– use to refer to the Muslims who

[142] de Haan, "Writing Inter/Transnational History: The Case of Women's Movements and Feminisms," 504.

remained in the Christian-ruled kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands once the last Muslim-ruled territories were conquered until 1492, and who were forced or induced to convert to Catholicism.[143] Instead of this Spanish term (and its grammatical gender and number conjugations), in this thesis I use a new term, the word *Moriscxs* (or *Mouriscxs* if I refer to Portuguese-speaking 'subjects' and the historiography on this group). I understand *Moriscxs* as a gender-inclusive term that embraces a plurality of genders and non-binary genders. It is read "mo-rees-kes" in English ("mo-rees-ke" in singular), and "mo-ris-ques" in Spanish, which makes it sound more natural to Spanish speakers while retaining the political connotations of the letter X in Latin and Ibero-American feminist debates about gender awareness and inclusivity.[144]

This term is necessary in English and in Spanish since the term generally used in Spanish, "moriscos", uses the masculine plural form to represent the whole community of *moriscos* (masculine) and *moriscas* (feminine) and retains the masculine/gendered form in English. Using the term "moriscos" in contemporary historiography and historical analyses disguises the existence of non-masculine and non-binary genders in the historical context in which this term emerged and, secondly, conceals the "heterosexual matrix" –borrowing Judith Butler's terminology– that underlies language and social relations in the present, which can lead historians to reiterate an approach to the study of Moriscxs from an uncritical male-centered perspective. In Judith Butler's book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), she employs the term

[143] In essence, the formal obligation of conversion is what differentiates the terms *Mudejar* and *Morisco*. See the Glossary for more information on these terms.
[144] See: Arlene Gamio, "Latinx: A Brief Guidebook,"; Tanisha Love Ramirez and Zeba Blay, "Why People Are Using The Term 'Latinx,'" *Huffington Post*, July 5, 2016, sec. Latino Voices; María R. Scharrón-del Río and Alan A. Aja, "The Case FOR 'Latinx': Why Intersectionality Is Not a Choice," *Latino Rebels* (blog), December 5, 2015; "Latinx," *Wikipedia*, July 13, 2018.

heterosexual matrix "to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized."[145]

To research communities that were heavily gendered by their contemporaries, such as moriscxs, from an approach that is uncritical to categorizations of gender is troubling for historians, since it may mislead us to assume that gender is a fixed and stable category in History. Moreover, it can lead historians to assume that intersex and transgender identities in Early Modern Iberia –such as the ones I explore in chapter 3– are to be labelled in the same gender that the denouncers, witnesses, judges and scribes of these *dissident* figures gave them in the records of the tribunals of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, for in most cases these are the sources through which historians have come to know about intersex and transgender figures in Early Modern Iberia. Needless to say, Inquisitorial records are invaluable for historians of Modern World History, but these documents were made in situations of frequent and extreme physical and symbolic violence –which, contrary to the widespread belief outside academic circles in the present, were not exclusive of the Spanish and Portuguese national contexts– and the writing of such sources was monopolized by the Inquisitorial institution itself, making it difficult for historians to read "between the lines."[146] These are ethical and interpretative problems that should concern historians, especially if we take into account that studies that approach gender as a historical, contextual, fluid and/or performative category are not new to History nor to any other area of the Humanities and the Social Sciences.

[145] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York; London: Routledge, 1990), 151.

[146] Some lucid examples of this interpretative problem working with inquisitorial records and ways to navigate it can be found in various works authored by historians Mercedes García Arenal and François Soyer. The creation of a Spanish "Black legend" around the role of the Spanish Inquisition –among other elements– is discussed by several historians in the book edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan (2008).

Thus, in the light of these considerations, I suggest, the term "Moriscxs" becomes necessary to gender historians of Early Modern Iberia, for it does acknowledge the existence of "a hegemonic discursive/epistemic model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense" –such as the bodies of those individuals generally labelled as "moriscos" in historiography– "there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (i.e. masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory" and naturalized "practice of heterosexuality."[147] Thanks to Adrienne Rich's and Judith Butler's categorizations of gender, sex and desire –among other authors–, historians have different theories for new inquiries about the history of Moriscxs. Moreover, these theories lead me to ask whether the application of Butler's theory of Performativity to my analysis of the historiography of some Moriscxs, transgender and/or intersex figures (subchapters 3.5 and 3.6) can provide new or different insights.

The application of Judith Butler's theories to historical and historiographical research is not new. It has been explored by Belinda Johnston regarding the history of sexed bodies in English Renaissance Literature, by Elizabeth M. Perry and Rosemary A. Joyce in the archaeological study of "the material dimensions of gender performance" in Prehistoric cultures, and by a number of historians of Medieval Iberian history in the works *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (1999), *Queering Iberia: Iberian Masculinities at the Margins* (2012) and "Reclaiming alterity: strangeness and the queering of Islam in medieval and early modern Spain" (2016).[148] In a more or less explicit manner, these authors examine how applying Butler's theories of Gender Performativity, Sexuality and Subjectivity to their respective

[147] With those words J. Butler describes Adrienne Rich's notion of "compulsory heterosexuality" in *Gender Trouble*. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 151.
[148] See Warren J. Blumenfeld, ed., *Butler Matters: Judith Butler's Impact on Feminist and Queer Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2017), chapters 8 and 9.

fields of research can generate a substantial change, providing historians with innovative inquiries and directing them to new findings. This is what I attempt by offering a gender-inclusive reconceptualization of the term "Moriscxs" for new historical and historiographical analyses.

When posed with the question whether the masculine form *Moriscos* is an *innocent* term, Women and Gender historians are faced with contradictions. The History of the Moriscxs began as a colonial and orientalist project of knowing and representing the Iberian Muslim *other*: the Moriscxs were essentially represented by Old Christians and written down in historical primary sources, many of which were used to claim Moriscxs' inability to assimilate into Spanish identity, society and Catholicism.[149] The close relation between the history of the control and subjugation of Moriscxs, on one hand, and of indigenous Americans, on the other hand, sets a precedent that guides the travelling of concepts and strategies for recognition such as the usage of the term *Latinx* in Latin-American studies, and the term *Moriscxs* in Early Modern Iberian History.[150] These attempts to challenge colonial naturalizations of the heterosexual matrix and to argue for the visibility of racialized subjectivities in historiographical and in everyday practice can help to promote awareness, interest and research on Gender History, as well as on the connections between colonial histories in Spain and Portugal and in the Americas.

[149] As an example, for a good reference on this question, see: Grace Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010).
[150] For a detailed comparison between the history of the Christian conquest and colonization in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas see the article by Mercedes García-Arenal, "Moriscos e indios. Para un estudio comparado de métodos de conquista y evangelización," *Chronica Nova. Revista de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Granada* 0, no. 20 (1992): 153–76; Thomas F. Glick et al., *From Al-Andalus to the Americas (13th-17th Centuries) Destruction and Construction of Societies*, Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 65 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018).

Chapter 3. The *Reconquista*: Historiographical narratives on the relationships between Muslims and Christians in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia

3.1. Introduction

In my previous chapter I presented the theories and methodologies I employ to conduct my research and to organize my findings in a coherent framework. In this chapter, I deal with the historiography of the relations between Muslims and Christians in Medieval Iberia (centuries 8th to 15th), through the perspective of the concept of *Reconquista*, which I contrast with other theoretical contributions, such as that of the concept of *Convivencia*. Historians have debated about the origins of the idea of the *Reconquista* and its presence in documents written since the 9th century. Although the concept never lost its hold in Iberian Christian chronicles and Early Modern proto-historiography (*proto* because it lacked a method), it was in the 18th century when the concept of the *Reconquista* started to be used in academic Spanish historiography, entailing "the assertion of the total incompatibility between Spain and al-Andalus."[151]

As Spanish historian Alejandro García-Sanjuán puts it, this assertion "has been one of the most problematic elements of Spanish collective historical memory."[152] Above all, the *Reconquista* became a framework to understand the Medieval History of the Iberian Peninsula "as a struggle of national liberation against invading Muslims, culminating in a final Christian victory in 1492."[153] That year, the Emirate of Granada, the last Muslim-ruled State and predominantly Islamic

[151] Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 128.
[152] Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 127.
[153] Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 127.

sociopolitical organization in Iberia, surrendered to the Catholic Monarchs. This and other events which have been linked to the establishment of Catholicism as the dominant faith in the Iberian Peninsula and to the conformation of a unified kingdom (often dismissing the existence of Portugal or aiming for its annexation) were extolled by the Spanish nationalist ideology of the 19th century and spread through different levels of formal education.[154] Spanish nationalism found in the *Reconquista* a useful concept to mediate the historical discourse of the Spanish nation, which broadly identified with Castile, Catholicism and a community of subjects sharing a common interest. Although with a lesser success, this concept also thrived among Portuguese historians, who adapted it to serve their own interests –especially regarding the discursive construction of Portugal as a Catholic and racially white nation–, some of whom held the concept with the reasonable suspicion that it could be imbued of Spanish expansionism, and thus an ideological problem for Portuguese political independence. Thus, the *Reconquista* became an incredibly successful concept in the 19th and 20th centuries, and widely used in Spanish and Portuguese historiography both as a concept and a descriptive category: i.e. 'to reconquer' or *reconquistar* (in Spanish); 'reconquered' or *reconquistado*/a (in masculine/feminine forms), became part of the vocabulary used for writing History in Iberian and other European languages. For decades, the concept of *Reconquista* remained unchallenged and unparalleled in success among historians of Medieval Iberia, until in 1948 the Spanish historian Américo Castro (1885–1972) published a book that coined the idea of *Convivencia*: "Spain in its History: Christians, Moors and Jews."[155] This new concept challenged the understanding of Portuguese and –especially– Spanish traditional historiography through the lens of the *Reconquista*, questioning the anti-Semitic and islamophobic

[154] Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation? History and Nationalism in Contemporary Spain," *History & Memory* 14, no. 1 (September 1, 2002): 259–84.
[155] Américo Castro's book was originally published in Spanish under the title *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948).

feature of certain historical narratives of Spanish history and opening the door to extensive historiographical debates and new approaches.

This chapter tries to explore these and other complex questions. First, (3.2) what is the historical background that allows historians to understand and work on the concept of *Reconquista*? Secondly, (3.3) how have historians defined the concept of *Reconquista* and explained its historical context? Thirdly, (3.4.1) what debates, alternative concepts or competing ideas have challenged the traditional narratives and approach to Medieval and Early Modern History? What motives did historians have and how did they challenge traditional approaches? Fourthly, (3.4.2) how have the theoretical and methodological changes on writing history of the second half of the 20th century transformed the historical research on the Iberian Reconquest? Have they altered the kind of categories historians analyze, and/or the conclusions they make? Fifthly, (3.5) how have 20th and 21st century historians written about the perceived or constructed differences and similarities between Medieval and –especially– Early Modern Muslims and Christians? How have historians interpreted those contrasts? Do they identify any mechanisms that mediate politics of exclusion and inclusion? Sixthly, (3.6) what ideas associated to the *Reconquista* influenced 16th to 19th century historians in their works about the history of Muslims in Medieval and in Early Modern Iberia, until their expulsion in 1609–1614? How have 20th and 21st century historians reinterpreted these same questions and analyzed their work, and did they draw any new conclusions? And seventhly, (3.7) what are the most recent approaches in the historiography of the concepts of *Reconquista* and of *Convivencia*? Do they offer anything new?

The sources that I employ in these subchapters range from a limited choice of books, theses and articles written in Spanish, English, Catalan, Portuguese and French. I reiterate my findings and present my conclusions in subchapter 3.8, while I present the thesis conclusions in chapter 4.

The questions I ask in chapter 3 serve to better understand the relationship between *Reconquista* and *Convivencia*, as two historiographical categories and why many historians have considered them as representing two oppositional visions regarding Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history. I believe that the analysis of the reasons underlying such oppositional relationship is a matter of more than academic relevance, because these categories and the worldview they represent have contributed to shaping the History of Muslim-Christian relationships –including the role of gender and sexuality in these relationships– as many historians, including Maya Soifer, Eduardo Manzano and Juan Sisinio Pérez have noted.[156]

This chapter is embedded in the relatively new body of academic literature that explores the historiographical formation of the concept of *Reconquista* by applying notions of gender and racialization in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and evaluates the applicability of such notions beyond their original scopes. In this chapter I also aim to know whether the theoretical frameworks of intersectionality, Orientalism and gendered Islamophobia can be useful to understand covert narratives, biases and processes of discrimination in the historiography of Muslim's presence in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. The small historiographical field this thesis aims to contribute to asks questions about and to examine possible connections between islamophobia in the present and in the history of Medieval and Early Modern Spain. This historiographical field is fundamentally linked to the works of scholars Fernando Bravo López, François Soyer, Mary Elizabeth Perry, Barbara Fuchs, William Childers, Gema Martín Muñoz and Jose María Perceval. Some of these authors do not always engage in a direct discussion of islamophobia as a process or a phenomenon of discrimination which can be interpreted from the reading of historical sources,

[156] Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation?," 261; Maya Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 19–35.

but all of them offer interesting and significant insights that relate to the definition of islamophobia and gendered Islamophobia established in chapter 2, and this is the main reason I analyze some of their most relevant works in this chapter.

3.2. Historical background. Overview of the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia

The historiography that deals with Muslim-Christian relations in Iberia is old, yet in constant expansion, and perhaps because of this, it is also wide and complex. Some historians postulate that the notion of *Reconquista* (standing for 'Reconquest' in Portuguese and Spanish) may have appeared in Romanic languages as early as in the 9th century, whereas others situate its emergence even earlier, immediately after the Battle of Covadonga in 718 or 722 CE. To understand some of the crucial historiographical debates, we need to start looking back at the collapse of the Roman Empire, and to some of the major sociopolitical changes that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula until the end of the 15th century, from the periodization often employed by recent historiography.[157] In this overview I refer to a diverse range of positively reviewed historiographical sources on Early Medieval Iberia, al-Andalus and Late Medieval Iberia, paying especial attention to questions of the Visigothic kingdom and the Islamic Empire that will be treated from the perspective of historiographical debates. Due to their paradigmatic treatment of the complex history of al-Andalus, I will examine more closely three works on this subject: the book *El Islam y el mundo*

[157] I have elaborated the chronological periodization in this subchapter from the works by the following historians and scholars of Arab language and culture: Gema Martín Muñoz, Begoña Valle Simón, and María Ángeles López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe: Guía didáctica para profesores y formadores* (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, 1996); Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman, *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Olivia Remie Constable, ed., *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, 2. ed, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Camilo Gómez-Rivas, "Andalusian Jurist, Berber Commander, and Mozarab Rebel: Understanding Iberia's Islamic Experience," in *The Sage Handbook of Islamic Studies* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2010), 34–55.

árabe: Guía didáctica para profesores y formadores, (*Islam and the Arab world: Didactic guide for teachers and trainers*) by Gema Martín Muñoz (*et al.*) (1996), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, by Josef W. Meri (ed.) (2006), and Camilo Gómez-Rivas' contribution in *The Sage Handbook of Islamic Studies* (2010, pages 34–55).

In the 4th and 5th centuries CE, the debilitated state of the Western Roman Empire facilitated the entrance and establishment of so-called "barbarian tribes" within its borders. A group of 10,000 people aprox., composed by Suebi, Vandals and Alans, entered the Iberian Peninsula in the year 409, generating chaos among the Hispano-Roman population.[158] However, these barbarian tribes were fought not by a Roman army but by a Germanic group, the Visigoths, who started its own conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The Visigoths were a Gothic group that had migrated from Scandinavia into Eastern Europe from the 2nd century, were pushed by the Huns to the Eastern Roman Empire, and continued campaigning –sometimes in alliance with the Romans, but other times against them–, all across the Balkans on to Italy, to end up between Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula, in a process in which they mixed and split up several times with other ethnic groups. In 418, they federated themselves with the Western Roman Empire, which allowed them to form their own kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees. The war against the Franks almost one century later, expelled the Visigoths from most of Gaul and transferred the nucleus of their political power to the cities of Narbonne and Toledo, where the Visigoths established their capital in the 540s.[159] Despite traditional historiography estimated the number of Visigoths that entered Iberia at around 100,000 people, the historian Roger Collins argues that such group could not have been bigger than 30,000,

[158] Roger Collins, *Visigothic Spain 409 - 711*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 12, 24–25.
[159] Collins, 15–32.

drawing his estimates from primary sources and recent historiography.[160] In comparison, at that time the Hispano-Roman population would have counted between 6 and 8 million inhabitants.

At least since the 1960s, historians with different analyses of the Visigoth kingdom have agreed that the Visigoths distinguished themselves from the Hispano-Roman population in a number of ways: They generally occupied power positions and maintained differences in their clothes, language, names, lineage, sexuality, religion and legal codes.[161] In Iberia they found a population that was largely Latinized and Catholic, with important Jewish populations as well. The Visigoths had converted to Arianism from the 4th century, but after decades of frictions with the Hispano-romans, in 587 the king Reccared (*Recaredo* in Spanish) converted to Catholicism, and much of the Visigoth nobility followed him, probably attempting to provide "a common religious identity for Romans and Goths."[162] Apparently, this contributed to pacify conflicts with the Hispano-Roman Catholics, created a common cultural ground and allowed mixed marriages, but it also initiated a process of anti-Jewish prosecution aimed to convert the Jewish population and eradicate "all traces of Judaism."[163] From that moment, the Visigothic kingdom attempted to establish Christian uniformity and defined the new Christian identity by suppressing the remaining Arianism

[160] Collins, 24–25.
[161] On these questions see: Edward Arthur Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 114–52; P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom [1972]* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 222–50; Gisela Ripoll López, "Características generales del poblamiento y la arqueología funeraria visigoda de Hispania," *Espacio Tiempo y Forma. Serie I, Prehistoria y Arqueología* 0, no. 2 (January 1, 1989), https://doi.org/10.5944/etfi.2.1989.4522; Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 7–40; José Joaquín Caerols, "El encuentro entre godos e hispanorromanos (un análisis filológico)," in *Integrazione mescolanza rifiuto: Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo*, ed. Gianpaolo Urso (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 199–238, http://fondazionecanussio.org/atti2000/caerols.pdf; Javier Arce, *Esperando a los árabes: Los visigodos en Hispania (507-711)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2011), 171–96.
[162] Erica Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700: From Romans to Goths and Franks*, Late Antique and Early Medieval Iberia (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 24–25, 37–66.
[163] Rachel L. Stocking, "Early Medieval Christian Identity and Anti-Judaism: The Case of the Visigothic Kingdom," *Religion Compass* 2, no. 4 (2008): 642–43, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8171.2008.00087.x; Raúl González Salinero, "Un antecedente: La persecución contra los judíos en el Reino visigodo," in *El antisemitismo en España*, ed. Gonzalo Alvarez Chillida and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 2007), 57–88.

and, especially, legislating against the Jewish population.[164] The IV Council of Toledo (633) decreed that Jews had to be baptized, setting a legal precedent for the rest of Medieval Europe.

During the 7th century, the Visigothic kingdom expanded its control to all of the Iberian Peninsula, and to some territories south of the Strait of Gibraltar, unifying the peninsula under one independent kingdom for the first time in recorded History. However, the Visigothic society was immersed in a deep economic, social and political crisis. Dynastic disputes prolonged throughout the 7th century and, at the beginning of the 8th century, led to some factions opposed to the king Roderic (*Rodrigo*) to look for external assistance. At that time, the expanding Islamic Empire was a prominent power in the Mediterranean and had already entered in contact with the Visigoths.[165]

From the beginning of the 7th century, the emergence of Islam on the Arabian Peninsula meant the appearance of a new religion there, as well as of a new politically organized community. Islam, as "a spiritual utopia", transformed solidarity networks in the region and developed a new concept of social justice.[166] The religious basis of this new order bound Muslims with each other, but in the definition of *community* it also included the believers of other faiths. The *umma* –or community of believers– was based on a new concept of fraternity that prioritized egalitarianism –but not uniformity–, providing a religious basis for the cohesion of all Muslims and for a common legal entity that acompassed all women and men –regardless of their gender, wealth, status, origin or skin color.

[164] Raúl González Salinero, "Un antecedente: La persecución contra los judíos en el Reino visigodo," in *El antisemitismo en España*, ed. Gonzalo Alvarez Chillida and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 2007), 57–88; Rachel L. Stocking, "Early Medieval Christian Identity and Anti-Judaism: The Case of the Visigothic Kingdom," *Religion Compass* 2, no. 4 (2008): 642–58.
[165] José Ramírez del Río, "Visigodos y árabes: Encuentros anteriores a 711," in *Historiografía y representaciones III: Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica*, ed. Luis A. García Moreno, Esther Sánchez Medina, and Lidia Fernández Fonfría (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2015), 37–56.
[166] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe*, 1996, 31–32.

Islam recognized and integrated previous monotheist traditions and, although it did not acknowledge the divine nature of Jesus –similar to Arianism–, it doted him with great respect as a prophet.[167] The new Islamic discourse considered that faith could be preached but not enforced, and that the members of Quranically recognized non-Muslim religious communities who recognized the sovereignty of the Islamic State and lived permanently within its boundaries where a minority protected by a pact, called "Dhimma", while the protected individuals were designated as "dhimmis."[168] This "covenant of protection" between the Islamic State and the tolerated members of non-Muslim religious communities primarily included believers of other monotheistic traditions –Zoroastrians, Sabaeans, Jews and Christians–, although this consideration evolved to include or to exclude other communities, and was modified to include questions of dress and public conduct, especially at the end of the Medieval period.[169] In exchange of the payment of a tribute (*jizya*), these communities had to receive continuous protection from the State, could designate their judges and exert non-criminal law, and were free in regard to their status, properties and beliefs.

These issues have led some historians to argue that the conquests of the Islamic State in the years following the death of prophet Muhammad were not intended "to propagate Islam" as much as to established an Islamic power and build an empire, similar to the beginnings of the Roman Empire.[170] In less than a century, the family of the Umayyads (661-750) found a dynastic succession and expanded the Islamic Empire from the Arabian Peninsula and Syria to the river Indus in the East, to the Atlantic coast of Africa in the West, and from Central Asia to the valley

[167] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, 34.
[168] Norman A. Stillman, "Dhimma," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri (New York: Routledge, 2006), 205.
[169] Stillman, "Dhimma."
[170] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe*, 1996, 62. Also see pages 63-64 and 113-115, on the construction of a narrative about Mozarab history.

of the Nile.[171] This vast territory experienced two different but related processes: Arabization and Islamization, understanding "Arabness" not in an ethnic (nor racial) sense, but with a linguistic and cultural meaning: the acceptance of a common Arab cultural pattern.[172]

Historians have for long debated about the character of the arrival of Islam and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. However, what seems certain is that between 711 and 714 a contingent of Muslim troops, composed by Arab and –mostly– Berber forces loyal to the Umayyad Caliphate, crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, probably hired as mercenaries by some Visigothic parties.[173] Once in the peninsula, they received support from factions opposed to king Roderic, composed by Jew, Arian and Catholic Hispano-Romans and Visigoths, and rapidly conquered most of the kingdom.[174] The method and evolution of the Islamic conquest has been debated for long, but many historians agree on the preeminence of the treaties of capitulation, the reduced number of battles and the generally peaceful mixture or cohabitation of Arabs and Berbers with the local population.[175] These allowed for the maintenance of some of the previous Roman structures and Visigothic autonomy under the new Umayyad province, limiting warfare to a reduced number of cases in which the Visigothic nobility posed resistance. As a result, in the following years of the 8th century, an Islamic power slowly established itself in the peninsula, which integrated in the westernmost province of the Umayyad Caliphate, while continued to launch expeditions of conquest and booty to the Frankish kingdom until 732.

[171] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, 63, 68.
[172] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, 63–64.
[173] Hugh Kennedy, ed., "The Muslims in Europe," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 2: C. 700-c. 900 [1995]*, 5th ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 255–57.
[174] Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe*, 1996, 111.
[175] Kennedy, "The Muslims in Europe," 255–58; Luis A. García Moreno, Lidia Fernández Fonfría, and Esther Sánchez Medina, eds., *Historiografía y representaciones III: Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica*, Antiquitas et Media Aetas 2 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2015).

The majority of Spanish historians who have written on the concept of the *Reconquista* prior to the decade of the 1980's –before Spain transitioned to a Parliamentary Democracy– argue that since the end of the Islamic conquest of Iberia (718/722), the phenomenon of the "Christian Reconquest" started, developing at a slow and intermittent pace, in which Christians seized Muslim–ruled land, people and resources for almost 8 centuries.[176] This process is credited to have been initiated by Pelagius (*Pelayo*), often presented as a Visigothic nobleman, who gathered a small army and defeated a Umayyad force in the Battle of Covadonga (at an uncertain date between 718 and 722) and established the kingdom of Asturias on the north-west tip of the Iberian Peninsula.

