

# **THE GENOCIDE IN CLOSING SPANISH ISLAM (THE STUDY OF ANDALUS FROM THE FALL OF GRANADA UP TO MORISCOS EXPULSION)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis focuses on Muslim circumstance under Christian hegemony from the fall of Islamic Andalusia up until Muslim ‘Moriscos’ expulsion in the seventeenth century, in which according to international law this example of annihilating group injuriously can effectively be classified as a genocide action. This study is based on the library research and the method used in this study is the historical research method with the qualitative descriptive approach as follows; Heuristic, source criticism, data interpretation, and historiography. In this research, the writer discusses some important points such as; a series of related event before Muslims lose their last besiege in Granada and some mistreatments conducted by the Spanish monarch toward Muslims after the fall of the last Islamic kingdom in Granada to which many scholars categorized it as a genocide action.

Key words: *Moriscos, Expulsion, Genocide.*

## **PREFACE**

Muslims in Spain, although they had contributed in enhancing civilization in Spain, were forced to accept that their existence in Iberian Peninsula was closed with a sorrowful conclusion. Between 1609 -1614 were Muslims forcibly expelled from their long homegrown as Matthew Carr highlights as “agreeable holocaust”.<sup>1</sup> Christian rulers blatantly showed their intolerance, racism, and harassment over

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Carr, *Blood And Faith: The Purging Of Muslim Spain*. (New York : The New Press) 233.

Spanish Muslims. In reference to the international law, this kind of example of annihilating group injuriously can effectively be classified as a genocide action.<sup>2</sup>

Some historians considered the genocide action against Spanish Muslims is more than a historical tragedy. Because at that time, Christians were much stronger as they got strong supports from a variety of force sources including British, Swiss, and Portugal armies. In contrary, Spanish Muslims were powerless after suffering an unavoidable disintegration within their internal that started since the emergence of Mulukuthawaif and continued to the demise of both Cordova and Granada empires. As the law of nature those stronger ones will overpower the weaker. As such, the Christians could easily banish Muslim population in Spain.

In terms of Muslim expulsion, generally some historians have two slightly different sides of view. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, one of Spanish historians in the nineteenth century, argued that “it is madness to believe that existential battles, fierce, and secular struggles between races can end in any other way than with expulsion and exterminations. The inferior race always succumbs and the principle of the strongest and most vigorous nationality ends up victorious”. On contrary, Modesto Lafuente, one of the Spanish liberal historians, in his *General History of Spain*, inferred that Muslim expulsion was one of ‘the most calamitous measures imaginable’.<sup>3</sup>

## RESEARCH METHOD

Methodology is a systematic procedure for achieving an objective research. Method, on the other hand, is described as a range of approaches used in educational research to gather data, which are to be used as a basis inference and interpretation for explanation and prediction.<sup>4</sup> According to Kerlinger, this procedure is named as methodology-data collection, and it aims to tell the reader what was done to solve the problem. Method, in other words, has reference to data analysis and is defined as analytical methods. As such, it aims to test the hypothesis put forward by the study. Analytical methods, thus, help the researcher to assemble primary data on the subject matter of the study. The initial method for any

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<sup>2</sup> L.P Hervey, *Muslims in Spain from 1500 to 1612* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Carr, op.cit., p.x.

<sup>4</sup> Marshel, Catherine & Rossman, Gretchen B., *Designing Qualitative Research* 3rd Ed, (London : SAGE Publications, London, 1999). 38

research-oriented study is survey of the available literature on the subject researched.<sup>5</sup>

Based on Kuntowijaya's book, "*Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*", the method used in this study is the historical research method, with the qualitative descriptive approach as follow:<sup>6</sup>

1. Heuristic, is the first step to seek the primary and secondary sources (observation and the document study method). In the context of my study, I shall avoid doing any survey or interview in this research because it is beyond the scope of this phenomenon research to do so and any such task itself will be an exclusive research project.<sup>7</sup> In one hand, searching primer historical sources are obtained such as *The Almuqodimah* of Ibnu Khaldun and *The Histroy of Mohammedan Dinasty in Spain* (extracted from the *Nafhuttib min Ghosnil Andalus* Arratib Wa Attarik Llisanuddin Ibnilkhatib by Ahmad Ibn Muhaamd Al Makkari) that both coevally written with the glory of Spanish Islam. While in other hand, my study is complemented by the secondary sources such as *The Muslims in Spain from 1500 to 1612* of L.P. Harvey, *Blood And Faith: The Purguing Of Muslim Spain* of Matthew Carr, and *Spanish Islam* of Reinhart Dozy and also *Blood On The Cross: Islam in Spin in The Light of Christian Persecution Through The Age* by Ahmad Thomson.
2. Sources Criticism is the step after types of data are accumulated. The general objective of the study is to critically analyze the capability of existing data (external and internal critics). In one hand, an internal critic is more focusing upon the authenticity and originality of the sources content, meanwhile an external critic, in other hand, is more investigating the of the validity of the source itself.<sup>8</sup>
3. Data Interpretation, many of research methodology will include legal interpretations and observations. In terms of historical research, data interpretation often mentioned as a historical analysis that aims to synchronize the data with the some facts written in the historical document. Furthermore the data is elaborated with the match theory in order to create a more agreeable and

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<sup>6</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Benteng Budaya, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Nugroho Notosusanto, *Norma-Norma Peneletian dan Penulisan Sejarah*. (Jakarta : Dep. HANKAM Pusat ABRI, 1978) 18

<sup>8</sup> Hasan Usman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah*, penerjemah: H.A. Muin Umar,dkk. (Jakarta: Dirjen. Pembinaan Kelembagaan Agama Islam DEPAG RI, 1986) 79

reasonable interpretation. However, before the data is submitted as both factual and chronological document, the writer shall compare and contrast them with another reference as well.<sup>9</sup>

4. Historiography is the last phase in the history of the method. This historiography is a way of writing, exposure, or reporting the results of historical research that has been done<sup>10</sup>. This step emphasizes the results of the three steps above.

