

A FORCED MIGRATION: SPANISH *MORISCOS* IN OTTOMAN LANDS (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

Not much is known about the Spanish *Moriscos* who settled in the eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire;¹ the present article quite modestly aims to contribute to the limited body of scholarship on a subject that in spite of this neglect, as we hope to show, is of considerable significance. However this work is purely introductory. It aims to present the subject and indicate a promising field of research that certainly will involve examining the wealth and abundance of Ottoman primary sources which historians of the last three or four generations have brought to light. Thus we hope that Ottomanist scholars will shed light on the “forgotten frontier” between the two major powers dominating the Mediterranean during the 1500s and early 1600s, namely the Ottoman Empire and the Hispanic Monarchy.²

Though not comparable to their extensive settlement in North Africa, the presence of Spanish *Moriscos* in Istanbul and even further east in Anatolia was of some importance and should oblige us to confront a critical

Miguel Á. Extremera Extremera, Assistant Professor, Fatih Üniversitesi, Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, İspanyol Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, Büyükkçekmece, TR-34500 Istanbul.
maextremera@fatih.edu.tr, maextremera@gmail.com

¹ This article is an English translation, revised and with some notes added, of a paper published in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 60, 2011, p. 107-121. The purpose of this translation is to allow access to sources not of easy access for Ottoman Empire specialists.

² We are referring to: Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*. Any study of relations between the two empires should start with Braudel’s classic, *The Mediterranean*.

fact: these people had the attention of the sultans and their viziers. Consequently, we need to reflect on *Morisco* communal influence on Ottoman politics during the 16th and early 17th centuries.

Currently we do possess some monographs relevant to the subject, as well as a few references in other less ambitious works.³ Moreover as primary sources from the early modern period there survive a few literary texts. In the case of Istanbul, for example, apart from the note that appears in *Viaje* concerning “*moriscos aragoneses y valencianos*” in the mid-16th century,⁴ we have the testimony of Fonseca, who points out that in Istanbul and surrounding areas there were some 500 *Moriscos* from Aragon and 600 from Sevilla.⁵ We also have the testimony of Guadalajara y Xavier concerning 500 *Moriscos* arriving in Thessaloniki and many more reaching Istanbul: often these people originated from Sevilla.⁶ We also must not overlook the information provided by European diplomats — French, Dutch and Venetian — who lived in Istanbul during that time, and also the remarks of Evliya Çelebi, the famous mid-17th-century Ottoman traveller. In addition, we must consider information given by the Algerian author Al-Maqqari, who witnessed the great expulsion from Spain in 1609.⁷

SEARCHING FOR HELP

Even before 1492 there had existed certain contacts between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Granada.⁸ But the first reference concerning Spanish Muslims in Ottoman lands dates to 1493; as the last king of Granada, Boabdil, was going into exile, a ship with 270 people departed from the Spanish coast en route to Istanbul and Anatolia.

³ About Spanish *Moriscos*, see Domínguez Ortiz, Vincent, *Historia*; Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos*. There are also references to the *Moriscos* in Ottoman lands in Temimi, *Le Gouvernement*; Epalza, *Los Moriscos*. In addition, Bernabé Pons, “Notas;” Wieggers, “Managing Disaster;” Lera García, “Cripto-musulmanes” are worth noting. More recently, T. Krstić has presented several papers dealing with the *Morisco* people in the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ *Viaje*, p. 278.

⁵ Fonseca, *Justa expulsión*, quoted by Epalza, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁶ Guadalajara y Xavier, *Prodición*, fols. 74v.-75r.

⁷ “*Salieron millares para Fez, y otros millares para Tremecén, a partir de Orán, y masas de ellos para Túnez (...) Un grupo llegó a Estambul, a Egipto y a la Gran Siria, así como a otras regiones musulmanas:*” quoted by Epalza, “Estructuras,” p. 50.

⁸ López de Coca Castañer, “Mamelucos,” p. 241, n. 55.