Politically, al-Andalus first evolved from being part of a province of the Umayyad Caliphate (711–756), into an autonomous province –the Umayyad Emirate– ruled from Cordoba (756–929), "which later became the seat of a caliphate (929–1031)."[177] After 275 years in which the Umayyad dynasty had governed al-Andalus, civil war and political disintegration in the 11th century transformed the political landscape into a collection of small pluri-ethnic kingdoms called *Taifas* (1031–1091) (frequently translated to English as "Party Kingdoms"), from the Arabic term *muluk al-tawa'if*, "factional kings."[178] At that moment, several Christian states that had formed in the northernmost regions of Iberia during the previous centuries –Leon (the former Asturian kingdom, from which Castile, first, and Portugal, later, would emerge), Navarre and Aragon (since 1035)–, sometimes fighting each other, increased their campaigns southwards. Principally, the kingdoms of Castile and Leon (united in the 11th C.) "initiated a policy in which military pressure was used to convert the Party Kingdoms into tributary states", which were "forced to pay large indemnities

[176] Francisco García Fitz, "La Reconquista: un estado de la cuestión," *Clío & Crímen: Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango*, no. 6 (2009): 145–146, 149, 151.
[177] Gómez-Rivas, "Andalusian Jurist, Berber Commander, and Mozarab Rebel," 36–37.
[178] Brian A. Catlos, "Party Kingdoms, Iberian Peninsula," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri (New York: Routledge, 2006), 593.

(*parias*) of gold and silver in exchange for military support and protection."[179] In that context, two consecutive Berber dynasties conquered the Taifa kingdoms and ruled them from the Maghrib, the Almoravids (1085–1147) and the Almohads (1147–1269).[180] In the frame of territorial, cultural and populational gains, the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries were some of the most dynamic for the Christian-ruled kingdoms of Portugal, Castile and Aragon.[181]

According to Camilo Gómez-Rivas, "the quick absorption of Andalusian communities with their social structures and practices into expanding Christian kingdoms formed the crucible out of which Hispanic culture was formed", a view that during the Francoist dictatorship (approximately, 1939–1975) attracted much debate, centered around the concept of *Convivencia* and different ideas about Spanish identity.[182] On the other side, Muslim sovereign political rule in Iberia was reduced to the kingdom of Granada (1232–1492), which survived until its definite conquest by the Catholic Monarchs Fernando II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile. 1492 was also the year that these monarchs decreed the expulsion of the Jewish population from their kingdoms. Although Muslims were initially granted toleration for their costumes and religion, the 16th century saw several episodes of forced conversion, rebellion and difficulties to enforce acculturation on Moriscxs. Since the forced conversions of 1501/1502 in Granada and Castile, and since the 1520s in the Crown of Aragon – with the Revolt of the Brotherhoods or *Germanies*–, no Muslims officially remained in Iberia. Moriscos was the name given to these "New Christians" from Muslim converts and to their descendants, most of whom lived in Eastern and Southern Spain. This new situation fostered a

[179] Catlos, 594.
[180] Gómez-Rivas, "Andalusian Jurist, Berber Commander, and Mozarab Rebel," 37, 40–46.
[181] Gómez-Rivas, 47.
[182] Gómez-Rivas, 47.

debate about the position and nature of Moriscxs as Spanish subjects that resolved with general actions of expulsion of around 300,000 Spanish subjects between 1609 and 1614.

With the final expulsion of the Moriscxs, the Spanish State only allowed Muslim foreign ambassadors and those holding authorities' official permission to live 'freely' in Spain, which until the 19th century meant the Spanish dominions in the Iberian Peninsula and the American colonies.[183] Until different and short-lived intermittent periods in the 19th and 20th centuries, only those Muslims living in the North-African and in the Austronesian Pacific colonies were largely allowed to remain Muslims while living under Spanish rule.[184] The biggest change was brought by the transition of the Spanish Francoist State to a Parliamentary Democracy in 1978. Since the 1970s, both the conversion of Spanish nationals to Islam and the arrival of Muslim foreigners grew in number. Nowadays, the figures of Muslims living in Spain accounts to approximately 2 million people, about 4% of the total population of the country, 43% of whom are Spanish citizens while the other 57% hold foreign citizenships –Moroccan, Pakistani, Algerian, Senegalese, Nigerian and Saharawi, among others.[185]

[183] See: Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, Lam, vol. 56, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World (Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 2014).
[184] See: Francisco Franco-Sánchez and Isaac Donoso Jiménez, "Moriscos Peninsulares, Moros Filipinos y El Islam En El Extremo Oriental Del Imperio Español: Estudio y Edición de La 'Segunda Carta Para La S.C.M.R Acerca de Los Mahometanos de Las Philipinas', de Melchor de Ávalos (1585)," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 20 (2013): 553–83; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Los moriscos y Argelia," in *Argelia: Una mirada desde las dos orillas*, ed. Naima Benaicha Ziani (Sant Vicent del Raspeig: Publicacions de la Universitat d'Alacant, 2016), 101–4.
[185] Observatorio Andalusí, "Estudio Demográfico de La Población Musulmana. Explotación Estadística Del Censo de Ciudadanos Musulmanes En España Referido a Fecha 31/12/2017" (Madrid: Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España (UCIDE), February 2018), 14.

3.3. Creating the *Reconquista*: Historiographical approaches to the formation of an idea

"All national histories and patriotic creeds are based on myths."
Juan Goytisolo (1996).[186]

Since the 19th century, historians have described the *Reconquista* in diverse ways, sometimes leading to opposing evaluations. The historians Eloy B. Ruano (2002), Francisco García Fitz (2009) and Joseph F. O'Callaghan (2013) have qualified the *Reconquista* as a long historical process, an idea, an ideology, a restitution, a recovery, a reparation, a crusade, a holy war, a religious war, a myth, a problem, a historical and historiographical category, and a concept in need of critical revision.[187]

As mentioned, the word *Reconquista* may have appeared in Romanic languages as early as in the 9th century, namely in the *Prophetic Chronicle* (883/884) and other canonical texts written under Asturian court patronage. This chronicle appeared in a historical context that seems uncertain to historians due to the lack of clarity of primary sources, which traditionally has given rise to speculations and uncritical assertions. Nevertheless, we can still extract some clues.

In his contribution to the collectively authored *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 2: C. 700-c. 900* (2000), the British historian Roger Collins examines the formation of new political

[186] This 1996 quote by the Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo appears (in Spanish) in: Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Al-Andalus en la historiografía del nacionalismo españolista (siglos XIX-XXI). Entre la España musulmana y la Reconquista," in *A 1300 años de la conquista de Al-Andalus (711-2011): historia, cultura y legado del Islam en la Península Ibérica*, ed. Diego Melo Carrasco and Francisco Vidal Castro (Coquimbo (Chile): Centro Mohammed VI para el diálogo de civilizaciones, 2012), 65. The original quote in Spanish goes as follows: "Todas las historias nacionales y credos patrióticos se fundan en mitos."

[187] The usage of these terms appears commented in: Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, The Middle Ages Series (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1–20; Eloy Benito Ruano, "La Reconquista: una categoría histórica e historiográfica," *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, no. 12 (2002): 91–98; García Fitz, "La Reconquista."

powers in the North of the Iberian Peninsula between the early 8th and 10th centuries, and their relationships to neighboring political organizations, the Carolingian Franks and the emerging Umayyad Emirate of Cordoba.[188] Many historians who have researched the Iberian context of the 9th century advice that primary sources are few, often fragmented and clearly supporting a specific cause amidst complex dynastic and territorial reconfigurations. The earlier Arab-Berber invasion that conquered nearly all of the Iberian Peninsula between 711 and 716 is regarded as a better documented time span, with several reliable sources.[189] The early 8th century has been a period of foremost importance for later Spanish historiography for its implications about the end of the Visigothic kingdom, the question of the Hispano-Roman and Visigoth population's integration within the expanding Umayyad Caliphate and the usage of history for political aims in medieval societies.[190]

More than 150 years after the chronology of the Battle of Covadonga (711/722), four historical texts about it were composed during the reign of the Asturian king Alfonso III (866–910): "two versions of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the so-called *Prophetic Chronicle* and *Chronicle of Albelda*."[191] These texts were written at the royal seat of Oviedo "with the main purpose of showing the Asturian kings as the natural heirs to the Visigoths."[192] As Spanish historian Julio Escalona explains in the book *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies* (2003), the first half of the 8th century "was dominated by a multifocal pattern

[188] Roger Collins, "Spain: The Northern Kingdoms and the Basques, 711—910," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 2: C. 700-c. 900*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 5th ed., The New Cambridge Medieval History 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 272–89.
[189] See: Hugh Kennedy, ed., "The Muslims in Europe," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 2: C. 700-c. 900 [1995]*, 5th ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 249–71.
[190] Julio Escalona, "Family Memories: Inventing Alfonso I of Asturias," in *Building Legitimacy: Political Discourses and Forms of Legitimacy in Medieval Societies*, ed. Isabel Alfonso, Hugh Kennedy, and Julio Escalona (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 223–62.
[191] Escalona, 223.
[192] Escalona, 225.

of power", in which the Carolingian influence in the northernmost regions of the peninsula favored the creation of several small nucleus of Christian power, and validated its influence in the region through its own canonical narrative.[193] Thus, Carolingian chronicles like the *Chronologia regum Gothorum*, blamed the Visigoths for "the loss of Spain" against "the Sarracens", declared the Visigothic kingdom "dead" ("Reges Gothorum defecerunt"), called Charlemagne the champion of Christendom, and claimed for the fight and expulsion of the Saracens to be done under Frankish leadership:[194]

> "And they struggle with the Christians night and day, and they daily fight until God's predestination orders that they be cruelly expelled.
>
> The kings of the Goths perished. In total they add up to 304 years."[195]

Thus, it seems likely that, in a competitive scenario, the Asturian king Alfonso I (739–757) felt the need to stress the continuity between the disappeared Visigothic kingdom –the last centralized state in Iberia before the Arab-Berber conquest– and his emerging dynasty, while deactivating other conflicting versions.[196] The political legitimacy of the Asturian kings in the 9th century depended on their ability to assert a clear lineage to the Visigothic power, to defend a messianic mission to restore Catholicism as the dominant religion, and to present themselves as clear opponents to the Umayyad Emirate. Thus, these chronicles defended the Asturian occupation of areas in the Duero valley that had been free from any major political articulation –contrary to the chronicles' allegation—, in the name of the restitution of Visigothic rule and Catholic guidance:

> "Adefonsus [Alfonso I], Pelagius's son-in-law reigned for 18 years [739–757]. […]
>
> And, on achieving power, he led many fights with God's help. He also invaded the towns of León and Astorga, long pos[s]essed by the enemy. The so-called Gothic Plains he depopulated to the river Duero and he extended the Christians' realm.

[193] Escalona, 226.
[194] Escalona, 228–29.
[195] Fragment from the *Chronologia regum Gothorum* (PL, 83, col. 1118). Quoted in Escalona, 229–30.
[196] Escalona, 247–51.

He was loved by God and men. He died due to natural causes."[197]

"The following facts prove how great his grace, virtue and authority were: together with his brother Fruela, he led many fights against the Sarracenes and he seized many cities once oppressed by them, that is, Lugo, Tuy, Oporto, the metropolitan Braga, Viseu, Chaves, Agata, Ledesma, Salamanca, Zamora, Ávila, Segovia, Astorga, León, Saldaña, Mave, Amaya, Simancas, Oca, Veleia of Álava, Miranda, Revenga, Carbonaria, Abeica, Brunes, Cenicero, Alesanco, Osma, Clunia, Arganza, Sepúlveda, and all the castles with their vills and hamlets. Killing all the Arabs who occupied those cities, he took the Christians with him to the homeland."[198]

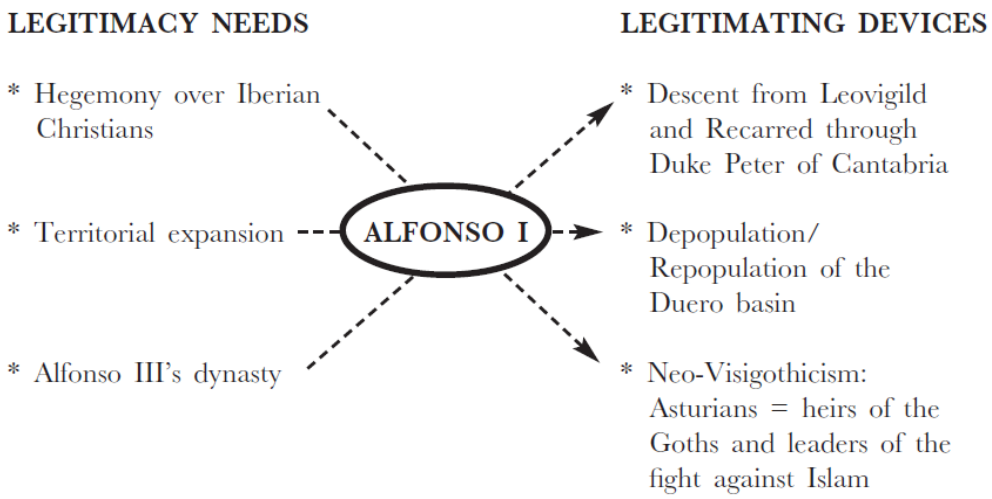

Figure 1 "Alfonso I as a discourse node".[199]

According to Julio Escalona, the creation of the historical discursive representation of king Alfonso I (739–757) in the chronicles made during the kingdom of Alfonso III (866–910) "largely resulted from a subtle, systematic manipulation of the historical and narrative material."[200] Despite these chronicles were presumably aimed "to 'deactivate' existing undesired visions of the eighth-

[197] Fragment from *The Albeldensis Chronicle* (882) (XV, fol. 3), quoted in Escalona, 238.
[198] Fragment from the *Ovetensis* version of *The Chronicle of Alfonso III* (fol. 13). Quoted in Escalona, 240.
[199] Figure made by Julio Escalona to represent the discursive manufacture of the *Reconquista* around the historical reconstruction of the Asturian king Alfonso I (739–757), in the time of Alfonso III (866–910). Appears in: Escalona, 257.
[200] Escalona, 257.

century Asturian history, and replace them with a new one which fulfilled the legitimation needs of Alfonso III's time", the long-lasting result was the creation of an "ideology of the Reconquest" that would affect the northern Iberian Christian communities deeply.[201] Julio Escalona's conclusion is shared by other historians, such as Roger Collins.[202] However, Collin advices that the identification of this "*Reconquista* ideology" –quoting the Spanish historians Barbero and Vigil (1978)– in some early documentation should not direct historians to create a linear approach to this concept, as was common among Spanish historians in the first half of the 20th century.[203]

Spanish historians Eduardo Manzano and Juan S. Pérez claim that "the concept of Spain prevailing today originates from the nationalistic ideology of the nineteenth century", an argument shared by other historians, such as Alejandro García Sanjuán.[204] For Manzano and Pérez, "some of Spain's current historiographical debates are in fact a legacy of unresolved contradictions from the nineteenth century."[205] As Erica Buchberger states in this respect, "all of these nationalist visions looked to the early Middle Ages for the origins of their nation-states and equated modern peoples with historical counterparts."[206] However, these linear visions of the Spanish past were constructed around the concept of the "loss and recovery of Spain" –indeed a synonym for *Reconquest*– and did not arise in the 19th century. As Spanish historians Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano explain in their 2013 book *The Orient in Spain*, 16th and 17th century Spanish historiography on al-Andalus and on the Muslim presence in Iberia questioned whether Arab and

[201] Escalona, 228–29.
[202] Collins, "Spain: The Northern Kingdoms and the Basques, 711—910," 289.
[203] Abílio Barbero and Marcelo Vigil Pascual, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona: Gribaljo, 1978), 216.
[204] Eduardo Manzano Moreno and Juan Sisinio Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation? History and Nationalism in Contemporary Spain," *History & Memory* 14, no. 1 (September 1, 2002): 259; Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 127.
[205] Manzano Moreno and Pérez Garzón, "A Difficult Nation?," 274.
[206] Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700*, 15.

Muslim identity could be considered part of Hispanic history and identity.[207] This is especially relevant since that historiographical body emerged at a time of fierce debates for and against the expulsion of Moriscxs, the New Christian population who had converted –often against their will– from Islam. Barbara Fuchs and François Soyer show in their work that this debate was immersed within the delineation of Hispanic consciousness and identity –both in Spain and in Portugal– defined through exclusionary views on language, religious and gender uniformity. The academic publications by Barbara Fuchs have focused more on how these questions develop in Spain, while François Soyer has paid more attention to the Portuguese case.[208]

In her book, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500-700: From Romans to Goths and Franks* (2017), Erica Buchberger elaborates "a new model for discussing the multilayered nature of early medieval identities", while looking at how political, religious and genealogical nuances played a role in the complex mechanisms by which identity shifts occurred.[209] According to her, the interactions among these nuances or "overtones" is crucial to understand the formation of a new Visigothic identity in Iberia, which ultimately was used by the Asturian court in the 9th century to justify the "Reconquest" of the lands conquered by the Umayyad Caliphate but also in the 19th C., to legitimize the existence of the Spanish nation and the territorial cohesion of the Spanish State. Historians like Erica Buchberger, who have studied the discursive construction of the Iberian

[207] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Numen Books: Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 353–74.
[208] See: Barbara Fuchs, *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (University of Illinois Press, 2003); Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); François Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); François Soyer, "Manuel I of Portugal and the End of the Toleration of Islam in Castile: Marriage Diplomacy, Propaganda, and Portuguese Imperialism in Renaissance Europe, 1495-1505," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 4 (June 4, 2014): 331–56; François Soyer, "The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain. By Christina H. Lee (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2016)," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 47, no. 4 (February 2017): 552–53.
[209] Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700*, 9.

Christian *Reconquista* as a tool for nation-making and legitimation, tend to observe this process happening in Early Medieval times and in the 19th century. However, these discourses may have originated even earlier and have more *immediate* consequences than most historians suggest –meaning, before the 1609 Decree of Expulsion–, as I will continue to explain in subchapters 3.5 and 3.6, on the mechanisms that produced the social and physical exclusion of Moriscxs.

Some primary and Medieval historiographical sources have been studied by 19th and 20th century historians with more detail and abundance than others, and thus often have played a role in the historiographical construction of the so-called "*Reconquista* ideology", or in its contestation. One that challenges the traditional narrative is the work by Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Kardabus al Tawzari (12th–13th centuries). Shortened as Ibn al-Kardabus, *the Cordobese,* he was a Muslim historian born in Tunis –possibly of Andalusian Muladi origin– who, at the end of the 12th century, wrote a work titled *Kitab al-Iktifa*, which means "The History of al-Andalus."[210] This book, about the history of al-Andalus from 710 to 1199, has been completely or partially translated by several authors since the 19th century. It is regarded as a fairly accurate source, so that since the 19th century it has become a common reference for historians interested in that period.[211] Its narrative is centered around some political figures, their military campaigns, and their treatment and policies towards ethno-religious communities (such as Mozarabs, Hispano-Andalusian Muladis, Berber Almoravids, and Aragonese Christians).

In Felipe Maíllo Salgado's annotated translation (2017 reedition), the information contained in several fragments contradict the widespread ideas that hostility between Muslims and Christians

[210] Ibn Al-Kardabus and Felipe Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 6 [1986] (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL, 2017), 13–14.

[211] The usage of the work by Ibn al-Kardabus can be found in books written by the Spanish historian Pascual de Gayangos (*The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 1840), and the Portuguese António Borges Coelho (such as in *Portugal na Espanha Arabe: História*, 1989). Also, see: Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, 10–12.

was a natural and continuous phenomenon. This is important for Ibn al-Kardabus' information challenges the traditional approach to the *Reconquista* as a monofocal interpretation of a linear process in which Christians gradually seized land from Muslims, expulsed them southwards and replaced them with a different socio-economic system and different ethno-religious groups. Despite this is not the aim or main concern that Salgado expresses in his annotated translation, in noticing the above-referred information, Ibn al-Kardabus' work is one of the oldest sources to present such arguments that challenge traditional understandings of the *Reconquista*. Ibn al-Kardabus observed some events of tolerance, cooperation, and military, economic and political association between peoples –generally men– of different creeds, origins and political affiliations.

Indeed, we find many passages where Ibn al-Kardabus extols the mutual tolerance between different ethnoreligious group as well as the fair treatment some Christian kings gave to endangered or defeated Muslim populations. In Ibn al-Kardabus' work, the evaluation of Christian and Muslim rulers and knights is made in line with the author's description of their conduct towards unarmed or defeated populations, and the degree of respect they offered to Islam and to religious prescriptions. Remarkably, he generally mentions women only in relation to a military defeat or an event of violence and humiliation, usually to condemn the perpetrators' violence.[212] As an example, the author both dignifies and condemns the figure of the Leonese king Alfonso VI depending on his actions throughout his conquests of Toledo and Zaragoza. In 1086, when Alfonso VI's army besieged the city of Zaragoza, then the capital of a wealthy Muslim-ruled Taifa, Ibn al-Kardabus writes that Alfonso promised that:

> "He would give, to every Muslim who subdued to him, justice and protection, and goodness in private and public affairs –for he would take to heart their equity and security. He promised

[212] Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, 111, 124–25.

them that they would not be bound to anything other than what the Islamic tradition made obligatory, and that in the rest they were set free."[213]

Many historians of the *Reconquista* have studied the figure of Alfonso VI (1040–1109), initially named king of León (1065), who later gained the title of king of Castile, Galicia and Portugal (1071/1072) –where his brothers had originally reigned. His reign was marked by a rapid territorial expansion across the peninsula, in detriment of some of his relatives, the kingdom of Navarre, and the Muslim-ruled Taifas of Badajoz, Toledo and Zaragoza (which had previously paid *parias* or tribute to the northern Christian kingdoms in exchange of protection), leading incursions southwards as far as to the Strait of Gibraltar (1083).[214] His military success threatened the political independence of the Taifa kingdoms to such an extent that some Muslim rulers sought help in the Almoravid Empire, which at that time stretched from present-day Mauritania to Fez and Tangiers.

[213] Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, 21, 111.
[214] Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996), 604–8.

Figure 2 Political Map of the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula around 1065.[215]

Much historiographical misconceptions have appeared around the identification and qualification of the Almoravids. Hugh Kennedy and Gema Martín Muñoz –among other historians– have contributed to clarify this problem in English and Spanish-speaking historiography –respectively–, affirming that the Almoravids were "a religious movement, not a tribe", although their success was connected to "the Sanhaja confederation of Berbers", from what is now Southern Morocco.[216] However, most historians remark that the Almoravids' clothes, customs and observance of Islam were slightly different from those of the Andalusians, and that the Almoravids brought a more orthodox approach to Maliki jurisprudence (the predominant Islamic law school in al-Andalus). These "differences" may have facilitated that some Andalusians perceived the Almoravids both as a powerful alternative to contain Alfonso VI and as "uncouth co-

[215] Alexandre Vigo, *Mapa Político Do Noroeste Da Península Ibérica a Finais Do Século XI. Carte Politique Du Nord-Ouest de La Péninsule Ibérique à La Fin Du XI Ème Siècle.*, March 20, 2009, March 20, 2009.
[216] Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, 606.

religionists", as historian Hugh Kennedy points out.[217] Indeed, as Kennedy argues, the Almoravid "religious ideology was an integral part" of their success, and by 1086 they started the occupation of most of the Taifa kingdoms that integrated al-Andalus at that time. These episodes would radically change the political map of the Iberian Peninsula in the 11th century and lead to a major shift in the legitimization of power, which would have a long-lasting effect.

