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The Spanish policy toward the Moriscos after the fall of Granada

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Abstract:

After the fall of Granada in 1492 and the signing of the 67 surrender terms—none of which were honored by the Spaniards the Moriscos were subjected to various forms of torture and persecution. It is estimated that three million Muslims suffered after the fall of Granada. The Spaniards carried out these actions in the name of Jesus Christ, who came with a message of love and peace, not injustice, oppression, and persecution, as witnessed during this dark period in the history of Spain and Europe as a whole .

After all attempts to integrate the Moriscos or convert them into Christian citizens following the Catholic faith failed, the only solution was to expel them completely from Andalusia and Europe. They migrated to the Maghreb in its geographical divisions (the Far Maghreb, Central Maghreb, and Near Maghreb), carrying with them their belongings, intellect, and scientific, literary, and artistic contributions—elements deeply connected to both their old homeland and their new lands. Their presence enriched and benefited their new societies, contributing significantly to the development of culture and civilization in various fields, including science, economics, architecture, society, and the arts.

Keywords: Moriscos, Expulsion, Andalusia.

Introduction:

Al-Andalus was one of the centers of cultural enlightenment during the golden ages of Islam, as its radiance extended over Europe at a time when the continent was groaning under the dominance of the Church and languishing in ignorance and darkness.

The Islamic presence in Al-Andalus lasted for over eight centuries, during which Muslims added a new chapter of glory and greatness, founded on piety and divine approval. This strength fortified Andalusian civilization. However, internal conflicts among the heirs of Ali Abu al-Hasan, the last ruler of Granada, led to the gradual fall of Muslim cities, one after another, into Christian hands. Córdoba fell first in 1236, followed by Valencia in 1238, then Játiva and Dénia in 1248. The fall of Seville marked the collapse of the remaining Islamic strongholds, including Cádiz, Sidonia, Sanlúcar, Algeciras, Jerez, and others.

The long-standing conflict between Muslims and Spaniards ultimately resulted in most Andalusian territories falling into enemy hands. The Islamic domain shrank until it was confined to the Kingdom of Granada, which managed to withstand Christian offensives for two and a half centuries. However, after the unification of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile through the

marriage of their Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, they successfully seized the last Muslim stronghold.

With the fall of Granada, a painful and tragic era began for a defeated people at the mercy of a treacherous enemy that broke its agreements clause by clause. Muslims were prohibited from speaking Arabic, and their books were gathered in the city's largest square and burned—despite their immense scientific value, representing the pinnacle of human intellectual achievement. The oppression did not stop there; the Muslim Arabs were also forced to leave Al-Andalus altogether.

The suffering of the Andalusians began immediately after the signing of the surrender treaty and the handover of Granada by Abu Abdullah (Boabdil) to the Spaniards. He mistakenly believed that King Ferdinand would keep his promises and guarantee the freedom and protection of Andalusian Muslims, particularly in religious matters, as stipulated in the 1492 treaty.

However, as soon as the treaty was signed and Abu Abdullah left Andalusian lands, the Spanish authorities began devising plans to tighten their grip on Muslims, either by forcing them to convert to Christianity and assimilate or by expelling them. The fall of Granada had profound consequences, not only for the fate and struggles of the Moriscos—who faced Crusader hatred and fanaticism—but also for the political future of the entire Maghreb region.

The Moriscos and the Inquisition:

Definition of the Moriscos:

Historians have debated the exact meaning of the term **Moriscos**. Many believe that the word has Latin and Greek origins, derived from the term **Mauri**, which was used to describe a group of dark-skinned people. It originates from the word **Amaurus**, from which the term **Moro** — meaning "dark-skinned"—was also derived.

Dr. Hussein Moanes traces the origin of the word back to the Roman era, stating that it comes from **Mauri**, meaning "those under Christian rule." From this root, the name **Mauretania** emerged. Over time, the term **Mauri** evolved into the Spanish **Moro**, which came to mean "Arab" or "Muslim," often accompanied by the phrase **Vasallos Moros**, meaning "subject Arabs" (Yahyaw, 2004, pp. 42–43).

In terms of meaning, the **Moriscos** were the remnants of a people shaped by over eight centuries of complete integration. Their long history in Spain gave them a deep attachment to the land, surpassing any other form of identity. Forcibly removing them was akin to uprooting them from the very soil that had sustained them (Hammadi, 2011, p. 23).

The term also referred to Muslims who outwardly converted to Christianity while secretly maintaining their Islamic faith. Muslims referred to them as **Los Moricos**, meaning "the little Muslims."

The **Moriscos** formed a strong, cohesive community known for its solidarity, intelligence, and cultural contributions. By the late 16th century, the Venetian ambassador estimated their population at around 600,000, while other sources placed their numbers at 400,000 (Shatshat, 2001, p. 98).