## DISCUSSION

### A. The Factors Of Spanish Islam Downfall

#### 1. Political Based Fragmentation

The dethronement of Cordova preceeded by the demise of Abdul Malik Al Muzaffar in 1008 and also the failure of Sanchuelo to reunite Cordovan had successfully divided the giant Andalus into separate *taifas*. As it concerns, the term *Reyes de taifas* was related to every faction or family (*qabilah*) who established an independent rule, rather submitted into undesirable Cordova. The inception of this party kingdom was due to a disagreement of some factions to the struggle of prime ministers so-called *wazirs*, as an important functionary within monarchy, in setting up some strenuous attempts to usurp the authority of the caliphs.

The ability of *wazir* to proclaim themselves either as chamberlain or also as policy-maker, consisted in Cordova as well as in its diplomatic cities without any disturbance from the military power. And because of this caliph's failure to conduct direct rule, the setting of local autonomy power had apparently occurred in the most areas of Andalus.<sup>11</sup> The ruling of long-standing family of Arabs, Berber chieftains, the Saqalibs, the Berbers soldiers and other factions<sup>12</sup> were the most illustrious factions to set off the political fragmentation since early eleven century.

The *mulukuth thawaif* had a main setback whenever neither of a single leader from certain *taifas* could become the most influential figure to affect another

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<sup>9</sup> Kuntowijoyo, op.cit., p.102.

<sup>10</sup> Dudung Abdurrahman, *Metode Penelitian Sejarah* (Jakarta : Logos, 1999) 69

<sup>11</sup> Hugh Kenedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal, a Political History of al-Andalus* (London & New York : Routledge Taylor&Francis Group) 130.

<sup>12</sup> For example there were Ibn Habus in Granada, Al Bizali in Carmona, Al Yeferani in Ronda, also Hazam in Xeres. Bani Abbad at Seville, Bani Al Atas at Badajoz, Bani Dzunnun at Toledo, Bani ibn Amir at Valencia, Bani Hud in Zaragoza, Bani al Amri in Denia and etc.

chieftains from different factions or tribes. Moreover, *taifas* also had no legitimacy to rule the entire Muslim community except a few of them who had a bilateral agreement. That was to say, it was still period of impotent power by Ummayyad house and the conflict of Andalus was proved to be incapable of reinstating power. “Both the writer Ibn Hazam (d.1064) and the historian Ibn Hayyan (d. 1076) were painfully aware that Andalusí political society was fundamentally sick, but they, and those who felt like them, were unable to resolve the tension which were tearing apart”.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Religious Purification Movement

In the next phase was the coming of both Almoravides and Almohades. These two religion purification inspired movements aimed to attack all kinds of tribe based-fanaticism in Andalus and to effect the revitalization of Islam into fully monotheistic behavior.<sup>14</sup> However, despite of both purification-based movement prestigious carrier in assisting the scattering Muslim under one concentrated power and withstanding the Andalus from unstoppable conflict, in compliance with maintain their Jews and Christians, both Almohades and Almoravids abandoned the tolerance and universality that of Andalus for centuries. They deported a great number of Jews and Christians in terms of cleansing Cordova from unbelievers’ (Jews and Christians) pollution. Treated as proletariat, either Jews or Christians were demanded to wear ‘yellow badges’ to symbolize their social status within macro-society of Andalus. The explanation of these unnecessary acts had never been obvious, albeit, however both purifiers had always underlain that their controversial policy was based on religious zeal. The instigation of driving out unbelievers from Cordova had been a central issue within Christendom. It had triggered a certain hatred issue inside of them, so that the Christian monarch, prepared some reckless action to against these conservative rulers with a blasphemy revenge in the next battle.<sup>15</sup>

One of the heart-breaking battles upon Muslim armies was the battle of Las Navas<sup>16</sup> in which after the battle, Muslims become precisely on the threshold and

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.135.

<sup>14</sup> Ahmad Thomson, *Blood on The Cross, Islam in Spain in The Light of Christian Persecution Trough The Age* (TaHa Publisher Ltd. : London, 1989) 201.

<sup>15</sup> Mathew Carr, op.cit., p.18.