Before the Almoravid conquest of al-Andalus, the Taifa kings had raised taxes on the population, applying a non-qur'anic policy, partially in order to be able to pay the *parias* in tribute to the Christian kingdoms, which generated opposition from the Andalusian –or *Andalusi*, as Kennedy writes– population. In this context of political debilitation and conquest of the Taifas, both Alfonso VI and the Almoravids tried to gain support among the Andalusian population claiming that they would abolish such taxes, but while the Almoravids appealed to the respect of "religious correctness" (referring to a doctrinal application of the Sunna), Alfonso VI claimed that Islamic legal taxation would be reestablished under his reign, and that he would provide justice, freedom, protection and financial aid to all the Muslims who subdued to him.[218]

Historian Felipe Maíllo Salgado uses this and other information provided by Ibn al-Kardabus to argue that Alfonso VI and his grandson Alfonso VII (k. 1126–1157, who according to Ibn al-Kardabus were called "the tyrant emperor" and "the little Sultan") attempted to "integrate" al-Andalus –"the peninsular Islamic country"– within the "Castilian political construct", which at that moment was "multi-racial" and "multi-confessional."[219] Following this line of thought, Alfonso VI

[217] Hugh Kennedy, "Muslim Spain and Portugal: Al-Andalus and Its Neighbours," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 4, c.1024-c.1198 [2008]*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 606–8.
[218] Kennedy, 608–9; Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 20–22.
[219] Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 28; Arsenio Escolar and Ignacio Escolar, *La nación inventada: Una historia diferente de Castilla* (Barcelona: Grupo Planeta Spain, 2010), 183–92.

of Leon-Castile in 1071 was the first king to call himself *Imperator totius Hispaniae* ("Emperor of all Spains"), and to use this title to appeal to the "national sentiment of the Hispano-Muslim population" to subdue to him as subjects of a religiously and ethnically diverse *Hispaniae*, "reunified" under his rule.[220] This political strategy was rehearsed as well by some Aragonese kings from Alfonso I (k. 1104–1134) onwards, who also named himself *Imperator totius Hispaniae*, attempting to attract the favor of his newly integrated Muslims subjects after the conquest of the Taifa of Zaragoza in 1188, one of the most important cities of al-Andalus.[221] However, Maíllo remarks that the "fear of absorption" and the loss of freedom provoked most Andalusians to choose Almoravid intervention –and afterwards, Almohad– over submission to the Castilian and Aragonese kings –who Ibn al-Kardabus portrayed as greedy and untrustworthy once the Almoravids had set foot on the peninsula. According to Maíllo, the failure of their policy of integration moved Christian kings to understand that the strategic solution to continue their project of *reconquest* was military subjugation –instead of propagandistic moves to achieve the submission– and the cultural annulation of the Andalusian *other* –who, whether Muslim, Mozarab or Jew, was Islamic in culture.[222]

This paramount shift in the meaning of the *Reconquista* —from attempts to integration to military conquest— was supported by a general context in Europe and the Mediterranean marked by the Crusades. However, a few historians underscore the discursive transformations in the concept of the *Reconquista* from the 11th century onwards. The figure of Pope Urban II is best-known for having preached the First Crusade to the Holy Land at a council in Clermont in 1095.

[220] José María Mínguez Fernández, "Alfonso VI /Gregorio VII: Soberanía imperial frente a soberanía papal," *Argutorio: revista de la Asociación Cultural "Monte Irago"* 13, no. 23 (2009): 30–33; Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 28.
[221] See: José Angel Lema Pueyo, *Alfonso I el Batallador, rey de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134)* (Gijón: Trea, 2008).
[222] Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 29.

What is less known is that this crucial event was preceded by the preaching of wars of "recapture" in Iberia. According to the North-American historian Miriam Shamis, the first crusaders to the Holy Land hardened their state of mind in wars against Muslims in Iberia, an idea developed by Joseph O'Callaghan in his study of the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* (1211/1239), anonymously authored during the reign of queen Berenguela of Castile.[223] Around 1063, Pope Alexander II "promised remission of sins to knights headed for battle" south of the kingdom of Aragon, "and Christian forces comprised mainly of French warriors briefly seized the Muslim city of Barbastro in 1064–65."[224] In 1089, Pope Urban II preached a Crusade which endorsed the Catalan conquest –led by the counts of Barcelona and Besalú– of the city of Tarragona –an important archbishopric seat, then in the Muslim-ruled Taifa of Tortosa.[225] With this act, the Pope set a precedent for all later Christian "wars of expansion window-dressed with religion", which spread throughout the Mediterranean, fueled by Papal indulgences for the forgiveness of sins, and bishops' promises of wealth –such as in the 12th century sieges of Zaragoza, Jerusalem and Lisbon.[226] Crusading has been associated with "the recapture of Toledo in 1085, the Portuguese success at Santarem and Lisbon in 1147, and the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212", all of which were later interpreted to signify a turn to the definitive decline of al-Andalus.[227]

As historian Christopher J. Tyerman writes in *The Invention of the Crusades* (1998), the crusades in the Holy Land and The Iberian Peninsula were driven by the desire for devotional and

[223] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Miriam Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Springer, 2009), 8, 126, 180.
[224] Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, 126.
[225] E. Hinojosa y Naveros, "Bull of the Crusade," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908 2017).
[226] E. Hinojosa y Naveros, "Bull of the Crusade," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908 2017); Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 1998), 16–18.
[227] Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, 127.

material rewards, but it is less clear whether the crusades represented a new ideology or expressed and re-signified an already existing one. In the latter interpretation, the *Reconquista* was both the cause and the consequence of the crusader ideology in the Iberian Peninsula, evidenced by the transformation in how Christian sources understood the "Reconquest" before and after the 11th century.[228] However, due to papal priority given to the Holy Land, the Iberian Peninsula was not considered "a legitimate crusading area" until 1147 –but that did not stop crusaders to arrive to Iberia from all around Europe.[229] According to Tyerman, the Iberian Crusades "were essentially continuations of local enterprises aimed at territorial or commercial gain", which adapted and applied the model of Holy War initiated by Urban II's "to campaign against the Muslims in Spain and the western Mediterranean."[230] This directly included the Iberian population in the development of anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish discourses.

This argument is supported by other historians, such as Jonathan Riley-Smith, who, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (2008, 3rd edition), explains how papal indulgences were equally granted to crusaders fighting in Iberia and the Holy Land in the First Lateran Council, during the reign of the Aragonese king Alfonso I.[231] Another political move of the Aragonese king which was to have a long-lasting psychological impact was the displacement –or "invitation", depending on the sources– of some 10 to 15 thousand Mozarabs –this is, "Andalusian Christians"– from Southern Iberia to the Ebro valley after the capitulation of Zaragoza and Alfonso I's campaigns in the Taifas of Murcia, Almeria and Granada. This was the first significant displacement of a non-combatant population since the beginning of the crusades, aimed –at least in the original documentation– to

[228] Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, 15–19.
[229] Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain 1031 - 1157* (Wiley, 1996), 211–12; Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, 126.
[230] Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, 15–16.
[231] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crusades, 1095–1198," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 4, c.1024-c.1198*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 545.

gather Christian groups under Christian rule –even if language, ecclesiastical dogma and customs differed from one another. According to Riley-Smith, at the end of Alfonso I's reign, it was clear that "it was not only foreigners but Spaniards themselves who were associating crusading with the reconquest of the peninsula" –though naming 12th century Iberians "Spaniards" and the Iberian Peninsula "Spain" is commonly qualified as anachronistic by historians at the present, and is a remnant of the traditional *Reconquista* narrative in some works.[232]

Twentieth century historiography written in English on the Crusades in the Eastern Mediterranean evolved rapidly from the 1970s, overlapping with major political and intellectual changes relative to the whole region. The change in historiographical attitudes contributed to a significant reevaluation of the extensive European and North-American historiography on Medieval Crusades written since the 19th century, which traditionally incorporated orientalist and nationalist narratives.[233] Today we know that the Crusades that ravaged the Mediterranean from the 11th century onwards motivated a wave of violence and significant transformations that affected not only societies in the Eastern Mediterranean (from Egypt to the Aegean sea), but also those in Europe: the creation of professionalized Catholic military orders in the Castilian and Aragonese frontiers, feudal violence on both sides of the Pyrenees, and the institutionalization of limits to the freedom and autonomy for women in Western Europe and the Crusaders' states are all processes related to the first Crusades.[234] In the meanwhile, the "fear of absorption" as Maíllo Salgado puts

[232] Riley-Smith, 545.
[233] The Lebanese writer Amin Maalouf published in 1983 *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, one of the books that exemplify this change in the historiographical approach to the Eastern Mediterranean Crusades; however, the 2012 English edition of this book displayed a picture from the Iberian Crusades famously associated to the *Reconquista*. Since the 1980s, two historians, Christopher Tyerman and Elizabeth Siberry, have published several works on the historiographical formation of the Crusades. See: Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984); Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades, 1099-2010* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
[234] Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, 15–19, 75–76.

it, led some Andalusians to appeal for Almoravid protection –superior in military terms–, which generated a situation in which the Iberian Peninsula was immersed in the confrontation of two powers, much more antagonistically and homogenously defined than before the 11th century.

Thus, both primary sources, 16th and 17th century Spanish historiography (Mercedes Garcia 353-421, Barbara Fuchs), and 19th and Early 20th century European and North-American historiography tended to portray Christians and Muslims in Iberia along two major interpretative lines, often imbued with a racial character: either as two clearly opposed political and cultural entities, or as two religiously divided groups, which came to mutually influence each other, making Spain and Spaniards a bridging nation between African and European cultures and races.[235] To this perspective, some 19th and 20th Spanish historians added the prejudiced perspective that the decline of al-Andalus was due in part to the "fanatic" character of the "external" or "Saharian" Almoravids (whose name, *al-Murabitun*, meant "the ones who gather to defend the religion") and the Almohads (*al-Muwahidun*, "the unitarists"), while some other historians of the same period (i.e. the North-American 19th century historian William H. Prescott) claimed that the Crusader ideology was in the origin of later Spanish decline and cultural corruption.[236]

Tracing some historiography on the following centuries in Iberia, we can assess that this shift in the conception of the Reconquest had serious practical (social, legal, economic and even ecological) implications, and radically intervened in the limitation of the contact between different ethno-religious communities through the organization of norms regarding gender and sexuality that

[235] See: Richard L. Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (1996): 423–46; Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).
[236] Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm," 29–31, 33–35; Martín Muñoz, Valle Simón, and López Plaza, *El Islam y el mundo árabe*, 1996, 17–18, 58–61, 119–22.

typified transgression and punishment. Connected to the development of the academic field of Women's and Gender History and the relaxation of academic constraints in Spain, since the 1980s historians have done innovative research into the intimate and public lives of women in different social strata, and interfaith sexuality and friendships in Iberia, including same-sex affective and sexual relationships. The contributions of David Nirenberg, Miriam Shadis and other authors constitute a different approach to the Crusaders' mentality of 12th to 15th century Iberia and to the changing roles and perspectives on women, gender, ethnicity and sexuality.

The historian Miriam Shadis has done research on the history of Women and Gender in South-West Medieval Europe, focusing on the political life of women at the royal courts of Portugal, Leon, Castile and Aragon. In her book *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Her Family: Political Women in the High Middle Ages* (2009), she explores how royal women experienced the Crusades and the *Reconquista* –a term which she generally uses while looking at historiography, and sometimes writes between quotation marks.

Although she was not the first historian to work on this question, Miriam Shadis demonstrates how, in the 12th and 13th centuries, "crusading and conquest were part of the daily, common experience of Iberian women", and clearly different from the experience of other European women due to "the proximity of crusading and familiarity with the enemy."[237] Heath Dillard's 1984 book, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300*, interestingly suggests that, in 11th to 14th century Iberia, feminine honor and transgression were socially framed in the adhesion to the complex ideological articulation of the Reconquest, the worries concerning interfaith miscegenation, syncretism and the mixing of ethnically defined gender roles.[238] Through

[237] Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, 128.
[238] Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 168–211.

the analysis of Berenguela's and other queens' thorough involvement in the military and religious endorsement of Iberian crusades, Miriam Shadis shows that Late Medieval women were actresses of war –possibly, but unclearly, participating as warriors in Iberian battlefields from the 11th to the 13th centuries– contradicting the historiographical view widespread until the 1980s that Iberian women were only casualties and bystanders in the frame of the "Reconquest."[239] Shadis suggests that, while queens' roles and actions at the time of Berenguela were intrinsically affected by gender and status, gender was always the dominant element. Nevertheless, Queen Berenguela employed all the mechanisms at her disposition to solve the tensions between the masculine ideal of crusading and the ideal of Christian queens as mothers, mirrored in the 13th century conception of the Virgin Mary. In doing so, Berenguela gradually transformed her motherhood into a militant role that went beyond the legitimation of the dynasty and the mourning of the dead: war against Muslims "was a family matter and a vehicle for promoting family glory, equated with the glory of Castile."[240]

Miriam Shadis' work signals that Berenguela's role in the ideological construction of the *Reconquista* was very significant in the legitimization of Castilian expansion, the definition of Christian noblewomen's gender roles, and the characterization of Christian-Muslim relationships. Berenguela controlled the official memorialization of the Castilian kingdom through the patronage of chronicles and monuments –such as *Las Huelgas*– in which Castile justified territorial conquests, and its right to impose its own policies and laws on the defeated population. Las Huelgas (located in the city of Burgos) was a "Cistercian monastery for elite women", but also "the primary context for royal women's ritual roles in preserving lineage, especially through mourning", and a resting place for crusader kings until Fernando III. Shadis argues that, in creating Las Huelgas, Berenguela

[239] Shadis, *Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages*, 127, 131.
[240] Shadis, 132.

and her parents –king and queen of Castile before her– "sought to create memories and to control the discourse surrounding those memories; they did so not by ejecting or erasing the signs of the "infidel" in their culture but by incorporating them."[241] According to Shadis, the convent:

> "documents the problematic nature of Iberian crusading in the thirteenth century. It was the final resting place for crusaders buried in Andalusi silks, with an Islamic battle flag flying over their sepulchers." […] Here, Las Huelgas is to be understood as physical evidence for the vexed concept of *convivencia*. The polemic and violence that were integral to Berenguela's world, and that she supported, have been shown also to be essential elements of the fraught experience of "living together" with Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. Berenguela's physical remains, and their context, bear witness to the problems posed by a shared aesthetic and economy with 'the enemy."[242]

By superposing this narrative on preserved Islamic art and crafts, those writing on behalf of Berenguela characterized the Islamic past of the conquered territories as a history of "coexistence" in which ethno-religious difference was –nevertheless– portrayed as a "necessary effort to reclaim formerly Christian lands", and thus asserted Christian victory, inscribing it in buildings, statues and the very act of mourning, which at Berenguela's time was attributed as a royal woman's role.[243] And by foregrounding her support to her son's victories, she resolved the contradiction between her portrayal as a nurturer and as a protector of his masculinity: "Berenguela's ideological role as a Christian, hereditary queen, and mother not only justified Fernando's crusade but strengthened perceptions of his masculinity and his kingship."[244] Indeed, Berenguela did not ascribe to the feminine standard of her time; but she left a long-lasting mark on the definition of Christian womanhood in the endorsement of the *Reconquista*. Her and other women's contributions to the Reconquest would be studied and distributed throughout European Christian elites in the 16th century by the Valencian writer Joan Lluis Vives, who in his work *De institutione feminae*

[241] Shadis, 167.
[242] Shadis, 167–68.
[243] Shadis, 167–71.
[244] Shadis, 147.

christianae (1523) sought to educate women about the Christian roles of female upbringing, motherhood and marital life.

Figure 3 Map of "Medieval Spain" by Miriam Shadis.[245]

[245] This map shows approximate political borders before the Battle of the Navas de Tolosa (1212) –endorsed as a Crusade by Pope Innocent III–, between all the Christian-ruled Iberian kingdoms and Almohad al-Andalus. The borders of Portugal, Navarre and the Crown of Aragon are partially mistaken, for Portugal did not include the Alentejo and Algarve regions until 1249, while Upper Navarre and the Roussillon are missing. Appears in the book by Shadis, xx.

3.4. Challenging Post-World War II historiography: *Convivencia* as a competing concept

3.4.1. Convivencia and "deconstruction"

"Différance."
Jacques Derrida (1978).

In 1948 the Spanish historian and philologist Américo Castro (1885–1972) published "Spain in its History: Christians, Moors and Jews", a book in which he employed the concept of *Convivencia*.[246] It is important point out that, whereas *Reconquista* can easily be translated to "Reconquest", there is no adequate English equivalent for *Convivencia* –at least to my knowledge– with the ability to unequivocally convey the specific meaning it possesses in Spanish (*convivencia*), Catalan (*convivència*), Italian (*convivenza*), and Portuguese and Galician (*convivência*), and differentiates it from paronymous words (such as *conviviality* or *coexistence* in English and *convivialité* in French). Such is the contextual specificity of this word. This said, historians often translate it to English as "coexistence", "symbiosis", "living-together" or "living-togetherness."[247] But it is not enough to translate a word to comprehend its meanings, nor are those meanings "innocent" or unambiguous. Consequently, I propose to use "deconstruction" –which I briefly introduced as a method in subchapter 1.2– to help me to advance in this task. With "deconstruction", the Algerian-French Sephardic philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) wanted to evoke reflection on the necessity to dismantle "our excessive loyalty to any idea" (i.e.

[246] Américo Castro's book was originally published in Spanish as *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judios* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948). It has been revised and reprinted several times. An English translation of this book is *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), ranslated by W. King and S. Margarettent.
[247] Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia," 19; Peter Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 40–41.

Reconquista or *Convivencia*) "and learn[…] to see the aspects of the truth that might be buried in its opposite."[248] Applying Deconstruction to historical inquiry –a deconstructionist approach to historiography– can help us to understand how "methods and concepts as well as the debates about its nature are the products of historical time periods."[249] Thus, feelings of puzzlement and confusion are to be expected in every analysis that tries to grasp the complexity of the meanings of history in the "present", for "History is itself historical", and both historical and historiographical analyses are always historically situated as well.[250] What can we obtain from a deconstructivist approach to the historiography of concepts of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia*? Can this help us to better understand the possible relevance of another concept such as gendered Islamophobia in that historiographical field? I will attempt to answer these questions in the following pages.

Before 1948, Américo Castro had studied the interferences and mixing of Medieval Arabic and Iberian Romanic languages and used this Spanish word in papers at the university. In his 1948 book –as well as in later ones– Américo Castro postulated the idea that Medieval Iberian societies experienced a historical process of complex social and cultural symbiosis, that irregularly benefited and transformed the different religious communities involved. Maya Soifer (2009), who has authored one of the most recent and eloquent analyses of the current state of Castro's *Convivencia* in Iberian Medieval historiography, argues that Castro understood *Convivencia* as a structural ideal principle that guided the communal lives of Medieval Iberian religious communities; a "construct that aspired to describe mental processes taking place in the collective consciousness of the three cultures."[251] However, as Maya Soifer remarks, it "was never meant to be tested against the social

[248] The School of Life, *Philosophy: Jacques Derrida*, Video File, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0tnHr2dqTs.
[249] Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 15.
[250] Munslow, 15.
[251] Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia," 20.

and political realities of Jewish–Christian–Muslim interaction", and thus has resisted every historiographical and anthropological attempt to transform it into a "workable analytical tool."[252]

One of the most significant historiographical contributions made by Américo Castro was to argue and show that Hispanic identity had resulted from the complex dynamic and social mechanisms that connected Muslim, Jewish and Christian Medieval cultures in Iberia. Maya Soifer writes that, "[b]y postulating the existence of a cultural symbiosis in medieval Iberia, *convivencia* problematized the pristine image of *homo hispanus* and provided a much-needed corrective to the mythological construct of 'eternal Spain'."[253] Spanish historians of Medieval Iberia at the middle of the 20th century generally agreed on the idea that "Castile, uncontaminated by the Islamic invasion and by centuries of interaction with the Jews, led Spain through the centuries-long *Reconquista* toward the fulfillment of its manifest destiny of 'reunification", as Maya Soifer conveys it.[254] Indeed, *Convivencia* appeared as a concept that irremediably contradicted the traditional approach to Spanish history through the lens of the *Reconquista* by affirming the *hybrid* nature –hence, not a "pure" one– of Hispanic identity.[255] One example of this posture was Castro's 1961 article "The Visigoths Were Not Still Spanish", which challenged the traditional vision that Visigoths were the *first* Spaniards from a historical point of view and thus denied any place for Muslims and Jews in a national Catholic historiographical perspective –which, at least on paper, was the only one sanctioned by the Francoist State and the government of the Spanish Transition between 1938 and 1978.[256]

[252] Soifer, 20, 23.
[253] Soifer, 20.
[254] Soifer, 20.
[255] For more information on this topic and the "cultural hybridity" of the *Convivencia* model, see the book by Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance*, 40–41, 130, 170.
[256] Originally published in Spanish as "Los Visigodos No Eran Aún Españoles," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 15, no. 1/2 (1961).

Even if Castro did not envision *Convivencia* as a synonym for "peaceful coexistence" –despite many historians read it like that–, he did not deny that the Kingdom of Castile conquered and colonized a great deal of al-Andalus, the idea of *Convivencia* was transgressive in a historiographical sense because it proposed an alternative vision of Iberian history that contradicted the mainstream, xenophobic and islamophobic idea of the *Reconquista*. Indeed, Castro was one of the first Spanish historians to employ the term *islamophobia* in one of his essays about Iberian Medieval historiography. In his 1968 book, *Sobre el nombre y el quién de los españoles* (literally "On the name and who of the Spaniards"), he "stated that Islamophobia and anti-Semitism had engendered in Spain 'an elusive historiography' that had covered up the Jewish and Islamic influences in the history of Spain", as Fernando López Bravo tells us.[257] Thus, in this perspective, *Convivencia* was not just a "competing analysis in Spanish historiography" but a useful tool to understand how traditional historiography on Medieval Iberia had concealed the cultural and social significance of Muslims and Jews and obscured their contributions to the formation of Modern Hispanic identities. However, that still leaves us with the question of what historical events explain such direction.

Before answering that question, I want to remark that Castro's works generated a lot of criticism and debate. Two sides were formed around the concept of *Convivencia*. The first was represented by Américo Castro himself, while the leading exponent of the other side was the Spanish historian and politician Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984), whose work focused on the Early Medieval history of the socio-economic institutions of the Christian-ruled Iberian kingdoms. Many critics of Castro's arguments focused on the reaffirmation of the teleological

[257] This fragment is quoted by Fernando Bravo López in "Towards a Definition of Islamophobia: Approximations of the Early Twentieth Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 4 (April 2011): 568. Castro's quote comes from Américo Castro and Rafael Lapesa Melgar, *Sobre el nombre y el quién de los españoles* (Madrid: SARPE, 1985), 98. This book has been reedited in 2000 and 2018.

vision of Spanish history that imbued Modern Spaniards with a sense of shared Europeanness, racial identity and Christian mission, which found an echo among Spanish fascist and conservative historiography during the Francoist dictatorship –and still reverberates in the recent historiography of authors such as the Spanish writer Pio Moa, as we will see in the subchapter 3.7.