Generally, a **Morisco** was a Muslim who remained in Spain after the fall of Granada and secretly preserved their faith. Author **Mary Elizabeth Perry** defines the **Moriscos** as Muslims who were

left with no choice but to convert to Christianity or abandon their homes in the Iberian Peninsula during the early 16th century. They were not only forced to replace their Islamic culture with Spanish Christian traditions but also had to endure increasing oppression until the final expulsion order in 1610 (**García, 2004, p. 12**).

Historian **Mohammed Abdullah Anan** explains that **Moriscos** is the diminutive form of **Moro** , meaning "small Muslims" or "young Arabs," symbolizing the decline and downfall of the Andalusian nation (**Anan, 1997, p. 322**).

From an operational perspective, **the Moriscos** were the forcibly converted Muslims who remained in Spain after the fall of Granada in 1492. They endured extreme persecution under the brutal policies of the Spanish Inquisition, being forced to publicly embrace Christianity while secretly holding onto their faith. This continued until their expulsion from Spain in 1616.

Definition of the Inquisition:

The **Inquisition** differed from ordinary courts in several ways. It specialized in a specific type of crime—acts deemed heretical by the Church. It also prosecuted individuals belonging to particular religious groups, including Christians, even if they had converted under duress. Unlike regular courts, which relied on complaints to initiate cases, the Inquisition actively sought out heretics, conducting investigations without awaiting formal accusations (**Same Reference, p. 7**).

Inquisitorial courts were established in France, Italy, Germany, Aragon, and Portugal , with a primary focus on persecuting Jews and Muslims (**Mazhar, 1947, p. 75**).

The Inquisition aimed to forcefully convert Muslims under the supervision of the Church, employing extreme violence, innovative methods of torture, and relentless persecution. Over time, these courts became more powerful, particularly when they recognized the financial wealth of their victims. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact date of their inception, the idea of investigating religious beliefs emerged early. During the Third Lateran Council in 1179 , Pope Alexander III ordered the pursuit of heretics, the confiscation of their property, and even their enslavement. By the early 13th century , papal envoys traveled across Europe to track down heretics, convening temporary Church councils, which later evolved into the Inquisition . Over time, its jurisdiction expanded beyond persecuting heretics and infidels to include witches and Jews , who were accused of **blasphemy and usury** (**Same Reference, p. 76**).

The Spanish Inquisition was officially established under the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella . In 1478 (883 AH), they sought papal approval to implement the Inquisition in Spain, and by 1480 , the first Inquisition tribunal was founded in Seville . It launched its terrifying operations in Castile , targeting Conversos (converted Jews) . In **February 1482** , Ferdinand and Isabella secured another papal decree that led to the establishment of additional courts in Córdoba, Jaén, Segovia, Toledo, and Valladolid . By 1483 , another decree created the Suprema , a supreme council with absolute authority over religious matters.

Following the 1502 decree of forced conversion , the Inquisition intensified its persecution of the Moriscos , subjecting them to severe scrutiny and brutal repression (**Razouk, 1992, pp. 61–62**).

Spanish Policy Toward the Moriscos:

After agreeing to 67 conditions , the Muslims of Granada , the last stronghold of Islam in Al-Andalus , surrendered to the Christians on Rabi' al-Awwal 2, 897 AH (January 2, 1492 CE) . Among the conditions stipulated by the people of Granada in their agreement with the Christian monarchs was a guarantee of safety for their lives, lands, women, children, livestock, property, gardens, and farms . They were also promised exemption from any taxes except for zakat and ushr (Islamic levies) if they chose to remain in Granada. Those who wished to leave for any Muslim lands, such as Morocco , were allowed to sell their properties at fair prices to Muslims or Christians and transport their belongings without coercion. Furthermore, the Christian monarch issued a written declaration confirming these guarantees, pledging under strict religious oaths to uphold all agreed-upon conditions (**Unknown Author, 2002, p. 41**).

Once these agreements were finalized, they were publicly read to the people of Granada, who felt reassured and submitted to Christian rule. They wrote their pledge of allegiance and sent it to the King of Castile , granting him permission to enter Granada and the Alhambra Palace . In response, King Ferdinand acknowledged their submission with a veiled tone of superiority, saying:

"...Do not doubt our promises, nor the friendship you will receive from us, which will bring you prosperity after the devastation of war..." (**Irgang, 2000, p. 406**).

It is worth noting that when the Spanish Christians entered Granada—the last remnant of Arab-Islamic sovereignty in Al-Andalus—they deliberately emphasized the Crusader nature of this tragic end for the Muslims. They raised the Christian cross atop the highest tower of the Alhambra Palaces alongside the flag of Saint James , while monks chanted religious hymns glorifying Saint James (**Arslan, 1924, p. 231**).

Soon after, the Christians began looting wealth, converting mosques, and destroying homes . In addition to these actions, Muslims suffered under the lash, fire, execution, and exile . Thus, the Andalusian tragedy concluded with the fall of Granada , the last Islamic city in Spain, marking the beginning of a systematic policy against the remaining Muslims (**Shatshat, Same Reference, p. 68**).