Later on, during the 16th century, regular communication between the *Moriscos* and the Sublime Porte continued, with those who remained in Spain often requesting assistance from the Ottoman sultan. Thus, in a *qasida* sent by the *Moriscos* to Bayezid II and dated to 1501 according to J. Monroe, the author(s) described the abuses suffered by their community in Spanish lands, petitioning for the help of the sultan.⁹ In that same year, the presence in the Ottoman city of Bursa of a certain Hüseyin from “*Andalusia*” who sold mohair, revealed economic and cultural links between Muslims on both sides of the Mediterranean.¹⁰

In Süleyman the Magnificent’s time, according to some sources, Hayreddin Paşa, the famous Barbaros, managed to evacuate 70,000 Muslims from Spain in 1529, even if the number is probably somewhat exaggerated. Some years later these people sent a letter to the Ottoman sultan explaining that the entire community of Muslims in Spain promised him obedience; they also encouraged the monarch to continue supporting the evacuation campaigns and the *razzias* by Barbaros in the western Mediterranean.¹¹ In his memoirs, written in 1543, Barbaros tells us that he and Süleyman freed large numbers of *Moriscos*, many of whom were eventually settled in the Muslim lands of the Maghreb.¹²

Later, during the revolt of Alpujarras (1568-1570), two documents dated to April 1570 prove that the Ottoman administration was paying close attention to the dramatic events unfolding in Granada.¹³ The first document was an official report in which Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574) expressed an interest in the Muslim rebellion. The second one appears to have been an official document from the chancery of this same ruler referring to Ottoman assistance for Granada. However, as we know, Selim II had his eyes focused on the conquest of Cyprus, an exercise that required the use of his complete fleet, so Ottoman ships ultimately never did provide any material support to the Muslim uprising in Granada.¹⁴

After 1570 there was a Spanish Muslim community settled in Istanbul, that we will presently discuss. However the largest wave of *Moriscos*

⁹ Monroe, “A Curious Morisco Appeal;” López de Coca Castañer has analyzed this *qasida*, as well; see López de Coca Castañer, *art. cit.*, p. 243-246.

¹⁰ İnalçık, “Bursa,” p. 134.

¹¹ İnalçık, “Ottoman Galata,” p. 325-326; concerning the letter of 1541, see Temimi, “Une lettre.”

¹² *La vida*, p. 43, quoted in López de Coca Castañer, “Mamelucos,” p. 254.

¹³ These documents have been studied in Hess, “The Moriscos.”

¹⁴ Veinstein, “Autour de la lettre.”

arrived in Ottoman lands after the expulsion decree of 1609. Just before that event, namely in 1608, four notable *Moriscos* had already been sent to the Ottoman capital as representatives of the community: Castilla and Andalusia were represented by Ibrahim from the town of Ronda, and by a member of the Cárdenas family, who came from Baeza; the *Morisco* representative from Valencia was Zulema de Torres-Torres while Gaspar Zaidejos de Torrellas (or Tórtoles) came from Aragon.¹⁵ Later, around 1612, some influential *Moriscos* such as Francisco Toledano, a member of the Lasarte family, and others from the Bejarano family would come to Istanbul as well.¹⁶ The chief of the *Moriscos* in Tunisia, Mustafá de Cárdenas, made some trips from Tunisia to Istanbul to address Ahmed I (r. 1630-1617) concerning the situation of his community and to prepare for the arrival of yet more *Moriscos* in Ottoman lands.¹⁷ But these are not the only cases: in 1614, two *Moriscos* named Ali and Süleyman presented a report to the sultan about the same subject. Moreover, there exists a further reference to a *Morisco* named Luis de Valdivia and others from Pastrana, all of whom had personal communications with Ahmed I.¹⁸

Thus contacts between Spanish *Moriscos* and the Sublime Porte, already over a century old, would aid in the settlement of these refugees in the Ottoman capital and more distant places in Anatolia. Furthermore such contacts, far from disappearing, continued among the Muslims who remained hidden in Spain after 1609. For instance, in the mid-17th century, Evliya Çelebi described a meeting with a *Bektashi* dervish in Anatolia who revealed some names of important religious Muslim figures still remaining in Spain.¹⁹

¹⁵ Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos*, p. 125.

¹⁶ Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 310; Wiegers, *art. cit.*, p. 153. A letter sent by the *Morisco* Ahmad al-Hayari from Paris to Istanbul mentions those relevant *Moriscos* who arrived in Istanbul: see Oliver Asín, “Ahmad al-Hayari Bejarano.”

