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The Morisco al-Ḥajarī is not from Hornachos

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Abstract: There is unanimity among his scholars that the Morisco al-Ḥajarī (ca. 1570 - d. after 1641), alias Diego Bejarano, is from Hornachos. For some time, one had to settle for the illusory idea that the mysterious place called "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," from which he says he hails from, is the equivalent of Hornachos, a hypothesis that would, allegedly, be confirmed by the publication of documentary evidence according to which al-Ḥajarī was "natural de la villa de Hornachos" (a native of the town of Hornachos). This article challenges such evidence, arguing that "villa de Hornachos" should not be associated necessarily with the region of Extremadura, nor should "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" be identified with Hornachos. This entails revisiting al-Ḥajarī's Arabic and Spanish texts and thoroughly analyzing the emblematic toponym "Hornachos," with the ultimate goal of demonstrating that "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" is the equivalent not of Hornachos, but of Sierra Morena and, most importantly, that al-Ḥajarī is not from Hornachos, in the Extremadura Region, but rather from Hornachuelos, in the province of Córdoba.

Keywords: Morisco, al-Ḥajarī, birthplace, Hornachos, al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, Sierra Morena, Hornachuelos.

Al-Ḥajarī is from Hornachos

In 2008, Isabel Boyano published an article[1] which, in addition to discussing al-Ḥajarī's contribution to the reading and translation of the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana,[2] produced documentary evidence in which al-Ḥajarī signed as "Diego Vexarano" and claimed to be "a native of the town of Hornachos."[3] These "sound arguments"[4] confirmed the hitherto prevailing hypothesis that al-Ḥajarī was originally from Hornachos, a place he, supposedly, referred to in his *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*[5] as "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." The proponents of this hypothesis,[6] Wiegers individually at

[1] Isabel Boyano, "Al-Ḥajarī y su traducción del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana," in *¿La historia inventada? Los libros plúmbeos y el legado sacromontano*, ed. Manuel Barrios Aguilera & Mercedes García-Arenal (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada-El legado andalusí, 2008), 137-57.

[2] The parchment, along with some relics, was discovered in March 1588 in the minaret of the former Great Mosque of Granada, also known as the Turpiana Tower. It contained prophecy-laden texts written in Arabic, Spanish, and Latin, suggesting it was created by early Christians.

[3] Boyano, "Al-Ḥajarī," 151-52.

[4] J.C.V. Amieva, "Desde el exilio morisco: Las glosas de al-Ḥajarī Bejarano al Códice leidense del Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī de Ibn Buklārish," in *Mediterranea. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge* 8, 89-192 (2023): 124.

[5] I shall be using Outmani's edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīnʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* published under the title *Riḥlat Afoqāy al-Ḥajarī*, Taḥqīq wa Taqdīm Ismail El Outmani (Al-Ribāṭ: Dār al-Amān, 2020), henceforth *Riḥlat*, and providing the respective English page number in al-Ḥajarī's book edition by P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai, & G.A. Wiegers, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* (Madrid: CSIC, 2015/ 1st ed. 1997); henceforth, *Kitāb*. All English translations are mine throughout unless otherwise indicated.

[6] Which contrasts with the until then implausible thesis sustained namely by Oliver Asín, Sarnelli Cerqua, Manouni and Epalza according to which the small Granadan town of Láchar was the one al-

first[7] and with van Koningsveld and al-Samarrai later on,[8] provided four reasons to support it: the rootedness and use of the Arabic language in the locality in question, the figure of one thousand Morisco children removed from their parents in the port of Seville during the expulsion campaign, the passage through the said port from Hornachos of some individuals surnamed "Afocay"[9] and the brief stay of al-Ḥajarī in Salé (Morocco), a city with a predominantly Hornachero population.

Nevertheless, the available data show that three of those arguments are easily refutable: first, Hornachos was surely not the only place where the Arabic language[10] had survived the Christian conquest and rule; second, the surname "Afocay" alone is not enough to make those Hornachos residents al-Ḥajarī's family members; and third, al-Ḥajarī's journey from Marrakech to Salé was, according to his own testimony, solely and exclusively "to embark with the intention of making a pilgrimage to Mecca."[11]

Regardless of these arguments, Boyano, with the manuscript dusted off in the Archive of the Royal Chancery of Granada in hand, thought that she had sufficient reasons to formulate two equations: "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" equals Hornachos and al-Ḥajarī equals Hornachero: "Besides stating that al-Ḥajarī was born and raised in the town of Hornachos, one may conclude that the Arabic name of the town, whose Morisco population became proverbial, is al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, and that the nisba al-Ḥajarī would therefore mean 'native of Hornachos'."[12]

Ḥajarī referred to as "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." M. de Epalza, for instance, wrote that "Judging by his surname, al-Ḥajarī, it is clear that he was originally from Láchar, a small town 30 kilometers west of Granada." See his *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992), 158.

[7] Gerard Wiegers, "A Life between Europe and the Maghrib: The Writings of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī (born ca. 977/1569-70)," in *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges (Orientations, vol. 1)*, ed. G. J. Van Gelder and E. de Moor (Amsterdam: Atlanta, 1993), 87-115.

[8] Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*. See mainly General Introduction, 13-74.

[9] Such as "Fernando Bejarano and his wife, residents of Hornachos," "Fernando Bejarano the elder and his wife and a son and a grandson," or "Diego Vejerano and his wife and his mother-in-law and his children." Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 24. It is worth noting that in some cases al-Ḥajarī adds "Focay" to his full name when signing a document, and Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 20, mention two such cases, which appear in García-Arenal, Rodríguez Mediano and El Hour, *Cartas Marruecas: documentos de Marruecos en archivos españoles (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2002), 369, 374. I shall deal with "Focay" in a forthcoming article whereby at least a third occurrence of "Focay" is brought to light.

[10] B. Vincent, "Reflexión documentada sobre el uso del árabe y de las lenguas románicas en la España de los moriscos (ss. XVI-XVII)," *Sharq Al-Andalus* 10-11 (1993-1994): 731-748.

[11] "I came from there [Marrakech] to the Kasbah of Salé and its ribāṭ, and from here set sail with the intention of performing the Ḥajj." See the Appendix to Ibn Ghanem, al-Rayāsh al-Andalusī, *Al-ʿIzz wa al-Rifʿa wa al-Manāfiʿ li al-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl Allah bi al-Madāfiʿ*, Tarjamat Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. Taḥqīq Iḥsān Hindī (Abū Dhabi: Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya, 2013).

[12] "Además de afirmar que al-Ḥajarī nació y se crió en la villa de Hornachos, podemos concluir que el nombre árabe de la villa, cuya población morisca se hizo proverbial, es el de al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar y que la nisba al-Ḥajarī quiere decir, por tanto 'el hornachero'." Boyano, "Al-Ḥajarī," 152.