Violation of the Treaty of Granada:

King Ferdinand initially granted the Muslims of Granada in particular, and Al-Andalus in general, the right to emigrate to Morocco . He even provided ships along the coast for their passage. Consequently, many Muslims began selling their homes and properties at extremely low prices , including their gardens, farms, and vineyards , often for less than the value of a single harvest . Some of these properties were purchased by Christians , while others were bought by Muslims who intended to remain in Spain (**Unknown Author, Same Reference, p. 403**).

During this period, the Christian king appeared to treat the Muslims with respect and fairness . He even relieved them of certain taxes and restrained his subjects from attacking them. However, this was merely a deceptive tactic to facilitate their gradual Christianization .

After seven years , Ferdinand realized that many Muslims had abandoned their plans to emigrate and were determined to stay in their homeland while preserving their faith . At this point, he began systematically violating the treaty, clause by clause , until the Muslims lost their legal protections

and fell into humiliation and suffering . Their condition deteriorated so drastically that the words of Musa ibn Abi Ghassan were proven true:

".....Do not deceive yourselves into believing that the Christians will honor their treaty... They are ruthless in war, and they will be merciless when they hold power." (**Arslan, Same Reference, p. 231**).

Failed Attempts at Christianization and Assimilation :

The Mudéjars were Muslims who remained under Christian rule in Al-Andalus . This term referred to those who chose to stay in their homeland and accepted life under Christian rulers and clergy , despite losing their rights . Many of them settled in Valencia , which became a refuge for around 30,000 displaced Muslims (**Al-Suwaidan, 2005, p. 397**).

These Muslims had no political authority to represent them and were treated merely as subjects under Christian rule . The Christian authorities sought to forcibly assimilate and integrate them , aiming to erase their religious and cultural identity . The goal was to eliminate any separatist minority and force them into a Christian-dominated society , which the Moriscos (forcibly converted Muslims) considered foreign to their spiritual and cultural heritage (**Hammadi, Same Reference, p. 30**).

Under the pressure of violence and torture , some Muslims pretended to convert to Christianity to avoid persecution. The ruling authorities made deliberate efforts to erase all traces of Islam , forcing Muslims to wear Christian clothing, hats, and trousers , and abandon their customs . For instance, Cardinal Cisneros (Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros) attempted to convert all Muslims and Jews . It is said that he forced 50,000 Muslims to adopt Christianity , initiating mass baptisms and compelling them to perform Christian rituals , even in weddings and other ceremonies (**Qutb, 1985, p. 47**).

Following the 1502 decree , Muslims in Castile and León were given an ultimatum: convert to Christianity or leave . The decree stipulated that by April of that year , no male over the age of 14 or female over 12 could remain in Castile and León unless they converted . Those who refused to convert were expelled, while those who stayed were forcibly baptized , adding approximately 500,000 new converts to the Christian population. However, their conversions were purely superficial , driven by the decree rather than genuine religious conviction, and they remained Muslims in secret (**García, Same Reference, p. 26**).

To justify their forced conversions, the Christian authorities argued that any Christian who had converted to Islam should be forcibly returned to Christianity . They even went further, claiming that if a Muslim's ancestor had been a Christian before converting to Islam, then that Muslim should also revert to Christianity . This mass Christianization affected both the elite and the common people , with the most aggressive efforts centered in Granada , particularly in the **Albayzín** neighborhood. However, this forced religious shift left these persecuted minorities in a state of deep confusion , as noted by Bishop Francesca , who remarked:

"These poor souls have reached such a level of confusion that they no longer know whether they are Muslims or Christians."

The remaining spiritual practices of the Andalusian minority were reduced to empty, mechanical rituals, as constant surveillance and oppression stripped them of their deeper religious significance (**Hammadi, Same Reference, p. 31**).

The Ban on the Arabic Language and the Inquisitorial Persecutions:

In 1595, Bishop Esteban of Orihuela, in southeastern Spain, declared that conquered peoples must adopt the language of their rulers in order to remain loyal to the empire. However, due to persecution, surveillance, and repression, Arabic was reduced to an informal dialect, used mainly in vain supplications and expressions, preventing its speakers from fully engaging with the Qur'an and Islamic teachings. Nonetheless, some scholars and religious figures preserved the Arabic language through memorization and teaching of the Qur'an (**Same Reference, pp. 31–32**).

Morisco writings continued to include marriage and trade contracts, maintaining Arabic names. Scholars primarily taught in Arabic, not only in religious fields but also in medicine, science, and other disciplines (**Same Reference, p. 38**).

Church authorities recognized the inseparable link between the Arabic language and Islam. This realization led the Royal Council in 1595 to issue a decree aiming at the eradication of Arabic. Moriscos were forced to attend Christian schools to learn Castilian Spanish. The 1608 decree was even harsher, banning Arabic entirely. Possessing Arabic writings became a criminal offense, leading to severe punishment by the Spanish Inquisition. Simply owning an Arabic book could result in execution or imprisonment. Upon the Christian conquest of Granada, one million Arabic books were burned. The Inquisition also banned Muslims from carrying even small knives, fearing resistance (**Kurd, 1923, p. 138**).