<sup>16</sup> It was a battle that happened in the district of Las Navas, whereas around 600,000 Muslim armies commanded by Muhammad Nasir was defeated by Christians troops under Alfonso order.

another *taifas* snatched away to establish power until the fall of their pivotal fortress in Morocco under Castilian. Instead of stopping the tide of Christian from the North, Muslim, in fact, fell into disorganized system and destructive civil war that brought about one-by-one of Muslim domains were surpassed by Christian. In second quarter of thirteen century, the central Muslim government had been paralyzed only into kingdom of Granada, the place for every Muslims who preferred to live safely as the salves of Castile rather than a freeman in a disastrous Muslim settlement.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. The Fall of Granada

In the beginning period, Granada had set out to be an independent ruler of Islam in Spain, but in the thirteenth century, the vigorous king of Granada or the chief of Ahmar dynasty could no longer defense the kingdom from the continuous attacks so that Granada itself fell into Christian kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Granada and its narrowing regions that were under Christian authority forced to pay tribute and homage, notwithstanding, Muslims could still rule the country by their own king. Due to their dependent period, Granada became an asylum of the escapees from the succumbed cities such as Valencia and Almeria. These refugees soon were in well assimilation with the citizens of Granada in accordance to reinstating the similar civilization that of Cordova in glorious past. Commerce, industry, and revived-art were in a renewal so that it had attracted many scientists, artists, and scholars moving into Granada.

However after various achievements they had, Muslims in Granada, under Christian domination, began to experience the worst condition and their city-stronghold, indeed, became so worrying. The matrimonial alliance between Ferdinand and Isabel as the representatives of the two greatest loggerheads kingdoms in Spain, Castile and Aragon, moreover has contributed a devastating effect to Muslim Granada. Muslims began to fall into an inevitable internal discord and they were being ruled by two different governments. Granada and its surrounding areas were under the command of Abu Abdilla Muhammad, son of Sultan Abul Hassan the Nasride (commonly known as Boabdil), while in other

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 207

<sup>18</sup> Ahmad Thomson., op.cit., p.225.

hand, Guadix and neighboring cities were under the rule of Azzaghal, the brother of Boabdil's father.<sup>19</sup>

Civil war within Muslim inner-circle had made both Ferdinand and Isabel to initiate another attack into Muslims tenuous defense. After conquering Malaga, Guadix, Almunicar, Almeria, and Baza, Christians focused on defeating Granada, the last Muslim fortress. It was Boabdil, the leader of Granada who at 1489 was being compelled by inhabitant to fight against Castile. The result of this battle was unpredictable and some of the key posts of Muslim were reversed.

Thus war was temporary stopped in the winter and restarted again in the spring season marked by Christian penetration in Vega. Furthermore, by the 1491 Castilian armies were assembled and settled down in "holy encampment" at front yard of the city gate of marvelous Alhambra and with them was the flattering flag and the trodden banner that of *Castilos*. They besieged all the countryside; robbed all the coming supplies for Muslim; barred the irrigation flowing into Alhambra. Christians also plundered every store and corps that supplied the food to city and resisted every donation entering to the palace. This passive but very physical threat had made Muslim suffered in starving (this political rather than warfare strategy was conducted to decrease the former costly battle in Alarcos and Las Navas). Afterward the Bani Nasrid represented by Mohammad ibn Abdil could no longer withstand the land and the surrender agreement was made in January of 1492.<sup>20</sup>

## **B. Muslim Under Christians Domination**

### **1. Muslims in Southern Spain**

#### **a. 1492 - 1502**

The fall of Granada in 1492 had catalyzed the utmost effect on nurturing the inquisition inquiry. It also had opened up certain avenues to the tribunal after Torquemada, such as Ferdinand to afford best action in order to treat Muslims under Castilian dominion. Nevertheless, after the tragedy of 1492, when the last fortress of Muslims in Granada lost their power in peninsula, the idea of conversing Muslim under compulsion was practically absent in most areas. Muslims were able

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<sup>19</sup> Muhammad A. Enan, *The decisive Moment in The History of Islam* Trans. S.H. Muhammad Ashraf (Lahore : The Lion Press, 1943) 214.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.7-8.

to carry out their religious duty such as praying as their routine activity and another customary ceremony. It was merely a part of few designations from institutional policy that also gained Granadian Muslims with ‘a right of tolerance, oath of allegiance, and another rights in abundant’ that consisted in the terms of agreement (capitulation).<sup>21</sup>

The capitulation of Granada was basically such as a prize from Christian to regard the remaining Muslim in practicing their faith. So that, notwithstanding, Muslim were notably absent from the proceeding of governance, yet, in any case, they still allowed to celebrate their obligation as Islam believer. Thus expectation was indeed become much stronger whereas, at November of 1492, Ferdinand and Isabel promised to all Muslim left in Spain that their freedom would be completely considered by the Christian monarch.<sup>22</sup>

For several years Muslim received a fairly treatment under inquisitor tribunal of Hernando de Talavera. Talavera, instead of applying a repressive tactic, he preferred to proselytize *Moriscos* with an incremental process based on *Moriscos* need. He, who was also passionate into Arabic and embodied it as another official language within courtiers and employed some Muslims as his counsellor. This approach, however, had a sceptical question amongst archbishop convention and neither of inquisition members was happy with the agreement. In doing so, the inquisitor invoked both Ferdinand and Isabel to command Muslim in making decision between exile and baptism (thus method had a successful result in converting Jews, in before time). The inquisition also equivocated that the freedom gained by Muslims would boost the opportunity of them to strengthen their power in order to rebel the monarch.

It was Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, another inquisition general, who switched a fore-mentioned policy into some more active and efficient measure. Beside of imposing Muslim to accept baptism, Ximenes also attempted to prevent Muslim of Granada in maintaining their religion custom and pushed them through a compulsory in such physical or mental distress. Baptism, in his period, was tantalized with a fitted tenure or strategic profession within the court, and as it corollary, no less than three thousand Muslims, including some Muslims children, to be baptized in his early reign.