Many authors who have published books on Medieval History of Iberia dedicate a short paragraph to the debate over the nature and applicability of the concept of *Convivencia*. Erica Buchberger is one of those historians who use and translate it as "coexistence" or "living-together", qualifying each option. She explains that "support for Castro's view [in Spain] was limited until the mid-1970s when democratization after Franco's death freed scholars to question the official narrative more directly."[258] The death of Américo Castro in 1972 and the end of the Francoist dictatorship in 1975 gave way to a more optimistic and freer academic context in which alternative visions of Spanish history flourished. The ideal of *Convivencia* thrived among the general Spanish audience and international Medievalist historians, who may have felt attracted by the idealistic character of the concept at a time when movements of Decolonization, non-violence and no-alienation appeared on the news on a regular basis together with the oppression of racial difference everywhere. This contextualization may help to better comprehend Maya Soifer's words when she writes that "[d]etached from the conflict-prone affairs of the real world, *Convivencia*'s transition from an *idealist* to an *idealizing* notion was only too logical", but hence criticism also changed.[259]

Since their origins, the concepts of Reconquest and *Convivencia* have exceeded the boundaries of Iberian Historiography and have been extensively applied by historians writing on the histories of other times and geographies, such as those of the Ottoman Empire, the Ancient and Modern

[258] Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700*, 13.
[259] Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia," 20–21.

colonial encounters and the "contact zones" –a term coined by Mary L. Pratt.[260] There is a growing number of academic works that cover various aspects of the history of Medieval Iberia through the lens of concepts of Reconquest and *Convivencia*. More specifically, the study of interactions and relationships among Muslims, Jewish and Christians through the opposition of the ideas of *Convivencia* and *Reconquista* can be found in diverse academic productions: for instance, in Geoffrey Jensen's "Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War" (2014); in María del Mar Logroño Narbona's "'Carmencita' Goes East: Francoist Cultural Discourses about the Middle East" (2014); in Erica Buchberger's *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700* (2017); in undergraduate History thesis, like Yunus Doğan's "*Convivencia* and *Reconquista*: A History among Muslims, Jews and Christians in Medieval Iberian Peninsula" (2016); and also in Museum exhibitions, like "Islam, It's also our history!" (Sofia, Sarajevo, Brussels, 2017).[261]

In *Queer Iberia* (1999), historians Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson declare that David Nirenberg's *Communities of Violence* (1997) contains "perhaps the most critical rereading of Castro's historicism."[262] Nirenberg says:

> "Even in times of plague and massacre, violence was a central and systemic aspect of the coexistence of majority and minorities. *Convivencia* was predicated upon violence; it was not its peaceful antithesis. Violence drew its meaning from coexistence, not in opposition to it." […] "Attempts to periodize through violence, to divide the medieval world into opposing

[260] Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History*, 14.
[261] See: Geoffrey Jensen, "Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden: BRILL, 2014), 495–532; María del Mar Logroño Narbona, "'Carmencita' Goes East: Francoist Cultural Discourses about the Middle East," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden: BRILL, 2014), 533–55; Erica Buchberger, *Shifting Ethnic Identities in Spain and Gaul, 500–700: From Romans to Goths and Franks* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017); Yunus Doğan, "Convivencia and Reconquista: A History among Muslims, Jews and Christians in Medieval Iberian Peninsula" (Undergraduate Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2016); Isabelle Van den Broeck, Raphaël Remiche, and Louise Schoemans, eds., *Cataloge: Islam - It's Also Our History / Katalog: Islam - Je i Nasa Historija!* (Sarajevo: Bosniak Institute, Tempora, 2017).
[262] Josiah Blackmore et al., eds., *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 13–14.

categories of tolerance and intolerance, mutual interest versus mutual hostility, open society or closed, is [are] to miss the dependence of the one upon the other."[263]

3.4.2. The enforcement of difference and the violence of borders: On gender and transgression

David Nirenberg, a North-American historian, has extensively researched the social relations between Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities in Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean from the perspective of communication and exchange, focusing on the constitution of such communities in the process of interacting with, thinking about and representing each other. His 1996 *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Age*s (re-edited and updated in 2015) is an innovative book that approaches interreligious violence in the Crown of Aragon and France in the 13th and 14th centuries from the perspective of its social and ideological functions. There, Nirenberg questions the analytical possibilities of studying the Middle Ages through dichotomies such as tolerance versus intolerance, and challenges the *longue durée* approach –as used by the French Annales School– that traces genocidal and contemporary violence against minorities as a long-term historical structure grounded in Medieval pogroms, intolerance and acts of extermination.[264] Instead, Nirenberg argues that Medieval violence against minorities differed from violence exerted in the Modern era in the function it had to stabilize society. However, drawing from Nirenberg's arguments, both Medieval and Modern violence against minorities seems to originate not in irrational beliefs, but in the construction of complex discourses,

[263] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 245.
[264] Mark D. Meyerson, "Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages. David Nirenberg," *Speculum* 74, no. 2 (April 1999): 464–67; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), iv–xvii, 3–4.

intended to instrumentalize minorities and to advance the political causes of certain groups. Thus, Nirenberg studies violence as framed and motivated through discourses on History –i.e. the restitution of Christian supremacy–, and on money, gender, kinship, ethnicity and the anxiety of miscegenation –i.e. "purity", the embodiment of ethnicity and Christian women's prostitution, or the portrayal of Jew and Muslim men as profaners, sodomites and traitors.

In the second half of his book, Nirenberg examines violence through the question of what it can reveal about the construction of gender norms and sexuality, offering a lucid investigation on the limitation of interfaith sexual relations in France and the Crown of Aragon between the 12th and the 14th centuries. He shows that violence "was a central and systemic aspect of the coexistence of majority and minorities in medieval Spain, and even suggests that coexistence was in part predicated on such violence."[265] He shows that, increasingly since the 12th century, communal and ecclesiastical authorities sanctioned the "religious boundaries" between communities and defined them in gender, sexual, ethnic and historical terms.[266] Individual transgression, thus, was made through conversion (Christian to Jewish or Muslim) "blasphemy, interfaith sexuality, commensality, dress and topography", but its prosecution was "situational" in that it required "a big deal of amplification by circumstances before it could provoke violence."[267] According to Nirenberg, conversion was "the most famously conflictual crossing of these boundaries."[268] For him, "the institutionalized violence represented by the Inquisition was a product of the anxiety that this boundary of conversion might be transgressed in the wrong direction."[269] "Accusational" –as Nirenberg puts it– or judicial violence is a historiographical field that has been extensively studied

[265] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 10.
[266] Nirenberg, 127.
[267] Nirenberg, 127–28.
[268] Nirenberg, 128.
[269] Nirenberg, 128.

by historians of Early Modern Europe, among whom Mercedes García Arenal is one of the most noteworthy.[270] However, the most significant contribution on "crossing boundaries" in Nirenberg's work is that of sexual transgression, and the one that implies more relevant and less known ideas about conquest and discrimination. Besides this, Nirenberg acknowledges his lack of familiarity with sources on same-sex sexual relationships, but other authors' work may support Nirenberg's arguments here.

As an example, Luis Araus Ballesteros and Julio González-Ruiz are two Spanish historians who have researched how sodomy was framed, treated by criminal law and employed as a denigrating accusation against men in Castile between the 13th and 15th centuries.[271] Araus Ballesteros has looked at the relations between Old Christians and *Mudéjares* –Muslims subjects legally living in Christians-ruled territories– and he points out that the Crusades spread the idea that sodomy was a vice characteristic of Muslim sexuality and Islamic civilization, in opposition to Christendom's exclusive heterosexuality. Both Ballesteros and Nirenberg remark that sexual practices considered illicit –i.e. "adultery", "sodomy", same-sex sexual relations, "bestiality"– were attributed to ethnic minorities and, thus, used to demarcate the division between different ethno-religious groups by the dominant authorities in Castile, as David Nirenberg also explains regarding the Crown of Aragon during the same period.[272]

[270] As an example, see: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard A. Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014).

[271] Luis Araus Ballesteros, "Los Delitos Sexuales En La Legislación de Los Mudéjares Castellanos. El Caso de La Sodomía," in *Amor y Sexualidad En La Historia*, vol. 4, Temas y Perspectivas de La Historia (Salamanca: Asociación de Jóvenes Historiadores, 2015), 291–310; Julio González-Ruiz, "'¿A Cómo Vale El Ardor / Que Traéis En Vuestra Silla?:' Otredades No-Cristianas, Sodomía y Propaganda En La Corte de Enrique IV de Castilla," *EHumanista/Conversos*, no. 5 (2017): 317–28.

[272] Luis Araus Ballesteros, "Los Delitos Sexuales En La Legislación de Los Mudéjares Castellanos. El Caso de La Sodomía," in *Amor y Sexualidad En La Historia*, vol. 4, Temas y Perspectivas de La Historia (Salamanca: Asociación de Jóvenes Historiadores, 2015), 293–95; Julio González-Ruiz, "'¿A Cómo Vale El Ardor / Que Traéis En Vuestra

Following Nirenberg's work, we can observe how, between the 11th and the 14th centuries, as wars of Reconquest enlarged the Crown of Aragon with new lands and subjects, secular and conciliar legislation established "the impermissibility, not just of marriage, but of any sexual contact" between Christians and non-Christians, inscribing the boundaries between communities in the bodies of individuals of different faiths and genders.[273] Although sexual encounters between Christian women and Muslim and Jewish men raised most anxiety, that does not mean that Muslim and Jewish women –and to a lesser extent Christian men as well– escaped the severe punishments inflicted by religious and secular authorities and did not suffer ostracism from their communities – which seems to have been especially the case for women. As an example, the Customs of Tortosa (1279) and the *Furs* of Valencia (1261) –compilations of laws that worked as constitutions, until their derogation in 1707/1714– proscribed death by burning to Christian women and by dismemberment to Muslim and Jewish men found guilty of "lying" together, while only "Christian males and Jewish women caught together were to be burnt. Those caught with Muslim women were to be whipped naked through the streets together with their partner in crime."[274]

In sum, Nirenberg explains, first, the formation of "a complex system of sexual interaction and violence along a bewildering number of axes of gender and religious identity" and, secondly, how this "matrix of relations with the other communities and genders" led to the emergence of archetypes of masculinity and femininity "in each religious community."[275] Archetypes such as the *convivial* Muslim and Christian male friends, the *fooled* and the *deceitful* Christian female prostitutes, the desperate *lovers* from different faiths, the *imperiled* and *submissive* Muslim woman

Silla?:' Otredades No-Cristianas, Sodomía y Propaganda En La Corte de Enrique IV de Castilla," *EHumanista/Conversos*, no. 5 (2017): 317.
[273] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 130.
[274] Nirenberg, 132.
[275] Nirenberg, 144.

or the (*hyper-*)*masculine* Christian master arise from Nirenberg's analysis of Medieval Iberian sources, almost always appearing as complementary archetypes constructed upon each other.

Two examples are offered by the events that surrounded Alicsend de Tolba and Aytola "the Saracen", on one side, and the Muslim Fatima and the monks of Roda, on the other side. Firstly, Nirenberg narrates that Alicsend was a Christian female prostitute who, in 1304, visited a shepherds' camp near Xivert (in the kingdom of Valencia), offering herself *only* to Christians –and thus abiding to the law. Apparently, the "interfaith community of shepherds", attempting to "obscure the religious differences that divided them", concealed the Muslim identity of Aytola with the help of his friend Lorenç, so Aytola could also enjoy the same services as his Christian companions. Nevertheless, Alicsend discovered the trick when she realized that Aytola had a circumcised penis –and thus "physicalized" him as an "other"–, then interrupted the event, and denounced both him and Lorenç to the secular authorities for "falsity and deviousness 'in dishonor of God and of the Catholic faith."[276] According to Nirenberg's analysis, this story shows that, by the 14th century, Christian female prostitutes in the Crown of Aragon had turned –and been turned– to sites at which difference was "policed", recognized and forcibly segregated; they became "quite literally a marker of difference, as well as an active agent in its surveillance."[277]

By producing an enormous number of legal documents, judicial causes and punishments against Muslim men accused of sexual intercourse with Christian women and men (both "honorable" women, prostitutes, free men and slaves) –with the exception of same-sex intercourse, something permissible for Christian men, single or married–, Aragonese-Catalan authorities (and Castilian and Portuguese as well) created both the documentary precedent and the social experience

[276] Nirenberg, 144–45.
[277] Nirenberg, 144.

to argue that Muslim men's sexuality contained all the elements of deviancy, as it was understood in Late Medieval Iberia. Thus, it seems plausible to me that the events contained in Nirenberg's book may have constituted a precedent, a solid basis to link Muslim men's sexuality to irrationality, uncontrollability, excess, contamination and "crimes against nature."[278] These discursive construction of Muslim men's sexuality could have informed the later anti-Moorish discourse, especially in theological debates and preaching –like the proselytization of the Valencian Dominican saint Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419)– and since the 1569-70 rebellion in the Alpujarras, and could constitute a precedent for the advocates of the expulsion of the Moriscxs in the 17th century. This difference in the portrayal of Muslim male and female sexuality finds a reverberation in the punishment inflicted to each gender: while punishment for miscegenation to Muslim men often meant whipping, burning, castration and/or torture, the treatment given to Muslim women was different and far more complex. It shows the ambivalent posture of the Christian elites towards miscegenation with Muslims depending on their gender, and with minorities at large. Nirenberg notes that sexual encounters between Christian men and Muslim women were the miscegenation case that authorities overlooked the most, and that the rape of Muslim women by Christian men triggered less "violent conflict" than that of Jewish women.[279]

The second set of examples that illuminates the correlation of two archetypes represents, in this case, the binary opposition of the *imperiled* and *submissive* Muslim woman and the (*hyper-*)*masculine* Christian master. Nirenberg tells us that in 1337, the Aragonese king Peter IV (k. 1336–1387) "pardoned a Muslim woman named Fatima for sexual relations with Sancho de Martes, a

[278] Nirenberg, 140.
[279] Nirenberg, 140.

member of the royal household, on the condition that she never again have intercourse with a Christian."[280]

> "When Fatima was accused, she explained to King Peter IV that she had been raped by a Christian when she was nine years old, had a child by him, and was then given by him to a Muslim in marriage. She had left that marriage because the husband was wasting her possessions, and then had sex with a number of Christians. The king forgave her the consequences of this past."[281]

Nonetheless, Peter IV "later revoked the pardon and granted her as slave to Sancho himself" (264-65). Later, in 1356, the same king granted to the monastery of Roda (in Catalonia) "rights over all Muslim women under its jurisdiction convicted of sleeping with Christians but had to alter his grant in 1357 to exclude those women convicted of sleeping with the monks themselves."[282] According to Nirenberg, Christian men –and other accusers– could seek "both financial gain and sexual recreation by 'seducing' Muslim women, then denouncing the objects of their desire and having them enslaved", or receive "a portion of the enslaved woman's sale price" as a reward.[283] How did Muslim accusers benefit from denouncing Muslim women? This is something Nirenberg is less clear about, but I will try to convey it.

Nirenberg argues that Muslim women could sometimes evade punishment if they converted to Christianism or invoked mercy for all the mistreatment they had suffered, but in practice they were mostly enslaved and given to their offenders. On the communal side, Muslim *aljamas* (local Muslim self-governments) tried an apparently incoherent or ambivalent mechanism: the aljamas either requested to purchase the right from the king to judge Muslim women accused of miscegenation, or requested to "forbid leniency" and asked for their death, since Muslim women

[280] Nirenberg, 139.
[281] Nirenberg, 139.
[282] Nirenberg, 138.
[283] Nirenberg, 138, 139.

who were "condemned to death would be turned over to the Christian authorities for punishment, which generally consisted of enslavement" and sometimes to receive 100 lashes –a real death sentence–, with the possibility "to be redeemed for a sum of money."[284] The violent patriarchal behavior of both Christian authorities and local Mudejar communities in 13th and 14th century Castile and Aragon –in a historical context of a renewed institutionalization of patriarchy in Iberia– has confused some historians used to deal with the relative sexual openness of Medieval Islamic and Andalusian societies –which, although different to the Aragonese, were also patriarchal– and, which the reactions of Aragonese *aljamas* seem to contradict. Nirenberg suggests that the Mudejar society may have shifted from a more "permissive' female sexuality" to a more "restrictive" one.[285] He explains this shift in the "vulnerability of Muslim women" as a result of two colliding processes: on one hand, Christian men's "colonial sexual exploitation" of Muslim women and, on the other hand, the development of a Mudejar society "in which the competition for family honor was carried out (in part) through emphasis of restrictions on female sexuality."[286]

The state of Muslim women's legal alienation and disenfranchisement in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon that Nirenberg shows through several sources, may reveal new insights about the loss of freedom of Muslim women within Mudejar communities and Iberian society at large. However, what interests me more here is what it can reveal about the gendered and islamophobic character of the ideology of the Reconquest and about the homogenization of gender archetypes in Early Modern Iberia. Castilian and Aragonese conquests often tolerated the maintenance of pre-existing Jewish and Muslim law codes that, with varying limitations depending on the time and place, the authorities of minority communities could exert upon their coreligionists. Andalusian

[284] Nirenberg, 137, 139.
[285] Nirenberg, 139.
[286] Nirenberg, 110, 139, 182.

Maliki jurisprudence traditionally disapproved and sometimes –or *often*, depending on the sources consulted– condemned sex outside of marriage but, even if societal responses and individual cases varied significantly in the history of al-Andalus and the commonly shared idea is that authorities intervened with leniency in most cases, violence against women was a common reality.[287] What Nirenberg remarks is that around the 13th and 14th centuries there is abundant documentation that shows that Aragonese, Catalan and Valencian "Muslim [Mudejar] communities focused most of their attention on patrolling the interfaith sexuality of Muslim women, not men", linked to the fact that Muslim "male sexuality was the focus of so much majority attention", that sexual interaction between Christian men and Muslim women was frequent, and that Muslim women occupied a central role in the "majority sexual economy" as slaves in Christian households.[288]

Nirenberg suggests that the communal Islamic prohibition on the marriage of Muslim women to non-Muslim men in the Crown of Aragon was different in ideology to the prohibition that banned Jewish women from the equivalent. From the author's argumentation we can conclude that, since conquest and domination were embedded in the dominant or hegemonic Christian masculine ideal of the time, Christian men's sexual access to enslaved *Mudejar* (ironically and perhaps not coincidentally meaning "domesticated" Muslims who remained in Christian-conquered territories) women in Christian households had the discursive function to reenact male Christian's domination over the subjugated Muslim community and thus to uplift both their masculine and their Christian identities. This idea may be supported by a growing historiographical field that delves into the lives of enslaved Moriscx women and children in 15th and 16th century Iberia. Authors like Carlos Javier

[287] For more information on this topic, see: Maribel Fierro, "Violence Against Women in Andalusi Historical Sources (Third/Ninth-Seventh/Thirteenth Centuries)," in *Violence in Islamic Thought from the Qur'an to the Mongols*, ed. Robert Gleave and Istvan T. Kristo-Nagy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 155–74.
[288] For Nirenberg's complete analysis on this question see: Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 130–60, 179–83. The quotes are from pages 136-137.

Garrido García, Stephanie M. Cavanaugh, François Soyer and Aurelia Martín Casares, deal with the "affective" and private lives and struggles of Moriscas and black women –and some black Moriscas– and Moriscx children who were enslaved and who worked at households for Old Christians in Portugal and Spain during the 16th century.[289] These authors have contributed to shed light on a traditionally overlooked issue in the family economy and marriage of Spanish and Portuguese households and an issue that motivated litigations between the spouses and the jealousy of wives who disapproved the extramarital affairs of their husbands with domestic slaves and servants.

Since legislation in Late Medieval Aragon, Portugal and Castile was often elaborated by the dominant majority, which was Christian and male, it is plausible to argue that those members of this juridically privileged group who were interested in maintaining their social control perceived interfaith –before 1391 and other episodes of mass conversion– and Old-New Christian –after 1391 and 1501– communal life not necessarily always as a threat, but perhaps also as a medium through which symbolically reenact their domination. According to Nirenberg, in 14th century Iberia, the female body became "the site of fears of penetration and corruption, the male of diffusion and enfeeblement."[290] Thus, the penetration of Muslim women offered a discursive reaffirmation to Christian masculinities –mirroring penetration and Reconquest–, while Jewish and Muslim men's

[289] Aurelia Martín Casares, "Esclavitud y mentalidad: la población esclava de Granada a lo largo del siglo XVI," *Chronica Nova. Revista de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Granada* 0, no. 25 (1998): 337–48, https://doi.org/10.30827/cn.v0i25.2077; François Soyer, "Muslim Slaves and Freedmen in Medieval Portugal," *Al-Qanṭara* 28, no. 2 (December 30, 2007): 489–516; François Soyer, "El comercio de los esclavos musulmanes en el Portugal medieval: rutas, precios y papel económico," *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III, Historia medieval*, no. 23 (2010): 265–75; Carlos Javier Garrido García, "La esclavitud en el Reino de Granada en el último tercio del siglo XVI: el caso de Guadix y su tierra" (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012); Stephanie M. Cavanaugh, "Litigating for Liberty: Enslaved Morisco Children in Sixteenth-Century Valladolid," *Renaissance Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (December 1, 2017): 1282–1320.

[290] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 148.

penetration of Christian women –especially of those who were exposed as a border, the prostitutes– meant a contamination of the Christian community.

If we approach Nirenberg's book from the historiography of the *Reconquista*, what his work implies is that the *Reconquista* evolved primarily as a masculine concept and materialized fundamentally as a masculine ideal, only flexible to include certain transgressions. And if we approach it from the theoretical framework of gendered islamophobia and intersectionality, we can argue that some transgressions succeeded over others depending on what categories were crossed and what place in society the transgressors occupied. How does this picture merge with the historiographical understanding of *race* and racial mentality in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberia?

3.5. Excluding the *other*: Moriscxs, racialization and "the anxiety of sameness"

> *"There's this idea that monsters don't have reflections in a mirror. And what I've always thought isn't that monsters don't have reflections in a mirror. It's that if you want to make a human being into a monster, deny them, at the cultural level, any reflection of themselves."*
>
> Attributed to Junot Díaz (2017).[291]

How are *othered* social groups further alienated? How have historians researched the discursive construction and representation of Moriscxs? Through the work of Mary E. Perry, Luis A. Ballesteros, David Nirenberg, Barbara Fuchs, Mercedes G. Arenal and other historians, we can

[291] Nikesh Shukla, "How The Buddha of Suburbia Let Me in to a Wider World," *The Guardian*, February 17, 2017, sec. Books.

better understand a context in which civil and religious authorities in Iberia from the 11th century onwards –and especially between the 14th and 15th C.– implemented policies with the aim to clearly differentiate ethno-religious communities –such as with mandatory dress codes– and prevented and prosecuted sexual intercourse and miscegenation, the "contamination" of blood and the corruption of communal genealogy –the notion of "purity of blood." This problem was linked to the impossibility to discern whether a person was Christian, Muslim or Jew –something that was regarded to be carried in one's blood– according to her or his appearance. This was a "preoccupation" that mostly concerned the Old Christian social elites, and one that historian Christina H. Lee has named "the anxiety of sameness". With this term, Lee alludes to the fear of "social devaluation" experimented by the Spanish social elite, and to its "fixation on social and racial 'passing' and 'passers'."[292]

In Late Medieval Iberia, the belief that ethnicity and religious affiliation were indissolubly joint with psychological, spiritual and moral characteristics was common in all the spheres of society. The historians Barbara Fuchs, François Soyer and Christina H. Lee have eloquently explained in several books how these beliefs evolved into a social anxiety to prove righteous Christian affiliation and family lineage in 15th and 16th century Spain and Portugal, epitomized in the concept of "purity of blood."[293]

The enforcement of interfaith segregation and intra-Christian differentiation, after mass conversions of Jews and Muslims to Christianity –such as those of the years 1330s, 1391/2 (Jews), 1450s, 1502/3 and 1520s (Muslims)–, has been argued by historians with different explanations.

[292] Christina H. Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain* (Manchester: Oxford University Press, 2016), 8–10, 78, 213.
[293] See: Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*; François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness in Early Modern Spain*.

For David Nirenberg it seems that the reason was resemblance, not difference; in other words, the impossibility to distinguish a Christian from a Jew or from a Muslim only from their physical traits. External markers had been placed to assist on such task, and since the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), ecclesiastical authorities "decided that since the physical similarities among Christian, Jew, and Muslim led to sexual intercourse between Christians and non-Christians, Jews and Muslims would henceforth be required to dress differently from Christians."[294] However, as Nirenberg explains, laws were not enough to control miscegenation, and new laws were established to avoid that Muslim and Jewish men "contaminated" Christian lineage, morality and superiority through their sexual encounters with Christian women. For this author, the 1391 mass coerced conversions of Jews to Christianity created a new context in which the "anxiety about the reproduction of racial categories" and about the sincere observance of the Christian faith turned to be a real social concern that marked the lineage of New Christians –whether of Jewish or Muslim descent– an anxiety justified by an ideology that is termed with the concept of "Purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre* or *limpeza de sangue*, in Spanish and Portuguese).[295]

Mercedes García Arenal and David Nirenberg identify mass conversions as a clear turning point in the entrenchment of notions of racial difference between the Christian dominant group, on one hand, and Jews and Muslims, on the other hand, which were expressed in categories of physical, sexual and moral purity and civility, policed to avoid the "contamination" of the Christian body, and contained through the toleration of occasional mass violence and the enactment of laws that restricted the access of New Christians to positions of power and privilege. But forced conversions "brought an end to the legal existence of a plurality of religious groups with clearly

[294] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 133.
[295] Nirenberg, 147.

defined boundaries whose presence had characterised the Peninsular Middle Ages" and these events caused an Early Modern "obsession with *limpieza de sangre.*"[296]

For Barbara Fuchs "Spanish racial hysteria focused on covert cultural and religious practices, and on the much more ambiguous register of blood. *Limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) was defined as the absence of Jewish or Moorish forebears for a particular person or family."[297] In one sentence: Iberian early notions of race rested on moral and intellectual characteristics, which *could* –or *were*, since Early Modern opinions varied– be transmitted by "blood" or filiation and identified through some physical attributes. According to Barbara Fuchs, Spain attempted "to contain the influence of al-Andalus by racializing and othering *conversos* and *moriscos*— Jews and Moors who had undergone forced conversion—."[298]

Attempts to segregate New and Old Christians were real, and segregation laws were "instituted via local statutes", like the *Sentencia-Estatuto* for the Cathedral of Toledo (1449).[299] Rachel L. Burk affirms that "*pureza* laws were propagated widely by the end of the sixteenth century in the whole of the Peninsula."[300] Nevertheless, as Barbara Fuchs argues, "the widespread consensus within Spain" that it was almost impossible to really know if someone was free of "Semitic taint" opened the possibility for some Spanish Moors to "escape othering" and *pass* as Old Christians, although this was an option that was not equally available to all Moriscxs.[301] On this remark Barbara Fuchs notes: "Although a racism based on physical appearance did exist, and blacks were

[296] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56:3.
[297] Barbara Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 95.
[298] Fuchs, 88.
[299] Rachel I. Burk, "Purity and Impurity of Blood in Early Modern Iberia," in *The Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies*, ed. Javier Munoz-Basols, Manuel Delgado Morales, and Laura Lonsdale (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 173.
[300] Burk, 173.
[301] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 95.

singled out for their color, Moors were not reliably identifiable in this way", and "even if outside Spain skin color is enlisted to essentialize difference, blackness emphatically does not equal *Moorishness* within Spain."[302] Thus, following Fuchs, Nirenberg and Burk, islamophobia and anti-black racism could operate together in Early Modern Spain, but only the first was institutionalized in 15th and 16th century Spain. To legally prosecute a black person, it had to be defended that such person transgressed other kind of social norms which were effectively sanctioned. How did this process of increasingly racializing religious otherness affect categories of gender in Early Modern Iberia?