¹⁷ Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 330; about Mustafá de Cárdenas, see Epalza, “Moriscos.”

¹⁸ Wiegers, *art. cit.*, p. 150, n. 59; Wiegers says that these men could have been Ali de la Serna and Suleyman Raymani ben Omar; about Luis de Valdivia: see *ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁹ “Mübtecil Hoca Cafer and Derviş Angil Haydar, who are among the saints of Spain, pass there as Christians, but both are believers and monotheists, and [are] secretly possessors of the prayer rug and sultans in the vanguard of the Nakşbendis.” He then added that there was a certain Mübtecil Baba Sadık who lived in the Andalusian city of Cordoba: see Dankoff, *The Intimate Life*, p. 120-121. The word *mübtecil* is the equivalent for *mudéjar*, and refers to the Muslims who remained in Christian Spain following the Reconquest. Concerning the *Moriscos* in Spain after the general expulsion, see Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*.

ITINERARY AND SETTLEMENTS IN ISTANBUL AND ANATOLIA

The route followed by the *Moriscos* to get to the eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire is well known: they travelled from southern France through some cities of the Venetian Terraferma like Brescia, Verona, Padua and, finally, Venice; from Venice, by ship, they continued to Thessaloniki and, later, to Istanbul. In the *aljamiado* literature, there survive some texts containing specific information about the route to be taken, and practical advice for those who chose this one-way ticket eastward. For example, these texts suggested that, in Venice, prior to embarking for Thessaloniki, the travellers should seek help from the Jewish traders in San Marco square.²⁰

We also have considerable information pertaining to the south of France as a transit point for the thousands of *Moriscos* going into exile,²¹ and we know that quite a few *Morisco* families from Granada were living in the French territory even before the general expulsion.²² Thus, in 1608, the French ambassador in Istanbul discussed a permit granted by King Henry IV to *Moriscos* who during their journeys needed to spend time in the city of Marseilles. As Bernabé Pons has pointed out, initially the local population and the French authorities did not welcome the refugees, but because of numerous complaints made by the *Moriscos*, the Sublime Porte paid more attention, and subsequently an Ottoman authority personally began checking the boarding of *Moriscos* travelling from the south of France to Tunisia.²³

Furthermore Venice was an essential stopover in the journey for all *Moriscos* going to Istanbul and further east. Therefore, similarly to what he had done in the case of France, Ahmed I established communications with the doge of Venice to discuss the situation of *Moriscos* passing through that city. An interesting paper by G. Rota indicates that the presence of *Moriscos* in Venice must have been well documented in the archives of the local Inquisition.²⁴ Some *conversos* or crypto-Jews helped the refugees to take money out of Spain and returned it to the *Moriscos*

²⁰ See López-Baralt, *La literatura*; a work that describes the route from Spain to Turkey is “Avisos para el camino,” inserted in Ms. arabe. 774, fols. 37v.-39r. of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

²¹ Santoni, “Le passage.”

²² Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 325.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁴ Rota, “False Moriscos;” on the epistolary of Ahmed I with the doge of Venice, see p. 181, n. 2.

once in France so as to prevent confiscation by the Spanish authorities²⁵. This was not the only time that both these victimized groups, *Moriscos* and Jews, discriminated and later expelled from Spain, joined together against the Spanish Monarchy.²⁶

Let us now take a brief look at the settlement of *Moriscos* in Anatolia. According to Mikel de Epalza, the reception structures of *Moriscos* in Anatolia during the early 1600s closely resembled those current in the Maghreb during the preceding century.²⁷ Thus the Ottoman integration policy “was based on the prior experience of allowing different ethnic or religious groups to be managed by their own leaders” — although always implicitly subject to Ottoman regional authorities.²⁸ Thus, in the same way that the *Moriscos* in Tunisia had a leader to take charge of the community’s needs and especially of its security, Luis Zapata and Mustafá de Cárdenas, among others, being prominent examples, the *Moriscos* who settled in Anatolia had a certain Ali Ibn-Muhammad El Muteferrika as their leader; the latter had some military duties as well.²⁹