Al-Ḥajarī mentions the Arabic toponym "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" three times[13] and Hornachos only once,[14] but from there to asserting that he is necessarily referring to the Hornachos located in the province of Badajoz (Extremadura Region) and that "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" is the Arabic name for (that) Hornachos is still a considerable leap. It's worth noting in this regard that no work of Arabic geography mentions "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." On the other hand, the Ceutan geographer al-Idrīsī (1100-1165) refers to what in the Arabic text, due to some scribal variance, looks like Hornachos for some and like Hornachuelos for others.[15] Al-Idrīsī uses the toponym "Furnajūlush" three times in his main work *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*[16] and on a similar number of occasions in the compendium thereof titled *Uns al-Muhaj wa-Rawḍ al-Furaj*.[17] And since al-Ḥajarī was familiar with *Nuzhat*, one wonders: Would it not have been more logical for him to use the alleged Arabic equivalent instead of going to the trouble of inventing "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar?" Such a question is likely to raise doubts about the accuracy of the equation "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar equals Hornachos."

Documentarily speaking, "Fornachos" predates (1235) "Fornachuelos" (1240),[18] which does not imply that it precedes it historically as well. That said, in Spain, there are no fewer than three distinct locations eponymously tied to Hornachos: Hornachos and Hornachuelos in Ribera del

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[13] a) "I am an Andalusī from al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar and Arabic is what is mostly spoken there." (Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 22/ Koningsveld et al,. *Kitāb*, 89), b) when speaking of properties now held in Bordeaux and "which had been stolen by the ship captains from the people of al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" (Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 116/ Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 215), and c) when saying that among the minors taken from their parents during the expulsion of the Moriscos "about a thousand were from al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." (Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 132/ Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 235).

[14] It appears in the Spanish translation he made, around 1635, of his own 1612 letter (hereafter Letter), sent to Morisco friends and acquaintances in Constantinople from Paris. In it al-Ḥajarī mentions Hornachos in connection with the plunder (of thirty thousand ducats) carried out by a French shipowner against some natives of that town, who were being sent into exile. To quote from al-Ḥajarī's 1612/1635, I shall be using Valentina Zaccaron's *La edición de la obra en castellano de Aḥmad Bencaçim Bejarano* (Roma: Stamen, 2017).

[15] In general, al-Idrīsī's cartographic drawings present greater challenges in terms of reliability than his texts, and scholars tend to admit that "F.r.n.j.l.sh" is actually Hornachuelos. Yet, some still insist on identifying "F.r.n.j.l.sh" with "Fornacis," that is with Hornachos. It is the case of Abid Mizal, who reads it "Furnajūsh," to mean Hornachos (Extremadura Region). See his Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Sharif al-Idrīsī. *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII según*, *Uns al-muhaj wa-rawḍ al-furaj*. Estudio, edición, traducción y anotaciones por Jassim Abid Mizal (Madrid: Instituto de Filología, 1989).

[16] Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq*, vol. II (Al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2010), 573-74. Hereafter, *Nuzhat*, which was completed in 1154 and is better known in the West as the *Great Atlas, Book of Roger* or *Tabula Rogeriana*.

[17] Al-Idrīsī, *Uns al-Muhaj wa Rawḍ al-Furaj*, Taḥqīq Y. B. Bapāpūr, Taqdīm M. R. Saḥāb & R. Jaʿfariān. Available online. This short version of *Nuzhat* was undertaken at the request of King Roger II, delivered to him before completion around 1162, and completed by al-Idrīsī's students around 1192. Henceforth *Uns*.

[18] See Felipe Gómez Solís, "Aspectos de toponimia mayor medieval cordobesa," *Anuario de estudios filológicos* 13 (1990): 126. The place name Hornachuelos is documented in 1240 as "Fornachuelos" and in 1249 as "Hornachuelos."

Fresno (Badajoz) and Hornachuelos in the province of Córdoba.[19] To explain this hypothetical etymology, it is suggested that the Hornachuelos in Badajoz, uninhabited and overgrown then and an archaeological site nowadays, is distinguished by the diminutive because it was subordinate to the main Hornachos.[20] This argument, however, does not explain why the Hornachuelos in the province of Córdoba should have that suffix despite there not being a larger Hornachos to be subordinate to. For its part, the official dictionary of the Spanish language (DLE)[21] does not include the singular diminutive "Hornachuelo" of the noun "Hornacho," which it defines as "A hole or concavity made in mountains or hills where some minerals or earths are excavated, such as red ochre, sand, etc." It does, however, include "Hornachuela," describing it as a feminine noun meaning "A kind of hut or shack." Furthermore, the DLE explains that "Hornacho" originates from the Latin "Fornax" (oven; pl. Fornācis), whereas "Hornachuela" stems from the diminutive of the archaic Spanish word "Hornaza," itself a derivative of "Fornax."

Furnajūlush, Fanjalīs, Fornacis, Fornaculus

For many scholars, the Arabic toponym "Furnajūlush" (فرنجولش), which appears in three slightly different spellings,[22] is a transcription of the Castilian "Hornachuelos," which is commonly taken by the locals to mean "City of holes/pits." Nothing could be further from the truth, since, firstly, "Furnajūlush" does not mean "City of holes/ pits," neither in Arabic nor in al-Idrīsī's nomenclature; and, secondly, it is most likely that the name of the town now called Hornachuelos is of Arabic origin, since it was founded by Muslims. Needless to say that Andalusī[23] toponymy is comprised of names that either predate the 711 Conquest and were adapted into Arabic or are original names attributed to structures founded by the new inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, and that the transcription between Arabic and Castilian was

[19] Alonso Rodríguez Díaz, Manuel Pérez Gutiérrez & David M. Duque Espino, "Estrechando el círculo de la Fornacis de Ptolomeo: el oppidum de Hornachuelos (Ribera del Fresno, Badajoz)," *Conimbriga* 58 (2019): 58-60.

[20] The findings on the ground in Ribera del Fresno suggest that Hornachos "settled" near what is now called Hornachuelos, a Roman oppidum established around the middle of the 2nd century BC, abandoned towards the end of the 1st century AD and identified today, based on field research and vestiges of entity, with the "Fornacis" of Ptolemy in his *Geography* (II, 5, 7). See Rodríguez Díaz et al., "Aspectos."

[21] *Diccionario de la lengua española.* Compiled, edited, and published by the Real Academia Española (RAE), 2022 (Edición del Tricentenario). Available online.

[22] The reliable فرنجولش in *Nuzhat* and the inaccurate ones, due to scribal variance, قرنحولس and فرنشولش in *Uns*.