Several other laws targeted Muslims, especially between 1511 and 1526. In 1508, a royal decree regulated Morisco clothing, followed by five documents in 1511 that restricted certain cultural practices, including slaughtering animals according to Islamic rites. Three additional decrees dictated baptism and marriage rules, as Christian authorities sought total control over Morisco life (**Dominguer Hertz, 1988, p. 25**).

In 1501, a royal decree banned Muslims from residing in the Kingdom of Granada and prohibited contact between them and other communities, fearing it would delay their forced conversion. On February 12, 1502, another royal order required all Muslims aged 14 and older to leave Granada by May. Furthermore, a September 12, 1502 decree forbade Muslims from selling or transferring their properties, leaving them with no means of livelihood (**Qutb, Same Reference, p. 45**).

The Inquisition's Persecution of Muslims, Jews, and Even Christians:

The Inquisition Tribunal used these laws as pretexts to justify its persecution of Muslims, accusing them of violating the decrees. However, its oppression extended beyond Muslims to include Jews and even Christians, whom they accused of abandoning Catholicism. The tribunal's motives were purely materialistic, unrelated to religion. It sought to seize the wealth of affluent Andalusian Muslim families.

The Inquisition went so far as to prosecute Christians who showed sympathy toward the Moriscos . In 1542 , Don Rodrigo de Beaumont , a nobleman from Navarre , was sentenced for his compassion toward converts . Similarly, the Admiral of the Kingdom of Aragon, Sancho de Córdoba , was accused of heresy and atheism . He was imprisoned and eventually died in a monastery as an elderly man (**Mazhar, Same Reference, p. 48**).

The Inquisition's cruelty knew no bounds . It imprisoned, tortured, and forcibly converted Muslims , taking their children from them . The most horrifying methods included burning people alive and executing them . The Spanish saw the Inquisition as a way to preserve their racial and religious purity , believing that the unity of Spain could only be achieved by expelling the Jews in 1492 , the same year Granada fell, and then by expelling the Moriscos starting in 1610 (**Garcia, p. 209**).

The Spanish historian **Juan Antonio Llorente** compiled four volumes documenting the atrocities committed by the Inquisition before his death in 1823 . His records, based on official Spanish court documents , revealed heartbreaking stories of the victims . He reported that:

- 31,912 Andalusian men and women were burned alive .
- 271,150 people were fined .
- The total number of victims of the Inquisition reached 303,362 Andalusians .

Llorente, who served as the Secretary General of the Inquisition Court in Madrid , published his book in Paris (1817–1818) . According to his findings, the Inquisition continued burning Muslims until 1769 .

The Inquisition was ultimately abolished in 1808 by Joseph Bonaparte , the French king of Spain , who was installed by his brother Napoleon Bonaparte after the removal of King Ferdinand VII . Napoleon also arrested and imprisoned Pope Pius VII , as the Papacy had strongly supported and financed the Inquisition (**Al-Digham, 2000, p. 21**).

The Expulsion of the Moriscos:

The Christians of Spain did not reciprocate the high level of civilization and tolerance that Muslims had shown them. There was a vast difference between the way Muslim rulers treated the Christians of Spain during the Islamic conquest and the Umayyad rule, and the blind fanaticism that characterized the Christian Crusader assault on Al-Andalus , which was fully supported by the Church of Rome (**Qujja, 1985, p. 216**).

Muslims treated the "People of the Book" (Christians and Jews) with honor , granting them protection and privileges in accordance with Islamic law . Allah commanded the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) to call people to Islam through wisdom and good preaching . The purpose of Islamic teachings was to spread goodness on earth, guide people to their Creator, and uphold justice —not to corrupt the land, shed innocent blood, or humiliate human beings (**Houmad, 1985, p. 216**).

Allah Almighty says:

﴿ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحُكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ﴾ _ "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction." _ (An-Nahl, 125)

Allah disapproves of forcing religion upon people. Instead, He commands that the message of faith be spread through kindness and persuasion, without coercing people to abandon their beliefs—even if they worship stones and idols. This principle is affirmed in His words:

﴿لا إكراه في الدين﴾ _ "There is no compulsion in religion." _ (Al-Baqarah, 256)

Muslims implemented the **jizya** (a tax levied on non-Muslim subjects) following the Quranic directive:

﴿قاتلوا الذين لا يؤمنون بالله وباليوم الآخر ولا يحرمون ما حرم الله ورسوله ولا يدينون دين الحق من الذين أوتوا الكتاب حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون﴾

_ "Fight those who do not believe in Allah or the Last Day, who do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, and who do not follow the religion of truth among the People of the Book, until they pay the jizya with willing submission and feel subdued." _ (At-Tawbah, 29)

As for the Spaniards, the matter was entirely different when it came to the Moriscos. They were seen as a thorn and an obstacle to Spanish unity. The idea of expelling them first emerged in 1582, and by September 1609, the remaining Arabs in Valencia, Andalusia, Murcia, Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia were expelled. In 1610, the king officially approved their deportation. (Al-Turki, 1994, p. 375).