Some stories of transgender Christian men and women who lived in 15th, 16th and 17th century Iberia have been studied by a number of historians, such as Matthew Goldmark, Rosie Seagraves, Barbara Fuchs, Alexander Hernández, Ignacio Ruiz and François Soyer, to name a few. The study of two transgender men, an Old Christian and a Moriscx, in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (1999), exposed by Mary Elizabeth Perry (on Catalina de Erauso) and Israel Burshatin (on Eleno de Céspedes), stand out. To my knowledge, *Queer Iberia* is the first book to have suggested the "*Reconquista* (both in its historical specificity and in a broadly ideological sense) as an inevitable subtext to the narrative of Iberian sexuality" while approaching this field of inquiry from the perspective of Queer Theory.[303] According to David Nirenberg, "so complex were the effects of sexual and religious identities upon one another in the fourteenth-century Crown [of Aragon] that we should perhaps think of it as a society of six dynamically related genders, rather than of two genders and three religions."[304]

[302] Fuchs, 94, 95.
[303] Blackmore et al., *Queer Iberia,* 12.
[304] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence,* 144.

Eleno de Céspedes –previously named Elena– was a transgender man born female and/or intersex, Moriscx and slave near Granada around 1545 from an Old Christian –presumably white– father and an enslaved black Morisca mother.[305] Some years after Eleno left his father's household, he started to dress for passing as a Christian man, and he enrolled as a soldier to suppress the Moriscx revolt of 1569–1570 in the Granadan Alpujarras.[306] Indeed, the use of violence was a male privilege in Early Modern Spain and, in the case of state-sponsored violence, a strong marker of Christian masculine identity –since laws normally forbade Morisco men to hold arms.[307] Eleno studied surgery and worked as a surgeon (the first known transgender surgeon in the history of Spain), a knowledge he seemingly used to conceal his genitalia and breasts with the help of a Morisca; he had several female sexual partners of different origins and was married to a woman, all before being denounced by a former companion in the war of the Alpujarras and brought before the Inquisition. Her dead body was dressed in male clothes –I do not know whether it was also attired in any Moriscx dress– and hanged in public.

Several historians have studied the famous figure of the transgender Basque noble named Catalina de Erauso (1592–1650) –often known with the nickname of "the lieutenant nun"–, including Rosie Seagraves, Isabel Hernández and Mary Elizabeth Perry. Catalina de Erauso was raised as a nun in a convent until she was 15 and lived most of the rest of her life as a man (whose masculine names in primary sources include Antonio de Araujo, Alonso de Erauso and Alonso Díez Ramírez de Guzmán).[308] In his memoirs, Catalina narrates how *she* escaped the convent when

[305] Israel Burshatin, "Written on the Body: Slave or Hermaphrodite in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore et al. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 11.
[306] Burshatin, 420–55; Blackmore et al., *Queer Iberia*, 11.
[307] Rosie Seagraves, "Violent Masculinity Onstage and Off: A Rereading of Ana Caro's Valor, Agravio y Mujer through the Memoir of Catalina de Erauso," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 64, no. 2 (2012): 83.
[308] Some works that study the figure and life of Cataline de Erauso are: Nerea Aresti, "The Gendered Identities of the 'Lieutenant Nun': Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in Early Modern Spain," *Gender & History* 19, no. 3 (November 1, 2007): 401–18; Rosie Seagraves, "Violent Masculinity Onstage and Off: A Rereading of Ana Caro's

she was young, then dressed as a man and travelled to the Spanish American Empire, where *he* participated as a conqueror and colonizer while remaining a virgin and retaining his status as a noble –hence his famous appellative of "the lieutenant nun."[309] While Seagraves has studied Catalina de Erauso from the perspective of how his appropriation of "violent masculinity within a cross-dressing act allowed for a transcending of binary gender limitations within the cultural discourse surrounding female cross-dressing in early modern Europe", Perry has analyzed his paradoxical assumption of male identity and agency –through the exercise of violence in an American colonial context informed by the experience of the *Reconquista*– while avoiding possible accusations of "contamination" and transgression by remaining virgin.[310]

For nearly eighteen years, Catalina worked as a soldier for the Spanish army in South and Central America, lived an adventurous life, and was awarded the rank of lieutenant. But after those years, she declared her identity, became a celebrity and returned to Spain.[311] Isabel Hernández writes that "thanks to her merits", King Philip IV rewarded Catalina "with a generous pension for the services rendered to the Empire, and Pope Urban VIII grants her permission to wear male clothes."[312] For Hernández, these privileges were not a recognition for her virginity –as other scholars argue– but for "her defence of the Catholic faith, conveyed by the Spanish conquerors."[313]

Valor, Agravio y Mujer through the Memoir of Catalina de Erauso," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 64, no. 2 (2012): 83–99; Cathy Rex, "Ungendering Empire: Catalina De Erauso and the Performance of Masculinity," in *Women's Narratives of the Early Americas and the Formation of Empire*, ed. Mary McAleer Balkun and Susan C. Imbarrato (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 33–46; Madera Gabriela Allan, "'Un Hombre Sin Barbas': The Transgender Protagonist of La Monja Alférez (1626)," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 119–31.

[309] Mary Elizabeth Perry, "From Convent to Battlefield: Cross-Dressing and Gendering the Self in the New World of Imperial Spain," in *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Josiah Blackmore et al. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 395, 409.

[310] Seagraves, "Violent Masculinity Onstage and Off," 86.

[311] Isabel Hernández, "From Spain to the Americas, from the Convent to the Front: Catalina de Erauso's Shifting Identities," *L'Homme* 22, no. 1 (January 2011): 74.

[312] Isabel Hernández, "From Spain to the Americas, from the Convent to the Front: Catalina de Erauso's Shifting Identities," *L'Homme* 22, no. 1 (January 2011): 74.

[313] Isabel Hernández, "From Spain to the Americas, from the Convent to the Front: Catalina de Erauso's Shifting Identities," *L'Homme* 22, no. 1 (January 2011): 74.

Isabel Hernández writes that, in her memories (written around 1624), Catalina portrayed "the everyday life of a soldier at the time of the Spanish "Conquista" under the façade of heroism", "clearly describing the reasons that motivated her to change her identity and the means to which she had to resort in order to achieve her objectives."[314] According to Hernández –and the general historiography on this subject– travelling to the Americas and having a life in recurrent motion offered a perfect context for 16th and 17th century Spaniards to pursue a life with greater freedom.[315] However, this possibility was only facilitated to Old Christians, since Muslim slaves' revolts in the voyages of Cristobal Colón to the Americas (1492–1502) motivated a ban on Moriscxs' travelling to the Americas.[316]

What the analyses of Eleno de Céspedes and Catalina de Erauso suggest is that 16th century Spanish Imperial society –colonial both in the European and the American lands– was a "frontier culture whose boundaries were being displaced from the political map to the bodies of those subordinated by Castilian and 'old' Christian rule", just as Nirenberg shows that this was a process which can be clearly traced in the Crown of Aragon in the 13th and 14th centuries.[317] Nevertheless, while both Eleno and Catalina were finally caught by the authorities as transgressors of moral and legal codes in attempting to pass as men, only Catalina was seen as harmless, redeemed and his/her figure was even celebrated, due to his symbolic service to the Spanish state while remaining "unpolluted" in body and faith. By contrast, Eleno was tortured and sentenced to death by the Inquisition due to his attempts to cross gender and ethno–religious boundaries –both of them increasingly racialized in terms of mixed Christian and Moriscx "impurity" of blood and an

[314] Hernández, 76.
[315] Hernández, 74.
[316] See: Karoline P. Cook, *Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).
[317] Blackmore et al., *Queer Iberia*, 11.

emerging *Mulatto* identity–, which were understood by authorities to have been transgressed for her own satisfaction and social promotion. According to Israel Burshatin, Eleno's body, "at once hermaphroditic and Morisco, threatened virtually every means by which Imperial Spain wielded power."[318] Thus, intersectional theory helps us understand why one transgender life found pardon and recognition, while another suffered punishment and oblivion. One was portrayed as noble and restrained, working to serve the State; the other was described as Morisca and hermaphrodite, proud and rootless. Their lives can help historians to understand the limits of inclusion and the functioning of gendered Islamophobia altogether with female cross-dressing in Early Modern Spain and Portugal.

Nevertheless, islamophobic belief was not the only guiding attitude in the evolving racial vocabulary of 16th and 17th century Iberia. François Soyer makes this clear with the example of "António/Vitoria", a black transgender and/or intersex enslaved woman from Benin (currently in Nigeria), who "worked as a cross-dressing prostitute" in Lisbon in the early 1550s.[319] When she was brought to the inquisitorial courts in 1557, accused of sodomy and of pretending to be a woman in his behavior and dress, she was described as a *Negro*, but she allegedly corrected the questions of one witness with the reply "I am a black woman not a black man' (*sou negra e não negro*)."[320] Denied her claim to self-define her gender, she was sentenced to spend the rest of "his" life rowing in Portuguese galleys.

The historiographical analyses of Eleno and Catalina demonstrate that cross-dressing acts in Early Modern Iberia "linked female transvestism and male privilege with violence" and thus that some Iberian Christian masculinities were shaped by the narrative of conquest and colonization of

[318] Blackmore et al., 11.
[319] Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal*, 21.
[320] Soyer, 21–22.

the gendered and racialized *other* that was central to the ideology of the *Reconquista*.[321] Contrasted with the work of Nirenberg, these other historiographical analyses contribute to support my argument that the sexual access to black and Muslim *others* may have functioned as a reaffirmation of Old Christians' masculine superior identity within their privileged social position in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian societies. Besides, the historiographical uneven attention for socially recognized figures, such as Catalina, and punished transgressive lives, such as Eleno's and António/Vitoria's, reminds us of how privilege and oppression are often unintendedly perpetuated in *what*, *who* and *how* we historians research. Following Nirenberg's idea that Late Medieval Iberian societies were a dynamic composition of six genders rather than of two genders and three religions, I think we can argue that dominant masculinities became institutionalized in the ideology of the *Reconquista* and sanctioned through ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The fact that 16th and 17th century Spanish transgender men, aiming to succeed *passing* as men, chose to perform Christian soldiers, conquerors and colonizers, informs us about the dominant masculinities of Early Modern Iberia, in as much it tells us about its imbrication with other categories of social organization; in sum, how categories of gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity intersected with one another, in a context of asymmetrical power relations. Dominant perceptions –or at least *some* popular ones– deemed that *being* an Iberian Christian man meant not being just any kind of man, but the epitome of the narrative of the *Reconquista*: An unambiguously-gendered (cis-)heterosexual man of Old Christian lineage. If this gender archetype was the summit of the Early Modern Iberian social organization that would leave no or very little room to question that this society operated according to clearly asymmetrical racializing and gendered power relations. Conversely to such masculine zenith, the ideal of Christian femininity meant being a nurturer of

[321] Seagraves, "Violent Masculinity Onstage and Off," 86.

purity and orthodoxy, as exemplified from the previously-treated figure Berenguela of Castile to the work of Joan Lluís Vives on Christian women's instruction (*De institutione feminae christianae*, 1523). This dominant archetype of Christian femininity meant being a nurturer and a keeper of the virtue of the community's "*Limpieza de sangre* (an unsullied bloodline) and *honra* (the integrity of the female body)", which were "ultimately manifestations of the same master discourse, the conflation of notions of purity and orthodoxy into a reflexive impulse against the threat of racial, cultural and sexual queerness (and the desires invoked by each)", as the merging of the analyses by Shamis, Blackmore and Hutcheson reveal.[322]

The above-mentioned scheme of *intersectionally* constructed and defined normative or dominant archetypes was extremely difficult, when not impossible, for some Moriscxs to satisfy and Moriscxs of every gender often found it extremely difficult to adapt to this scheme. Either as cryptic Muslims or as sincere New Christians, Moriscxs had scarce possibilities to be integrated in such normative structure, precisely because the apparatus of the *Reconquista* had discursively built Old Christian identity in gender and racial terms opposed to the difference and "queerness" –as Blackmore *et al.* put it– that Moriscxs represented in all the visible and imagined marks of their otherness. That is: gender archetypes and cultural codes, dress, language, family economy and structure, genealogy, names and traditional spirituality. In the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, the *Reconquista* apparatus functioned appropriating the representation of all the markers of Moriscx's difference and sanctioning them to control social mobility, working as an ideological basis for later Orientalist (anti-Muslim) discourses, and fostering islamophobic, misogynistic and queer and trans-phobic assumptions that were constructed in the rise of the *Reconquista* ideology itself. Hence, the *Reconquista* apparatus developed as a *back-feed* system, having the main role in the

[322] Blackmore et al., *Queer Iberia*, 11–12.

creation of the problems it posited and of the responses it offered. Thus, in Late Medieval and Early Modern times, the Iberian *Reconquista* was the narrative that channeled the efforts to impose the uniformity of clearly identifiable complementary genders and heterosexual relations –institutionalized by dominant authorities and policed through repressive mechanisms– and to impose a racial system of social relations in which Christian seniority and submission –often expressed through conversion and devotion– marked one's position within the hierarchical social structure. On this basis, we can qualify the *Reconquista* as a discursive construction of the Imperial colonial Spanish (Castilian and Aragonese) and Portuguese projects that employed a gendered islamophobic narrative to advance the goals of the dominant groups of the Iberian society.

As Eleno de Céspedes did before them, other Moriscxs attempted to acculturate and be accepted in the dominant society, but islamophobic discourse was already the norm in late 16th century Spain, fueled by "imperatives of racial purity and cultural orthodoxy that were institutionalized in *Reconquista* and the Inquisition and would come to define the imperial/colonial project."[323] That said, mainstream historians have traditionally assumed that because Moriscxs were finally expulsed from Spain in 1609–14, there is little agency to be found in their daily acts of resistance prior to their expulsion, and have traditionally identified Moriscx's *resistance* with their armed revolts. But some historians contradict this trend and bring new and interesting information, as the next subchapter will show.

[323] Blackmore et al., 11.

3.6. *Maurophilia* and Islamophobia in the *orientalization* of Spanish history: Moriscxs' *expellability* in a teleological *Reconquista*

"Africa begins at the Pyrenees."
Attributed to Alexander Dumas (1802–1870).[324]

Since the 16th century, for some European observers, the Iberian Peninsula and other southernmost geographical appendices were "part of the Orient or Africa, and thus similarly savage, cruel, or tyrannical."[325] According to Barbara Fuchs, Spain was "deliberately represented as 'Oriental" in European State-sponsored cultural productions in the 16th and 17th centuries "in an effort to combat its imperial and cultural domination over other emerging European nations."[326] France, England or the Netherlands were "rival European states" that "busily construct[ed] Spain as precisely the racial other of Europe" through propaganda and public discourse, in order to advance their own projects of empire and –in the case of the Netherlands– independence.[327] Spain was portrayed throughout Europe as "the condensation of both" Catholic authoritarianism and Islamic inferiority into "a single figure for tyranny."[328] The creation and development of this discursive construction of Spain as an Oriental *other* within Europe had parallel repercussions in the self-perception of Spaniards, and in the internal and external policies of the Spanish State, as several historians meticulously explain in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (2008). In the second –and longest–

[324] This famous sentence, traditionally attributed to the French-Haitian writer and officer Alexandre Dumas, is quoted by Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 1.
[325] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 94.
[326] Fuchs, 94.
[327] Fuchs, 88; Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*, 14.
[328] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 97.

part of this book, seven historians discuss how this narrative resonated in "the Iberian Peninsula and its global reach to the New World", connecting ideas of *race* and *otherness* in the colonial processes of the Iberian *Reconquista* and the Spanish conquest in the Americas.[329]

In "The Spanish Race", Barbara Fuchs argues that the self-perception of some Spaniards balanced between a persistent "maurophilia", "an enduring fascination with Moorish culture in the construction of Spanish identity itself", and the anxiety that a hidden "Oriental within" –borrowing an expression employed by Mercedes G. Arenal and Fernando R. Mediano–, was concealed among Spaniards –since forced mass conversions– and corrupted its identity, which was increasingly framed as *racial*.[330] Fuchs suggests that "the peculiar dynamics of *maurophilia*" and the anxieties it generated in both national and international scenarios may have played a role in the "violent refusal" of *Moorishness* –all things deemed Moorish or relying on the Andalusian past– and concludes that "whether embraced or stigmatized, Moorishness becomes an essential component in the construction of [Spanish] national identity."[331] Many 19th century historians who wrote and researched on medieval Iberia, either looked to sources written in Romanic languages, or to sources written in Arabic, causing different approaches and lines of interpretation. Problems of historical interpretation of al-Andalus and Muslims which saw them as integrated in the history of Spain or either as external intruders had larger implications. For example, had there been an Arabic-Berber influence in the formation of Hispanic culture and identity, or not? According to Mercedes Garcia Arenal, this question of historical inquiry caused a historiographical contradiction: a problem of

[329] Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*, 17.
[330] Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," 18, 91.
[331] Fuchs, 97.

"continuity versus rupture" or, in other words, of "loss and recovery" of Spain vs. historical continuity.[332]

Edward Said's approach to Orientalism was defined by the dissociated relationship between Modern European Orientalists and Modern and Medieval Orientals, who were seen as an alien *other* and with whom Orientalists felt they were not related in terms of genealogy, nor ethnicity neither of gender expression. What could have happened then if Orientalists had felt they could be related to the Orientals *somehow* in any of these respects? In 19th century Spain, historians such as Pascual de Gayangos began the debate about the consideration whether al-Andalus was part of Spain, and thus Andalusian history and Andalusian subjects –intrinsically marked by Islamic culture– be considered part of the history and identity of Spain. This is a debate that has been also explored by Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano on 16th and 17th century Spanish historiography of al-Andalus, in their 2013 *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*. This work draws into the emotional, cultural and spiritual worldview of the Moriscos of 16th Century Granada and the complexity of their collective identity, through the problematization of Spanish Orientalist scholarship and several cases of falsified documentary heritage. They summarize the different positions historians have taken towards al-Andalus, and on relations between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Iberian Peninsula in medieval and modern times.[333] This leads them to engage in a historiographical debate that inquires whether al-Andalus and its religiously plural and ethnically diverse society can be considered part of the History of Spain.[334] Mainstream historians of the *Reconquista* and of the

[332] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 87, 366–67, 369, 386.
[333] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, 353–374, 416–24.
[334] For a detailed account on these questions see: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the forged lead books of Granada, and the rise of Orientalism* (2013), pages 353–354, 366–369 and 423–424.

history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Muslims have commonly rejected the latter view. In fact, since as early as the 16th century, chronicles made by Ambrosio de Morales –king Philip II's main chronicler– pointed out that the history of Muslims rule and presence in Spain was just a parenthesis between the Christian Visigothic kingdom and the later Spanish Hapsburg monarchy.[335] García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano elaborate a thorough analysis of these questions in 16th and 17th century historiography. However, at this moment, I am more interested to explore the questions of *why* and *how* this interpretation of al-Andalus as a discontinuity in the otherwise normal development of Christian rule over the Iberian Peninsula was to have a long-lasting acceptance among academic historians both within and outside Spain.

Thus, coming back to the question of Orientalism –according to Said's definition– and 19th century Iberian Medieval and Early Modern historiography, some Spanish historians started to author historical essays and historiographies in which they considered that, in writing about the history of al-Andalus and Andalusians –whether Mozarab, Jew, Muladi or Arab-Berber Muslim–, they were writing about *their own* national history; whereas other historians considered that in doing the same, they wrote about an alien culture with no consistent links to Spanish history nor to Spanish *ethos* other than conflict and opposition –as both Fuchs and García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano argue. Two historiographical narratives became prominent: one defended the alienation and strike difference between contemporary Christian Spaniards and Muslim North-Africans, arguing that both groups or "cultures" had been physically separated and thus with no significant common ancestry, lineage nor "bloodline"; while the other narrative argued that, if Christian, Jewish and Islamic cultural groups "hybridized" in Medieval times, perhaps they did mix as well in biological terms. These narratives coexisted in a very complex context, in which different

[335] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 363–369.

eugenic approaches to Iberians and North-Africans intermingled with policies of overseas colonization.[336] Darker physical traits were associated to Islam and Africans, and thus deemed external to Europeans, that is, introduced through conquest and invasion. For some decades, eugenic ideas hold late 19th and early 20th century Portuguese and Spaniards with darker or "African" physical traits in a socially disadvantaged position, but State efforts to counteract the African-Islamic intromission were done at the academic level.

For Spanish orientalists, the possibility and the interpretative line of *miscegenation* or intermixing implied a completely different approach and debates about *Orientals*. Suddenly, for some 19th and 20th century Spanish and Portuguese "scientists", Orientalists and historians, "Medieval Orientals" could be their ancestors, and not –only– the dissociated record of a far-away reality. This idea would have significant effects in both national and international scales, especially in Spain, where the national legitimacy as a colonial power was much at stake, both before and after the loss of the last Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific to the United States in 1898.

Orientalism, a phenomenon parallel to the emergence of European nationalisms, set forth a different approach to the history of Medieval Iberia and the Maghrib. What 19th century historiography did was to frame an already existing narrative and embed it into a new historical discourse, shaped by Romanticism. At the beginning of the 19th century, French colonialism and British and North-American warfare and international diplomacy in north-Africa fostered an academic interest in the History of the region. But the history of Medieval North-Africa was

[336] See: Richard Cleminson, *Catholicism, Race and Empire: Eugenics in Portugal, 1900-1950*, CEU Press Studies in the History of Medicine (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014); Geoffrey Jensen, "Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War," in *Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Aurora Morcillo (Leiden: BRILL, 2014), 495–532.

intrinsically united to that of Medieval Iberia by strong cultural, economic and political links, while the historical memory of al-Andalus and the arrival of the Moriscxs was still present in the Maghrib. Thus, figures who stood at the edge of all these historical and cultural junctures, were privileged for the historical treatment of these topics. Such was the case of the Spanish historian Pascual de Gayangos. But to understand why, we need to look to a 14th century Iberian *exilé*.

Ibn Khaldun (shortening of Abū Zayd ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Haldun, Tunis, 1332 –Cairo, 1406 CE) laid the grounds for what many historians have later considered the beginning of Historiography and of History as a social science. His book *al-Muqaddimah* (1377), often translated as *Introduction* (to his world History book the *Kitābu l-ʻibar* or "Book of Lessons"), was a work "in which he based his historical model of civilization" and his historical theories about Islamic society, which in his lifetime included al-Andalus.[337] For Ibn Khaldun, a peaceful context was necessary to promote the pursue of knowledge. Ibn Khaldun's society and the political institutions that organized it, he wrote, were in decay. Everywhere in the Islamic societies of the Western Mediterranean, the State and the structures that once fomented peaceful cohabitation were in a process of deterioration and exchange. Ibn Khaldun's own family left Seville (then a prosperous city in the Almohad Empire) for Tunis because of the Castilian conquest of the city in 1248. His labor as a diplomat allowed Ibn Khaldun to visit Seville in 1364 to back up a peace treaty in support of the Taifa of Granada.

In the *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldun argued the need of a theoretical framework and a scientific method for the study of what we call today the "social sciences" and explained his approach to History. For Ibn Khaldun it was necessary, both for men and women, to cultivate *hikma*, meaning

[337] Mohammad R. Salama, *Islam, Orientalism and Intellectual History: Modernity and the Politics of Exclusion since Ibn Khaldun*, Library of Middle East History 8 (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), 79.

"those sciences that did not derive from the Qur'an and hadith", and prevented one "from ignorant behavior."[338] But according to Ibn Khaldun, such task was impossible without getting rid of superstition, general prejudice (he signifies those based on origin, religious difference, social strata or family lineage, among others) and "uncritical acceptance of historical data."[339] Thus, he designed his own theories and applied the scientific method to his study of World History, with the aim to provide clear examples that helped to improve both people's lives and the study and teaching of human sciences.