[23] I use "Andalusī," from al-Andalus, to differentiate between it and "Andalusian," from today's Andalusia (southern region of Spain).

from the former to the latter, not the other way around.[24] Accordingly, would "Furnajūlush" not be the Arabic transcription of a pre-Roman or Latin toponym?

In any case, it is evident that "Furnajūlush" is not of Arabic origin. It is probably a graphic adaptation of "Fornaculus" (vaulted small oven), a Latin term derived from "Fornax" (vaulted oven), from which "Fornix" is derived, a word meaning vault or arch and, by extension, a curved structure, whether for baking (oven/ small oven) or for serving clients, as prostitutes historically did in Roman brothels, the depth of whose aligned vaults provided the necessary darkness for their business. It should be noted that, in addition to Hornachos and Hornachuelos, names related to ovens are common in Spanish toponymy, such as Horna, Hornera, Hornos, Hornillos, Hornilla, Hornillo, Hornico, Hornachón, Aldehorno, Valdehorno, Fornillos, Fornos, Fornas, etc.[25]

Al-Idrīsī was the earliest recorded individual to use "Furnajūlush," circa the mid-twelfth century, followed by Ibn al-Abbār[26] a century later and by al-Ḥimyarī[27] and al-ʿOmarī[28] in the fourteenth century. In Arabic, the closest equivalent to al-Idrīsī's "Furnajūlush" is "Fanjalīs," a loanword of Latin origin. In early Arabic dictionaries, this word, omitting the letter r for prosodic reasons, appears as an adjective in a fairly common phrase alongside the noun "Kamara," from the Latin "Camara," meaning "Glans." The phrase in question reads: "Large-arched glans." At any rate, this formula, be it for the compound form of the loanword ("Kamara-Fanjalīs") or the function attributed to it, looks rather peculiar, because there is no shortage of Arabic words for "Glans" and/or "Large-arched." "Kameriy," for example, would suffice to express "Large-arched glans." Hence the need to say more in this regard before commenting on al-Idrīsī's use of "Furnajūlush."

The noun "Kamara" predates the adjective "Fanjalīs," but both share a crucial characteristic in our context: curvature. The Latin etymon "Camara" means "vault" or "arched vault," and both its form (كَمَرة/ Kamara) and meaning ("an arched structure")[29] remained unaltered when it passed into Arabic. As for the adjective "Fanjalīs," it may well be the Arabic adaptation

[24] A quick glance at the major medieval Cordoban place names reveals that, with the exception of Córdoba and its derivatives, they are all of Arabic origin. See Gómez Solís, "Aspectos," 126.
[25] See the entry "Horn…" in Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, vol. IX (Madrid: La Ilustración, 1847), and M. Cortés Valenciano. "Toponimia aragonesa antroponímica con la terminación –ón(I)," *Alazet* 30 (2018): 69.
[26] Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-Ḥulla al-Sayrā*, ed. Husayn Munis (Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maṭbaʿa al-Maʿārif, 1985).
[27] Al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār fī Khabar al-Aqṭār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Leiden: Brill, 1938, reed. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1988).
[28] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. Kāmil Salmān al-Jabbūrī wa Mahdī al-Najm, vol. II (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2010).
[29] Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (Al-Qāhira: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbiya, 1869).

of "Fornicalis," derived from "Fornix," which, as mentioned above, also designates an "arched structure." Interestingly, "Fanjalīs" can also function as a noun, meaning, by itself, "Kamara with a large arch" and, by extension, "Large arch" of any structure.

In Arabic, the common term for "vault," "dome," "cupule," "arch," or "arched structure" is قبة (qubba). However, "qubba" is, normally, not used in inappropriate situations, as it is primarily associated with a sacred place for Muslims, such as قبة الصخرة / "Dome of the Rock."[30] In such cases, what is used is "Kamara" or a synonym thereof. On the other hand, "Fanjalīs" may allude to the size of the arch – which can be pointed or semi-circular – and not to the entire structure, be it a glans, a bridge, a castle, an aqueduct, or something else.

This is the alternative interpretation I propose for al-Idrīsī's enigmatic "Furnajūlush," which, by no means, implies that he necessarily knew the term "Fanjalīs," much less that he consulted Arabic dictionaries for this purpose. "Furnajūlush" and "Fanjalīs," besides being quite similar phonetically and graphically, share that key element of our analysis: curvature, a prominent physical characteristic of the (pre-) Roman era. In this respect, al-Idrīsī's word "Furnajūlush" would coincide, above all semantically, with Ptolemy's "Fornacis."[31] This word is actually quite familiar in the Iberian Peninsula, given the many ancient places with the arch or the vault (bridges, aqueducts, castles, cisterns, galleries, portals, etc.) as a sign of identity and, by extension, the many toponyms based on the Latin term "fŭrnus" (oven) and its ancient/dialectal variant "forno," with the metaphorical sense of "hollowness, cave," which is quite common in chorographic designations.[32]

Hornachos versus Hornachuelos

A review of the Roman remains discovered in the province of Córdoba suggests that Caliphate-era Hornachuelos was built upon the ruins of a Roman "fornacis," originally a strategic fortified settlement with curved forms, primarily constructed of stone or brick. Muslim conquerors settled in this

[30] Located in Jerusalem and considered the point from which the Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven during his Night Journey, it is a key site on the Noble Sanctuary, the third holiest place in Islam after Mecca and Medina.

[31] Among the 8000 toponyms it contains, Ptolemy's *Geographia* mentions a place at 8º, 30' longitude and 38º, 50' latitude in the Iberian Peninsula with the name "Fornacis." See León Pérez, R. and A. Gámiz Gordo. "Interpretaciones gráficas de la *Geographia* de Ptolomeo: los primeros mapas de la península Ibérica y su aproximación al territorio extremeño (Graphic interpretations of Ptolemy's *Geographia*: The First Maps of the Iberian Peninsula and Their Approach to the Extremaduran Territory)," *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 84 (2020): 1-45. (https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2838).

[32] See Cortés Valenciano, "Toponimia," 69.

area, Arabized the local roman toponym "Fornaculus,"[33] pronouncing it roughly as "Furnajūlush," which then the Mozarabs[34] pronounced something like "Fornachuelos" and al-Idrīsī characterized as "فرنجولش/ Furnajūlush," with a transcription most likely based on the Arabic spoken by the locals and his own historical knowledge, rather than on the Castilian derivative "F/Hornachuelos."