The implementation of the deportation order began on April 17, 1610 , and included the following provisions:

1. Explanation of the reasons behind the issuance of the deportation decree.
2. The grace period given to the Moriscos before enforcement.
3. Specification of the belongings and possessions the Moriscos were permitted to take with them.
4. Designation of gathering points before deportation.
5. Determination of embarkation ports for exile routes.
6. The deportation deadline was set at three days after the decree was announced.

Unfortunately, even after their expulsion and their journey toward Islamic lands such as North Africa, Egypt, and Turkey, the Spaniards pursued them at sea, attacking their ships, looting, and killing. This act reflects nothing but the deep-seated ****Crusader hostility**** toward Muslims. (Hammadi, previous reference, p. 104).

Forms of Morisco Resistance:

The Spaniards learned nothing from the tolerance of Muslims, nor did they appreciate the generosity extended to them during their period of weakness and Muslim strength. Despite the treaties and conditions they had sworn to uphold in preserving Muslim freedoms, their arrogance after victory led them to persist in mistreating the defeated Muslims. (Shakir, 1990, p. 153).

The suffering of the Muslims did not end with the fall of their political authority and the loss of the last stronghold symbolizing Islamic presence in Al-Andalus. Rather, their true tragedy began with the forced conversions and the brutal persecution and humiliation they endured. This drove the Muslims to seek aid and assistance from the Islamic world.

The first to respond to the Andalusians' calls for help were the Marinids , whom God had established in Morocco as defenders of the faith. With their swords, they resisted the polytheists in Al-Andalus and ensured the survival of Muslim blood in the region. They were the protectors of the religion of **Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him)** and the swords of Islam.

In response to these hardships, Andalusian poets arose, pouring their heartfelt emotions into verses that vividly described the unfolding events. They sought to stir the Muslims beyond the sea , urging them to come to the aid of Al-Andalus. (Makki, 1987, p. 268).

Among these poets, we mention Abu Abdullah Ibn al-Abar , who praised the Sultan of Ifriqiya in a magnificent poem, including the following verse:

تَحَلَّتْ بِعَلْيَاكَ اللَّيَالِي الْعَوَاطِلُ * * * ودانت لسقياك السحابُ الهَوَاطِلُ "The barren nights have been adorned by your greatness, And the drifting clouds submit to your generosity."

Similarly, Abu Bakr Ibn al-Azhar al-Asghar addressed Al-Ma'mun ibn al-Mansur , the ruler of the Maghreb, with these lines:

"By God, I do not know with what I may beg, For I have nothing in myself with which to plead."

"But I have made my devotion and service A most worthy intercessor on your behalf."

We must also not forget Ibn al-Abar's famous poem in which he sought aid from Abu Zakariyya Ibn Abi Hafs , the ruler of Ifriqiya. Among its verses are:

"Rescue Al-Andalus with the cavalry of God, For the path to its salvation is fading away."

"Grant it the precious victory it longs for, For it has long suffered hardships, morning and evening."

However, the poet who truly captured the depth of the tragedy was Abu al-Baqa' Salih ibn Sharif al-Rundi in his famous elegy, where he wrote:

"Everything, once it reaches perfection, declines, So let no man be deceived by the sweetness of life."

"Such are the affairs of the world—kingdoms rise and fall, He whom fortune brings joy, time will also grieve."

(Houmad, previous reference, p. 449).

However, the difficult circumstances faced by the Maghreb states in the 16th century prevented them from aiding their fellow Muslims across the Mediterranean . As a result, the Moriscos had no choice but to rely on themselves. They resisted the various forms of torture and persecution inflicted upon them by the Spanish authorities and the Church .

Practicing Taqiyya:

Linguistically, Taqiyya means concealment, dissimulation, and outwardly displaying something different from what one truly believes . It is akin to a secret system . Terminologically, it refers to a covert practice meant to protect the teachings of an Imam from among the Shiite leaders . The

practice of Taqiyya has been closely associated with Shia Islam , as they are the group that has historically utilized it the most, considering it a fundamental principle of their faith.

From a jurisprudential perspective, several Quranic verses, Prophetic hadiths, and scholarly opinions indicate its validity under specific circumstances . Some Quranic surahs that reference Taqiyya include:

- Surah An-Nahl (16:106) - Surah Ghafir (40:28) .Additionally, in ****Surah Aal-e-Imran (3:28),**** Allah says:

****﴿ لا يتخذ المؤمنون الكافرين أولياء من دون المؤمنين ومن يفعل ذلك فليس من الله في شيء إلا أن تتقوا منهم تقاة ويحذركم الله نفسه وإلى الله المصير ﴾****

"Let not believers take disbelievers as allies instead of the believers. And whoever does that has nothing to do with Allah, unless you do so as a precaution to protect yourselves from them. And Allah warns you of Himself, and to Allah is the [final] destination."