Epalza examines the dual character of *Morisco* colonies as Ottoman policy envisioned them: farming villages were settled around larger towns, and some colonies to enhance security in military and border areas. A *ferman* dated 1613 — previously analyzed by Temimi and Epalza — shows that Ahmed I allowed the *Morisco* people to settle in five towns in Anatolia: Adana, Azir (which for Epalza means Azaz, but it could be the present city of Erzin or maybe rather Üzeyr, an area close to Adana inhabited by tribal groupings³⁰), Sis (Kozan), Tarsus, and Kars. Three of them, namely Adana, Sis, and Tarsus, are in the region known as Cilicia, and while in the early modern era cultivation was quite limited the area was potentially of remarkable agricultural productivity. In addition, Sis, Azaz, and Kars were located in areas particularly important for Ottoman military and strategic interests.³¹

In Anatolia, we have the example of a *Morisco* who over a century later, in 1731, sent a letter from Izmir to the head of the *Moriscos* in

²⁵ Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 311.

²⁶ For this collaboration, see Carrasco Vázquez, “Moriscos”.

²⁷ Epalza, “Estructuras,” p. 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁹ Epalza, “Instalación,” p. 151-154.

³⁰ See Özkılınç *et al.* eds., *998 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Diyâr-i Bekr ve ‘Arab ve Zü’l-Kâdiriyye Defteri*, p. 43-44. Many thanks to the anonymous peer-reviewer for this suggestion.

³¹ Epalza, “Instalación,” p. 148.

Tunisia. Francisco Jiménez, director of the Spanish hospital in Tunisia, reported the following event in his diary:

“A certain Moza la Joa [Muza de Joha] has written from Izmir to cherife Castelli, claiming to be a descendent of the Abencerraje family. He is a native of Granada, governor of Torre del Aceitunero [Aceituno] and Puerta de Taxalanza [Fajalauza], who, because of being a *Morisco*, was punished with four years of exile by the Granada Inquisition and he has moved with his brothers and sisters to Izmir. Now he tries to come to Tunisia.”³²

Muza de Joha belonged to the Aranda family, a lineage of crypto-Muslims from Granada; they were targeted by an inquisitorial procedure initiated in 1727 against some families in the city accused of being *Morisco* descendents and practicing Islam in secret³³. The Arandas were related to the Figueroa family, who were also accused and, after escaping, arrived in Genoa and later in Istanbul in May 1728. A letter from the French ambassador in Istanbul described the case of eight members of that family, all of whom desired to be real Muslims; they explained that they descended from prominent families in Granada, some of whom were descendants of royalty. We know that, in Istanbul, they wore Turkish-style clothes and participated in formal ceremonies: in the presence of the grand vizier, the men were circumcised, and subsequently the family was granted a house, a huge amount of money, and a daily allowance.³⁴

Let us now focus on the *Moriscos* who settled in Istanbul. In addition to the sources previously discussed, we find references to “Galata’s Arabic people” in court records related to Istanbul. H. İnalçık has made us aware of the thousands of judicial documents in these registers that he has studied in a very interesting article; certainly these records shall be the main primary source for future researchers studying Istanbul’s *Morisco* population especially now that several volumes are available in print.³⁵

According to İnalçık, a great number of *Moriscos* who came to Istanbul settled in the Galata district, near the former church of San Domenico, because it had been an area of early Arab settlement; after all, the port at Galata used to be the point of arrival for passengers coming from the Mediterranean. Furthermore, due to the fact that many Genoese had left

³² Epalza, “Nuevos documentos”, p. 213-214.

³³ Lera García, “Cripto-musulmanes,” p. 531-532 and p. 537.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 534-535.

³⁵ İnalçık, “Ottoman Galata,” p. 324-331. İnalçık is referring to the court documents of the kadi of Galata. For the kadi registers (*kadı sicilleri*), see Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History*, p. 55-57; Yılmaz *et al.* eds., *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri c. 34-40*.

Galata in and after 1453, the church of San Domenico had been converted into a mosque, first named Galata Camii (The Galata Mosque) and today called Arap Camii. The presence of this mosque made the Galata area particularly attractive for Istanbul's Arab newcomers³⁶.