In evoking the place called "Furnajūlush," al-Idrīsī locates it, in *Nuzhat*, twelve miles from the Malbál Bridge (or Bembézar Bridge) and as many from the oppidum ("Ḥiṣn") of Almodóvar del Río, and, in *Uns*, thirty-five miles from the city of Córdoba and twelve from the Castle of Moratalla, describing it as "an impregnable fortified madīna, with many vineyards and trees, and with silver mines in the vicinity, in a place called al-Marj."[35] Judging by the rather rigorous descriptions of the Ceutan geographer in his two texts and by the much-discussed coordinates of Ptolemy in his *Geographia*,[36] I draw the one and only possible conclusion: both authors are referring to two apparently homonymous but completely different locations, separated by a considerable distance: Ptolemy to the town of "Fornacis," in the province of Badajoz,[37] and al-Idrīsī to the town of "Furnajūlush," in the province of Córdoba.[38]

In the Iberian Middle Ages, "Furnajūlush" might have appeared in Church and (Catholic) administrative documents as F/Hornachuelos, which was, in all probability, neither a transcription of "Fornacis" nor a diminutive of "Hornachos." In the Kingdom of Córdoba, it was perhaps the local population, especially in later periods and with the aim of easing the pronunciation, who began to settle for the short version "Hornachos" instead of "Hornachuelos," thus resulting in a geographic overlap between the two toponyms. In Extremadura, the overlap would be the other way round, ensuing from the gradual alternation between "Hornachos" and "Hornachuelos" by the predominantly Muslim population, due to the influence of the Cordoban "Furnajūlush," facilitated by the strong commercial ties with this region. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the

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[33] Hermann Lautensach, *Maurische Züge im geographischen Bild der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Bonn: Ferdinand Dümmler Verlag, 1960), 14.

[34] Iberian Christians living under Muslim rule in al-Andalus (8th-11th centuries) who, while remaining Christian, adopted Arabic language and culture.

[35] Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat*, vol. II, 573-74.

[36] León Pérez et al., "Interpretaciones."

[37] "Fornacis" is identified by some with Hornachuelos and/or Hornachos in Badajoz and by others with Hornachuelos in Córdoba. For now, field research places this Ptolemaic city in Hornachuelos (Badajoz).

[38] In general, al-Idrīsī's cartographic drawings present greater challenges in terms of reliability than his textual ones. Yet, many are the researchers who still insist on identifying al-Idrīsī's "F.r.n.j.l.sh" with Ptolemy's "Fornacis."

Cordoban toponym "Hornachuelos" was eventually adopted by the locals in the province of Badajoz.

In this context, it cannot be ruled out that, at a certain point in the Christian conquest of the territory, the Church itself sought to minimize the use of the potenially offensive "Hornachuelos" by promoting the use of "Hornachos" in an attempt to disassociate this toponym, which is phonetically too close to "Hornachuelas," from the immoral reality of these traditional spaces of prostitution or practices at odds with Christian doctrine.[39] In this rather Catholic light, we understand why someone like Nebrija (1441-1522) disregards "Hornachuelos" completely in his *Vocabulario español-latino* (1495) while limiting his definition of "Hornachos" to "Hornachos in the mastership"[40] and, later, Diego de Guadix (c. 1550-c. 1615), implicitly denying the existence of the toponym "Hornachuelos," speaks of the existence of two "Hornachos," one of them being the Cordoban "Hornachuelos."[41]

In essence, Guadix does much more than define a location. His becomes an extraordinary testimony as he calls the Cordoban town of Hornachuelos "Hornachos," describing it as "a town in Spain belonging to the bishopric of Córdoba," and then explains that "because there are two towns [called Hornacho], they say it in the plural and make this name corruption: Hornachos."[42] As a lexicographer, Guadix may be criticized for theoretical and methodological shortcomings,[43] but to dismiss him outright, labeling, for instance, his definition an "aberrant etymological disquisition,"[44] seems excessive, to say the least. Let us not forget that Guadix, besides being bilingual, an Arabist, an interpreter for the Holy Office of Granada, a

[39] In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), Covarrubias defines "Hornachuelas" as designated booths, attached to the wall outside the city, where men have access to prostitutes. See the entry "Fornicate."

[40] Nebrija refers to the Mastership of Santiago, an influential religious-military order founded in the Kingdom of León around 1170 to fight against Islam during the so-called "Reconquista."

[41] Diego de Guadix. *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los árabes pusieron a algunas ciudades y a otras muchas cosas* (Compilation of some Arabic names that Arabs gave to some cities and to many other things) (c. 1593), ed. E. Bajo Pérez y F. Maíllo Salgado (Gijón: Trea, 2005). This compilation of Arabic loanwords identifies 4336 Arabic words in Spanish, around two thousand of which are place names.

[42] Diego de Guadix, *Recopilación*, 714.

[43] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano: "There is nothing in Guadix's work that remotely resembles what might be considered serious etymological research," in "Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of Arabic in Early Modern Spain," in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 154. In contrast, a specialist like F. Corriente thinks that Guadix's *Recopilación* is not a "disreputable source," arguing that, with a 50% accuracy rate, "many of the data contained in his work are valuable." See his "Notas lingüísticas acerca de la *Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos* de Diego de Guadix," *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 9 (2005): 110-12.

[44] Amieva, "Desde el exilio," 125.

reference for a lexicographical authority like Covarrubias,[45] was a Franciscan friar who did not live in isolation, but maintained close contact with the Morisco world and, above all, served in various places as an advisor and director of convents, as well as on a mission in Rome for six years, during which he collaborated with the eminent orientalist G. B. Raimondi (1540-1610).[46] In simple terms, the profile of Guadix is that of a well-educated and informed individual, with a solid academic foundation and broad and up-to-date knowledge. With that in mind, his aforementioned definition cannot be the result of improvisation, but rather an attempt to echo a fairly widespread popular attitude in his immediate surroundings, opting for "Hornachos" instead of the inherited term "Hornachuelos." And there is more.

When Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco (1539-1613) happened to mention "Hornachuelos" in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (1611),[47] he did so while explaining a famous proverb in those days. The proverb ends up taking up almost the entire entry (97 words), while "Hornachuelos" appears only as "a place in Extremadura" (3 words). Just before, in the entry for "Hornachos," Covarrubias is no less concise: "a place in Extremadura, near Mérida." From a toponymic perspective, both definitions look somewhat mediocre, probably because they are based on insufficient information, further worsened by a more than likely overlap between "Hornachos" and "Hornachuelos." Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that Covarrubias is referring in both entries to one and the same town in the province of Badajoz: Hornachos.

The proverb noted by Covarrubias first appears half a century earlier in *La Philosophía vulgar* [48] by Juan de Mal Lara (1524-1571) and reads: "The sweethearts of Hornachuelos, he weeps for not taking her and she for not going with him." Two things stand out about this emblematic proverb, which alludes to two young people who, without having met beforehand, are married off by their parents and begin to hate each other during the marriage ceremony: it originates in Hornachuelos, and it is glossed as a place in Extremadura. Therefore, we ask ourselves: How can a proverb, usually generated by the common wisdom of the local people of a given place, originate in an abandoned town that would continue to be depopulated until

[45] In fact, *Recopilación* is often cited, especially for its toponymic contributions, in the first dictionaries of Spanish, Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (1611) and the RAE *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1739).