Influenced by the fame of Ibn Khaldun, some Europeans started to work on his publications. The French Barthèlemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695) and Antoine Isaac Sylvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), and the Austrian Josef von Hammer Purgstall (1774–1856), were among the first to do so.[340] Silvestre de Sacy was a renowned linguist of Arab and Persian who had a leading role in the institutionalization of Orientalism, being "the first modern and institutional European Orientalist", according to Edward Said.[341] De Sacy translated and published some parts of Ibn Kahldun's *al-Muqaddima* and argued in his 1806 work *Chrestomatie Arabe ou extraits de divers ecrivains arabes* "that Ibn Khaldun was perhaps the only Arab historian worthy of attention", bringing more attention to Ibn Khaldun's work, life and legacy.[342] De Sacy's writings on Islam and the history and culture of North-Africans "flourished at the beginning of Western colonial interests in Africa

[338] Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun : An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 65.
[339] 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad Ibn Haldūn, *The Muqaddimah : An Introduction to History*, ed. N. J. Dawood, trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1969), x; Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldun and Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, Abridged Ed (Routledge & Kegan, 1978), 172; Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun*, 1st ed., Culture and Civilization in the Middle East (London: Routledge, 2003), 121–22.
[340] R.H. Shamsuddín Elía, ed., "Ibn Jaldún: El Primer Sociólogo de La Historia," *La Civilización Del Islam: Pequeña Enciclopedia de La Cultura, Las Artes, Las Ciencias, El Pensamiento y La Fe de Los Pueblos Musulmanes* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Argentino de Cultura Islámica, 2015), 242.
[341] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin History (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 18.
[342] Cristina Álvarez Millán, "The Oriental Collection of the Royal Academy of History. Details Regarding Its Formation and News of Certain Finds," *En La España Medieval* 32 (2009): 375; Salama, *Islam, Orientalism and Intellectual History*, 33.

when 'scientific' requirements of Oriental studies were just developing".[343] Said remarks that this orientalist production was based on "a detailed logic governed not simply by empirical reality but by a battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections", similar to that used by Renan and Gobineau to erect their ideas about racial difference.[344] Thus, in a way, de Sacy did exactly the opposite of what Ibn Khaldun intended in the *Muqaddima*. Moreover, de Sacy had a prominent role in the spread of Orientalism as the first teacher of Arabic language (from 1796) at the *École publique des langues orientales* in Paris.[345] This institution instructed many of the orientalists who later worked as translators, historians and diplomats in several countries, including Spain.

Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809–1897) was one of de Sacy's students, who later worked in Spain, France and Great Britain as an orientalist, a translator of Arabic texts and as a historian of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. He worked as a professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid between 1843 and 1871, fostered the study of Arab language, history and cultures (in Spanish, "Arabismo") in the Spanish Royal Academy of History, and contributed to the foundation of the Spanish National Historical Archive in 1866, supplying historical documentation on al-Andalus to both institutions. He furnished an impressive collection of primary sources and copies of documents he found kept in archives and libraries outside Spain, providing Spanish versions to the Historical Archive and Arabic and Hebrew ones to the Royal Academy.[346] Besides, he presumably translated some Arabic sources to English or to Spanish for the first time, such as *The History of al-Andalus*, by Ibn al-Kardabus.[347] Thus, his figure is best known for his significant contribution to redress the historiographical gap on "Muslim Spain" or "Mohammedan Spain", as Gayangos put

[343] Salama, *Islam, Orientalism and Intellectual History*, 89.
[344] Said, *Orientalism*, 1978, 8.
[345] Said, 83.
[346] Álvarez Millán, "The Oriental Collection of the Royal Academy of History. Details Regarding Its Formation and News of Certain Finds," 360, 374, 384.
[347] Al-Kardabus and Maíllo Salgado, *Historia de Al-Andalus*, 9.

it, which caused a breakthrough in Spanish academia.[348] Gayangos was also made Director of Public Instruction for the Spanish government in 1881, which raises the question whether he used his career as *Arabist* and historian to make changes in the teaching of History in the Spanish public schooling system of his time. But this is a question for another research project.

In England, de Gayangos worked for the Royal Asian Society (or "the Oriental Trust Foundation") on the English translation and publication of a reduced and reorganized version of the first part of the book *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (in two volumes: 1st in 1840 and 2nd in 1843). This book, originally titled in Arabic as *Nafhu-t-tíb Min Ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-rattíb Wa Táríkh Lisánu-d-Dín Ibni-l-Khattíb* ("Exhalation of the soft smell of the green bouquet of Al Andalus and the history of the vizier Lisan ed din ben Aljathib"), was written by the Algerian historian Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari (1578–1632) who divided it in two parts, each composed by eight books: the first referring to the History of al-Andalus, and the second to the figure of the vizier and poet Ibn al-Jatib. Al-Muqqari witnessed the expulsion of the last Spanish Muslims in his lifetime, the Moriscxs, many of whom arrived in some of the towns where he had resided in his youth: Tlemcen and Fez. It is therefore reasonable to assume that al-Muqqari was influenced by these expulsions when he planned his historical work on al-Andalus in 8 books, encompassing the Muslim conquest (second book), the development of al-Andalus and Islamic culture (books 3rd to 7th) and the defeat and expulsion of Muslims from Iberia by the Christians (book 8th).[349] From my point of view, although al-Maqqari focused on the cultural and political accomplishments of al-Andalus, his work was compiled from the underlying narrative that Muslim

[348] Álvarez Millán, "The Oriental Collection of the Royal Academy of History. Details Regarding Its Formation and News of Certain Finds," 374; Rocío Velasco de Castro, "Arabismo y Colonialismo Español: Pascual de Gayangos y La Cuestión Marroquí," *Norba. Revista de Historia* 22 (2009): 245–62.
[349] Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarí, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain [Edited and Translated by Pascual de Gayangos y Arce]*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (London: printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, [etc.], 1840), 12–14.

presence in Iberia had a starting and an ending point in time. Perhaps that move was unintentional, but I lack references to argue on any direction. In sum, Gayangos' work, through his own works and the commented and annotated translations of Ibn Khaldun, Ibn al-Kardabus and al-Maqqari probably constitutes the most significant contribution to the historiographical current that understood Muslim's presence in Iberia as a teleological process. In this view, Iberian Muslims had a starting and an ending point in history, and thus they could be regarded as a parenthesis, a lapsus in an otherwise nine-centuries process of Christian reconquest and restitution (centuries 8th to 17th). Could Moriscxs, be integrated in a national historiographical narrative defined on the basis of Catholicism and exclusive of those genealogies that were not tainted by conversion?

In 1857, when he was 27 years old, the Spanish historian Florencio Janer (1831–1877) wrote *Condición social de los Moriscos de España: Causas de su expulsión y consecuencias* (Social status of the Moriscos of Spain: Causes of their expulsion and consequences) (Madrid. Real Academia de la Historia, 1857; reedited in 1987 –the version I use– and 2003). This book received a prize by the Real Academia de la Historia (the Spanish Royal Academy of History). After these works, Janer published a plethora of books about Iberian Late Medieval and Modern History, among which several of them employed notions of the "national" History of Spain, the *Reconquista* and Muslim-Christian relations in Iberia and the Mediterranean. Some of these books are: *La historia nacional* (1858), *La Reconquista y los mudéjares* (1858), *¡Son ellos!!...* (1859), *Nuevas cartas marruecas* (1860), and *Cantares del Cid Campeador, conocidos con el nombre de Poema del Cid* (1864).

In his 1857 *Social status of the Moriscos of Spain*, Florencio Janer exposed a large number of fragments from a variety of Spanish archival documentation about the different types of violence, clashes and conflicts between the Old Christian and Moriscx populations in the 15th, 16th and 17th

centuries. Together with his exposition of that violence, Florencio implicitly validated the theses of some Early Modern authors who affirmed that, because of the opposite nature of Muslims and Jews (on the one hand) and "true" Christians (on the other hand), these "races" could no longer coexist in peace in Spain. In the frame of the 16th and 17th century literature that advocated for the assimilation or either expulsion of the Moriscxs, Spanish sources frequently identified Moriscxs as aggressive figures against whom conflict was inevitable.[350] Janer exposes some fragments of letters and informants about an uprising in the Alpujarras (a mountainous region south to the city of Granada) at the decade of the 1520's. In those accounts, Morisca women appear to have taken revenge of clerics and neighbors who had abused of them (the kind of abuses are uncertain in Janer's accounts) by torturing the clerics and neighbors until their death.[351] On the other hand, some Muslim characters are related as libertine and marked by a lack of sexual contention, who Janer describes dancing on the street, exhibiting their bodies in public, and openly expressing their sexual desires.[352] However, it is in the interpretation of those events where Janer argues that, despite Islamic cultures had provided good arts and crafts, their main inputs into Spanish society had been "women's degradation, men's slavery [or "enslavement"] and land's infertility."[353] He suggests that, as a consequence of these "perversions", the mixture and integration of "both races" are judged "unattainable."[354]

The *Maurophilia* and Orientalism of Pascual de Gayangos and Florencio Janer stands out because of their attraction to Spain's *Moorish* history while they worked under the assumptions and power relations that governed the academic approach to *Orientals*, who in Gayangos' work

[350] Florencio Janer, *Condicion social de los Moriscos de Espana: causas de su explosion*, [1987] (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1857), 92–93, 147–151.
[351] Janer, 149–50.
[352] Janer, 147.
[353] Janer, 113.
[354] Janer, 111, 113, 122.

were represented as Medieval Andalusians, while Janer looked specifically to the history of Early Modern Moriscxs. Moreover, their works are framed in the discursive construction of the Iberian Reconquest, since both the works of Gayangos and Janer follow the narrative of "loss and recovery of Spain" that understands Muslim's presence in Spain as a parenthesis. Hence, a teleological approach to the history of the "Spanish Moor", whose destiny as an external other was already fixed for 19th century historians, who knew already that Moriscxs would be finally expelled from Spain in big numbers (300,000 people aprox.) between 1609 and 1614.

As I said in the previous subchapter, these and other mainstream historians traditionally implicitly assumed that because Moriscxs were finally expulsed from Spain in 1609–14, there is little agency to be found in their daily acts of resistance prior to their expulsion, and have traditionally identified Moriscx's resistance *only* with their armed revolts in violent confrontations. I think that the constant presence of Moricx's expulsion was seen by 19th century historians as a fatalistic event that underlies their approaches, causing them to neglect Moriscx's agency and consider irrelevant whatever motives Moriscxs could have to revolt. Nevertheless, recent analyses contradict the teleological approach to the history of the Moriscxs.

One author whose works illuminates this idea is William Childers, who in "Manzanares 1600: Moriscos from Granada Head a Moors and Christians Fair" (2009) looks at a curious event in which a group of Morisco men who had been forcibly relocated from Granada to New Castile (at the town of Manzanares) sought legal permit to wield weapons for some weeks in 1600, in order to rehearse and theatrically perform battles that depicted "the triumph of the 'Moors' and the captivity of the 'Christians", which resolved "by the payment of a ransom."[355] Theatrical representations linked to

[355] William Childers, "Manzanares, 1600: Moriscos From Granada Organize A Festival Of Moors And Christians," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram, vol. 1: Departures and Change, Converso and Morisco Studies (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 294.

what later was called comedies of "Moors and Christians" had been popularized since the 12th century across many Iberian courts. They developed a new insight with the Spanish conquest of the Aztec and Inca empires, in which Spanish conquerors translated the narrative of the Christian victory in the *Reconquista* to the conquest of the American pre-Columbian empires. By performing this narrative, Spanish conquerors transferred the *Reconquista*, his narrative of the Spanish project of conquest and acculturation of ethno-religious *difference*, to the Americas, and once this narrative was strengthened and reaffirmed by conquest in the Americas they brought it back to Europe, where it succeeded to attract larger audiences.

William Childers reads Moriscos' actions in New Castile (roughly what today is Castile-La Mancha) as an attempt to foster social mobility, hold agency and defy integration. These events were carried by a group of Granadan Moriscos who had been displaced Northwards as a punishment for their uprising against the crown's policy of social division and forced assimilation decades before. There was a first expulsion or deportation of Moriscxs in 1571/1572 linked to the war in the Alpujarras, that "pulled" Moriscxs out of the Kingdom of Granada, into other regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

Childers argues that, despite some authorities and locals understood these events as subversive and tried to block them, he suggests that the general atmosphere was one "of accord and accommodation."[356] The Moriscxs of the town of Manzanares may have subversively defied the official policy of integration in representing part of "the national myth" of the "Muslim Conquest and the Christian 'Reconquest' of the Peninsula."[357] Indeed, Crown officials were "appalled" at

[356] Kevin Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 20.
[357] William Childers, "Manzanares, 1600: Moriscos From Granada Organize A Festival Of Moors And Christians," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram, vol. 1: Departures and Change, Converso and Morisco Studies (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 294.

seeing how not only local authorities allowed a contingent of Moriscxs "to bear arms and thus present themselves as men of noble bearing", but also to represent themselves in such an honorable manner.[358] This confirms that, at least for what it concerned to authorities, the *Reconquista* narrative and the privilege of representation belonged exclusively to Old Christians. Crown officials tried to stop these performances, which nonetheless replicated among other Moriscx communities in the region, and attempted to counteract them spreading a message of fear: that Moriscxs were essentially dishonest, treacherous and dangerous to the safety of the country and to the integrity of Christianity. Despite that, it seems that many old Christian neighbors attended the events with amusement. On this respect, Childers remarks "that a similar Islamophobia exists in our own time, and that a politics based on exaggeration of the threat and manipulation of citizens' fear is practiced today as well."[359] These events, says historian Kevin Ingram, compel historians on the field "to re-examine our views on Old Christian/Morisco relations in the period immediate to the 1609 expulsion."[360] In a way, these *Moriscos* (Childers and Ingram talk about men) attempted a non-violent "armed" revolt against the hierarchy that relegated them lower in the social organization both as New Christians and as internally displaced Granadan Moriscxs.

More historians and anthropologists have claimed in recent years to find a correlation between the problems that Muslims experienced in Spain at the passage from Medieval times to the Early Modernity –on one hand– and the problems and challenges that Muslims face in Spain at the present.[361] Regarding the "end" of Muslim's presence in Iberia that historiography situates in the

[358] Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 20.
[359] Childers, "Manzanares, 1600," 292.
[360] Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 20.
[361] José Perceval, "Historiographic Narratives: The Discourse Strategies for Constructing Expellable 'Moorish' Subjects," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 8, no. 2 (January 1, 2010): 87, 91; Daniela Flesler and Adria´n Pe´rez Melgosa, "Battles of Identity, or Playing 'Guest' and 'Host': The Festivals of Moors and Christians in the Context of Moroccan Immigration in Spain1," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 4, no. 2 (September 1, 2003): 152.

expulsion of Moriscxs, the Spanish historian Jose María Perceval offers the last remarks that are covered in this thesis. Perceval has conducted extensive research on the Moriscxs since the decade of the 1980's. He has researched the discursive strategies that were created to expulse the Moriscxs, and the racist discrimination of migrants and Muslims in contemporary Spanish media. His work is slightly different from that of other historians mentioned in this chapter since his analyses combine methodologies from Communication Studies and History to obtain new findings from the study of primary sources from the 16th and 17th centuries.

This author explains how by examining the process through which Christian authorities (priests and bishops, civil courts, Inquisitorial offices and noblemen, among others) portrayed Moriscx men and women as a sole unified homogenous community, they made it possible to present Moriscxs as a problem. In the words of Perceval, some Spanish authorities transformed the perception over Moriscxs and discursively re-constructed them as "expellable Moorish subjects."[362] Perceval's insights are of a significant importance for they explain how the homogenization of the whole collective of Moriscos and Moriscas led to their destruction as a group within Spanish society, and their expulsion to other territories across the Mediterranean after the 1609 edict of expulsion from Spain (Muslims had been expelled from Portugal at the end of the 15th century, after the 1492 Castilian-Aragonese expulsion of Jews). The final *expellable* character of Moriscxs demonstrates the impossibility of Islam and Muslim presence in Iberia under the ideological domination of a teleological *Reconquista*. Thus, at this point, it seems logical to affirm that the discursive construction of the *Reconquista* has both historically and historiographically functioned targeting Muslims' gender and racialization –as part of interconnected categories of identity– to vertebrate

[362] José Perceval, "Historiographic Narratives: The Discourse Strategies for Constructing Expellable 'Moorish' Subjects," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 8, no. 2 (January 1, 2010): 83, 92– 93.

notions of Spanish identity and back-up political legitimization, evolving into a unique islamophobic discourse in the history of Iberia.

3.7. Recent evaluations: The meaning of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia* in the 21st century

"We must stop acting as if historically established communities were eternal essences. This is one of the challenges of our time."
Joan Wallach Scott (2007).[363]

In her book *The Politics of the Veil*, (first published in English in 2007), the historian Joan W. Scott argues that "the misuse of history" and "the blinding effects of hysteria" around the hijab/veil in France since 1989 (known as *affaires des foulards*) represent a worrying approach to racism, secularism, individual rights, gender and sexuality in French society and politics. Her suggestion is to recognize "the limits of their approach in order to develop alternatives to it—alternatives that will, of course, vary according to national context, but that will in each case allow for the recognition and negotiation of difference in ways that realize the promises of democracy."[364] The manifestations of gendered islamophobia in Spain target Muslim women and men based on an ideological perception of their bodies and their image as a threat to the values of Spain, and to a certain interpretation of the integrity of the nation (whether these are defined by some conservatives, by some feminists or by other collectives).[365] Following Scott's suggestion, an

[363] Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 20.
[364] Scott, 20.
[365] See the chapter by Brigitte Vasallo et al., "Contra La Obsesión Con El 'Burca,'" in *Combatir La Islamofobia. Una Guía Antirracista*, ed. David Karvala (Barcelona: Icaria, 2016), 33–68.

alternative approach to these issues in Spain, one that takes gendered islamophobia in account, goes through an alternative reading of the History of Spain.

While the Moriscxs from Manzanares could have reasonably feared their expulsion that occurred 10 years later, neither Pascual de Gayangos nor Florencio Janer could have foreseen that one century after their deaths, Muslim presence and their contribution to the history of Spain –then officially a secular, democratic state– would be a reality, causing historians to debate whether such presence and contribution was a new process or the continuation, and thus failure, of the ideal of the *Reconquista* of a unified country in which Catholicism and a linear genealogy were the only rightful sources of power. In this context, a small number of Spanish historians have argued that islamophobia may need to be explained from a historical perspective as well, such as Fernando Bravo López, while other historians and –mostly– non-professional historians who write on Spanish history have "defended" the necessity to strengthen the importance of the Iberian Reconquest, such as Pio Moa.

In the spring of 2018, a new book on the *Reconquista* appeared in the main Spanish bookstores: *La Reconquista Y España* (literally, "The Reconquest and Spain"), a lengthy book by the controversial Spanish historian Pio Moa (b. 1948). Moa has become famous in Spain for his political affiliation and his best-seller essays, in which he has judged his view on the history of 20th century Spain and the present sociopolitical context. Moa participated in the Spanish armed "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" organization "First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups" (GRAPO) during the 1970s but, leaving GRAPO in 1977, he later adopted conservative political views, and is currently linked to the far-right and ultranationalist political party "Spanish Phalanx of the Committees for the National-Syndicalist Offensive" (FE-JONS). Moa was also a member of the management board of the Ateneo de Madrid. His career and political shift marked his writing

on the sociopolitical and military history of the Second Spanish Republic, the Spanish Civil War, and the Francoist dictatorship.[366]

Numerous historians have criticized Moa's approach to Spanish History for its lack of academic validity, such as Paul Preston, Helen Graham, Edward Malefakis, Carlos Rilova and Jorge Vilches, to name a few. They and other historians criticize the absence of proper references and a coherent methodology in Moa's work, his reiteration of the main arguments of the Francoist historiography, his neglect of primary sources and alternative historiographies that differ from his conclusions, and his open hostility to and disqualification of historians who have disapproved his arguments.[367] In my view, this lack of academic rigor, in conjunction with Pio Moa's controversial ideological positions, make an academic assessment of his publications difficult. In three of his recent best-seller books, Moa extols the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, acclaims the importance of his regime in the frame of Western liberal democracies, demonizes the Spanish Socialist movements, defines the current feminist and LGBTI movements as a "hateful" and "imposed ideology", and places them in opposition to the traditional Colonial and Catholic Spanish nationalism, which he defends in his works. Such reactions have done nothing but to promote the perception among the criticized movements that the *Reconquista* is a historiographical question that only right-wing movements are interested in to put forth in present-day Spain.

Nevertheless, the significant commercial success of some of Pio Moa's books in Spain and his important influence in the understanding of some periods of Spanish History among the general

[366] Pio Moa's website can be visited at: <http://www.piomoa.es/>

[367] See the journal, magazine and newspaper articles by Helen Graham, "New Myths for Old," *The Times Literary Supplement*, July 11, 2003, https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/private/new-myths-for-old/; Carlos Rilova Jericó, "¿Qué Te Parece Pío Moa?" Dos Notas Sobre El Revisionismo y La Guerra Civil Española.," *Hispania Nova. Revista de Historia Contemporánea* 7 (2007): 845–59; Edward Malefakis, "La Segunda República y el revisionismo," *El País*, June 12, 2011, sec. Tribuna. Opinion; Jorge Vilches, "La guerra de Moa," *Libertad Digital*, June 15, 2011.

audience, impels me to consider some questions of his 2018 book *La Reconquista y España*. Moa's shift from 20th century History to a book on the "Spanish Reconquest" can be explained from the current sociopolitical context in Spain and beyond regarding Muslims and Islamophobia, on one hand, and from the development of Medieval Historiography in Spain, on the other hand. The combination of both factors has created a suitable scenario to produce publications that tackle the question of the relationship between the *Reconquista*, Spanish identity and the possibility of Muslim participation in the formation of Spanish identity. However, this context has also promoted that most publications which include the word "Reconquista" in the title refer to the same interpretative trend which Moa contributes to. Historians who approach the issue with a different aim and methodology are few and write about the state of historiography and the persistence of this problem, since the general academic community regards these questions as obsolete, highly politicized, biased and/or problematic. Some historians who have recently published works on the *Reconquista* –concerning historiography, the usage of historiographical narratives for political purposes, and the continued usage of the concept of *Reconquista* in school History textbooks– from this academic and critical view are Francisco García Fitz (2009), Arsenio Escolar and Ignacio Escolar (2010), Alan Verskin (2015), Jorge Sáiz Serrano (2017), and Alejandro García-Sanjuán (2012, 2018) –some of whose works have been previously discussed in this chapter.[368]

[368] On these authors, see: Francisco García Fitz, "La Reconquista: un estado de la cuestión," *Clío & Crímen: Revista del Centro de Historia del Crimen de Durango*, no. 6 (2009): 142–215; Arsenio Escolar and Ignacio Escolar, *La nación inventada: Una historia diferente de Castilla* (Barcelona: Grupo Planeta Spain, 2010); Alan Verskin, *Islamic Law and the Crisis of the Reconquista: The Debate on the Status of Muslim Communities in Christendom*, Studies in Islamic Law and Society 39 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015); Jorge Sáiz Serrano, "Pervivencias escolares de narrativa nacional española: Reconquista, Reyes Católicos e Imperio en libros de texto de historia y en relatos de estudiantes," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 0, no. 6 (March 31, 2017): 165–201; Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Al-Andalus en la historiografía del nacionalismo españolista (siglos XIX-XXI). Entre la España musulmana y la Reconquista," in *A 1300 años de la conquista de Al-Andalus (711-2011): historia, cultura y legado del Islam en la Península Ibérica*, ed. Diego Melo Carrasco and Francisco Vidal Castro (Coquimbo (Chile): Centro Mohammed VI para el diálogo de civilizaciones, 2012), 65–104; Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 127–45.

Many prominent historians of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia –both Spanish and of other nationalities– have questioned or denied the validity of the Reconquest as a useful framework to understand the formation of Hispanic cultures and nationalisms, as it has traditionally been understood since the 19th century. At the beginning of his book, Moa comments on this current and laments the recent diffusion of historical essays that deny the Islamic invasion of Spain (he refers to Spanish historians Ignacio Olagüe and Emilio González Ferrín), praise the Andalusian civilization as a model of multicultural coexistence, or lament the defeat of "Muslim Spain" –which he mentions in brackets. For Moa, there was no such thing as a "Muslim Spain", for Muslims did not contribute to the formation of the country, but rather to its destruction. Thus, Moa falls in an old historiographical trend that understood the existence of Islamic ruling in Medieval Iberia as a parenthesis, nowadays much rejected by contemporary Medieval and Early Modern historians who, different to Pio Moa, have an academic expertise on the field. The trend followed by Moa in the present was represented in the mid-20th century by the Spanish historian Sánchez Albornoz. Although some of Sánchez Albornoz's conclusions have been questioned and refuted for decades, in contrast to Moa, he employed a coherent methodology and an academic language that made sense of his findings and allowed for academic discussions to take place. Perhaps this is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the current intellectual scenario on the *Reconquista*: the lack of the necessary academic conditions and awareness to continue a serious academic debate on the problems derived from this historiographical issue and its consequences in the general socio-political context. Since most historians no longer consider it necessary to engage in such discussion, and Pio Moa lacks an academic recognition among Medievalists, it appears unlikely to me that the current scenario will change soon. The *Reconquista* will probably continue to center attention not only among those interested in using it as a tool to uplift legitimacy for Catholic, traditionalist and

imperialistic Spanish nationalism, since recent events highlight again the importance of the *Reconquista* for conservative Spanish nationalism and the political far-right.