Here, Allah forbids believers from forming alliances with disbelievers at the expense of fellow believers, except in cases of fear for one's safety . In such cases, one may outwardly display conformity while remaining steadfast internally. Imam Al-Bukhari narrates from Abu Darda' that he said: "We smile in the faces of certain people, while our hearts curse them." (**Abu al-Fida Ismail, 2002, p. 350**).

Furthermore, Allah also states in Surah An-Nahl (16:106):

﴿ من كفر بالله من بعد إيمانه إلا من أكره وقلبه مطمئن بالإيمان ولكن من شرح بالكفر صدرا فعليهم غضب من الله ولهم عذاب عظيم ﴾ "Whoever disbelieves in Allah after having believed—except for one who is forced to renounce his faith while his heart remains secure in faith—but as for those who willingly open their hearts to disbelief, upon them is the wrath of Allah, and they will have a great punishment."

This verse clarifies that those who knowingly turn to disbelief after recognizing the truth will face severe consequences . However, Allah makes an exception for those forced into disbelief against their will, while their hearts remain firm in faith . This recalls the famous case of Ammar ibn Yasir , who, under extreme torture, was coerced into uttering the names of pagan deities such as Hubal and Manat . Yet, the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) reassured him that his faith remained intact because his heart rejected these words.

Since Islam is a religion of ease, not hardship , scholars ruled that after the fall of Granada, Moriscos were permitted to practice Taqiyya . This became a necessity , given the brutal persecution they faced in Spain . Shihab al-Din al-Hajari described their dire situation, stating:

"They practiced two religions—outwardly Christianity, but in secret, Islam." (**Shihab al-Din al-Andalusi, manuscript**).

Their Use of Aljamiado:

The 16th century witnessed a policy of repression and deterrence , culminating in the complete expulsion of the descendants of the Arab presence in Spain . This was one of the Christian efforts to erase the identity of the Moriscos , alongside other measures such as the prohibition of the Arabic language (**Thomas, 1990, p. 121**).

As a result, Muslims in Spain made relentless efforts to preserve aspects of their cultural and religious identity, leading them to adopt what became known as Aljamiado literature (**Mercedes, p. 890**).

Aljamiado refers to texts written in the Spanish Romance dialects—which evolved from Vulgar Latin—including Portuguese, Castilian, Aragonese, and Catalan, depending on the presence of Morisco communities in different regions. However, these texts were written using the Arabic script (**Hamadi, op. cit., p. 111**).

The Revolts:

1. The Albayzín Uprising (1499):

A Spanish historian estimated that 10,000 Arab families—approximately 50,000 people—lived in the Albayzín district of Granada. These residents endured various forms of persecution carried out by the Inquisition, including executions, forced conversions, and book burnings, which led to widespread unrest. The situation escalated further when a violent clash occurred between the residents and some officials of Cardinal Cisneros, particularly regarding the case of Salcedo's servant.

Salcedo, along with a police commissioner, assaulted an Arab girl in Plaza Bib-Rambla. Upon hearing the girl's cries, the residents of Albayzín erupted in protest, attempting to rescue her. During the altercation, a young Arab man killed the police commissioner. News of the incident spread rapidly, prompting the scholars of Granada to urge the people to take up arms and declare a revolt (**Abdelwahid Taha, 2004, p. 21**).

The Muslims quickly organized themselves, appointing forty leaders to direct the uprising. Soon, large forces from the surrounding areas gathered around Granada to support them. The Albayzín rebels then laid siege to the Alhambra Palace, preparing to storm the fortress.

After a series of negotiations, Granada's leaders returned to Albayzín, awaiting peace talks. Eventually, Tendilla and Talavera—representing the Spanish side—arrived in Albayzín with a small group of guards, seeking a truce. An agreement was reached with Muslim leaders, ensuring the removal of injustices and better treatment of the population (**Bishtawi, op. cit., p. 114**).

2. The Granada Revolt (1568–1570) :

As Christmas 1568 approached, rebels gathered in the village of Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, located in the Lecrín Valley, under the leadership of Hernando de Córdoba, known by his Arabic name Ibn Umayya. That same day, revolts also broke out in several other villages, including Órgiva, Poqueira, and Jubiles (**Domínguez Ortiz, op. cit., p. 41**).

The rebellion spread rapidly, characterized by its religious nature and the desire to revive Islamic culture. It took on several forms:

- Persecuting or even killing Muslims who had converted to Catholicism.
- Destroying and vandalizing Christian places of worship.
- Defiling Christian images and religious symbols.