[46] For biographical information, see Diego de Guadix, *Diccionario de arabismos: Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos*, ed. María Águeda Moreno Moreno and Introd. Ignacio Ahumada (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2007).

[47] See footnote 39.

[48] J. de Mal Lara, *La Philosophía vulgar* (Sevilla: En casa de Hernando Díaz, 1568).

it was rediscovered in 1898?[49] And if the only place in Extremadura that bears the name Hornachuelos is the hill that was discovered in Ribera del Fresno at the end of the nineteenth century, how can Mal Lara refer to "Hornachuelos" as if it were a bustling place in that area? In my opinion, it doesn't take much thought to deduce that the place Mal Lara alludes to is none other than Hornachos, and that the proverb in question originated precisely in this town of the province of Badajoz. In any case, the popularity of the proverb "The sweethearts of Hornachuelos…" seems to have been extensive and widespread during the Golden Age (XVI & XVII centuries) in Spain.

Here it is inspiring a celebrated playwright to compose a two-act play set in Hornachos and titled *Los novios de Hornachuelos* (The Sweethearts of Hornachuelos). Long attributed to the Madrileno Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and, since 1929, definitively to Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644,)[50] the play draws attention to motifs of honor, jealousy, and sentimental misunderstandings characteristic of cloak-and-dagger comedies, reflecting the Baroque style of the period.[51] Once authorship is established, it would be strange to think that Guevara, a native of Écija,[52] actually confused the Extremaduran Hornachos with the Cordoban Hornachuelos, and, even less so, that he used the Morisco tragedy of Hornachos, Extremadura, as the foundation for his dramatic work and so inappropiately titled it by reusing the text of a humorous proverb set against the backdrop of the Cordoban town of Hornachuelos.[53]

Al-Ḥajarī is not from Hornachos

If al-Ḥajarī were indeed "a native of the town of Hornachos," this place, the hypothetical land of his ancestors and repository of his memories, the setting for his childhood and experiences, would have been the quintessential narrative space for his autobiographical account. However,

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[49] In his *Diccionario*, vol. IX, P. Madoz describes Hornachuelos thus: "uninhabited in the province of Badajoz [...], hardly any trace of its population is noticeable, of which only traditional references exist." More recently, F. J. Jiménez Ávila states that "in the Archaeological Map of Tierra de Barros, based on the materials collected on the surface, two different periods for the occupation of this settlement are established, corresponding to a pre-Roman horizon and a high-imperial Roman horizon." See his *Estudio numismático del poblado de Hornachuelos (Ribera del Fresno, Badajoz)*. Series de arqueología extremeña, 4 (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura 1990), 15.

[50] See Introduction to Luis Vélez de Guevara, *Los novios de Hornachuelos*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by John M. Hill and Frank O. Reed (New York & London: Century Co., 1929). Due to this controversy and the loose versions, it is believed that it was published around 1625.

[51] The comedy illustrates the popular proverb with a peasant and a maid forming the pair of hideous lovers who hate each other because they were forced into marriage. See José María Castro Velasco, "Los novios de Hornachuelos, comedia de Lope de Vega en el contexto histórico de la expulsión de los moriscos," *Haíresis, Revista de investigación histórica* 1 (2013): 247.

[52] There are just over 40 km between Écija and Hornachuelos.

[53] It is peculiar that the editors Hill and Reed overlooked this detail, choosing instead to state merely that "The town of the proverbial novios [Hornachuelos] has survived in name only. The name is not to be confused with of the modern town in the Province of Córdoba." See Guevara, *Lo novios*, 140.

there is no trace of Hornachos in *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*. Interestingly, throughout his entire body of work – across both his Arabic and Spanish writings – there is not a single mention of anyone or anything tied to Extremadura. This situation raises two fundamental questions: Is it conceivable that someone linked to a specific location through historical, family and emotional roots – that is, with normal feelings toward his land, his people, and his years among them before having to go into exile – would say absolutely nothing about any of it when writing his memoirs? What reason(s) would al-Ḥajarī have for so dramatically distancing himself from his hometown by maintaining absolute silence? Or is it perhaps that we are looking in/ at the wrong place and other options should be considered? This is the lead I am going to explore to try and solve the mystery, as though al-Ḥajarī, by not being in that of Badajoz, were in another province.

The conclusion reached above, that al-Idrīsī's "Furnajūlush" and Ptolemy's "Fornacis" are two separate places, the former located in the province of Córdoba and the latter in the province of Badajoz, would refute the assertion that al-Ḥajarī comes from Hornachos/Badajoz, an affirmation largely held by his specialists, who also strive to identify that location with "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." Therefore, if "Furnajūlush" is not "Fornacis," largely identified with Hornachos, then "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" cannot be Hornachos. And if, on the other hand, "Furnajūlush" is Hornachuelos, why didn't al-Ḥajarī, who was familiar with al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat* in which this Arabic toponym appears, simply borrow it, instead of going to such lengths to invent "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar?"

At this point, let us examine the data contained mainly in al-Ḥajarī's own texts. They may seem irrelevant at first but, analysed thouroughly and all together, they might turn out to be vital for locating al-Ḥajarī's place of origin. While certain elements are undeniably less significant, collectively they are intended to disprove the prevailing "Hornachos hypothesis."

When al-Ḥajarī departed al-Andalus (in 1599), it was not a solitary exodus. He was accompanied by "a fellow countryman of mine, kind and religious, who for the love of Allah was willing to make sacrifices and migrate to the land of the Muslims."[54] This is a detail that al-Ḥajarī reaffirms in his Letter,[55] telling us that "I left taking with me that young man from (the city or province of) Córdoba." By reading between the lines, we deduce that al-Ḥajarī's companion, whose name is not revealed, was actually a fellow countryman of his and his personal assistant. The tone of the conversation between the two confirms the master-assistant relationship, as implied by the

[54] *Nāṣir al-Dīn*; Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 35; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 109.
[55] See footnote 14.

latter's use of "Sidi/Sir."[56] More importantly, the Spanish text reveals that the assistant, whose identity is withheld in this instance as well, is a young man, younger surely than al-Ḥajarī,[57] from (the city or province of) Córdoba. This seemingly insignificant detail serves as the first direct clue leading to al-Ḥajarī's own place of origin. Since the young man is from al-Ḥajarī's hometown and from (the city or province of) Córdoba, this means, beyond any doubt, that al-Ḥajarī too is from the province of Córdoba.