Thus, however, under such an oppressing situation, a crowd of Muslim inhabitants turned into rebellion. Some marginalised-towns in far-fetched place of

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<sup>21</sup> L.P. Harvey, op.cit., p.14.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad Thomson, op.cit., p. 252..



Alpujarras mountain suffered unmolested dissension. Rebellion targeted victims were not only Christians but also Muslim betrayals who supported and assimilated with Castilian in order to chase away Boabdil from Spain. Also to say, they were not only slaughtering Christian inhabitants but also confiscating their properties. At that time, the so-called Alpujarras rebellion had raised Granada into another veracious war. The insurrection had spread over into adjacent places of Almeria and Castile authority passed through almost a hundred thousand of soldiers to overcome this heroic movement.<sup>23</sup>

The Castilian had expected this condition; because the massive rebellion form Muslims of Granada could be a fair reason for Christian side to justify their agenda in order to thoroughly retract their promises unto Muslims. In succeeding this plan, the monarch declared that Muslim should receive baptism otherwise their status within state would be illegal and as it consequence they must be rooted out from the city. Christians had a deep belief that Muslims were too passionate into their religion so they ought to prefer deportation rather than received baptism which was harmful to their faith.<sup>24</sup> For that continuous revolt, Christian announced that Muslims only had 3 months left for them to, entirely, elaborate into Christianity. Toward this policy, Most of Muslims chose emigration into north Africa such as Fez, Bougie, Oran, Tripoli, Tunis, and other coastal places.<sup>25</sup> However beside so many Muslims who preferred deportation, In other hand, a great number of Muslims preferred to stay in Andalus and in so long duration they pretended to be *Moriscos*,<sup>26</sup> ‘they were Christian in appearance, were not so in their heart; for worship Allah in secret’.<sup>27</sup>

#### b. 1502 – 1570

Even in further 1526 with every discrimination as well as continuous mass-baptism, Muslim in Granada, had never been conquered in terms of their faith. For that reason, the inquisitor disposed the inhabitants of Jaen into Granada in order to

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.63.

<sup>24</sup> Mohammad Enan, op.cit., p.228.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.228.

<sup>26</sup> *Moriscos* commonly identified as the Muslim community who received baptism as Christian after the fall of Granada. However, the terms of *Moriscos* is quietly befuddle since *Moriscos* is, beneath all, kept practicing Islam obligation, but in secret.

<sup>27</sup> Al Maqqari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, Vol.2* (London: W.H. Allen, 2013) 391.

maximize the force of Granadan society. The inquisitor tried to transform Granadan to be more likely Christian by employing its customary methods. It was named as an *edict of grace*, also prohibiting the *Moriscos* between speaking and writing in Arabic, and even to use their Muslim names. The contingency of decree also banned almost entirely every principalities of Islam in thoroughly Muslim's life.

The tortures toward *Moriscos* in the southern Spain by the Church catholic in each measurement of their presence whether as an individual or inside their family or inside their groups, were not stopping. It is generally conceivable and sometimes difficult to appreciate this fact when perusing about the events of the extermination of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. The record about the events, details, pronouncements, and dates sometimes exceed human capacity to explain it.<sup>28</sup>

In the time of Charles V occasion, Muslims begged him for equity and insurance due to some discrimination they received from the inquisitor before which so harmful for them. Regarding of this request, Charles V demanded *Moriscos* to pay 80,000 ducats as the expense, in order to phase out the edict of 1526 (*edict of grace*). But his promise was just like the ones Christian had made to the morisco in term of capitulation of Granada that was so broken.<sup>29</sup> The appointment of Philip II as the master of Spain in 1560 had indicated a fundamental changing within Spanish monarchy into more possessive way and even brought about worse effect of morsicso into more untenable condition. As embodiment of Hapsburg family, Philip II had a huge determination into catholic orthodoxy within Spain by confronting every contra-reformation groups such as protestant, Calvinist, and *Moriscos* as enemy of god.<sup>30</sup> In 1566, Philip II announced a royal decree (*pragmatica*) after having been assessed by the inquisitor general, Cardinal Diego Espinosa. The *pragmatica* generally enacted the prohibition of Moorish dance, song, and music.<sup>31</sup>

The ingredients of the recent edict were too much for the Muslims of Granada and in 1586 the second rebellion of Alpujaras took place in which according to the consequential damage and the destruction scale it had, this catastrophic second war of Granada was even far greater than its prevision.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ahmad Thomson, op.cit.,272

<sup>29</sup> Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Oxford : Backwell Publishing, 2006) 77.

<sup>30</sup> Matthew Carr, op.cit., p.119

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.132.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.141.

Muslims, under the leader Abi Omayya (*Aben Omayya*) assisted by Farax Aben Farax, ransacked onto Christians encampments precisely in single Christmas night and astounded Christians by unexpected raids. But, Muslims were not so fortunate, before they arrived near by the vulnerable bastion of Christian heartland, the snow-flurry came down and the road into Alabycin was in a snow-capped that was so impossible to pass.<sup>33</sup> This condition had made the task of general Mondejar, in crushing down the rebellion, seems to be more easier. Without any doubt, merely in two months the last rebellion of *Moriscos* of southern Spain was thoroughly over.