- Mocking Christian rituals and beliefs while reviving Islamic traditions , such as:

- **Restoring the role of mosques.**
- **Re-establishing Islamic practices, wearing traditional Arab clothing, and reviving Islamic customs.**

The rebels focused their wrath primarily on priests and government officials , and both sides feared retaliation—the rebels feared the Spanish authorities , while the authorities feared the advance of the Morisco army . However, Ibn Umayya was assassinated due to betrayal and conspiracy . He was succeeded by his cousin Diego López , who took the title Mawlay Abdallah Ibn Abbo . He reorganized the Morisco army , supplying it with weapons and ammunition , and managed to assemble 10,000 fighters from within and outside Spain. Under his leadership, the Moriscos launched multiple attacks , extending their influence to the south and achieving significant victories between October and December 1569 (**Al-Turki, op. cit., p. 371**).

Amid these developments, the Spanish authorities offered the rebel leader a chance to surrender , but he chose to die a Muslim rather than accept the throne of Spain . He took refuge in the mountains, where he remained in hiding until he was eventually captured and killed.

In response to the rebellion, the Spanish authorities reacted with extreme brutality . The most severe measure was the expulsion of all Muslims from the Kingdom of Granada in 1570 , which was fully implemented that same year .

This uprising was part of a broader resistance movement against the Church's fanaticism and the Inquisition's persecution , which included burnings at the stake and mass executions . Other notable revolts included:

- The Alpujarras Revolt (1499).
- The Almería Revolt (1500), sparked by the forced baptism of Muslims.
- The Second Almería Revolt (1501).
- The Benibatuniz Mountains Revolt (1501).
- The Valencia Revolt (1525), in response to forced conversions.

These uprisings reflected the Moriscos' determination to preserve their faith and identity , even at the cost of massacres and near-genocide (**Houmad, op. cit., p. 274**).

Migration:

The Andalusians sought guidance from the scholars of the Maghreb , asking for fatwas regarding whether they should migrate or remain in Al-Andalus , which they now considered Dār al-Kufr (Abode of Disbelief) after the Christians took control. Scholars issued fatwas that facilitated and emphasized the obligation of migration from Dār al-Ḥarb (Abode of War) .

1- The First Fatwa by Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Wansharisi:

Al-Wansharisi ruled that migration from Dār al-Kufr (the Abode of Disbelief) to the lands of Islam is an obligation until the Day of Judgment. He also emphasized that fleeing from lands of oppression, falsehood, or tribulation is necessary. He supported this with the hadith of the Prophet

(peace and blessings be upon him): "A time will come when the best wealth of a Muslim will be sheep that he follows into the mountains and places of rainfall, fleeing with his religion from tribulations." (Narrated by **Al-Bukhari, Malik in Al-Muwatta'**, **Abu Dawood, and An-Nasa'i.**)

He also cited the Quranic verse: "Except for those who are weak among men, women, and children who cannot devise a plan nor are they guided to a way. For these, it is hoped that Allah will pardon them, and Allah is Ever-Pardoning, Ever-Forgiving." (**Surah An-Nisa', 97**)_

From this verse, Al-Wansharisi concluded that those who had the ability to migrate but chose not to were oppressing themselves by continuing to reside among non-Muslims. He also warned that those who persist in living among the disbelievers without necessity will be punished. However, if someone repents and migrates even if they die on the way there is hope that their repentance will be accepted. (**Al-Wansharisi, p. 123**).

Many Andalusians, after migrating and leaving behind their homes, gardens, and status, regretted their migration when they faced hardships in the lands of Islam. They complained about the lack of security and economic difficulties, which led some to reconsider their choice. In response, scholars and judges insisted that migration remained obligatory and could not be abandoned.

Al-Wansharisi reinforced his ruling with another hadith: "I have nothing to do with any Muslim who resides among the polytheists." (**Al-Wansharisi, p. 124.**)

2- The Second Fatwa by Al-Wansharisi:

Al-Wansharisi issued this fatwa in 901 AH / 1495 CE in response to a case concerning an Andalusian Muslim who wished to remain in Al-Andalus to assist fellow Muslims in dealing with Spanish authorities. This individual had been acting as a mediator, helping to resolve their problems, negotiate with rulers, and save them from severe crises. He argued that if he left, who would support the oppressed Muslims against the injustices of the Christians?

However, Al-Wansharisi rejected his reasoning, ruling that living among non-Muslims who are not considered Ahl al-Dhimma (protected people under Islamic rule) leads to religious and worldly corruption over time. (**Rizq, p. 149**).

This demonstrates that Al-Wansharisi strictly upheld the obligation of migration, even in cases where staying might have benefited the remaining Muslims in Al-Andalus.

3- The Third Fatwa: Ahmad ibn Abi Jum'a al-Maghrawi al-Wahrani :

This fatwa was directed at the Muslims of Granada, urging them to remain steadfast in their Islamic faith, to teach it to their children, and to hold onto it despite the forced Christianization imposed by the Spanish authorities. He encouraged them to be patient in their worship of Allah, praying even through gestures if necessary, and giving zakat even if disguised as a gift to the poor, for Allah does not judge by appearances but by what is in the heart. (**Anan, previous reference, p. 143**).