Another relevant element is the use of the demonstrative "that (young man)," which suggests that the immediate recipients (such as al-Ḥajarī's friend doctor Abū al-ʿĀṣ) of al-Ḥajarī's Letter to Constantinople (1612/1635) had prior knowledge of the "Cordoban lad," who appears to have been assisting al-Ḥajarī in his endeavours for some time. This is confirmed by the tone of the conversation, held in Mazagan, between the two regarding which route to take to Azammūr. [58] They speak to each other with the familiarity of long-time coworkers, presumably in a sector that would involve more or less frequent and risky transfers in human smuggling operations from al-Andalus to Barbary (i.e., Morocco). This is the impression given by the following episode of the Letter: "I had quite a disagreement in Seville with Villegas and his brother, so I thought it best to leave them the ship to avoid a greater loss, which was well foreseen should our business be discovered. Finally, I left them and departed, taking that young man from Córdoba with me."[59]

Based on my interpretation of the excerpt, al-Ḥajarī, a follower of the precept of Jihad, used a small boat, which I infer he owned, to smuggle Moriscos from the Iberian Peninsula to Morocco for a modest price. Villegas and his brother were his associates, and the operations of this "business" were sometimes disguised as trade in goods between the two shores. Furthermore, I understand that al-Ḥajarī planned to flee to Morocco in his own vessel, but when the day arrived, a serious disagreement with his two associates forced him to abandon everything, fleeing the area to avoid detection by the authorities. Al-Ḥajarī, flanked by his assistant, reached Morocco via another escape route, and once there, he crossed paths with the Villegas brothers, whose attitude disconcerted him, not only because they had seized the small

[56] It takes place on the eve of their escape from Mazagan, when his assistant has to play the fool to avoid arousing the suspicions of the Portuguese: "'How are we doing, sir?' he asked me. // 'Cover your head again. Everything is fine, God willing,' I told him." Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 38; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 113.

[57] In 1599, al-Ḥajarī would have been about twenty-nine years old.

[58] "'Which way do you think we should go?' I asked my companion. 'We'll do as you see fit,' he told me. 'The shortest way to Azemúr is this way.' 'That's right,' he told me." Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 39; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 114.

[59] Zaccaron, *La edición*, 144.

boat and used it to profit from transporting Moriscos to Morocco, but also because they were ungrateful and hostile towards him.[60]

Owning a boat or being involved in the "business" on the water doesn't necessarily mean al-Ḥajarī would be in his element on the water. For that, one needs the ability to navigate from a young age, by virtue of access to a navigable river and/or to the sea. Hornachos possesses neither, situated as it is within a rugged, interior rural enclave. There is no sea near Hornachos, and the closest river is the Matachel, which runs through the area but is non-navigable. So, if it turns out that al-Ḥajarī is comfortable and confident sailing on the open sea or spending the night on a ship anchored in a harbor, serious doubt will be cast on the validity of his Extremaduran Hornachos origins. Let's find out!

Unlike Hornachos, Hornachuelos, though it too is primarily rural, has the Bembézar River, a right-bank tributary and waterway of the Guadalquivir River, which could serve as a natural and dynamic training sailing ground. Judging by his confidence and comfort in aquatic environments, and by the absence in his account of any incident, feeling of discomfort, nausea, dizziness or reluctance related to being on the river or at sea, it must be assumed that al-Ḥajarī was familiar with sailing, through exposure to boats and maritime environments from an early age. His investment in a vessel to do "business" between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa and his conversation with his assistant about which way to go from Mazagan to Azammūr reflect a certain routine related to sailing, navigation, etc. But even more telling is their 600 km journey from Santa María Port (Cádiz) to the Portuguese colony of Mazagan in Morocco,[61] his one month journey to France, in 1609, by setting sail from Safi (Morocco)[62] or his even longer sea journey back from Flanders to Morocco, in 1612.[63]

Less arduous perhaps but equally telling moments of sailing experience in al-Ḥajarī's account are when he spends his first night in Europe aboard the ship that had taken him from Safi and was now docked in Le Havre de Grâce,[64] when he chooses to go back from Toulouse to Bordeaux on a three-day river journey instead of doing so by road,[65] when, upset by the French anti-Muslim conduct, he decides to sail an extra four or more days to Flanders, from which to return to Morocco, instead of doing so from France,[66]

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[60] "They loaded the small ship with Moriscos and brought them all to Morocco" and "not content… with what they had gained, they were still my enemies in Morocco." Zaccaron, *La edición*, 145.
[61] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 35; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 109.
[62] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 44; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 121.
[63] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 45; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 123.
[64] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 45; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 123.
[65] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 93; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 183.
[66] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 121; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 219.

when he chooses to go to Mecca by setting sail from Salé instead of riding a camel,[67] or when, to conceal his intention to escape from among the Portuguese in Mazagan, he buys a horse and mounts guard with their official guards, atop an impregnable high wall overlooking the Atlantic, for almost two months.[68] In a nutshell, were al-Ḥajarī to feel any real apprehension, he would have avoided setting sail whenever possible, showning the typical signs of discomfort by someone unfamiliar with water travel.

Another revealing moment occurs in *Nāṣir al-Dīn* when al-Ḥajarī, upon learning of the arrival in Granada of a particular group of people, hastens to their funduk (lodging). They are fellow countrymen and acquaintances of his. So, he interrupts his reading session, finds out where they are staying, and rushes, with the Arabic book (al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat*) still in his hand, to meet them. His reaction reveals that al-Ḥajarī is neither indifferent to his birthplace and his people, nor by any means unemotional towards them. It should also be noted that Granada is 264 km from Hornachos in Extremadura and only 162 km from the so-called Hornachos in Córdoba, a distance to which the corresponding logistical and administrative difficulties should be added. Therefore, we can surmise that the journey of al-Ḥajarī's countrymen, being less difficult and the reason for it more conceivable in that situation, would have been made from the Cordoban Hornachos, that is to say Hornachuelos.

At another point, while in Marrakech, al-Ḥajarī sees some Moriscos arrive to seek the sultan's help after being plundered by French captains during their voyage from Spain. When recalling this episode in *Nāṣir al-Dīn*, al-Ḥajarī only mentions Moriscos aboard four ships,[69] but in the Letter he provides more details, stating that "they were people from four ships, from Córdoba, Hornachos, Écija, and Sanlúcar."[70] My textual analysis suggests that the Hornachos referenced here cannot be the one in Extremadura, because if it were, al-Ḥajarī would be, instinctively, inclined to mention his birthplace first. Furthermore, all three towns mentioned alongside Hornachos, that is, Córdoba, Écija (province of Seville), and Sanlúcar de Barrameda (province of Cádiz), are located within the same area, Andalusia, a region that undeniably includes the Cordoban Hornachos.