A very recent events highlights the importance of my argument here. On October 7, 2018, the Spanish extreme-right and ultranationalist political party Vox held an event in Madrid that gathered more than 10,000 attendees, in which representatives of Vox presented their main ideological lines and electoral promises. This Spanish political party in many ways resembles the French Front National and the Hungarian Fidesz in its political program and strategies. However, the dehumanization and criminalization of Muslims and immigrants in the discourse of Vox, and their accusation as responsible for the worsening of life conditions of the Spanish working and middle classes, rises from a nationalist historiography that has reinstated *Spanishness* (literally in Spanish, "Españolidad") –this is, the supposed "essence" of Spanish identity– as exclusively white, "patriotic", Catholic-based and dependent on a positivist and deterministic view of Spanish history. Since the foundation of Vox in 2013, some representatives of this party have demanded the closing of mosques in Spain, the deportation of citizens born outside the country, have claimed to "reconquer" Gibraltar laying a "200 metres" Spanish flag on the rock, and have praised the State of Israel as a good example of a partner Western Democracy and because of Israel's fair treatment of Arabs.[369]

At the event on October 7, different representatives of Vox claimed for the indissolubility, uniformity and Europeanness of Spain, and identified the left-wing political parties, the regional independentist movements, the feminist, LGTBIQ+ and pro-abortion movements, Muslims and immigrants as the "enemies" of what they called "the Living Spain" (literally "la España Viva").

[369] Anonymous, "Detenido en Gibraltar el líder de VOX por 'reconquistar' el Peñón con una bandera de España gigante," *OK Diario*, June 20, 2016.

The president of Vox, Santiago Abascal, in reference to some Spanish politicians' arguments for the welcoming of refugees and on the presence of Muslims and immigrants in Spain, stated:

> […] "So they want them to come? [Then] To the house of Pablo Iglesias. The Living Spain demands that [...] the European Union and any international institution respects our sovereignty, our identity and our laws. We want Europe. We are Europe. Being more entitled [to be 'Europe'] than anyone else, because we saved it from the Islamic advance in seven centuries of Reconquista. And because we are the Europe of Lepanto. [...] Europhobic are the oligarchies that destroy the identity of Europe, who opt for massive immigration, who want slave labor to cheapen the wages of the Spaniards and the rest of Europeans, and who disrespect countries like Spain, which they want to trample."[370]

Santiago Abascal concluded that:

> "A Nation does not wake up from its lethargy by chance. Spain does not rise by chance from time to time. A Nation awakens when it has historical inertia, when it has blood in its veins, and when they bother it." […] "Spain will not stop until it reconquests its destiny, its greatness and its humiliated and snatched dignity. Do not forget we have not come to win in Spain, we have come for Spain to win with us."[371]

Exemplified by these quotes, it seems logical to me that the mainstream concept and historiographical construction of the *Reconquista* is helping the Spanish conservative and far-right movements to articulate their biopolitical views on Spanish identity and exclusion, in a blatantly violent manner. Following Vox's discourse, only those Spanish collectives, socio-political

[370] This fragment is my translation from the Spanish original quote, which goes as follows: […] "que quieren que vengan? A la casa de Pablo Iglesias. La España viva exige que […] la Unión Europea y cualquier institución internacional respete nuestra soberanía, nuestra identidad y nuestras leyes. Queremos Europa. Somos Europa. Con más derecho que nadie, porque la salvamos del avance islámico en siete siglos de Reconquista. Y porque somos la Europa de Lepanto. […] Eurófobas son las oligarquías que destruyen la identidad de Europa, que apuestan por la inmigración masiva, que quieren mano de obra esclava para abaratar los salarios de los españoles y del resto de los europeos, y que faltan al respeto a países como España, a la que quieren pisotear." Source: VOX España, *Discurso de Santiago Abascal en Vistalegre #EspañaViva* (Madrid, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t_CIfZ5amIE&feature=youtu.be.

[371] The original quote, in Spanish, goes as follows: "Una Nación no despierta de su letargo por casualidad. España no se levanta por azar de vez en cuando. Una Nación despierta cuando tiene inercia histórica, cuando tiene sangre en sus venas, y cuando la molestan." […] "España no se va a detener hasta reconquistar su destino, su grandeza y su dignidad humilladas y arrebatadas. No lo olvidéis no hemos venido a ganar en España, hemos venido para que España gane con nosotros." Source: Noticias Vox, "VOX Llena Vistalegre y Los Alrededores," *VOX España* (blog), October 7, 2018.

movements and individuals who endorse the mainstream concept of the *Reconquista* can be considered true patriots and members of their political project of the "Living Spain".

I argue that we cannot understand the islamophobic discourse in present-day Spain without recognizing the magnitude and role of the historical and historiographical concept of the *Reconquista* in re-shaping gendered and racializing attitudes to Muslims –whether Spanish converts, Spanish nationals or foreigners– and immigrants at large, and assess why these collectives are often portrayed in hate speech as dangerous, threatening to notions of Spanish identity and historical and racial –often concealed as "cultural"– Spanish integrity. Non-coincidentally, the manipulation of history for political causes contributes to the erasure of historiographical advancement and to the portrayal of Muslims and immigrants as threatening and usurpers –always in gendered roles–, as many writers, historians and educators –including Ramón Grosfoguel, Gema Martín Muñoz, Brigitte Vasallo, Ángeles Ramírez, Fernando Bravo López, William Childers, Barbara Fuchs, Jose María Perceval, Mercedes García Arenal, François Soyer and Alejandro García-Sanjuán– and the Citizen Platform against Islamophobia (PCI) have warned in some of their publications in different ways since the 2000s, as I have noted in previous subchapters. Once again, in the ongoing decade, we witness the reaffirmation of the mainstream narrative construction of the *Reconquista*, this case through overtly extreme-right political discourses. Nevertheless, this reaffirmation has also fostered renewed ideas on the historiographical debate on the concept of *Convivencia* among the general population, both within and outside Spain.

Influenced by recent terrorist attacks often labelled "Islamist" or "fundamentalist" by the mass media and some politicians in Western Europe –with the frequent disagreement of European Muslims on the choice of such terms–, on one hand, and the rise of islamophobia, on the other hand, between 2017 and 2018 the itinerant exhibition named "Islam, It's also our history!" wanted

to promote a better understanding of the long history of Islam in Europe, and to dissuade the preconception that "Europe and Islam, are fundamentally foreign to one another, and condemned by the vicissitudes of history to coexist uneasily with one another."[372] Isabelle Benoit, one of the historians who worked in the design of the exhibition declared that the team wanted "to make clear to Europeans that Islam is part of European civilisation and that it isn't a recent import but has roots going back 13 centuries."[373] For these reasons, this itinerant exhibition visited 6 cities in 4 countries –Bulgaria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Russia– between 2017 and 2018, to promote a sense of shared values and European citizenship. Remarkably, the webpage and the exhibition welcome the visitor with the question "After all, do we imagine a history of Europe reduced to wars between its nations?"[374] With this question, both the exhibition and the catalog (published in French, Dutch, Bulgarian, Bosnian, and English) challenge the approach to Islam in Europe as an intruder. However, the exhibition employs both terms, *Reconquista* and *Convivencia* (the latter sometimes being exchanged for "Coexistence") to cover the history of Medieval and Early Modern Islam in Europe. The large number of institutions, historians and other specialists in this project provides a hint of the extent to which these two ideas have surpassed the boundaries of Iberian historiography.

Reconquista and *Convivencia,* have become recurrent frameworks, used to explain the History of Muslim presence in Europe beyond the Iberian Peninsula, from the 8th century onwards. We can find recent publications that employ concepts of "coexistence", "reconquest" and "conflict" to approach social and intellectual History of the Ottoman Empire and its political disintegration, up

[372] Tempora Team, Benoit Remiche, and Isabelle Van den Broeck, "ISLAM. It's Also Our History: Foreword," accessed June 12, 2018, https://islam-our-history.eu/about/.
[373] Liam Deacon, "'Islam, It's Also Our History!': EU Funded Exhibition, Featuring Fake Bomb, Opens After Terror Delay," *Breitbart*, September 21, 2017.
[374] Bosniak Institute, "Islam Is Also Our History! Europe and Its Muslim Legacies" (Exhibition, June 30, 2017); Tempora Team, Remiche, and Broeck, "ISLAM. It's Also Our History: Foreword."

to the Early 20th century.[375] Moreover, the success of these publications has renewed the academic interest on Medieval History of Iberia among scholars of Ottoman History, especially those interested in the history of Hungary and the Carpathian Basin, the Balkans, the Aegean and the Syrian-Palestinian regions.

Although many historians since the 1980s, after the end of the Francoist dictatorship have seriously challenged the reliability and utility of the concepts of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia* in Iberian historiography, these concepts have continued to succeed into the 21st century in two very different fields: the portrayal of Muslim-Christian interaction in Europe from the lens of Spanish nationalist historiography, on one hand, and Ottoman historiography and projects aimed to promote intercultural awareness, on the other hand. These apparently contradictory scenario is likely to continue providing new examples on the usage and possibilities of two old concepts. However, the dynamic character of this rather academic landscape may contrast with the diffusion of historians' ideas among the general audience. Thus, it is relevant to ask ourselves whether the renovation of Medieval and Modern Iberian historiography has reached the general Spanish population. However, this question needs to be treated in a different research project.

3.8. Conclusions

The historiography of the concept of *Reconquista*, Muslim-Christian relations and Muslim presence in the Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Peninsula is a particularly complex and

[375] Some examples are the *books Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, by Michelle Campos (2010*), Before the nation: Muslim-Christian coexistence and its destruction in late-Ottoman Anatolia*, by Nicholas Doumanis (2013), and *Post-Ottoman Coexistence: Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*, by Rebecca Bryant (ed.) (2016).

labyrinthine one. The topics and ideas that 19th, 20th and 21st century historians on this field have treated present a stunning historiographical picture, characterized by a rich diversity of opinions, arguments and conclusions, their heterogeneity, and a constant fluctuation of innovation and dissent in parallel to major sociopolitical transformations and changes in European and global historiographical currents. Nevertheless, the ideological construct that traditionally underlaid historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia remained virtually unaltered at least from the 16th or 17th century, to the 1940s: the *Reconquista*. Before the 16th and 17th centuries we can find clear precedents in written documentation produced in Christian-ruled kingdoms that date back as early as to the 9th century, as Roger Collins and Julio Escalona demonstrate in their works in which they study the *Prophetic Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of Albelda*. Besides, Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano (2013) have shown that it was in the 16th century, linked to the mass conversion of Iberian Muslims and to the State and Church-sponsored efforts on their integration within the dominant Old Christian society –hence, the creation of the so-called "Morisco problem"– that an incipient Modern historiography portrayed Muslims as a problem in Spanish politics. Jose María Perceval has theorized how Moriscxs were constructed as a problem that could not be contained neither resolved by forced integration, and how consequently the accentuation of Moriscxs' *otherness* facilitated the framing of their expulsion. Barbara Fuchs, Gema Martín Muñoz, Mary Elizabeth Perry and François Soyer have contributed to show that if such official attempts for the integration of the Muslim *other* failed, this failure was closely related to an essentializing discourse that defined Moriscxs as inherently alien, opposed and dangerous to the Old Christian community for their religious and cultural heritage. The anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish discourses that flourished in Iberia and much of Western Europe, with a renewed character since the 11th century, and the subsequent legal efforts to limit the social mobility of religious minorities and *subjugated* communities –for Muslims in many regions south of the Duero and Ebro

valleys were not a minority, strictly speaking, immediately after the establishment of Christian rule– were part of a long project to impose segregation that benefitted the Christian social elites both in political and economic terms, as David Nirenberg shows: on one hand, transgression of sexual, gendered and ethnic borders provided them with revenues in the form of manumission and slave work; on the other hand, it reaffirmed Christian domination.

Even if David Nirenberg criticized the mainstream understanding of the concept of *Convivencia* and historiographical approaches to Medieval Iberian history through this idea, it is incontrovertible that the debates brought by Américo Castro's conceptualization of this idea challenged much of the traditional understanding of the history of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and contributed to generate new historiographical debates, questions and insights since 1948. The concept of *Convivencia* continues to generate dissent and also discomfort among many historians, who find it difficult to employ it as a guiding concept for historical analyses and to translate it to English-speaking audiences. However, the employment of theories coming from Postcolonial Studies to historiographical analyses, such as the deconstructionist approach to historiography –merging Jacques Derrida's theory with Alun Munslow's methodology– may inform historians and help us to better understand the innovative character that *Convivencia* offered until the 1990s as well as the interpretative possibilities that it may offer to historians interested in Muslim-Christian relations in Medieval Iberia.

The applicability of Postcolonial theories to the research on Medieval History is a question explored and defended by an increasing number of historians, such as Nadia R. Altschul, who has examined this question through the concepts of *mimicry* and *transculturation*. Moreover, Orientalism constitutes a fundamental theory in the analysis of discrimination and representation in the historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberian History. Without Edward Said's

conceptualization of Orientalism, it would have been much more difficult to understand the islamophobic discourse underlying the Crusaders' ideology from the 11th century onwards and the gradual transformation of Iberian Muslims as an antithetical *other* in normative Medieval Christian narratives. Such discourses were always permeated by a gendered component, while the intersection of gender, sexuality and ethnicity facilitated the incipient racialization of Muslims along these lines.

Following the work of David Nirenberg, François Soyer, Luís Araus Ballesteros, Barbara Fuchs, Mary Elizabeth Perry and Blackmore *et al.*, while contrasting their work to the theoretical framework of gendered Islamophobia and Intersectionality, we can conclude that the dehumanization and oppression of Muslims and Jews in Castile, Portugal and the Crown of Aragon resulted in an ambivalent islamophobia that affected individuals differently depending on their gender. On one hand, Muslim men were exposed to mob violence, castration, death penalty and forced labor outside the household. On the other hand, Muslim women were more prone to end up losing the protection of the Muslim community, suffer ostracism, lose their lives and –much more frequently– their freedom. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities in 13th and 14th century Aragon, as well as in Castile during the 15th and 16th centuries, often handled Muslim women and children as slaves to their accusers –who sometimes where their partners, rapists and/or kidnappers– or sold them to Jewish or Christian families, in the frame of which sexual abuse seems to have been common. Hence, miscegenation, which was formally so disliked by Christian French, Aragonese and Castilian authorities, often condemned those same Muslim women charged with having transgressed this norm to remain in a much worse condition as slaves under non-Muslim mastership. This double standard –the institutional prosecution of inter-ethnic sexual relations, while devising a legal code that lead Muslim women into situations of sexual abuse and potentially

unwanted pregnancies from relations with Christian males– seems to me to have been a tactic to destroy intra-ethnic solidarities in the Mudejar –*conquered*– communities.

With no or very little surprise, the Aragonese and Castilian Mudejar *aljamas* accentuated patriarchal codes during the 13th and 14th centuries and straitened the control over women's bodies and their individual movements outside the family milieu. Even if we agree that uncritical historiographical idealizations are necessary to avoid –as I have argued for in this thesis–, these actions in the Iberian Peninsula in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries unequivocally contrast with the relative greater freedom that women –*Muslim* women included– and people who had sexual and love relationships with people of the same sex –whether Muslims, Christians or Jews– experienced in Andalusian history before the 11th century. Recurrent and state-sanctioned violence seems to have functioned as a force that coerced women's rights and independence, and directed aggressiveness towards those individuals whose life, genders and sexualities laid outside religious dogmatic views and a strong protection. In this respect, the concept of the *Reconquista* unfolds extremely useful to locate processes of loss of freedom in the historiography of Medieval Iberia, while gendered Islamophobia and Intersectionality provide the framework to understand its functioning upon the bodies of those social groups which began to be defined according to a stricter social understanding of how gender, sexuality and ethnicity intersected with one another.

It is thanks to this historiographical analysis that I can argue that the categories of Muslim women and Muslim men are identifiable in historiography –and, through the historians' work examined here, also in historical sources– from the 11th century onwards. It seems that the crucial advancement of the political idea and project of the *Reconquista* made it necessary for the Iberian feudal oligarchies to be able to clearly discern Christians from Muslims and these from Jews as well, and between women and men, each of whom had a specific role in the political project of the

Christian kingdoms that integrated new subjects as their conquests –always at an irregular and non-linear pace– moved southwards. At the same time, it seems logical to question that perhaps these tactics of social control of the gendered, sexed and religiously-ascribed subjects were not an import of Christian-ruled societies southwards, but rather a strategy that developed linked to the idea of Jews and Muslims' *otherness* –anti-Semitic and Islamophobic itself– and to the islamophobic perception of Muslims' radical opposition to Christian society, norms and beliefs. The articulation of this islamophobic discourse in Medieval Iberia was one of the outcomes of a long historical process in which Medieval Iberian societies increasingly codified patriarchal norms, sanctioned Holy wars and fought to maintain their political legitimization.

The Almoravid and Almohad contestation of the military advancement of the *Reconquista*, difficulted the maintenance of more "tolerant" approaches from the Christian kings towards their Muslim subjects, and ended up polarizing the Mudejar –in Christian-ruled areas– and Mozarab –in Muslim-ruled areas– communities' resistance to forced assimilation, while employing a new dimension of State-sponsored violence to campaign for political ideas. This conclusion is also possible thanks to the works authored by Felipe Maíllo Salgado, Miriam Shamis, Gema Martín Múñoz and Camilo Gómez-Rivas. With the triumph of Castilian, Portuguese and Aragonese armies, the *Reconquista*, the idea that legitimated their conquests, also provided an ideological framework that justified a specific treatment of both the old and the newly incorporated Muslim subjects.

However, in a society which increasingly developed a racial mentality, with its own specific vocabulary to signal –real or imagined– markers of difference and transgression, strategies for *passing as* a member of a different social category turned to be increasingly difficult, and often penalized, as it is explicitly or –sometimes– implicitly exposed by Barbara Fuchs, Mary E. Perry,

François Soyer, Rosie Seagraves, Israel Burshatin and Wiliam Childers, among other historians. Thus, only from an intersectional perspective that takes Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian considerations on gender, sexuality, ethnicity and an emerging racialization of all these categories into account, we can comprehend the complex social structure, norms and possibilities of the Early Modern Iberian societies. The historiographical analysis of the lives of Eleno de Céspedes, António/Vitoria and Catalina de Erauso show us how some 16th and 17th century transgender and/or intersexual –since primary sources do not always allow for a clear differentiation and usually impose normative considerations upon the individual's own agency– Iberian figures were starting to understand and navigate the complex dynamics of the society they lived in.

The application of Judith Butler's, Jacques Derrida's and other researcher's theories that allow to look at Gender as a performative element of social practice have the capacity to radically transform the way historians approach the history of Moriscxs. They may bring new and interesting conclusions on the history of Early Modern Portuguese and Spanish societies that go beyond the strict delineation that traditional historiography has given for granted –exemplified in the work by 19th century orientalist historians Pascual de Gayangos and Florencio Janer–, which understood Moriscxs as a social group clearly differentiable from the Old Christian Iberian population, and imbued them with 19th century perceptions of the teleological character of the *Reconquista*.

From my historiographical analysis on the works that delve into the lives of disruptive figures such as Eleno de Céspedes and António/Vitoria, we can conclude that the fact that these figures temporarily succeeded in their performance of gender and –at least in Eleno's case, also of– ethnic difference (as explained in subchapter 3.5) informs us about the tensions and possibilities of social mobility existing for different social categories, in as much as it informs us about each of the gender archetypes at play and their place within a hierarchical social construct. The penalization of such

transgressive forms of dissidence needed to be done, in the eyes of the Inquisition and the dominant social groups, to avoid the formation of a new normalized masculine construct, for two related reasons: it destabilized the normative understating of white Old Christian masculinity and it threatened the sexual integrity of Old Christian female bodies, since while enacting the former, the "intruder" enjoyed the social acceptability to do so. On the other side of the equation, the much better documented historiography on the figure of Catalina de Erauso and her recognized performance of the same masculine ideal shows to what extent could gender categories change, and how much they ran into categories of sexuality, ethnicity and "race".

Following David Nirenberg's suggestion to consider the Late Medieval Aragonese society as composed of six genders rather than by two genders and three religious communities, it appears logical to me to argue that the gendered and racialized construction of Muslim women –and since the 16th century, Moriscx women– as imperiled and disenfranchised subjects benefited some Christian men in that it provided them a medium through which reaffirm their discursive domination and reinstate their masculinity. Thus, the legal suppression of Muslim women's agency and the sexual "disposal" of their bodies worked as a reification of dominant notions of Christian Reconquest and masculinity, while the discursive success of these practices turned them to be among the most pervasive results of the process of disenfranchisement and subjugation of Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. Despite the large number of sources on this topic that David Nirenberg –as well as some less-known Spanish authors– declare to be found at Medieval archives, the difficulty to both analyze them –emotionally– and to insert these accounts into a nearly historical vacuum may explain why so few historians underscore the question of Muslim women's agency and social fragility in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history.

The fact that I have employed a majority of references written in English to inform, support and contrast my historiographical analysis is not a casual feature of this chapter. Many historical analyses that have questioned the mainstream approach to the concept and the historiography of the *Reconquista* have been published in English (in comparison to those published in Iberian languages and French). Perhaps, the importance of the contemporary ideological understanding of Spain as dependent on the romanticized idea of the *Reconquista*, which historians Alejandro García Sanjuán, Erica Buchberger, Eduardo Manzano and Juan S. Pérez –among many others–describe in their works, has not permeated Spanish academic debates with the same intensity it has entered in the English-speaking academic production, whether authored by Spanish and Latin American historians or by scholars from other regions and nationalities.

In the light of the recent usage of the concept of *Reconquista* in present-day Spain, it is not banal to question how much of these historical and historiographical notions on Muslim women and men have saturated Spanish social ideas and maintained their islamophobic features until the present. Indeed, the ideological construction of Muslims as invaders, cultural aliens, racialized *others*, bearers of threatening gender norms and sexual customs, thrives among conservative and extreme-right movements in present-day Spain.

Quoting David Nirenberg, this MA thesis ends "because it must."[376] Many interesting questions remain untreated in my work with regard to 19th, 20th and 21st century historiographical fields, such as Spanish 19th and 20th century Colonial history in North-Africa, of Spanish Constitutional Law, the 1960s-70s touristic boom in Spain, the Contemporary festivities of Moors and Christians, the teaching of History in the Spanish educational system and, the scarcely researched but very interesting fields of dissident and defiant sexualities, friendships and

[376] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 245.

subjectivities, as well as of Moriscxs' enslavement and their strategies for survival and mobility, this latter having been exemplary treated by Mary Elizabeth Perry. Moreover, the problematic underrepresentation and discrimination of a heterogenous and large –although little in a European perspective– social group formed by approximately 2 million Muslims citizens in Spain and Portugal in the present (which account to 4% of the total population in Spain) also deserves historiographical attention, since this is an issue that can also be observed at least since the 1970s.[377]

[377] Observatorio Andalusí, "Estudio Demográfico de La Población Musulmana. Explotación Estadística Del Censo de Ciudadanos Musulmanes En España Referido a Fecha 31/12/2017" (Madrid: Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España (UCIDE), February 2018), 14.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Iberian *Reconquista* is the dominant historiographical discourse on Medieval and Early Modern Iberian history, produced since Medieval Times, which has constituted a nationalist project that equated Visigoths with modern Spaniards, and identified Catholicism as the moral and religious basis of a Hispanic eternal ethnicity. This "traditionalist narrative about medieval Iberia" extoled the *Reconquista* "as the birth of Spanish nationhood" and excluded al-Andalus –and thus everything deemed Islamic– from the Spanish national identity.[378] Under this deterministic framework, the study of the History of Medieval Iberia focused on the quest of Christian kingdoms to seize land from Islamic al-Andalus, whereas research into the history of al-Andalus was for centuries considered irrelevant for the nationalist historiography of Spain. Only the study of Muslims and Jews as *others* and of Mozarabs, Christians who lived in the Islamized Andalusian society –and in which they were an important social element–, was considered worthy of interest.