After the Muslim revolts was over, the inquisitor commanded Don Juan with an assignment of removing a bulk of remaining *Moriscos*, so that any insurrection in the later time had no longer opportunities to exist. Don Juan and his armies went around into quondam zones of the empire of Granada, persecuting whoever opposed them. Perhaps one of the difficult projects that of Don Juan in terms of exterminating *Moriscos* was only emigrating *Moriscos* from Albaycin, the subdivision of the Granadan city into which the *Moriscos* had been administered separately from Christians. With this expulsion of *Moriscos* from Granada, it became a clear-cut that catholic church would never stop unless until the *Moriscos* were unseen in Iberian Peninsula.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Muslim in Northern Spain

### a. 1500 - 1550

The fate that had been received between *mudejar*<sup>35</sup> and *morisco* in the north Spain was slightly different in any aspect. As *mudejars*, Such coexistence always considered the setting of local climate. In Aragon, James I conducted even more moderate policy since thirteenth century onward. While Valencia, even, had their own *leyes de moros* (canon of Muslims) including a handout of legal interaction between Muslims and Christians that minimize the possibility of confrontation.

Something went different when Muslims having diminished, particularly in the North, to bondage, the Church now focused on making them as Christian slaves. The Christian started a coordinated drive in every part of Spain to dispense each one of Muslims who was still practicing the teachings of Islam and every

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p.143.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.292.

<sup>35</sup> *Mudejar* is an appellation toward Muslims, generally in North Spain, who lived under Christian ruler during 12 to 14 centuries.

single one who had not yet been baptized. The country groups of Mudejars in the North of Andalusia were the main targets of this agenda. They had lived respectively in their own groups and even could worship without coercion to become a Christian. When the influence of the church was getting stronger and much more prominent and coupled with the insurrection of Muslims in Granada, the haggling position of the *mudejars* was no more so solid. Exactly one year after riots in Alpujarras, the process of mass-baptism toward *mudejars* was applied massively in the north Spain.

By the beginning of 1526, the entire of the remaining Muslim population of Spain had been baptized thoroughly somehow. It was not in a general way different between Muslims and Christians based on their appearance, the flurry in which the entire operation of baptism had been attempted and had lead to impressive perplexity. The whole Muslim population in Spain was now within the watchfulness of Spanish inquisition, this rule was named *the edict of faith* and the punishment of Muslim discovered worshipping Allah (the lord of Islam) was a death penalty. So that no more groups of Muslim carrying out Islamic obligation in the northern piece of Andalusia in outright.<sup>36</sup>

#### b. 1570 - 1606

After *Moriscos* uprising in 1570 (Apujarras revolt), an inquisition was in a holding pattern for almost in ten years. Tribunal addressed their attention to eastern part of Spain.<sup>37</sup> In the northern and eastern were never obtained the same fate (in terms of persecution) with that of Muslim in Granada and its neighbouring cities. Meanwhile they settled down in separate place to Christian society, however, a repression was never as high as that of Granada. The nobleman of Valencia, for instance, had undeniable role in protecting *Moriscos* in country. They guaranteed *morsicos* freedom in country was as long as they never stop to render serial profit into the labour. There was even a deep-belief within noble man of Valencia ‘the more moor, the more profit’ or ‘who ever has a moor, has a gold’.<sup>38</sup> Yet, the freedom was no longer bestowed whereupon in span period of 1566 – 1614 *Moriscos* should have been exterminated due to tribunal demand (based on Turkish-paranoid attack as well as the insurrection of Barbary corsair in North

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<sup>36</sup> Ahmad Thomson, op.cit., p.272.

<sup>37</sup> Helen Rawlings, op.cit., p.81.

<sup>38</sup> Matthew Carr, op.cit., p.42

African harbour). Thus why, by the end of sixteenth century moriscos position in entire peninsula was in untenable position.<sup>39</sup>

To consider a failing series in converting moors and the need to perform actionable measure to establish a modern state of Spain in soon, in 1580 the option of driving out Muslims from Iberian Peninsula was issued in tribunal convention and in 1591 the issue reached the way of its fast-moving. Pope Clement VIII declared the final royal decree in 1601, by giving the remaining moors eight months to apologize for their sin as secret Muslim believer and All Muslims were under best close inquiry or even in more going-over custody. During the given times, accordingly only thirteen *Moriscos* from the whole population who repented and forswore (choose to be baptized). Having no other choices, in the 1602 pope Clement V proclaim the need of exterminating *Moriscos* for the sake of state welfare.<sup>40</sup>

Generally, the inquisition tribunal (either from church contingent or from statesman), in perceiving Pope exclamation, carried out into an unavoidable debate. The majority of tribunal had decided to embody 'expulsion option' as the most finery choices. But some of them did not expect the *Moriscos* expulsion as the final decision or as a course of action to consent or to concur in. One of tribunal member who was disagree with the act of exterminating, was Gaspar de Cordova. He to deplore the domination of political intrigue took place in decision-making process. He himself, with an inquisitor general, Cardinal Fernando Nino de Guevara refused in any violent approach series in dealing with *Moriscos*. In 1606, Pedro de Valencia also condemned the use of holy exclamation to fortify the political goal and he also criticised that the failure in converting *Moriscos* to fully-absorbed was due to a lack of freedom guaranteed to Muslim since the first time Christian ruled them.<sup>41</sup>

### 3. The Moriscos Expulsion

The plan of exterminating Moriscos from Christian society was under serious consideration. In January and October of 1607, senior ministers of Valencia convened and agreed the necessity of revising tribunal (under some members of religious order) method to doctrine Moriscos with a catholic faith. In subsequent convention, in January 1608, almost the entire of attendants in a state council

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<sup>39</sup> Helen Rawlings, op.cit., p.81.