To intercede on their behalf,[71] al-Ḥajarī, bearing a royal mandate from the sultan, set sail from the Atlantic port of Safi with five of the plundered

[67] See footnote 11.
[68] Zaccaron, *La edición*, 144.
[69] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 44; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 120.
[70] Zaccaron, *La edición*, 147.
[71] Koningsveld et al., mention the Latin term "mercator," which Erpenius uses to describe al-Ḥajarī in a letter to I. Casaubon dated September 28, 1611. On page 26 of their *Kitāb* (General Introduction), they translate it as "merchant," but then, on page 44, they thank L.P. Harvey for pointing out that "mercator" does not denote being "in business," but rather a "social class label." However, judging from the context in both al-Ḥajarī's account and Erpenius's letter, I assume that "mercator" would not

Moriscos.[72] Once in France, he received letters from some Moriscos reporting additional occurrences of plunder committed by the French. The senders of two of these letters, who happen to be the only ones mentioned by al-Ḥajarī by name, were Alonso de Campos, from Archidona (Málaga), and Jerónimo de la Cueva, from Baeza. This is further evidence that we are dealing with Andalusians, and not with Extremadurans.[73]

Following a year-long stay in France, al-Ḥajarī became entangled in a rather peculiar event in Bordeaux. A document from the city archives records that in 1612, the municipal administration received news that, in violation of the 1611 ordinance prohibiting Muslims, Orientals, and Moriscos from residing in the city, "some Moriscos were staying near the Saint Julien Gate, at the inn of Madame d'Escouasse, scandalously professing the sect of Muhammad, teaching dogma, and performing ceremonies of the Turkish religion."[74] Upon arriving at the location, the patrol arrested Amado Bencassen, Jacques Fernandes, and Harné Garsia.[75] The first confessed to being Muslim but carried a royal passport authorizing him to oversee Moriscos residing in Bordeaux. He was then ordered to find separate accommodations and live there discreetly. The other two, Fernandes de Sevilla and Garsia de "Luques" (Córdoba),[76] declared themselves Christians and were given three days to make a profession of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith before the archbishop. These and other details of this incident leave no doubt that those arrested are al-Ḥajarī and two of his companions who had been robbed. In Bordeaux, al-Ḥajarī recovers some of what had been usurped from the Moriscos of al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, and at the end of his French tour, he also obtains compensation for the other Moriscos represented by his companions.[77]

Both the episode we have just seen and the one we shall see next confirm that al-Ḥajarī's focus is solely on Andalusia. After translating into

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mean "merchant" or "trader," but rather "intercessor" or "negotiator," a term that would have been suggested to Erpenius by the very reason al-Ḥajarī might have given him for his trip to Europe. About letters by Erpenius, see Juan Martínez Ruiz. "Cartas de Thomas van Erpen (Thomas Erpenius) en un Archivo de Granada (1623-24)" *Digital version of the original in Boletín de la Real Academia Española* LV, 205 (mayo-agosto 1975): 265-307,

[72] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 44; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 120.

[73] Zaccaron, *La edición*, 148.

[74] Registre Juridique de l'Assemblée Générale de Bordeaux, vol. 1612-1613, Dossier 59.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 43 and 51, have identified it as Lugues or Lugo. To me, the location is most likely Luque, a town in the province of Córdoba.

[77] "As for the properties held in Bordeaux, which had been stolen by the captain from people of al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, we were finally able to recover them after about a year and a half there. And – praise be to Allah – each and every one of my Andalusī grantors received some money, from a total of about a thousand ounces of silver according to the Moroccan valuation, two-thirds of which were spent on paying for the services of judges, legal experts, etc." Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 116; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 234-35.

Arabic Philip III's decree to expel the Moriscos, al-Ḥajarī adds: "No sooner had the people of the Kingdom of Valencia left than orders were given to those in Andalusia and neighboring localities to leave. And when the Moriscos, with the chartered ships, were preparing to sail from the port on the [Guadalquivir] River in Seville, another royal decree was issued, contradicting the one we have just seen. It stated that if they embarked to go to Muslim lands, all boys and girls under seven years of age must be taken from them. So, they forced all the minors on board the twenty chartered ships to disembark and then kept from among them a great many boys and girls, of whom about a thousand were from al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar."[78]

According to the official program, the first Moriscos to be expelled were those from the Kingdom of Valencia (decree of September 22, 1609), followed by those from Andalusia and neighboring areas (decree of January 10, 1610). A careful reading of al-Ḥajarī's text in light of this information reveals how he disregards the decrees concerning the Moriscos of the Crown of Aragon (May 29, 1610), Extremadura (which includes Hornachos) and the two Castiles (July 10, 1610), and the Kingdom of Murcia (October 8, 1610 and October 1613), focusing solely on the second decree, as it concerned his region, Andalusia. Al-Ḥajarī then mentions the episode of the seizure of Morisco children from their parents in the port of Seville and at the borders of Ceuta and Tangier, which he describes as a "disastrous, cruel, and enormous event" when he recounts it to his fellow countrymen in his Letter.[79] Al-Ḥajarī seizes the opportunity to point out that among the children taken from their families, about a thousand came from al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, which, based on the analytical framework established, must be located in Andalusia (southern part of Spain).

It seems quite likely that "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," a name that is not documented in any Arabic geography book, whether earlier or later than al-Ḥajarī, is not a town, but rather a fairly extensive territory. In any case, it cannot be equivalent to Hornachos: first, because the former is a compound toponym (comprising two parts), which the latter is not; second, since Hornachos and Hornachuelos share the same root, the Arabic equivalent should not be so morphologically different from the Castilian; and third, given the said overlap that existed at the time between Hornachos and Hornachuelos, it would have sufficed for al-Ḥajarī to borrow the aforementioned "Furnajūlush" from al-Idrīsī. The available evidence

[78] Outmani, *Riḥlat*, 132-33; Koningsveld et al., *Kitāb*, 215.

[79] "On the borders of Ceuta and Tangier, all the children were taken from their parents, even if they were only ten years old. Also in Seville, they took the children of people who were on fourteen ships, and the cries of the mothers were so loud that the Sevillians said it was Judgment Day. Some of these people ended up in Morocco; mothers could not find peace at all and some even lost their minds." Zaccaron, *La edición*, 150.

regarding "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" is only contextual, but all signs indicate that it is, most likely, the Arabic equivalent of Sierra Morena. Its two defining physical characteristics are its mountainous terrain and reddish hue, hallmarks that in Arabic, with synecdoche in between, have resulted in "The Red Stone" ("al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar"). Consequently, the term "al-Ḥajarī" would be the equivalent of "Serrano," a term found among the Morisco surnames of Hispanic origin related to the mountains. Moreover, it should be noted that "al-Ḥajarī" is a nisba, an adjective morphologically derived from "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," which in this case functions as a surname.[80]

Sierra Morena, a mountain range that separates the Central Plateau from the Guadalquivir depression, extends across four Andalusian provinces (Córdoba, Seville, Huelva, and Jaén), but I am inclined to think that it is the Cordoban section thereof that al-Ḥajarī has in mind, be it when he tells the Archbishop that he is from "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," when he mentions the case of the thousand children from "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" seized from their parents or when he speaks of recovering properties stolen from people of "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." It is important to highlight that the Cordoban Sierra Morena spans eight local towns,[81] but Hornachuelos, al-Ḥajarī's hometown, remains the most significant of them all, not just because of its size and natural resources but, above all, because of its Arab/Muslim character.