The presence of *Morisco* people in Galata reinforced the "Arabic" character of the neighbourhood. Evliya Çelebi related that, by the middle of the 17th century, no Christians at all lived in the area surrounding the Galata Camii because the Muslims established there simply did not allow it. This attitude was due to the fact that most of the area's inhabitants were *mubtedjel* or *mubtadjal* (*mudéjares*). This term was used by the Ottomans when referring to the Spanish Muslims who came to the Ottoman Empire in the time of Ahmed I — the Italian Christians called them *Granatini*. Evliya Çelebi added that these "Spanish Arab people" made a very popular sweet drink known as *mubtedjel sherbeti*; they also prepared *helva*, a popular dessert. Moreover, reports about their clothes suggested that they dressed "in the style of Algiers".³⁷

The presence of Muslims in Galata made it difficult for Christians to settle and live there. The *Moriscos* often displayed open hostility to the Christian residents of the city, trying to replace — sometimes successfully — burned-down churches with mosques, as reported by some European diplomats.³⁸ Clearly, this attitude of "revenge" also affected the political arena; especially the Venetian residents of Istanbul often recorded aggressions on the part of Galata *Moriscos*. The behaviour of the latter thus resembled that observed among *Moriscos* who had settled in the Maghreb whose common anti-Christian hostility had resulted in a particular "*Morisco*-Maghrebi" identity.³⁹ Furthermore, the *Morisco* people of Galata not only attacked Christians, but Jews as well; R. Knolles pointed out that many Jews were expelled and many synagogues destroyed.⁴⁰

³⁶ İnalçık, *art. cit.*, p. 324-325; in fact, Bayezid II assigned this mosque to the Muslims that came from Spain. About Arap Camii, see Işık, *Arap Camii*, p. 17-18.

³⁷ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi* quoted by İnalçık, *art. cit.*, p. 327.

³⁸ Wieggers, *art. cit.*, p. 148; see also Hasluck, *Christianity*. In Süleyman the Magnificent's time, to prevent occurrences of this kind, "*a la puerta de cada monasterio de estos hay dos jenízaros con sendas porras, que el Gran Señor tiene puestos que guarden, los cuales cuando algún turco, curioso de saber, quiere entrar le dan licencia y dicenle: 'Entra y mira y calla; si no, con estas porras te machacaremos esa cabeza,'*": *Viaje*, p. 305-306.

³⁹ Wieggers, "European Converts."

⁴⁰ Knolles, *The General Historie*; I refer to the 3rd edition, which appeared in 1621; see Parry, *Richard Knolles' History*. The reference is quoted in Hasluck, *Christianity*, p. 724.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE

Concerning the activities of the *Moriscos* established in Istanbul and Anatolia, the majority evidently continued to work as farmers and craftsmen, as they had done in Spain before the expulsion. R. Mantran, in his well-known monograph on mid-17th-century Istanbul, described the *Moriscos* as a minority active in the craft sector and the city's foreign trade.⁴¹ As previously noted, the large rural population had been relocated near towns whose surroundings were considered potentially productive such as Adana, Sis, and Tarsus. As the *ferman* of 1613 claimed, these places hosted many *Moriscos* for "farming the land".⁴²

Some *Moriscos* joined the Ottoman army. We know that in 1565, during the siege of Malta, they played an important role in the battle.⁴³ Later, the *Granatino* Antonio Vermecco, who was subject in 1627 to the Venice Inquisition, confessed that he wanted to go to Turkey "to live as a Turk," that his ancestors had belonged to the Ottoman royal family, and that he already had some relatives in Ottoman lands, especially "a soldier of the Great Ruler."⁴⁴ In *Prodición*, Guadalajara y Xavier stated that Ávalos, a Muslim from Sevilla, had even been appointed captain of an Ottoman galley.⁴⁵

Moreover, some *Moriscos* achieved public offices under the Sublime Porte. Ahmad al-Hanafi, after studying law in Bursa, settled in Istanbul, where he worked as an administrator. When his family that had remained in Spain was expelled, he joined his relatives in Tunisia, where he remained despite receiving offers to return to Istanbul and assumed a very important position in the local court.⁴⁶ We should mention another "*Turco Granadino*" who was sent on a diplomatic mission to England in 1612 to negotiate accommodation for any *Morisco* people that might reach the English territory.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Mantran, *Istanbul*.

⁴² See *supra*.

⁴³ Coles, *The Ottoman Impact*, p. 128.

⁴⁴ Rota, *art. cit.*, p. 181-183.