<sup>40</sup> Helen Rawlings, op.cit., Ibid., p.82.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.83.

session to vote Moriscos expulsion considering Moriscos revolt from French and Algerian adherents in 1605 and backed off by personal interest for both Duke of Lermak, who had a political advantage. Notwithstanding some theologian of Valencia such as Bishop of Orihuela and Tortusa de Segorbe protested to Pope V invoking the continuation of heart-to-heart preaching. In any case, the pope was as steadfast as a rock in his decision, so that by April of 1609, for the first time, represented by Philip III, the tribunal declared the formal decree to expulse Moriscos.

22 September of 1609 Valencia was the pioneer to enact Moriscos annihilation from their city. Accordingly in the span period of 1609 up until 1611, total amount of 135 Moriscos were deported to African shores to seek for a better asylum. This policy was further followed by Castile, Extremadura, La Maricha, Andalusia, Murcia, Catalonia, and Aragon and by the end of 1611, around 300.000 in totally forced to leave Spain<sup>42</sup> (or even more?).

After Moriscos expulsion had already arrived in its summit, some historian lamented about the emergence of a highly-mentioned problem in the state. In Valencia, 23% of inhabitants had suffered agricultural and economic downturn and its city revenue was drastically went-down for 40% lost in a year<sup>43</sup>. Castile almost had a similar problem including demographic and agrarian as untamed crisis, while, in the same boat, Zaragoza's income was down outrange unto 48%. In eastern part of Andalus, the economic instability was to become major problem to resolve also. The tribunal soon look for better solution in resolving the on-going problem, by increasing expulsion fees and its compensation even in unreasonable amount. However, the final event that of in Andalus become the mark-point of Spanish failure and ignorance to maintain the diversity within country due to a pragmatic interest.

Nobody contended to see this utopian society ceased dramatically. It had been their homeland after some heroic stampede in past centuries. Yet, some Moriscos expected to have a small setback and wished they could re-conquer Spain again. Even after their expulsion, many of them tried to cross back into Iberian Peninsula and resettle down a similar former homes and societies. These efforts almost always went by the board, beside that, Muslim leaders in North Africa and East Asia, were unable to do much help to assist them tough the sufficient supplies of hundreds thousands of asylum seeker were guaranteed. In many ways, the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.85.

Moriscos in northern Africa and other areas in Europe had spent a lot of time to negotiate with the indigenous communities. This was because they still felt reminisce with Andalus, their unique character as well as they did not want to forget their former glory that by now was in the past.<sup>44</sup>

### C. Moriscos Extermination In Terms Of Genocide

There are five lists of acts fitted into the criteria of genocide which aim to annihilating an ethnical, racial, or religious group. Those are:<sup>45</sup>

1. Killing members of the group;
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
3. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
5. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

In determining whether a *Moriscos* expulsion was a part of genocide or not, There are, at least, three considerable elements: the group, act, and intent element, that ought to be validated in order to show that genocide is appearing. However, thus requires a profound inquiry and a prima-facie evidence, otherwise it would prove nothing.

#### • Moriscos as Enumerated Groups

In dictionary of the royal Spanish academy (*diccionario de la real academia Espanola*) DRAE, defines *Moriscos*<sup>46</sup> as “Muslims who at the time of restoration of Spain remained behind baptized”. One might having improper value in this definition, it is the objectivity of this historical accuracy, that in fact, questionable. It would clearly be advisable, indeed important, to put after those who “baptized” with a word ‘forcefully’ due to almost all Moriscos were *unwilling* converts.

Another misconception toward Moriscos is about their religious identity. Although they were Christians in appearance, but in *de facto* manner, they were Muslims, due to their perseverance in carrying out Islamic obligation through clandestine. There are some statements that indeed, revealing the Moriscos identity in such; Charles V said, on his travel to Granada “the *Moriscos* are truly moors. It

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<sup>44</sup> <http://lostislamichistory.com/spains-forgotten-muslims-the-expulsion-of-the> Moriscos. Retrieved 25 october 2015

<sup>45</sup> Allard Lowenstein International Human Right Clinic, *Persecution of The Rohingya Muslims* (Newyork : Yale Law School, for Fortify Right, 2005) 35.

was twenty seven years since their conversion and there are twenty or even seven of them who are Christian”, Al Maqqari on his magnificent book commented ‘they were Christian in appearance, were not so in their heart; for worship Allah in secret’, and also Lope de Vega In 1599, lamented that “these Moriscos are just as much Moors (Muslims) as the people in Algiers”.

Since *morisco* was Muslim, but in secret, to indentify morisco pinpoint of existence in Andalus is more easier. As Muslims, morisco has been in Andalus since almost a thousand years ago and it has to be borne in mind that between Christians as well as Muslim would have had thoroughly intermingled. In doing so, a cultural exchange, therefore, was inevitable. Muslim in Spain spoke Arabic as their origin language, but some of them, in the frontier places, spoke *Castelanos* (Spanish-Catalan language) and in other hand, a great number of Christian inhabitant spoke a classic-Arabic too, because at that time, Arabic was one the prestigious language. In addition, there was also *Leila* and *Zambra* dance<sup>47</sup>, which performed by both Muslim and Christian in some ceremonies. However, this cultural mixing was easy to found in Andalus hither and thither.<sup>48</sup>.