However, a phenomenon parallel to the beginning of European nationalisms, Orientalism, set forth a different approach to the history of Medieval Iberia and the Maghrib. 19th century historiography reframed an already existing narrative and embedded it into a new historical discourse, shaped by attraction that European Romanticism felt towards the "Medieval past", and always mediated by the complex dynamics of *Maurophilia* and islamophobia, which resulted in the historiographical process of *orientalization* of Iberian Medieval history and of Modern Hispanic identities. At the beginning of the 19th century, French, British and North-American colonialism and diplomacy in North-Africa fostered an academic interest in the History of the region. But the history of Medieval North-Africa was intrinsically united to that of Medieval Iberia

[378] Alejandro García-Sanjuán, "Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 128.

by strong cultural, economic and political links, while the historical memory of al-Andalus and the arrival of the Moriscxs was still present in the Maghrib.

My historiographical analysis of the *Reconquista* as a discourse, from the framework of gendered Islamophobia, intersectional Feminisms, Gender History and Postcolonial theories is a difficult yet promising one. Despite its relative innovative character, my analysis has only been possible thanks to the enormous theoretical, methodological and historiographical field, developed by the historians' whose work I've attempted to critically analyze here.

David Nirenberg's, Israel Burshatin's, Barbara Fuchs', Mary Elizabet Perry's and other historians' work delves on the processes that help us understand how difference in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iberia was increasingly problematized from the intersection of gender and sexuality, of ethnicity and religion, and of all these categories altogether, and explores the emerging racialization of these questions in the process of formation of asymmetrical power relations. After centuries of enforced segregation, in 14th, 15th and 16th century Iberia, the bridging of ethno-religious difference that had restricted social mobility led to an increasing social anxiety due to the mass conversions of Jews and Muslims. This new context gave way to new forms of discrimination that translated politics of inclusion and exclusion into a more refined islamophobic discourse. In order to understand this complex process, I have looked at the historiographical analyses of female masculinities and masculine femininities in the case of Miriam Shadi's reconstruction of Queen Berenguela and three cases of intersex and/or transgender figures in Early Modern Iberia, one Old Christian –Catalina de Erauso–, one Moriscx/New Christian –Eleno de Céspedes– and one enslaved black African whose religion or lineage we don't know –António/Vitoria. The intersectional analysis of this historiography allows to understand why some of these figures' actions succeeded while others did not: Catalina de Erauso's privileged position rendered her as a

de-racialized individual in her gender performance –which she succeedingly transformed from transgressive to exemplary, and may have been informed and back-ed up by masculine female figures such as Berenguela and Isabel I of Castile–,and thus was included, not excluded, and her figure celebrated. The limits of the *queering* of identities in Early Modern Iberia were marked by strong dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, which caused both Eleno and Vitoria to be prosecuted and condemned. They represented the lowest instances of society and in attempting to move upwards, encountered the inquisitorial repression.

In my analysis of the final expulsion of Moriscxs from Spain in 1609-1614 I show the canonical historiographical assumption of the impossibility of Islam and Muslim presence in Iberia, while situating it as part of the larger ideological domination of a teleological *Reconquista*. The idea that Spain was "lost" with the Islamic conquest of Iberia in the 8th century had longer implications for the historical analyses that attempted to document the history of Muslim presence in Iberia at any epoch. Historians like Pascual de Gayangos and Florencio Janer wrote their historiographical works of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia in the 19th century from the perspective of the "starting" and "ending" points of Muslim's presence in Iberia. Although Florencio Janer offered an innovative analysis of the history of Moriscxs, he maintained the traditional historiographical perspective that approached Moriscxs as an extinguishing group whose fatal destiny –punishment, death, cultural eclipsation and expulsion– did not allow for any recognition of agency in their daily actions. Instead, the reading of the work of Janer allows us to see how, underlying his writing, he interpreted Moriscxs' acts of defiance as synonyms of a violent disenfranchisement and a disorganized desperation. Indeed, what some Old Christian contemporaries to the Moriscxs defined as the "terror" and "unreliability" that characterized Moriscxs through the second half of the 16th century.

21st century historians Mercedes García Arenal and Barbara Fuchs, explain how the work of 19th century historians was mediated by the complex dynamics of Orientalism and *Maurophilia*, which I have interpreted as causing islamophobia to permeate Gayangos' and Janer historiographical narratives in an unadvertised manner. This helped me to contrast the historiographical narrative of Gayangos and Janer to the analysis of the work of Kevin Ingram in the 21st century, and better understand why some Moriscx's acts of resistance to forced assimilation thrived –as in Manzanares– while others could not –Morisca women in the Alpujarras in the work of Janer–. Finally, the idea of Moriscx's *expellability*, developed by Jose María Perceval, explores why the discursive and the historiographical constructions of the idea of *Reconquista* made it impossible for Moriscxs, the last Early Modern Iberian Muslims –and officially converted New Christians–, to inhabit in Modern Iberia. In sum, this historiographical analysis has allowed me not only to understand the mechanisms in which the discursive construct of the Reconquista has mediated the writing of Iberian history, but it has also permitted me to explore various manifestations of gendered Islamophobia in the Early Modern history of Iberia and answer the question of what can we obtain from an intersectional analysis of the historiographical construction of the concept of the *Reconquista*, while employing a framework of gendered Islamophobia, Feminist History and different Postcolonial theories.

Indeed, we need to bring an intersectional analysis to it in order to understand how Morisca's position as subordinated racialized women placed themselves in a completely different role within the dominant Old Christian and patriarchal society of 16th century Iberia. I lack sources to argue whether the Morisca women who revolted and employed overt violence in the Alpujarras revolt of 1571-72 did it as a conscious act to hold agency and empowerment in a society that had limited their access to the public sphere, denied them economic independence, and subjected them to the

permanent risk of being displaced, separated of their children and enslaved in a domestic system of male sexual abuse and Old Christian cultural humiliation. It seems plausible in such an oppressive context. But again, a research of this nature could take months or years. Indeed, the historiographical analysis of the *Reconquest* is essential to understand the extreme situations that some Morisca women –especially them– but also children and men experienced at the end of the 16th century, and may be a starting point to explore these questions. What I can affirm with little doubts from the analysis of William Childers is that Morisco men's racialized masculine position within the same oppressive –sexist and islamophobic– social system seems to have allowed them some relatively easier access to acts that could entail some defiance and empowerment, exemplified in Ingram's analysis by their participation in a performative representation of the narrative of the Iberian Reconquest. Nevertheless, it would be illogical to assert that such difference placed Morisco men in an advantageous position *vis-à-vis* the 1609 decree of expulsion. Obviously, Moriscxs were treated differently and experienced different fates depending on their gender roles –and the documented violence against Morisca women and children during the expulsion should not be neglected– (Arenal), but their *Moorish* "blood" and historicized "taint" as an *other* defined them as alien to Spain and a constant threat to Old Christian Spaniards within the mainstream and official discourse of the *Reconquista* that the Spanish Hapsburgs so zealously defended in the European and Mediterranean international stages, as they so commonly presented themselves champions of Catholicism and strongest enemies of the expanding Ottoman Turks.

In a historiographical perspective, the *Reconquista* has functioned as a relatively plastic and flexible concept, which has been used to sustain political usages of history in Spain and Portugal throughout the centuries. Above all, it has been used as a tool of political legitimization that has supported xenophobic, sexist, islamophobic, nationalistic and colonial ideas throughout the Late

Medieval, Modern and Contemporary history of Spain. To know the events and the narratives that document this concept, shape it and explain its usage in different contexts is crucial not only to better understand the history of Spain and Portugal, but also to contest the dehumanization and oppression of groups and individuals on the basis of their religion, ethnicity, gender and/or sexuality, among other categories of social identity. As the North-American writer and human rights activist Angela Davis put it in a speech in Oakland (USA) in 1979 "in a racist society it is not enough to be non-racist, we must be anti-racist." So if we agree that the Spanish state and previous political organizations in Iberia have *vertebrated* and legitimated themselves for centuries on the misleading, xenophobic, sexist, islamophobic and colonial ideals of the *Reconquista*, then we should challenge those structures in which any form of discrimination continues to be embedded today and take the courage to dismantle them. Not to replace them with another political usage of Medieval and Modern Iberian history, but, firstly, as a conscious historiographical measure to raise awareness on the political implications of History, secondly, as a feminist move aimed to bring social justice to Muslims currently living in Spain and to further understand the interconnection of all forms of oppression and, finally, as a democratic action to share this knowledge and historical recognition with all the Portuguese and Spanish citizens, in order to co-create freer societies in which we gradually substitute hierarchical notions of "tolerance" for a really accountable mutual respect in freer societies.

I share Angela Davis' concern that "if we don't take seriously the ways in which racism is embedded in structures of institutions, if we assume that there must be an identifiable racist […] who is the perpetrator, then we won't ever succeed in eradicating racism."[379] Indeed, racism, which

[379] Angela Y. Davis, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016), 18.

here I have treated from the optic of gendered Islamophobia, "is so dangerous because it does not necessarily depend on individual actors, but rather is deeply embedded in the apparatus", which I have identified as the union of Orientalism, Colonialism and the ideology of the *Reconquista* in this thesis.[380] Equally important, feminist historians must acknowledge the need "to think, analyze, organize as we recognize" the *intersection* of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality –among other categories– in order to understand the inseparability of issues of race from issues of gender and issues of ethnicity.[381] In all these senses, our work must continue.

This is a problem which I believe we need to acknowledge as well in Spain, since gendered islamophobia, racism and sexism are reproduced in our everyday lives as part of some of the structures that organize our present society and give meaning to Iberian national identities. Even if we accepted that ongoing gendered Islamophobia in Spain is not informed by a *long durée* approach –something first suggested by Américo Castro, then rejected by David Nirenberg, and recently argued by an increasing number of other critical historians–, we still would need to acknowledge the long history of the dehumanization of Muslims, women and people of non-binary gender identities, subversive cultural expressions and dissenting sexualities, which has deeply influenced our understanding of Muslims and gender in present-day Spain, and paradoxically influencing the way many Spaniards perceive Muslims on the 8 indicators that Runnymede Trust established to differentiate open and closed views of Islam and Muslims.

Although contemporary islamophobic discourses hold many resemblances in key concepts with Medieval and Early Modern discourses that fostered Muslims' dehumanization, domination and expulsion, the historiography of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia only suggests us what

[380] Davis, 18.
[381] Davis, 19.

happened in history. Regarding islamophobic discourse in the present, it is everybody's responsibility to become aware and raise awareness on the wrongs of this phenomenon of discrimination and on the perils that the dehumanization of any given social group can bring to society at large. As I convey in my next and final chapter, to contest every form of hate-speech should concern everybody who respects academic integrity and achieves to live in a freer and respectful society.

As for Spanish Muslims and Spaniards in general, how should we interact with and think about the history of Muslim-Christian relations in Iberia? First of all, not idealizing it. Secondly, not allowing ourselves to buy into any usage of history for political causes beyond the endorsement and creation of a growing feminist historical consciousness that allows us to better understand processes of systemic discrimination in the present from historical and historiographical perspectives. We need to reject the "malady of words" which I have explored through the exemplary case of the concepts of *Reconquista* and *Convivencia*. These two are not interdependent concepts but have been employed by historians to relate to each other in various ways, negating or qualifying each other, and sometimes to foster new and innovative findings. Reconquest and *Convivencia* are two separated categories that were originally devised by historians to record accounts of Muslim, Christian and Jewish interactions in opposing and even "competing" ways. Consequently, the historians who have projected notions of Reconquest and *Convivencia* in Iberian History have produced a diversity of historiographical narratives that often differ among them, thus promoting a high degree of academic and non-academic debates. However, these two concepts have been employed by historians to reconstruct the accounts of Medieval and Early Modern societies which were characterized by a plurality of religious communities, gender norms and sexual codes that experienced events of prolonged cohabitation and/or confrontation, such as it

appears to have been the case for the Iberian Peninsula and its adjacent territories, as seen in the work of David Nirenberg and other historians of the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st.

Despite the discursive construction of the *Reconquista* and its employment for political purposes –legitimation and propaganda– never lost hold in the Medieval Christian Iberian kingdoms, its continuation, transformation and success after the 9th century can be interpreted both as a cause and a consequence of the failure of the royal policies of toleration and the social practices of –relatively– mutual and peaceful "coexistence" from the 11th century onwards. This new context gave way to new forms of discrimination that translated systems of gendered politics of inclusion and exclusion into a more refined islamophobic discourse. On this respect, historians can search for ideologs, perpetrators and offenders in order to better understand such historical context and confirm or refute their arguments. But that is not the same as to orient ourselves in the present only according to one or another view of that history. Instead, we need to acknowledge the discursive construction of those categories and situate them within a larger picture.

The final *expulsion* of Moriscxs demonstrates the logical impossibility of Islam and Muslim presence in Iberia under the ideological domination of a teleological and islamophobic *Reconquista*. Moreover, Moriscxs' implicit categorization as "*expellable* subjects" -using the term coined by J. M. Perceval- by many 19th and 20th century historians -Prescott, Gayangos, Janer, etc.- shows that the narrative of the *Reconquista* was so accepted or so embedded in the minds of many Iberian Medieval and Early Modern historians to the point that this approach was neither questioned nor even justified. Just like Orientalism and Modern racist and patriarchal systems have fostered the idea that white people are just "people" and equated *humanity* with *manhood,* so the centrality of the idea of the *Reconquista* in the

construction of Modern Spanish identities and self-perceptions was such as to cause Spanish historians to systematically unacknowledge or either to remain unaware about how it shaped their historiographical perception of Iberian Muslims –moreover– in a context of ongoing *orientalization* of Spain in academic and international contexts, that would last until the third quarter of the 20th century at least. In other words, the *Reconquista* was an ideology that shaped Spaniards' and historians of Medieval and Early Modern Iberia's perception of both Iberian Muslims historically and of Spaniards contemporarily, characterizing them as opposed sides in a teleological confrontation, and thus blocking any recognition of the existence of a larger discourse mediating historians' approaches to Iberia's Medieval and Early Modern history. I believe that reading and analyzing historiographies as discourse should reassess historians of the importance of situating our knowledge and holding ourselves accountable for the ideas we produce or engross. In my thesis, I have attempted to make this clear while clarifying that analyzing historiographies as discourses within larger systems of –in this case, racist, sexist, LGBTIQ-phobic and colonial– power relations is not the same as to judge historians whose work we analyze, but to explore the conditions that help us better understand those aspects of their narratives that enabled them to feel they were making a coherent sense of their findings. Therefore, if any historian in the present has the aim to identify whether the historiographies on Medieval and/or Early Modern Iberia written by other historians hold islamophobic beliefs, marked by racialization and gender as the very least intersecting categories of social organization to consider such systemic discrimination, this or these researchers would have to first question whether the narratives created by any of such historians absorb or expand the discursive construction of the *Reconquista* as an interpretative view governing the analysis of Muslims and the relations between them and other ethno-religious social groups, and thus represented in monolithic, inferior, barbaric, irrational, antagonistic, manipulative,

aggressive, hostile and oppositional terms, or in any other “indicator” on “closed views” on Islam and Muslims.

GLOSSARY

The following list contains a brief description of the non-English terms that are used frequently in this document, as well as some English terms relating to Medieval and Modern Iberian history that are qualified because of their ambiguous or controversial understanding. Loanwords and Non-English expressions are expressed in italics and its origin labelled as follow: Spanish as *Sp.*, Portuguese as *Pt.*, Arabic (transliterated) as *Ar.*, French as *Fr.*, Catalan as *Ca.*, Latin as *Lt*; as well as *n.* for nouns and *adj.* for adjectives.

Al-Andalus: Name traditionally given to the historical regions of Iberia that were ruled by Muslims between the years 711 and 1492 and to the complex sociocultural system that was created in this context.

Andalusi or Andalusian: Demonym for "someone whose origins are in the part of the Iberian Peninsula that once belonged" or was referred to as Al-Andalus (not to be identified with modern Andalucía). This was a common surname by which some Iberian migrants and Moriscos who settled in the Maghrib were recognized as such in Medieval and Early Modern sources.[382]

Dhimmi: Historical and juridical name given to individuals and communities of non-Muslims living permanently within the boundaries of an Islamic state under its protection (also called *aman*). These are individually designated as *dhimmi* in romance languages and English (while in Arabic as *dhimmis*) and collectively as *dhimmis* (in Arabic as *ahl al-dhimma*, 'people of the covenant').

[382] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56:x.

The covenant of protection between the state and the recognized communities is called the *Dhimma*.[383]

Judeoconversos* or *Conversos (Sp): "Christian Converts of Jewish descent", often labelled as 'New Christians'.[384]

Iberian — Spanish (disambiguation): Demonym for someone or something of the Iberian Peninsula. Not to be confused with the historical territory in the Caucasus region also called Iberia, neither with the Ancient pre-Roman populations of the Iberian Peninsula. I use the term Spain or Spanish to refer only to the geographical area of the State of Spain in the present. Instead, I use the term Iberia or Iberian to refer to people or things of the different territories comprised in the Peninsula, meaning the present sovereign territories of Andorra, Portugal, Spain and the UK Overseas Territory of Gibraltar. Moreover, I employ the term 'Iberian' for the historical periods in which the idea of Spain would be concealed with that of the homonym contemporary State. In Medieval times, "the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and the Crown of Aragon which now form part of Spain were all independent political entities."[385] Most of recent academic publications written in English follow these distinctions, which I attempt to respect in my thesis.

Occasionally I quote authors who employ the term 'Spain' as a synonym for the entirety of the Iberian territory, in which cases I respect the original version unless the contrary is explicitly specified. This decision is due to avoid the nationalistic and imperialistic connotations that often accompany the usage of the term 'Spain' as a synonym of the Iberian Peninsula and some of its near territories –such as the islands and exclaves under Spanish or Portuguese sovereignty. Thus,

[383] Josef W. Meri, ed., *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 205–7.
[384] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56:x.
[385] François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: BRILL, 2007), xiii.

whenever I use the term 'Spain' or 'Spanish' as a historical concept, I do not refer to the period starting with the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs in 1469, as traditional Spanish historiography does, but to the period initiated with the Habsburgs monarchy in the Iberian Peninsula in 1516. Besides, when I write 'Spanish historiography' I mean the body of historiographical works produced by Spanish historians, or either by scholars and writers of the History of Spain and/or of the Iberian Peninsula, regardless of their origin.

Limpieza de Sangre (Sp), ***Limpeza de Sangue*** (Pt): Literally, "cleanliness or purity of blood".[386] From the 14th century onwards, the idea of *limpieza de sangre* conveyed the idea of a 'pure' Christian family lineage without miscegenation with neither Jews nor Muslims.[387] Many defenders of this idea believed that it was "necessary to protect the purity of a nation that had formed without any admixture of any 'mala raza de moro y judío' [bad race of Moor and Jew]".[388]

New Christians (Sp. *Cristianos nuevos*, Pt. *Cristãos novos*): Those who descended from Jews or Muslims converted to Catholicism, according to official documentation and/or to popular belief. Throughout the Late Medieval and Early Modern times, it was a widespread belief that 'New Christians' could transmit Jewish or Muslim "character", mental and physical traits, through blood.[389]

[386] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56: 3; Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*, 287.
[387] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56: 3; Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*, 308.
[388] Antonio Feros, "Rhetorics of the Expulsion," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-arenal Rodriquez and Gerard A. Wiegers, Lam, Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World (Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 2014), 65–66.
[389] François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: BRILL, 2007), 84–85.

Malikism: Malikism was the dominant *madhhab* (school of thought within Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh*) throughout the Maghreb and al-Andalus in Medieval History. The Maliki school was founded by the judge Malik ibn Anas (d. 796).[390]

Morisco (Sp. masculine singular), ***Morisca*** (Sp. feminine singular): Muslims who remained in the Christian-ruled kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula once the last Muslim-ruled kingdom of Granada was conquered in 1492, and who were forced to convert to Catholicism. This event affected more the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre than Portugal (where they were labelled *mouriscos*).[391]

Moriscx / Moriscxs (Sp and Ca, gender-neutral singular / plural): Gender inclusive term that embraces a plurality of genders and non-binary genders. It is read "mo-rees-kes" in English ("mo-rees-ke" in singular), and "mo-ris-ques" in Spanish, which makes it sound more natural to Spanish speakers while retaining the political connotations of the letter X in Latin and Ibero-American feminist debates about gender awareness and inclusivity.[392]

Moriscos antiguos **(Sp) or** ***mudéjares antiguos*** **(Sp):** "Those Moriscos whose ancestors had been baptized before the conquest of Granada, mostly in the areas of Old and New Castile."[393]

[390] Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun*, 79–80.
[391] Isabel Drumond Braga, "Fontes Documentais Portuguesas Para o Estudo Dos Mouriscos," *Mélanges. Fondation Temimi Pour La Recherche Scientifique et l' Information* 2 (2001): 523–28.
[392] See: Gamio, "Latinx"; Ramirez and Blay, "Why People Are Using The Term 'Latinx'"; Scharrón-del Río and Aja, "The Case FOR 'Latinx'"; "Latinx."
[393] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56: x.

***Moriscos granadinos* (Sp):** "Moriscos in Castile and elsewhere who descended from the Granadan Moriscos who had been forced to migrate to other places in Spain after the second uprising in Granada (1568–1570)."[394]

Moro/Mora (Sp. and Ca. masculine/feminine n.), ***Mouro/Moura*** (Pt. masculine/feminine n.), ***More*** (Fr): In English 'Moor' (both male and female) and 'Moorish' (adj.). Name generally given by Christian Europeans to the Muslims inhabitants of the Mediterranean area West of Malta and Italy, including those of the Maghreb and the Iberian Peninsula, often differentiated from the 'Turks'. Initially used to refer to some tribes of North-Africa by Ancient Romans (Lt. *mauretani*), the word evolved and acquired negative connotations in Medieval times. It expanded through Portuguese and Spanish colonization since the 15th century to designate Muslims in the Indian and Pacific areas controlled by these Iberian empires.[395] The term 'Saracen' was often used by Medieval and Modern Iberians and French to refer to Muslims from across the Mediterranean, and was often exchanged for 'Moor' and 'Morisco' when referring to Iberian and North-African Muslims and to their supposed descendants.[396] The pejorative connotations of this term last until the present and generate debate about their usage.

Mozarab (Sp. *mozárabe*): From the Arabic *musta'rab*, meaning 'arabized' or acculturated to Arabic culture. This term referred to Medieval Iberian Christians who lived in Muslim-ruled areas, and who often spoke both Late Iberian Latin and Arabic.

[394] García-Arenal and Wiegers, 56:x.

[395] For an account on the Spanish colonial encounter with Muslims in the Philippines based on the perception of Spanish moriscos see Franco-Sánchez and Donoso Jiménez, "Moriscos Peninsulares, Moros Filipinos y El Islam En El Extremo Oriental Del Imperio Español."

[396] One primary source of the usage of this Iberian vocabulary in French, Portuguese and Italian is the manuscript written and illustrated by Sebastien Mamerot, Georges Chastellain, and Jean Colombe, "Passages faiz oultre mer par les François contre les Turcqs et autres Sarrazins et Mores oultre marins" (manuscript, 1475 1472), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b72000271. The manuscript is preserved at the French National Library, with open access to a digitalized copy.

Mudejar (Sp. *mudéjar*, Ar. *al-mudağğan*): "Those Muslims who had stayed behind in Christian territory and had accepted Christian domination while officially and legally being Muslims. In Muslim sources it is a pejorative term."[397]

Muladi (Sp. *Muladí*, Ar. *Mawali* or *Muwallad*): "Muslim converts from non-Arab backgrounds."[398] In Iberian historiography, *muladís* or *muwallads* are the generic terms to denote different categorizations of Muslims depending on qualifications of their family origins, which meaning has changed, expanded or limited through time and place. Beyond chronological and regional differences, *muladís* have commonly been defined in Iberian historiography as "indigenous converts to Islam", whether of local Hispano-Roman or Hispano-Visigothic origin (Christian or Jewish), mixed local and Arab origin, or local and Berber origin (in sources called the *muwalladūn*) but sometimes were also referred to as converts to Islam from non-Muslim local or mixed families.[399]

North-America(n): In this thesis, I frequently employ this noun (and adjective) to refer to the historiography –and thus to historians as well– coming from the United States and Canada. I employ this term to differentiate this group of historians and their historiographical production from those from Latin America and other American countries and regions. I try to avoid using the adjective 'American', but when doing so I refer to the inhabitants or qualities of all the American continents.

[397] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56:x.
[398] Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, 131.
[399] François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)* (Leiden: BRILL, 2007), 22.

Old Christians (Sp. *Cristianos viejos*, Pt. *Cristãos velhos*): Those "who did not descend from Jews or Muslims", according to official documentation and/or to popular belief.[400] Thus, it opposed to the term 'New Christians'.

[400] García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, 56:x.

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