In *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, al-Ḥajarī invokes his hometown five times using the term "baladī/ بَلدي," Arabic for "place of birth." He is careful throughout to avoid revealing its name, although he cannot hide his attachment to his "place of birth," a hardly noticeable sentiment when he speaks of, what is slightly different, his place of origin, "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," his tone seeming rather generic and somewhat distant, presumably because it is a lesser place for being a shared land, encompassing other towns besides his own.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, al-Ḥajarī scholars interpreted his signature "Diego Vexarano, natural de Hornachos," to mean that he was a Hornachero, a native of Hornachos, in the province of Badajoz, which is located in the Extremadura Region. As a matter of fact, Hornachos was said to be the equivalent of "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," a place name mentioned by al-

[80] On this point, I differ with Koningsveld et al., (*Kitāb*, 22) who, by misreading evidence by al-Ḥajarī himself, state that "His family name was Ibn al-shaykh. The nisba al-Ḥajarī is probably derived from the name of the village where he was born and raised. It is called al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar." They stress that "it is certain that we should not read Ibn al-shaykh al-Ḥajarī." Anyhow, I am retaking this point in a forthcoming article.

[81] Besides Hornachuelos, the area includes Adamuz, Espiel, Montoro, Obejo, Villaharta, Villanueva del Rey, and Villaviciosa de Córdoba.

Ḥajarī in his *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*. However, after revisiting their interpretation and examining the available data, this article has reached the conclusion that, with the corresponding textual and/ or contextual evidence, al-Ḥajarī was actually not from Hornachos, but from Hornachuelos, in the province of Córdoba, which is located in the Andalusia Region. The toponymic overlapping between Hornachos and Hornachuelos during the period known in Spain as Siglo de Oro (from late fifteenth to late seventeenth centuries) clearly misled al-Ḥajarī scholars. Hornachuelos, which was also known then as Hornachos, is a town situated in the Sierra Morena, which our Morisco calls "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," from which his Arabic adjectival surname (*nisba*) "al-Ḥajarī" clearly derives, and whose Spanish equivalent is "Serrano."

But, as has been shown above, the toponymic overlap is not the only clue to al-Ḥajarī's birthplace. It is, just as importantly, his own account of the facts, the settings, the characters, etc. around which his narrative is structured. A thourough reading of *Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿalā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* and the letter to Constantinople has proven crucial in finding the scattered elements and indications about al-Ḥajarī's hometown. Piecing together the scattered data, all of which seem to point toward the province of Córdoba without stating it directly and in no way, shape or form toward Hornachos, or Extremadura for that matter, has yielded an unmistakable conclusion: al-Ḥajarī is not from Hornachos, but from Hornachuelos.

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العنوان: الحجري الموريسكي ليس من هورناطسوش

ملخص: يُجمِع دارسُو الموريسكي الحَجَري (المولود سنة 1570 تقريباً والمتوفى بعد 1641) على أنَّ أصْلَه يَعود إلى بلدة هُورْناطْشُوصْ. وقدْ ظلوا يَفترضون أنَّ المكان المُسمَّى ''الحَجَر الأحمر'' الذي ذَكَر الحجَري أنه نشأ فيه إنّما هوَ هُورْناطشوصْ إلى أنِ اكتُشِفتْ إحدى الوثائق التي تُؤَكِدُ للوَهلةِ الأولى صِحّةَ افتراضِهم، حيثُ وَرَد فيها حَرْفِياً أنّ الحَجَري ''مِن مواليد بلدة هُورْناطشوص.'' أمّا مقالُنا فجاء ليَدحضَ هذه الفكرة، مُجادِلاً بأنه لا ينبغي بالضرورة ربْطُ ''بلدة هورناطشوص'' بمنطقة إكستريمادورا ولا مُطابَقةُ ''الحجر الأحمر'' على هورناطشوص. بِاعتمادِ قراءةٍ جديدةٍ في نصوص الحجري، العربية منها والإسبانية، وتحليلٍ دقيقٍ لاسمِ المكانِ المُسمَّى''هورناطشوص،'' يُثبِتُ المقالُ أنَّ ''الحجر الأحمر'' لا يُشير في الواقع إلى هُورناطْشوصْ، بل إلى السِّلسلةِ الجبلية المسمّاة سْييرّا مُورِينا، والأهمّ مِن ذلك، أنَّ الحجري لا ينحدر مِن هورناطشوص، بمنطقة إكستريمادورا، بل مِن هُورْناطْشْويلُوصْ، في مقاطعة قرطبة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الموريسكي، الحجري، مسقط الرأس، هورناطشوص، الحجر الأحمر، سْييرّا مُورينا، هورناطْشويلوصْ.

Titre: Al-Ḥajarī le Morisque n'est pas originaire de Hornachos

Résumé: Les spécialistes du morisque al-Ḥajarī (ca. 1570 - d. après 1641), alias Diego Bejarano, s'accordent à dire qu'il est originaire de Hornachos. Pendant longtemps, on a dû se contenter de l'idée, illusoire, que le lieu mystérieux appelé "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar," duquel lui-même dit provenir, correspondait à Hornachos, hypothèse qui serait, prétendument, confirmée par la publication d'une preuve documentaire selon laquelle al-Ḥajarī était "natural de la villa de Hornachos." Cet article remet en question ladite preuve, arguant qu'on ne devrait pas nécessairement situer "villa de Hornachos" en Estrémadure ni identifier "al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" à Hornachos. Cela implique de réexaminer les textes arabes et espagnols d'al-Ḥajarī et d'analyser en profondeur le toponyme emblématique "Hornachos," le but ultime étant de démontrer qu'"al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar" est équivalent non pas à Hornachos, mais à Sierra Morena et, surtout, qu'al-Ḥajarī n'est pas originaire d'Hornachos, en Estrémadure, mais d'Hornachuelos, dans la province de Cordoue.

Mots-clés: Morisque, al-Ḥajarī, lieu de naissance, Hornachos, al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar, Sierra Morena, Hornachuelos.