## 1. The “Acts” Element of Genocide Crime

### a. Auto-de-Fe as an action of killing Moriscos member

On account of Moriscos, especially before the time of their expulsion, Moriscos had turned into an object of homicide by Spanish *auto de fe*. It is basically a customary trial from inquisition to compel heresies (Muslim, Jews, and Protestant) realizing and repenting from their sins after having rejected roman faith (Christianity).<sup>49</sup>

In the beginning of its activity, auto-de-fe was merely a customary event upheld by inquisition tribunal in order to entertain the audience with a solemn ceremony. However in its development, the inquisition began to enwrap it as a show of heresy that reconciled into catholic behaviour. The first auto-de-fe was in 1486 in which more than one hundred Muslims and also Jews was as the victims of thus diabolical event.<sup>50</sup> According to Hernando del Pulgar, as long as

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<sup>47</sup> It was a traditional dance, usually held in nighttime, to celebrate whether a marriage reception or another religious event. On the modern world this dance is well-known as a Moorish dance.

<sup>48</sup> L.P. Harvey, op.cit., p.45.

<sup>49</sup> Muhammad Enan, op.cit., p.230.

<sup>50</sup> Ahmad Thomson, op.cit., p.234.



1490, the Spanish inquisition had combusted, at least, 2000 Muslims including Jews. In spite of that, Andres Benaldez on account of Seville said that no less than ten years after 1480, the inquisition burned 700 Muslims, this number did not include the number of Muslims who died while receiving a corporeal punishment in prison.<sup>51</sup>

By the time of 1528 to 1530, more than 100 Moriscos being caught carrying out the rituals of Islam in outright. In further year, there were 45 Moriscos accused as heresy and furthermore in 1532 up until 1540 a total of heresy acts summed up in the figure of 441. All of those accused were sent to burn in public. In addition, in Valencia during twelve years duration between 1528 up to 1540, accordingly, there was an average of a single Moriscos burned per-week in public.

At the heart of the matter, to determine the overall number of Muslims who were being killed on the turn of events is not possible, except for the amount that is in Valencia. And it also must be underlined that a lot of Moriscos who had been killed during their torture in prison. Both Inquisitor and the royal monarch of Spain always keep this incident as something that is confidential, therefore the official accounts never put this mass-extinction event into an official document.<sup>52</sup>

#### **b. Causing Serious Bodily Or Mental Harm To Moriscos**

Relating to the Muslim extermination project, Christians not only compeled baptism and expulsion, but rather conducted some acts of violence perpetrated by some Inquisitor tribunal. In terms of mental harm, in thoroughly their life, Muslims in Spain always suffered an unstoppable torture. On account of bodily harm, according to Ragheeb Asserjani, Muslim who was found practicing islamic rites, therefore, suffered a heavy sanctions. The inquisitor put them into jail and tortured them without any sense of humanity. They poured water continuously into Muslims stomach so that they were bloated, in addition, The inquisitor also attached a heated machete to the whole body of Muslim, slashed their leg and cut their tongue, broke their jaw-bone, and buried them in alive. In other hand, the tribunal also had ‘a pool of torture’

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p.236.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.274

filled with a boiling water.<sup>53</sup> Along these lines, the torment of the Moriscos meets the legitimate standard for the precluded demonstration of "causing bodily or mental harm".

### **c. Imposing Measures Intended To Prevent Births Within Moriscos**

Many Christians like Don Alorise Gutierrez and Pedro Aznar Cardona reprehend to Islamic 'polygamy' tradition within Moriscos, that, therefore, would boost their baby-born growth in soon. In other hand, the tradition for both of Moriscos women and men to wed before adolescence, based on Cardona's critic, was merely a camouflage to double or even triple Moriscos population in Spain. With a galloping increase of Moriscos population, Spain monarch had a certain fear within that might be in further decade, Moriscos could overpopulate in Spain. In doing so, Spain monarch formulated an edict 'called *castration*' that contained a highly-amount of marriage expense and that their babies-born would be handed as a slave of Christians. Moreover, Garcia de Loaysa, the archbishop of Toledo in 1598, opted that morisco was not permitted to marrying with their own communities, instead, they should marry to an old Christians (with no Jews, or Muslims ancestors).<sup>54</sup>

### **d. Forcibly Transferring Moriscos Children To Christian Inhabitants**

After receiving a *pragmatica* order in July 1501, Muslims of Castile and Leon preferred to leave Andalus rather than remained and accepted baptism. In their departure from Spanish land, Castilian monarch banned Muslim to carry out their properties and also their children under the age of twelve, in order to transfer them into Christian family. Their children would be sent to catholic school in Castile and raised under Christian upbringing.<sup>55</sup> In further decade, after the Aben Aboo's revolt in Granada, the similar case occurred. Philip III, the reigning monarch, prohibited the enslavement of Muslim children under ten-year old and handed them over Christian family.