⁴⁵ Guadalajara y Xavier, *op. cit.* The same Ávalos was one of the *Moriscos* from Galata who sent a letter to the *Morisco* community in Algiers; see Wiegers, "Managing Disaster," p. 149.

⁴⁶ Epalza, "Arabismos."

⁴⁷ Wiegers, *art. cit.*, p. 156. Diplomatic relations between England and the Sublime Porte had been very recently established: the first letter from Queen Elizabeth I to the sultan was dated 1579, and the first trade agreement was made in 1580; see Skilliter, *William Harborne*.

Some *Moriscos* who had settled in Istanbul and Anatolia may have been active in espionage and the transmission of secret information. No details are known, but the duke of Osuna, who as viceroy of Naples lived in Palermo, employed spies from among the *Morisco* people in Tunisia, who informed him about Turkish and North African affairs.⁴⁸ In a letter to King Philip IV of Spain, the duke quite explicitly reported: “In Constantinople and throughout the Levant, I have very trusted and intelligent people that whatever happens will write [to me] in a timely way.”⁴⁹ Perhaps some of these “trusted and intelligent people” were *Moriscos*, but we have no way of being sure.

Some *Moriscos* in Istanbul played an important role in foreign affairs, or at least had the ambition to do so. In 1574, a letter circulating within the community suggested the possibility of combining a new *Morisco* uprising with a rebellion in the Netherlands, a strategy planned by the sultan himself and supposedly by the influent Don Joseph Nassi.⁵⁰ If true — currently verification is impossible — this might be another example of collaboration between the two groups expelled from Spain, the *Sefardim* and the *Moriscos*.

Later, the Dutch established relations with the Sublime Porte, especially after Ambassador Cornelius Haga had arrived in Istanbul in 1612. Haga wrote that on March 26, 1612, several weeks after his arrival, a delegation of “*Moriscos granadinos*” visited him to express their gratitude for the Netherlands having transported some of their brethren to North Africa; evidently Dutch vessels had been used for this purpose.⁵¹ Amicable relations between Haga and the *Moriscos* perhaps facilitated a political agreement between the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands in May 1612, although the support of an influential local dervish sheikh was probably more important.⁵² Previously, a delegation of Istanbul *Moriscos* had travelled to Amsterdam. When they went back to the Ottoman capi-

⁴⁸ Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 319.

⁴⁹ Riandière la Roche, “Quevedo,” p. 34, n. 11.

⁵⁰ Hess, *art. cit.*, p. 19; *id.*, “The Battle,” p. 64. In 1569, the prince of Orange sent a diplomatic mission to Nassi seeking Ottoman support in the Dutch rebellion against Philip II of Spain; see İnalçık, Quataert ed., *An Economic and Social History*, p. 372-373. On Don Joseph Nassi, see Roth, *The Duke*.

⁵¹ Wiegers, *art. cit.*, p. 156-157.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 158. Until that date, the Dutch had been trading with the Sublime Porte under the English flag; see İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 138. Concerning relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands, see de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire*; Bulut, *Ottoman-Dutch Economic Relations*.

tal, the *sheikh ul-Islam* asked them several questions about the country, and the *Moriscos* answered that good relations with the Netherlands would be very profitable for the Ottomans.⁵³ We can only surmise that relations between *Sefardim* living in Istanbul and those resident in Amsterdam, had a part to play in this matter.

Over 25 years later, in a report dated November 3, 1639, Haga commented that the “*nación granadina*” was making an effort to settle in the region of Cyrene in what today is Libya. Haga recommended that his country should establish trade links with these people before merchants from other countries could do so. He even specified which products Dutch traders could obtain from those lands.⁵⁴

By contrast, the relationship between the *Moriscos* and the Venetians was far from being friendly, and would become especially problematic by the 1630s, when some violent incidents occurred.⁵⁵ Thus, in 1631, the *Moriscos* were described by Italian authorities as a “*mal affetta gente*” who always acted out of resentment and revenge against the Republic of Venice. In 1637, the *Moriscos* attempted to take a Venetian church in Pera and turn it into a mosque; in 1638, during a critical confrontation between the Ottoman Empire and Venice, the *Moriscos* funded pirate ships to attack Venetian trading interests. Finally, in 1639, when Ottomans and Venetians signed a peace agreement, the *Moriscos* of Istanbul became dissatisfied and angry:

“*Questi Granatini (...) gridano fino al cielo, che [Murad IV] habbi venduto la sua riputatione, abbandonati il suoi sudditi, oscurato il lustro delle vittorie passate.*”⁵⁶

That same year, the Venetian ambassador in Istanbul characterized the *Moriscos* as “*inimici della Repubblica*” (enemies of the Republic). Soon after, the Cretan war began, and ultimately the victorious Ottomans would fully occupy the island in 1669. It is not very hard to imagine the celebrations of the entire *Morisco* community in Istanbul.

⁵³ Wiegers, *art. cit.*, p. 157-158.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159-160; the products at issue were: silk, wax, coral and seeds.

⁵⁵ Rota, *art. cit.*, p. 181, n. 2.

⁵⁶ “These *Granatini* (...) cried to heaven that [Murad IV] had sold his reputation, abandoned his subjects, and obscured the prestige of his victories in the past:” *ibid.*

In comparing the *Moriscos* and the *Sefardím*, scholars have traditionally suggested that the latter were more influential in the circles of power. The case of Don Joseph Nassi discussed above is certainly emblematic. However, certain contemporary sources suggest that the *Morisco* collectivity also played an important role, at least in Istanbul. *Morisco* assistance may have facilitated the commercial agreement between the Ottoman Empire and the Netherlands. On the other hand *Morisco* riots against Christians in the Galata district and agitation in favour of a “tough line” against Venice show that particularly in the early 1600s these immigrants sometimes acted as an “anti-Christian” pressure group in Ottoman politics.

As Bernabé Pons has noted, the concern of the Ottoman elite for the *Moriscos* crossing southern France only focused on a few powerful families “with a great reputation and position, and not on the whole *Morisco* community.”⁵⁷ Throughout money is a factor in facilitating migration; above all, it eases integration into the host society.⁵⁸ However, we should remember that not only important families came to Istanbul; hundreds of humble *Moriscos* arrived as well, and the whole group integrated naturally and smoothly into the Ottoman society. Accordingly these men and women soon abandoned Spanish language.⁵⁹ In contrast, the Sephardic community of Jews in Istanbul widely spoke *ladino* or Judaeo-Spanish until the 19th and early 20th centuries⁶⁰. Even today, *ladino* occasionally can be heard in Istanbul among people with Sephardic ancestors.

Thus, by forgetting the Spanish language, which linked them to the Hispanic Monarchy, the *Morisco* community definitively broke with its past and, consequently, with the culture of Spain.

⁵⁷ Bernabé Pons, *art. cit.*, p. 326.

⁵⁸ Epalza, “Estructuras,” p. 53.

⁵⁹ However, in the mid-16th Century, the protagonist of *Viaje* had reported how some ladies spoke to him in Spanish: “*en fino español, de las moriscas que de Aragón y Valencia se huyen cada día con sus maridos y haciendas, de miedo de la Inquisición*”: *Viaje*, p. 278.

⁶⁰ See Ortaylı, “Ottoman Jewry,” p. 3-14.

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Miguel Ángel EXTREMERA EXTREMERA, *Une migration forcée : moriscos espagnols en territoire ottoman (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*

La présence des *moriscos* espagnols dans les provinces centrales de l'Empire ottoman, notamment à Istanbul mais aussi, dans certains cas, en Anatolie n'a pas été suffisamment prise en compte par l'historiographie. Dans ce travail, qui se veut purement introductif, nous discutons de la politique de la Sublime Porte à l'égard des *moriscos* et de l'établissement de ceux-ci dans les régions précitées, ainsi que de leurs activités et de leur influence politique dans l'Empire ottoman.

Miguel Ángel EXTREMERA EXTREMERA, *A Forced Migration: Spanish Moriscos in Ottoman Lands (XVIth-XVIIIth Centuries)*

Historians have largely neglected the presence of *Moriscos* in the eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire. Yet they were very present especially in Istanbul and sometimes in Anatolia as well. As an introduction to the subject, this paper examines Ottoman policies concerning the *Moriscos* and their settlement. It also explores their activities as a social group and their influence on Ottoman politics.