He also provided guidance on how to act if they were forced to prostrate before idols or drink alcohol under coercion. This fatwa encouraged them to remain and hold onto their faith.

Al-Maghrawi's fatwa provided solutions for the oppressed Muslims who remained under Christian rule. (**Razuq, previous reference, p. 151**).

A – The Granadan Prince's Migration to Morocco:

When all of Al-Andalus, and specifically the Kingdom of Granada, fell into the hands of the tyrant King of Castile, he was uneasy about the presence of Prince Muhammad ibn 'Ali. Therefore, he ordered him to leave Granada and move to the village of Andarax in the Alpujarras region. The prince complied and waited for the Christian king's final decision regarding his fate.

Later, King Ferdinand of Castile commanded him to cross to the other shore (North Africa). Consequently, the prince sent a letter to the ruler of Fez, seeking his compassion, goodwill, and permission to reside in his lands. This letter was composed in poetic form by the distinguished scholar, writer, poet, and eloquent literary figure, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah al-'Arabi al-'Aqili, may Allah have mercy on him. It was titled *Al-Rawd al-'Atir al-Anfas fi al-Tawassul ila al-Mawla al-Imam Sultan Fas*, and included the following lines:

Mawla al-muluk, muluk al-'Arab wa al-'ajam "O master of kings, both Arab and foreign,"

Ra'yan lima mithluhu yur'a min al-dhimam "With due care for one whose rights should be preserved."

Bika istajarna wa ni'ma al-jaru anta liman "In you we sought refuge, and what a noble protector you are for one"

Jarahu al-zaman 'alayhi jawr muntakim "Whom time has wronged with its ruthless vengeance."

(Al-Maqri al-Tilimsani, 1939, p. 72).

The Sultan granted him permission to cross, and the Granadan prince settled in Fez under the protection of the Wattasids. There, he built a palace in the Andalusian architectural style, where he remained until his death in 940 AH.

B – The Migration of Scholars:

Many Andalusian scholars migrated to the Maghreb following the successive fall of Andalusian territories. A number of them headed towards Tlemcen, including:

- The renowned judge Abu 'Abd Allah ibn al-Azraq, who authored several works, such as Al-Sharh al-Ajib 'ala Mukhtasar Khalil, Kitab al-Siyasah (a summary of Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah), and Rawdat al-'Alam .
- The Banu Dawud family, who left Andalusia before the fall of Granada.
- Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn al-Haddad, known as al-Wadi Ashi .

Among those who reached Fez was the scholar Abu al-'Abbas al-Baqani, who later returned to Granada (Al-Maqri al-Tilimsani, previous source, p. 71).

Meanwhile, in Tunisia, the Hafsid rulers took advantage of this wave of migration, encouraging Andalusians to settle in their territories. They warmly welcomed scholars, providing them with support, stability, and an environment conducive to intellectual pursuits.

Among those who settled in Tunisia were:

- The Banu Siraj family, who made Tunisia their home but never forgot Granada. Their longing for its return to Islam was evident in their prayers. Every five days, they would gather in the mosque to

perform prayers, pleading with God to restore the "Land of Happiness" and "Paradise on Earth" to His faithful (**Alfikundo, 1924, p. 5**).

Additionally, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Khatib, born in Loja in 713 AH, left Andalusia. He studied medicine, philosophy, Islamic law, and literature, excelling in both prose and poetry. He served as a vizier under several Nasrid rulers before migrating to Morocco, where he also held ministerial positions. However, his circumstances later deteriorated, and he ultimately died in prison in 776 AH.

It is worth noting that these scholars left Andalusia because it had become a land of disbelief rather than a land of Islam. There was no longer any security for their lives, religion, families, or wealth.

C – The Migration of the General Population:

Migration remained ongoing throughout the period of Christian-Muslim conflict in Andalusia. After the fall of Almería and Cádiz, a large number of their inhabitants fled to Morocco. The Spaniards initially respected the right of passage and permitted migration. Following the signing of the Treaty of Granada in 1492, the Catholic Monarchs encouraged migration to Morocco and allowed the return to Andalusia within three years for those who wished to do so. This facilitated the departure of a massive number of Andalusians to North Africa (**Razouq, previous source, p. 154**).

However, after the final expulsion decree of the Moriscos from Andalusia in 1610, they were forcibly removed without resorting to violence or resistance. Signs of joy were evident on their faces, as they were finally able to wear their Arab-Islamic attire, speak Arabic freely, and call each other by their real Arabic names—practices that had been strictly forbidden. Their days of exile felt like celebrations, as they marked a return to the freedom and Islamic way of life that had been stripped from them since the fall of the last Andalusian emirates. It is said that large numbers of them set sail from Mediterranean ports toward Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis (**Colin, 1980, p. 143**).

Reports suggest that many were robbed at sea by European Christian pirates, despite having paid them for safe passage to Muslim lands. Nevertheless, a small minority remained in Spain until they were ultimately expelled by the decree of October 8, 1616.

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