Similar transferring Moriscos children accident even had happened in earlier period, when a mass baptism of Muslim was upheld in Castile. Isabel,

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<sup>53</sup> Raghib As-Sirjani, *Bangkit dan Runtuhnya Andalusia* (Jakarta : Pustaka Al-kaustar, 2013) 825.

<sup>54</sup> Henry C. Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain : Their Conversion and Expulsion*. (London: Macmillan, 1901) 293.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.154.

in order to strengthening the process of acquisition, separating Muslim children under the age of fourteenth for males and under the ages of twelve for women to be brought up into Christian school. This decree, accordingly, had already spread over in most areas of north Spain since the last fourteenth century.<sup>56</sup>

#### **e. Moriscos Expulsion as physical destruction**

Between 1609 up until 1614, Spain was undergoing a final mass annihilation of Moriscos. The estimation of the number of Muslims who being displaced from Spain are enormous and the range of the number delivered by the contemporary authors are too diverse to be used as an accurate conclusion. Guadalajara for instance, assumes between 400,000 and 600,000 numbers of Moriscos were expelled from Spain while Navarrete infer around 3,000,000 Moriscos who had been emigrated forcefully from a different time, this numbers in which adopted by Gil Gonzalez Davila, a personal assistant of Philip III and IV. Von der Hammer downsizes the number of displaced into galleys alone to about 310,000, while Alfonso Sanchez upsizes the amounts up to 900,000. In the present era, Liorente in the same amount with Janer estimates one million, whose 100,000 being subjugated and 900 000 were all deported. Vicente de la Fuente on the other hand gives only about 120,000 inhabitants, while Dan villa y Collado after comparing with the amount contained in an official document, finally concludes that not more than 500,000 of Muslims were expelled from Spain. Thus fore-mentioned numbers exclude the numbers of children due to a lack of authoritative source.

Toward this expulsion, Mathew Carr describes that “many of Moriscos deportees were sick, starving, and traumatized by two years savage of conflict. Widows and war orphans, old and sick people barely able to walk, and very young children all formed part of grim exodus that was reminiscent of the nineteenth-century forced relocation of the Cherokee Indians as the Trail of Tears”. Moreover, “there were not enough carts to ground, so that even the least physically able Moriscos were obliged to walk an average of miles a day in exceptionally cold and inclement weather. Many Moriscos died in hunger, illness, or exposure as they trekked across the mountain and plain of Castile; they were buried in Shallow graves by the road side”.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ahmad Thomson, op.cit., p.260.

<sup>57</sup> Mathew Carr, opcit., p.160 – 161.

## 2. The “Intent” Element of Genocide Crime

### a. Anti-Moriscos Sentiment

The establishment of anti-Moriscos sentiment or crypto-Islam within Spanish monarchy occurred even in earlier time than the fall of Granada. It was Catherine of Lancaster, Isabel’s mother from England, who declared ‘law of Catalina’ as a legal jurisdiction in Castile. The law prohibited every mutual relation between Christian and Muslim, whether in economical enterprise or merely in social activity. It also demanded Moors (Muslims) to live separately from Christian settlement in order to downsize the possibility of religious contamination. In subsequent year, an Avignon Papacy, a monk of Saint Vicente announced that ‘Christian and infidel should not dwell together in the same house (area) for it is an evil which is contagious.’<sup>58</sup>

In 1546, notwithstanding Philip, in his first beginning period in ruling Spain, was contra to the *Limpeza* doctrine which currently acted by Archbishop of Toledo. He, however, in ten years later, used *limpeza* doctrine as his ‘instrument of ruling’ in order to fortify his power in Spain. He, then, added the object of *Limpeza* doctrine not merely Jews but also Muslim. Both of them, so to say, were pollution into a blue-blood of Christians, in as much as an actionable measure was a must-have option to suppress them. Thus blood purity had a tremendous participation from every element within Spanish kingdom, including a cathedral and military power.<sup>59</sup>

### b. Available evidence of Intent Effort to bring about physical destruction on Moriscos

Records and the activities of the central government or local ruler in attempt to decrease the development of the Moriscos numbers and ascertained to achieve the physical decimation of Moriscos. In September 1523, Tribunal of Inquisition announced a royal decree targeting both Moriscos as well as Moriscos women (*morisca*) relating to their day-to-day exercise. A decree compelled *morisca* to abandon their morisca ‘*almafas*’ dress (due to it links with prostitution) and also avoid them in performing Islamic traditional dance. In other hand, for Moriscos men, in the Friday, they obliged to open their doors and in their marriage reception. A royal chapel congregation also listed several regulations to all morisco in generally. They were forced to speak

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<sup>58</sup> Mathew Carr, op.cit., p.29

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.120.

Castilian and to abandon their Arabic dialect even in their settlement. And instead of giving their born-babies with Arabic name, they demanded to use a Spanish name whatsoever. Another edict namely *edict of faith* also announced in 1566 by Spanish monarch, including similar prohibition actions albeit in more oppressive warning.

## CONCLUSION

The emergence of political based fragmentation (*mulukuththawaif*), the defeat of Almohad in the battle of Las Navas, and the internal conflicts in Granada, are responsible for Spanish Islam downfall especially for Granadan empire. However after the collapse of Granada up to the expulsion-project taking place in between 1609 to 1614, Muslims under the domination of Christians suffered some mistreatments. Only if occurring in modern era, thus massive, brutal, and barbaric expulsion of Muslim in Spain, indeed, could be included into the genocide action.

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